HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 15—MOSTLY PALAU, 1783-1793

Compiled and edited by

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- v. 6. Revolts in the Marianas, 1673-1678.
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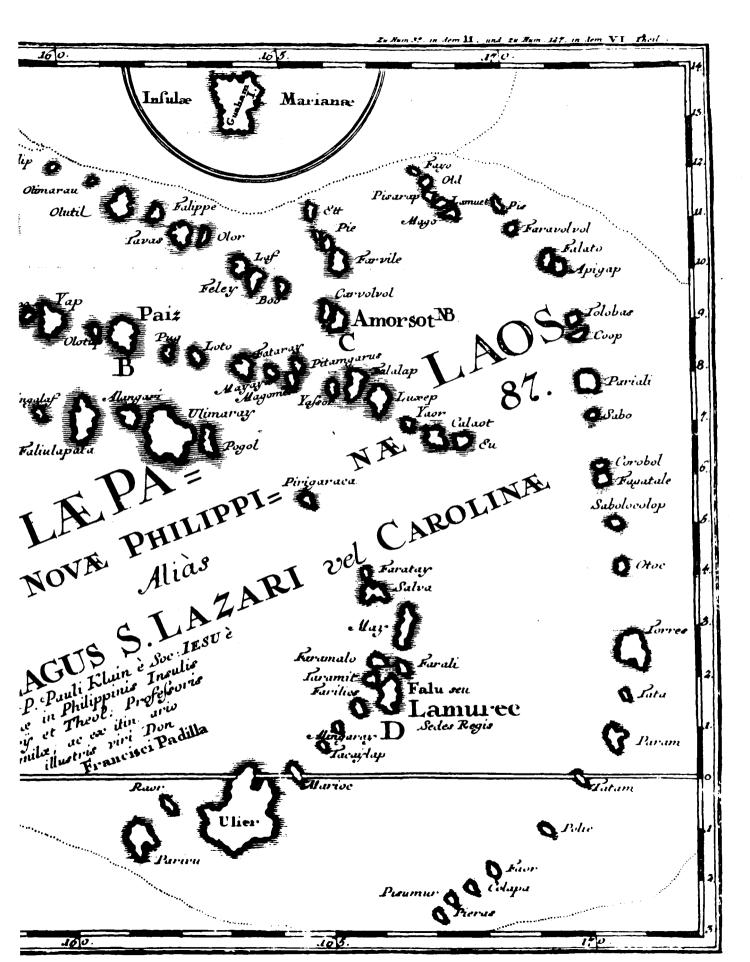
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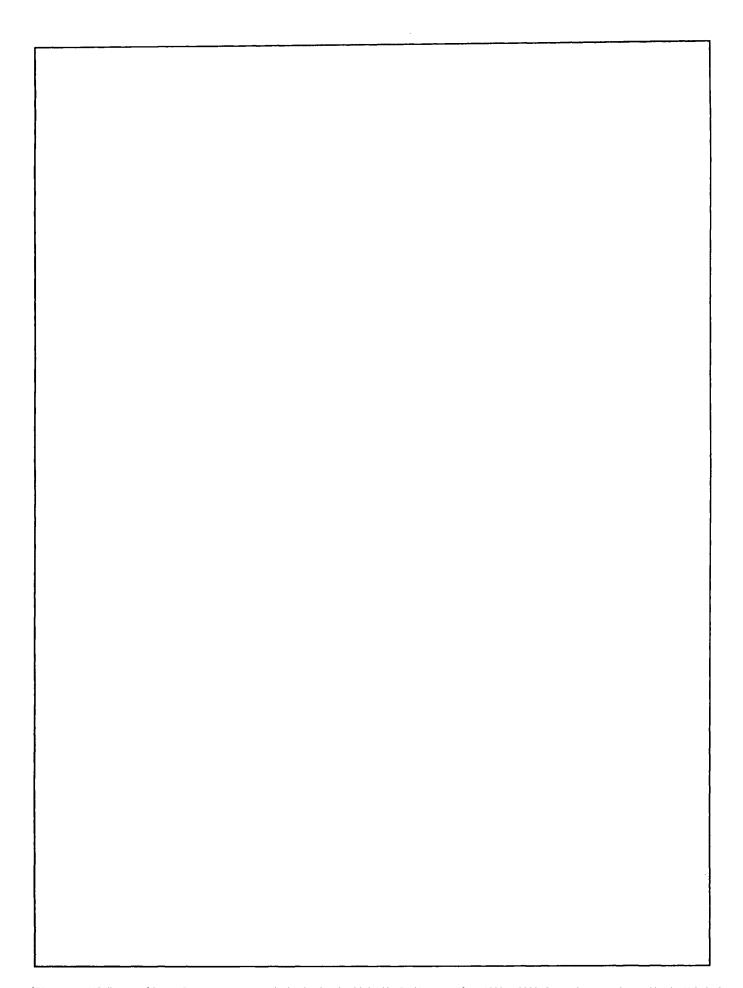
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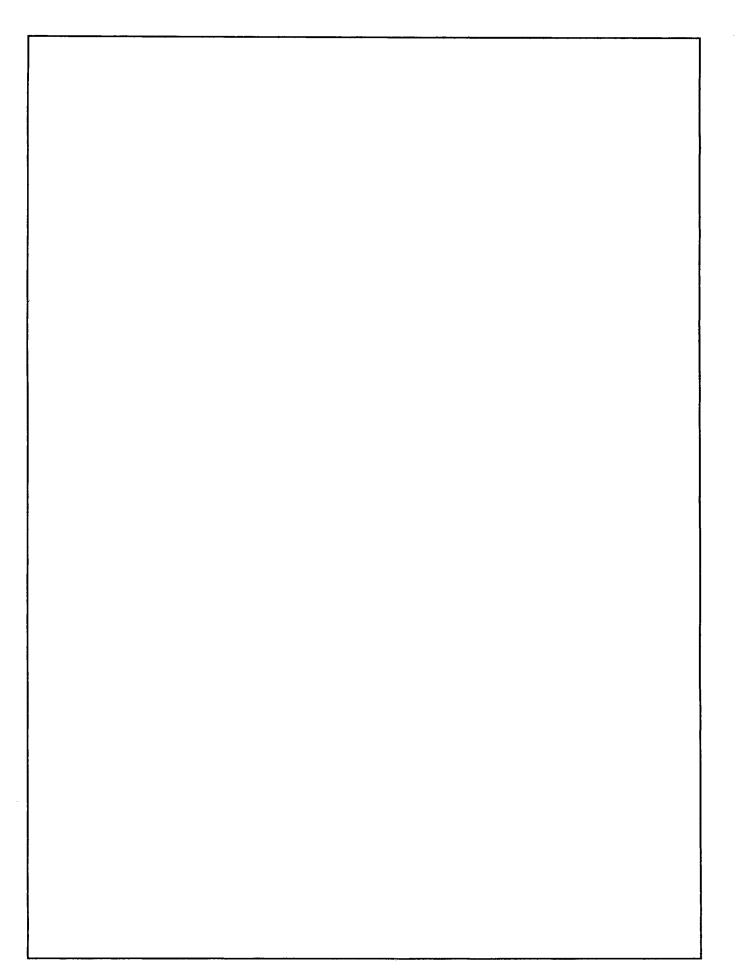
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HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

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Front endpaper: **Jesuit Map of the Palaos Islands**, from Book VI of Father Joseph Stöcklein's *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, 1726 (Courtesy of Thomas Suárez).

Notes: The track of Padilla's Voyage of 1710 is shown. The Latin inscriptions mean: "PALAOS ISLANDS, or the 87 New Philippine Islands, otherwise known as the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, or the Carolines. From the letter of Rev. Fr. Paul Klain, Jesuit missionary from the Bohemian Province in the Philippines and Professor of Theology in Manila; and also from the Voyage of the famous man, Francisco Padilla."

A = "Panlog, the largest of the Palaos Islands."

Rear endpaper: A Chart of the Pelew Islands and Adjacent Seas, by Captain Henry Wilson.

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The loss of the Antelope Packet at Palau in August 1783. Unknown artist (From Anon, Wreck of the Antelope, n.p., Thomas Tegg, n.d.).

NSW

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
ANP	Archives Nationales, Paris.
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
EIC	East India Company.
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HM	History of Micronesia series, by Lévesque Publications.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS1	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
JPS2	Journal of the Pacific Society, Tokyo, Japan.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN).
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).
NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo.
NLA	Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, Chicago.
NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

New South Wales, Australia.

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NYK Nihon Yusen Kaisha [Japan Shipping Line Co.]

NYPL New York Public Library.

OFM Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Franciscans).
OMCap Ordo Minorum Capuchinorum (Capuchins).

OMI Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
OP Ordo Prædicatorum (Dominicans).

ORSA Ordo Recollectorum Sancti Augustini (Recollects).

OSA Ordo Sancti Augustini (Augustinians).

OSF Order of St. Francis.
OUP Oxford University Press.

PCCA Palau Community Action Agency.
PMB Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, ANU.
PNA Philippine National Archives, Manila.

PRO Public Records Office, London.

PSIC Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

RAH Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

RAN Royal Australian Navy. RN Royal [British] Navy.

RPC Royal Philippine Company.

SHM Service Historique de la Marine, Palais de Vincennes, Paris.

SJ Societas Jesu (Jesuits).

SMS His [German] Majesty's Ship.

SS.CC. Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus).

STM "Ships Through Micronesia" [a book in this series]

TNL The National Library, Manila.

TTPI Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (formerly a part of Micronesia).

UH University of Hawaii (Hamilton Library), Honolulu.

USCC United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of

Micronesia).

UNDP United Nations Development Program, New York.
USMC U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].

USN U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].

USS U.S. Ship.

UTK University of Tokyo.

YC Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

? Information missing, wanted, or not available.

(?) Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.

Palauan words, old and new

Old versus modern spellings of some Palauan words.

Abba Thulle = Ibedul.

Arra Klay = Reklai.

Arra Kooker, Raa Kook = Rechucher.

Pye = Bai [club-house].
Playe = Blai [house].

Rupack = Rubak [chief, male elder]. 1

Oroolong = Aulong (I.). Cooroora, Coorora = Koror.

Artingal = now Melekeok. 2

Emungs = former town in Ngardmau district.

Aramalorgoo = Almongui, Ngeremlungui.

Emelegue, Eimeilegue = Aimelic, or Imelick.

Arraguy, Jyry, Iry = Airai.

Errakong, Kourakong = Eil Malk (I.).
Pelelew, Pillelew = Peleliu (I.).
Eynowr, Onour = Angaur (I.).

¹ Ed. note: See Appendix 1 for a study of the first vocabulary of the Palauan language.

² Ed. note: Ngatelingal was later split into two communities: Melekeok and Ngchesar, the former being the larger.



The editor visiting the tomb of Prince Lee Boo in 1999.

To the Memory of Prince Lee Boo. A native of the PELEW, or PALOS Islands: and Son to ABBA THULLE, Rupack or King of the Island COOROORAA; who departed this Life on the 27th of December, 1784 aged 20 years; This stone is inscribed by the Honourable United EAST INDIA COMPANY, as a testimony of Esteem for the humane and kind Treatment afforded by HIS FATHER to the Crew of their Ship the ANTELOPE, Captain WILSON, which was wrecked off that Island in the Night of the 9th of August, 1783.

Stop, Reader, stop!—let NATURE claim a Tear A Prince of *Mine*, LEE BOO, lies bury'd here.



Foreword

"If the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands had not as many virtues as we have, they certainly had at first fewer vices ... One cannot help lamenting, that the machinery of civilization ... should develop so many selfish and base passions, and destroy in so many instances the simplicity and confidence which gave such a peculiar charm to the character of the natives of the Pelew Islands when they were first visited by the English."

[Captain Amasa Delano, in Part 9]

Before the accidental arrival of the **Antelope** at Palau, the islands had been visited by other foreigners, but they had no impact. The first Europeans to make a meaningful contact with Palauan society were Englishmen led by Captain Henry Wilson of the East India Company. They came from Macao and were shipwrecked on a reef on the western side of the group during the night of 10 August 1783. Among the people of Koror there lived an Indonesian, named Soogle, who had drifted there earlier, and spoke Malay. Luckily, a Bengalese servant on board, named Tom Rose, also spoke Malay.

The English were given permission to use the islet of Oroolong to build a boat out of lumber salvaged from the wreck of the Antelope. In exchange, they agreed to offer military assistance during many expeditions against other villages in Babelthuap and Peleliu. Three months later, the boat was ready to sail back to Macao. One young Englishman, Madan Blanchard, was left behind, of his own accord, in exchange for a young Palauan, Lee Boo, who accompanied Wilson all the way to England where he died of smallpox. The introduction of firearms to Palau upset the balance of power and changed their society forever. Besides, the publication of their story in England brought attention to the western part of Micronesia, and other visitors over the next few years.

The East India Company despatched two ships, the **Panther** and the **Endeavour** from India in 1791. The English, under Lieutenant McCluer, were given land near Malakal Harbor to build a fort and establish an agricultural colony. When the two ships came back in 1793, it was learned that the chief of Koror had died and been replaced by a tyrant. McCluer decided to remain behind with some Chinese laborers he had brought to establish a rice plantation. Having acquired a local wife and some slaves, he lived for a time under idyllic conditions, but after 15 months he left the island aboard a ship's boat, and managed to reach Macao with it.

At the end of 1794, he returned with the ship **Venus** to pick up his family and a few other Palauans, then headed for India. After he sent most of them to Bombay, McCluer went on a trading voyage to Bengal; it was during the return voyage to Bombay that he disappeared at sea.

Meanwhile, Captain Henry Wilson came to India from England and found the Palauans stranded there. Wilson took them to Macao aboard his ship, the **Warley**. A small ship, the **Diamante**, was purchased there and Lieutenant Snook took the Palauans home, where they arrived in July 1798.

Lieutenant Snook soon returned to Bombay, taking along the Chinese workers, because the plantation had failed. The East India Company then lost interest in Palau. Nevertheless, Palau had literally been placed on the map, in 1796, when Alexander Dalrymple published a chart of it, based on McCluer's surveys. The first ship from the newly-formed U.S.A. to come to the Palau Islands, in April 1796, was the **Abigail** under Captain Thornton from Rhode Island. The first Protestant missionaries sent to the Pacific by the London Missionary Society also came sailing by in their ship, the **Duff**, under another Captain Wilson in November 1797. What if they had preferred Palau to Tahiti, where they had already established a base? Long ago, Catholic missionaries had failed in their attempts to establish missions in Palau and vicinity. One century would pass after the shipwreck of the Antelope before Catholic missionaries would return to establish a mission which has endured to this day.

Whether or not the Palauan people have been changed for the better or for the worse by contact with European culture is for others to discuss, and them to decide.

Rod Lévesque Gatineau, November 2000.

Acknowledgment

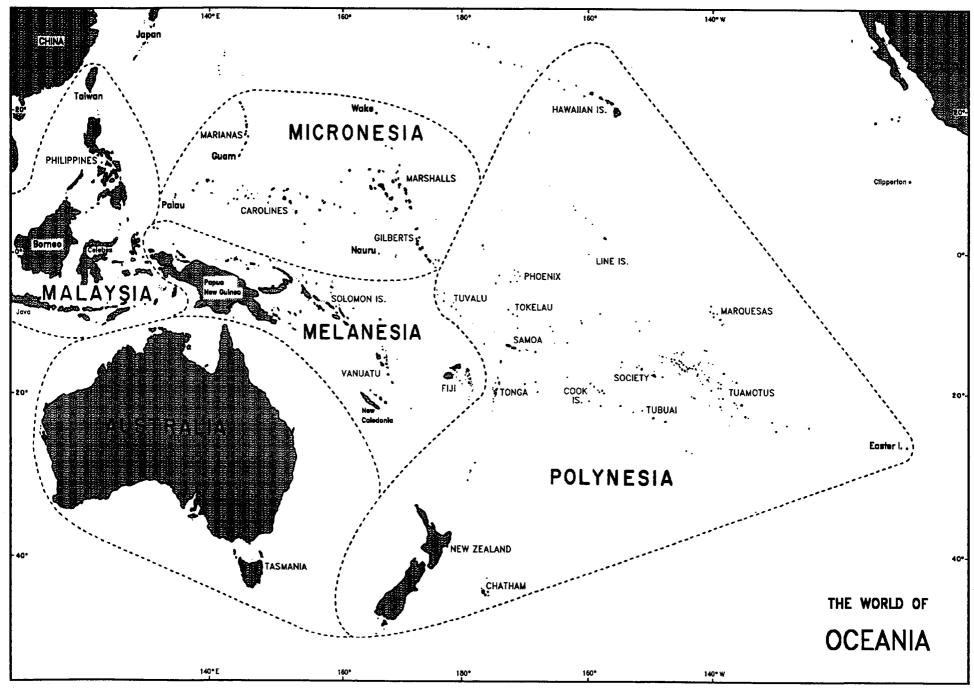
Thomas Suárez of Hawthorne, New York, is specially to be thanked for making available the map that is reproduced as front endpaper of this volume.

Errors and corrections

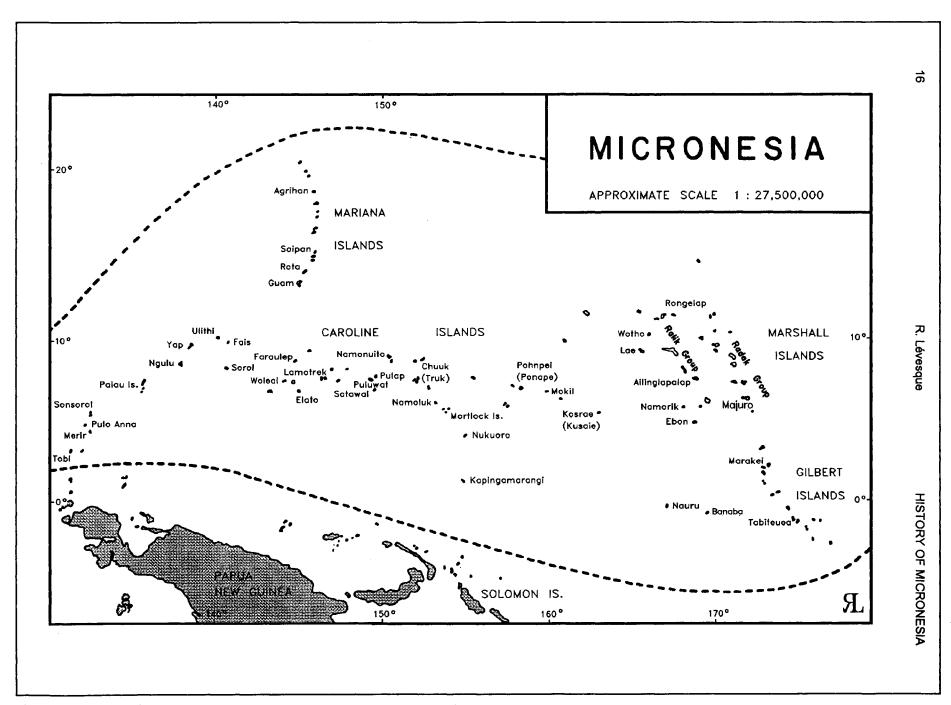
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoudtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on place names

Place names are given as they appear in the original documents, except that the more common or modern spelling is given in brackets, whenever necessary; the latter form is used in the index to refer to all equivalent forms.



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Part 1—Document 1783B

The shipwreck of the Antelope, Captain Henry Wilson, in 1783

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PELEW ISLANDS, Edited by George Keate.

A facsimile reproduction of the 3rd edition of 1789.

Ed. note: It is identical with the second edition of 1788, except for a brief note at the end of the Introduction. The second edition itself was but a reprint of the first, with a list of errata.



CAPT. HENRY WILSON.

Publishid May 18 1788. by G. Nicol Pall Mall .

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PELEW ISLANDS,

SITUATED IN THE

WESTERN PART OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

COMPOSED FROM

THE JOURNALS AND COMMUNICATIONS

O F

CAPTAIN HENRY WILSON,

AND SOME OF HIS OFFICERS,

WHO, IN AUGUST 1783, WERE THERE SHIPWRECKED,

I N

THE ANTELOPE,

A PACKET BELONGING TO THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

B Y

GEORGE KEATE, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A.

THE THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR CAPTAIN WILSON;
AND SOLD BY G. NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL.

M.DCC.LXXXIX.

ТО

THE CHAIRMAN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN,

AND

DIRECTORS

O F

THE HONOURABLE

EAST INDIA COMPANY,

THIS ACCOUNT OF

THE PELEW ISLANDS,

IS,

BY THEIR PERMISSION,

AND AT THE PARTICULAR DESIRE OF

CAPTAIN WILSON,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

LONDON, JUNE 12th, 1788.

GEORGE KEATE.

INTRODUCTION.

JOTHING hath more distinguished the reign of his prefent Majesty, than the liberality with which he hath encouraged the ardour of nautical discovery.—Although the voyages of other European nations have greatly increased our knowledge of the globe, yet as these were generally undertaken (fome late voyages of the French excepted) from views either of ambition or of avarice, the improvement of science, and of geography, was but a secondary confideration;—it is not, therefore, to be wondered that the fubject still remained imperfect, overclouded by doubt and uncertainty.—To diffipate these clouds, to remove existing errors, and to render what was dubious demonstrably clear, became highly interesting to almost every nation; and Eu-ROPE, with eyes of admiration, beheld this important object not only undertaken, but to a furprizing degree executed, by the spirit and abilities of GREAT BRITAIN.

The exploring untraversed oceans, in spite of every danger that could menace, or dismay—the discovering multitudes

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INTRODUCTION.

multitudes of islands, and of people, whose existence was not known before—and the same of fixing the geography of the Southern World, were the noble fruits of this bold and hazardous enterprize; which will remain to succeeding ages a monument of the zeal and patronage of George THE THIRD.

Under fuch aufpices, and under fuch navigators as this business was confided to, with each superadded affistance in the various sciences, what was there not to be hoped?—And it certainly, in no fmall degree, added to the spirit of the undertaking, that fuch an unexampled character as Mr. (now SIR JOSEPH) BANKS voluntarily accompanied Captain Cook.—As long as the history of that time shall exist, it will stamp the highest honour on his name, to have, in the prime of youth, facrificed the blandishments of a noble fortune, to his ardour for information and science, without shrinking at the perils he might encounter from untried feas, and coasts that had never been explored.—And it equally reflects the highest credit on his discerning country; who, emulous to acknowledge the debt she owed his merit, feized the earliest opportunity, after his return, to make him PRESIDENT of the ROYAL SOCIETY; a fituation the most honourable and distinguished she could offer a person of his genius and pursuits; where still, with the same ardour, he promotes her Fame, the zealous and liberal Patron of learning and of science.

The

INTRODUCTION.

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The relations of these several voyages having excited a great spirit of inquiry, and awakened an eager curiosity to every thing that can elucidate the history of mankind, I flatter myself, that no apology is necessary for my bringing forward the following Work, whose Novelty and Authenticity will, I trust, insure it a favourable reception.

The islands which I am about to describe were not discovered in consequence of any premeditated design; the India packet, which Captain Wilson commanded, being in a tempest wrecked on their coast; and it is solely to the benevolent character of their inhabitants, we owe the safe return of our countrymen, that composed the crew of the Antelope;—by the means of whom I am enabled to lay before the Public an account of this singular people.

Nothing can be more interesting to Man than the history of Man. The navigators of the different ages have pictured to us our own species in a variety of lights.—The manners of civilized nations bear a strong resemblance to each other; it is the vices or virtues of individuals, that create any general distinction;—whereas in countries, which science, or the gentler arts, have never reached, we observe a wonderful disparity; some are found under that darkness and absolute barbarism, from the sight of which humanity gladly turns aside;—whilst others, unaided, unassisted, but by mere natural good sense, have not only emerged from this gloomy shade, but nearly attained that order, propriety,

and

Viji

INTRODUCTION.

and good conduct, which constitute the essence of real civilization.—It is by very flow degrees, and through long periods of intervening ages, that nations, now the most polished, have arrived at their present state.—The mind of inquisitive man, too eager after knowledge which his limited faculties can never reach, often idly asks—Wherefore all these varied gradations in human existence? But his question will remain for ever unanswered, and he must content himself with being satisfied that the ways of Providence are conducted with unerring wisdom, to answer purposes beyond mortal comprehension.—He will be far more wisely employed in feeling, with becoming gratitude, that he was not destined himself to be an inhabitant of Terra del Fuego, or to add one to the number of the forlorn savages of the Northern Pole.

There is one question, indeed, and a very important one, which possibly may, at some future period; be successfully investigated;—how all the numerous islands, lately discovered, as well as the multitude of others, that are scattered through various parts of the vast ocean, were originally peopled?—This subject, which opens a wide field for conjecture to range over, hath already exercised the abilities of the ingenious—and, if ever satisfactorily ascertained, cannot fail to throw many interesting lights on the history of mankind.

The present account of the Pelew Islands, I have already observed,

INTRODUCTION.

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observed, was offered to the Public under the double claim of *Novelty* and *Authenticity*. It is therefore incumbent on me to mention on what ground these claims are supported.

The islands in question were probably first noticed by some of the Spaniards of the Phillipines, and by them named the Palos Islands; the tall palm-trees, which grow there in great abundance, having at a distance the appearance of masts of ships *.—That this was the origin of their name is rendered still more probable, as the Spaniards gave the same appellation to all the numerous islands of this Archipelago, the far greater part of which are now known by the name of the New Carolines.

In the Lettres Edifientes et Curieuses, written by the Jesuit Missionaries, may be found several letters, which, from their titles, seem to have a reference to, and which might be thought to relate to the cluster of islands which are the subject of the present Work; but whoever peruses them, with attention, will instantly see that they relate solely to the New Carolines, which were discovered about the year 1696, as may be seen by the letter of Father Paul Clain, dated from Manilla, 10th of June 1697 †.—But even the accounts given by him of the New Carolines, were not in consequence of any Spaniards having been there, but merely such as he had received from some of their inhabitants, who, venturing too far to sea, had been driven by a storm to one of the

PHIL-

^{*} Palos, in the Spanish language, nautically applied, denoting a mast.

[†] Lettres Edifientes et Curieuses, vol. i. page 112.

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INTRODUCTION.

PHILLIPINES. In confequence of this knowledge of the NEW CAROLINES, a ship, called the Holy Trinity, was, in 1710 *, fitted out at Manilla, by order of Philip V. to carry two Missionaries, les Pêres Duberon and Cortil, thither; who arriving off Sonsorol, one of the CAROLINES, the two Missionaries would go on shore in the chaloupe, to fix the Cross, against the opinion of Don Padilla, the Captain, who, as he could find no anchorage, diffuaded them strongly from the attempt.—As the vessel then, after cruizing about for feveral days, to wait their return, could not, on account of the winds and currents, remain any longer on the station, the reverend Fathers were never heard of more. Another veffel was fent from the same place, some time after, to further the mission, which it was supposed the two former Jesuits had begun; but it foundered at sea, and all on board perished t, except one Indian, who at last got back to MANILLA with the melancholy news.

In 1721, another boat, belonging to one of the CARO-LINES, with twenty-four people in it, was driven by force of winds to Guahan, one of the Mariannes; as appears by the letter of Pere Jean Antoine Cantova, dated Agadna, in March 1722.—These strangers being detained a considerable time, Le Pere Cantova tells us, that he endeavoured to acquire some knowledge of their language, that he might the better inform himself of their country.

Lettres Edissientes et Curieuses, vol. xi. page 75. po, vol. xvi. page 368.

[†] Do, vol. xviii. page 188.

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INTRODUCTION.

In this letter, which contains fuller information than any of the others, he tells us, he understood from the natives that this Archipelago was divided into five provinces; and that the Pelew Islands constituted the fifth province, or division; but these strangers, who gave him this intelligence, said, they had no communication with the people of this province, adding, that they were inhuman and savage; that both men and women were entirely naked, and fed upon human sless; that the inhabitants of the Carolines looked on them with horror, as the enemies of mankind, and with whom they held it dangerous to have any intercourse.

This is the only mention I find of the Pelew people, and a dreadful picture it is of barbarous life; but the natives of the Carolines evidently knew nothing of them, but that they existed at a considerable distance from themselves; and probably the notion which they entertained of their being cannibals, prevented their ever having any communication with them *.

To Four-fifths of these islands, which accident had now brought the *Spaniards* acquainted with, they soon gave the name of the New Carolines; but as the Missionaries, who had unquestionably been well informed of the poverty and nakedness of them, apprehended that they were never

likely

^{*} Le Pere Cantova says, that this account is conformable to the relation of Father Bernard Messia (probably another Missionary); but where this relation is to be found, I know not, having in vain scarched for it. I therefore suppose it has not been published, though possibly may be preserved among the manuscript records of the Propa-Ganda at Rome.—Wherever it be, it could only be collected from such vague evicidence as Cantova's; who was himself, a short time after, killed by the people of the Carolines.

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likely to become an object worthy of the attention of the Spanish monarchy, they were therefore, nearly from this period, neglected; and even to this day little more is known of them, than that they occupy a certain space on the surface of the globe.—But the FIFTH division of them, far distant from the rest, and inhabited by people who were branded with the imputation of being inhuman, savage, and enemies of mankind, were, in consequence, never fince inquired after; and, though laid down in some late charts, under their original Spanish appellation of the PALOS islands, have continued till now in total obscurity.—They have, it is true, been feen, at different times, by ships making the Eastern passage to and from China against the monsoons; yet no one appears to have ever landed there, or to have had any intercourse with the inhabitants; nor have they lain in the track of any of the circumnavigators; Captain CARTERET, in his course, approached them the nearest.

From the above observations, and the great astonishment which the natives of Pelew discovered on seeing white people, it seems beyond a doubt that the crew of the Antelope were the first Europeans who had ever landed on these islands; and it seems equally certain, that their nearest neighbours in the adjoining Archipelago knew nothing of them.—I therefore feel some satisfaction in being the instrument of introducing to the world a new people; and a far greater one, in having the means in my power, of vindicating their injured characters from the imputation of those savage

manners

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manners which ignorance alone had ascribed to them; for I am confident that every Reader, when he has gone through the present account of them with attention, will be convinced that these unknown natives of Pelew, so far from disgracing, live an ornament to human nature.

The part I have taken in this work originated from my knowledge of Captain Wilson's veracity, and from my being highly interested with the account he gave of the inhabitants of these islands, which was so happily illustrated by the good sense and amiable manners of the young Prince Lee Boo, whom, at the King his father's request, he had brought with him to England.

I frequently mentioned to my valuable friend, Mr. BROOK WATSON, (through whom I had first been acquainted with Captain WILSON) that I thought the whole chain of events, following the loss of the ANTELOPE, well merited the public eye, wishing him to submit the matter to his friend's consideration;—but, after three quarters of a year, I perceived that the Captain's own affairs, his natural diffidence, and probably his inexperience in preparing properly such a work, rendered him little disposed to the undertaking—and, as he was then preparing to go out again to India, the account was in danger of being totally lost.

Struck as I was with the relation of the virtues and character of the natives of these islands—sensible how soon oral testimony is beyond recovery, and the records of memory estaced by the events or casualties of life—I felt anx-

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ious to rescue these discoveries from sliding into oblivion, and to preserve them to the curiosity and information of the Public; I therefore engaged a volunteer in the business, proposing to Mr. Watson, that if his friend Captain Wilson would give me his journals and papers, and procure me all the living testimonies then in England, that I would myself undertake the work;—on this condition, that the labour should be mine, the advantage Captain Wilson's.

After I had, with great attention, gone over all the journals and papers, and transcribed them, the better to fix them in my memory, and to direct my future inquiries, I had the benefit of a reference, both to Captain WILSON and his son, during their stay in ENGLAND, for what further or fuller information I required; and, after the Captain's departure, I had also, in the beginning of 1786, whilst the facts were recent, the affiftance and information of fuch of his officers as remained in this country; who, for many weeks, were so good as to devote themselves, as it individually fuited them, to this business. The transactions of every day, as recorded in the journals, were minutely gone through; and it was a great pleafure to me, in taking their feparate relations, to find no material difference in their accounts of the facts or occurrences, but, on the contrary, the most perfect agreement. Thus, enlarged by the additions of the Gentlemen (who were themselves in some scenes the sole actors, the Work, for a year and a half, lay dormant, waiting Captain Wilson's return from BENGAL, who arrived

the

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the latter end of last summer: since that time every part of it hath been revised, and gone over, with the most scrupulous exactness and attention; and I am myself sirmly persuaded, no work of this nature was ever presented to the Public, in every respect better authenticated.

I should not have thought it necessary to have mentioned the manner in which I have conducted this publication, had I not been aware of there being scenes and situations in it which might startle many of my readers; but, as the truth of them can be fully established, they will serve to prove that good sense, and moral rectitude, may exist in many uncivilized regions, where the prejudices and arrogance of polished life are not always disposed to admit them.

Those who are acquainted with the voyages to the South Seas, must have remarked a great similitude in the manners of the islands scattered over that immense ocean; at the same time it cannot have escaped their notice, that there are customs and characters peculiar to almost every particular group.—The same observation is applicable to the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands; who, tho' in many respects resembling their Southern neighbours, must be allowed to have many characteristical features of their own—which an intelligent reader will easily discover.

As there was a draughtsman on board the ANTELOPE, besides two or three young men acquainted with drawing, a faithful portrait of the King of Pelew, and one of his wives, together with some picturesque views of the country,

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were by their means obtained.—Captain WILSON was prefented, before he left the iflands, with many of their weapons and utenfils, from which the plates contained in this Work have been accurately engraved.—And I am happy to have it in my power to add to thefe the portrait of Prince Lee Boo, drawn by my Daughter, and which, though done from memory, fifteen months after his death, is acknowledged to be a very striking likeness by every one who knew him.

To the late discoveries, which have so greatly increased our knowledge of the globe, and of the human race, if the little cluster of islands I am now unveiling to the world (which may truly be regarded as a rich jewel, sparkling on the bosom of the ocean) shall be deemed by the Public an interesting acquisition, Captain Wilson will not have been shipwrecked in vain; and I shall ever think that the time I have bestowed on this Work hath been usefully employed.

N.B. I cannot let a Third Edition of this Work follow the two first so closely, without expressing the singular satisfaction I feel at the uncommon success with which it has been honoured; a success the more interesting to me, as it unequivocally proves, that a picture of Human Nature, distinguished only by virtuous simplicity, hath been able, in an age of the most polished resinement, to attract so much the attention of the Public.

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PELEW ISLANDS.

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Departure of the Antelope from Macao.—List of the Ship's Company.—Route and Transactions prior to the Loss of the Vessel.

THE ANTELOPE, a packet of near 300 tons burthen, in the fervice of the Honourable English East India Company, under the command of Captain Henry Wilson, having arrived at Macao in the month of June 1783, the Captain received orders from the Company's fupra-cargoes to refit his ship with all possible speed; which being completed, on Sunday the 20th of July, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, he received his dispatches, and the ship being ready for sea, he took leave of the Council; and about half past three o'clock went on board, accompanied by Messrs. Brown, Lane, Bruce, and Peach, as also Mr. Morgan, surgeon; and after the Captain had paid the

1783. June.

JULY. Sunday 20.

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. JULY. fixteen Chinese men (with which they had been allowed to augment their ship's company) the advance-money usual on these occasions, they weighed anchor, and their friends went on shore, whom they saluted at going away with nine guns. The weather becoming unsettled and hazy, at nine o'clock in the evening they anchored in 7 sathom water.— As in the course of this narrative we shall find the ship's company at times collectively and separately engaged, it will not be improper at the outset to mention the names of the Europeans who were in the Antelope, with their particular distinction and situation on board.

Names. Stations. HENRY WILSON - - - Commander. PHILIP BENGER * - - - Chief Mate. PETER BARKER - - - Second Mate. John Cummin - - - Third Mate. JOHN SHARP - - - - Surgeon. ARTHUR WILLIAM DEVIS - Passenger. John Blanch - - - Gunner. WILLIAM HARVEY - - - Boatswain. John Polkinghorn - - Carpenter. JOHN MEALE - - - - Cooper and Steward. RICHARD JENKINS - - - Carpenter's Mate. JAMES SWIFT - - - - Cook. RICHARD SHARP - - - Midshipman. HENRY WILSON, Junior - - Ditto, fon to the Captain.

JOHN

^{*} The names thus marked, are the only men at this time known with certainty to be dead.

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Stations. Names. Two youths from Christ's Hofpital, apprentices, and acting
as midshipmen. 1783. JOHN WEDGEBROUGH JULY. ROBERT WHITE -ALBERT PIERSON - - - Quarter Master. GODFRY MINKS * - - Ditto. THOMAS DULTON - - Captain's Steward. JOHN COOPER - - - - Scaman. WILLIAM ROBERTS - - Ditto. JAMES DUNCAN - - - Ditto. MATTHIAS WILSON - - Ditto, brother to the Captain. NICHOLAS TYACKE - - - Ditto. JAMES BLUITT - - - Ditto. Thomas Willson * - Ditto. WILLIAM STEWART - - Ditto. MADAN BLANCHARD - - Ditto. THOMAS WHITFIELD - - Ditto. WILLIAM COBBLEDICK - - Ditto. ZACHARIAH ALLEN - - - Ditto. THOMAS CASTLES - - - Ditto. DEDRICK WINDLER - - Ditto. (Linguist, a native of BENGAL, - calling himself a Portuguese.

At five o'clock in the morning they again weighed an- Monday 21. chor, and fet fail, having a fine breeze from the E. N. E. and between fix and feven o'clock their pilot left them.

В 2

About

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. July. About nine o'clock, being got to some distance from the land, they met with a very high sea, which obliged them to lay to, in order to secure their cattle, and other live stock, as also their anchors, cables, and harbour-rigging. About eleven o'clock they made sail again, and by a very good observation, at noon, were in latitude 21° 28′ north; at the same time could just see the land bearing north, at the distance of about eleven leagues, as near as they could judge, the weather being rather hazy. In the afternoon the lashings of the booms broke, and they fell to leeward, which obliged them to keep the ship before the wind until they were replaced and secured, which having done, they resumed their course. In the evening, observing it to lighten very strongly from the southward, they close reesed their top-sails, expecting it to blow from that quarter.

Tuesday 22.

Next day the weather continued moderate but cloudy; and they had a great fea from the eastward, which made the ship labour, so as to oblige them to pump every two hours. The boatswain and carpenter were both taken ill in the night with a cold and a slight fever. In the afternoon a sail was seen to the S. E. which they took to be a PORTUGUESE vessel bound to MACAO. The wind veered round to the southward this day; no observation of latitude.

Wednesday 22. The wind foutherly, with cloudy weather and fome light fqualls and rain. They noticed this forenoon feveral ripplings in the warter, as if in a tide or current; the fea was fomewhat

1783. JULY.

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fomewhat fallen, and the ship made less water. No observation of latitude this day, the fun being in their zenith.

> Thursday 24.

The weather was very fqually, with rain and a great swell. The boatswain and carpenter were much recovered, so as to be able to go about their duty, in fecuring the ports and preparing the ship for bad weather. By an indifferent observation at noon, they found themselves in latitude 19° 29' north.

The weather continued very dark and cloudy, with thun- Friday 25. der, lightning, and hard rain, fo that the ship was in a manner deluged, and every one wet and uncomfortable. About three o'clock in the afternoon they faw the appearance of land from the deck, being the BASHEE Islands, bearing from S. E. to E. N. E. At fix o'clock the northermost Island bore N. E. by E. At night the weather being but indifferent and hazy, fo that they could not keep fight of the land, they shortened fail and lay to till the morning.

At day-break they again faw the land to leeward of Saturday26. them, being the fame they had feen the night before; from this circumstance they concluded there was no current; and as foon as the light opened a little more upon them, they made fail and bore away before the wind, to go round the northermost island, which they did at about four or five miles distance. The weather being hazy when they first saw the land, they had but a very imperfect view of the islands. The first appeared to be long and tolerably even.

The

ACCOUNT OF Λ N

1783. JULY.

The fecond was likewise long, of a pretty equal height, except in two or three places, where it feemed to rife into hills: near the middle of it was one very remarkable, from its being in shape like a CHINA or TARTAR woman's hat. The third island shewed like two rugged-topped mountains, joined together by low land. The fourth was a high, large, double-peaked rock, appearing to have little foil or wood upon it. The fifth was very high and uneven, devoid of wood, except a few green bushes towards its summit. There were no figns of inhabitants upon any of these islands, and the weather being fqually, our people foon loft fight of them; at noon they were in latitude 21° 14' north, by observation, when, having run about fifteen leagues to the eastward of the iflands, they hauled up more to the fouthward, in hopes to get into fmoother water, and better weather than they had hitherto met with fince leaving MACAO. Soon after noon, the man at the mast-head discovered the foretop-mast to be fprung; they immediately took in the fails, and got down the topgallant-mast, and prepared to get down the top-mast, but were obliged to defift on account of the weather, until the morning, when it proving fair, with tolerably fmooth water, all hands went bufily to work to get up a new foretop-mast, and to dry and air the ship, as also to secure what

Sunday 27.

cattle and flock remained, much having perished in the rains and bad weather. The next morning also being fine Monday 28. and fair; this opportunity was embraced to open the ports,

X

and

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and wash and cleanse the ship below, as well as to overhaul and clean their small arms, and give the officers instructions for the voyage. In the evening there was very hard rain, with variable winds.

1783. JULY.

But the fucceeding day, the wind being favourable, gave Tuesday 29. them an opportunity of examining and drying some of their provision, particularly some Chinese hams and dry fish, which conflituted part of their victualling, and had got damp in the excessive rains. They saw a great quantity of fish swimming about the ship, but could not catch any, as they would not take the baits. No rains during the last twenty-four hours, but the next morning the weather became overcast and they were again visited with rain in the evening, which continued very hard all night and the fucceeding day, with variable winds, fo that they made very little progress on their voyage. The next morning was more moderate, and towards noon the weather cleared up and they got an obfervation, by which they found their latitude was 16° 25' north. In the afternoon it fell calm, which gave them the means of trying the current, which they found to fet to the E.N.E. at the rate of half a mile an hour. In the evening Captain WILSON exercifed fome of the Chinese men with rowing in the jolly-boat for an hour or two, to teach them to use an oar when needful. The following day being fair, and the Saturday 2. wind moderate, all were again employed in clearing and cleaning the ship and setting up the rigging. In the after-

Wednesday 30.

Thursday 31.

AUGUST. Friday 1.

noon

AN ACCOUNT OF

noon they had an observation for the longitude, by the dif-1783. AUGUST. tance of the fun and moon, by which they found themselves in 126 degrees and a half east of GREENWICH. The following morning being also fair, divine service was performed Sunday 3. upon deck; a ceremony never omitted on Sundays when the weather would allow of it. In the afternoon they got another observation for the longitude, which confirmed that taken the preceding day. At night they met with fresh gales of Monday 4. wind, fqually weather, and much rain, which continued most part of the next day; towards the evening of which Tuesday 5. they faw numbers of birds and fish, likewise some drifts of pieces of wood or bamboo, they therefore altered their course more to the southward, and went under an easy fail, keeping a good look out, until morning, when it being Wednesday very tempestuous they brought to, and handed their topsails, which before had been close reeft. The weather continued to blow a fform till about mid-day of the 7th, during which Thursday 7. time they could show but very little fail, being obliged to lay to under the storm stay-sails; the storm then abating, and the weather clearing up, they got an observation for the latitude, by which they found themselves in 10° 16' north. In the afternoon the wind was foutherly, with fresh gales, but dry, so that they were able the following morning to clean Friday 8. between decks, and also to fumigate the ship with gunpow-The cattle had all perished in the last storm, except one bullock; the she-goat also, having kidded in this bad weather,

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weather, died together with her young. In the afternoon the weather became more moderate, so that they were able to make sail and to proceed on their voyage; and the next day the weather was so fine they were enabled to open their ports to air and dry the ship below, as also again to examine their provision and stores, and get every thing into order. They were now proceeding cheerfully on their voyage, fondly flattering themselves that the adverse weather, and the anxieties it had awakened, were all at an end, when they were suddenly overwhelmed with those missortunes which are related in the following narrative.

1783. AUGUST.

Saturday 9.

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. August.

CHAPTER II.

Loss of the Antelope, and the immediate Distresses arising from the Accident.

Sunday 10.

THE wind having freshened after midnight, the sky became overcast, with much lightning, thunder, and Mr. BENGER, the chief mate, having the watch upon deck, had lowered the top-fails, and was going to reef them with the people upon duty; judging from the thunder that the weather would break and clear up, and only prove a flight fquall, he did not think it necessary to call the hands out, or acquaint the Captain, who had only quitted the deck at twelve o'clock. The people being upon the yards reefing the fails, the man who was on the look-out called Breakers! but so short was the notice, that the call of Breakers had scarce reached the officer upon deck before the ship struck. The horror and dismay this unhappy event threw every body into was dreadful; the Captain, and all those who were below in their beds, sprang upon deck in an inftant, anxious to know the cause of this fudden shock to the ship, and the confusion above; a moment convinced them of their distressed situation; the

breakers

1783. AUGUST.

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breakers along-fide, through which the rocks made their appearance, prefented the most dreadful scene, and left no room for doubt. The ship taking a heel, in less than an hour filled with water as high as the lower deck hatchways; during this tremendous interval, the people thronged round the Captain, and earneftly requested to be directed what to do, befeeching him to give orders and they would immediately execute them. Orders were in confequence instantly given to secure the gunpowder, ammunition, and finall arms, and that the bread, and fuch other provision as would fpoil by wet, should be brought upon deck and fecured by fome covering from the rain; while others were directed to cut away the mizen-mast, the main and foretop-mast, and lower yards, to ease the ship and prevent her overfetting, of which they thought there was fome hazard, and that every thing should be done to preserve her as long as possible (the fails having all been clewed up as foon as the ship struck). The boats were hoisted out, and filled with provision and water, together with a compass in each, fome fmall arms, and ammunition; and two men were placed in each boat, with directions to keep them under the lee of the ship, and be careful they were not staved, and to be ready to receive their ship-mates in case the vessel should break to pieces by the dashing of the waves and the violence of the wind, it then blowing a storm. Every thing that could be thought expedient in fo distressful and

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trying an occasion was executed with a readiness and obedience hardly ever exceeded. The people all now affembled aft, the quarter-deck laying highest out of the water, the quarter-boards afforded fome little shelter from the sea and rain; here, after contemplating a few moments their wretched fituation, the Captain endeavoured to revive their drooping spirits, which began to fink through anxiety and fatigue, by reminding them that shipwreck was a misfortune to which those who navigate the ocean were always liable; that their fituation indeed was more difficult, from happening in an unknown and unfrequented fea, but that this confideration should rouse their most active attention, as much must depend on themselves to be extricated from their distress; that when these misfortunes happened, they were often rendered more dreadful than they otherwise would be by the despair and disagreement of the crew; to avoid which, it was strongly recommended to every individual not to drink any spirituous liquor. A ready confent was given to this advice; but they being all wet, and fatigued with excessive labour, it was thought advisable to take some refreshment, and therefore a glass of wine and some biscuit was given to each person; after eating, a second glass of wine was given them, and they now waited with the utmost anxiety the return of day, in hope of feeing land, for as yet they had not discovered any; the third mate and one of the quarter-masters only, in the momentary interval of a dreadful

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flash of lightning, imagined they had seen the appearance of land ahead of the ship. During these anxious moments, they endeavoured to confole and cheer one another, and each was advifed to clothe and prepare himself to quit the ship when necessity should make that step inevitable; and herein the utmost good order and regularity was observed, not a man offering to take any thing but what truly belonged to himfelf, nor did any one of them either ask for, or attempt to take a dram, or complain of the negligence or misconduct of the watch or any particular person. The dawn of day discovered to their view a small island to the southward, about three or sour leagues diftant, and foon after fome other islands were feen to the eastward. They now felt apprehensive on account of the inhabitants, to whose dispositions they were strangers; however, after manning the boats, and loading them in the best manner they could for the general good, fuch of the crew as departed from the ship under the care of Mr. Benger, were earnestly requested to endeavour to obtain a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants if they found any, and carefully to avoid any disagreement unless reduced to the last necessity, as the fate of all might depend upon the first interview. As soon as the boats were gone, those who remained went immediately to work to get the booms overboard, in order to make a raft to fecure themselves, as the ANTELOPE was hourly

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1783. AUGUST. hourly expected to go to pieces, and the utmost disquietude was entertained for the fafety of the boats, not only on account of the natives, but also of the weather, it continuing to blow very hard.—In the afternoon they perceived with inexpressible joy the boats coming off; a fight the more welcome, as they were fearful from their long stay, they had met with some disaster, either from the inhabitants, or the storm; they were however happily relieved from this anxiety by their getting fafe to the ship about four o'clock, having left the stores and five men on shore. They brought the welcome news that there was no appearance of inhabitants on the island where they had landed; that they had found a fecure harbour well sheltered from the weather, and also some fresh water. Every one now purfued his labour with renovated spirits to complete the raft, which was in great forwardness when the boats returned; this being completed, they took a fecond refreshment of bread and wine, each individual having strictly conformed to the promife made to Captain Wilson, not to drink any strong liquor. We must not omit here mentioning a melancholy accident which happened among the events of this difastrous morning; soon after day-break the mizen-mast being found near the ship's stern, and some of the rigging entangled in the mizen-chains, Godfry MINKS went to cut it adrift, in doing this he unfortunately flipped and fell overboard, and although the boats,

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which were not then gone, went infantly to his affiftance, he was unfortunately drowned, owing, as was supposed, to having encumbered himself with too many clothes, when he prepared himself, as before related, to be ready to quit the ship.

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The raft being now completed, was loaded with as much provision and stores as it could carry, consistently with the fafety of the people who were to go on it. The pinnace and jolly-boat were likewise filled with provision, ammunition, and fmall arms, in which was placed their greatest fecurity. The people being still anxiously employed in faving whatever they could, and the ship beginning to have a little motion from the rifing of the tide, there was great apprehension that the main-mast would fall over the fide, in which case it must have dropt on the rast, and, by destroying it, have rendered all their labours fruitless. The raft and pinnace being ready to depart, and the evening advancing, the boatswain was defired to go into the ship, and wind his call, in order to alarm those who were bufily employed below (and whom Captain WILson had repeatedly entreated to defift) to go into the boats and raft, that they might endeavour to get on shore before night, and fecure what they had already got out of the ship. And here it may be worth while to notice the great care and attention of the carpenter, who was fo intent on faving what tools and stores he could, that he remained below after the pinnace and raft had departed; and

Captain Captain

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1783. AUGUST. Captain WILSON was obliged to compel him to go into the jolly-boat, fo anxious was he to provide and take with him whatever he thought might contribute to their future relief.

Thus with aching hearts, and deep melancholy, they quitted the ANTELOPE, totally ignorant of their future deftiny. The pinnace, with some of the stoutest of the ship's crew, took the raft in tow; the jolly-boat also assisted, by towing the pinnace till they had cleared the reef; after which, being too heavily laden to be of much further aid, those in the pinnace cast loose their rope, and the jolly-boat proceeded alone to the shore, where they arrived about eight o'clock at night, and found their companions who had been left in the morning. These few men had not been idle, or unmindful of their fellow-fufferers; having employed themfelves in clearing away a spot of ground, and erecting a fmall tent with a fail, in readiness for their reception. The situation both of those on the rast, as well as those in the pinnace, was truly dreadful till they had cleared the reef (which was more than half an hour); by the great furf and spray of the sea, the pinnace and raft were often out of fight of each other; those on the latter were obliged to tie themselves, and cling to it with all their strength, to prevent being washed off; and the shrieks of the Chinese, less inured to the perils of an element they were then conflicting with, did not a little aggravate the horror of the scene.

Having

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Having cleared the reef, and got into the channel which flows between that and the islands, they found themselves in deep water, and a less disturbed sea; they hoisted the fails of the pinnace, and got on; but as they approached the land, perceiving a strong current, which set them much to leeward of the island where they had left the stores and people in the morning, they dropped their fails and rowed. They found the current still much stronger as they got nearer the shore, and though every man exerted his utmost strength, they still continued to drop to leeward. Feeling now their inability to refift the current, and the strength of the rowers being almost exhausted, it was judged for the fafety of all, that the pinnace should take the people from off the raft, and bring the raft to a grapnel during the night. These additional men from the rast double banked the oars of the pinnace, and relieved the rowers, but at the fame time they fo crowded her, that she could barely keep above water, being then close under a rocky coast, in about fixteen fathom water (as they afterwards better knew). They were only able to advance flowly; but as they drew nearer to the island whither the others were gone before, the jolly-boat having unladen her cargo, Captain Wilson with four people, was returning in her, to lighten the raft and pinnace, and give them full assistance, and it being dark, hailed the pinnace at a distance. Whether it was from the great fatigue the people had fustained while

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under

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under the covering of the tent which had been raised. The night proved very uncomfortable on many accounts; the rain and wind were heavy, and the distress of their situation not a little increased by the fear of the ship going to pieces, from the tempestuous weather, before they should be able to save from her such necessaries as might be useful to them. They hauled their boats on shore, and set a watch, lest they might happen to be surprized by any of the natives.

The constant perspiration the people had been in, added Monday II. to their being perpetually wet with the salt water, had produced an irritation on their skins, which, with the added friction of their clothes from severe labour, had excoriated them in a manner to make them most miserably fore. At dawn of day, both the pinnace and jolly-boat were sent to the rast, to try and bring it up; but the wind blowing very hard, they were assaid to attempt moving it; they were, however, fortunate enough to get the remainder of the provision and sails from it, and returned about noon.

The weather proving more moderate in the afternoon, the boats were fent to the wreck to bring away some rice, and other provision, as also to procure what necessaries they could for the people, who, as we have already said, stood in great need of them.

Those who remained on shore were employed in drying their powder, and cleaning and sitting their arms for use,

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in case of need; and as the boats did not return till ten o'clock in the evening, it spread amongst their companions much alarm for their fafety, as the night came on with very heavy weather; nor indeed were their spirits rendered tranquil by their arrival, for the chief mate and crew, who returned with the pinnace, brought the melancholy intelligence, that they did not conceive, from the badness of the weather, that the ship could hold together till morning, as she was beginning to part, the bends or wales being started out of their places. The ideas which had been fondly nurfed, that when a calm fucceeded there was a poffibility fhe might be floated and repaired, fo as to return to MACAO, or fome part of CHINA, were by this account totally extinguished. The prospect now darkened round them, fear pictured firongly every danger, and hope could hardly find an inlet through which one ray of confolation might shoot. They knew nothing of the inhabitants of that country where fate had thrown them; ignorant of their manners and dispositions, as well as of the hostile scenes they might have to encounter for their fafety; they found themselves, by this fudden accident, cut off at once from the rest of the world, with little probability of their ever again getting away. Each individual threw back his remembrance to fome dear object that affection had rivetted to his heart, who might be in vain looking out anxiously for the return of the father, the husband, or the friend, whom there was

fcarcely

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fcarcely the most distant chance of their ever seeing any more. These reslections did not contribute to make the night comfortable; the weather was far more tempestuous than in the preceding one; but the clothes which the people had procured from the wreck proved a great comfort to them all, who were thereby enabled to have a change.

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CHAPTER III.

First Appearance of the Natives.—The curious and friendly Interview between them and the English.—Captain Wilson's Brother sent to the King of Pelew, the King's Brother remaining with our People.

Tuesday 12.

T day-break, as it blew exceedingly hard, fo that the boats could not venture to fea, every one went to work, to dry the stores and provisions between the showers: and many were busied to form better tents with such materials as they had faved. About eight o'clock in the morning Captain WILSON and Tom Rose being on the beach collecting water which dropped from the rocks, the people who were employed in clearing away the ground, in the wood behind them, gave notice that fome of the natives were approaching, as they perceived a canoe coming round the point into the bay; this gave fo much alarm that the people all flew to the arms; however, as there were only two canoes, and those having but few men in them, the people were defired to remain still, and out of fight, until they should perceive what reception the Captain and Tom Rose met with, whom they were convinced the natives

had

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had discovered, as they conversed together, and kept stedfastly looking towards that part of the shore where they were; our people were defired to be prepared for the worst, but by no means to appear for the present, or shew any figns of distrust when they did, unless the behaviour of the natives to them should render it absolutely necessary. In this short interval of time the canoes had advanced cautiously towards the shore, where they stood, when Captain WILSON defired Tom Rose to speak to them in the Malay language, which they did not feem to understand, but stopped their canoes; yet soon after one of them spoke in the Malay tongue, and asked who they were? and whether they were friends or enemies? To these questions Tom Rose was directed to reply, "That they were unfortunate " Englishmen, who had lost their ship upon the reef, and " had faved their lives, and were their friends." Upon this they fpoke a few words together (which was fince supposed to have been the Malay man explaining to them what had been faid); and presently they stepped out of the canoes into the water, and came towards the shore, on which Captain Wilson waded into the water to meet them, and embracing them in a friendly manner, conducted them to the shore, and introduced them to his officers and unfortunate companions; they were eight in number, two of whom it was afterwards known were brothers to the King. They left one man in each canoe; and, as they were

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^{*} The future condust and behaviour of this MALAY gave reason to suspect there was little truth in the account he gave of himself.

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told them, was a very good man, and that his people also were courteous.

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He further acquainted them, that a canoe having been out fishing, had feen the ship's mast lying down; and that the King being informed of it, fent off these two canoes, at four o'clock that morning, to enquire what was become of the people; that they knowing well this harbour, had come to it first, being a place where the canoes, when fishing, often shelter themselves in hard weather.—They sat about an hour with Captain WILSON, tasted the tea, but seemed to like better the biscuits, and appeared now to feel themfelves relieved from every apprehension. They wished that one of our people might be fent in their canoes to the RUPACK, or King, that he might fee what fort of people they were; which was agreed to by Captain Wilson, who, after breakfast was ended, introduced to them several of his officers; these, as they came up, shook hands with the natives, who being informed by the Malay that this was the mode of falutation amongst the English, they went to every man prefent, and took him by the hand, nor ever after omitted this token of regard, as often as they met our countrymen.

It often pleases Providence, in the most trying hours of difficulty and distress, to throw open some unlooked-for source of consolation to the spirits of the unfortunate!—It was a singular accident, that Captain Rees of the Nor-

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It was a ftill more fingular circumstance, that a tempest should have thrown a Malay on this spot, who had as a stranger been noticed and favoured by the King, and having been near a year on the island previous to the loss of the ANTE-LOPE, was become acquainted with the language of the country; by this extraordinary event both the ENGLISH and the inhabitants of Pelew had each an interpreter who could converie freely together in the Malay tongue, and Tom Rose speaking English, an easy intercourse was immediately opened on both fides, and all those impediments removed at once, which would have arisen among people who had no means of conveying their thoughts to one another by language, but must have trusted to signs and gestures, which, to those born in climates so remotely separated, might have given rife to a thousand misconceptions.—The natives perceiving the boats preparing to be launched, imagined it was for departure; but being told that our men were only going off to the wreck to fetch more stores and necessaries on shore, they said they would fend one of their people with them, to prevent any canoes from molesting them.

The natives were of a deep copper colour, perfectly naked, having no kind of covering whatfoever; their skins very foft and gloffy, owing, as was known afterwards,

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to the external use of cocoa-nut oil. Each Chief had in his hand a basket of BEETLE-NUT, and a bamboo finely polified and inlaid at each end, in which they carried their Chinam; this is coral burnt to a lime, which they shake out through one end of the bamboo where they carry it, on the leaf of the BEETLE-NUT, before they chew it, to render it more useful, or palatable. It was observed that all their teeth were black, and that the Beetle-nut and Chinam, of which they had always a quid in their mouths, rendered the faliva red, which, together with their black teeth, gave their mouths a very difgusting appearance.— They were of a middling stature, very straight, and muscular, their limbs well formed, and had a particular majestic manner in walking; but their legs, from a little above their ancles to the middle of their thighs, were tatooed fo very thick, as to appear dyed of a far deeper colour than their skin: their hair was of a fine black, long, and rolled up behind in a simple manner close to the back of their heads, and appeared both neat and becoming.—None of them, except the younger of the King's two brothers, had a beard; and it was afterwards observed, in the course of a longer acquaintance with them, that they in general plucked out their beards by the root; a very few only, who had strong thick beards, cherished them and let them grow.—As they now feemed to feel no longer any restraint, they were conducted round the cove; the ground was as yet but

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flightly and partially cleared, much broken shells and rock, together with thorny plants and shrubs remaining over it, nor could our people help being furprized at feeing them, barefooted as they were, walk over all this rough way as perfeetly at ease as if it had been the smoothest ground. But if the uncommon appearance of the natives of Pelew excited furprize in the English, their appearance, in return, awakened in their visitors a far greater degree of astonishment.—Our countrymen, during all the time they remained in these islands, were perfectly convinced, that the inhabitants had never before feen a white man, it was therefore little to be wondered that they viewed them as a new and a very extraordinary race of beings: all they observed, and all they touched, made them exclaim weel! weel! and fometimes weel a trecoy! which the Malay informed them was a declaration of being well pleafed.—They began with stroaking the bodies and arms of the English, or rather their waistcoats and coat sleeves, as if they doubted whether the garment and the man were not of the same substance; but were told by the Malay, that the English in their own climate being exposed to far greater cold, were accustomed always to be covered, and had coverings of different kinds to put on as occasion required, so that they could be always dry and warm. Our people plainly perceived, by the gestures of the Malay and the natives, that this was what they were conversing about; nor could they avoid observing, by the countenances

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of the latter, the quickness with which they seemed to comprehend whatever information the Malay gave them. The next thing they noticed was our people's hands, and the blue veins of their wrists; and they probably considered the white skin of the hands and face as artificial, and the veins as the English manner of tatooing, for they immediately requested, that the jacket-sleeves of the men might be drawn up, to see if their arms were of the same colour as their hands and faces: satisfied in this particular, they expressed a further wish to see their bodies; upon which some of the men opened their bosoms, and gave them to understand that all the rest of their body was of the same colour.—They seemed much astonished at finding hair on their breasts, it being considered with them as a great mark of indelicacy, insomuch that they eradicate it from every part of the body in both sexes.

They afterwards walked about, testifying great curiosity, but at the same time expressing a fear that they intruded too much. As they had come on shore unarmed, this consideration induced Captain Wilson, before he shewed them the tents, to order that all the fire-arms should be put out of sight, by covering them with a sail, that the mutual considence, which had so happily sprung up on both sides, might not be chilled, or overshadowed by the slightest mistrust; but this well-conceived intention was frustrated by an accident.—As our people were conducting them to the tents, close by the entrance, one of the natives picked up a bullet, which had

been

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Our people had in the tents two dogs, who were confined close to the place where their arms were depofited; one of them was a large Newfoundlander, who had been brought up at sea from a puppy, the other a spaniel; the Newfoundland dog had been the favourite of every one on board, being a most excellent guard, and had been taught during the voyage an infinite number of tricks, by which he afforded so much amusement to the whole crew, that there was not a failor belonging to the ANTELOPE who would not have risked his life for the dog. On entering the tent with their new friends, one of our people went before to the dogs, to fee they were tied up, and to prevent any furprize to their vifitors; no fooner had they entered the tent, than the two dogs fet up a most violent barking, and the natives a noise but little less loud; our people scarcely at first knew whether it arose from fear, or was expressive of astonishment; they ran in and out of the tent, and appeared to wish they might be made to bark again; but the Malay

foon

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foon explained this to be the effects of joy and furprize, these animals being the first of the kind they had ever seen, they having no quadrupeds of any species on these islands, except a very sew grey rats in the woods.—It was agreed on by Captain Wilson and his people, that the wish which the natives had expressed respecting the sending one of them to Pelew, that the King might see what kind of Beings white men were, should be complied with, and some difficulty arising who should be the person, the Captain requested his brother, Mr. Matthias Wilson, to go, which request he readily complied with, and agreed to depart with them in their canoes.

The jolly-boat went out of the cove this forenoon, but the badness of the weather obliged her to put back, as did also the canoe that was returning to the King, in which was Mr. M. Wilson, but about noon the canoe set out again and proceeded on her voyage. Captain Wilson was much affected at his brother's departure, but hoped the embassy might prove the means of alleviating their forlorn situation. He instructed his brother to inform the King who they were, to acquaint him with their missfortunes, and to solicit his friendship, as also his permission to build a vessel to carry them back to their own country. He sent by Mr. M. Wilson a present to the King of a small remnant of blue broad cloth, a canister of tea, a canister of sugar-candy, and a jar of rusk. The last article was added at the particular

request

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request of the King's two brothers, the younger of whom returned with Mr. M. WILSON.

The weather being rough, our people employed themfelves in drying their clothes, and making their tents more commodious. The natives conducted our people to a well of fresh water; the path leading to this well lying across steep and rugged rocks, rendered the track hazardous and difficult. Richard Sharp, a midshipman, a lad about sisteen, being on this duty, the natives took him in their arms when the path was rugged, and they were very careful in these places to affist the men, who returned with two jars filled.

One canoe and three men remained with our people, as did one of the King's brothers, called RAA KOOK, commander in chief of the King's forces, and the *Malay* interpreter; they eat of fome fowl stewed with bread, which was prepared for dinner, but would not eat some slices of ham which Captain Wilson had dressed for them, disliking the taste of salt, of which they had no knowledge. It continuing to rain and blow excessively hard all the afternoon, they could not go away, but passed the night with our people, and appeared to be perfectly easy and contented with their reception.

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CHAPTER IV.

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The Pinnace goes to the Ship, and finds it had been visited by some of the Natives.—The Behaviour of RAA Kook, the King's Brother, on being informed of it.—The friendly Conduct of this Chief whilst he remained alone with the English.

—A Council held, and all the Casks of Liquor remaining in the Antelope ordered to be staved.

Wednesday
13.

THE wind and rain this night proved far heavier than any fince the wreck; but at day-break it became more moderate, and the boatswain called all hands out to work by winding his pipe, the found of which much pleased and surprized the natives. RAA Kook informed Captain Wilson, that his brother would not be able to return, on account of the weather.—About ten o'clock the pinnace was sent off to the ship; the people who remained on shore employed themselves in clearing the ground and drying their provision. The pinnace did not get back till after dark; their long stay awakened uneasiness: they brought word that some canoes had been at the ship, and had carried off iron and other things, and it was suspected that among these was the canoe and the three men that were

left

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When those who returned with the pinnace brought this intelligence, and had informed our people that these canoes were gone up to Pelew, Captain Wilson made this transaction known to RAA KOOK, not so much as a matter of complaint, as to express to him his uneasiness for the consequences which might arise to the natives from their tasting or drinking such a variety of medicines. RAA KOOK begged Captain Wilson would entertain no uneasiness

whatever

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whatever on their account; that if they fuffered, it would be owing entirely to their own misconduct, for which he faid he felt himself truly concerned. This conversation passing at supper, where the General and linguist were eating with our people, feemed greatly to disturb RAA Kook; his countenance fully described the indignation he felt at the treacherous behaviour of his own men, and asked, why our people did not shoot them? begging, that if they, or any others, should dare again to attempt plundering the vessel, they would, and he should take upon himself to justify their conduct to the King.—He this night flept in the same tent with our people, who all redoubled their attention to him, perfectly perfuaded from the generofity of his behaviour, that the displeasure he had testified at this injustice done to the English, did not arise from any apprehension he felt in being at that moment absolutely in their power, but that his mind possessed so nice a sense of honour as to make him feel unhappy at what appeared to him to be a breach of hospitality in his countrymen; which he declared should be fully stated to the King, who would prevent its happening in future. This amiable Chief (for amiable he feemed from first fight) shewed a perfect fatisfaction with what our people could do for him; he endeavoured to accommodate himself to their manners, would fit at table as they did, instead of squatting on his hams: and this pleafing disposition of his induced every one to re-

> F 2 fpect

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1783. August fpect him as a man of an upright character, and fuch they in truth found him to be in every transaction they afterwards had with him.

At their first coming, the Malay, wno was quite naked, had requested a pair of trowsers and a jacket, which were given him; and a pair of trowfers, together with an uniform coat, were at the fame time presented to RAA KOOK, who directly put them on, not a little pleased in appearing like his new friends, often looking at himself, and saying, "RAA "Kook Engles;" but it was supposed he found the heat and confinement of drefs very inconvenient, for after this visit he never wore them; and when Captain WILSON was at his house at Pelew, he perceived he had put them up carefully among what he deemed his valuables. He poffeffed naturally fo unbounded a curiofity, that not the smallest circumstance which occurred escaped his notice; he wished to have an explanation of everything he faw, to imitate whatever our people did, and to inquire into the principle and causes of all he observed brought about by them, lending his personal affistance in every thing that was doing, and even defired to aid the cook in blowing the fire.

Our people finding themselves now on a perfect good understanding with this friendly Chief, did not hesitate to ask with freedom, by their interpreter, whatever their own curiosity suggested. Observing that he wore round his wrist a polished bone of some creature, in the

form

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form of a bracelet, and having noticed that his brother, who returned to Pelew with Mr. M. Wilson, had a fimilar ornament, they wished to know on what account it was worn. The *Malay* explained this to the General, who, through him, informed our people that it was a mark of great distinction, conferred by the King on his own family, and on officers of state, and commanders, and that he himfelf wore it, both as brother to the King, and as Commander in chief of his army, both by sea and land. This new intelligence which our people had obtained, excited them still more to cultivate the friendship of a Chief, who though so high both in rank and office, had with so much condescension and attentive politeness shewed himself attached to them.

The preceding evening, at supper, a proposition had been made by Captain Wilson to his officers, which, as it did not take place till this day, will more properly be introduced here; a proposition founded in the highest prudence and wisdom, and executed with such resolution and firmness of mind, that it reslects the greatest credit on the Commander, as well as on the officers and men who served under him, and hath a just claim to be faithfully recorded. The day after the Antelope was wrecked, when the pinnace had been sent aboard her, to secure whatever stores could be saved, the men having for many hours endured the severest toil, the chief officer thought proper to serve

them

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. AUGUST. them out some strong liquor; but as they were unable to find any thing to eat, their emptiness and hard fatigue had made the liquor operate on their heads, so that on their return back they were very noify and elated; Captain WILson therefore now submitted to his officers, whether it would not be advisable to stave all the liquor that remain ed aboard the veffel, lest our people, becoming inadvertently intoxicated, might be disposed to quarrel among themfelves, or engage in disputes with the natives; or from another motive, equally important to the common fafety, left the natives themselves, having already found their way to the ship, might discover the strong liquors, which they would be tempted to drink of too freely, and, from never having before tasted of spirits, might grow infuriated, and induced to commit some outrage with our people, and thereby draw on a general contest and disunion. The officers universally approved the proposition, and defired Captain WILSON would the next morning make their wishes on this matter known to all the ship's company; which was done very early, at the time the boatswain called all hands to work. The Captain told them he had fomething to lay before them, in which their future welfare, nay perhaps their future prefervation, was most materially involved; he then fubmitted to their judgment the measure upon which he and his officers had deliberated the preceding evening; urged the propriety of it to them in very forcible terms, as

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a step that would best authorize the hope of getting away from their present situation, and seeing once more their own country, and those who were dear to them; and endeavoured to convince them, that however reluctantly they might yield to the proposition, yet he was satisfied that the understanding of every individual among them must, on reflection, perceive it was a measure absolutely necessary to be adopted. Upon which all the failors, with the utmost unanimity, and with one voice, declared, that however they might fuffer from the deprivation of the accustomed recruit of strong liquor, yet, being sensible that having access to it, they might not at all times use it with discretion. they, to their lasting honour as men, gave their full affent to the Captain's propofal, and faid, they were ready to go immediately to the ship, and stave every vessel of liquor on board; which, on this day, they conscientiously performed; every cask was staved, and so scrupulously did they execute their trust, that there was not a single man amongst them who would take, or taste a farewell glass of any liquor.— Circumstanced as these poor fellows were, nothing but a long and well-trained discipline, and the real affection they bore their Commander, could have produced the fortitude and steady firmness which they testified on this occasion: and certainly nothing could more exhibarate the spirits of their officers, or more endear the men to them, than this conquest they shewed over themselves-What indeed was there not

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1783. Augus**t.** to be hoped from fuch a band of brave fellows, whom unanimity, affection, and mutual confidence, had united in one unremitting plan of exertion, for the prefervation of the whole!—The intelligence of this business being so faithfully performed, was brought this evening by the officer who attended the men, and who came back with the pinnace after dark, as before mentioned, and was confirmed by all the others who affisted; and if any thing could add to the satisfactory manner in which it had been executed, it was to perceive, that, when they all sat down to supper, the event did not produce a single discontented countenance.

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CHAPTER V.

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ARRA KOOKER, the King's Brother, returns from Pelew, and is soon after followed by Mr. Matthias Wilson, who gives a very favourable Account of the Manner in which he had been received.—Regulations made by the English for establishing a Nightly Guard.—The General and Arra Kooker informed of it.—They approve the Scheme, which is immediately put in Execution.—Some Character of Arra Kooker.

Thursday 14.

THE next morning two canoes arrived with yams, ready boiled, and some cocoa-nuts, which were presented to Captain Wilson. In one of these vessels Arra Kooker, the King's brother, returned back, who brought with him one of the King's sons; Raa Kook went immediately to receive his nephew, and much conversation seemed to pass between them. Arra Kooker informed his brother, that three men had died of the things they had taken and drank out of the medicine-chest; the General replied, that the English had told uim this might be the consequence, and he was glad they had suffered for their bad conduct. The message which the King's son had brought from his father

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was delivered to the General, and from him interpreted to our people, through the Malay;—the purport of it was, to bid the English welcome into his country, and to inform them that they had his full leave and permission to build a veffel on the island on which they then were, or that they might remove to, and build it on the island where he lived himfelf, and be under his own more immediate protection. This being communicated, he introduced the young Prince to all our people, and then walked about with him, and showed and explained to him every thing which he had made himself acquainted with relative to our manners. His nephew, who appeared to be about twenty-one, was as full of aftonishment at what he faw, as the uncle himfelf had been before; and RAA Kook discovered no small degree of pleafure in perceiving the eager delight with which his young relation noticed every thing which his attention was directed to.

Whilst this engaged the General and the Prince, our people were questioning Arra Kooker, with anxious concern, about Mr. M. Wilson, whom he had conveyed to Pelew, and whom they did not see return with him; Arra Kooker affured them they would see him very soon; that he had only been detained by the wind, and was actually on his way. He then described by signs and gestures (for he had a very particular turn for mimickry and humour) the apprehensions Mr. M. Wilson had been under,

when

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when he was at Pelew, which he endeavoured to convince them he had very unnecessarily entertained. It was not long before our people were made happy by his safe return; who had, as he told them, undergone no small degree of alarm, though it turned out to be more founded in imaginary fear, than in any real danger. He made a very favourable report of the people of Pelew, that they seemed to be friendly in their disposition, and had treated him with much civility and kindness:—The account of his expedition, as related to me by himself, was as follows:

"When the canoe in which I went away came near the "ifland where the King lived, a vaft concourse of the na-"tives ran out of their houses to see me come on shore; the "King's brother, who accompanied me, took me by the "hand, and conducted me from the landing-place up to the "town, where there was a mat spread upon a square pave-" ment, on which he by figns directed me to fit down. I "obeyed, and in a little time the King appeared, which " being notified to me by his brother, I arose, and made my " obeifance after the manner of eastern nations, lifting up "my hands to my head, and inclining my body forward; to "which he did not feem to pay any attention. After this ce-" remony, I offered the King the prefents my brother had " fent by me, which he received in a very gracious manner. "-His brother, ARRA KOOKER, now talked a good deal " with him, which I conceived was to acquaint him with our

" difaster,

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1783. A U G U S T. "disaster, and our numbers; after which the King eat some
"of the sugar-candy, seemed to relish it, and distributed
"a little of it to several of his Chiefs, and then directed all
"the things to be taken away and carried to his own house;
"which being done, he ordered refreshments to be brought,
"which consisted of a cocoa-nut filled with warm water,
"and sweetened with molosses; after tasting it, he commanded a little boy who was near him to climb a cocoatree and gather fresh nuts, he cleared one from the
"husks, and tasting the milk thereof, bade the little boy
present it to me, making signs to me to send it back when
"I had drank; he afterwards broke the nut in two, eat a
"little, and returned it to me to eat of it.

"I now found myfelf furrounded by a vast concourse of both sexes; much conversation took place between the King, his brother, and the Chiefs who were with him. As their eyes were repeatedly directed to me, I concluded I was the subject of it. Taking off my hat by accident, all who were present seemed struck with astonishment, which I perceiving, unbuttoned my waistcoat, and took my shoes from my feet, in order that they might see they were no part of my body; being of opinion, that at first sight of me, they entertained a notion that my clothes constituted a part of my person; for, when undeceived in this, they came nearer to me, stroked me, and put their hands into my bosom to feel my skin.

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"It being now grown rather dark, the King, his brother, "feveral others, and myself, retired into a house, where "there was a supper brought in of yams boiled whole, on "a stand or stool with a rim or edge round it of three or "four inches high: in a dish or wooden bowl was a kind " of pudding made also of yams boiled and beat together, "just as we mash potatoes, of which they put three or four "in a bowl or dish. They had likewise some shell-fish, but " of what kind I could not make out. They conducted me "after supper to another house at some distance from the "first, where I found at least forty or fifty men and women; "I was led thither by a female, who, when I had entered, "the house, made figns to me to fit, or lie down on a mat "that was spread, as I understood, on the floor for me to "fleep on. After the rest of the company had satisfied "their curiofity by viewing me very accurately, they all "went to fleep, and I kid myfelf down on the mat, drawing "another mat over me, which I supposed was placed there "for that purpose, resting my head on a block of wood, "which ferves the people here as a pillow. Unable to flum-"ber, I lay perfectly still; and some considerable time after, "when all feemed quiet, about eight men arofe, and began "to make two great fires at each end of the house (which "was not divided by partitions, but formed one large habi-"tation). This operation of theirs, I confess, alarmed me " very much; indeed, I thought of nothing less than that the " natives.

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"natives were going to roaft me, and that they had only " laid themselves down that I might also drop asleep, and "intended to feize me in that fituation.-However, being "furrounded by a danger, which there was no poffibility of "escaping, I collected all my fortitude, and, recommending "myfelf to the Supreme Disposer of all events, I expected "every moment to meet my fate; when, to my great fur-" prize, after fitting a little while and warming themselves, "I perceived they all retired again to their mats, nor got up "any more till day-break, when I arose and walked about, " encircled by great numbers of men, women, and children. "It was not long before the King's brother joined me, and "went with me to feveral houses, where I was entertained "with yams, cocoa-nuts, and fweetmeats.—Being after this " conducted to the King, I fignified to him by gestures that "I much wished to go back to my brother; he perfectly un-"derstood me, and explained to me by figns that the canoes "could not go out, there being too much wind and fea. To "describe the first he pointed up to the trees, and blew "ftrongly with his mouth; and, to mark the too great " force of the sea on the canoes, he joined his two hands to-"gether with the palms upwards, then lifted them up, and "turned them the reverse way, to express to me that the " canoes would overfet.—The remainder of the day I spent "in walking about the island and observing its produce. I "found it confifted chiefly of yams and cocoa-nuts; the for-

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"mer they cultivate with great care in large plantations, in "fwampy watery ground, like the rice in India. The cocoa-nut trees grow very near to their houses, as does also the beetle-nut, which they chew as tobacco." The favourable account brought by Mr. M. Wilson, and the message which the King had so graciously sent to Captain Wilson by his son, could not fail of giving spirits to all our people.

Captain WILSON dreffed the King's fon in a filk coat and a pair of blue trowfers; he was a young man extremely well made, but had lost his nose. This might accidentally have been torn off by a spear in battle, or it might have been the effect of a scrophulous habit, which Mr. Sharp the surgeon found afterwards prevailed much among the natives.

Before noon the two boats were fent off to the wreck, but the bad weather compelled Mr. BARKER to come back with the jolly-boat. The pinnace returned before evening, with some iron, one bag of rice, and sundry other stores; our people brought intelligence that they sound upwards of twenty canoes busied about the vessel, and that some of the natives had been very angry at having some iron and a cut-lass, which they had got out of her, taken from them. RAA Kook immediately sent his brother and nephew off in a canoe, who returned at night with the information that they had been totally driven away; so assured were our people now of RAA Kook's friendship and protection, though but three days acquainted with him, that even when separated

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1783. AUGUST. from the rest, and on the reef at the wreck, they ventured to dispute with the natives, and obliged them to give up what they had taken.

Finding the numbers of natives who visited them at their island increase, and having dried their powder and repaired their fire-arms, our people thought their safety required that they should appoint a regular guard every night, to be relieved every two hours. The ship's company was divided into five guards, each guard having an officer to give the watchword, which was called and answered from the different posts every five minutes, there being nine men always upon guard.—This arrangement being to take place for the first time on the evening of this day, Captain Wilson judged it advisable that his guests should be apprized of his intention, lest the turning out suddenly with arms might awaken serious apprehensions in them.

The hour of eight having been appointed for fetting the guard, the Captain previously communicated to them the resolution they had formed, explaining at the same time that it was customary for the English to have a night-watch whenever they were from home; and that here it might be particularly useful, as it would prevent the inhabitants of the other islands from coming by night to attack them. This being explained, Captain Wilson invited them, before supper, to see the guard turn out; they seemed highly delighted to observe our men go through

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through their exercise before they parted for their respective posts, each man having a musquet and cartouch-box, &c.; and indeed all the men on board the ANTELOPE, from the time that the veffel quitted ENGLAND, were fo constantly kept in the exercise of small arms, that they were fufficiently expert to have made a respectable appearance; and on the people before whom they now shewed themfelves, their skill and readiness must have made a formidable impression. The novelty of the fight had forcibly worked on the imaginations of their new friends.—Arra KOOKER having lent a most steady attention to the explanation that had been given of the use of these military weapons (about which he had probably been talking with his brother the General) seemed as if some sudden thought had at the moment started in his mind, calling out eagerly to RAA Kook, in these words, Englees mora (or go) ARTIN-GALL, PEL'LE, LEW, pointing to the northward and fouthward; then cried Poo, imitating the found which our guns had been represented to him to make when fired. They returned to the tents where they were to fleep, and appeared to be quite at ease and contented.—They kept converfing together a great part of the night; and the business of this evening proved a very favourable circumstance, as from that time they seemed to consider the English as possessing fuch power and abilities as they could have no conception of before.

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Sentiments

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Sentiments nearly fimilar have impressed the minds of all people who live feeluded from an acquaintance with mankind, whenever accident or curiofity has carried the inhabitants of remote parts of the globe to visit their unfrequented regions. But the natives of Pelew, who, as far as one is authorized to judge, not conceiving the globe as extending beyond the horizon that bounded them, had none but the ideas of nature to guide them; they had feen no other people to diffurb their fimplicity, whatever they were shewn they considered and examined as useful; they looked up with admiration to the people who could with fo little trouble produce effects, which they had never discovered; and to their admiration they added a reverential esteem, as poffeffing talents, they never could attain themselves; of which we shall, in the course of this narrative, give some extraordinary proofs.

ARRA KOOKER could by no means relish the wearing of trowsers, but he had conceived a passion to have a white shirt, and one was immediately given him, which he had no sooner put on than he began to dance and jump about with so much joy, that all were diverted by his ridiculous gestures, and the contrast which the linen formed with his skin. This Prince appeared to be verging towards forty; he was in stature short, but so plump and fat that he was almost as broad as he was long; he possessed an abundant share of good-humour, and a wonderful turn for mi-

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mickry; and had befides a countenance fo lively and fo expressive, that though our people were strangers at this time to almost all he faid, yet his face and gestures made them pretty accurately comprehend whatever he was describing. In order to amuse them, he would frequently try to take off every one of our people in any particularity he had noticed, and this with fuch great good-humour, that every one who faw him was pleafed with his pleafantry. Sometimes he would take up a hat, put it on his head, and imitate the manner of our people walking in their military exercife; would recollect every occurrence that happened, and nothing that he observed done by the English escaped him; in short, on every occasion his manner was lively and engaging to a degree. From the first time of his having seen the great Newfoundland dog, as before mentioned, he felt delight in going to him frequently, and in carrying him victuals; and by noticing him fo much, the dog naturally expressed great joy whenever he went to him. When he was brought on board the ANTELOPE, in England, the dog was named Sailor, and now, familiarized to ARRA KOOKER, would, whenever he appeared, bark, jump, leap, and play his tricks; and his new acquaintance, when he wished to be amusing, would imitate wonderfully well the barking, howling, jumping, and all the various demonstrations of joy of this poor animal.

The English, as far as they collected from Mr. M. WIL-son's account, and from the urbanity and attention shewn

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- 1783: ▲VGUST. them by the two dignified Chiefs, who had now been their guests for some days, would, in happier moments, have enjoyed the society of their new friends; but the doubt of what they might further get from the ship to aid the building of another, and the uncertainty whether they might ever see again their country and families, constantly pressed on their minds such a weight of anxiety, that the reslections of sensibility were often wringing their hearts, when the fortitude their prudence assumed, and the attention due to their hospitable protectors, compelled them to subdue their natural seelings, and mask their countenances with acquiesent smiles.

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CHAPTER VI.

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The King of Pelew pays his first Visit to the English.—His Arrival described, and the Ceremony with which he is received; after which he is conducted by his two Brothers and Captain Wilson round the Spot whereon they had erected their temporary Habitation, and shewn whatever might engage his Curiosity.—After several Hours Stay he departs, pleased with his Reception, and takes his Retinue with him to the back Part of the Island.

A T day-break the King's fon, accompanied by one of his uncles, launched their canoe and went off to the fhip; Mr. Barker also got off with the jolly-boat; the pinnace wanting some little repairs, could not be fent till about an hour after; they both returned about noon, bringing with them some rice and other stores, and were going to make a second trip, but put back on seeing a number of canoes approaching the harbour, and our people were informed that the King was coming.—Soon after several canoes appeared round the point at the entrance of the harbour, and then lay to; the King's canoe having stopped whilst he was giving orders to another squadron of canoes.

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(that were armed, and formed his rear) to detach themselves to the back of the island.—The King's canoe then came forward between four others, two on each fide of it, the rowers of which splashed the water about with their paddles, and flourished them over their heads in a very dexterous manner; and as the King paffed, the first canoes that had lain to, closed his train, and followed him into the cove, founding their conch shells. When they had come in as far as the tide would permit, it was fignified to Captain Wilson that he should go out and meet the King; on which two of his own men took him up in their arms and carried him through the shallow water to the canoe, where the King was sitting on a stage built in the middle of it. He defired Captain WILSON to come into the canoe, which he did, and embraced him, informing him, through the interpreters, that he and his friends were Englishmen, who had unfortunately loft their ship, but having faved their lives by landing on his territory, supplicated his permission to build a vessel to convey themfelves back to their own country.

After a little pause, and speaking with a Chief in a canoe next to him (who they after learnt was the Chief Minister) the King replied, in the most courteous manner, that he was welcome to build, either at the place where he then was, or at his own island; told Captain Wilson, that the island he was then on was thought to be unhealthy; that he feared his people might be sickly if they stayed on it before another wind set



ABBA THULLE KING of PELEW.

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in, which he faid would be in two moons; and that he might possibly be molested by the inhabitants of some of the neighbouring islands, who were at that time at war with him.

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Captain WILSON expressed his acknowledgments for the condescension, the care, and goodness which the King had testified toward him and his people; informing him at the same time, that as the island he was then on was far nearer to the wreck, from whence he had already got fome stores on shore, and hoped still to get more, it would be attended with much inconvenience should he remove farther; therefore he would, with his permission, prefer remaining where he was, as his people could fear no enemies whilst they enjoyed his protection and friendship:—that he had a person with him very skilful in curing sickness, which made him very eafy on that account; but in case any of his people, during their stay there, should happen to fall ill, he would then avail himself of his goodness, and convey them for recovery to the better air of his own island. With this answer the King seemed to be pleased and satisfied. Captain WILSON then made him a present of a scarlet coat; and, after some discourse, he made figns to go on shore; the men again took the Captain up, as before, whilst the King stepped into the water, and waded to land.

The King was perfectly naked, nor had he any bone on his wrift, or any ornament of distinction. He bore a hatchet

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hatchet on his shoulder, the head of which was made of iron, a circumstance which much surprized our people, as all the other hatchets they had feen were of shell; the handle being formed in a sharp angle, stuck close to the shoulder, lying before and behind, and wanted no tying to keep it fleady in walking. The King, on landing, looked about with the same kind of caution as his brothers, and those who came with them, had before done, on their first visit. RAA KOOK met him on the shore, and, as he declined going into the tents, the English spread a fail for him to sit on, which he did, and clearly took and understood it as a mark of respect; the CHIEF Minister placing himself opposite to him, at the extremity of the canvass, whilst his two brothers, RAA KOOK and ARRA KOOKER, fat on each fide, at the extent also of the fail, forming, when thus arranged, a square. The principal Chiefs and officers of state who accompanied him, feated themselves near; and behind these Chiefs the large retinue of his own people, which filled his train, being about three hundred, formed a circle, not standing but squatting, in a position ready to rise up in an instant.—Some tea was made, and offered him; he drank one cup, but did not feem to relish it. After sitting a little while, he was presented with a remnant of scarlet cloth, and half a piece of longcloth; and also had some ribbands of different colours given to him, to distribute among his attendants; which he did immediately, and they, on receiving them, rolled them

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up very handily, for they had all been unrolled before to dry. During the time that they were rolling up the ribbands, our people observed, by the gestures and looks of the natives, that each Chief fixed his attention upon some particular person; this at the time alarmed them, apprehending that the individual each Chief had particularly noticed, was fingled out as his devoted prisoner; but they foon afterwards found the meaning to be quite contrary, and that the individual fo felected was to be that Chief's particular friend or guest.—Captain WILSON then introduced his Chief Mate to the King, as the first officer under him, whom ABBA THULLE stiled the * Kickaray RUPACK, conceiving at that time that Captain WILSON was himfelf a prince of fome country; but being afterwards informed by the Malay, that he ferved under a far greater power at home, and was no fovereign, but a Captain, he feized the distinction instantly, and ever after addreffed him by the appellation of Captain, and his Chief Mate, by that of Kickaray Captain, as fecond in command. The rest of the officers were next introduced, and Mr. SHARP, the furgeon, was pointed out as the gentleman of whom he had spoken when in the King's canoe, who cured the diseases which any of his people were afflicted with, at which the King seemed wonderfully surprized, and kept his eyes fixed on him. Lastly, all the private

* Kickaray means little. - See the annexed Vocabulary.

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1783. AUGUST. men were introduced in their turns, also. After presenting the officers, &c. the King enquired for the mark of Captain Wilson's rank or dignity as Chief, who was at a loss how to answer; but recollecting that a ring was an ornamental mark of distinction, told him so, and Mr. Benger, the First Mate, having saved his, gave it to Captain Wilson, who put it on; they appeared pleased with the idea that it was a kind of ornament which had a similarity of meaning to their own.

During the time that this business was transacting, RAA KOOK was conversing with the King upon every thing he had seen and observed during his stay with our people; this his countenance and gestures fully demonstrated, and they plainly noticed his description of their fire-arms, and exercise, which the King seemed eagerly to attend to, and then expressed a wish to see them himself; which Captain Wilson said should be done immediately.

He ordered every man to be under arms, and drawn up on the beach (the tide then being low) before the King, who was 'placed with all his retinue just above the flow of the water, and that they should be exercised by the Chief Mate, that he might not absent himself from the King; they, without loss of time, prepared themselves, marched on the shore in the King's presence, and fired three vollies in different positions.—The surprize of the natives, their hooting, hallooing, jumping, and chattering, produced a

noise

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noise almost equal to the report of the musquets. Though this exhibition was made at some expence of their powder, yet our people having fortunately saved all they had on board, it was judged prudent on this occasion to let the natives witness some display of the effect of their arms, that they might be impressed at the first sight of them with an enlarged idea of the power and strength of the English; and the more so as they had perceived, the preceding night, how much higher they had risen in the estimation of the King's brothers, by the mere exhibition of their musquetry, and giving an explanation of their use.

After this, one of the fowls that had been faved among the little live stock from the ANTELOPE, was purposely driven across the cove, where Mr. BENGER was prepared with a fowling-piece, loaded with shot, which he fired at the bird, to let the King see the effect of their musquets; the bird instantly dropped, having its wing and leg broken; some of the natives ran to it, took it up, and carried it to the King, who examined it with great attention, unable to comprehend how it could be wounded, not having seen any thing pass out of the gun. This created a vast murmur and surprize amongst them.

RAA KOOK expressed much impatience to shew the King whatever had impressed his own mind, and taking his brother by the hand, led him to a grindstone, which

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1783. AUGUST. was placed behind one of the tents, and fixed on a block. He put it in motion, which (having been shewn the method), he had frequently done before; the King remained fixed in aftonishment at the rapidity of its motion, and at the explanation of the General, that it would immediately sharpen and polish iron. Captain Wilson ordered a hatchet to be brought, and ground, that they might more readily perceive its operation. RAA KOOK eagerly laid hold of the handle of the stone, and began turning it, appearing highly delighted himfelf to let his brother fee how well he understood it; he having the preceding day amused himself for some hours with this novelty, and had sharpened feveral pieces of iron, which he had picked up about the tents. The circumstances which most in this fight bewildered all their ideas, were, how the sparks of fire could come, and how a stone, so well wetted, became so soon dry.

The King then visited the different tents, and enquired about every thing he saw; all was novelty, and of course interested his attention. When he got to the tent where the Chinese men were, RAA KOOK, whose retentive mind never lost a single trace of any thing he had been informed of during his stay among them, acquainted the King, that these were a people quite different from the English, and that they were China-men, a word he had readily caught.—He begged one of them

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would allow the King to examine his head, noticing the long fingle-braided lock of hair hanging almost down to the calves of their legs.

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The King gave great attention to all that the General faid, and feemed to be making many enquiries of him; by RAA KOOK's gestures it was evident that he was conveying to his brother an idea that there were many different nations in different parts of the world, some of which were called French, with whom the English themselves were then at war (this our people, in their many hours of conversation, had told the General of.) He also informed him that the Chinamen were a different kind of men to the English, an idea which he had himself conceived, from observing that the night before, when the English turned out their night-watch for the first time, the Chinese had no musquets, but only boarding-pikes, and having enquired the cause, was told that they were not used to fight with guns as the English were, which induced him to hold them cheap.

When the King heard his brother discoursing about a variety of nations dispersed through the world, who all spoke differently, and had before him an example in the Chinese, who did not speak in the same tongue as the English, he appeared instantly thoughtful and serious, as if struck with conceptions that had never crossed his mind before. He remained awhile pensive and bewildered; and this circumstance

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circumstance impressed on every one, at the time, an idea, which will possibly now as forcibly impress the reader, that there was every cause to suppose there had never been a communication between these people and any other nation; that they and their ancestry, through a line of ages too remote for human conjecture to fix a date, might have lived as sovereigns of the world, unconscious that it extended beyond the horizon that bounded them; unconscious also that there were any more inhabitants in it than themselves; and in this case, what might not be the sentiments that burst on a mind thus suddenly awakened to a new and more enlarged notion of nature and mankind!

As the King was going toward our tents, of which there were three, with a centry stationed at each, the day being fine, and the sun in sull power, he noticed the bright glitter of the bayonet; it of course astonished him, who had never seen any polished body, or the action of light on it. He stepped hastily to the centinel and wished to feel it, offering to take it out of the man's hand, who thereupon drew back; Captain Wilson then explained to him, that no English cen-

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^{*} It is not improbable but that, from fecing the Malay, some notion of this kind might have been awakened before; but now, having before him a people of a different colour, and hearing of a variety of nations who were of the same complexion, the impression would naturally operate on his mind with redoubled strength.

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tinel would, or dared fuffer any one to touch his arms.— Upon this the King feemed fatisfied, and went on to view other things in and about the cove. RAA KOOK would now show his brother the kitchen, which was in the hollow of a rock, a little above the cove. It was the time when the cook was preparing dinner; the implements which furnished the kitchen were fcanty indeed, and could in no other place but this have attracted any one's attention; but here an iron pot, a tea-kettle, a tin faucepan, with a poker, a pair of tongs, and frying-pan, became, from their peculiar fituation, of fufficient consequence to excite admiration; nor were the bellows now forgotten by the General (of which fome mention has before been made) who taking them up, as he explained their use to the King, seemed ambitious to let his brother fee what an adept he was, and began to blow the fire. The bald cook, who was always close shaved, and never wore any thing on his head, and was befide a little meagre fellow, was also pointed out by him for the King's notice; for the General's vein of humour, as well as his wish of information, made him attentive even to the most trivial circumftances.

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He was also taken to see the two dogs, which he was struck and delighted with in full as great a degree as his brother Arra Kooker had been before. But these animals, whose novelty equally impressed all the natives, excited

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Near to the kitchen was another hollow rock, where were suspended the hams which had been saved from the ship, under which fires had been made, in order to smokedry them for future sea-store. RAA Kook was now so familiarized to our people's methods, that he informed the King this was some of their provision; he wished that one of them should be offered his brother, which was immediately presented, and accepted, as was also a live goose; four or five (the remains of the live stock) just at that moment waddling in sight.

The King being now returned to his former feat, informed Captain Wilson that he intended to go and fleep at the back of the island; and presently a loud shriek was given by one of the King's officers, who wore a thin narrow bone on his wrist, which was afterwards known to be an Order much inferior to what we have spoken of before. This, at the moment it was heard, threw our people into some alarm, but the cause of it was immediately evident, for all the King's attendants, whom it was conceived amounted at least to three hundred, though all differently dispersed, and engaged in looking about at every thing that attracted them, as if instantaneously moved by

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the shriek, might be said to have rather darted than to have ran to their canoes. It was a signal obeyed more suddenly than could have been conceived, and no word of command was ever executed with greater promptitude. The King departed, in appearance well pleased with his visit, and satisfied with what he had seen.

It hath been faid, in the beginning of this chapter, that the canoes which preceded the King, were stopped a little before entering the cove, by his giving orders to the fquadron of those which were armed to detach themselves, and go to the back of the island; part of this manœuvre was visible from the shore, and the rest was obtained by intelligence from some of our people who had been sent over land to the watering-place, which lay at the back of the island, and who happened to be on the fpot when the armed canoes arrived, which so alarmed them, that they came with all possible speed to give information of it. But the King being then with the English, they were perfectly easy, knowing that these canoes must be part of his retinue. The King being then at war, did not choose, in visiting our people, to expose himself to any insult from his enemies, the passage from Pelew to this island being about feven leagues; and coming with all the fentiments of friendship, he judged it indelicate to alarm those who had fought his protection, by the formidable appearance of fuch numbers as accompanied him.

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The King's fon and RAA Kook stayed with the English, having five canoes and about twenty people remaining with them; they flept in two tents by themselves, our people lying in the tent where their arms and stores were, two tents having been erected, for the accommodation of the King and his retinue. One was prepared for the King before he came, and the other raifed close to it, for his attendants, after his arrival, when they faw the number of them. In the tent intended for the King, was RAA KOOK, the King's fon, and feveral Chiefs; Captain WILSON remained with them after the guard was fet, and centinels placed, to shew them respect, as well as to testify the confidence he placed in them. Soon after which the following circumstance happened, which occasioned much alarm.

After the guard was let, and the centinels placed, our people were going to rest, when, on a sudden, the natives began a fong, the shrillness and manner of which made them think it was their war-hoop, or the fignal for the King and his party from the back of the island to come upon them; the English instantly took to their arms, and Messrs. Barker and Sharp ran to the tent where Captain WILSON was, to fee if he was fafe; judging, that if any harm was intended, the natives would fecure him, who was alone with them.—Seeing him fafe and quiet, they informed him of the apprehensions of our people, who were all under arms; he requested Mr. BARKER to return

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immediately to them, and defire them to make no shew of being alarmed, but to keep upon their guard until they should find what the meaning of this might be, adding, that he would come to them as foon as he could do it without being noticed; he requested Mr. Sharp to sit down by the King's fon, and enter into fome conversation with him, by figns, whilft he went himself to their tent, where he found the people under arms; after a little deliberation on what this noise might mean, it was thought best to discover no appearance of uneafiness, but to remain quiet in the tent, with arms ready by them, and that he would return to the natives, and wait the event. He was foon relieved from every anxiety, by finding that they were only tuning their voices, in order to begin a fong; which as foon as they had in their manner properly pitched, RAA Kook gave out a line, or stave, which was taken up by another Rupack, feated at a little distance, who sang a verse, accompanied by the rest of the natives present, except himself and the Prince. The last line they fung twice over, which was taken up by the natives in the next tent, in chorus; RAA Kook then gave out another line, which was fung in the fame manner; and this continued for ten or twelve verses. They talked at times between the verses, as if setting some of the singers right who had not been properly in tune. Their fong ended, they requested to hear some English songs, which was readily com-

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plied

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1783. AUGUST. plied with *, and feveral fongs were fung by one of our people, with which they were exceedingly pleased. This put an agreeable end to every apprehension, as the *English* were now convinced their sole intent was to amuse them. The natives, soon after this, went quietly to sleep, but there were few of the *English* able to do so; the alarm had awakened too many suspicious ideas, to allow their minds to be speedily composed.

* Our fongs were sea songs, and of battles; and the King was so pleased at the account he afterwards heard of them, that whenever he met the young lad Cobble-Dick, who sang them, he would stop him, and make him sing one or two songs.

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CHAPTER VII.

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A Coolness arises on the Part of the Natives, which much alarms the English.—This cleared up, and Friendship refored.—The King requests Five of Captain Wilson's Men to attend him to a War he was going to make against a neighbouring Island.—This is assented to, and he departs with the Men.—The English plan their intended Vessel, form a Dock Yard, unanimously choose Captain Wilson to be their Commander, and each engages in the Department he is nominated to, in order to assist the Construction of their future Vessel.—The First Sunday after the Shipwreck duly commemorated.

A S all our countrymen's future hopes depended on their being able to build a ship with the sew tools that had been saved from the Antelope, so, being in expectation of the King's arrival, and well aware how much these implements might be coveted by the natives, and the difficulties they might be reduced to, either by depriving themselves of the use of them, or risking the displeasure of their new friends, by resuling their solicitations, it was thought expedient to

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fecrete them from the public view; a convenient place was found in a rock, and the tools concealed; and it was happily effected before the King arrived, by which our people were relieved from those difficulties they would otherwise have been under.

The morning being fine and calm, our people launched their boats, in order to go off to the ship, but missed the jolly-boat's rudder, which had been stolen for the sake of the iron. Those on shore were employed in getting ready the blocks and ways, in order to lay down the intended veffel. They had already got a piece of wood for a stem, and another for a stern-post. About ten o'clock the CHIEF Minister came over land, from the back of the island, which did not exceed the distance of half a mile from the cove, and after looking for fome time at the operations then beginning, he took Captain Wilson by the hand, and led him to the tent where the arms were kept; after viewing wishfully a cutlass, he asked him for it. In the particular fituation in which our people stood, Captain WILSON thought a refusal might be imprudent, particularly to a Chief of his rank, and therefore judged it wifer to make a virtue of necessity. But, on coming out of the tent, RAA KOOK faw it in his hand, feemed displeased, and made him return it.

The Malay some time after coming on shore from a canoe, faid there was bad news; that he had heard "that a cutlass

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"had been given to one who was almost a stranger, whilst "the King's brothers, who had been with the English all "the time on the island, had never had any thing of such "confequence given them, and that they must make them "fome prefents." On this hint Captain WILSON offered each of the King's brothers a remnant of cloth, which they both received very cooly; he prefented them afterwards with white long cloth and fome ribbands, but still not a fmile appeared on their faces; by which the Captain perceived that this was not what they wanted.—The event distressed our people much; they had doubts whether this apparent coolness might arise from their having given the cutlass to the Chief Minister, or whether they had been put out of humour at the indelicacy of this person, in having imprudently laid the English under the necessity of gratifying him in a request, which, fituated as they were, they must have been under difficulties to refuse.

In the afternoon the *Malay* informed Captain Wilson, that the King was come round into the bay, being on his return to Pelew, and if he wanted to take leave of him he must go off to his canoe. The Captain accordingly went in the jolly-boat, having with him Tom Rose his linguist, and four other men. The meeting was, to his great surprize, very cool on the King's part, of course reserved on that of his own, far unlike, indeed, that undisguised openness which

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marked the interview of the preceding day.—And I doubt not but by this time the reader will have shared a portion of that concern, for his unfortunate countrymen, which was awakened in their bosoms by this unexpected alteration in the behaviour of the natives. What will he think of the hearts of these yet unknown inhabitants of Pelew?—He will have already loaded them with reproach, and judged, too hardly judged them to be an inconfistent, faithless people, on whom no reliance could be placed, whom no profession could bind.—His imagination may have flarted a multitude of conjectures, yet at last will probably suppose any thing sooner than the real cause which spread this visible dejection over their true character.—Never perhaps was exhibited a nobler struggle of native delicacy; their hearts burnt within them to ask a favour, which the generosity of their feelings would not allow them to mention.—The English had been and still were in their power; they had fought their protection as unfortunate strangers.—The natives had already shewn them, and still meant to shew them, every mark of hospitality which their naked, unproductive country could afford.—They conceived that what they wished to ask, as it might prove a temporary inconvenience, would look ungenerous; and that which most checked their speaking was, that, circumstanced as the English were with respect to them, a request would have the appearance of a command; an idea this, which **fhocked**

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shocked their sensibility.—The matter they laboured with was, in their opinions, of the highest imaginable consequence to them. The King had probably talked it over with his brothers the preceding day, had deliberated on it in the evening at the back of the island, and came to the cove this day determined to propose it, but when there, wanted resolution to make it known; yet the object being so important, he felt unwilling to leave it in filence, and perhaps conceived that he could better disclose it from his canoe, than when furrounded by fo many English.—After much apparent struggle in the King's mind, the request with great difficulty was at last made, and proved to be this:—that the King being in a few days going to battle against an island that had done him an injury, he wished Captain WILSON would permit four or five of his men to accompany him to war with their musquets. Captain Wilson instantly replied, that the English were as his own people, and that the enemies of the King were their enemies.—The interpreter certainly very well translated this declaration, for in an instant every countenance, which was before overshadowed, became brightened and gay. The King said he should want the men in five days, by which time his own people would be prepared for battle, and that he would take them down to Pelew with him the next day.—Thus was harmony reflored between our people and the natives; interrupted only for a few hours, from no other cause than that extreme delicacy of fentiment which no one would have expected to

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have found in regions so disjoined from the rest of the world.

The conversation being at an end, Captain Wilson taking leave returned to acquaint the officers and people on shore with what had passed at this conference, which he hoped would meet with their approbation. All united in faying that he had acted with great propriety, and feemed happy to find that they were again on the fame good footing with the natives; therefore, that the King might fee they were ready, and wanted no preparation, the Captain went off once more to inform him, that the men would be at his orders whenever he pleased. This promptitude pleased him much, and he in a very distinct pointed manner told Captain WILSON, that he was his brother Rupack, and that he should regard the English officers and people as his own people; and that the Captain must fend his brother, Mr. M. Wilson, again to Pelew, to fee what things were there for the English to eat, that they might be fent them; adding, that he would order fome of his carpenters to come and affift them in building their veffel; but this offer the Captain declined: and having finished what he had to fay, he then departed with his attendants to the back of the island, notifying that he should return for the men the next morning. Captain WILSON, as before, informed his officers and men of all that had paffed with the King.-In the afternoon the ways were laid; the keel, stem, and stern-post squared, as also some of the floor-timbers.

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The King came in the forenoon of the following day for the men he had been promised; Captain WILSON, on offering to make one of the number, was refused by his own people, who declared that he must not expose himfelf, as all their fafeties depended on him. Every one of the English expressed a readiness to go, but the five following being young men, and requesting their comrades with particular earnestness to be the first upon the lift, were those who were appointed, viz. Mr. Cum-MIN, the third mate, Nicholas Tyacke, James Blu-ETT, MADAN BLANCHARD, and THOMAS DULTON; they also took with them Tom Rose as their interpreter; the King and the Chiefs taking each, one of them in their canoes; our men being dreffed in blue jackets, cocked hats, with light blue cockades, and properly prepared with arms and ammunition. The King made but a short stay; he faid he should leave four of his own men with our people, that they were fuch as might be trufted, that the expedition would be over in four days, and that all imaginable care should be taken of the men who were to attend him. He went away in great friendship, shaking all the English by the hand. Our people accompanied their companions, when they departed, to the water edge, and as they moved from the shore in the cove, gave them three cheers, the first of which was only returned by the English; but the linguist giving ABBA THULLE to understand that this acclamation

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was

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1783. AUGUST. was used by the *English* as a farewel, and wish of success, the King made all his men stand up in their canoes and return the second and third.

As foon as the natives were gone, the boats were fent to the wreck, but our people did not think it fafe to go on board, as they perceived two canoes there of a larger construction, and several smaller ones in fight, which they supposed to come from the island which was then at war with the King; our boats were therefore obliged, very reluctantly, to return empty. During this day our people felled feveral trees for a stem, the one they before had proving rotten in the middle; and their present leisure, added to the little prospect of being interrupted by the natives for some days, induced them to embrace this opportunity to form the plan of their intended veffel. Mr. BARKER, the fecond officer, who had, in the earlier part of life, been conversant in the business of a dock-yard, affisted Captain WILson and the carpenters in defigning the veffel, which was now determined should be a Schooner, as easier worked. The plan was shewn to every body, and approved by all. The petty officers and common men confidering, that to pursue this interesting business, every individual must do his part, and all concur in becoming obedient to the command of one fuperior, who should conduct and regulate the whole operation, the affection each had born to their Captain, and still bore him, though misfortune had severed the

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tie between them, made them unanimously request Captain WILSON to be that one superior, and that he would take the command upon him, faithfully promifing that they would, in all things, implicitly obey his orders, equally as when the ANTELOPE was on float*; that she now being a wreck, they would form themselves as a people of a dockyard, and would confider Captain WILSON (whose former conduct they faid they should ever remember with the warmest affection) as the master, or manager of the yard, and fubmit to fuch laws and regulations as usually govern places of that kind. Nothing could more affect the fensibility of fuch a character as Captain Wilson's, than to fee all those who had served under him voluntarily again seek him as their Commander, to share still far severer toils. With a degree of joy, only exceeded by his gratitude, he accepted the flattering distinction their generosity offered him, expreffing at the same time an earnest wish, that in case any censure or punishment should hereafter be found necessary to be passed on any individual, that this unpleasant office might not rest with him, but be decided by the majority of voices. This also was affented to, and all joined in acknowledgments to Mr. BARKER, whose affistance had been fo effential in forming the plan of the veffel, which their

^{*} As every reader may not be acquainted with maritime proceedings, to such it will not be improper to remark, that when a merchant-ship is wrecked, all authority immediately ceases, and every individual is at full liberty to shift for himself.

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1783. August. own carpenters, however affiduous and ready, would not have been equal to. The circumstance of the Antelope being fixed, and stuck to the coral reef, by the rock having pierced through her bottom, gave all our people the most flattering hope, that many useful and valuable materials for the purpose of the new vessel might yet be faved from her, before any returning hard gales should drive her to pieces. The fpirits of all our people were renovated, nothing prefented itself to them but the future vessel which was to convey them home; despondency was chased from every mind, and each of the English being appointed to his distinct station by their new master, having dug up the tools which had been buried previously to the King's visit, as before mentioned, they all went to work with the utmost alacrity; each determined (unfkilled however he might be) to exert his abilities and perfonal strength to promote and aid the general plan.—Those who were appointed of the carpenter's crew were defired by Captain Wilson to regard Mr. BARKER as their director, and to receive from him fuch appointments and directions in that department, as he should judge most convenient, after he had experienced their separate abilities. Mr. Sharp, the furgeon, and Mr. M. Wilson, were appointed to faw down trees, in which employment the Captain often worked himself. The boatswain, who had formerly ferved part of an apprenticeship to a blackfmith, now refumed his old avocation, affifted by a mate.

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The gunner was to see all the arms kept in good order, and occasionally to affist the carpenter's crew. The Chinese were employed as labourers, to bring the trees, when felled, out of the wood; to provide water for present use, and sea store; and two of them appointed to wash the linen, which though only rinsed in falt water, was a great refreshment to our people at the close of a sultry day, and after such severity of bodily toil as sew of them before had ever experienced.

Notwithstanding the above distribution, they occasionally changed their employments as circumstances arose. The getting things out of the ship at the time she struck, as well as the inattention every one had to himself in that calamitous moment, as also the frequent visiting and getting materials from her after, had exposed many of our people to great bruises and wounds, on which account Mr. Sharp was occasionally taken off from his new employment of sawing trees, to his more natural one of administering relief to those who stood in need of it.

All arrangements being now fettled, each went to his new department, and worked till dark, at which time all were fummoned to the great tent, where Captain WILSON read prayers; it being the request of every one to join in paying unitedly their thanksgivings to that Supreme Being who had not only so providentially preserved them, but whose goodness now relieved their drooping spirits, by

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1783. AUGUST. fpreading before them a hope of their being once more reftored to their country and families. Each bringing with him a mind impressed with these reslections, never were prayers more devoutly or ardently offered up. And after they were over, it was ordered, that public prayers should on no Sunday evening be omitted.

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CHAPTER VIII.

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Our People continue almost every Day to send to the Wreck, and recover a great Variety of Stores.—They form a Barricade round the Tents,—complete it,— and continue their Work with the utmost Assiduity in the Dock Yard, and in advancing the Vessel.

Monday 18.

GREEABLE to the regulations made the preceding day, the boatswain called all hands to their separate labours, except fuch as were employed in the boats.—It was judged expedient now to form a barricade in front of the tents towards the fea; this was done by driving a double row of strong posts, interlaced with branches of trees, to form a thick fence, the space between the two rows of stakes being filled with logs of wood, stones, and fand, to render it as folid as possible. On the infide was raised a foot-bank, on which they could stand and fire, in case of being attacked, with an opening left for one of the fix-pounders, which it was intended should be got from the ship the first opportunity, and placed there. They also mounted their two swivels (which were large ones) on the stumps of two trees that had been fawed down, in fuch a manner that they might be pointed in every necessary direction.

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1783. A U G U S T. Tuelday 19. The boats again visited the wreck very early, and returned at three o'clock in the afternoon, bringing two hawsers and some boards. Some of our people were employed in procuring water, which was found to be rather a scarce article.—The barricade was also continued.—There was this day little wind, the weather being overcast, with some loud claps of thunder.—One of the natives having stolen a small hatchet, that was carried in the boat to the wreck, was getting off with it in his canoe; but a musquet being fired, charged only with powder, in order to frighten him, one of the people, whom the King left, went in the jolly-boat, and made him restore it.

Wednesday 20. Though the morning was showery, the boats returned again to the wreck. Those on land employed themselves in carrying on the barricade on the side of the land, where they were still assailable. The carpenters sitted the scarse of the stem and stern-post. About one o'clock the jolly-boat returned with the lower shroud hawser, some plank, copper, and other stores. By her our people were informed, that the King's son had been on board the wreck, and had sixed a green branch at each mast-head. The English were impatient for the return of the pinnace, and about three o'clock it arrived. Our people in the jolly-boat had conceived, by the signals put on the mast-heads, that the King's expedition against his enemies was over; but those in the pinnace rather supposed them to be placed there either to

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deter any of the canoes of the neighbouring islands from coming aboard, or probably as a fignal which might be understood by the canoes, that ought to have attended the King to battle, that he was departed, and that they should follow him (and this was afterwards found to be the case); but their interpreter being at that time gone with the expedition, they had nothing but their own conjectures to trust to. The afternoon was employed in laying the blocks for the keel; having fixed upon the ground where the vessel should be built, which was just without the barricade, in front of the cove. They had much rain and thunder this evening.

Thursday 21.

The boats made one trip this day, and brought a good quantity of plank, and fome junk for Oakum. They also discovered a cask of Arrack belonging to Mr. Barker, it was half a Leaguer, and having been covered by the stores, had not been perceived when the rest of the liquors were staved. This was brought on shore, and given to Captain Wilson, to use at his discretion; the people were apprehensive it would be ordered to be staved, which the Captain perceiving by their whispering amongst themselves, proposed that it should be kept, and each person have a pint of grog every evening after work was over, until it should be expended. This distribution was approved by all, and the cask immediately secured in the tent.

All hands (the morning being fine) were hard at work

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Friday 22.

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in the dock-yard; and at ten o'clock they got the keel laid on the blocks, and the stem and stern-post bolted. In the afternoon the boats, which had departed early, returned from the wreck, bringing with them a good deal more plank, two full casks of beef, and more than that quantity that had got loofe, befides fome empty water-casks, which our people were obliged to be attentive to, in order to fecure enough for their future voyage, the natives having destroyed feveral of them for the fake of the iron hoops.—Some little murmuring having arose among those who were stationed to the carpenter's work, the heat of the weather and their new employment having terribly bliftered their hands, and their bodily fatigue added to this, had given birth to the discontent; in the evening, after supper, Captain Wilson took occasion to notice the uneasiness he had discovered. and how blamable it was in those, who were best able to labour, to express such diffatisfaction, when even the weakest partook of their share in the general toil: and thus, by a proper and well-timed reasoning, every disquiet was subdued, and perfect harmony and good-humour reftored.—It was proposed, that all should drink to the success of the RELIEF, which was the name intended to be given the veffel now begun; and on this pleafant occasion the Captain allotted every man a double allowance of grog.

Saturday 23.

Squally weather; yet the boats brought one of the fixpounders on shore. Our people were busied all day about

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the veffel. By some canoes seen to-day, it was understood, that the King was returned to Pelew from the expedition.

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Our boats, in their feveral trips, having got as much plank and stores as was judged to be sufficient for their prefent wants, all hands were employed about the vessel, and in felling timber. The gunner, with other assistants, got the six-pounder mounted on a carriage, and spunged and scaled, sit for service, which was then sixed in the opening of the barricade prepared for it, so as to command the entrance of the cove. This day a small spring of water was discovered in the harbour.

Sunday 24.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Five Men, with the Interpreter, who went with the King on bis Expedition, return safe, accompanied by RAA Kook. -The Account of the Success of that Expedition .- RAA KOOK, in the King's Name, gives the Island of Oroolong to the English.—Captain Wilson invited by the King to PELEW; -excuses himself for the present, but sends Mr. BENGER, and Mr. M. WILSON, his Brother, with the Linguist, to compliment ABBA THULLE on his late Victory.— Captain Wilson goes in his Boat round the Island.—The Vessel continues to get advanced.—Messrs. Benger and WILSON return from PELEW.

HE whole attention of our people was bestowed on the variety of business necessary to the advancement of the veffel. As the boats were going off this day to the ship, they saw four canoes, full of men, coming towards the harbour from the fouthward; and as our people understood those islands were at variance with the King of Pelew, the boats returned, and foon after these canoes came ashore; those who were in them landed, with great marks of timidity and caution; they feemed (as far as we could interpret

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their figns) to intimate a defire to look round the cove, and were probably induced to take a view of the new-arrived creatures, whom accident and misfortune had thrown upon this island. There was among them a Rupack, who was judged, by the kind of bone on his arm, to be of an inferior order; but the linguist being absent, it was impossible to discover who they were. Captain Wilson conducted them round the cove, and shewed them the works which were begun. They remained on shore little more than an hour, and appeared greatly satisfied; departing full of acknowledgments for the civilities which had been shewn them, neither they or their attendants pilfering, or asking for any thing,

Our people now opened a communication from one tent to the other, through which they might retreat, or join, in case of an attack; and they also settled the plan of desence within the barricade, and each man had his post assigned him. The reason of making these preparations was, the long stay the people made who were gone with the King to battle; they understood that they would be back in four or five days, and this was the ninth morning they had been absent. In the afternoon four other canoes were perceived making into the harbour; by the boatmen splashing and slourishing their paddles, our people conceived the King was on board one of them, but to their great satisfaction they soon saw they were their countrymen returned.—They were wel-

comed

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comed with every testimony of joy; and it was no small pleafure to those lest on the island, to see them all come back in health and spirits. They reported they had been very kindly treated ever since their departure, the natives behaving to them in the most friendly unreserved manner. The King's brother, RAA KOOK, came back with them. The canoes brought great quantities of yams and cocoa-nuts, and the King had given to each of the men who went on this expedition a basket of sweetmeats, and also sent some baskets to the Captain; this sweetmeat they distributed very liberally amongst their countrymen, but it was not much relished, being found dry and hard, insomuch that the sailors gave it the name of Choak-Dog.—But of this I shall have occasion to speak again, when I come to describe the customs and manners of the natives.

The following was the account our people gave of their expedition, which was confirmed by Mr. Cummin's journal, who went with them.

Having departed the 17th, they went to one of the King's islands, about fix leagues to the eastward of the cove, where they were received with great kindness, and treated with much hospitality; after remaining there all night, they set off the next morning for Pelew, the place of the King's residence, which was in an island about three or four miles distant: here they remained till the 21st, the King not being till then able to get together all his canoes; how-

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ever, by day-light on the 21st, they mustered before the King's house with their arms, which consisted of bamboo darts from five to eight feet long, pointed with the wood of the beetle-nut tree and bearded; these they use for close quarters, but they have short ones for distance, which they throw with a short stick of about two feet long, having a notch cut in it to receive the point of the dart, and place their hand at the other extremity of the dart, which, being made of bamboo, is elastic and compressed into a curve, proportioned to the distance they aim at, and being then suffered to spring, in general it comes down perpendicular on the object to which it is directed.

The English embarked in five different canoes, and went away to the eastward about ten or twelve leagues, calling as they went along at several of the King's villages to refresh and reinforce; at half an hour past two in the afternoon, they got in sight of the enemy. The King had with him now a fleet of one hundred and sifty canoes, on board of which were considerably above one thousand men. Of the enemy's force our people could form no certainty. Before the action, RAA KOOK went in his canoe close to the town, and spoke to the enemy for some time, having Thomas Dulton in the boat with him, who had directions not to fire till such time as the signal agreed on should be given him. What the General said, being received by the

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enemy with great indifference, RAA KOOK threw a spear at them, which they almost immediately returned: this being the fignal for firing, was instantly obeyed; a man was feen to fall directly, and this threw the enemy into great confusion. Such as were on shore ran away, and the greater part of those in the canoes jumped into the water and made for land; a few more musquets were fired, which dispersed the enemy intirely: and our friends feemed perfectly fatisfied with their putting them to flight, and in this mark of victory, but made no other use of it than to land, strip some cocoa-nut trees of their fruit, and carry off some yams and other provision. After this fight, or more properly this attack, the fleet returned homeward, the King being highly pleafed with his triumph. They stopped at feveral places in their way, where the women brought out fweet liquor for the people to drink; and it being too far to get home that night, the fleet dispersed up several small creeks, about eight o'clock in the evening, where they flept. The next morning feafts were prepared in all the neighbouring houses, and at three in the afternoon the people re-embarked, and fet off for Pelew, where they arrived fafe about seven the same evening.—Here also they found the women ready to receive them, with cocoa-nut shells filled with sweet liquor. landing, the English fired a volley, and gave three cheers, with which the King appeared greatly pleafed. Here our

people.

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people flept, and were told that they must stay and rest themfelves the next day, and set off for their island the day succeeding. There was nothing but rejoicing and sestivity in the town the next morning, and the rest of the day was passed with hilarity, and celebrated with songs and dances made on the occasion.

Before our people embarked, the King took them to his house, treated them with some stewed turtle, expressed great fatisfaction in their behaviour, and promifed to fend to their island supplies of yams; asking them if they thought Captain Wilson would again spare him ten men to go against the same people, intimating also a design he had against another island; Mr. Cummin declined giving an answer to this question, saying he could undertake nothing without the Captain's orders.—After breakfast the King went down to the water-fide with the English, where he parted with them in a very kind manner, fending two large canoes laden with yams for the rest of their countrymen. They then passed over to the small island where they had first landed, and walked across it with the General, who accompanied them, and who ordered the canoes to go round to the other fide; they were now conducted to their first night's habitation, where their old friends received them (if possible) more hospitably than before; both fexes flocking about them, and making figns to express their knowledge of the defeat of the King's enemies. Here

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1783. AUGUST. they staid the night, and after a passage this morning of five hours, rejoined their shipmates, to the mutual satisfaction of all.

The Arrack having been found during the time our countrymen had been absent, at their return they were served the liquor due to them, in the proportion that it had been used at the tents in their absence, which they invited their comrades to partake of in the evening, and this, with the yams and cocoa-nuts they brought, made a feast.—Those who had been absent were exceedingly rejoiced to see the harbour and tents put in a state of defence; but, above all, at the progress in the vessel, wherein all the suture hopes of every individual were already in imagination embarked.

Tuesday 26.

At day-break the boatswain, as usual, piped all out to their separate departments; and those who had been at the war, having deposited with the gunner their military weapons, most willingly joined in the convention which had been made in their absence, and entered on their different tasks.

RAA KOOK having informed Captain WILSON the preceding night, that his brother, ABBA THULLE, had given to him, for the English, the island he was then on, the name of which they had not heard before, but now learnt it was called Oroolong; after breakfast, Captain WILSON, in testimony of the King's donation, hoisted the British pendant, and fired three vollies of small arms, in token of their tak-

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ing possession of it for the English.—Our people saying, as they returned in the canoes from Pelew, that the natives were constantly pointing to the island, calling it English, and Englishman's land, the King had fent his brother to make known to Captain Wilson this grant of the island, as also to give the Captain an invitation to Pelew: he excused himself for the present, having so much to attend to at OROOLONG; but fent Mr. BENGER, who had been First Mate of the ANTELOPE, and his brother, Mr. M. WILSON, with the linguist, Tom Rose, and one of the China-men, who were accompanied by the General, RAA KOOK, to compliment the King upon his victory, and to present the respects of himfelf and all his countrymen on the occasion. The reason of Captain WILSON's fending one of the China-men was this. that he might notice more particularly the produce of the country, and examine if there might not be vegetables good to eat which the natives overlooked, or did not attend to: he also gave him in charge to be very accurate in observing if they had not plants at PELEW fimilar to those in his own country. The Chinese are all tolerable Botanists, and live principally on vegetables, fo that turn a China-man on any fpot, he would contrive to pick a meal for himself from it. The truth of this remark Captain WILSON had experienced from repeated voyages he had made to China, as well as from the general character of those people.

This afternoon, after feeing one of the frame timbers up,

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the Captain went round his new island in the jolly-boat, in order to observe its shores, and its external appearance. He found the fouth fide of it almost a perpendicular rock, covered with wood, among which he observed abundance of the cabbage-tree, but growing in places inaccessible from the water.—The west side had a fair sandy beach, and some level ground between the sea and the hills.—It was here where the well was, whence our people brought their water; and many traces of ancient plantations were found, fufficient to demonstrate that the island had formerly been inhabited.—The northern part is a steep rock covered with trees. As the boat rowed along its fide they had often breezes from it, wafting a most sweet and agreeable smell. On the east side is the bay and harbour, which lies east and west; it was judged the whole circumference of the island did not exceed three miles; the coming in from the coral reef is to keep right for a small opening which separates the island of Oroo-LONG from an uninhabited island to the eastward of it, until the bay opens, then haul up west into the harbour; the course before will have been about south.

Wednesday. 27. The morning being fine, the jolly-boat was dispatched to the watering-place to fetch some timbers for futtocks, and to haul the seine; but no fish could be caught. Some hands were sent to try to procure some cabbages, in which they succeeded; they were dressed for supper, and sound to be very good.—Some of our people, who had been cutting tim-

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ber at the watering-place, instead of coming back in the jolly-boat with their companions, chose to return home over land, and the evening being far advanced, they narrowly escaped with their lives.—The jolly-boat returning to the tents when it was dark, brought an account, that thefe men (who intended to come over land) had fet out some time before the boat; and it being then late, and no tidings of them, much uneafiness was entertained on their account. People were immediately fent out with lanterns to go in quest of them, who as they went on, every now and then hallooed.—The voices being heard, and known, the benighted travellers very prudently halted till the lights they had discovered at a distance came up with them; and most fortunate it was that they did so, for when their shipmates arrived they found them on the edge of a dreadful precipice, where, had they advanced a few steps further, they must inevitably have plunged to the bottom. All were happy to fee them return after fo great an escape.—This evening ARRA KOOKER arrived, and passed the night with our people; he brought with him all his spirits and gaicty, and entertained them wonderfully with the pleafant description he gave of the late engagement, acting, with his accustomed humour and gestures, the panic which seized the enemy the instant they heard the report of the English guns.

The pinnace was fent off to the wreck to fearch if any further necessaries could be still recovered.—Captain Wilson went to the top of the hill above the tents, and had a spot of

Thursday 28.

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ground

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1783. AUGUST. ground cleared, in order to use it as a look-out or observatory, to see if a passage could be discovered in the rees. On examination, it was thought that there was apparently a good one, right out from the west point of the island.—It had hitherto been a great doubt among our people, whether a vessel of the size theirs must be (though intended to be no larger than was necessary to convey themselves and provisions in safety to China) would be able to find a passage through the rees capable of allowing her to float over. Arra Kooker left the island this day, and another frame timber was got up.—The Chinese were busied in washing the few clothes that were saved.

Friday 29.

The weather cloudy; no canoes at the island.—The boatswain employed in making a main-sail for the vessel out of the remains of the sails that had been saved.—The jolly-boat made three trips for timber to-day, which being cut down at the back of the island and roughed off, they could easily manage to bring round.—It was found that the tides rose about nine seet upon the spring, and it was high-water about nine o'clock upon the full and change of the moon. About four P. M. Mr. BENGER, Mr. WILSON, and the Chinaman, returned in a canoe, and soon after RAA KOOK with the linguist in another. Mr. BENGER brought an account, that they were received and treated by the King and his people with the most perfect friendship and hospitality; that they were constantly praising the power and exploits of the English, to whom they ascribed the success of the late bat-

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tle; repeating the word Englees inceffantly in their fongs, at their dances and rejoicings, which he faid were not then over; and that they were meditating another expedition, more formidable than the last, in which they meant to rely on the affistance of the English.—Mr. BENGER faid their houses were tolerably good, with plantations of yams and cocoa-nuts about them; that the foil appeared to be rich and fertile; that they have neither corn, or cattle of any kind, nor did he fee much fruit or produce of any great use or value.—The China-man also added, "that this have very " poor place, and very poor people; no got cloaths, no got rice, " no got hog, no got nothing, only yam, little fift, and cocoa-"nut; no got nothing make trade, very little make eat." This fellow's description, which I have given in his own words, fufficiently shewed that he viewed mankind with the eye of a Dutchman, only calculating what was to be got from them. -The mind of a speculative reader is far otherwise engaged. He, in the dispersed families of the world, traces the hand of Providence guiding all things with unerring wifdom.—He marks it balancing with equal fcale its bleffings to the children of men; and confiders human nature, however unadorned, when dignified by virtuous fimplicity, as one of the noblest objects of contemplation.

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CHAPTER X.

A Passage is discovered through the Coral Reef, sufficient to carry out the Vessel when completed.—Captain Wilson, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Devis, and Mr. Henry Wilson, go to Pelew to visit the King.—An Account of the Hospitality with which they were received.—Some Description of the Manners of the Natives, and of their Mode of Living.—Mr. Sharp is requested to go into the Country to see a sick Child of one of the Rupacks, which he does, and returns to Pelew.

Saturday 30. HE morning proved so wet that our people could not stand out to work, but were employed in the tents. RAA KOOK sent away some of the canoes which came with him, detaining only such as were to carry Captain Wilson down to Pelew.—The Malay, who had been the interpreter to the natives, and whose name was Soogle, being on shore, took a compass, and pointing to the S. S. W. said, that sive days sail from Oroolong, on that point of the compass, was the place he came from, which he called Monado; that there were about forty Dutch people there, abundance of pepper, and plenty of hogs and poultry. He said Monado

was

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was three days fail from BATAVIA; that when he left BATAVIA they had three veffels or proas, that two of them parted company, and that the one he was on board of, going from Monado to Ternate, was driven by a hard gale of wind hither, where they were wrecked. Our people fupposed there was much falshood in this fellow's account, and, from conversations their own linguist had with him, they fuspected these people had been Malay pirates, which they afterwards had confirmed, by one of them who was brought to England.—In the afternoon Mr. Cummin was fent in the jolly-boat, to try for the passage through the reef which was thought to have been discovered the day before, from the Look-out above the tents. Captain WILSON took up some men, and cleared still more the spot intended for an observatory.—The jolly-boat returned, after having been without the reef through a narrow passage, in which they found at low-water three feet and a half of water, and, as it role eight or nine feet upon a spring-tide, it was judged there must be at those times twelve feet of water, which would be almost double the draught of the Schooner when finished.—This was an information which revived every one's hopes, and made all our people look forward with fresh spirits. Intelligence was also brought, that they had found seven fathom water immediately without the reef, and three fathom within in the shoalest part, which was a narrow bank of fand that formed a bar.—These observations

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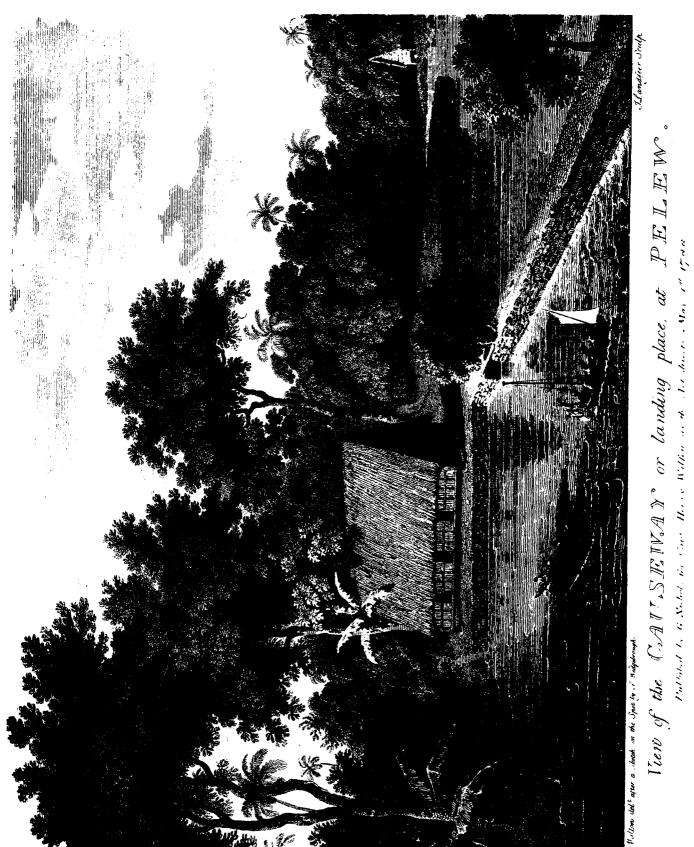
AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. AUGUST, were taken at low-water, or when very little flood was made.

Sunday 31.

The Captain having fixed this day for his going to visit the King at Pelew, as foon as all had breakfasted, he read prayers in the tent; RAA KOOK, with fuch of the natives as were waiting to accompany him, attended divine fervice, and were most exceedingly attentive, following exactly what they faw our people did, in rifing or kneeling, except that instead of kneeling they would squat down on their hams. After prayers were ended, Captain WILSON took leave of his people, taking with him Mr. SHARP, Mr. DEVIS, and his fon Mr. HENRY WILSON; they went in the jolly-boat; the GENERAL accompanying him in his canoe. They left the tents about eight o'clock in the morning. At noon as they approached the little island which lies about three or four miles off Pelew, they observed RAA Kook's canoe, paddling away at a great rate to get a-head of them; he just stept on shore at a little town situated by the water edge, and foon returned to meet them, directing their course to the leeward of the island, where they were met by another canoe, laden with yams, cocoa-nuts, and fweetmeats, to refresh them on their passage. This explained immediately the reason of the General's quitting them so fuddenly, which they now perceived was merely to indulge his hospitable disposition, and from his anxiety lest our people should be fatigued for want of refreshment. Every

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one partook of this entertainment, and then proceeded; and reached the island of Pelew about one o'clock in the afternoon.

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As Pelew came in fight, the jolly-boat hoisted English colours, and fired three musquets; which were answered, as they approached nearer the shore, by a white slag stuck on a pole; this was conceived to have been suggested by the Malay, and proved to be some of the white cloth that had been given to the King. RAA Kook having quitted his canoe, came into the jolly-boat; and our people, on landing, fired three musquets more, after having hoisted their colours, and fixed them in the ground opposite a house close to the water-side, at the end of the causeway where they came on shore; to which house our people were conducted by RAA KOOK, to wait the King's coming, he having dispatched a messenger to notify the Captain's arrival.

Before the King appeared, some of the natives were sent down with refreshments; they first brought a large tureen, made of wood, in the shape of a bird, and inlaid with shell, this was full of sweet drink; they also brought a painted stand, about two feet in height, inlaid in the same manner as the tureen, upon which were sweetmeats garnished with Seville oranges; next came a basket of boiled yams, followed by another of young cocoa-nuts; these were all placed in a kind of order, preparatory to the

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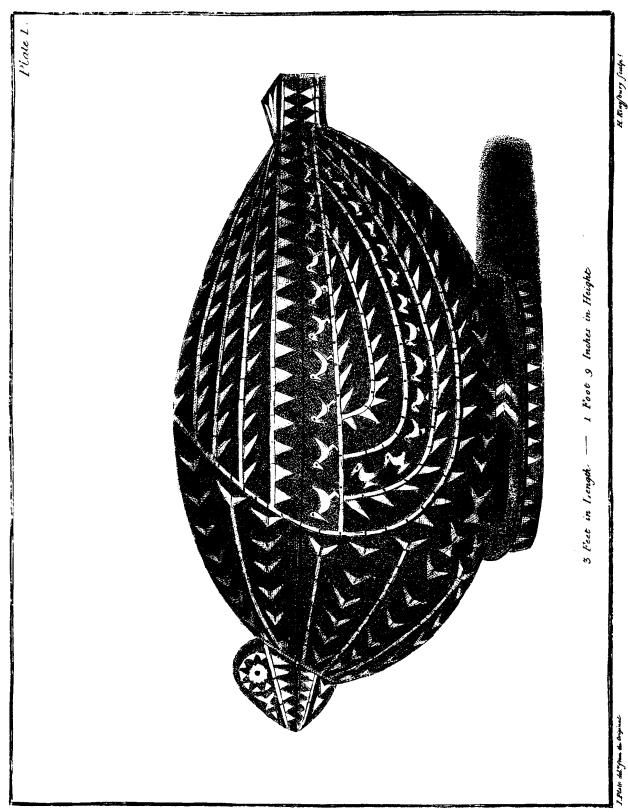
1783. AUGUST. King's coming *. On his arrival Captain Wilson rose, and embraced him, as he had done at their first interview. Abba Thulle sat down by him, and they were then served with the before-mentioned provisions, by a man who seemed to act as a butler, and gave to each a portion, by the King's directions. After this entertainment was over, Captain Wilson offered him the present he had brought, which consisted of some iron-hoops, some necklaces made of gold and silver lace, tied with ribband at each end; to which he meant to have added a few siles, but one of the natives purloined them from the person who had them in charge.

The King came down without any state, and seemed only attended by those whom curiosity to see the *English* had brought together; the house, and every part about it, was thronged with the natives, to see our Captain, who had dressed himself in the Company's uniform.

After the repast was ended, Mr. DEVIS, who was a draughtsman, being struck with the appearance of a woman who was present, took out a piece of paper, and was making a sketch of her figure; which, before he had completed, the lady noticing that he had repeatedly looked her earnestly in the face, and marked something down, was

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^{*} It was very remarkable, that, thronged as the house was, and every avenue to it, yet as soon as it was known that the King was approaching, the most profound and reverential silence was preserved.



Publyhud by G. Norhol, for Capt. Henry Wiljen, as the Lot directs May 1." 1786

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distressed at it, and rose up to go away, in appearance very much agitated; nor could she be persuaded to stay, although fome of the Rupacks prefent laughed heartily at her alarm; which led our people to conceive that she was the wife of one of them. A Rupack looking over Mr. Devis's shoulder, feemed pleafed at the reprefentation, or likeness, and wished to hand it up to the King; who so readily entered into a true idea of the art, that he immediately fent a mesfenger to order two of his women to come down to the house where he was: they arrived very soon, and placed themselves at the window fronting where Mr. Devis was feated, at which these ladies could stand without being seen lower than the waift;—perceiving, as they looked into the house, a smile on every countenance, they at first appeared pleafed themselves, and the King told them the reason why he had fent for them; but foon noticing Mr. Devis fixing his eyes earnestly on them, they did not know what to make of the business, and began to look exceedingly grave. The King then feemed to chide them, on which they stood quiet, and rather assumed an easier air. Mr. Devis having finished his sketches, presented them to the King, he shewed them immediately to his women, who feemed pleafed in viewing on paper a fancied likeness of themselves, and appeared as if a little ashamed at having been so foolishly and unnecessarily distressed.

The King then defired Mr. Devis to lend him a piece of paper,

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1783. AUGUST. paper, and his pencil, on which he attempted to delineate three or four figures, very rudely, without the least proportion; their heads, instead of an oval, being in a pointed form like a sugar-loas. Nor let any one conclude from this circumstance, that the King was oftentatious to exhibit the little knowledge he possessed of the art; I rather mention it as a proof of his openness of temper, to let Mr. Devis see that he was not totally ignorant of what was meant by it; nor was it less a mark of his condescension, in shewing he could very impersectly trace what the artist was able more happily to delineate. He approved in the stranger those talents he would himself have been ambitious to possess, and in his manner of testifying his approbation, exhibited in captivating colours that which no pencil could display—the urbanity of a noble mind.

The King now fignified to his guests, that he would conduct them up to the town; they expressed their readiness to attend him, and ordered their colours to be raised and carried before them, wishing to impress on the natives what little idea of ceremony their forlorn situation could admit of. Pelew is hardly more than a quarter of a mile from the shore; they ascended a bank into a wood, led by the King and RAA KOOK, and followed by a great concourse of people. Having passed the wood, they found themselves on a fine broad causeway, or pavement, with rows of trees on each side, forming a grove; this causeway was raised

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about two feet above the level of the ground, and was about ten feet in width, having a broad flat stone running along the middle, for the greater conveniency of walking; it was paved on each side with stones of a smaller size, and less worked; this causeway led to the town, and then parted to the right and lest; the one conducting to where some of their boat-houses were erected, the other to their bathingplace.

Having now reached Pelew, they came into a large fquare pavement, round which were several houses; our pecple were conducted to one that stood in the centre of one of the sides. Out of this house issued a number of women, who were waiting to see these new Beings the English, and whom they soon understood were the wives of some of the Rupacks, or great officers of state; these were rather fairer than the rest of the women, had some little ornaments about them, and their faces and breasts were rubbed over with turmeric.

The King, and his brother RAA KOOK, led his guests into this house, into which the women returned, and received them with much joy, presenting their company with cocoa-nuts, and sweet drink, which all sat down and partook of. The ladies also seated themselves, and taking a parcel of leaves, began making mats; an employment in which they pass a great part of their time. The King informed his guests that this house was to be their abode as

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long

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1783. AUGUST. long as they remained at Pelew, and that there they were to fleep. After which he rose up, and withdrew, previously apologizing to Captain Wilson for retiring, faying he was going to bathe. Soon after a message came to RAA KOOK, from the Queen, to request she might see the English at her dwelling; they attended the General thither, through a pathway from the back of the house where they were, which led into a grove of cocoa-nut trees; having croffed the grove, they came to a finall retired habitation, in the front of which was a fquare, formed with paved stone, furrounded also with cocoa-nut trees. Immediately before this house was a rail, on which were some tame pigeons, tied by the leg. This is a bird held in fuch estimation in these islands, that none but the Rupacks, and their families, are allowed to eat of them. As they approached, the Queen opened her window, and spoke to RAA Kook, to defire the English would fit down on the pavement before her; which being complied with, a number of attendants brought out yams, cocoa-nuts, and fweet drink; and whilst they were partaking of these the Queen asked RAA Kook many questions about our people, and then fent them one broiled pigeon (which they drefs without drawing) that every one might have a bit to taste; giving them to understand, that this was the greatest rarity that the country produced. She took very great notice of the English, and wished some of them would come close to the window.

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window, and draw up their coat-fleeves, that she might see the colour of their skin; after she had viewed them attentively, and asked, through the General, as many circumstances respecting them as she thought she could with propriety obtrude, she signified that she would not longer trespass on their time by detaining them; so they rose and took leave of her *.

The General now told them he wished to conduct them to his own house, which was a little distant from the first fquare, where the King had allotted them their habitation.— At the house of this Chief they were received quite in a family way, without any form; they were obliged just to tafte of what was fet before them, though their appetites had been fufficiently taken away by partaking of fo many entertainments before. RAA KOOK's wife brought them in a broiled pigeon, which they, out of compliment, eat a bit of, for the honour done them.—In this domestic fcene RAA Kook appeared in a new and amiable light; it was a fituation which placed to their view that benevolent heart of his they had themselves before frequently noticed.—Here he was furrounded by feveral of his children, two of whom were very young, and feemed almost of the same age; they were climbing up his knees and

[•] This lady seemed to have a greater degree of respect and attention paid her than any other of the King's wives; the never went abroad, and he house was the King's general residence.

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1783. August. careffing him, whilft he feemed to enjoy great pleasure in rolling and toffing them about, and playing with them, handing them to our people, that they might also notice and play with them.

Whilst the attention of Captain WILSON and his companions had been engaged by this interesting scene, the night had crept fast on them, and it being now quite dark they requested leave to retire; RAA KOOK apologized for not waiting on them home, but ordered one of his own people and the Malay to conduct them back.

Being arrived at their allotted dwelling, they learnt that the King had been there after his bathing, but understanding they were gone abroad with his brother, he had retired to his own house, but had fent them some fish for supper.—After fupper RAA KOOK fent mats for them to fleep on, and called himself before he went to rest, to see if they were supplied with every thing they stood in want of, and which it was in his power to offer.—Our people reposed on these mats at one end of the house, the King having ordered some of his own men to fleep at the other end, to protect them from any inconveniency which might arise from the curiosity of the natives, as well as to watch the fires, made to keep them from the dews and mosquitos. They all rested very well, in the fullest degree satisfied with the great attention and kindness of their new friends.—The night proved both windy and wet, but they found their habitation perfectly dry; their

houses

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houses being so well thatched, that the weather rarely is able to penetrate them.

1783. SEPTEMBER.

Monday 1.

RAA Kook called on them very early in the morning; in all his vifits he wore on his countenance fuch a look of goodhumour and congratulation as more than told our people he rejoiced to fee them.—He never feated himself close, but at some small distance from them, which is regarded in these parts as a mark of respect.—He told them he was going to bathe, and they went down to the shore to see if their boat and its iron-work was fafe.—On their return, the Captain and his companions received a message to breakfast with the King.—They were conducted to the house where, the preceding evening, they had been to pay their respects to the Queen. It confifted of one great room, not boarded on the floor, as is the usual custom there, but covered with bamboos laid and fastened down collaterally, with scarce any space between.—At one end of this room was the kitchen, where the fervants were busied in preparing breakfast, but without any partition to separate the kitchen.—At the oppofite end ran a high rail, with a large mat loofely laid over it. -Some attendants who were prefent, defired our people to feat themselves; which, when they had done, the King pulled down the mat, and discovered himself and the Queen feated behind it.—As this trifling ceremony had fomewhat of an air of state that had never been shewn before, nor was on any future occasion exercised, they suspected that

this

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. Streember this mode of the King's receiving the English was something the Malay had suggested to him, and which the King probably found so clumsy and foolish that he never adopted it again.—They had boiled sish and yams placed before them; and during breakfast the King shewed Captain Wilson a large piece of chintz, which the Malay had saved when he was wrecked, and had given him.—He seemed to admire it much, and when it had been looked at, he folded it up again very nicely in a mat; having only produced it as being to him a great curiosity.

During the time of breakfast, the King talked much with the Malay, who after it was over told Mr. Sharp that Abba Thulle wished he would go a little way into the country, without declaring for what purpose.—Mr. Sharp hesitated, till Mr. Devis offered to accompany him; the King said a person would presently be there to conduct them, who, when he came, appeared to be one of the Rupacks who had been with them at Oroolong at the King's first coming, when they individually fixed their notice on some one of our people; a circumstance which then occasioned some alarm, as has before been mentioned. And this Chief proved to be the person who had particularly noticed Mr. Sharp as his friend or Sucalic (a term the natives gave it.)

Mr. Sharp and Mr. Devis, accompanied by the interpreter, put themselves cheerfully under the guidance of

* See page 57.

III

1783. SEPTEMBERS

this Rupack, whose name was ARRA ZOOK; they had not proceeded far, after getting off the caufeway, before they met with Captain WILSON's fervant, who was flraggling about with his gun to kill fome fowl for dinner. The Rupack made figns to him to join company, which he did, on being informed by Mr. Sharp that he was going where the King had fent him. As they went over the hills, they passed several pleasant villages, and a valley beautifully cultivated with plantations of cocoa-nuts and yams, forming from the fummit a most rich and delicious profpect. When they had got nearly three miles from Pelew, the heat was fo oppressive, that Mr. Sharp and his companions expressed an inclination to return back; but the disappointment which appeared in the countenance of the Rupack who had conducted them, made both gentlemen judge it advisable not to cross his wishes.—They therefore proceeded about a mile and a half further, when they arrived at a plantation, at the end of which stood his house. He folicited them to enter, when various refreshments were placed before them. He then introduced his wife and his children; and shewed Mr. Sharp a child that was afflicted with some bad ulcers, from a kind of boils, a disorder which he faid was common to the people there; and informed Mr. Sharp what applications he had himself used tohis child, which were chiefly fomentations, made with certain leaves; and that occasionally, after the inflammatory

fymptoms

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. September. fymptoms were abated, he had put a little of their chinam into the wound to eat away the proud flesh.—Mr. Sharp, who, fituated as he was, could not undertake to repeat his attendance, thought it best to advise the Rupack to the continuance of the remedy the child had been accustomed to; and now perceiving the reason why this visit was solicited, after remaining there a proper time, he and Mr. Devis intimated their wish to return back; but the Rupack told them that his people were at work for them, and that they must not depart till the business they were about was done. They now perceived the hospitality of Arra Zook was not confined to the transient entertainment he had already spread before them. His people prefently appeared, loaded with yams and cocoa-nuts, packed up in large baskets; and also baskets of sweetmeats, which they had made fresh for them while they had been in his house. The Rupack told them that his people should carry all these baskets to the King's town, that they might there be put into a boat to be given to their friends at Oroolong.—Charmed with the character of their liberal hoft, Mr. Sharp and his companions took their leave, testifying their thankfulness for the kindness he had shewn them; whilst the good man stood affuring them of the joy they had afforded him and his family in coming to his house, and how truly they had obliged him by looking at his poor fick child. As the Rupack accompanied them to the door, opposite to it, on a rail (as before

described

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described at the Queen's house) was his roost of tame pigeons; not thinking he had sufficiently gratified his liberal spirit, he gave them at parting a look of the warmest benevolence, and told them, when their ship was built, they should have all his pigeons to carry with them.

1783. SEPTEMBER.

These gentlemen returned to Pelew, followed by the servants of Arra Zook with the presents of their master.—Captain Wilson had in the mean time paid a visit to Raa Kook, where he was shewn three iron travellers, which some of the natives had got from the wreck; the General said the English should have them again, and the Captain in return promised to give him a hatchet.

Such are the little pleasurable barters of life, when life is governed by simplicity alone, and the estimation objects are held in, is only proportioned to their real utility!

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER.

CHAPTER XI.

Further Account of the Natives of Pelew.—A Council of State is held, at the Breaking up of which the King requests of Captain Wilson ten Men to go with him on a second Expedition against the same Enemy—which is agreed to.—Description of the Dance of the Warriors.—Our People return to Oroolong, find their Countrymen well, and in great Unanimity advancing the Vessel.—The ten Men selected who were to attend the King to Battle.

Monday 1.

THIS day in the forenoon, a great council was held, in the open air, on the large square pavement near the house allotted to the English. It consisted of a number of Rupacks, or Chiefs, seated each on a single stone, placed near the outer border of the pavement; that for the King was more elevated than the rest; and close to the side of it was a stone still higher, on which he occasionally rested his arm: when in their places, they are encircled by officers of inferior rank. They debate from side to side, on whatever subject happens to be under discussion, and it was understood that the plurality of opinions determined the matter before

them.

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1783. SEPTEMBER

them. In the present case it did not require the knowledge of their language to discover the business they were on; as the house in which the Captain and his companions were, looked full on their council; and their gestures, as well as the frequent repetition of the words Englees and ARTIN-GALL, left our people no room to doubt but that they had been the subject of their deliberation. After the council broke up, the King, attended by the linguist, came to the house where the English were, and requested Captain WILson would permit ten of his men to go with him to battle, against the same enemy as before. Captain WILSON replied to the King nearly as he had done before, "that the English " were his friends, and would regard those who were his " enemies, as being enemies of their own." This reply greatly pleafed the King. The Captain defiring to know the cause of the war, ABBA THULLE informed him, through the linguist, that some time back, at a festival at ARTIN-GALL, one of his brothers, and two of his Chiefs, had been killed, and that the two islands had been at war ever fince; the people of ARTINGALL, so far from making any fatisfaction, had protected the murderers. Captain Wilson intreated that his people might not be detained at Pelew longer than was necessary, as it would greatly retard the building of his veffel. The King answered, "that be could " not in decency fend them back the moment he had had their " fervices, but that he would keep them only two or three

"days,

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER. "days, that they might be made gay, and rejoice with his own people after subduing his enemies."

In the afternoon the King took Captain Wilson and his companions to fee some canoes that were then building; and shewed them also some of their boat-houses, which were well constructed, nicely thatched, and not unlike those that are made in England. From hence they were carried to see some other canoes, which were just come in from an expedition they had been sent on by themselves, and from which, after sour days absence, they had returned victorious, having brought in one canoe of the enemy, though not a single prisoner. The obtaining a canoe, however trisling it may appear to a reader, is equal to the capture of the largest ship of war in Europe; as their battles are generally sought near shore, and, when there is no appearance of success, they get to land and hastily haul up their canoes.

In the evening our people were entertained with a dance of the warriors, who were just then returned, which was performed in the following manner:—The dancers have a quantity of plantain leaves brought to them, which they split, and shiver into the form of ribbands, these they then twine and fix round their heads, wrists, waists, ankles, and knees, and the leaves being of a yellowish hue, so prepared, have not an inelegant effect when applied to their dark copper skin. They make also bunches or tassels of the same, which they hold in their hands. When drawn out, they form themselves into

circles

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1783. SEPTEMBER.

circles of two or three deep, one within another. In general an elderly man amongst them begins, in a very solemn tone, fomething like a fong, or long fentence, for our countrymen could not discriminate which it was, and when he comes to a pause, or what we should call the end of a stanza, a chorus is struck up, and the dancers all join in concert, still continuing their figure. Their dancing does not fo much confift in capering or agility, as in a particular method they have of balancing themselves, and this frequently very lowfideways, finging together all the while; during which they will flatten their circles, so as to bring themselves face to face to each other, lifting up the taffels they hold in their hands, and giving them a clashing or tremulous motion; after this there will be a sudden pause, and an exclamation from every voice Weel! Then a new fentence or stanza is repeated, and danced to as before, and the same ceremony continued, till every man who is engaged in the dance has in his turn had his repetition and chorus.

During this festivity two large tubs of sweet drink were brought in, which were served out, first to the English and the principal people present, who just tasted it, and then the tubs were carried to the warriors; and when the dance was ended they all sat down upon the square, and the drink was served out to them by four persons who seemed to be people of note, having bones upon their wrists; the warriors then removed to a house, at which a supper was prepared

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AN ACCOUNT OF

1783 SEPTEMBER. for them, where they continued dancing most part of the night, but when it grew dark the English retired to their own habitation.

Tuciday 2.

The night proved very wet and windy; our people the next morning breakfasted with the King, and after breakfast Captain Wilson acquainted him, that as soon as the weather would permit he intended to return to Oroolong; to which he was pleafed to agree. The wind being unfavourable, Mr. Sharp took the Captain to fee the Rupack, whose child he had visited the preceding day. They passed many fine plantations of cocoa-nuts, yams, and beetle-nuts; and also observed a tree with a large fruit on it, which the natives call Ri'a'mall, but the linguist who was with them faid it was called by the Malays, Pan'gly; our people thought it the bread-fruit.—Arra Zook received them with great joy, brought them water to wash their feet before they went into the house, gave them mats to fit down on, made them fresh sweetmeats, and set before them a kind of sherbet. Our people's complexion as much excited the furprize and admiration of this Rupack's neighbours and household, as it had before done their first visitors at Oroolong.

After experiencing once more this good man's hospitality, they returned to Pelew, where the warriors had renewed their dances. In the afternoon Captain Wilson and his friends took another ramble into the country, but in a contrary direction to the course they had pursued in the morning.

IIg

morning. All the way they went appeared to be equally well cultivated as what they had feen before, and rather fuller of inhabitants. Wherever they passed they observed the lower rank of women employed in looking after the plantations of yams, which are generally in swampy ground. They observed the women were also employed in making mats and baskets, dressing victuals, and nursing their children; the men were found busied in gathering cocoa-nuts, hewing trees, and making spears and darts.

1783. SEPTEMBER

The weather still bad, Captain WILSON went down to the wharf, before sun-rise, to look after his boat, and returned to breakfast with RAA KOOK. At noon he accompanied the King to his boat-builders, where ABBA THULLE wanted to give directions about some work that was carrying on for him there; he had taken down with him a design of his own for ornamenting some canoes then building, and this design was marked on a board with great accuracy, in different colours, to work after. At this place our people dined with the King upon pigeons.

Wednesday

The rain fell in torrents all the night, accompanied with very loud thunder. The English had removed to another of the King's houses, in order to be retired, having been disturbed by the curiosity of the natives, whilst they remained in the habitation which had been first assigned them.

The King and his brother RAA Kook made our people a

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER. Thursday 4. they informed the King they wished to return to Oroo-Long, to which he affented, though desiring rather to have detained them another day. They found the jolly-boat ready loaded for them with every kind of provision the island afforded; and about two o'clock in the afternoon they lest Pelew, highly satisfied with the kindness of their new friends, giving them three cheers, as usual, at parting; which was returned by the King in person, who in this instance put off his gravity, and laughed very much, joining the men, women, and children in their cheers, standing up, and apart in such a manner as to make himself conspicuous.

Our people arrived fafe at the tents about nine o'clock, though the wind had been adverse to them; and had the pleasure of finding all their companions well.

Friday 5.

The next morning being fine, they put out their clothes, and the few necessaries which had been saved from the wreck, to dry, having been much wetted by the late heavy rains. Captain Wilson, on coming back, had the satisfaction to see that all his people, in his absence, had been going on very assiduously with the vessel, and that the most perfect harmony had subsisted amongst them. This was a circumstance which could not fail to hold out the happiest presages, that they should in the end accomplish that point to which

their

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their most fanguine wishes were directed. They understood that no canoe had been at OROOLONG during the time they had been at PELEW.

1783. SEPTEMBER.

At day-light the boats were fent again to the wreck, to Saturday 641 fee if any other materials could be procured; they brought back in the evening more planks, nails, and many other neceffaries, which were of effential fervice, particularly coals. Those who remained on shore were busied about the vessel. -A list was made out of the number of men the King had wished to go on his second expedition. On this, as well as on the former occasion, every individual expressed a readiness to be of the number; and those who actually went, amicably fettled the matter among themselves, on which their names were wrote down, and fluck against a tree in the dock-yard; and directions given, that they should hold themselves in readiness against the time the King should either fetch, or fend for them.

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CHAPTER XII.

The King comes to Oroolong.—Is much struck with the Appearance of the Vessel, which he had not seen before.—Is shewn the Barricade and the Six-pounder; which is afterwards, at his Desire, fired off.—Views the different Artificers employed in the Dock Yard.—The Impression all these new Sights make on him.—After passing several Hours with our People, he goes to the Back of the Island.—The King returns next Day—wishes to take a Swivel Gun on the Expedition.—This objected to.—He departs for Pelew, carrying with him the ten Men allotted for the War.

THE weather fettling fine, all hands were employed in felling timber, and getting the frames of the veffel forward. In the afternoon four canoes came into the harbour, and gave our people fome fish; who, in return, made them a present of some iron. As they appeared to have a large provision of fish, by bartering a little more old iron, there was plenty for every man at supper. In the evening, when the toil of the day was over, the Captain read prayers, as usual.

After

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After breakfast Captain WILSON went out in the jolly-boat, to sound and examine the reef himself. He sound a passage, in which there were three fathom at low-water, due west from the island. Between the island and the reef he sound a slat sand-bank, upon which there were only seven feet at low-water; it was clear sand, except a few coral spots, which were easily discovered by the colour of the water.

1783. SEPTEMBER Monday 8.

In the afternoon the King paid our people a visit, attended by his two brothers, the CHIEF Minister, and feveral of his other Chiefs, and brought them some fine fish, that his canoes had caught in nets, which they make very nicely. These fish differed much from any kind our people had hitherto feen, they were rather more than three feet in length, and near a foot across, having a very bony and thick head; the bone was fo uncommonly hard, as to strike fire when they split it with an axe, in order to stew The meat cut folid and firm, like a large cod; and the fcales were round, near the fize of a Spanish dollar; the natives prize it much, and our people found it, when boiled, very good. They had only caught four, two of which were given to the English, and by the ship's steward divided into messes. The Chinese dressed their portion differently, making a mixture with rice, and other things, which they call Chow Chorv.

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AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER:

The King, who now for the first time had feen the progress made in the new vessel, appeared perfectly amazed at perceiving how much had been done, nor lefs fo at the magnitude of the object. He minutely examined every thing with the most eager attention, and impatiently called for his Tackalbys, or artificers, to notice what had fo much excited his own aftonishment. The Tackalbys, seized with a furprize equal to that of their Prince, after deliberately poring over its parts, pointed out to him the very fingular manner in which every thing was wedged and bolted together.—They were quite lost in wonder at the use and power of the iron-work; and the whole together feemed to have engaged their minds as fomewhat beyond their comprehension.—The King croffed frequently between the ribs of the veffel, and faid he was at a lofs to conceive how they could ever be made fo as to keep out the water, having no idea that they were to be planked.

As most of the frame-work of the vessel on the stocks had been made out of trees which our people had cut down in the island, the King pointed out to them a species of wood which they had used in some parts of the vessel, and which he expressed a concern at seeing; saying, he deemed it an unlucky wood, and that it might prove the cause of their meeting with some accident; earnestly pressing them to take it out, and not suffer any of it to remain.

They

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They acknowledged his great care and goodness for them; at the same time informing him, they were accustomed to employ different kinds of timber in constructing their ships, and from experience had discovered that nothing was to be apprehended on that score. This caution seemed to arise from some superstitious idea which the natives entertained of this tree, of which there were several growing on the island of Oroolog.

1783. SEPTEMBER:

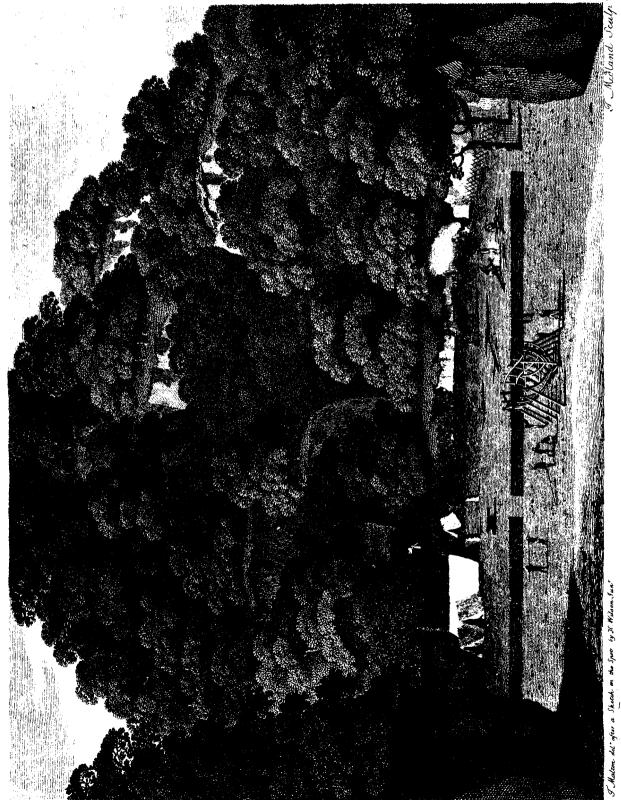
The King this day, as well as the General, much noticed the barricade, as also the fix-pounder; and after he had talked fome time with the Malay, he enquired the use of the great gun. The Captain shewed him the balls, and grapeshot, and also explained to him their force and efficacy: informing him, that if a number of canoes from ARTINGALL, or any other island of his enemies, should approach the cove, this machine would blow them out of the water, and shiver them to atoms. The King was also fhewn the fwivel guns, which were mounted on trees fawn down, as before mentioned; and it was explained to him, that they could be pointed in any direction which should be most desirable, or convenient, so that should any of his enemies come by furprize over land, these moveable guns would give our people as great an advantage and power over them by land, as the fix-pounder would by fea.

The King, his brothers, and the Chiefs who were with him,

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER. him, on receiving this intelligence, feemed to look at our countrymen with fresh astonishment; they conversed much among one another, testifying by their actions every indication of surprize.—They walked round the barricade and examined it with much attention, noticing how strongly and closely every part was intrenched and fortisted.

This little island of Oroolong having been rendered far more commodious to the English by the many necessary establishments they had made fince the King had paid them his former vifit, there was of courfe a good deal of additional novelty for him to attend to.—After he had pointed out to his Tuckalbys to notice with particular attention every thing about the barricade, he strolled inquisitively round the cove with his company.—The noise of the forge which our people had fet up, and which was then at work, foon drew his attention that way: it happened that the boatfwain was at that instant beating out a piece of hot iron upon a pig of the same metal, which he had made his anvil. This was a circumstance fo entirely new, and a discovery fo interesting to them, that they all stood absorbed in admiration. -They could not be perfuaded to keep at a distance, but would get fo close to the anvil as to receive occasionally a hot spark on their naked bodies; nor did this deter them from catching with their hands the luminous particles that flew from under the stroke of the hammer.—Every thing, under



A View of the COVIE and Tents of the Finglish at OPROOPLOING.

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under fuch circumstances as the present, naturally excited wonder. When the iron was beaten on the anvil till the redness was gone off, and it was become too cold to be malleable, they could not comprehend why it was again put into the forge.—The throwing water on the fire to make it burn brifker was also a new source of surprize; and it was with much difficulty they could be drawn away from a fcene fo new and interesting to them; however, the noise of the neighbouring Cooper, who was repairing the watercasks for sea store, was attracting enough to allure them to his hut.—The agility with which they faw this man work, the whirling of the casks, the knocking down of the hoops, the found from within, and the quickness with which they perceived a defective cask was brought round and perfect, feemed altogether to impose on their minds a kind of magic influence. They flood and flared at one another with looks equally expressive of astonishment and pleasure. Captain Wilson perceiving that his visitors were rivetted to whatever they faw, and that the workmen were very much impeded by their questions, as well as by their defire of handling every thing, now ordered a large canvafs to be fpread on one fide of the cove, where the King and his Chiefs might repose and refresh themselves, and still have a view of our artificers at a distance; he was conducting them to this place, across the cove, when their eyes

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caught

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER* caught the carpenters, who were busied, some in sawing, others in dubbing, &c.; this was again fresh matter to detain them; the saw and its operations were marvellous; and it was not without great difficulty that they were at last seduced to the canvass, where sherbet was prepared for them. Captain Wilson made the King a present of a China mat, which he appeared to admire, being different from any they made at Pelew, and which he wished as a pattern for his people to endeavour to imitate.

When redemption is the object, minutes appear as hours, and our men, with fuch a point in view, could ill afford the loss of half a day; they were extremely uneasy then to find, that no sooner were their guests retired, but all their common attendants swarmed in every part, so that it was impossible to continue work; RAA KOOK was therefore petitioned to disperse them, who, by ordering them down to the beach, gave the different artificers elbow-room to proceed in their business.—The King, after this, took his leave with much good-humour, and, accompanied by all his retinue, went to sleep at the back of the island.

Tuesday 9.

In consequence of what had the preceding day been explained relative to the swivel-guns, the King's imagination had amply worked on the subject; he came over land with his train, and expressed a wish to have one of them to take with him on the next expedition; this the Captain endea-

voured

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voured to convince him would be impossible, as they had no boats constructed in a manner proper to receive it.—The King then requested to have the fix-pounder fired.—If they were furprized (as we have already noticed) at the difcharge of a musquet, it may easily be imagined in how great a proportion the report of this piece must have affected them.—During the time the gunner was loading it, not a circumstance of the whole process escaped their notice; and when the lighted match was brought and put to the train, they perceived an inflantaneous blaze, which was fucceeded by a most violent noise; this they were puzzled in the extreme to comprehend, and the more fo, as in the discharge of a musquet they had seen no appearance of fire applied.—The report of the fix-pounder feemed to ftun them all, as every one of the natives, for more than a quarter of an hour, kept his fingers in his ears, calling out Magull! Magull! that is to fay, Very bad.—Pleafed and furprized as they were at the noise, it was evidently too violent for their organs; for whenever founds uncommonly loud strike unexpectedly on the drum of the ear, it is well known they will occasion temporary deafness, though the fame degree of found, when applied to those who are accustomed to it, or prepared to receive it, will not vibrate on the fense with any particular inconvenience.—The hooting and shouting of the natives, on hearing the explosion, was

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hardly

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hardly to be described, and this was increased by the accident of some of the wad setting fire to the dry leaves of a tree which projected across the cove.—Having observed the ball fall in the water at a great distance, they were unable to conceive how this effect could be produced; what they had feen stimulated still more their wish of having one of the fwivels on their expedition, as it would prove not only destructive to the persons, but to the property of their enemies.—RAA Kook accompanied the Captain on the hill to the Look-out, and was furprized to fee how much the ground had been cleared.—He informed him of the names of the principal islands, pointing out their situation with his hand, though fome of them were not within view; he told him that to the fouthward was Pelelew, to the N. E. EMILLEGUE, and to the S. E. the island they were going to war with, which he faid was called ARTIN-GALL.—After they had returned from the hill, the King was treated with sherbet, and he foon after went over land to dinner, at the place where his canoes were stationed, faying, when he left the tents, that he should return with his boats at high-water, by which it was supposed he meant at that time to take fuch of the English as were to attend him to the war, who all got themselves in readiness accordingly.

In the afternoon some people came from ABBA THULLE and

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and renewed their folicitations on the fubject of the fwivel-gun; every argument was used to make them senfible of the impracticability of rendering it of any use in their canoes.—Soon after other of his men arrived, bringing a prefent of some fine fish and a turtle.—The King after came round himself, attended by ten or twelve canoes.-The request of the fwivel was again strongly urged by the Chief Minister, and our people thereby compelled to recur to all the arguments before made use of; and as our men were all drawn up with their arms, Mr. BENGER, willing to cut off all further entreaty on the fubject, ordered them into the canoes. - One very material objection against complying with their desire was, the great confumption of powder it would occasion; besides which, the necessity there would have been of the Gunner's attendance, who was too useful a man to be spared.

ABBA THULLE and his retinue now embarked, and there was reason to fear that this refusal had not made them depart in the good-humour that could have been wished.—Before the canoes were out of sight, the Gunner made a report of the arms and ammunition taken on the expedition, which appearing rather large (as Mr. Benger had taken pistols and cutlasses unknown to the Captain) occasioned some uneasiness, in the particular situation they at that time stood.—It was therefore thought advisable to

keep

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1783. EPTEMBER. keep every thing in a posture of defence, lest any further misunderstanding should take place; the watch was well attended to, and no caution omitted which prudence could suggest.

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CHAPTER XIII.

1783. 3EPTEMBER.

Transactions at Oroolong.—The ten Men return from the War.—A particular Account of the Second Battle of Artingall.—Progress of the new Vessel, &c.

SOME natives came from the watering-place, by whom intelligence was brought that the canoes were gone down to Pelew, of which some doubts had been entertained; our people supposing that, as they went away late, they would only go to the back of the island. These natives soon departed.—The seine was hauled to-day, without success, and the vessel was attended to with perseverance.

Wednesday

This day they had the highest tide that had been noticed at this place. It was high-water at half an hour past seven. No natives were seen to-day.

Thursday

The jolly-boat was fent round to the watering-place, in quest of timber; but there was so high a surf on the beach that they could not take any in. Some of our people got six kegs of water, and went with the boat to collect cabbages and periwinkles, all the unpacked or loose beef being expended. They also this day examined and took an account of the store

Friday 12.

Saturday 13.

of

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1783. SEPTEMBER. of provision; and, after considering the time they might probably remain on the island, and the length of their passage, they set apart as much of the soundest and best of the provision for the voyage as was deemed necessary; which was on no account to be expended. This evening there were hard squalls, heavy rain, and much lightning.

Sunday 14.

The weather this morning would not permit a boat to go out of the harbour.—It was discovered that some of the hams had been cut the preceding night; a reward was offered, of double allowance of grog for a week, to any perfon who would make the offender known, or would discover any one guilty of wasting any kind of provisions; and that, in case the arrack should be out, that such person should receive ten dollars on the vessel's arrival at Macoa. This advertisement was fixed to a tree in the dock-yard, having been previously read to all our people; but no information was ever obtained of the offender.

Monday 15.

After a night of wind and rain, thunder and lightning, about ten o'clock in the morning two canoes came into the harbour, wherein were Mr. Benger, William Harvey, William Steward, and William Roberts: by them our people learnt that the battle was over, their companions all well, and that they would foon follow them. Towards evening other canoes arrived, with Mr. M. Wilson, John Duncan, Nicholas Tyacke, Madan Blanchard, Thomas Wilson, and Thomas Dulton. The canoe

which

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which brought Mr. M. WILSON and JOHN DUNCAN, had been overfet. This accident arose from a squall of wind coming on fo fuddenly, that the canoe could not get its fail down quick enough to fave it; there were four natives in it, with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Duncan. As the canoe was going over, two of the men fecured the two musquets, and holding them in one hand, buoyed up Mr. Duncan and Mr. Wilson with the other; whilst the remaining two made a finall raft with the bamboos, ropes, paddles, and pieces of wood they could collect. During the time they were floating the canoe righted itself. The other canoes that were in company being driven to a diffance, with much difficulty escaped to the nearest shore; but the instant they had landed our people, they put off again, and took up Mr. WILSON and DUNCAN, who could neither of them fwim; by the time they were relieved they were both almost exhausted, having been floating and clinging to the raft for the greater part of two hours. Two bayonets and a cartouch-box were loft by this accident, but happily no life. Captain WILSON instantly rewarded the men who had faved them, by giving them fome files, and some pieces of iron to make hatchets.

They were all received with great joy by their countrymen at Oroolong, and still more so, from their bringing back with them the welcome news of the King's success. But as this forms not only a new, but a very interesting scene, that I may lay it in the most circumstantial manner

before

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1783. SEPTEMBER. before the reader, I shall here pause awhile, as the narrator of these events, and deliver the account of this expedition nearly in the words in which I received it from Mr. M. WILSON, who was himself an actor in the whole business.

"The night we quitted Oroolong we got to Pelew, and the King was defirous of proceeding immediately on his way to Artingall; but it proving very wet, we objected to it, on account of the rain damaging our arms, which he being made fenfible of, agreed to defer advancing till the enfuing evening. We were conducted to the fame house where my brother and Mr. Sharp had been before entertained, and where we were supplied with every accommodation that we could expect, or defire.

"On the evening of the next day we all affembled on the caufeway, or wharf, where also were the King, RAA "KOOKER, and the other Rupacks and great officers; and we all went on board the canoes stationed there to receive us. We were followed to the shore by a number of old men, women, and children, who appeared to be drawn together both by curiosity and interest. When the canoes were quitting the land, a conch-shell was loudly sounded, to notify our departure; and other canoes dispatched to different parts of the island to collect various detachments which were lying off in creeks and remoter places, and only waited the King's signal to in join

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"join him; which, in confequence of receiving, they foon "did. And thus reinforced, being upwards of two hun-"dred canoes, we proceeded, during the night, towards "ARTINGALL, but stopped, some hours before day-light, "at an island subject to ABBA THULLE, where we went on " shore, upon a wharf, and slept on the ground for about "three hours; then re-embarked, and passing through a "labyrinth of narrow channels, arrived off ARTINGALL "a little before day-break; here they all halted till the "rifing of the fun, it being a maxim with the natives of "Pelew, never to attack an enemy in the dark, or take "him by furprize. As the day came on, a small canoe, "light-built, containing only four men, each man having "in his hair a white feather, fluck upright (and which "were the long feathers of the tail of the tropic-bird) fum-"moned the enemy to a parley; the person wearing the "white feather being regarded in the nature of a herald, "either bringing terms, or demanding to be heard, hostili-"ties in this interval remained suspended.

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"ABBA THULLE had previously notified to the King of Artingall, that he intended in a few days to offer him battle; so the latter was not unprepared for the event. The enemy, on seeing our signal of parley, dispatched a canoe to RAA Kook; who demanded to know if they would submit to such terms as the King his brother had proposed, by way of atoning for the injuries he com-

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1783. SEPTEMBER "plained of. The canoe went back to the King of ARTIN"GALL, and, having communicated our proposition, re"turned with a flat refusal; on which the General informed
"his brother that the enemy was disposed for war. The
"King then ordered the conch to be sounded, and standing
"up in his canoe, in the scarlet coat my brother had given
"him, waved his chinam stick in the air, as a signal for the
"different squadrons to arrange themselves for battle.

"Whilst this was doing, the enemy affembled their ca-" noes close under the land, and kept blowing their conch-" shell, as in defiance of us, but did not seem disposed to " quit the shore and attack us. The ten English were di-"vided in ten different canoes; the King taking one in his "canoe, the General another, and the rest going singly "with one or other of the Rupacks; each Englishman hav-"ing a musquet, cutlass, bayonet, and pistol. There were " feveral light canoes, containing four men each, every one "having a white feather in his hair, the same as in the "truce canoe; these were constantly busied in conveying " orders from the King and the General to the other Chiefs. "They flew from fquadron to fquadron, to convey com-"mand, cutting through the water with aftonishing velo-"city; and they were, for distinction sake, called by the " English the Frigate canoes.

"The King, perceiving a total unwillingness in the enemy to quit their station under the shore, and conceiving he

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"could not attack them in that fituation with any advan-"tage, dispatched some of the Frigate canoes to order a "fquadron to conceal themselves behind some high land. "This arrangement being made, they exchanged a few dif-"tant spears;—the conch then was founded, and the King " of Pelew made a feint to run away, shewing the example "in his own canoe, and being immediately followed by the "others, with much apparent precipitancy.

"This artful manœuvre of ABBA THULLE gave instant "courage to the enemy, who, induced to think their anta-"gonist had been seized with a sudden panic, prepared in "great haste to quit the shore, and began to give chace to the "King, whom they imagined was flying before them; upon "feeing this, the detached fquadron of canoes, that had " been posted behind the high land, rushed out between the " enemy and the island, to cut off their retreat. When the "King found his stratagem had taken effect, he turned, "and made a fignal for the rest of his fleet to form them-"felves into divisions and engage; whereupon a general at-"tack took place. The spears were mutually directed with "much animofity, and the English kept up a continual fire, "which not only did great execution, but puzzled and be-"wildered the enemy in the extreme, to comprehend how " or why their people dropped, without receiving any ap-"parent blow: they perceived they had holes in their bo-T 2

"dies.

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"There is not generally above one able fpearman in each "canoe, the rest of those who are put into it, being only to " paddle, and guide its motions; no fooner therefore did the "firing of the musquets spread dismay amongst the people " of ARTINGALL, than a different effect was produced in "those of Pelew: the moment the report was made, they "all rose up in their canoes, and set up such hallooing and "fhouting, that the whole air was filled with their noise, "which greatly added to the terror of the enemy, who "finding themselves unequal to so powerful an attack, be-"took themselves to flight. - The squadron before men-"tioned being in their rear, in some measure impeded their " retreat, but not being in any degree equal to the force of "the enemy, the greater part of the people of ARTINGALL "were able to regain their own shore. Six canoes only were "taken, and nine prisoners, which they accounted a large "number, it being feldom that they captured their enemies. "as the vanquished always endeavour to carry away their "killed and wounded, that the victors may not have their "bodies to expose.

"Our fleet now rode triumphant along the coast of Ar"TINGALL, sounding the conch in defiance of their adver-

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"fary, and firing amongst them when any appeared near enough to be reached by the musquets. The engagement

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"from beginning to end did not exceed three hours; after parading along their shore, and in vain provoking a

"fresh combat, ABBA THULLE ordered the canoes to make

" a disposition to return, which was soon done, and we set

" forward towards Pelew.

"All the nine prisoners had received wounds in battle; " and, in spite of whatever we could urge against the cruelty " of putting them to death, yet they would hear nothing in "their behalf, and foon exterminated them.—In justifica-"tion of a proceeding which so strongly contradicted the " general humanity of the natives of Pelew, they alledged "the necessity of doing it for their own security, assuring " us that they had formerly only detained them prisoners, "and kept them as menial fervants, but that they always "found means to get back to their own country, and hav-"ing by living amongst the Pelew people become well "acquainted with the channels and creeks of the island, "they had afterwards made use of that knowledge to land " frequently by stealth, and commit great depredations; and "that, on this confideration, that step which we so much " condemned had become necessary to them.

"Among the prisoners was a Rupack, who had a bone on his wrist; the Pelew people, after he was captured, frove all in their power to take from him this mark of dig-

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1783. SEPTEMBER. "nity, the Chief defended it with fingular courage, and lost his life in endeavouring to fave his Order. When brought to Pelew, his head was cut off, and stuck on a bamboo, fixed up before the King's house.

"The canoe which brought me from the war had in it "two prisoners, one of whom had a broken thigh, and the "other wounded in feveral parts by a spear. Their custom " is, when they go to battle, to tress their hair in a particular "manner, and to collect it in a great bunch at the top of "their head; but as foon as they are captured they untie it, " pull it over their faces, and wait with firmness and intre-"pidity the exterminating blow, which they are fure to " receive from the hands of their conquerors. When these "two unfortunate men, on coming into the canoe where I "was, by the above-mentioned disposition had testified "they were prepared for their fate, the natives ordered "them to fit down in the bottom of the canoe, to which "the one whose thigh was broken, submitted; but the "other being refractory, refused, and seemed by resistance "to provoke his defliny, upon which one of the natives "hastily snatched my bayonet from my side, and plunged "it into his body: though the poor fellow was a confider-" able time bleeding to death, yet he never uttered a fingle "groan, or figh.

"Mr. BENGER also reported, that he had by his intreatics for two hours faved a wounded prisoner, when one of the

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"King's people, who had been himself wounded by the enemy, happening to see him, snatched Soogle's Ma"lay Creese", and stabbed him instantly, before Mr. Ben"GER perceived the blow. This man, a native of ARTIN"GALL, who had now for the first time seen a white person,
"fubmitted undauntedly to his fate; whilst expiring, he
"fixed his eyes on the English, and seemed to die impressed
"with nothing so much as the colour of his new enemy.

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"ABBA THULLE in his return to Pelew stopped, and went on shore in several small islands, which I understood were either subject to him, or his allies; exposing publicly the dead bodies of his prisoners; and the people at all these places seemed to rejoice much at his victory, bringing out fweet drink, and other refreshments. — We could not learn what number the enemy lost, but were consident it must have been considerable. Not a single person of the King's party was killed, though there were a few wounded.

"It was dark before we reached Pelew; on coming near it, the conch was founded to notify the King's approach.—
"When we landed at the wharf from whence we had departed, a vast concourse of people were ready to receive
us, bringing with them a quantity of refreshments. Here
we stopped till all were landed and got together (having

^{*} A kind of dagger used by the Malays

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"dropped great part of our fleet by the way, who had filed off to their respective homes) and then went up to PeLEW, where there was finging and dancing most part of the night; the natives attributing the success of the day to us, and often in their songs repeating the word Engless. They exposed the dead bodies of their prifoners several days, till they became most horribly offenfive, and then they were either buried or thrown into the
fea."

Such were the particulars of the fecond battle of ARTIN-GALL, as brought by Mr. M. WILSON, and confirmed by all who were with him on the expedition. By our returned countrymen information was also brought, that ABBA THULLE purposed to pay the *English* a visit in four or five days. By what our countrymen could observe, ARTINGALL appeared the largest of any of the islands.

Tuesday 16.

The pinnace was fent after breakfast to the wreck, to see what other materials could be procured; it returned in the afternoon, bringing some good plank, and a large quantity of spike nails, things of the utmost service in the business of constructing the vessel.

Wednesday

Encouraged by the fuccess of the preceding day, the pinnace again visited the wreck, and brought back more of the same kind of materials.

Thursday 18.

After a stormy night the day proving bad, little could be done till afternoon, when the weather clearing, every hand

was

on with disdain!

THE PELEW ISLANDS.

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was busied about the vessel. And the next day the pinnace was sent round for the timber that had been cut, almost a sufficiency being now procured, the frame of the vessel being nearly completed; this day a furnace was constructed to heat the plank, and the day following all were employed in dubbing the timbers, and getting the first plank upon her bottom: more materials were also recovered from the wreck, together with five bags of rice.

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Saturday 20.

and the boats brought fifteen bags of rice, which proved most acceptable; our people at this time, though undergoing very severe daily labour, being at short allowance. The rice was greatly damaged by having been long under water, it would not boil to a grain, but to a jelly. Yet hunger and distress give a relish to many a dish, which in

the less adverse hours of life, the faucy appetite would look

This day three more planks were got upon the bottom,

Sunday 21.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Progress of the Vessel, and other Occurrences.—RAA Kook comes from Pelew to solicit more Men, and a Swivel Gun, to attend the King on a grand Expedition.—After some Explanation between Captain Wilson and the General, the Request is granted, and the allotted Men return with RAA Kook.—Mr. Sharp goes some Days after to Pelew, to see the General's Son, who had been wounded in the second Battle.—Arrives just after his Countrymen had returned from the grand Expedition, in which this young Man, whom he went to visit, had been killed.—Attends RAA Kook to his Son's Funeral, of which an Account is given.

Monday 22.

IT was a great confolation to our countrymen that the ANTELOPE still remained unseparated, as many useful things were occasionally procured from her.

In the afternoon Tom Rose, who had been left after the engagement, by the King's defire, to give him more particular information concerning the English than he had hitherto obtained, came up from Pelew, bringing with him a present from Abba Thulle of a quantity of yams, and a

jar

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jar of molosses, and at the same time was charged to express to Captain Wilson, and his officers, his hope that they would not take it amiss that he had not as yet paid them his intended visit, owing to his having been detained at Pelew by the great number of those who were come to pay their compliments to him from the other islands on account of his late victory, and that had he come, they would all have attended him. Some of them having expressed a desire of accompanying him to see the English, he had dissuaded them from it, representing to them that the island being very small, it would not afford sufficient water for so many, and that their visit would necessarily put the English to great inconvenience.

There appears to be a fingular attention paid by the King to our people, in this, as well as on every occasion. His mind feemed to be as confiderate as it was liberal. He had undoubtedly observed how much the curiosity of his own attendants, whenever he went to Oroolong, inevitably impeded our people's operations, and foresaw, how in a still greater degree the crowding in of so many strangers would add to their distress; therefore, as the business of these strangers at this time was merely to pay their court to him, so by remaining with them at Pelew he precluded them from testifying any further wish on this head. Yet whilst he managed this matter so well for the service of the

English,

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1783. SEPTEMBER. English, his delicacy was hurt, left, by not coming to express his acknowledgments for their late services so soon as he had promised, they might be inclined to impute to him a forgetfulness of those obligations he selt he had to them.

The pinnace having been fent this day to the wreck, at her return in the evening brought fixteen more bags of rice, and also information that the King had fent his canoes thither, and had carried away one of the fix-pounders.

Tuesday 23.

About noon to-day there was a heavy fquall from the northward, accompanied with hard rain and much lightning from the eastward,

Wednesday 24. The planking of the veffel was now forwarded with great affiduity; they brought from the wreck this day a quantity of nails and some sheets of copper; it having been in contemplation to sheath the bottom of their new vessel, which was not above one sixth of the size of the Ante-Lope; but this idea was very soon abandoned, for want of a sufficiency of copper nails to effect the purpose.—No canoes were seen on board to-day, but a prodigious surf broke upon the reef.

Thursday 25. Friday 26. Nothing occurred but the continued progress of the vessel.—The jolly-boat was sent to sish, but, without success. It was singular that this was always the case; whether our countrymen knew not the proper places to go

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to, or the proper bait, but every attempt of this kind proved fruitless.

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One canoe came to the island to-day, and brought yams and cocoa-nuts; more copper was got from the wreck, and a confiderable quantity of nails.

Saturday 27.

Sunday 28.

RAA KOOK arrived at Oroolong in the evening, accompanied by two strangers of rank, who it was afterwards known were Chiefs of some of the neighbouring islands; they came in three canoes, and brought presents of yams, cocoa-nuts, and three jars of moloffes.—Our people had been all the day busied about the vessel, and were just then going to prayers; all the Pelew people attended the fervice, and behaved with the greatest decency: one or two of them happening to speak, RAA KOOK checked them; and they afterwards observed strict silence.-While at prayers, the Malay, Soogle, arrived from Pelew with a meffage to the General from ABBA THULLE, and coming into the tent was going to deliver it; but RAA KOOK, unwilling that the English should be interrupted, made a motion with his hand to keep filence, till the Captain (to whom he pointed) had done reading. After prayers, having received the meffage, he and the strangers entered into conversation with Captain WILSON and his officers, and after some time the General asked for fifteen men, and one of the swivel-guns, to go with them on another expedition.—The King, flushed

with

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with the advantages he had already gained by the friendship of his new allies, seemed desirous to profit by their aid, and avenge himself of all his enemies.—Captain WILSON thought this a favourable opportunity to mention to the General fuch things as he conceived he had a right to complain of; first, respecting the coolness with which they had gone away on the last expedition to ARTINGALL, and shewed him an empty cartouch-box, to let him fee how much he was in want of that paper which fome of the canoes had carried off from the ship.—He also complained that it had been suggested to his people when at Pelew, by the Malay, that whenever the King appeared, the fame external marks of homage were expected from them as were paid him by his own fubjects, and that this was a matter which had much disturbed the English; he likewise informed the General, that the English could never confent to go again to war with his brother, if he meant to put their prisoners to death, as it was contrary to the nature and custom of their nation to hurt any who had submitted to their power; and finished by adding a word or two on the fubject of one of the fix-pounders having been carried away from the ship, and expressing an apprehension that fome mifunderstanding must have arisen, by their sending our people home without any of the Chiefs, or Rupacks to accompany them, by which inattention his brother with another

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another man was near being drowned; and some arms also were lost, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the boatmen.

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The General being come to make this request of the men and fwivel for this third expedition (which was intended to be a very formidable one) appeared exceedingly hurt at hearing all these matters, especially as there were two strangers of rank, who had accompanied him; and being also perfuaded that the attachment of our people to him was in every refpect as warm as his own, he had not a doubt but that he could prevail on them to grant the fwivel, although it had been refused before:—what then must his disappointment have been, when, instead of having this wish complied with as he expected, he heard nothing but complaints! His countenance, more expressive than words, avowed what his feelings were, and the expressive looks which he cast on Captain WILSON and his officers, fo strongly operated on their friendship, that they willingly listened to his explanations.

He broke filence, by affuring the Captain he would make him and his people perfectly easy in every particular circumstance.—He began with the paper and cartouch-boxes, (fearing probably they had not ammunition ready for the expedition;) he affured them that every endeavour had been used to get the paper that had been carried away from

the

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. SEPTEMBER.

the ship, but there was none to be found, as what had been taken on shore by the natives being thoroughly wet, dropped to pieces in their hands, and was therefore thrown away as useless.—He said the white stuff (meaning the long cloth given to the King and himself, and to Arra Kooker) was nevertheless whole, and should be given back to them to make cartridges.—That with regard to their going away abruptly, that was folely owing to Mr. Benger's hafte to put the men into the canoes.—As to their fending the English back in bad weather, without any Chiefs, that also was occasioned by Mr. Benger's anxiety to return; that they had strongly solicited him to defer it till the weather became more fettled, and other canoes were got ready.—He faid it had not been always their usage to put their prisoners to death, but they had been lately obliged to do fo from necessity, as some of them had escaped home, and returning had treacherously done them great mischief; but assured the Captain that in future they should be all given up to the English to do with them whatever they pleased.—That respecting the great gun taken from the ship, he had in commission from the King to tell them of it;—that ABBA THULLE, willing to keep the strangers that were visiting him from interrupting the English, had given them an account of the effect produced by their small arms, but, still more to surprize them, wished to convey to them some idea of the havock

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havock that might be made with one of our great weapons; that he had therefore fent for one to show them, and that the King had desired the General to say it should now be fent back.—And lastly, as to his brother expecting any personal reverence from Captain Wilson's people, he absolutely disavowed any such idea having ever been entertained by the King; that it was a mistake, or a misconception, nor ever could have been wished or desired *.

These matters being now satisfactorily settled, Captain Wilson took his officers out, to consult with them on the request; when it was judged right to consent to their having the swivel-gun and ten men, but no more. This being resolved on, he returned into the tent, and acquainted RAA KOOK with the determination; which pleased him much, and they all went to supper with our people in great goodhumour.

After supper the General informed Mr. Sharp, that his fon had in the last battle been wounded in the foot by a

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fpear,

^{*} This misunderstanding had been occasioned solely by the Malay. This artful fellow probably sound, that the interest he had with the King had declined in proportion as our people became more necessary to him, and therefore had set his brains to work to awaken distrust amongst them; in consequence of this, he had suggested this pretended requisition of the King, supposing it would displease the English, though in reality they never themselves had the smallest reason to suppose such a wish in the King; and from the low cunning they found this Malay guilty of, they readily gave him credit for a contrivance to make the King and our people mutually jealous of each other; and there was cause to believe he was under disgrace on account of this transaction, as he was not visible for many days after.

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Monday 29.

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fpear, but that he would fpeak to him further on this matter the next morning.—As his two friends, the Rupacks, then wanted to go to rest, he requested that he might take them to fleep in the veffel, as the tent was too finall for them. The fucceeding day the General again mentioned to Mr. SHARP his fon's accident; he informed him, that part of the fpear was broken in his foot, and could not be extracted; requesting that he would go down to Pelew, to see if it was possible to draw it out. Mr. Sharp understanding that the young man's foot was greatly fwelled, and had been fomented, wished that the fomentation might be continued, as the best means to abate the swelling; acquainting the General, that having three of their best men very ill, it would be out of his power to accompany him that day to Pelew, but as foon as they were better, he would immediately attend him.

Mr. Sharp enquired of some of our people who had been in the battle, by what means the youth had received this wound; and learnt that the spear having been flung into his foot, by trying to pull it out, they had broken it short off; that the natives then applied a cord, fastened to the end of the spear which remained in his foot, and had exerted great strength to extract it, but the barb of the spear having been forced between the small bones, the inflammation and swelling, which immediately took place, rendered every effort inessectual; and they would more easily, in the state the

limb

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limb was, have pulled off his foot than have drawn out the fractured spear. A native, reputed to be skilled in these matters, was then fummoned to inspect the wound; who; with a fmall knife, which he had got from the wreck, began to cut away the flesh, in order to lay the bone bare; but being probably prevented finishing the operation, from the effusion of blood, after mangling the foot, they reforted to their accustomed method of fomentation, which they were pursuing (as the General faid) when he left Pelew. About noon RAA KOOK went from OROOLONG, taking with him the following men, and also the swivel-gun, for the third expedition, viz. Mr. Cummin, Mr. M. Wilson, John BLANCH the gunner, John Meal, James Swift, Nicho-LAS TYACKE, MADAN BLANCHARD, THOMAS WHITFIELD, Thomas Wilson, and Thomas Dulton. Mr. Devis accompanied them as a volunteer.—This expedition appeared to be of great consequence, as all the neighbouring Rupacks were this time to attend the King; whereas on the two former expeditions he had none but his own fubjects with him, except the English.

The vessel was now so far advanced, that having planked her up as high as the bends, in the afternoon they began to trench under her bottom, in order to plank to the keel; this had like to have been destructive to all their labours, for the tide, in the beginning of the night, rising higher than usual, broke into the trench, and had nearly washed

Tuciday 30.

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OCTOBER. Wednefday

away the blocks from under the veffel; but the accident was providentially discovered in time, and all hands instantly went to work, with the utmost expedition, to fill up the trench, and fecure the vessel from falling off the stocks, which kept them employed until near morning, when they found the danger far greater than what even they had fupposed, for some of the blocks having been displaced by the water, they were obliged to get wedges and fet her up, in order to reinstate them, and get her once more secured; which being accomplished, they contrived a bank or dam to keep out the tide. This accident was the more unlucky, as three of their best workmen were then ill, which, with the absence of those gone to the war, made the labour fall heavier on the rest.—It may not be unnecessary, perhaps, to give an account how this bank, to keep out the tide, was formed:—The pinnace was laid a-ground, directly before the vessel, where they wished to stop the tide; two holes were bored in her bottom, and she was filled with stones, in order to fink her; at about a foot distance, opposite the pinnace, was raifed a dry wall of large stones, which was carried round each fide of the veffel beyond high-water mark; it was lined on the infide with small branches and twigs, fastened with stakes and stones, to prevent their washing away; fand was then thrown on these branches, which, all together, composed a bank of four or five feet thick; and was continued quite round the infide of the wall, and before the

pinnace:

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pinnace it was made strongest, as having the greatest weight of water to resist. When finished, it effectually kept out the tide, and required no further trouble, than occasionally to throw a few baskets of fand upon such parts of the wall as fettled by the washing of the tide. Owing to these various employments, it was not till Thursday the second, in the afternoon, that they could get their dam completed, in a manner to be perfectly fecure; this accomplished, they again dug the trench, and the carpenter got one of the planks of the garboard strake on. The jolly-boat, being fitted with fails, was fent to Pelew for provisions; and, the three sick men being much recovered, the Captain defired Mr. SHARP to take his instruments, and go in her, to see if he could render any fervice to RAA Kook's fon.

Thursday 2.

In the absence of so many people, the business of the dock-yard was much impeded; it was nevertheless followed. up with every possible diligence by the few Englishmen remaining at OrooLong, who, beside the sick; were only twelve in all: the Chinese were employed in repairing the bank, bringing down timber from the woods, and fuch other useful work as they were capable of.

The weather was very variable about this time, with Friday 3. much lightning from the eastward, accompanied with fre- \(\) Sunday 5. quent squalls and hard rain.

Since the last new moon, the tides were observed to be remarkably high. The morning tides were very low, and ebbed

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cobbed very little; whereas the evening tides were high, and ebbed a long way out, leaving the harbour quite dry.

Monday 6.

The day opened dark and gloomy, with much thunder, lightning, and continued rain, fo that they could not go out of the tents to work before noon. They were very uneafy on account of the jolly-boat being absent so much longer than they expected, as also at not hearing of the fuccess of the expedition; but were relieved from their anxiety about one o'clock, by the arrival of the jolly-boat, which had left Pelew on Saturday morning, having been detained by the bad weather at the small island till this morning, from whence they came away at day-light; they brought the welcome intelligence, that all our people were well at Pelew, having returned from the expedition on the Wednesday night preceding, in which they proved fuccessful. They reported this to have been the severest action of any yet fought, it lasted near fix hours; the people of ARTINGALL, acting on the defensive, behaved with great resolution. The King detained our people, and the Rupacks who accompanied him on the expedition, at Pelew, in order to entertain them with feafting and dancing; and fent in the boat some yams and provision, as also the swivel, which they reported had done much execution. ABBA THULLE returned by Mr. SHARP the ship's coppers; this was indeed a great acquisition to our people, who were in great want of them to boil their provision, having

hitherto

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hitherto been obliged to dress it in some little kettles and saucepans, and despaired of ever regaining the coppers, which had been carried away by the natives at their first visiting the wreck. Complaint of their want of them had been made to RAA KOOK, and he, no doubt, acquainted the King therewith, who gave orders for diligent enquiry to be made after them, and, discovering where they were secreted, had now returned them to the English by the jolly-boat;—evincing by this, as well as by every other part of his conduct, the generosity of his disposition, not allowing his people to detain from our countrymen any thing that had been once their property, however valuable it might be in the estimation of the natives.

Mr. Sharp gave the following account of his vifit to Pelew:—That he got there about noon on the day he left Oroolong, and landing, went immediately towards the General's house, who seeing him, came out to meet him, with a visible concern on his countenance. Mr. Sharp immediately told him the purport of his visit, shewing him the instruments he had brought, which he told him he hoped might be of much affistance to his son's complaint; he bowed, and assumed a more placid look, as if sensibly touched with this mark of attention. He desired Mr. Sharp to follow him, and led him to the English house, around which he met all his countrymen, and where was also the King, the Chief Minister, together with several of

the.

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1783. OCT OBER. the Rupacks, fitting on the large pavement before the house allotted to our people. He went directly to pay his respects to the King and the Rupacks. The purpose of Mr. Sharp's coming being known, he was informed by the CHIEF Minifler, that during the time RAA Kook was at Oroolong, the fomentation had occasioned the swelling to subside, and that they had extracted the spear from the bottom of the foot, by forcing it through; and that the youth (who was about eighteen, and inherited all the spirit and intrepidity of the father) finding that though he could not walk, yet that he was able to stand up in a canoe, and throw a spear, infifted that he would go on this expedition, which they expected would be successful, from the circumstance of their having the fwivel, which they had before fo much fet their hearts on; but that very early in the engagement, this gallant youth, eagerly endeavouring to get up close to the shore, received a dart in his body, which entering between the throat and clavicle, he dropped, and died instantly.

After Mr. Sharp, and those who came with him, had partaken of some refreshment, which was brought out for them, RAA KOOK, who was now returned, came up to Mr. Sharp and the boatswain, who was a favourite of his, and desired they would follow him, which they did to the waterside, where they saw a very large canoe, with only two men in it. He then informed them, he waited for some people,

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whom he expected to have found there. Soon after twentyone Rupacks appeared, who were entire strangers to Mr. SHARP, but who had affisted ABBA THULLE in his last expedition; RAA KOOK defired Mr. SHARP and the boatswain to go into the canoe first, and a good deal of ceremony passed among the Rupacks, to fettle who should go in the last.—No kind of intimation was given whither they were going, however it was foon perceived that they were directing their course to the little island opposite to Pelew, about three or four miles distant from it, and where they had stopped when they first accompanied the General from OrooLong. landing, he took them a little way up the country, where there was a fquare pavement, furrounded by four or five houses, which appeared to be uninhabited, as no people were moving about, and the grass was growing between the stones of the pavement. After being feated, RAA KOOK dispatched one of his attendants on a message, Mr. Sharp and the boatswain remaining strangers to the purport of this invitation.—Our Surgeon, who had before shewn his watch to RAA KOOK, and fully explained to him its utility and defign, perceiving they were all very filent and grave, and recollecting how much this little machine had entertained the General's curiofity, pulled it out again, and put it into his hands, that he might shew it to the Rupacks, and communicate to them how exactly the English were able, by it, to measure the division and lapse of time; they appeared to be

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all wonderfully aftonished at the account he gave them of its use and power, and not a little at hearing it tick.—It was near an hour before the meffenger returned, when the General conducted them to the town, which was about half a mile distant; they arrived at another square pavement, surrounded by a number of houses; in the middle of this square were quantities of yams and cocoa-nuts, in piles, with fweet drink and sherbet; and on the outside of the pavement was feated a great concourse of people of both sexes. On RAA Kook and the Rupacks appearing, they all respectfully rose up. The General and his friends being feated, the attendants ferved out the provisions, first to the General and his guests, and then to the people who were placed round. It was observed, that all the women who were in the crowd at the General's arrival, as foon as the refreshments were handed about, withdrew; and, what was very remarkable, all the cocoa-nuts which were brought on this occasion, were old nuts, whereas it had never been usual at other entertainments to fee any but young ones; however they took away the old ones which were placed before the English, and fet young ones in their room.

When this repast, which was eaten in the most profound filence, was nearly ended, there was heard at some distance the lamentation of women; RAA KOOK touched Mr. SHARP, who was sitting next to him, on the arm, and without speaking, made signs to him with his hand to go and see what

had

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had occasioned this distress; he and the boatswain both rose up, and directly went to the place whence these founds of forrow feemed to proceed, when they perceived a great number of women following a dead body, which was tied up in a mat, and laid on a kind of bier formed of bamboos, in fhape not unlike a chairman's horse, and supported on the shoulders of four men, no other males but the bearers attending. Mr. Sharp and his companion were now perfectly fatisfied that this must be the funeral of RAA KOOK's fon, yet were much puzzled to know why it had been conducted fo filently, and that not a word or hint had been mentioned to them on the matter; whether it was from that determined firmness of mind which was armed against human weakness, or from whatever other motive, remained then, and still must remain, uncertain.—They arrived at the place of burial just as the people were fetting down the bier, and laying the body in the grave prepared for it.—The corpfe was deposited without any ceremony; the men who had carried it began immediately, with their hands and feet, to throw the earth over it and fill up the grave, whilft the women knelt down, and with loud cries feemed as if they would tear it up again, unwilling to be deprived of the last fight of a loved object, which death had fuatched from them.—A heavy rain coming on, drove fome of the people away, as it did our two countrymen, to the first shelter they could obtain.

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1783. OCTOBER. When it cleared up they returned to RAA KOOK and the Rupacks, who had also sheltered themselves from the weather. The evening advancing, and proving tempestuous, they could not return to Pelew.—Mr. Sharp and his companion, with some of the Rupacks, slept at the General's house; the remainder of the company were provided for in other contiguous buildings.

Previous to their departure, the next morning, for the King's island, RAA KOOK took Mr. SHARP and the boatswain to a house not far distant from the place where his son had been interred the preceding evening; there was only an old woman in the house when they went in, who, on receiving some order from the General, immediately disappeared, and foon after returned with two old cocoa-nuts, and a bundle of beetle-nut with the leaves; the also brought fome red ochre.—He took up one of the cocoa-nuts, croffing it with the ochre transversely; then placed it on the ground by his fide.—After fitting very penfive, he repeated something to himself, which our people conceived was a kind of prayer, as he appeared a good deal agitated; he then did the fame thing by the fecond cocoa-nut, and afterwards croffed the bunch of beetle-nut, and fat pensively over it; this done, he called the old woman and delivered her the two nuts, and the bundle of beetle-nut, accompanied with fome directions.—Mr. Sharp and his companion, observing her go towards the young man's grave, their curiofity would have

induced

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induced them to follow her, in order to have observed the conclusion of this ceremony; but peculiarly circumstanced as the distressed father then was, they felt an unwillingness to trespass on his feelings, by testifying any desire after further information.

At their return to Pelew, their countrymen much wondered what had occasioned their absence, of which being informed, they in return related that they had also been witnesses of the funeral of another young man, who had fallen in the last battle.—But this we need not notice here, reserving it to that part of the work which will deferibe the manners and customs of Pelew.

The General conducted Mr. Sharp to the King, who was then feated in the square, and who desired to see the instruments which he had brought with him, in the kind intention to have affisted his deceased nephew; our Surgeon sent for them to RAA Kook's house, in whose care they had been deposited; they were soon produced, and Mr. Sharp, by the interpreter, explained to him separately the use of every instrument. The surprize and pleasure the sight afforded Abba Thulle was so great, that he begged Mr. Sharp would go with him, just by, to where several Rupacks were lodged (who were come to pass a few days with him on account of his late success) that they might also be indulged with a view of these instruments. A full explanation of the different purposes to which they were

applicable,

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CHAPTER XV.

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The Men who had been on the third Expedition to ARTINGALL return—an Account of it given.—Captain Wilson invited by the King to visit the Rupacks, who had attended as Allies in the last Battle.—Accompanies the King and his Brother to some Islands to the Northward, where there was much Festivity on the Occasion.—Is received with great Hospitality, and after Five Days Absence returns to Oroolong.

A BOUT eleven o'clock in the forenoon all the warriors returned to Oroolong, perfectly well, in high
fpirits, and greatly pleafed with the treatment they had received from their Pelew friends.—RAA Kook accompanied
them, with four canoes, bringing fome yams, and two jars of
moloffes.

With respect to the third expedition, I shall pursue the same method as I did in the description of the second battle of Artingall, and deliver the particulars of it as I myself received them from Mr. M. Wilson, who was present at it, and which particulars were fully confirmed by every report of the transaction to the Captain.

"The outfet of this business was nearly the same as in the second expedition, though the number of canoes

" far

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1783. OCTOBER. " far exceeded those which accompanied the King before.-"When we got to ARTINGALL no canoes were feen, though "the ufual previous notice had been fent of our coming to "attack them.—The Pelew people being unable to provoke " the appearance of the enemy, landed, and went a little way " up from the fea-shore. RAA KOOK now took the command, "and conducted the troops; the King remaining in his " canoe, and occasionally dispatching the Frigate canoes with "orders to him and ARRA KOOKER.—We were entreated "not to land; we however, perceiving that the enemy "were beginning to defend themselves, jumped on shore to "affift our friends, and befieged fome houses possessed by "the enemy.—The fwivel, which had been fixed in a canoe " which the natives had prepared for the purpose, with great "ingenuity and judgment, played conftantly on the houses "which were filled with people; our mufquetry covering "the Pelew people, foon diflodged the enemy, and one of "the houses was by some accident presently in flames.—We "were often greatly annoyed by the enemy, who rushed "down on us with a shower of spears; in return, whenever " we perceived them coming, a brifk fire was kept up, which " not only dispersed them immediately, but in all probability "must have killed a considerable number of them.—Arra "KOOKER, who had gone further than any other in pursuit of "the enemy, afcending a hill in fight of the canoes, and ob-" ferving one of the ARTINGALL people coming down, stept unnoticed

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" unnoticed amongst some bushes to let him pass, and then

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" purfuing him down the declivity, stunned him with a blow

" from his wooden fword ", and was dragging him a prisoner

"to his canoe, when Thomas Wilson, feeing feveral of the

" enemy rushing down on ARRA KOOKER, and that he must

"inevitably have been killed, ran immediately to his af-

"fistance, and levelled his piece at the ARTINGALL people,

"which they perceiving, infantly betook themselves to

"flight; this was a circumstance the more fortunate, as

"THOMAS WILSON had expended his whole stock of am-

" munition in covering the landing, and had actually at the

"time no charge in his musquet.

"The natives of Artingall behaved with much courage in this engagement; they defended the house that took fire to the last, nor quitted it till it was ready to fall.—
"One of the Pelew people also on this occasion distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner; he ran to the house while it was in flames, tore off a burning brand, and carrying it to another house, where many of the enemy had taken shelter, set it on fire, and (the materials of their buildings being very combustible) it was quickly burnt down; the man, after accomplishing this bold atchievement, had the good fortune to return to

The same fort of weapon was presented to Captain WILSON at EMUNGS, and is figured in plate II. No 1.

"his companions unhurt; the King publicly rewarded him

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" for

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- "for his courage, by immediately placing with his own hands a string of beads in his ear, and making him afterwards an inferior Rupuck on his return to Pelew.
- "In this action five canoes were destroyed, which the enemy had hauled on shore, and also their wharf or causeway, which was much longer and broader than that at Pelew. Beside doing much other damage to the enemy, they brought away the stone on which the King of Artingall sits when in council; this afforded occasion for great rejoicings when they got back, although these were not so truly felt as after the second battle, the triumph of the day being overclouded by the death of RAA Kook's fon, and another youth of note, both killed in this engagement, as also from having thirty or forty of their people wounded, several of whom died in consequence thereof, in a few days after their return to Pelew *."

Wednesday 8.

This morning Mr. BARKER unfortunately fell backward from one of the stages, and was much hurt.—Our men being now employed about the vessel, and RAA KOOK waiting with two canoes at Oroolong, Captain Wilson went, by the particular desire of the King, to pay a visit to the Rupacks who attended him on the last expedition. The Captain was accompanied by his son Henry Wilson,

THOMAS.

^{*} The carrying off the regal stone from ARTINGALL might add as much imaginary glory to the day as our first Edward's bringing to Westminster the inauguration stone of the Kings of Scotland.

notice of his arrival.

THE PELEW ISLANDS.

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THOMAS DULTON his fervant, and the linguist.—After they had got out of the harbour they waited some time for the canoes, which had been fishing.—The General sent a turtle and some fish to the tents, and took the rest to Pelew, where they arrived about ten o'clock at night; the King had been gone an hour before to the great island called Emungs, where these Rupacks lived, but had lest his eldest son, Qui Bill, to receive Captain Wilson and go forward with him.—RAA Kook asked the Captain if he liked to follow his brother; but he declined going any further till morning, feeling himself indisposed.

RAA Kook's canoe; the General was accompanied by two of his wives, having eleven men to paddle, and taking with them provision for the day; they went to the northward about ten or twelve leagues, and about noon were off the mouth of a rivulet that ran up into the island of Emungs, where Abba Thulle then was.—RAA Kook here ornamented his canoe with shells, and sounded his conch, to give

About feven o'clock the next morning they embarked in

Thursday 9.

This rivulet was both narrow and shallow, its sides sull of mangrove trees, which in several places were cut away to make a free passage for the canoes to pass up and down.—In their passage to get into the rivulet or creek, they were frequently in danger of being a-ground, which the natives seemed much to fear, on account of the sharp coral-stones

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upon the banks; it was necessary for them to keep a good look-out, as they had frequently fudden transitions from deep to fhallow water.—After advancing near a mile up this creek (through part of which, it being low-water, the boatmen were obliged to get out and track the canoe) they came in fight of some houses; the conch shell was again founded, when three or four young men appeared, but returned back immediately, as if furprized; RAA KOOK, on feeing this, ordered two of his men to go up to the houses, who returned with a piece of board, on which they feated CaptainWILSON, and affifted by two others took him on shore, RAA Kook walking by his fide, the canoe being a-ground. The bank of the river was by this time crowded with the natives; through this throng they were conducted to a large house, where the novelty of secing men of a different colour to themselves had drawn together a fresh concourse of people, whose curiofity was still more raised by what they had heard of them in the late different expeditions.—The Captain and his companions stayed at this place about half an hour, to rest themselves, and gratify the natives, who appeared exceedingly defirous to touch them; they then walked about a quarter of a mile further, where ABBA THULLE with the Rupacks were expecting their arrival.— They found the King and the Chiefs in a large house or public building; the former made figns to Captain WILSON to fit down.—They remained there about two hours, and

then

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then went to visit the Rupack of the town, who was a very old man and unable to walk, being accompanied by RAA KOOK, who introduced them. A kind of stool or low table covered with boiled yams, a tub of fweet drink, and a fish were fet before them.—They tasted them, and remained about half an hour with the old Rupack, and returned to the great house, whither the provisions were sent after them. -About five o'clock in the evening a dancing began, after the manner of the country, at each end of the oufide of the great house, and another at a house a little distant, where another large company were with ARRA KOOKER and the King's eldest fon, Qui Bill.—Supper was ferved by twobutlers. It was observed, in the house where ABBA THULLE. was, that though an allotted share, or portion of the entertainment was ferved to each Rupack, his family and guests, yet none of them touched a bit till the King gave the word to eat; neither did they at night lie down to fleep until he was covered with his mat.

The dancing continued the whole night, with finging, the women joining in both, which altogether made a terrible noise; and our people having only rough uneven boards to fleep on, with a boat cloak spread under them, and a jack for a coverlid, they may be rather faid to have lain down, than rested.—These diversions did not cease till ten o'clock the next morning, and at three in the afternoon were renewed for an hour; when two parties of the natives

Friday 10.

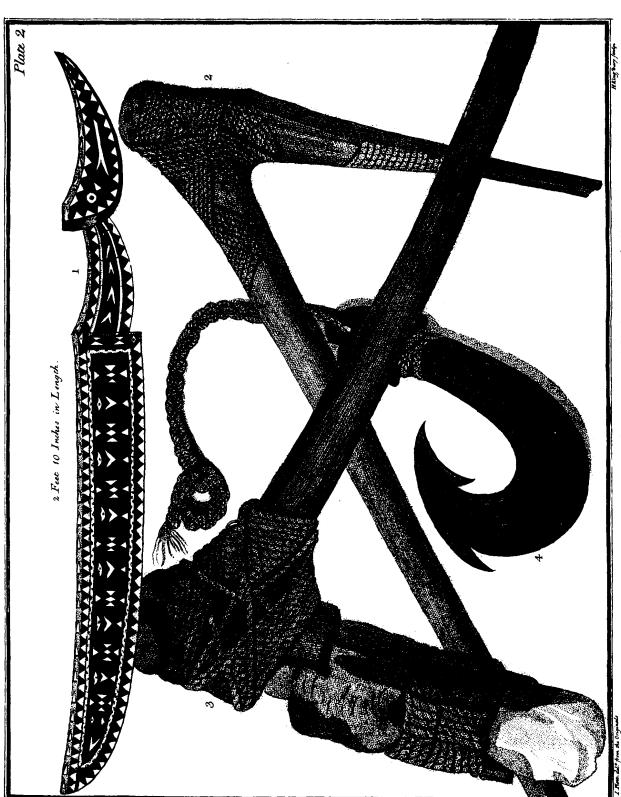
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came from a wood that was close to the town, and rushing out by different ways, represented to the spectators a mock fight; after which they joined in one band, and began a kind of dance, with their spears in their hands; during which four large spears were brought and presented to Captain Wilson by the Chief of the band, one at a time, he making a short fpeech at the delivery of each of them, and then returned to join the dance; he also presented the Captain with a sword, made of very hard wood, and curioufly inlaid with shell.-This dance lasted about an hour; when it was ended, Captain WILSON enquired of the linguist the meaning of some human skulls he saw placed over the outside of the doors at the ends of the great house; he directly went and asked RAA Kook, who gave him the following account:—That the Rupacks and principal men of EMUNGS having gone on fome particular occasion to another island, taking with them a considerable number of the inhabitants, a party of the ARTINGALL people landed at their town, and killing many who could not escape into the woods, set their houses on fire; the news of which being brought to ABBA THULLE, he immediately affembled his canoes and warriors, and went and attacked them before they had quitted the place; that being so unexpectedly beset, many were killed, and the rest fled, some in their canoes, and others into the woods; that the Rupacks and people of EMUNGS returning at this juncture, few of the ARTINGALL people escaped; and that

See Plate II. N. 1.



I a State Sword. 2 a Hatchet. 3 a moveable Hatchet. 4 a Figh Hook

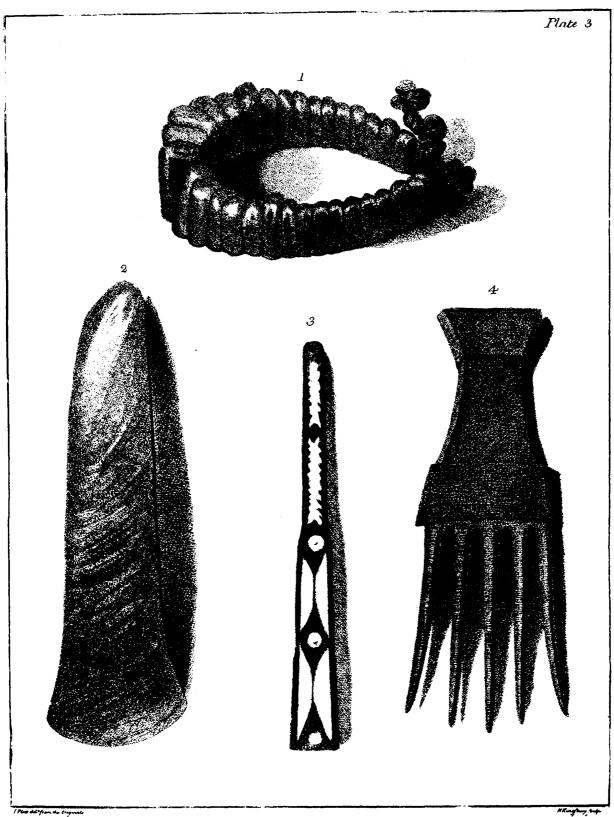
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those were the heads of some of the Chiefs.—This affair appeared not to have happened very long before, as the materials of the houses which had been destroyed looked still rather fresh, nor were overgrown with weeds at that time.—In the evening they renewed their merriment, which continued till midnight, when they went to rest.

The morning was ushered in with new dances. After Saturday 11. breakfast there was much heavy rain with thunder and lightning; in the afternoon the weather clearing, the old Rupack of the place came down to the raifed square pavement, which was at one end of the great house where our people were; he was brought on a board flung with a rope at each end, and carried by four men.—After he was feated, a messenger came and spoke to ABBA THULLE, who immediately faid fomething to the Rupacks in the great house, and they all went out on the pavement, and feated themfelves with much respect; ARBA THULLE also quitted the house, leaving none but the English in it; yet did not go to the old Rupack, or take any notice of the ceremony carrying on, but fat down under a tree, where he could not be obferved, and amused himself in making the handle of a hatchet.—After some time spent in conversation, the old Rupack distributed beads to the other Rupacks, in the following manner:—The old Rupack gave them to an officer in waiting, who advancing into the middle of the fquare, and holding



Le 1 String of Cornelian beads. 2 a Knife. 3 an Earring. 4 2 Comb.

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fig. 2.

AND

Plate III.

fig. 1.

There certainly appears, from what has been faid, to have been some etiquette, not properly understood by our people, in ABBA THULLE's retiring whilst the old Rupack was distributing his favours.—There was reason to suppose, that if their rank was the same, yet the ceremonials of

their

^{*}The beads first spoken of were of their own making, being a kind of coloured earth baked: they made them also at Pelew, but our people had never any opportunity of seeing how they were manusactured.—They also considered as beads the glass ones last mentioned, being only bits of broken glass, which they had the art of drilling; some beads they saw of this kind were made of green and white glass, being small pieces of broken bottles which had been got out of the Antelope.

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their personal interview might not be sufficiently settled, october. fo as to admit of their meeting on terms of equal dignity on both fides. Therefore the King of Pelew, though actually present, was only presumed to be so in the person of his brother the General; who, as appears before, answered for him, and in his name received that testimony of respect with which one fovereign was pleafed to greet another. When the old Rupack had distributed all his favours, a general conversation took place among the Chiefs, which continued for about an hour; after which the old Chief was put on his board, and carried back in the fame manner he had been brought to the fquare. Fish, yams, and other refreshments were then given to the attendants of ABBA THULLE and the other Rupacks.—The evening was paffed in the great house, as before.

In confequence of Captain WILSON having requested to Sunday 12. return to OrooLong, the conch-shell was sounded at daylight, and the canoes got in readiness for departure. At eight o'clock they all went to the house where they first landed, and here, before they embarked, RAA Kook expressed a wish to fire a musquet; but having no idea of the shock it would occasion, and holding it loofe, it struck his shoulder with such force as threw him backwards, and it fell from his hands. He expressed much surprize that the English could do this with so much ease, and that he

Aa.

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was neither able to stand or hold it when fired. They now went on board, and fell down the creek, it being near high-water. After they had got to the outlet of the creek, one of the Rupacks, who was going to the northward, where he lived, parted company, carrying away in his fuit eight or nine canoes. This Rupack, whose name was MAATH, had two Bones on his arm. Captain WILSON had given ABBA THULLE the spaniel dog, which the King had with him at this time. When they were out of the creek, and MAATH was taking leave, ABBA THULLE delivered to him the dog, and also the scarlet coat; but they were afterwards returned to him, as our people faw him wear the coat when he went against Pelelew, and saw the dog frequently afterwards at Pelew; which fatisfied them that they were only lent to MAATH to take to his island, that he might shew them to his own people, Captain Wilson having declined going to vifit them, though strongly solicited, excusing himself on account of the long time it would occasion his being absent from OROOLONG.-ABBA THULLE and his train, which confifted of about forty canoes, returned to the fouthward. About ten o'clock they were overtaken by a violent fquall of wind, with much thunder, lightning, and rain, which obliged every canoe to shift for itself; the boatmen, in that canoe where the Captain was, jumped overboard, to avoid being wetted with the

rain,

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rain *, holding by the canoe with one arm, and keeping it as it were at an anchor; but finding the rain continue after the thunder had ceased, they made for the shore, which having reached, the boatmen very expeditiously kindled a fire, by rubbing two pieces of wood together. The Captain remarked, that at each flash of lightning RAA KOOK's two wives, who were in the same canoe with him, sheltered under his boat-cloak, muttered fomething that feemed to be a prayer, or ejaculation; RAA KOOK covered himself with his mat. About noon the weather cleared up, and they joined the King, who gave our people boiled fish for dinner, somewhat refembling mullet. About one o'clock all' landed; and the King and his retinue, with our people, walked up the country about a mile, to a town called ARAMALORGOO, where was exhibited a dance of spearmen; after which the usual fort of refreshments were served to the company. They then returned to their canoes, and came to a place called EMILLEGUE, which appeared to be a diffinct government, as a formal invitation came off from the Rupack, or Chief of that island, to solicit the company to land. It was a large town, fituated about a mile from the fea-shore. The Rupack was a fat, good-looking, friendly old man; and

[•] Notwithstanding the natives bathed daily in fresh water, yet they all appeared to have a great dislike at being wetted by rain; it is probable the spattering of it on their naked bodies might create an unpleasant sensation.

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1783. OCTOBER. by every mark of external respect paid to him, seemed to be a person of considerable consequence.

Our people conceived the idea, that fome etiquette here also operated on the King of Pelew, as he would not himself go on shore, but stayed in his canoe, though it was his wish that all the rest of his company should They were here entertained with a dance, and treated with fome broiled pigeons, &c. They also were invited to, and most kindly received at two or three private houses. It was night before they got back to the canoes, and being dark, the people were fo hospitable that they would walk with them, and conduct them in fafety to the water-fide, bearing lighted torches in their hands, and taking them by the arm whenever the path was uneven or difficult.

About ten o'clock Captain WILSON and his party arrived at Pelew; the King's canoe not being come in, no perfon offered to go on shore, the same was observed by all the other canoes; nor till the King went on shore was any thing removed from the boats. And here I must notice, that though these ceremonials were observed by all ranks to ABBA THULLE, even by his brothers RAA KOOK and ARRA KOOKER, yet Captain Wilson and the English were exempt from them; and RAA KOOK gave him to understand the English might land when they pleased; but the Captain,

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1783. OCTOBER.

Monday 13.

finding this was an established form, chose to remain in the canoe, out of respect to the King, and in compliment to the General.—Our people stayed all night at the house by the water-fide, ABBA THULLE remaining with them. A council was held, before they went to fleep, confifting of the King, his brothers, and the chief Rupacks who had returned to Pelew; the purport of which was made known next day at breakfast, by ABBA THULLE's asking the Captain if he would go with him once more to battle?—Who replied, that he must consult his officers and people at OrooLong, before he could with propriety give an answer; that when he left the island many of them were fick, nor could he tell but that at his return he might find others ill also; but should that not be the case, he would with pleasure comply with his wishes. The King then asked, why the jolly-boat had never been once down at PELEW for yams, fince the time the Captain had been with him at the islands? Captain WILSON answered, that they had only one boat in use, the other being funk at the head of the new veffel, to make a bank to keep off the tide.—The weather, that had been fqually, being now clearing, and the wind getting to the N. E. our people left Pelew about eleven in the forenoon. They stopped an hour at the small island, and reached OROOLONG about four in the afternoon: RAA KOOK returning with them.

On

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCT OBER. On arriving at Oroolong, it was with great satisfaction they found Mr. BARKER so well recovered from his accident as to be able to go about. The vessel also was much forwarded, all her beams laid, and most of them secured.—The General, ever attentive to the interest and service of our countrymen, sent back immediately all the canoes (except his own, in whom he could conside) that they might not pilfer, or be guilty of any misdemeanor.

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CHAPTER XVI.

1783. OCTOBES.

Proceedings at Oroolong. — The General remains with the English. - Intelligence is brought to him that the People of ARTINGALL were come to fue for Peace.—The King arrives the next Day, and for the first Time brings one of his Wives, his favourite Daughter, and several of their Female Attendants.—He continues at the Back of the Island three or four Days, during which Time the General, who went with him, was much indisposed.—Mr. Sharp visits bim, and relieves his Complaint. - The King, with RAA KOOK, and his Retinue, return to Pelew.—He sends the English some Colours to paint their Vessel.—Mr. Sharp goes to Pelew to enquire after RAA Kook's Health, whom he finds getting well.

HE jolly-boat went this morning for water, but found Tuesday 14. the well dry, there being feven canoes already there. It was understood from Tom Rose, that they preceded the King, who was coming with men and boats to bring on shore all the ship's guns. In the course of the day our people got fome water, and a fmall canoe brought a few fish, and a fine fea craw-fish.

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. Wednesday

The cook having been very negligent in his bufinefs, fpoiling often the rice, and being suspected, in concert with one of the China-men, his affiftant, of appropriating to themfelves part of the very fmall quantity of meat they could afford to boil with it; he was ordered to be punished with a Cobbing. In confequence of the regulations before mentioned to have been made amongst themselves, this was carried by a majority. The Cobbing was performed by stripping him to the waift, and tying his hands against a tree, to keep him extended; when one man, with a thin flat piece of wood, like a battledore, imposed the number of stripes he was ordered to receive. The cook's affiftant was also punished in like manner; and another China-man for wounding one of his countrymen on the head with a stone. Kook, feeing these fellows tied up, appeared concerned, and applied to Captain Wilson to beg them off; but the fafety of this little community absolutely required that regularity and obedience should be preserved; and this was fully explained to the General, as an apology for his request not being complied with. He flood by, however, whilft the punishment was inflicted; and not finding it was of a ferious nature, feemed convinced our people were right; and when the China-men came to receive the same discipline, they set up so lamentable a cry, that he was even diverted by their pufillanimity.

This afternoon three canoes came to the watering-place, in one of which was a woman, the first that had been seen

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at Oroolong by the English; they afterwards came round to the harbour, when the woman came on shore; who, after viewing the vessel, went up to the smith's shop, and from thence to the cook's habitation. After looking about with much attention, she came back to the vessel; which she examined again for a few minutes, and then returned to her canoe. She was not accompanied by any one of the men from the canoes. Our people never could learn who she was, as RAA KOOK was gone off at that time to the wreck. She appeared to step cautiously, but still was excited by her curiosity to peep about every where. It was judged they came from EMILLEGUE, no one recollecting any Pelew countenance among them. The bottom of the vessel was this day begun to be caulked, as also her deck to be laid.

Thursday 16.

The jolly-boat still continued her visits to the wreck, from whence she generally brought something that was of service. A canoe came into the harbour with fish, and a turtle of about two hundred pounds weight. RAA KOOK sent the turtle to the King, but gave our people most of the sish. In the afternoon a canoe came from Pelew, to notify to the General the arrival of the Chief Minister of Artingall at that place, who had brought with him offers of peace. Notice of it was also sent to Captain Wilson.

AN ACCOUNT OF

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Friday 17.

RAA KOOK appeared much pleafed with the news, and told the Captain that he supposed this was the reason why his brother ABBA THULLE was not come up before, but that he would be at Oroolong the next day.—A canoe wanting to enter the harbour in the night, the watch fired to keep it off; but it came in the next morning, and brought some fish. The General gave our people three, which ferved every one for dinner, and was the faving of two hams; the rest of the fish being kept for the King, who arrived about ten o'clock in the harbour, attended by nine canoes. With him came his youngest daughter, ERRE BESS, and eight or nine women, who, except the fingle woman just before mentioned, were the first who had visited Oroolong. Before ABBA THULLE came on shore, the General, who went out to meet him, had given him an account of every thing that was going on. The King ordered a prefent of yams, cocoa-nuts, and sweetmeats, to be given to our people; after which he landed. He led his daughter by the hand on shore, who seemed to be about nine years of age; and of whom then, as well as on all future occasions, he seemed to be immoderately fond. The General took care of all the other females, and shewed them about the cove. The King, after apologizing to Captain Wilson for not having been able to come to Oroolong earlier to thank him for his fervices, feemed impatient to view the works carrying on.

He



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He took the Tackelbys, or artificers who came with him, to fee the veffel, and appeared much delighted to observe the form it had taken fince he had last been on the island, and was quite aftonished at the conveniences he found it had. Then going within the barricade, he was attracted by the boys spinning spun-yarn, which much pleased him. His brother then took him into the China-men's tents, who were all employed in picking oakum.—Among the women whom RAA KOOK conducted about the cove, there was one who struck all our countrymen as being superior in elegance and beauty, as well as in her graceful manner of walking, to any female they had noticed at Pelew; she was very young, and they could not help making some enquiries about her of the General, who informed them that she was one of the King's wives, and was called LUDEE;—this lady, as well as all her female companions, testified that degree of surprize, which the first fight of our different works had excited in all the other natives.

After they had amused themselves in seeing every thing that was going forward, a canvass was spread in the cove for the King, the General, and the ladies; the Captain entertained them with fish, and boiled rice mixed with molosses to sweeten it; which never having tasted before, they seemed to relish very much.

The King, in conversing with the Captain, wanted to B b 2 know

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. know where he kept his powder, and how much he had; he answered, that the gunner, who had the care of it, was absent, but when he came home in the evening he would enquire. Abba Thulle seeming to recollect that there might be some impropriety in the question, changed the discourse instantly, nor resumed it any more. He said he was come to get the great guns on shore, and asked if he should bring them to Oroolong, or take them to Pelew? Captain Wilson went out and consulted the Chief Mate, when it was thought best to pay him the compliment of saying he might take them all to Pelew except one, which would be wanted to go with the vessel.

ABBA THULLE informed the Captain that he was now at peace with most of his neighbours, but that he believed he was indebted for this peace to their musquets; he therefore hoped the English would give him some when they went away; adding, that they did not request iron, as of that they had now received a sufficiency; the only thing they wished for was powder and musquets, and desired he might have ten.—In answer to all this the Captain told him, that the English would always continue to be his friends; but that it would be impossible to spare ten of them then, as the English were at that moment at war with different nations, whose ships they might have to contend with in their passage home; however, that when they quitted his country, they

would

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would at all events give him five; he seemed much pleased with the Captain's answer: who added, that should his neighbours again make war with him, he might (from the kind treatment he had shewn the English) declare that they would return in a much larger ship with a number of men, and would avenge any insult they should offer to him in their absence.

In the afternoon he took his canoes and people to the watering-place.—This amiable Prince was perpetually giving new proofs of his attention to the English: as he commonly came with a considerable retinue, he observed that when he arrived, our people left off working, and thence conceived it was for fear the natives should pilfer their tools, which he knew they sometimes could not refrain from; therefore, as soon as he had dined, he made them all retire with him to the back of the island, that he might less impede that business, which he saw our countrymen had so much at heart.

He had not been at the watering-place long before he fent for Captain WILSON to come over to him: Mr. Sharp and Mr. Devis accompanied him. His canoes had just come in from fishing, a large quantity which they had caught lay on the ground near where the King was sitting, divided into two parcels; and the reason why the Captain had been sent for, was to give him one of the portions, which confisted of ten large sish. The Captain said, sour would be as

many

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. many as would feast all his men, and the rest, he feared, would spoil before the next day. The King gave orders to have the other six cleaned and dressed for keeping, after their own manner, and said he would send them over in the morning.—It now advancing towards sun-set, the King wished the three gentlemen to move homewards before it grew dark, as part of their way over land was rugged and hazardous; they therefore took leave of him, with many expressions of thanks for the repeated marks of his attention.—In the night there was a very hard squall.

Saturday 18.

Some boiled rice was fent for the King's breakfast. Soon after, RAA KOOK came over land, followed by fix men, bearing the fish; they were finging all the way through the woods, and were heard long before they were feen. The fish were quite sweet and good; and, as the great heat of this climate taints all their fish in a few hours, it may be worth while to mention the method they take to preserve them. -The fish being well cleaned, washed, and scaled, two flat sticks are placed lengthways of the fish, to support and keep it straight, much in the same manner as meat is laid in a cradle fpit; around it are bound fome broad leaves. then make a kind of stage or trivet, placed about two feet from the ground, upon which the fish is laid, and a slow fire made underneath, over which it remains for feveral hours, till it becomes smoke-dried, and then it is fit for eating without any further dreffing, and would keep a couple

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of days, though certainly not so well-flavoured as when eaten fresh.—By a good observation at noon, the latitude of the watering-place was 7° 18' north, and the northern extremity of Oroolong was 7° 19' north. The King lest sive or six canoes with the women at the watering-place, and went to the wreck; the Captain sent some tea against he came on shore, and afterwards went over himself, to complain to him of the loss of a caulking-iron and an adze; which he promised should be enquired after and returned. Three of the Artingall people being with the King, they were pointed out to Captain Wilson, who gave them an invitation to breakfast.

Sunday 19.

ARRA KOOKER came to speak about the things that had been purloined. He had recovered the caulking-iron, but the adze had been carried to Pelew.—He told them the King requested ten of our people to assist in getting out the guns, his own having no tackle equal to the effecting it, and having before accomplished the taking the one away, which had been carried to Pelew, with infinite fatigue and labour; they were accordingly sent off to the wreck, where Abba Thulle met them, and was not a little amazed when he saw the ease with which the business was managed.—The General, accompanied by the Artingall people, came, as invited, to breakfast with the English. They shewed them their tents, and the work that was going forward, with which they seemed assonished, and particularly with the swivel and

fix-

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. by forcible gestures seemed to describe that those were the instruments which had killed so many of their countrymen at Artingall. They did not appear to entertain the slightest animosity, but shook hands with the English in much amity, and received the civilities offered them with great thankfulness.—At noon there were squalls, accompanied with heavy rain. Captain Wilson had plenty of fish sent him, and some large Kima Cockles, which are well known in the East, as also in Europe, from the number of their shells which are brought over to adorn grottos and sountains.

Monday 20.

The King fent again more fish to the English, with a large basket of yams, and another of plantains.—RAA KOOK being indisposed, did not come to breakfast, but sent to desire Captain WILSON and the Surgeon would come over to fee him. When they got there the King was gone again to the wreck. They found the General very feverish, from the pain of a large boil on his arm, which Mr. SHARP fomented and dreffed; he had feveral people about him, among whom were two women, who appeared much scratched about the breast and stomach, as if with pins: they enquired the cause, but not having the linguist with them, could only learn that it was done with a prickly kind of long leaf; and, from the apparent concern of these women, it was conceived, that the wounding themselves was an external mark of forrow for the General's indisposition. In

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the evening they returned to see him, and found him much better. The King was then come on shore, and seemed much pleased with the attention shewn his brother; he appeared on this occasion to be particularly anxious on his account, and indeed our people had repeated opportunities to discover, that Abba Thulle testified to every part of his family a most affectionate and tender disposition.

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When the fishing canoes came in, a large portion of what they had taken was given to the English. Whilst they were fitting with the King, a flying fox fettled on a tree near where they were, Captain WILSON's fervant, who had been shooting pigeons in that part of the island, just then coming up, and having his piece loaded, shot it. This is an animal that has fome fimilitude to our bat, but is five or fix times larger; it resembles a fox in its head, and hath much such a fmell. The natives call it OLEEK. It runs along the ground, and up trees like a cat; it has besides wings, which extend pretty wide, by which it flies like a bird. The Pelew people broil and eat them whenever they can knock them down, esteeming them a great delicacy; on which account the English, whenever they saw any, used to shoot them for the King, being, like the tame pigeon, a privileged dish for those of a certain rank. The ARTINGALL people who were present, seeing the animal drop from the top of a lofty tree, without any thing apparently passing to it, one of them ran to take it up, and on examining it, perceived

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. october. the holes which the shot had made, and remarked, that such of their own countrymen as lost their lives in the late battles, fell down with holes in their bodies just like this animal, and died.

Whilst these men thus naturally testified their surprize, ABBA THULLE and the General, who were now become masters of the power and effect of the musquet, could not forbear smiling at finding their ARTINGALL visitors had at last discovered what had so completely deseated their force, as well as overpowered their comprehension.

Tuesday 21.

In the morning our people received their fish, cured as ufual.—About nine o'clock the King came round with his canoes and attendants, in his way to Pelew.—He landed, examined the works, and observed, on looking at the pinnace, that it wanted repairing.—Before he went away, he asked the Captain if the English would go and fight for him once more, though he did not explain against whom he was going to war; he was answered that they readily would.— He then went on board his canoe, first desiring Tom Rose and another of our people might go back with him to Pelew. This was agreed to, and Mr. Devis expressed a wish to accompany the linguist.—In the conversation Captain WILSON had with the King this day, he appeared extremely anxious that our people would not leave his country without making him previously acquainted with the time they intended going, faying he would fend two men with them to England,

and.

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and promifed to give them colours to paint their veffel.—RAA KOOK was much preffed to remain at Oroolong till his arm was quite well, but he faid he could not then conveniently stay, but would very soon return.—Our people conjectured his presence was necessary at the council which was to be held on the expedition they were then projecting.—When the jolly-boat returned from the wreck, she was sent down to Pelew for the paint.—After dinner every man received a sile, to give to his Sucalic or friend; Captain Wilson having taken into custody all the tools and pieces of iron, that our people might dispose of them judiciously.

Wednesday

Fresh gales from the N. E. and fair weather.—The provisions were overhauled, to dry and air them. The jolly-boat,
that had followed the King to Pelew, returned with the
paint he had promised, consisting of red and yellow ochre *,
of which he sent a quantity sufficient to colour the vessel
three or sour times; he charged the men who brought it to
be particularly careful to keep the baskets in which the colours were packed from being wet, and desired them to acquaint the Captain, that when he came up to go against PeLelew (the place to which he was directing his expedition)
he would bring men with him to paint the vessel.—In the

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afternoon

^{*} These were the only natural colours they had, though they occasionally applied black and white in some of their ornaments, the former made from burnt cocoa-nut shells, the latter from burnt coral.

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. afternoon there were hard fqualls of wind from the northward, with heavy rain.—The jolly-boat, in the evening, returning from the watering-place, was followed by two canoes to the mouth of the harbour.—It was thought, by their not coming in, that they were people from Pelelew.

Thursday 23. The caulkers this day finished caulking the bottom of the vessel, and also completed the planking of the top sides, and in the evening handed water into her to try for leaks.

Friday 24.

Next day all were busied in caulking her upper works, and fixing the steps for the masts. The jolly-boat was dispatched to Pelew, to fetch Mr. Devis and Tom Rose; Mr. Sharp was sent down in her to visit Raa Kook, and see if he could be of further use to his arm; and soon after his departure a canoe came in from the King, loaded with raw yams, having received none after the first ten days but what were sent ready dress.

Saturday 25. The caulking of the outside of the vessel was finished this day.—The jolly-boat brought back the surgeon; the King and all his people at Pelew being wonderfully pleased at this mark of attention paid to their favourite the General. Mr. Sharp, on going, found Raa Kook much better; one of the Pelew surgeons had cut out the core of the boil, and the slesh about it, with one of the same ordinary knives which had been applied to the foot of his son. Mr. Sharp dressed the wound, and left him several other dressings, with necessary directions, and he soon got persectly well.

When

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When one confiders that these medical gentlemen at Pelew never purfued any other method but cutting out the part affected; and that till the present æra, when accident had thrown in their way a few twopenny knives, their operations were performed by shells ground to an edge; one must wonder at the boldness of the practice; and, living ourselves in countries where the anatomy of the human frame and the art of furgery are fo well understood and perfectioned, aided too by fuch admirable instruments, one cannot avoid feeling for the corporal fufferings of those whom disease or accident subjected to be practised on by a Pelew furgeon.

When the jolly-boat returned with Mr. Sharp and Tom Rose (Mr. Devis choosing to remain till the King went against Pelelew) it brought plenty of yams and sweetmeats. and also five young wild ducks just fledged, the only bird of the duck kind our people faw in these parts.—Tom Rose informed the Captain, that what ABBA THULLE wanted him for, was to make more enquiries of him concerning the Englift, and to give him some account of the different people they were at war with.

This morning the veffel's bottom was breamed; the out- Sunday 26. fide caulking being completed, to the great joy of all.—They now filled up the trench under the veffel, and broke down the dam, which was a work of some labour, as the bank had become as folid and firm as if formed by nature; they also

cleared

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. cleared and floated the pinnace.—While employed about this work, ten canoes were observed coming into the harbour; these came from the land to the fouthward; they were at first thought to be from Pelelew, but afterwards discovered to be strangers going to join ABBA THULLE.—They gave our people some yams of a different kind to any they had feen before, being of a straw colour, tinged with a gritty red. These strangers were treated with sherbet, and carried round all the places where the works were going on; shewn the vessel, and every thing that was judged might please, or entertain them. They viewed every object with that degree of furprize which might naturally be expected; but by the little diffidence they expressed in coming on shore, and from being less ftruck with the colour of our people than the other natives of these regions had been before, it was supposed they had come with minds fully prepared to meet with those objects which their visit to Oroolong displayed to them. There was an old Rupack with them, who afterwards went into the Captain's tent, and amused himself in counting the leaves of a book, that was lying there; which trying two or three times to do, after getting to fifty or fixty, he gave up the point, faying there were too many. They stayed about two hours on shore, and on going away the Captain presented the Rupack with some pieces of iron.

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CHAPTER XVII.

The King comes for the ten Men who were to go with him against Pelelew.—A great Storm at Oroolong.— Intelligence arrives that the Expedition to Pelelew had ended peaceably.—The English return, and give an Account of the Manner of its Progress and Termination.—Rejoicings on the Occasion at Pelew.—The King notifies an intended Visit to the English before their Departure.

northward; the boats employed in getting fome more stores from the ship. In the afternoon a great number of canoes came from Pelew, they were most of them from the islands to the northward; in one of these Mr. DEVIS returned; he brought intelligence that almost every island in alliance with ABBA THULLE had fent some forces, and

THE morning was cloudy, with light winds from the Monday 27.

that he really thought there were upwards of three hundred canoes affembled at Pelew to go on this expedition; that when they left that place they separated in three divisions, making a very fine appearance; that two of them went

towards.

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER.

towards Pelelew; and the third division, in which was the King and RAA KOOK, were coming to OROOLONG for the English; that he had declined accompanying the King, in order to have an opportunity of viewing the fleet. About four o'clock in the afternoon the King and RAA Kook arrived, and the pinnace (that had undergone repair) having just before returned from the wreck, the following men made themselves ready to go, viz. Thomas Wilson, NICHOLAS TYACKE, MADAN BLANCHARD, JAMES SWIFT, THOMAS WHITFIELD, JOHN DUNCAN, THOMAS DULTON, WILLIAM STEWARD, WILLIAM ROBERTS, and Mr. M. WILson; before night they were all embarked and out of the harbour, the English giving them three cheers at their putting off from the shore, which was returned by the whole fleet; our people devoutly wishing this expedition might be the last.—In the night the weather became overcast, and there was fome rain; which before morning became very heavy, accompanied with strong gales of wind and fqualls, which carried away all the awnings that were laid over the veffel, though the dock-yard was in a manner sheltered by the hills. Nor was the next day more favourable, the morning being cloudy, with a fresh gale of wind from the northward, and frequent showers; in the afternoon they also had hard squalls, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain; towards evening the lightning to the eastward

Tuesday 28.

Wednesday 29.

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eastward was strong, with distant thunder. After the bad close of day, the night was rendered truly tremendous by the dreadful conflict of the agitated elements. Situated as the English were under the shelter of protecting hills, they apprehended all their tents would have been blown down; and much feared their veffel might be shook off its blocks; much disquietude was also felt for the safety of their absent countrymen: which all together rendered the night extremely uncomfortable. The morning was however dry though cloudy, with a fresh breeze from the S. E.; in the afternoon a small canoe, with two men and a boy, came to the watering-place, feeming to be looking about for the canoes, but not finding them, they paddled up to the windward part of the island, then fet their fail and stood over towards Pelelew. About midnight, the weather being fine, a canoe was feen coming towards the harbour, which being hailed by the guard, the people in it calling out the word Englees, it was permitted to enter the cove; in her was the Rupack named ARRA ZOOK, Mr. SHARP's Sucalic, or friend, who the reader will recollect treated that gentleman and Captain Wilson with fo much hospitality when they went to fee his fick child; his arrival awakened all the English, and brought them together, anxious to hear some account of This Chief gave them to understand, that their friends. there had been no engagement at Pelelew; the inhabitants, on the King's approach, laid down their spears, and

Thursday 30.

D d came

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. OCTOBER. came and supplicated ABBA THULLE for peace, presenting him with beads, and delivering up to him two men who had belonged to the *Malay* wreck.—ARRA ZOOK was welcomed with every testimony of gratitude, both in remembrance of his former kindness, as also for his present good news.

Friday 31.

Soon after day-light another canoe arrived, which brought information that the fleet was returning from the expe-About ten o'clock in the forenoon two more came into the harbour, in one of which was John Duncan, who gave the following account of this expedition against Pelelew, which account was fully confirmed by the others who had been with him, at their return.—In the evening of the 27th, the day they left OrooLong, they got to the small island to the southward of that place; hauled up their canoes, and laid under fome rocks all night.—In the morning, at day-break, they went to an island four or five leagues further to the fouthward, which was uninhabited, and lay about four or five miles distant from Pelelew; here they built huts, or wigwams, and encamped, the weather being very bad; when it became a little more moderate, a party of the Pelew people went to another island, not far distant from the first, which belonged to Pelelew, and destroyed the plantations of yams, burnt the houses, and cut down the cocoa-nut trees, of which there was a great number. The inhabitants had quitted the island be-

fore

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fore the people of Pelew landed. Only two of the English were fent on this party; who having demolished as much as they could, returned to the encampment before fun-fet. -The next morning the weather was very bad, but the afternoon being moderate, a party was fent to the same island again, to destroy whatever might have escaped the ravage of the preceding day; three of the English went on this fervice.—In the evening all the party returned, as before, to the camp.—The fecond morning two Rupacks came from Pelelew to the camp, and foon after returned back, accompanied by the linguists; who in the evening rejoined the King's forces, attended by three of the Pelelew Chiefs. -A council was held by the King foon after their arrival; and the fucceeding morning ARRA KOOKER went to PELE-LEW, and concluded the peace.—After his return, which was early in the forenoon, the King fent to the English, to acquaint them that peace was made with the Pelelew people, and defired to know if they wished to see the town, in which case his brother, ARRA KOOKER, would accompany them; himself and RAA KOOK not meaning to go on shore. This meffage a little furprized the English, until it was explained to them by the linguist; who informed them, that no Rupack of higher rank than ARRA KOOKER could, in the present situation of the Pelelew people, go thither; as it would be too great an honour and condescension in the King, either to go himfelf, or fend the perfon next in rank

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to him.—This being explained, the English accepted the King's offer to visit Pelelew, but agreed amongst themfelves to take their arms, and keep together when on shore, left any mifunderstanding taking place (as the peace was but just made) they might be surprized. They were accompanied by a great number of the Pelew people, and received in a very friendly manner by the inhabitants, who entertained them according to the custom of the country, with the usual refreshments. They reported that the town was defended by a stone wall thrown up across the causeway, which leads up to it; that this wall was ten or twelve feet high, with a foot-bank of stone raised behind, upon which they could fland and throw spears at their enemies. That the water near the town was fo very shallow, that canoes could only go in at high-water. This circumstance, of the difficulty of access, might be a reason why they saw so few canoes belonging to Pelelew, though it appeared to be a populous island; and their manner of fortifying the entrance of their town by a strong and high wall, afforded just reason to apprehend, that whenever they were at war with the neighbouring islands, they confided more in their internal strength than in their naval force.—After the pacification had taken place, and ABBA THULLE's party had shared the hospitality of that enemy they had armed themselves to combat, they returned to Pelew. The King of Pelelew accompanying his brother King, though in one of his own canoes, carrying

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ten women in his train; whether this was a mark of humiliation shewn to ABBA THULLE, or a public testimony of friendship and confidence being re-established between them, our people could not understand; but certain it was, that all the women did not return again to Pelelew with their King, as two of them came afterwards to Oroolong with Abba THULLE, but whether they remained on a visit, or as hostages, they were not certain.—The two Malays were unqueftionably given up to the King; and it is not improbable but that he might have been instigated by Soogle, the Malay favourite, to demand his two countrymen, and that the King of Pelelew refusing to give them up, might increase whatever misunderstanding subsisted before, and so excite the Pelew people to go on this hostile expedition, in which they appear to have exercised a rancour undiscovered in their other contentions; which the King of Pelelew, by his well-timed fubmission to terms, happily saved his people from more fully experiencing.—Before noon, RAA KOOK came to OROO-LONG with a number of canoes, bringing with him all our countrymen; who commended much the pleasantness of the island of Pelelew, said it appeared fertile, the land more level than hilly, and that the houses were rather larger and better built than those at PELEW, having abundance of cocoa-nut and other trees about them. inhabitants feemed to be courteous, friendly, and welldisposed; and shewed particular attention to the English,

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although they had come there as a formidable ally to their enemy.

ABBA THULLE, accompanied by the Pelelew King, went immediately to his own island, which the English now, for the first time, learnt, was called Coorooraa, Pelew being only the capital, or residence of the King.—Captain WILSON, conversing with RAA KOOK on the subject of the last expedition, enquired where all the fleet of canoes came from that had attended the King at this time; the General, in answer, enumerated the places in the following order, beginning at the northward; EMUNGS, ARAMALORGOO, EMIL-LEGUE, ARRAGUY, COOROORAA, CARAGABA, PETHOULL, the small island so often mentioned, and whose name was not till now known, and Oroolong, or Englishmen's Island. RAA Kook feemed very defirous to be at Pelew, and made this visit the shortest he had ever favoured the English with, leaving them immediately after dinner, and all the canoes going with him. He defired the Captain to fend his boat for some molosses and torches, of which they were in want, our people being defirous of referving their fugar-candy and candles for the voyage.

MOYEMBER. Saturday 1. In the evening, the jolly-boat was got ready, and Mr. Sharp, with four of the men, went to Pelew, to congratulate the King on his establishing peace, and to bring the things promised by RAA KOOK.—The morning being fair, and the deck laid, they began to caulk it; when a difficulty

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a difficulty arose with what they were to pay it, having neither pitch, rosin, or dammer: and here Providence directed them to a resource in the produce of the island; for, confulting together how to fupply this want, putty was proposed; but they having no chalk to make it, some of them recollected that the feams of veffels in INDIA, and especially in CHINA, were payed with Chinam; the Chinese were immediately called, and questioned about the mode of preparing it; which, after the best information they could collect, they endeavoured to imitate in the following manner:-They took the coral-stone, and making a large pile or kiln with it, and the branches of trees they had cut down, they burnt it well into lime; which being pounded fine, was fifted through bunting, after which it was mixed with fuch greafe as had been faved; and this made a most excellent putty.

Sunday 2.

The weather being cloudy, with light northerly breezes, all our people were employed about the veffel, when their attention was somewhat taken off by two canoes coming into the harbour to fish for bait; their method of doing it striking all our seamen as uncommon, may, without impropriety, be mentioned:—The boatmen look about for a shoal of that fort of fish which they bait with, which is not much unlike our sprat; these they drive into shallow water, and having covered their canoes and outriggers with matting, they then make a great shouting and noise, splashing the water with

their

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Mr. SHARP returned in the evening from Pelew, whilst our people were at prayers, bringing with him the things promifed by RAA KOOK, together with a large quantity of the fweetmeats called Woolell *. He reported that there was great rejoicing at Pelew; that the Rupack of Pele-LEW was still there, though probably not much disposed to enjoy the festivity his submission had given birth to.—The feafting was much in the fame manner as what on other occasions has already been described; distinguished only by a fong, apparently composed fince our people have been at Pelew, and in which the greater part of the natives always joined. Though Mr. Sharp could not understand the whole sense of it, yet he readily comprehended that the English were the subject, by the frequent repetition of the words Englees-Weel a Trecoy-and Tom Rose.—This man going with the English upon every expedition, as interpreter, and possessing a great fund of pleafantry and humour, hit the fancy of all the natives, with whom he became a wonderful favourite.—So fingular were the talents of this truly faithful fellow, that wherever he

[•] This is the fweetmeat which the failors called *choak-dog*, and which now their flomachs found pretty good, however contemptuously they had thought of it at first.

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went he made himself not only useful, but beloved; and, from his great utility to Captain Wilson in his voyage, well merited the recommendation that had been given him at Macao.—The surgeon further reported the King of Pelelew to be a man much advanced in years, of a rough manner and appearance; his hair was grey, and his beard tapering to a narrow point, in the manner the Jews frequently wear theirs. He was Melgothd, or tatooed, quite up to the navel; the Pelew people only tatooing up to the middle of their thighs, as already noticed.

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It was not in the power of our people to obtain any account, which could be depended on, of the number of this chain of islands; nor could any eminences they ever afcended, allow them to fee the extent of them, either to the northward or fouthward.—The new vessel being now in a state of great forwardness, and the time of their departure drawing near, Captain WILSON this evening expressed to his officers and people a defire, before they failed for CHINA, to endeavour to explore these islands, upon which Providence had thrown them, and that ten or twelve days might effect the defign; that they had a quantity of provision sufficient to authorize the attempt; and that he would apply to the King for three or four canoes, with men, to accompany them through the islands, and to affist them in ascertaining their number, fituation, and extent. That he did not mean to make a furvey of them; but that it would be a great satisf-

faction,

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faction, both to themselves and their Employers, to have a general account of these islands, on which no European had ever been before; as also to know whether there was any apparent difference in the inhabitants, their manners, or customs.—He was listened to with a great deal of attention; but the near prospect before every man's eyes, of being liberated from a place whence, a short time before, none had any just hope of ever departing; the fear of its proving a much longer business than apprehended; the uncertainty of what difficulties they might meet with, should they have hostilities to encounter, which was more than probable might be the case, from the inhabitants of some of the remote iflands; these combined considerations presented themfelves to most of them as risques not advisable to be run, after the hardships they had already sustained; which, added to the natural wish of every individual to return to his native country whilst opportunity offered, they defired the Captain to give up all thoughts of fuch an attempt, and not to make any mention thereof to the King, lest it might be the means of detaining them. And thus was stifled the defire of all further inquiry, more especially when Mr. SHARP acquainted them, that he was commissioned by ABBA THULLE to inform them, that he would in about four days pay them a visit, and stay with them till their departure, and that he would then paint their vessel.—This message awakened fuspicions in several minds of the King's designs, which,

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because they breathed on every occasion such perfect good-will towards our people, were judged by many of them to be infincere, or treacherous; unwilling to give credit to human nature for the exercise of all the noble sentiments of liberality, uncontrouled, or uncontaminated by art, or interest.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Preparations made for the Completion of the Vessel, and securing ber being safely launched.—Great Suspicions entertained on the King's Message, which Captain Wilson endeavours to quiet.—Steps taken by our People to make Resistance, in case their Departure should be impeded.—The Captain sends Mr. SHARP and Mr. M. WILSON to PELEW, with all the Tools and Iron they could spare, with Assurances of the rest, as foon as the Veffel was launched; and to notify to the King that be purposed to sail in six or seven Days.—They meet the King and his Retinue on their Way to OROOLONG.-Go back with him to the Island of Pethoull, where they pass the Night .- ABBA THULLE receives the Presents graciously.—A great Supper of the King's described.—They all come next Day to Oroolong.—MADAN BLANCHARD informs Captain WILSON of a Resolution be bad taken to remain behind with the Natives; -after Arguments used in vain to dissuade bim, be is proposed to the King to be left at Pelew, who, pleased with the Circumstance, takes him under bis Protection.

Monday 3. THE weather being now fair and fettled, with fresh gales of wind from the N. E. the carpenters were employed in making the rudder, and ALBERT PIERSON the

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quarter-master, in making the masts out of some of the finall fpars faved from the wreck; fome busied in caulking the deck, and others in painting the fides, which, in addition to the coat that the King's people intended to give her, would be fufficient to keep out the weather. In the evening they held a confultation about the method of launching their vessel, which they had now nearly completed, when it was agreed to lay ways, though it had been proposed by fome to do it by large rollers, as they fometimes launch cutters.—This was a matter of ferious moment, for had any accident happened to the veffel during this operation, their tools being nearly worn out, and their former resources from the wreck at an end, their destiny must, in all human probability, have been to have passed the remainder of their days, exiled from the rest of the world, in these remote and unknown islands.

This morning many hands went to work in cutting Tuefday 4. down trees to make blocks and launching ways, others in giving the bottom of the veffel another coat of Chinam. Two canoes being feen near the harbour, before night, and neither of them coming in, was a circumstance which contributed not a little to increase the suspicions entertained by our people, these canoes being conjectured to be fpies watching their motions; they having entertained an idea that the natives intended to prevent their departure. At dark they went to a quarter watch, loaded the fwivels and fix-pounder with grape-shot, and kept

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a good look out to prevent furprize.—The alarm our people felt, was, that being near leaving the islands, the natives (who had experienced the great utility the English were of to them) might endeavour to detain them, by attempting to feize their arms, and possess themselves of their vessel.—It was in vain that Captain WILSON strove to remove these apprehenfions, by recalling to their remembrance the generofity the King and all his people had shewn them, on every occasion, since they had been thrown upon his territories; that his behaviour had been always to them humane, unreferved, and unfuspicious; that therefore there could be no room now to doubt the fincerity of a people, who had, in all the time they had been under their protection, never given them any real cause for mistrust; that it materially behoved them, in their present situation, not to let the natives see they entertained any; that by doing otherwise they might put ideas into their minds, which, but for their own indifcretion, might never have occurred. Nor did he fail to fet before them the little avail of all the force of the English, if the natives were resolved upon any such enterprize as they sufpected; he represented to them, that their ammunition must be foon expended, in case of hostilities; that the natives could hinder their embarking, even if their veffel was launched; that it was in their power, without coming to extremities, to make them fubmit to any terms, by depriving them of the spring of fresh water, should they chuse to come to the island in any number.

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All these arguments were ineffectual to subdue the general apprehension, not more than two or three uniting in sentiment with the Captain; it was therefore concluded, after a long confultation on the matter, that every one should be strictly on his guard; that the swivels and six-pounder should continue to be kept loaded with grape-shot, the small arms ready charged with ball, and the cartouch-boxes filled with loaded cartridges; but that every one should carefully avoid all appearance of fuspicion, unless any uncommon number of canoes should pour into the bay, or those who were in them appear armed with spears, or approach with any hostile parade, in which case every method should be taken to defend themselves; and, as their numbers were inadequate to refift fuch a multitude as might attack them, that they must then use their abilities in singling out the Chiefs, and by fuch a measure throw confusion and difmay among the rest.

As the faithful historian of these transactions, it is my duty to record every material occurrence; though I must confess that my hand shrinks from the paper, whilst, impressed with horror and pity, I am compelled to relate, that the lives first intended to be devoted were, those of the humane, liberal King, the manly and benevolent General, the facetious and inoffensive Arra Kooker. But, however this resolution may shock the reader, yet he will candidly ascribe this daring conception, not to a want of that generosity

which

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which is one of the characteristics of my countrymen, nor to a forgetfulness of the bonds of hospitality; but to its real cause, the weakness of human nature, operating on two conflicting passions, the hope of immediate delivery, and the dread of perpetual detention; the agitated mind faw no alternative, and in its perturbation threw down the barrier of every nicer fentiment.

After the desperate resolution just recorded to have been taken, it is with particular fatisfaction that I refume my penand have it in my power to inform the reader, that this frenzy of the English, suggested by anxiety and despair, was but of fhort duration; the cool reflections of the night weakened their apprehensions, by convincing them so fully of the force of the Captain's arguments, that with the Thursday 6. morning, their wonted good-will towards the natives returned, infomuch, that after breakfast he found no difficulty in getting the pinnace manned to go to Pelew with all the iron and tools they could spare, having made the King fuch a promise, whenever their vessel should be completed. Mr. Sharp and Mr. M. Wilson went down in the boat, with orders to inform the King, that the English would be ready to fail in fix or feven days; that the remainder of the tools, and the musquets which he wished to have, should be given him, but that they could not be parted with till fuch time as the veffel was launched; thefe gentlemen had also orders to say, that the English wished to see the King

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and his Chiefs before their departure, that they might make them their personal acknowledgments, and affure them, that when they returned to their own country, they would publicly declare the kind services and protection they had received from them. This was conveyed in the form of a letter, which Mr. Sharp was directed to read to the King in the presence of the two linguists, who were to explain it to him, as coming immediately from the Captain.

While Mr. SHARP and Mr. M. WILSON, together with Tom Rose, the interpreter, were receiving the above inftructions, MADAN BLANCHARD, one of the seamen, came into the tent for some tools that he wanted, and hearing the Captain explaining his letter to Tom Rose, defired him also to tell the King, that when his countrymen went away, he intended to stay behind, and remain with him at Pelew; Captain Wilson defired him not to fend any fuch idle meffage, and to go about his business, and forbad Tom Rose to deliver it; upon which BLANCHARD very feriously desired it might be delivered, affuring the Captain, that it was his fettled determination to remain at Pelew, if the King would permit him. Finding he had taken up such a strange resolution, the Captain endeavoured all in his power to diffuade him from it, setting before him the many difficulties and difadvantages he would have to combat, when his friends and companions were gone, particularly as he had no trade, like that of a carpenter or a fmith, by which he might make

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1783. NOVEMBER. himself of use and consequence to the natives.—The Captain, perceiving all his arguments ineffectual, defired his men would try to divert him from fo fingular an intention; in which if he still persisted, the Captain might know how to act when the King should come next to Oroolong.—The pinnace was dispatched about ten o'clock, with orders to take no notice of BLANCHARD's meffage to the King, but to leave that to be mentioned afterwards, should there be occasion, when he and his Chiefs came up to OrooLong.—Soon after the pinnace failed, the weather became fqually, accompanied with hard rain, which continued most part of the day; this however did not entirely hinder the work, they being employed in fixing the pumps and laying the ways preparatory to launching their veffel.—In the evening, after the people had left off work, fome of them acquainted the Captain, that they had endeavoured, though in vain, to perfuade Blanchard to alter his resolution; as he was determined to speak to the King himself, the first opportunity, about it, finding his message had not been sent: therefore, to avoid any dispute with him, or misunderstanding with the King, it was judged best to let him follow his own inclination; and, in order to engage the natives as much as possible in his interest, as well as to make a merit of what could not be avoided, it was determined to make it appear as a favour to the King, the letting one of the English remain behind with him.—There was fomething in these people, or the

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manners of the country, which had so forcibly worked on BLANCHARD's imagination, the first time he went with them to fight against ARTINGALL, that on his return, while in the canoes, he declared to his companions, that he would most willingly partake of all their labour, would lend them every affistance in his power towards building and fitting out their new vessel; but that when they departed he would remain behind, and end his days among the natives of Pe-Lew.—This was at the time looked on as a jest; but he never varied from these sentiments, and now proved his refolution was unalterable.

Friday 7.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon of this day the pinnace returned, bringing the King, his young favourite daughter, RAA KOOK, and feveral of the Chiefs, in her. Our people gave the following account of the commission they were charged with:—In their passage to Pelew, the preceding day, they saw a considerable number of canoes, which went in shore to avoid the bad weather; on coming nearly abreast of them, one appeared to be making towards the pinnace, which thereupon stood to meet it; in this was the Chief Minister, who gave those in the pinnace some cocoa-nuts and boiled yams; he informed our people that the King had sheltered himself from the weather under the shore, being on his way to Oroolong. After taking some of the refreshments offered, the pinnace went to the King, who was in his canoe, surrounded by several

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Rupacks.

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Rupacks. The pinnace being brought alongfide the King, Mr. Sharp read the letter, which Tom Rose explained to Soogle, the linguist, who communicated its purport to ABBA THULLE. The intention of this vifit being made known, and the tools and iron shewn to the King, he defired they might remain in the pinnace; when, after entering into some conversation with his Chiefs, he acquainted the gentlemen that he would return to the small island of PETHOULL, inviting the English to accompany him in the pinnace, and that the next morning he would attend them to OrooLong. As they were returning to the island, they met RAA Kook in a large canoe, with the wives belonging to the Rupacks, whom he was conducting to Oroolong to fee the launching of the English veffel; the ladies feemed much disappointed at being obliged to return, and on finding their jaunt was put off till the next day; they, in consequence, joined the King.—On landing at Pethoull, they were all conducted to a large house by the water-fide, where being seated, the prefents were brought and laid before the King, when the use of the tools, and the method of working with them, were shewn to him, and his Chiefs, with which they appeared very much pleafed; and a conversation took place between the King and them, but particularly with RAA Kook; towards the close of which, the Malay, Soogle, remarked to them, that the English had fent no musquets; for this impertinent observation he received a fevere rebuke from the General, who,

with

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with a look, and in a tone which testified great indignation, replied, the English had faithfully kept their word, in sending the things they had fent, and in acquainting them of the time of their departure; that they had not spoken with two tongues, as he, worthless Malay! had dared to suggest; and that he had brought shame upon them all, by his advising the King to send only boiled yams to the English, lest, in sending them raw, they should thereby slock themselves, and leave the islands without notice, or without presenting them those things they had promised.—This pointed rebuke of RAA Kook affected the King and Chiefs very much, who by their looks testified their difpleasure at the Malay, in such a manner, that he thought it prudent to retire; after which the company recovered their good-humour, and ABBA THULLE distributed fome of the tools and iron amongst the Rupacks, every one having fomething given him. Supper was then brought in, and placed on stools in the middle of the house; abundance was also set out before the house, and distributed to the King's attendants.—The company were ferved with fea craw-fish, together with some other fish, brought in, and divided by the butlers, who cut it in pieces with a knife made of a split bamboo (with which they carve as handily as we do with our knives) and ferved up to the King's company. Nobody offered to touch a morfel till ABBA THULLE began, and gave the word Munga; when the Rupacks and the company followed his example, and notice was given to

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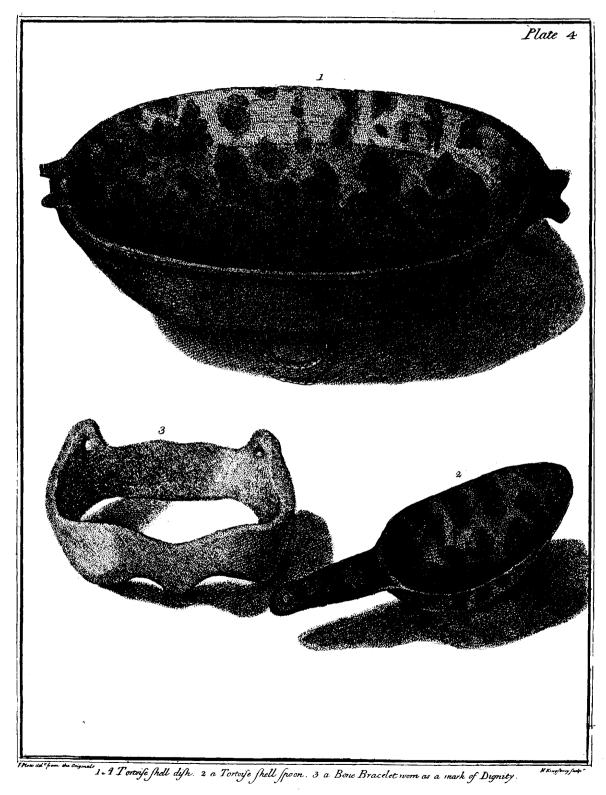
the people without, that the King was at supper, which was their fignal to begin. It now growing dark, torches * were lighted, and placed between the boards, or cracks in the floor, in rows, one before each family, or feparate mess, who fat behind the lights, which were ranged in straight lines lengthways of the house; so that the centre part, from one end of the building to the other, was kept clear and lighted, which had a very pleafing effect, none fitting face to face in their own party. A little space was preserved between one Chief and another, each Chief keeping with his distinct family. As to our people, they, as strangers, were welcome to all; they alternately fat with the King, with RAA KOOK, and with the other Rupacks. When the fish was portioned out, each family's share was laid on a plantainleaf; and this leaf, in general, served them as a plate, though on occasions of particular ceremony, when at home, the great people have small plates or dishes of tortoise-shell, and also others made of wood and earthen-ware.

See Plate IV.

Having indulged an hour's conversation after supper, each party cleared away the litter of the meal, by sweeping it down between the boards of the floor; the attendants then

* On being analysed, these torches appear to be a Resin mixed with small pieces of wood. The resin is probably the exudation of some tree; but it is uncertain whether the wood is little bits of bark which inevitably mix with the resin in scraping it off, or whether they are purposely joined with it, to supply the place of a wick, and render it less liable to run and dissolve hastily, like a stick of wax.—They have long leaves twined and tied round them, to prevent their sticking to the hand.—When lighted, they afford an agreeable smell.

of



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keep off the mosquitos.

THE PELEW ISLANDS.

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of each family brought in to their respective masters their mats, which they always carry with them in their canoes whenever they are to sleep from home; they are made thin and light, laying one under, and another over them: the King sent mats for the English; and every one's bed being quickly made, they all laid themselves down, the torches were extinguished, a total silence prevailed, and every individual composed himself to rest; a fire being first lighted to

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Between the hours of two and three, a messenger from an island to the northward arriving, the King was thereupon awakened by one of his attendants, who brought in a lighted torch; he instantly arose, and ordered the messenger to be introduced; after holding some conversation with him, the King delivered to him a piece of cord, on which he had tied as many knots as there would be days before our people purposed to fail; this they were afterwards acquainted with, and also informed the above message was occasioned by a defire which some of the northern Chiefs, who were the friends of ABBA THULLE, felt to know the time when the English intended to depart—not to gratify idle curiofity, not to increase the unjust and ungenerous apprehensions entertained by our people of the natives of these unknown regions; but to throw in, towards their fea-store, whatever their country produced, which these benevolent children of nature thought might be of use, or acceptable to the depart-

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1783. November. ing strangers, and to those strangers they might never more see!—The messenger being dispatched, the King retired again to his mat.

Early in the morning ABBA THULLE and his Rupacks went to bathe, and returned to breakfast, when he prepared to proceed to Oroolong.—Mr. Sharp and Mr. M. Wilson invited the General to go with them in the pinnace, which he accepted, ordering his canoes to attend the King.—When they had got about two or three miles from the island, it began to blow fresh, so that the canoes were obliged to make their way along the shore for shelter; RAA KOOK, delighted to fee the pinnace fail so well, and feel so little the effect of the bad weather, requested his two friends to go in shore to the King, and ask him on board; which they immediately complied with.—ABBA THULLE, with his young daughter, and the CHIEF Minister, came into the pinnace; the wind still freshening, they made great way, the boat rolling much, going before the wind and fea.—The King and his company expressed great satisfaction in finding they sat there so dry and comfortable to what they could have done in a canoe, which is only fit for fmooth water; our people perceiving he was so pleased with the pinnace, informed him, that the Captain intended to prefent him with that boat when they went away; on which he defired his brother RAA KOOK to be very particular in observing in what manner the fails were managed.

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They brought with them many things for prefents; and foon after ABBA THULLE and the General, agreeable to their promise, set their people about painting the vessel, as also the masts, booms, bowsprit, &c.—About three o'clock in the afternoon the veffel was lowered off the blocks down upon the ways; but being too much over to one fide, was fwept with a rope, and a tackle got upon it, to bouse her over.—The King, attentive to all he faw, understood what was doing, and fetching a long pole, was going to apply it as a lever to heave her over, but was requested to desist, for fear of straining her; fhe was with eafe got fair upon the ways, and all things made ready for launching in the morning.—ABBA THULLE fat down near the veffel, talking with RAA Kook and the other Chiefs; then calling to Tom Rose, bade him inform the Captain, who was at some distance, that they wished to fpeak to him; who being come, the King ordered the linguist to acquaint him, that they wished the vessel to have a Pelew name, as they supposed it was then called by some English one, which they defired might be changed to OrooLong, in remembrance of its having been built there; the Captain affured them it should immediately be done-fent for his officers and people, and communicated to them the King's request; they were pleased with his idea, which the King perceiving, expressed himself greatly satisfied.—Soon afterwards ABBA THULLE, with his attendants, went over to the watering-place, and defired Captain Wilson to go with him;

when

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1783. NOVEMBER. when they arrived there, some canoes were just come in from fishing, and he ordered what had been caught to be divided, and the best portion to be given to the English; this feemed to be the purport of the invitation. But a business of more confequence took place at this visit: the third mate, the gunner, and ship's steward, came over, and informed the Captain, that BLANCHARD was coming himfelf to speak to the King concerning his intention of remaining at Pelew; after a short consultation, it was agreed to abide by their former determination. The Captain, in consequence, talking with ABBA THULLE about their departure, told him he would, in return for the hospitable kindness that both he and his people had shewn them, leave one of his men with them, to take care of the guns and other things they intended to give him when they went away; which appearing to the King as a testimony of confidence and esteem, could not fail to be very acceptable.—Evening coming on, our people returned to the tents, having first informed BLANCHARD that the matter he wished was settled, and introduced him to their Pelew friends as the person whom they intended should remain with them.

In the night the weather was exceedingly bad, blowing a hurricane, with so much rain that no work could be done at low-water, toward getting ready for the launch in the morning.—At day-light the weather was cloudy, with little wind; but from the very high wind in the night it was thought

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best to defer launching the vessel, as it was judged the next tide would not rife fufficiently high for that purpose. -The King with his attendants (but unaccompanied by any women) came over land to the tents very early, and immediately fet his men to work to make good the places where the tempest of the night had washed away the paint.—Abea THULLE, converfing with the Captain, gave him to understand, that they would have bad weather until the moon quartered, and, left he should not be fully explicit, he took up a large leaf, and with his fingers tore it till it became round, to figure the full moon, which happened to be the then state of that planet; when he had shewn this, he altered its rotundity into the form of a crefent, thereby intimating that the weather would continue unfettled, until that alteration took place in the moon's appearance: but, as the remaining fuch a length of time would have been very irkfome to all, who now felt an increased impatience to get away, Captain Wilson affigned, as a reason against any longer delay, that by it they might arrive, in all probability, at CHINA (whither he knew they were bound) after all the ships of his country were failed for Europe, which would detain them there till the subsequent season.

While painting the veffel this morning, the stern was particularly decorated by RAA KOOK, under the immediate direction of the King; our people took notice that he made on each fide of the stern two circles, one within another, in

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1783 NOVEMBER. black and white, with fome little zig-zag ornaments hanging from them; thefe were not the effect of chance, but defign, as, during the time that the General was making them, the King was talking to him, and appeared to be giving directions, not feriously, but in a pleasant and rather jocose way. The painting being finished, the General and ARRA KOOKER joined the King and the Captain, who was fitting with him; after some conversation, several baskets of old cocoa-nuts in a state of vegetation, and some other seeds, were brought; and the linguist acquainted the Captain that they were brought to Oroolong to be planted for the Englift.—RAA KOOK then defired Captain Wilson would accompany him and ARRA KOOKER, and shew them where he would like to have them planted, and that some of our people, with tools, would affift them, by digging the holes; which being done, the General and his brother planted feveral cocoa-nut and other fruit-trees round the cove where the English lived; and it was observed, that in covering each nut, or feed with earth, they faid fomething gently to themselves, with an appearance of folemnity that looked like a folemnrite. When they had completed this work, they told the Captain these would be future fruits for him, and the Englifb, whenever they returned; and that, should any inhabitants of the other islands accidentally come on shore at Oroo-LONG, and eat thereof, they would thank the English for their refreshment.—In the evening they tried to launch the vef-

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fel, but to their great disappointment could not move her, until the tide began to fall; they therefore let every thing remain until the next tide, hoping in that time to discover and remove the obstruction.

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BLANCHARD having come over with the King in the morning, gave an account to his comrades of his treatment after the Captain and his companions had left him; the King, he faid, was very much pleafed in the thought of his being to remain at Pelew, and with his readiness to stay with them, and had promised to make him a Rupack, and to give him two wives, together with a house and plantations; assuring him, that he would do every thing to make him happy and contented, and that he should always be with himself or RAA KOOK.

MADAN BLANCHARD was a man of a fingular character, about twenty years of age, of rather a grave turn of mind, at the fame time poffeffing a confiderable degree of dry humour; and what rendered the circumstance of his determination the more remarkable was, its being well known that he had formed no particular attachment on the island. His good-tempered, inoffensive behaviour during the voyage had gained him the regard of all his ship-mates; and, seeing the extraordinary resolution he had taken of remaining behind, every one was anxious to interest the natives in his favour. As he persevered in his resolution to the last, every reader will naturally feel a wish to learn somewhat of the

fubsequent

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1783. November. fubsequent fortune of a man voluntarily cutting himself off from the rest of the world—dubious as the event may be, whether this knowledge may hereafter ever reach our ears. It is by no means improbable, if he has conducted himfelf well, that by this time he may have become a character of confiderable confequence: courage he possessed in an eminent degree, a virtue held in high estimation by the natives. Unfortunately, his fituation in life having denied him any advantage of education, he was unable either to write or read, otherwise his memoirs, fince the year 1783, well digested, might, to all the investigators of simple nature, be infinitely more interesting than those of half the ministers and statesmen of Europe, who have only bequeathed to posterity a remembrance of all those dark counsels, secret devices, and profligate intrigues, which disturbed the tranquillity of the age they lived in.

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CHAPTER XIX.

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The Vessel successfully launched.—The great Satisfaction expressed by the Natives on the Occasion.—Our People give the King the Remainder of the Tools.—Captain Wilson sent for by the King to the Watering-place, who proposes to make him a Rupack of the first Rank.—Invests him with the highest Order of the Bone.—A Description of the Ceremony.

THE night proving fine, every hand had fufficient employment in preparing things for launching the veffel; they swept her with a lower-shroud hawser, and carried out an anchor and hawser a-head, and got a runner and tackle purchase upon it; they likewise got a post with wedges set against the stern-post, and every thing ready before day-light. The tide ebbed extraordinary low this night, insomuch that some of our people walked dry to the flower-pot island, which had never been done at any other time before since their coming to this place; it was low-water rather before two o'clock this morning. At day-light they began

to try their work, to fee if their preparations would answer

Sunday 9.

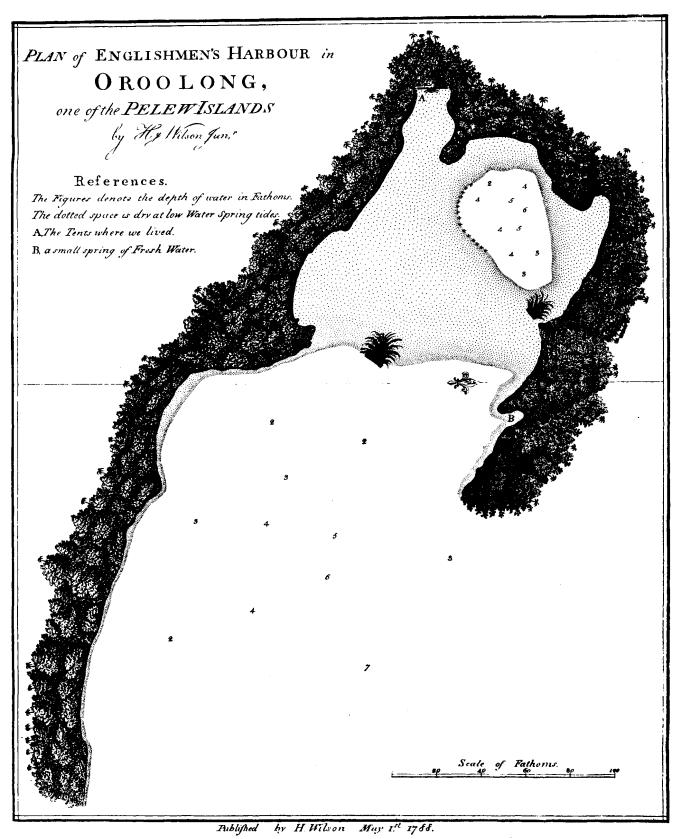
their

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1783. NOVEMBER. their wishes, and got the vessel down about six feet; they then stopped till high-water, and sent to the King, who with all his attendants came over to be prefent at the launch.— About feven o'clock, our people happily got their veffel afloat, to the general joy of every spectator, all appearing deeply interested in the success of this event.—The English gave three loud huzzas at her going off, in which they were joined by the natives, whose friendly hearts seemed on this occasion to feel a satisfaction little inferior to that of our own people, which may be supposed to have been great indeed.—The English shook hands with each other, with a cordiality but feldom experienced; and the mutual look of congratulation, exchanged from eye to eye, conveyed to each other's feelings, with energy and ardour, those fentiments of transport which words would not with equal force have communicated. The long-wished-for moment of deliverance was now almost arrived; every one faw again, in imagination, those objects of his affection, from whom, but a few weeks past, he thought he had been separated for ever. And the part the inhabitants of Pelew appeared to take in the comfort of the day, extinguished for the present every alarm that had been unjustly entertained.—Indeed the conduct of the latter now exhibited, in loveliest colours, the triumph of native benevolence.—They faw those strangers ready to depart, from whose aid they had benefited, and

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from whose talents and art they had received a knowledge and information which had never hitherto reached them; they saw them exhibitated with the prospect of returning once more (after all their dangers) to their own country, whither they were bearing back those envied faculties which they might never witness again. And yet we behold these virtuous natives, glowing with the spirit of true philanthropy, in the general transport forgetting themselves, and

rejoicing with those that rejoiced!

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The vessel was immediately hauled into a dock that had been dug for her, and fafely moored, when all went to breakfast—the King and the Rupacks with the Captain, the attendants with the people: this was indeed the happiest and most comfortable meal they had eaten fince the loss of the ANTELOPE. When breakfast was over, they got up fhears, and took in the masts, the water-casks, and the two fix-pounders. They now made the King a prefent of all the other tools they could spare; and took up the ways, on account of the nails, of which they were in want. The veffel having stopped two or three times in the launching, which had caused them some trouble, and more uneasiness; in taking up the ways, they perceived that it had been occafioned by a nail in the bottom not being drove home, the head of which had grooved the plank all the length of the ways.—When the flood-tide came in the afternoon, they hauled the vessel into the bason, which was a deep place of

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Monday 10.

four or five fathom water, in the middle of the level fandy flat of the harbour, large enough to hold three vessels of the fame magnitude, where they could lie afloat at low water. In the night they got on board all their provision, ftores, ammunition, and arms, except fuch as were intended to be given to ABBA THULLE; and renewed their labour in the morning, taking on board their anchors, cables, and other necessaries, making bitts, and fitting a rail across the stern of the vessel. In the morning the King sent a mesfage to Captain Wilson, defiring him to come to him at the watering-place; and on his arrival acquainted him, that it was his intention to invest him with the order of the Bone, and make him in form a Rupack of the first rank. The Captain expressed his acknowledgments for the honour he purposed to confer on him, and the pleasure he felt at being admitted a Chief of Pelew.—The King, and all the Rupacks, then went and fat down under the shade of some large trees, and Captain WILSON was defired to fit at a little distance; when RAA Kook receiving the Bone, prefented it, as from his brother ABBA THULLE, and wanted to know which hand he used in common; this the General wished to ascertain, by putting a stone in his hand, which he defired him to throw at a distance; finding it was the right hand he naturally used, he was again requested to fit down, and the Bone was applied to his left hand, to fee if it was large enough for his hand to flip through;

being

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being not found fufficiently fo, it was rasped away, till judged to be wide enough, when RAA KOOK, the CHIEF Minister, and all the Rupacks, proceeded to the investment, in the following manner:—The General made a string fast to each of the fingers of the Captain's left-hand, and then lubricating the hand with oil, the CHIEF Minister placed himself behind the Captain, holding him fast by the shoulders; RAA KOOK then passed the different strings through the Bone, and giving them to another Rupack, they endeavoured to draw his hand through; RAA Kook at the same time, with his own hand, compressing that of the Captain into the smallest compass he possibly could, so that the Bone might pass over the joints. During this the most profound silence was preserved, both by the Rupacks who affifted, and the people who attended as spectators, except by the King, who occasionally suggested in what manner they might facilitate the operation. The point being at last obtained, and the hand fairly passed through, the whole affembly expressed great joy. ABBA THULLE then addressing Captain Wilson, told him, that the Bone should be rubbed bright every day, and preserved as a testimony of the rank he held amongst them; that this mark of dignity must, on every occasion, be defended valiantly, nor suffered to be torn from his arm but with the loss of life.

The ceremony ended, all the Rupacks congratulated Captain Wilson on his being one of their Order; and the in-II h 2 ferior

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1783. NOVEMBER. ferior natives flocked round to look at the *Bone*, and appeared highly pleafed to fee his arm adorned with it, calling him *Englees Rupack*.

Those who may have been witnesses of the conferring the more splendid Orders of distinction, bestowed by fovereigns of powerful and polished kingdoms, where the Gothic hall is decorated with waving banners—where mitred prelates affift the ceremony-where the pomp of regal state imposes on the sense-and the blaze of superb ornaments, beaming from female beauty, gracing the ceremony, overpowers the spectator with a vast display of magnificence—fuch may with a fmile of contumely read the conceptions of these children of nature, or be disposed to ridicule the simplicity with which the unadorned natives of Pelew hold a chapter of their highest Order of the Bone. But it will be recollected, that the object and the end are every where the fame.—This mark of distinction is given and received in those regions as a reward of valour and fidelity, and held out as the prize of merit. -In this light fuch public honours were originally confidered, and still ought to be so, in every state, from Pelew to Britain.—And while they continue to be thus regarded, they will operate on the human passions, excite emulation, inspire courage, promote virtue, and challenge respect.-The decoration indeed derives all its splendor from the combined ideas of the mind whilst viewing it; and the

imagination

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imagination is equally impressed with the same sentiment, whether the badge of honour be a strip of velvet tied round the knee, a tust of ribband and cross dangling at the buttonhole, a star embroidered on the coat,—or a Bone upon the arm.

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CHAPTER XX.

The good Conduct of the Natives, not to disturb or impede the Operations of our People.—The King informs Captain Wilson of his Intention to send his second Son, Lee Boo, under his Care, to England.—Raa Kook having also solicited Abba Thulle's Permission to accompany the English, is refused by his Brother, on very prudential Motives.—A singular Occurrence respecting one of the King's Nephews.—The Time of the Vessel's Departure noticed—and, preparatory to it, an Inscription, cut on a Plate of Copper, is fixed to a large Tree, to record the Loss of the Antelope.

Monday 10.

Carried on board from the old habitations at the Cove.—Our people being much hindered by the natives wishing to come on board the vessel to see and admire her, it was observed by RAA KOOK, and mentioned by him to the King, who immediately gave directions that none but the Chiefs should go, and that the others should only paddle alongside, and look at her from their canoes. When all the stores were on board, and the fails bent, the Captain invited ABBA THULLE to accompany him in her round to the wa-

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tering-place, which he declined, and went with his attendants over land; the invitation was however accepted by the General and Arra Kooker, who were highly delighted at every manœuvre; their canoes, with many others, full of the natives, attended them, shouting, hallooing, and rejoicing, RAA KOOK calling out continually to his people to observe every motion and action of the English in conducting their vessel. They carried her to the west side of the island, and moored her in fix fathom, abreast of the well of fresh water.—Captain Wilson then went on shore to the King, accompanied by RAA KOOK and ARRA KOOKER, who related to their brother every circumstance they had noticed, describing particularly the man heaving the lead, and the manner of anchoring.—Some canoes, as usual, had been out a fishing, and caught a great quantity, of which they had made no distribution, waiting for the English to come and fhare with them; this friendly attention could not be accepted, as all our people were on board, and they had no convenience as yet made for a fire-place in their little veffel. The King then asked the Captain to stay and eat some of the fish with him, which he complied with, the interpreter remaining with him.

ABBA THULLE had, in his visits to OrooLong, been always a very attentive observer of whatever he saw the English were employed in, standing by them frequently whilst at work for a considerable time, and noticing every trivial oc-

currence.

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rence.—He had already, as will be recollected, hinted an intention of fending two of his people to ENGLAND, whenever the vessel was ready to depart; and this evening, after fupper, reverting to what he had formerly mentioned, he explained himself more fully on the subject; he told the Captain, that though his subjects looked up to him with respect, and regarded him as not only superior in rank but in knowledge, yet, that after being with the English, and contemplating their ingenuity, he had often felt his own infignificance, in feeing the lowest man, whom the Captain had under his command, exercise talents that he had ever been a stranger to; he had therefore resolved to intrust his second fon, whose name was LEE Boo, to Captain WILSON'S care, that he might have the advantage of improving himfelf by accompanying the English, and of learning many things, that might at his return greatly benefit his own country.—He added, that one of the Malays from Pelelew should also go to attend on him.—He described his son as a young man of an amiable and gentle disposition; that he was fensible, and of a mild temper, and spoke much in his commendation; faid he had fent for him from a diffant place, where he had been under the care of an old man; that he was then at Pelew, taking leave of his friends, and would be with him at OrooLong the next morning; RAA KOOK also joined, with his brother ARRA KOOKER, in giving the fame good character of their nephew.

Captain

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Captain Wilson replied, that he was exceedingly obliged and honoured by this fingular mark of his confidence and esteem; that he should have thought himself bound in gratitude to take care of any person belonging to Pelew, whom the King might fend; but in this case, he wished to affure him, that he should endeavour to merit the high trust reposed in him, by treating the young prince with the same tenderness and affection as his own fon.—This answer gave visible fatisfaction; and then the conversation changing, the King expresfed a wish that the veffel might go down to Pelew before her departure; the reason he assigned for making this request was, that many of the men had enjoyed various opportunities, at Oroolong, of seeing the vessel and her construction; but that this had not been the case with the aged, the women, and the children; that, if they went down to Pelew, these latter would then have the pleasure of gratifying their curiofity; that the mothers would hereafter talk over to their children and families the fingularity of the fight, recall the circumstance to their memories, and by this means the name of the English, and of their building such a vessel on the island of Oroclong, would be preserved by his people, which was what he much wished.—Captain WILSON, who well knew the disposition of his own people, and was in his mind fully perfuaded that their former fuspicions would revive, and induce them to doubt whether fome treachery

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1783. November. was not concealed under this request; fearing also, that the eagerness of the natives to come on board and view her interior, as well as her exterior form, might cause confusion and delay, opposed the King's proposal, by suggesting such well-conceived objections to it, that he acquiesced, and nothing more was ever said on the subject.

It may not be improper in this place to notice, that from the time RAA Kook was busied with the King in painting the veffel, it was observed, that there was a pensive gloom about him, which they had never before feen cloud his countenance, naturally open and cheerful.—The Captain found it had been occasioned by a disappointment he had met with.—His great attachment to the English had induced him to ask his brother's permission to accompany them to England, to which the King had refused his consent; affigning the necessity he was under to object to it, from the circumstance of his being the next heir, and the inconvenience that would arise in case of his own death when he should be absent; the succession of the sovereignty of Pelew first devolving to the brothers of the King, in fuccession, and after their deaths reverting to the eldest fon of the first branch of the family; the fecond fon becoming, of course, hereditary General of the forces. And though the good understanding which RAA Kook possessed, shewed him the impropriety of what he had defired, and the prudent ground of his brother's refusal, yet it was evidenz

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evident it had much depressed him; indeed, the very strong partiality he had from the first testified for our countrymen, the pleasure he always seemed to enjoy in their society, and the interest he certainly felt in their welfare, would naturally touch his fenfibility, make him fee with regret the fails of his departing friends unfurled, and anticipate the pang of a farewel look!

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At day-light every body was busied, in filling water, Tuesday 11. bending the fails, completing the fire-place, and getting the vessel ready for sea.

Early this forenoon a circumstance arose of a nature too fingular to be omitted.—There was a young man frequently with our people, who had taken a pleasure to affimilate himself to all their ways and manners, and who now applied to Captain WILSON, to folicit him to take him in his vessel to ENGLAND; he was answered by the Captain, that it would be impossible to do it without the direction and confent of the King, who had already spoken to him of taking his fon and another man; but, that as he wished it, he would speak to the King, and know his pleafure.—The young man above alluded to, was the King's nephew, and fon of that brother who had been killed at ARTINGALL, and whose death had occasioned the war which had fo lately been terminated between his uncle and those people.-Captain Wilson accordingly mentioned the

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affair

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1783. NOVEMBER. affair to the King, who appeared much displeased at the application; faid his nephew was a bad man, and neglected his family; that he had himself, two or three times, fince the decease of his father, changed his house and plantation for him, in order to cure his rambling disposition, but that nothing feemed to affect, or alter him.—The nephew now presented himself to urge his own fuit, probably thinking, that the Captain, being prefent, would fecond his request.—The King gave him an absolute denial, saying, "You are undutiful, and neglectful of your mother; you have " deserving and good women for your wives, to whom, as well " as to all your relations, you behave ill, for which you have " been justly exposed throughout the whole island.—You are " ashamed of your conduct, and would now fly from your fa-"mily; you shall not have my consent, and I desire the Captain "not to countenance you;—stay at bome,—and let your sense " of shame amend your life."

The Captain intimated to ABBA THULLE, that the veffel being completed, and the weather and wind fair, they intended to fail the next day: this circumstance seemed to give him great concern; he said he had, by the return of the messenger who came to him at the island of Pethoull, sent word to the Rupacks of the different islands in friend-ship with him, that the day after the day that the Captain now mentioned would be the time of departure, they all wishing

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wishing to bring the English some presents for their voyage, as memorials of their regard; and would in confequence come up the evening of the next day, in full hope of feeing them before they quitted OROOLONG, a fatisfaction they would now be deprived of.—Captain WILSON told ABBA THULLE, they had been so amply stocked with provisions by what his goodness had prepared for them, that they had fufficient store for all their voyage, and that the wind and weather befriending them, they must request to take leave of him the next day. The disappointment the Chiefs would feel, fenfibly affected the King, as well as the recollection that he had himself been made the innocent instrument of deceiving them. The Captain was also much hurt at finding the uneafiness this circumstance had occasioned, and the more fo, when he perceived that the generofity of the King's mind foon overcame it; for he almost directly told him, that as it must be the last day, he requested himself and his officers would dine with him on shore; which they all accordingly did.—The true cause which induced the English to think of going a day earlier than they had given out, was to avoid the vast concourse of strangers, who they knew were coming, and who, they feared, would impede their operations by the number of their canoes, and their curiofity to examine the veffel; the buftle and confusion that this would necessarily have occasioned, must have unavoidably incommoded

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1783. NOVEMBER. moded our men, and prevented them from going away with that calmness and recollection which their departure, and their passage over the reef, required.—After dinner, Arra Kooker, who had, from the first day of his seeing the Newfoundland Dog, set his heart on the animal, and had often expressed a longing desire to possess it when our people went away, now renewed his solicitations: from the earnestness with which he begged it, and the care he assured them he would take of it, they were induced to make him happy, and relinquish all right in poor Sallor.

RAA KOOK, whose thoughts were of a different turn, and whose ideas were wholly intent on benefitting his country by every information he could obtain from the English, made many enquiries about the method of building a veffel in their way; Mr. BARKER drew him a plan to work by, recommending the jolly-boat as a model, rather than the pinnace, she being broader, and not of so deep a form. He expressed a wish to have the launching-ways left, and faid, if he was able to compass such a purpose, that he would do it on the same spot, esteeming it to be fortunate.-ABBA THULLE, who had been diverted by ARRA KOOKER'S request, appeared to lend a very serious attention to the fubject which had fo much engaged RAA KOOK; observing that with the iron and tools they had now in their poffeffion, they could do more work in a few days, than they could

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could before in as many months.—While the Captain was on shore, some words had arisen between two of his men on board, which had produced a blow, and a bloody nose; this passing on the deck, and being seen by many of the natives, who were alongfide in their canoes, the account of it foon reached the shore; the Captain went immediately on board to enquire the cause. After reprimanding the parties, he returned to the King, who being apprized of the business, was told that it was a triffing dispute, and the effect of pasfion; on hearing which, he faid, "there were in all coun-" tries bad men, who he supposed could not be kept in order." Some of the Rupacks, however, asked if such an accident might happen to the young man who was to go with him (meaning the King's fon); Captain WILSON affured them no fuch thing could, as LEE Boo would be as his own fon, and entirely under his own care: with which answer they all appeared fatisfied.

Before our people quitted the Cove, they left an English pendant hoisted on a large tree, which grew close to where their tents had stood; and cut upon a plate of copper the following inscription, which after being nailed to a thick board, was affixed to a tree near the spot where they had, built their little vessel:

The

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The Honourable
English East India Company's Ship
The ANTELOPE,

HENRY WILSON, Commander,
Was loft upon the reef north of this island
In the night between the 9th and 10th of
August;

Who here built a vessel,
And sailed from hence
The 12th day of November 1783.

The meaning of this inscription was explained to the King, and that it was put up as a memorial of the English having been there.—He was pleased with the idea, and explained it himself to his own people, promising that it should never be taken down, and if by any accident it should happen to fall, he would take care of it, and have it preserved at Pelew.

The discourse of the day turned much on the subject of their departure; whilst they sat together, Abba Thulle, addressing

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addressing Captain Wilson, said, " You are going; and " when gone, I fear the inhabitants of ARTINGALL will " come down in great numbers and molest me, as they bave " done frequently before; and, having lost the aid of the Engsi lish, I shall be unable to resist them, unless you will leave " me a few of your musquets, which you have already taught " me to bope you would."-Captain WILSON spoke to his officers on the propriety of doing this instantly; they seemed fomewhat unwilling to put the arms they actually meant to give them, into their hands till the last moment;—that mistrust which had possessed their minds, still kept its hold, and appeared too ftrongly impressed on their countenances to escape the quick discernment of the King; who, willing perhaps that they should know he had noticed their apprehenfions, with that calm reflecting temper which marked his character, asked if they were afraid to trust him with a few arms? "What is there (faid he) can make you harbour "doubts of me? I never testified any fear of you, but en-" deavoured to convince you that I wished your friendship.-" Had I been disposed to have harmed you, I might have done " it long ago; I have at all times had you in my power-but " bave only exercised that power in making it useful to you "-and can you not confide in me at the last?"

When the foregoing pages are attentively confidered, the hospitality with which our people had been treated, both by ABBA THULLE and the natives, from the first

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7783. NOVEMBER, friendly interview to the present moment—who had spread before them whatever they had to give, or their country produced; and when, added to this, the King, as an unequivocal proof of the high opinion he entertained of the English, was going to confign his own fon to their care—is there a reader who, recalling all these circumstances, can wonder they affected the fenfibility of ABBA THULLE?—Or rather, is there a reader who will not be ready with myfelf to ask, Under what sun was ever tempered the steel that could cut fuch a passage to the heart as this just reproach of the King's ?- Every individual felt its force, and its truth;—every individual also felt how much his mind had injured the virtues of this excellent man.—Nor was the wound of this reproach rendered less acute by the confciousness each man had, of having been so lately induced, by his unjust fears, to join in such destructive counsel against him and his family.

But the eye of philosophy will candidly view and discriminate between the two parties; the people of Pelew, tutored in the school of Nature, acted from her impulse alone, they were open and undisguised; unconscious of deceit themselves, they neither feared nor looked for it in others.—Our countrymen—born and brought up in a civilized nation, where Art assumes every form and colouring of life, and is even perfectioned into a science, were fashioned by education to suspicion and distrust, and awake

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to all their bufy fuggestions.—Such is the fatal knowledge the world teaches mankind, fencing too often the human heart against the inlets of its own happiness, by weakening confidence, the most valuable bond of society!

The King's rebuke was too powerful for our people to resist; they instantly desired the Captain to assure him, that whatever had been promised should be faithfully sulfilled, and, to convince him they could have no suspicions, the arms should be immediately given to him; they accordingly sent on board for the quantity of arms they could with conveniency spare, and on the boat's return presented him with five musquets, five cutlasses, near a barrel of gunpowder, with gun-slints and ball in proportion. Captain Wilson also made him a present of his own sowling-piece, with which he seemed to be particularly pleased, having often seen its effect on the sowls and other birds at Pelew.

And now the gentle spirit of the King appeared to forget every trace of what had happened;—but the scene enabled all who were present to transmit to posterity a most captivating picture of the forcible, yet mild triumph of virtue!

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CHAPTER XXI.

LEE BOO arrives, and is introduced to Captain Wilson; who, at the King's Desire, remains all Night on Shore.—The interesting Manner in which he delivers his Son to his Care.—The Captain gives Blanchard Advice how to conduct himfelf.—In the Morning Signals for sailing reared.—A Boat sent to bring the Captain on board.—The King and his Brothers accompany them to the Reef.—Multitudes of the Natives, in their Canoes, surround the Vessel to testify their Regard.—The King takes an affectionate Leave of the English.—Character of Abba Thulle.—Raa Kook crosses the Reef, and goes a good Way to Sea before he quits them.—His Character.—The English proceed on their Voyage to China.

Tuesday 11. In the evening arrived the King's second son, Lee Boo; he was brought from Pelew by his elder brother, Qui Bill, to accompany our people to England. His father introduced him to Captain Wilson, and then to the officers who were on shore; he approached them all in so easy and so affable a manner, and had so much goodhumour and sensibility in his countenance, that every one

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was immediately impressed in his favour, and felt that interest for him which his amiable manners daily increased.— Before dark the officers took their leave of the King, and went on board the OROOLONG, leaving the Captain behind, whom ABBA THULLE had requested to pass the night on shore. The King now (having LEE Boo close at his fide) discoursed much with him, giving him instructions how to conduct himself, and what he was to attend to; telling him he was henceforward to look upon Captain WILSON as another father, and win his affection by observing his advice. -Then, addressing the Captain, said, "When LEE Boo got " to ENGLAND, he would have fuch fine things to fee, that "he might chance to flip away from him, to run after no-"velty; but that he hoped the Captain would keep him as "much as he could under his eye, and endeavour to mode-" rate the eagerness of his youth."

After further conversation relative to the confidence reposed in Captain Wilson, Abba Thulle concluded his recommendation in nearly these expressions:—" I would "wish you to inform Lee Boo of all things which he ought to "know, and make him an Englishman.—The subject of part—"ing with my son I have frequently revolved; I am well "aware that the distant countries he must go through, differ—"ing much from his own, may expose him to dangers, as "well as to diseases that are unknown to us here, in conse—"quence

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"to this;—I know that death is to all men inevitable, and
"whether my son meets this event at Pelew, or elsewhere, is
"immaterial.—I am satisfied, from what I have observed of
"the humanity of your character, that if he is sick, you will be
kind to him; and, should that happen, which your utmost
care cannot prevent, let it not hinder you, or your brother,
or your son, or any of your countrymen, returning here; I
fhall receive you, or any of your people, in friendship, and rejoice to see you again."

Captain WILSON repeated his affurance, that he would have the same care for LEE Boo as for his own child, and that nothing should be wanting on his part to testify, in his attention to the son, the gratitude and regard he should ever feel for the father.

The thoughts of the King, as well as those of the Captain, were too much engaged, to devote much of the night to sleep; Abba Thulle passed a considerable part of it, as did also the Rupacks, in discoursing with their young countryman, who was now launching into a new and untried world, and on the point of being separated by an immense distance from every former connection.—Being so near to their departure, Captain Wilson took this opportunity to talk again with Blanchard, and to give him advice how he should conduct himself towards the natives.

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natives, and in what things he could be instructive and beneficial to them; particularly in working fuch iron as had been given to them, and what more they might hereafter obtain from the wreck; and also in taking care of the arms and ammunition they had left them, which would be of the utmost consequence; requesting he would never go naked, like the natives, as, by preferving the form of dress his countrymen had appeared in, he would always support a superiority of character; and, that he might be better enabled to follow this advice, he was furnished with all the clothes they could spare; and directed, when these were worn out, to make himself trowsers with a mat, which he could always procure from the natives, and thereby preferve that decency he had always been accustomed to.-Nor in the instructions delivered to him, were forgotten an attention to his religion; he was earnefly exhorted not to neglect those acts of devotion which he had been taught to practise: and to keep a Sabbath or Sunday, and follow those Christian duties in which he had been educated.—He was laftly defired to ask for any thing that he might think would be of use and comfort to him:—when he requested to have one of the ship's compasses; and, as the pinnace was to be left, that they might have the masts, fails, oars, and every thing belonging to her; which were all given, as foon as they had towed the veffel over the reef.

In the morning, at day-light, an English jack was hoisted

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at the mast-head of the vessel, and one of the swivels sired, as a signal for sailing; this being explained to the King, he ordered boats immediately to take on board yams, cocoanuts, sweetmeats, and other things provided for the voyage; beside which, many canoes of the natives, loaded with a profusion of provision, lay alongside the Oroolong; so that, had all the expected northern Rupacks added their intended presents, it would have supplied a ship of sive times the size.

As foon as the veffel was loaded with every thing they could take on board, and got ready for fea, the boat was fent on shore for the Captain; who acquainting the King therewith, he fignified that he and his fon would come on board presently in his canoe.—Captain Wilson then took Blan-CHARD, as also the five men who had come on shore for him, into a temporary house that had been erected for the accommodation of the Rupack MAATH, who was expected from the northward, and being entered, he once more requested BLANCHARD to impress on his memory all that advice which he had before given him, and particularly to be observant of his duty, that the people of Pelew might thereby see that he retained that faith and sense of religion in which he had been trained. He then made the feamen present kneel down with him, and unite in thanksgiving to that Supreme Being, who had not only supported their spirits in the midst of severe toils and dangers, but had

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now opened to them the means of deliverance.—During this act of devotion, the King and his Chiefs remained near the entrance of the house, observed and well knew what our people were about, and preserved a prosound silence.

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It also must be noticed, that when Lee Boo came up, a basket, with some dozens of a fruit resembling an apple, was brought from Pelew; they were of an oblong shape, and in colour of a deep crimson, not unlike what are called in England The Dutch Paradise Apple *.—They spoke of them as a fruit that was very rare, and said they were then just coming in season. The Captain gave one to each of his officers, being a fruit they had not seen before; and the rest he carefully reserved for his young passenger, to treat him with during his voyage.

About eight o'clock in the morning the Captain went on board in his boat; the King, with his fon Lee Boo, and his Rupacks, followed him very foon in their canoes, accompanied by Blanchard; their little vessel was so deeply loaded with their sea stores, that a doubt arose whether she might be able to get over the Reef, it was therefore agreed to land the two six-pounders, and leave the jolly-boat behind, they having no materials wherewith to repair her, and without it she could not much longer swim. This bein made known to the King, and that they were in want of a

^{*} Of this fruit there are different forts, in many of the South Sea islands; it is the Jamboo Apple, the Eugenia Malaccensis of LINNEUS.

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Mr. Sharp had been defired to take the King's fon under his particular care, till the Oroolong should arrive at CHINA; and ABBA THULLE now pointed out Mr. SHARP to him, who he faid was to be his Sucalic; and from that moment Lee Boo attached himself to him, keeping close at his fide in whatever part of the veffel he went. In putting every thing to order before the Oroolong moved, there was a fmall fail belonging to the pinnace, which could not be found. BLANCHARD was now got into the pinnace, in order to take the veffel in tow; he had, with the most unwearied affiduity, lent his countrymen every affistance in his power to the last, and, having laid up carefully the sail enquired after, came on board to shew where he had stowed it; which having done, he wished them all a prosperous voyage, and, without testifying the smallest degree of regret, took leave of all his old ship-mates, with as much ease as if they were only failing from London to Gravesend, and were to return with the next tide.

The Oroolong now proceeded towards the reef; and, loaded as she had been by ABBA THULLE's bounty, even to superfluity, with whatever he conceived might be useful or

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pleafant to his departing friends, yet on either fide of her were a multitude of canoes, filled with the common natives, who had all brought our people prefents from themselves, intreating they might be accepted.—It was in vain they were told that the veffel was fo full there was no room to receive any thing more; each held up a little fomething, "Only this from me"-" Only this from me," was the general cry;—the repetition of which was urged with fuch fupplicating countenances, and watery eyes, that this bewitching testimony of affection and generosity almost overcame every one on board.—From some of those who were nearest, a few yams or cocoa-nuts were accepted; and the poor creatures, whose intreaties could not be attended to, unable to bear the disappointment, paddled a-head, and threw the little prefents they had brought into the pinnace, totally ignorant that she was to return back with BLAN-CHARD.

Several canoes preceded the pinnace, to mark the fafest track for the vessel; and others were stationed at the rees, by the King's command, to point out the deepest water for her passage over it: by all the previous examinations, as well as by the present precautions, the Oroolong cleared the rees without the least difficulty.

The King accompanied the English in their vessel, almost to the reef, before he made a signal for his canoe to come L 1 2 alongside;

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alongfide; he gave LEE Boo his bleffing, wishing him happy and prosperous, which his fon received with great respect.—Seeing Captain WILSON busied in giving directions to his people, he stopt till he found him quite at liberty, and then went up to him and embraced him with great tenderness, shewing, by his looks and voice, how much he was distressed to bid him farewell; he shook all the officers by the hand, in a most cordial manner; saving, "You are happy because you are going home; —I am happy to " find you are happy—but still very unhappy my/elf to see you " going away."—Then, affuring our people of his affectionate wishes for their successful voyage, he went over the side of the veffel into his canoe.—Most of the Chiefs on board left them at the same time, except RAA Kook, and a few men who attended him, who would fee the English clear of danger to the outfide of the reef. As the canoes drew close and furrounded that of the King, the natives all looked up eagerly, as if to take leave, whilft their countenances communicated all their benevolent hearts felt, in looks more expresfive than language. Our countrymen might with truth fay, they left a whole people in tears; and fo fenfibly were they impressed themselves by this interesting scene, that when ABBA THULLE and his train turned back to OROOLONG, they were hardly able to give them three cheers, and their eyes purfued them to catch the latest look, whilst every man

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on board, with the warmest emotions of gratitude, felt the efficacy of his services, which in a great measure had brought about their deliverance—and the steadiness of his friendship, which, though from imaginary alarms at times doubted, they had found firm and unshaken to the last.

Having now bid adieu to this good and amiable prince, it may not be improper to give an outline of his general character.—It is more than probable, that the curtain is for ever dropped between him and the world!—He is entered into his own unnoticed domains, where he and his Ancestry have passed a long succession of ages in oblivious silence, unknowing and unknown to their cotemporaries inhabiting the rest of the globe.—An accident, wholly unexpected, hath given us-at last a transient fight of these people; nor is it likely that they will again be fought, or looked after, as they possess nothing but good fense and virtue, and live in a country which supplies no materials that may tempt the avarice of mankind to disturb their tranquillity.—If they have not, nor yet know the comforts of civilized nations, the advantages of arts, or the blandishments of luxury—they have, in counterpoise, been ignorant of the anxieties they awaken, the passions which they inflame, and the crimes they give birth to! -Even in their state of native simplicity, as pictured in the foregoing pages, there is, I should conceive, sufficient matter to interest, and still far more to admire. With regard to the excellent man, who ruled over these sons of Nature, he cer-

tainly,

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1783. NOVEMBER. tainly, in every part of his conduct, shewed himself firm, noble, gracious, and benevolent; there was a dignity in all his deportment, a gentlenets in all his manners, and a warmth and sensibility about his heart, that won the love of all who approached him.—Nature had bestowed on him a contemplative mind, which he had himself improved by those reslections that good sense dictated, and observation confirmed.—His remarks on the affair of the musquets was as pointed, and at the same time as delicate a reproof as perhaps was ever thrown out.—His conversation with Captain Wilson, respecting his son, whilst it shewed an unbounded considence on the part of the King, marked also the force of great sentiment and reasoning; and his rebuke, when resulting his nephew's solicitation, discovered a heart tutored in the sentiments of resined honour.

The happiness of his people seemed to be always in ABBA THULLE's thoughts.—In order more effectually to stimulate them to useful labour, he had himself learnt all the sew arts they possessed, and was looked on, in some of them, to be the best workman in his dominions.—His requesting from Captain Wilson the Chinese mat, was only to give his people a better pattern than their own to follow; and, in sending his son to England, and in the long instructions given him before his departure, he had not, nor could have, any other object in view, but that of benefitting his subjects by the future improvements he would bring back to his country;

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ideas, which the intercourse he had had with the English must have solely excited.—In short, had his lot been thrown to rule over a great nation, connected with mankind, one is at liberty to conjecture, that his talents and natural disposition might have made him the Peter of the southern world!

Placed as he was by Providence in its obscurer scenes, he lived beloved by his Chiefs, and revered by his people; over whom, whilst he preserved a dignity that distinguished his superior station, he reigned more as the father than the so-vereign.—The eyes of his subjects beheld their naked prince with as much awe and respect, as those are viewed who govern polished nations, and are decorated with all the dazzling parade and ornaments of royalty; nor was the purple robe, or the splendid diadem necessary to point out a character, which the masterly hand of Nature had rendered so perfect!

Having passed the reef, and being clear of present danger, every one would have been in great spirits, had not the pain of quitting these friendly people overshadowed their joy.—RAA KOOK remained very pensive, and suffered the vessel to proceed a considerable way from the reef before he recollected himself, and summoned his canoes to return back.—As this Chief had been their first and truly valuable friend, they presented him with a brace of pistols, and a cartouch-box loaded with the proper cartridges.—The pinnace being now at the side of the vessel, the Captain and officers

were

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1783. NOVEMBER. were prepared to take leave of the General; but, when the moment of separation arrived, he was so affected, that he was at first unable to speak; he took them cordially by the hand, and pointing with the other to his heart, said, it was there he felt the pain of bidding them farewell; nor were there any on board who saw his departure without sharing nearly the same distress.—He addressed Lee Boo by his name, and spoke a sew words to him; but, being unable to proceed, he went into the boat, when, immediately quitting the rope, he gave our people a last affectionate look,—then dropped aftern.

This excellent man appeared to be somewhat upwards of forty years of age, was of a middling stature, rather inclinable to be corpulent; he had great expression of sensibility in his countenance, tempered with much goodnature. His character was firm and determined, yet full of humanity; in whatever he undertook he was steady and persevering; he delivered his orders to the people with the utmost lenity, but would be obeyed; and they, on every occasion, seemed to serve him with ardour and alacrity, as if mingling affection with duty. The reader must have observed, that from his first interview with our people, he had shewn an attachment to them, which was never after lessened or cooled. He was not of so serious a cast as the King, nor had he that turn for humour and mimickry which Arra

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KOOKER fo strongly possessed; but he had abundant goodhumour, was always pleasant and lively, and well-disposed to laughter, when it was occasionally excited. He had an eager fpirit of inquiry, and a defire to examine the causes and reafons of every effect which he faw produced, and was wonderfully quick in comprehending whatever was described to him; his mind was strong and active, his behaviour manly and courteous, and accompanied with so nice a sense of honour, that he felt it wounded whenever any of the natives had, by their little trifling thefts, violated, as he judged, the laws of hospitality, which he held most facred, and always discovered an impatience till he could make them restore what they had taken away. This he carried so far as even to shew his displeasure at the CHIEF minister, for requesting a cutlass of Captain WILSON (at the first interview) thinking it a breach of this virtue, to folicit a favour of those who were so situated, as not to be at liberty to refuse the request, though the granting it might be inconvenient. He was much amused by the peculiar manner of the Chinese, and their way of talking; would frequently fit down to pick oakum with them, on purpose to see more of them, without seeming to intrude. Our people were probably partly indebted to his good offices for the steady friendship the King had for them; at least, on their first coming, he certainly interested his brother in their favour. He beheld all duplicity with indignation, and publicly, before the King, shewed his contempt of

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SOOGLE,

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Soogle, the Malay, who had dared to throw out infinuations prejudicial to the English. He was communicative to our people on every occasion, and at all times willing to explain any thing to them; and, had they always had the linguist at their elbow, or a language in which they could have more eafily converfed with him, many things might have been cleared up, which must now remain undetermined.—With all these excellent qualities, he appeared in his domestic character equally respectable; as the reader will recollect, who has had a view of his pleasant deportment in his own family, and has feen him in all the filent majefty of grief attending the obsequies of a valiant son who had been flain in fighting for his country.—To all these circumstances I must add, that the concern he discovered in taking leave of his nephew, and our countrymen, evidently proved there was no small portion of sensibility lodged about his heart.

Whilst I am closing this last remark on the character of RAA KOOK, I cannot avoid making a general observation on the people of Pelew, who, though they appeared to be Philosophers in adversity, Stoics in pain, and Heroes in death, yet, in many of the more delicate feelings of the human breast, they possessed all the amiable tenderness of a woman!

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CHAPTER XXII.

1783. NOVEMBER.

The English, in the Oroolong, quit the Pelew Islands.—An Account of their Passage from thence to Macao.—Their Arrival there.—They dispose of their Vessel, and proceed to Canton, where they embark for England.

UR countrymen being now in a fair way of getting to CHINA, after parting with their humane friends of PELEW, hauled up along the back of the reef, N. W. by N. having the end of the outer breakers on their lee-beam.—At noon the island of Oroolong bore S. E. by E. ½ E. distant about four leagues, from whence they took their departure; its latitude being 7° 19' north, and longitude 134° 40' east of GREENWICH.

Wednesday,

The two first days after leaving the Pelew islands, our people had tolerable weather, with light squalls and rain, the wind variable from E. to S. E. with which they steered to the northward.—Lee Boo, the first night he slept on board, ordered Boyam, his servant (who was one of the two Malays from Pelelew) to bring his mat upon deck; a warmer covering was prepared for him, to defend him from the cold.—

Thursday
13, and
Friday 14.

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He was the next morning much furprized at not feeing land. -Captain WILSON now clothed him in a shirt, waistcoat, and a pair of trowfers; he appeared to feel himself uneasy in wearing the two first articles, and soon took them off and folded them up, using them only as a pillow; but, being impressed with an idea of the indelicacy of having no clothing, he never appeared without his trowfers; and as the veffel, proceeding northward, advanced into a climate gradually growing colder, he in a little time felt less inconvenience in putting on again his jacket and shirt; to which, when he had been a little time accustomed, his new-taught sense of propriety was fo great, that he would never change his dress, or any part of it, in the presence of another person, always retiring for that purpose to some dark corner where no one could see him.— The motion of the veffel at first made him very sea-sick, and obliged him frequently to lie down; this fickness by degrees abating, he had one of the apples given him which had been brought from Pelew; he expressed a doubt about eating it; but, being told it was the Captain's desire, and that ABBA THULLE had fent them for him, he observed to Boyam, that he was much indulged, none but a few great people having his father's permission to eat of this fruit *.

This young man was remarkably clean in his person, washing himself several times a day; and as soon as he was

perfectly

[•] This remark of LEE Boo's agrees with the King's telling Captain WILSON, when he gave him those apples, that they were a great rarity.

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perfectly recovered from his fea-fickness he appeared to be cafy and contented. The latitude, on the fourteenth at noon, was 9° 38' north by observation.—The day following was cloudy but good weather, with a fwell from the N. E.—They faw a few fea-birds and flying-fish; and, having an observation at noon, found they were in latitude 10° 45' north; the weather continued moderate, though cloudy, and their little veffel (excepting a fmall leak) was found in every respect equal to their hopes.—They had this forenoon prayers read upon deck, all our people having, in this happy deliverance, too strong a recollection of the mercies of Providence not to offer them publicly, with hearts full of gratitude. The latitude at noon was 12° 1' north.—LEE Boo was now so well recovered as to eat a flying-fish that was caught upon deck, and fome yam, having till this time eat very little. —He this afternoon told Boyam, that he was sensible his father and family had been very unhappy from knowing that be bad been sick.

Saturday 15.

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Sunday 16.

The weather continuing fair, with the wind from the N.E. and east, they endeavoured this morning to make Monday 17. more room, by re-stowing their provision and stores; in doing which they discovered that the leak was under the end of one of the floor-timbers: it was proposed to cut it away, in order to come at and stop it from within, but on more mature confideration this was thought to be too

dangerous

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day 18, to \$

Saturday 22.

Sunday 23.

Monday 24.

dangerous an attempt, as it might occasion the starting of a plank, which would expose the vessel to the almost certainty of finking; the idea was therefore immediately given up, as the water made was eafily cleared by two men at the pump.—The latitude at noon, by observation, was 13° 19' north.—In the night they had ftrong fqualls, variable to the northward, with rain, and at times had very hot puffs of wind, as if from land; they kept under an eafy From Tuef-7 fail and a good look-out until day-light, but faw no appear-Friday 21. I ance of land; the weather being very unfettled, with fqualls and rain, and the wind varying at times to the eastward, fouthward, and S. W. with lightning and dark clouds.—On the twenty-first they found, by observation, their latitude to be 17° 47' north, and the next day were in 18° 29' north: the weather continuing very unfettled, with frequent squalls, the wind remaining in the E. and S. E. quarters until the twenty-third, when it veered round to the N. E. with rain, till the next morning, the weather becoming then moderate and fair; the latitude at noon was 20° 43' north, by obfervation; in the night they had fome light fqualls, and kept a good look-out for the land.—In the morning, about three o'clock, having great ripplings in the water, they hauled up to the northward till day-light, when they faw the BASHEE iflands bearing W. N. W. distant about three leagues. This circumftance much pleafed LEE Boo. He was eager to learn their names, which being told him repeatedly,

Tuesday 25.

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until he could pronounce them; he took a piece of line, which he had brought with him for the purpose of making remarks, and tied a knot thereon, as a remembrance of the circumstance.—At seven o'clock the wind changing to the northward, they bore away through a passage between the islands, and at noon were in the China sea, their latitude 21° 5' north, by observation; they had now fair weather with smooth water, and by sour o'clock in the afternoon had lost sight of the Bashee islands.

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The next morning about nine o'clock they faw land upon their quarter, bearing from N. E. i N. to E. N. E. being part of the island of Formosa; at noon their latitude was 21° 49' north. The fair weather continued next day, but with a swell from the northward, which wet them a little; their latitude at noon being 22° 17' north. The wind increasing in the afternoon to a fresh gale, they now felt a material change to cold, of which they were the more sensible from the hot weather they had before experienced. The next morning they saw several Chinese sishing boats, and a small China junk*. At eight o'clock they saw land, being a small hill, bearing N. by W.; at noon they were in latitude 22° 20' north. The wind blowing briskly, at one o'clock in the morning they got soundings at twenty-sive fathom, soft ground;

Wednesday

Thursday:

Friday 28.

Saturday 29.

they

[•] Junk is the name given by Europeans to the Chinese-built vessels employed in their home or coasting trade; some of them are very large, and trade to BATAVIA and MADACCA.

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1783. NOVEMBER. they kept founding during the night, and at seven o'clock in the morning they saw the land, bearing from N. by E. to .W. S. W.: they stood in amongst the islands, as the wind would permit, and at noon were in latitude 22° 8′ north, the high land called the Asses Ears then bearing S. S. W. They steered to the westward amongst the islands until six o'clock in the evening, when they anchored in ten fathom water, a soft clay bottom, amongst some small Chinese vessels.—Lee Boo appeared quite delighted at the sight of land, and the number of boats on the water.

Sunday 30.

The next morning Captain WILSON procured a pilot to conduct their vessel between the islands to MACAO; and when they came in fight of it, an English jack was hoisted at the mast-head, which being seen by the officers of the Portuguese ships at anchor in the Typa, they immediately fent their boats to meet our people, bringing with them fruit and provisions, as also men to assist them, judging, from the fize of their little vessel, that they must be part of some English ship's crew that had been wrecked; and one of the officers was so obliging as to wait with his boat to take the Captain on shore to the Governor; who, being at that time engaged on particular business, desired to be excused from seeing the Captain, but acquainted him, by the officer on duty, that they were welcome to the port of MACAO. This gentleman informed Captain WILSON, that the Honourable Company's fupracargoes were all up at

CANTON,

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CANTON, and that there was no English gentleman then at MACAO, but Mr. MINTYRE, to whom Captain WILSON immediately went on taking leave of this officer, having, when before at MACAO, in the ANTELOPE, received many testimonies of this gentleman's friendship; who, when he heard of Captain Wilson's misfortunes, with his wonted humanity and attention ordered provisions to be fent on board the vessel to the officers and people, and such other necessaries as they might stand in need of; whilst the Captain wrote to the Company's *supra-cargoes*, to acquaint them with the fate of the ANTELOPE, as also of his arrival and situation; which letters Mr. MINTYRE immediately forwarded to CANTON.—They now learnt that Peace was established in EUROPE, and that there were a number of English and other ships at Whampoa; that some of the Company's ships were loaded and ready to fail, which was most welcome intelligence.—Before Captain WILSON went on shore, LEE Boo, on feeing the large Portuguese ships at anchor in the TYPA, appeared to be greatly aftonished, exclaiming, as he looked at them, Clow, clow, muc clow! that is, Large, large, very large! He gave our people an early opportunity of feeing the natural benevolence of his mind; for fome of the Chinese boats, that are rowed by poor Tartar women, with their little children tied to their backs (and who live in families on the water) furrounded the veffel, to petition for frag-

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ments

AN ACCOUNT OF

1783. NOVEMBER. ments of victuals—the young Prince, on noticing their supplications, gave them oranges, and such other things as he had, being particularly attentive to offer them those things which he best liked himself.

Monday I.

The next morning Mr. MINTYRE, with a Portuguese gentleman of Macao, accompanied the Captain on board the Oroolong, taking with them all kinds of refreshments and provisions ready dressed. In the evening they took Lee Boo and all the officers on shore, except the Chief Mate, who remained with the people to take care of the vessel, till they should receive orders from the Company's supra-cargoes.

The Portuguese gentleman, who paid Captain Wilson this visit, expressed much pleasure in seeing the Pelew Prince, and on going on shore, requested that the New Man (as he called Lee Boo) might be permitted to visit his family.—This being the first house our young traveller had ever seen, he was apparently lost in silent admiration; what struck most his imagination at first, was, the upright walls and the flat ceilings of the rooms; he seemed as if puzzling himself to comprehend how they could be formed; and the decorations of the rooms were also no small subject of astonishment. When he was introduced to the ladies of the family, his deportment was so easy and polite, that it was exceeded only by his abundant good-nature; so far from

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being embarraffed, he permitted the company to examine his hands, which were tatooed, and appeared pleafed with the attention shewn him. When he retired with Captain Wilson, his behaviour left on the mind of every one prefent the impression, that however great the surprize might be, which the scenes of a new world had awakened in him, it could hardly be exceeded by that which his own amiable manners and native polish would excite in others.

Macao being the first land our people had set foot on since they left the Pelew islands, they congratulated one another very cordially, LEE Boo feeming to join in the congratulation as warmly as any one. Mr. MINTYRE conducted them to his own house, where they were introduced into a large hall lighted up, with a table in the middle covered for supper, and a fideboard handfomely decorated.—Here a new fcene burft at once on LEE Boo's mind, he was all eye, all admiration. The veffels of glass appeared to be the objects which riveted most his attention.—Mr. MINTYRE shewed him whatever he conceived would amuse him; but every thing that surrounded him was attracting—his eye was like his mind, loft and bewildered.—It was in truth to him a scene of magic, a fairy tale.—Amongst the things that solicited his notice, was a large mirror at the upper end of the hall, which reflected almost his whole person. Here LEE Boo thood in perfect amazement at feeing himfelf;—he laughed

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Nor did Lee Boo's surprize at seeing himself in the mirror, much exceed that of each of our own people, though the cause was different, not one of them having ever got a glimpse of their own face from the time of the wreck, each having only noticed the hollow-eyed and lank look of his companions; but when they now stood before the mirror, every one individually perceived that hard labour, hard living, spare diet, and anxiety of mind, had wrought a change in every countenance far greater than they could have imagined.

After passing an evening, which had been rendered pleasant and chearful from the hospitality of their host, and the simplicity of Lee Boo, our people retired for the night: whether Lee Boo passed it in sleep, or in reslecting on the occurrences of the day, is uncertain; but it is more than probable they were the next morning recollected by him in that confused manner in which we recall the traces of a dream.

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The fucceeding day he had more leifure to examine the house in which they had slept; the upright walls and flat cielings still continued to be the objects of his surprize; he was perpetually feeling the first, as if he thought he could thereby gain an idea of their construction: but the latter feeming self-supported, was beyond what his mind could at that time comprehend.

As our people were too numerous to remain with Mr. MINTYRE, without trespassing on him, Captain Wilson requested his assistance to form an establishment of their own; in which he complied, by accommodating them with a house belonging to an *English* gentleman then at Canton; and, having provided them with servants and necessaries for their table, they sent for the crew of the Oroolong on shore, leaving only one officer and a few men on board, who were alternately relieved.

Soon after our people came on shore, some of them went to purchase such things as they were in want of, in doing which they did not forget Lee Boo, who was a favourite with them all; they bought him some little trinkets, which they thought would from their novelty please him.— Amongst them was a string of large glass beads, the first sight of which almost threw him into an ecstasy; he hugged them with a transport that could not be exceeded by the interested possessor of a string of pearls of equal magnitude.— His imagination told him he had in his hands all the wealth

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the world could afford him.—He ran with eagerness to Captain Wilson, to flew him his riches, and, en raptured with the idea that his family should share them with him, he, in the utmost agitation, intreated Captain Wilson would immediately get him a Chinese vessel, to carry his treasures to Pelew, and deliver them to the King, that he might diftribute them as he thought best, and thereby see what a country the English had conveyed him to; adding, that the people who carried them should tell the King, that LEE Boo would foon fend him other prefents. told Captain Wilson, that if the people faithfully executed their charge, he would (independant of what ABBA THULLE would give them) present them at their return with one or two beads, as a reward for their fidelity.— Happy state of simplicity and innocence, whose pleasures can be purchased on such easy terms, and whose felicity arises from an ignorance of those objects which disquiet the human race, and agitate their passions! But one grieves to think this fentiment cannot be indulged, without reflecting how foon a knowledge of the world destroys the illusion of this enviable enchantment!

In a few days Captain WILSON received letters from the fupra-cargoes, expressing their concern for his misfortunes, and the satisfaction they received in his safe return, with his ship's company, after so many perils; accompanying the letters with a variety of necessaries, and warm clothes, and

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advising the disposal of the vessel and stores, as the Chinese government would not admit of her coming up to Whampoa, without paying duty and port charges to a considerable amount.

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Mr. MINTYRE also received letters, desiring him to furnish them with money, and every thing else they might be in want of.—They also received congratulatory letters from their particular friends, on their arrival at MACAO, after the hardships they had sustained; and these were accompanied by other letters from the commanders of feveral of the Company's ships, kindly offering to accommodate them with a passage to England.—And it would be an injustice to the gratitude and feelings of Captain WILSON and his officers, should the recorder of these events omit to mention the kind treatment they experienced from the Company's *[upra*cargoes; from feveral Portuguese gentlemen, inhabitants of MACAO; and also from the Commodore of their ships, who being almost ready to fail for EUROPE, offered Captain WILson, with many kind expressions, a passage in his ship, for himself, and such other persons as he might wish to take with him.

Whilst LEE Boo remained at MACAO, he had frequent opportunities of seeing people of different nations; and also was shewn three English women, who having lost their husbands in India, had been sent from MADRAS thither, and

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were waiting there to return to Europe, to whom the new man, as he was called, gave the preference to any other of the fair fex he had feen.—This early decision made in favour of our country-women, and made by one who could feel no prejudices, but judged by his eye—had this amiable youth lived to have been much known in England, must have insured him the countenance and favour of all the ladies.

Having no quadrupeds at Pelew, the two dogs left there were the only kind he had feen; therefore the sheep, goats, and other cattle which he met with whilst at MACAO, were viewed with wonder. The Newfoundland dog, which had been given to his uncle ARRA KOOKER, being called SAILOR, he applied the word SAILOR to every animal that had four legs.—Seeing some horses in a stable, he called them Clow SAILOR, that is, Great Sailor; but the next day feeing a man pass the house on horseback, he was himself so wonderfully astonished, that he wanted every one to go and see the strange fight. He went afterwards to the stables where the horses were; he felt, he stroaked them, and was inquisitive to know what their food was, having found, by offering them fome oranges he had in his pocket, that they would not eat them. He was eafily perfuaded to get on one of their backs; and when he was informed what a noble, docile, and useful animal it was, he with much earnestness

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earnestness besought the Captain to get one sent to his uncle RAA KOOK, to whom he said he was sure it would be of great service.

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They were now waiting for a permit and boats to take them to Canton, when Captain Churchill, of the Wal-Pole, having made his passage to China against the Mon-Joon, arriving at Macao at this time, was so obliging as to accommodate them with a passage up to Whampoa; only Mr. Benger, with five or six of the men, remaining at Macao with the Oroolong, till she should be disposed of.

During the time LEE Boo was in the WALPOLE, he had fufficient matter to keep all his faculties awake; the furniture, tables, chairs, lamps, and the upright bulk-heads, with the deck over head, were all furprising; after his eye had in filence run over these objects, he whispered to Captain Wilson, that Clow Ship was House. It is more than probable that nothing on board the WALPOLE efcaped his notice, as it was evident nothing on shore did. -At Canton, the number of houses, the variety of shops, and the multitude of artificers, induced him to fay, there was a Tackalby for every thing.—Being at the Company's table at the factory, the veffels of glass, of various shapes and fizes, particularly the glass chandeliers, attracted his notice.—When, on looking round, he furveyed the number of attendants standing behind the gentlemen's chairs, he observed to Captain Wilson, that

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After they had been about five or fix days at CANTON, Mr. BENGER, and the men who remained with him at MACAO, accompanied by Mr. MINTYRE, came up in one of the country-boats to CANTON.—The window where LEE Boo was then at breakfast looked towards the water; the moment he got a distant view of them, without saying a word to the

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Captain, or other person, he sprang from his seat, and was at the edge of the river before the boat reached the shore; he received them with such joy and eagerness, and shook their hands with such expressions of affection, as won their warmest regard; he seemed impatient till he could get them into the house, fearing that by staying behind they had not fared so well as himself.

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When our people went on board the WALPOLE, Mr. MINTYRE had kindly undertaken to manage the business of disposing of the Oroolong; she was accordingly put up to auction, and fold for feven hundred Spanish dollars.—It having been judged that the two time-pieces which they had in her would fetch more money at CANTON, they were brought up there for fale, as were also the surgeon's instruments, the latter being intended as a present to Mr. SHARP; but the carpenter's mate objecting to relinquish his share in them, in consequence of his tools having been disposed of, Mr. Sharp declined the offer; they were therefore put up to fale at Canton, with the time-pieces, and bought by Captain Wilson, who presented them to Mr. Sharp, as an acknowledgment for his attention to, and care of, the ship's company, of whom not a single man had died, or been unable to do duty for any length of time, fince their leaving ENGLAND.

Whilst at Canton, several gentlemen, who had been at Madagascar, and other places, where the throwing of the

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1783. DECEMBER. fpear is practifed, and who themselves were in some degree skilled in the art, having expressed a wish to see Lee Boo perform this exercise; they assembled at the hall of the factory for that purpose.—Lee Boo did not at first point his spear to any particular object, but only shook and poised it, as is usually done before the weapon is thrown from the hand; this they were also able to do: but proposing to aim at some particular point, they fixed this point to be a gauze cage which hung up in the hall, and which had a bird painted in the middle; Lee Boo took up his spear with great apparent indifference, and, levelling at the little bird, struck it through the head, astonishing all his competitors, who, at the great distance from whence they flung, with much difficulty even hit the cage.

He was greatly pleased with the stone buildings and spacious rooms in the houses at Canton; but the slat ceilings still continued to excite his wonder; he often compared them with the sloping thatched roofs at Pelew, and said, by the time he went back he should have learnt how it was done, and would then tell the people there in what manner they ought to build.—The benefitting his country by whatever he saw, seemed to be the point to which all his observations were directed.

Being at the house of Mr. FREEMAN, one of the *supra-cargoes*, amongst the things brought in for tea was a sugardish of blue glass, which much struck LEE Boo's fancy. The joy with which he viewed it, induced that gentleman,

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after tea, to carry him into another room, where there were two barrels of the same kind of blue glass (which held about two quarts each) placed on brackets: his eye was again caught by the same alluring colour, he looked at them eagerly, then went away, and returned to them with new delight: the gentleman observing the pleasure they gave him, told him he would make him a present of them, and that he should carry them to Pelew; this threw him into such a transport of joy he could hardly contain himself; he declared them to be a great treasure, and that when he returned, his father, Abba Thulle, should have them: he wished his relations at Pelew could but see them, as he was sure they would be lost in associations.

As there were some of the Company's ships that were soon to fail for ENGLAND, Captain WILSON declined two advantageous offers of the command of country ships, thinking it his duty to embrace the earliest opportunity of acquainting, in person, the INDIA Company with the sate of the ANTELOPE, and the particular circumstances attending it.

It still remained for him to lay before the companions of his adverse fortune, a statement of the different sales, and give to every man an equal share of what they had produced; which being settled, Captain Wilson acquainted his officers and men, that they were now at liberty to provide for themselves as opportunity should offer, at the same time recom-

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Mr. Sharp, who, from the time of leaving the Pelew islands, had taken Lee Boo under his immediate care, now refigned his charge to Captain Wilson, and came home in the Lascelles, Captain Wakefield; the other officers and people engaged in different ships, as vacancies offered; but the greater part of the men embarked in the York, Captain Blanchard; nor did any of them separate without some emotions of concern in quitting those companions with whom they had shared so many difficulties.

LEE Boo embarked with Captain WILSON in the MORSE, Captain JOSEPH ELLIOTT, who, in the most friendly manner, accommodated them to ENGLAND. And, as we have now disposed of, and dispersed all those who formerly composed the complement of the ANTELOPE, I shall, for the present, leave their respected Commander pursuing, with

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our young Prince, his voyage to ENGLAND.—Being inclined to hope that the character and conduct of these hitherto unknown people, whom I have introduced in the foregoing narrative, have interested the reader, I shall now give him some account of the Government, Customs, Manners, and Arts, of the Natives of Pelew, as far as I have been able to collect them, from the different reports of the Captain, and such of his officers who have favoured me with their communications.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

General Idea of the Islands.—Of the King.—Of the General.

—Of the Chief Minister.—Of the Rupacks.—Of the Nature of Property at Pelew.

THE PALOS OF PELEW islands are a chain of small islands, situated between the 5th and 9th degree of north latitude, and between 130 and 136 degrees of east longitude from Greenwich, and lie in a N. E. and S. W. direction: they are long but narrow, of a moderate height, well covered with wood, at least such of the islands as our people had an opportunity of seeing. They are circled on the west side by a reef of coral, of which no end could be seen from any eminences they were on; this reef in some places extends sive or six leagues from the shore, and in no parts that were visited less than two or three.

The reader will bear in mind that the ANTELOPE was not a ship particularly sent out to explore undiscovered regions, or prepared to investigate the manners of mankind; it had not on board philosophers, botanists, draughtsmen, or gentlemen experienced in such scientific pursuits as

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might enable them to examine with judgment objects which presented themselves, or trace nature through all her laby-rinths.—Distress threw them on these islands, and when there, every thought was solely occupied on the means of getting away, and liberating themselves from a situation of all others the most horrible to the imagination, that of being cut off for ever from the society of the rest of the world.

Forlorn and melancholy as their lot at first appeared, the gloom it cast over them was soon dispelled, by finding themfelves amongst an humane race of men, who were superior to the wish of taking any advantage of their distress; who had hearts to feel for what our people fuffered; benevolence to relieve their immediate wants; and generofity to co-operate with them in every effort to work out their deliverance. -The English possessed what was in the estimation of the natives of the highest value—iron and arms. The Malay wreck had, for the first time, thrown in their way a few pieces of the former; the use and power of the latter had only been discovered to them by the ill fortune of our countrymen.—These objects, so desirable to them, they might unquestionably have possessed themselves of, the number of our people, capable of bearing arms, being only twentyfeven, the Captain and Surgeon included; but their notions of moral rectitude lay as a barrier against the intrusion of

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fuch a thought;—renouncing every advantage of power, they approached them only with the fmiles of benevolence.

All the varied courtefies offered to the English by the natives, from whom a very different line of conduct had been apprehended, operated forcibly on their minds; and their misfortune happening at a moment when their affiftance was very material for ABBA THULLE's fervice against his enemies, this circumstance soon formed a connection, and produced an unreferved intercourse and steady friendship between the natives and our countrymen, which during the thirteen weeks they remained there, afforded them opportunity of observing the manners and dispositions of the inhabitants, and thereby to form some notion of their government and customs.—If they were not enabled to trace the current of power through all its various channels, their observations could pursue it to the fountain-head, from whence the whole feemed to take its rife; and it appeared beyond a doubt that the chief authority was lodged in the person of

ABBA THULLE, THE KING.

At Pelew the King was the first person in the government. He appeared to be considered as the father of his people; and, though divested of all external decorations of royalty,

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royalty, had every mark of distinction paid to his person. -His Rupacks or Chiefs approached him with the greatest respect; and his common subjects, whenever they passed near him, or had occasion to address him, put their hands behind them, and crouched towards the ground; -even if they were passing any house or place where the King was supposed to be, they humiliated themselves in the fame manner, till they had got beyond his probable prefence, when they refumed their usual mode of walking. On all occasions the behaviour of ABBA THULLE appeared gentle and gracious, yet always full of dignity; he heard whatever his fubjects had to fay to him, and, by his affability and condescension, never suffered them to go away diffatisfied.—This personage, however great he was held at Pelew, was not understood by our people to possess a sovereignty over all the islands which came within their knowledge.—The Rupacks of Emungs, Emillegue, and Artin-GALL, and the Rupack MAATH, were independent in their own territories.—Yet ABBA THULLE had feveral islands over which he ruled; and all the observations that follow are folely confined to his government, though it is not improbable that the other islands might have much similitude in their system.

Upon all occurrences of moment, he convened the Rupacks and officers of state; their councils were always held
in the open air, upon the square pavements which have

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fo frequently been mentioned in the foregoing narrative, where the King first stated the business upon which he had affembled them, and submitted it to their consideration; each *Rupack* present delivered his opinion, but without rising from his seat: when the matter before them was settled, the King, standing up, put an end to the council.—After which they often entered into familiar conversation, and sometimes chatted together for an hour after their business was dispatched.

When any message was brought to the King, whether in council or elsewhere, if it came by one of the common people, it was delivered at some distance, in a low voice, to one of the inferior Rupacks; who, bending in an humble manner, at the King's side, delivered the message in a low tone of voice, with his face turned aside.—His commands appeared to be absolute; though he acted in no important business without the advice of his Chiefs. In council there was a particular stone on which the King sat; the other Rupacks did not always take the same place, seating themselves sometimes on his right-hand and sometimes on his left.

Every day in the afternoon the King, whether he was at Pelew, or with the *English* at Oroolong, went to sit in public, for the purpose of hearing any requests, or of adjusting any difference or dispute which might have arisen among his subjects.

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As these people had but little property to create dissenfion, and no lawyers to foment animofity, it is probable that the immutable boundaries of right and wrong were perfectly understood, and not often violated; whenever they were, the offending party received the King's censure, which exposed them to general shame; a sentence, to uncorrupted minds, far more fevere than any penal institution.—They could not recur to the dubious construction of five hundred laws, vaguely conceived, and worse understood; under the obscurity of which, in civilized countries, the artful villain too often takes shelter, and the injured sit down more oppressed.—Happy for them, they were ignorant of that casuiftry and refinement which can argue vice into virtue! nor were acquainted with the Laudanum of rhetoric, whose property will occasionally benumb and lay dormant the power of common understandings !- They had no conception that there existed polished nations, where it was infinitely more expensive to sue for justice than to submit to fraud and oppression!—nations where men's oaths only, not men's words, were credited! and where there were found wretches who dared attack the properties and lives of their fellow-citizens, by affertions of falshood, whilst they folemnly and impiously invoked the God of Heaven to attest their truth!-Born the children of Nature, and feeluded from the corruption of the world, her laws were their general guide.—Their real wants were few, and they faw nothing to excite artificial ones.—

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Every one feemed to be occupied with their own humble purfuits; and, as far as our people, in a stay of three months with the natives, could decide, appeared to conduct themselves toward each other with great civility and benevolence; for they never observed any wrangling or open passion.—Even when children were disputing, or sighting, they strongly marked their displeasure, by stifling with rebuke their little impetuosities.

THE GENERAL.

The next in power was the King's brother, RAA KOOK, officially General of all his forces.—It was his duty to fummon the Rupacks to attend the King, on whatever expedition or purpose they were called; but though RAA KOOK acted as Commander in Chief, yet all the executive orders came from the King, whenever he attended in person, as fully appeared when they went on the second expedition to Artingall, where the canoes attendant on the King conveyed to the General all the resolutions which he thought adviseable to adopt.—The General, as the King's next brother, was his prefumptive heir; the succession of Pelew not going to the King's children, till it had passed through the King's brothers; so that after the demise of Abba Thulle, the sovereignty would have descended to RAA KOOK, on his demise to Arra Kooker, and, on the death of this last brother,

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it would have reverted to the eldest son of ABBA THULLE; on which contingency, Qui Bill being the presumptive heir, would during the reign of his last surviving uncle, have become of course the hereditary General; as Lee Boo would when the sovereignty had fallen to his elder brother.

THE MINISTER.

The King was always attended by a particular Chief, or Rupack, who did not appear to possess any hereditary office, but only a delegated authority.—He was always near the King's person, and the Chief who was first consulted: but whether his office was religious, or civil, or both, our people could not learn with any certainty.—He was not considered as a warrior, nor ever bore arms; and had only one wise, whereas the other Rupacks had two.—The English were never invited to his house, or introduced into it, although they were conducted to almost all those of the other Chiefs.

THE RUPACKS.

This class, though considerable in number, could only be regarded as Chiefs, or, to describe them by European notions, might be denominated the nobles: they were not all of the same degree, as was distinguishable by a difference in the Bone they wore; some were created whilst

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our people were there, after the fecond engagement at ARTINGALL.—These marks of honour were conferred folely by the King, in the manner already described, when Captain Wilson was invested with the bigbest Order of the Bone *.—The principal Rupacks generally attended the King, and were always ready at his command, to accompany him on any expedition, with a number of canoes, properly manned, and armed with darts and spears, who were to remain with him till they had his permission to return home with their dependants.—Though in this part of their government we trace an outline of the feudal fyftem, yet, from the very few opportunities our people could have of investigating points of internal government, it appeared to them that the titles of Rupacks were personal badges of rank and distinction, nor did they apprehend they were hereditary honours, unless in the reigning family, who must of necessity be of this class; therefore, as to the extent of the power or privileges of the Rupacks, I conceive it far better to leave these matters to future discoveries (should any hereafter be made) than to obtrude opinions on a fubject that might turn out to be fallacious.—Thus much feemed certain, that all those of the first order were summoned to ABBA THULLE's councils,

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^{*} The form of the *Bone* of the *bigheft Order* is figured in plate IV. fig. 3. Our people never knew what animal this was a bone of; but, by submitting the inspection of it to the *best authority* in this country, it is supposed to be part of the bone of a whale, or some animal of that species.

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paid him on every occasion a visible obedience, and were themselves much respected by the rest of the people.

PROPERTY.

Confidering that during the time our people remained on these islands, their minds were principally engaged by their own concerns, it will hardly be supposed they had much leifure to investigate a subject of this nature.—As far as they could obtain intelligence on this point, they understood that the natives only possessed a property in their work and labour, but no absolute one in the soil, of which the King appeared to be general proprietor.—A man's house, furniture, or canoe, was confidered as his private property; as was also the land allotted him, as long as he occupied and cultivated it; but whenever he removed with his family to another place, the ground he held reverted to the King, who gave it to whom he pleafed, or to those who folicited to cultivate it. Every family occupied some land for their maintenance, necessity imposed this labour on them; and the portion of time which they could spare from providing for their natural wants, passed in the exercise of such little arts, as, while they kept them industrious and active, administered to their convenience and comfort.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Produce of Pelew, and of the Way of Life of the Natives.

PRODUCE.

E VERY part of the island called Coordan, of which Pelew was the Capital (as far as our people had opportunities of making observations) seemed to bear the marks of industry and good cultivation.—All the islands which our people saw were well covered with trees of various kinds and sizes, some of them being very large, as may easily be conceived by their canoes made out of trunks, which, when of the largest dimensions, were capable of carrying twenty-eight or thirty men.—They had a great variety of timber-trees, among which was noticed the Ebony, and a tree, that, being pierced or wounded by a gimblet, there ran from it a thick white liquid, of the consistence of cream.—They had also a species of the Manchineel tree, in cutting down of which our people used to get blistered and swelled; the inhabitants pointed out the cause, saying, that

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it was owing to their being sprinkled by the sap of this tree.—This the natives reckoned among the unlucky trees, and advised our people against the use of it.—But the most fingular tree noticed at Pelew, was one, in fize and in its manner of branching, not unlike our Cherry-tree, but in its leaves refembling the Myrtle. Its peculiarity was, that it had no bark, having only an outward coat of about the thickness of a card, darker than the inside, though equally close in texture; the colour of the interior part being nearly that of mahogany, and so extremely hard, that few of the tools which the English had could work it, the wood breaking their edges almost every moment; a circumstance which, very early in the construction of their vessel, determined our people against the use of it.—They had also the Cabbage-tree; and a tree whose fruit nearly resembled an almond *; the Carambola; and the wild Bread-fruit, called by the natives Riamall.—Yams + and cocoa-nuts being the chief article of sustenance, were attended to with the utmost care; the former were of the grey mottled kind; the latter were in large plantations, affording both food and shade.—The beetle-nut they had in abundance, and made great use of it, though only when green; contrary to the practice of the people of INDIA, who never use it but when They possessed Plantains and Bananas, SEVILLE

† Arum esculentum of LINNÆUS.

^{*} Terminalia catappa of LINN RUS.

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oranges and lemons; neither of these were in any considerable quantity; therefore only produced on visits, or occasions of more than common ceremony.—To these may be added, the jamboo-apple, mentioned in page 257, as brought when LEE Boo sirst appeared. — This country produced some sugar-cane, and great abundance of the bamboo; likewise the *Turmeric*, which the natives used as a dye, and with which the women stained their skins.—They have ochre, both red and yellow, with which they paint their houses and canoes,

None of the islands the English visited had any kind of grain; nor any quadruped whatever, except some brownish grey rats, which ran wild in the woods, and three or four meagre cats, which were seen in some houses at Pelew, probably brought on some drift or part of a canoe of other islands, wrecked on the reef.—This might excite them to admire so much the two dogs our people left with them, which unluckily were both males.

As to birds, they had plenty of common cocks and hens, which, though they were not domesticated, but ran about the woods, yet loved to get near their houses and plantations; and, what will appear singular (considering their little variety of food) they had never made any use of them, till our people saw them, and told the natives they were excellent to eat.—The English, at the desire of Abba Thulle, killed some, and boiled them; the King was

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the first who tasted them; he thought them good, and frequently partook of them afterwards, fo that our people put them in possession of a new dish; the men appeared pleased at seeing them killed, and would go out on purpose to drive them in their way.—Though the natives had not till now made these birds an article of food, yet, when they went into the woods, they frequently eat their eggs; but they did not admire them for being newly laid; the luxury to them was, when they could fwallow an imperfect chicken in the bargain.—Pigeons they had also in the woods.—At the time of breeding, they took the young from the nest, and brought them up near their houses, keeping them on a perch tied by one leg, and feeding them on yams; this bird was accounted a great dainty, as we have had occafion to fee; by its being fo sparingly used, and none, but those of a certain dignity, permitted to eat thereof.—The people of Pelew were worderfully active and expert in climbing up trees in quest of these nests, or any thing else that was an object of their pursuit.—These which I have mentioned, were the only birds they used to eat.—Our people left them two geese, the last remains of their live stock.

Several birds were feen flying about, whose plumage appeared to be extremely beautiful, but they probably might be of the same kinds as are found in different countries between the tropics.—The islands had also several small birds, whose notes were very melodious, particularly one

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which used to sing every morning and evening, and had a pipe sweet as a flagelet; our people often thought they were under the very tree whence the notes of this little bird came, yet none of them were ever certain they had seen it.

They had a variety of fish, beside the fort I have already described (page 123); and several smaller kinds, of very beautiful colours and variety of shapes, particularly one to which the English gave the name of the Unicorn, from a horn growing out of its forehead; its skin was rough, like a small shark or dog-fish, which it also resembled in shape and colour. They had the grey mullet, which they crimped, and frequently eat raw. They kill the shark, when they chance to come within the coral reef; this they do by spearing them, and afterwards getting ropes round them, then dragging them on shore; the flesh of the shark was esteemed by them as very delicate. They had also several kinds of shell-fish; such as the sea cray-fish, of the fame fort as in the Mediterranean and on other European coasts:—and turtle, which the natives boiled, and seemed to admire. They had beside oysters, muscles, and a variety of cockles, particularly the Kima cockle *; this they frequently got by diving, at which the natives were amazingly expert; they would fometimes dive down in fix or seven fathom water, and if the shell was very large, two

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of them would contrive to bring it up between them. This fish they commonly eat raw.

The islands of Pelew, when viewed from the sea, exhibited high rugged land, well covered with wood. The interior part was in many places mountainous, but the vallies were extensive and beautiful, spreading before the eye many delicious prospects. The soil was in general rich; they had a great deal of grass, which, having no cattle whatever to eat down, grew high, and was scorched and burnt up by the heat of the sun. Our people saw no river at Pelew; their supplies of fresh water being from small streams and ponds, of which there were many. The chief source at Oroolong, was the well at the back of the island, which afforded the English sufficient for their use whilst they remained there, and enough to water their vessel for their voyage, by collecting it daily in casks, till they had obtained as much as they stood in need of.

OF THEIR WAY OF LIVING.

From the above account of the scanty produce of these islands, it must be evident that no luxury reigned in them. To their usual mode of living, on particular occasions they added some sweetmeats, which they obtained by the aid of a syrup extracted either from the palm-tree, or the sugar-cane (which grows spontaneous) and with which also

they

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they made their fweet-drink. Their fweetmeats were of three forts;—the first, and the one that was most plentiful, was made of the kernels of old cocoa-nuts, scraped into a coarfe kind of flour, then mixed with the fyrup, and fimmered over a flow fire till it became of a proper confistence, and whilst warm was put up in leaves; it acquired fuch hardness by keeping, that a knife would hardly cut it: the natives called it Woolell, and it was the same our failors denominated Choak-Dog.—The fecond fort was made of the fruit already mentioned as refembling the almond, not bruifed, but whole, boiled in the fame manner, and put in leaves.—The third was a wet fweetmeat, clear and transparent; this was uncommon, but was made at Captain Wilson's coming away, and presented to him in the fame large tureen of wood which was brought out on his first visit to the King. ABBA THULLE, when he presented it, faid, that he gave him the tureen *, but that his wives had prepared the sweetmeat on purpose for him. On the Captain's noticing that it appeared different from any of the forts he had feen before, and wishing to know of what it was made, RAA Kook dispatched a man, who in an hour returned with two fresh-gathered plants; from the root of them this sweetmeat was made, which in shape, fize, and colour, refembled a common turnip; its leaves

were

[•] Our people could never learn the name by which the natives called this vessel, of which one only was seen, and therefore have termed it a tureen, as resembling it in form.

THE PELEW ISLANDS.

were three feet or upwards in length, but narrow and green *; Captain Wilson was going to taste a bit of the root raw, but they would not suffer him, signifying that it was not good, by spitting, as if they had something unpleasant in their mouth. This sweetmeat did not keep so well as the other two sorts, growing soon sour.—They had also a method of scraping the kernel of the cocoa-nut into a pulp, which when mixed with some of their sweet drink, and the juice of the sour orange, had the appearance of curds and whey.

Their mode of preserving fish, when there was plenty, so that it would keep a day or two, has been fully explained in page 190. Some of the other forts of fish they boiled in saltwater, and eat without any kind of sauce; they also boiled the sea cray-fish; but the smaller fort of shell-sish, and the Kima Cockle, they usually eat raw, squeezing only a little orange or lemon-juice over it; and the grey mullet (though they sometimes boiled it) yet was more commonly eaten raw: as soon as caught, they cleaned and crimped it, then laid it about an hour in the sun to harden, by which time it was fully drest to their taste.

They had no falt, nor did they make use of sauce or seafoning in any thing they eat. Their drink was as simple as their diet: at their meals, the milk of the cocoa-nut was their

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^{*} It was probably the Tacca pinnatifida of LINNAUS.

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usual beverage; they very seldom drank water, and indeed so very little of any thing, that it was a matter of surprize to our people, who constantly observed it; yet on visits, or occasional rejoicings, they appeared to relish their sweet drink, and sherbet, which latter had only the addition of some juice of orange.

They rose in general at day-light, and as soon as they were up, both men and women went to bathe in fresh water: they had separate bathing-places; and every man, whose business led him near those appropriated to the women, was obliged to make some particular halloo, which, if answered by a semale voice, he could not go on, but either turned another way, or waited till the women who were bathing had lest the water.

About eight o'clock was their hour of breakfasting; after which, if there was any council to be held, the King met his Chiefs, and the common people went to their different occupations; at noon they dined; and supped soon after sunset, usually retiring to rest two hours after. Though this was their common way of living, yet on occasions of public rejoicing, or festivity, they would dance the greatest part of the night.

They had no method, that was observed, of measuring time but by the height of the sun.—Their seasons were divided into the wet and dry, as in other tropical countries.

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They had some knowledge of the stars, having names for several of them, which they pointed out to our people.

Every part of the Pelew islands, that the English visited, appeared populous, though to what extent of population they could never ascertain; but probable conjecture might be formed, from Abba Thulle and his allies having sent out, in the last expedition against Pelelew, near four thousand men; nor had our people reason to suppose but that there were many more left behind equally sit for service: even had the occasion required it, perhaps their number of canoes might not have been adequate to carry to battle near their full strength.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Of their Houses.—Their domestic Implements.—Their Weapons of War.—Their Canoes.

THEIR HOUSES.

THEIR houses were raised about three feet from the ground, placed on large stones, which appeared as if cut from the quarry, being thick and oblong; on these pedestals the foundation beams were laid, from whence sprang the upright supports of their sides, which were crossed by other timbers grooved together, and fastened by wooden pins; the intermediate spaces closely filled up with bamboos and palm-leaves, which they platted so closely and artiscially as to keep their habitations warm and exclude all wet; and their being raised from the ground preserved them from any humidity. The floors were in general made of very thick plank, a space of an inch or two being left between many of them. But in some of the houses they were composed of large bamboos split, which being perpetually trodden over, rendered them very slippery.—The interior part of

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the house was without any division, the whole forming one great room.—In general, the fire-place flood about the middle of it, funk lower than the floor, with no timber below it, the whole space beneath being filled up with hard rubbish; but in the larger buildings, where they held their public meetings, they had a fire-place at each end.—Their fires were in common but fmall, being mostly used to boil their yams, and to keep up a little flame at night to clear away the dews, and finoke the mosquitoes.—Their windows came to the level of the floor, and ferved both for doors and windows, having stepping-stones at all of them to enter by. To prevent any inconvenience from wind or rain, which fo many apertures might occasion, each of them had a bamboo frame or shutter, interwoven as the sides of the houses were, which fliding on bamboo rods, were easily flipt on one fide when any body wanted to go in or out.—On the top of the upright fides beams were laid across, from whence sprang the roof, which was pointed like our barns, the whole infide being clear; this made their houses within very lofty and airy; the outfide of the roof was thatched very thick and close with bamboos or palm-leaves.—This was the general form of their houses; some of which were from fixty to eighty feet in length, but these were appropriated to public uses, such as meetings of business, or festivity; at other times they ferved the natives to affemble in and chat together, where the women usually brought their work, and

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joined in the conversation. Those which were more properly domestic habitations, were the same both in shape and texture, though lefs in dimension.—It was remarked, that the family kept on one fide of the central fire-place, and the fervants on the other.

OF THEIR DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS.

In a country where no aid could be obtained from the affiftance of iron tools, and where every thing which was convenient and useful could only be produced by much time, labour, and patience, and at last fashioned by such poor means as necessity, stimulating invention, by slow degrees brought about, it will not be expected that their domestic implements would be numerous.

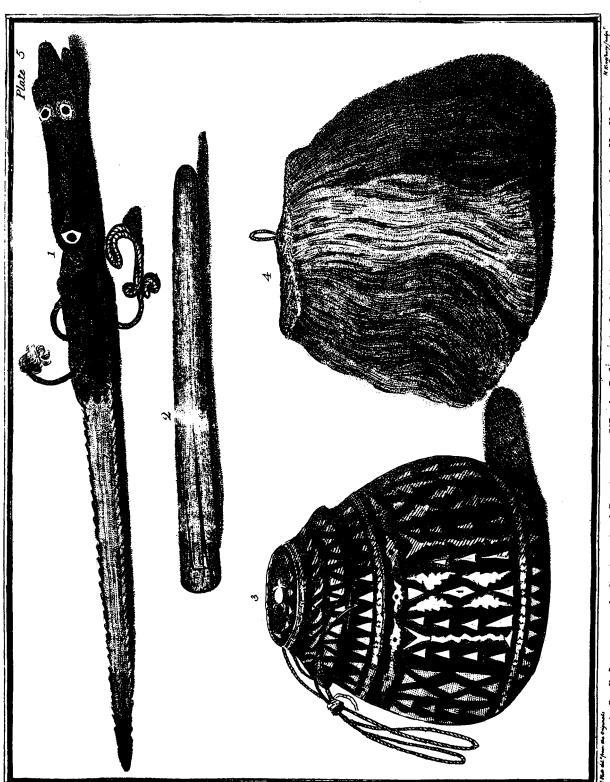
See plate VII. fig. 1. and 2.

Among the things most effential to their idea of comfort, were little baskets, which they always carried about with them; they had different forts, some of them were of very nice texture, woven from flips of the plantain leaf. In these they usually carried their beetle-nut, their comb, and their knife; nor did they omit having a little twine in it, to tie up any thing they might want to keep together. They had also wooden baskets with covers, very nicely carved, and inlaid with shells. These they hung up in their

See plate V. No 3.

Their

houses, for use and decoration.



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Their best knives were formed of a piece of the large mother of pearl oyster-shell, ground narrow, and the outward side a little polished.—The fort more common was made of a piece of some muscle-shell, or of a split bamboo, which they sharpen to an edge, and render exceedingly serviceable.

See plate III. fig. 2.

Their combs were formed of the orange-tree: the handle and teeth fashioned from the solid wood, and not in separate pieces closely connected together, like those brought from most of the late-discovered islands.

See plate III.

No man stirred abroad without his basket of beetle-nut.— The common order of people had a short piece of bamboo, in which they carried the powdered chinam, to strew over the beetle-nut before they put it in their mouths. The Rupacks or great people had their chinam in a long slender bamboo, nicely polished, and inlaid with pieces of shells at each end; and these were often not inelegantly fancied.

See plate II.

Their fishing-hooks were of tortoise-shell. Their twines, their cords, and all their fishing-nets, were well manufactured, and made from the husks of the cocoa-nut. The mats on which they slept, and threw over them when at rest, were formed of the plantain-leaf.

At their meals they generally used a plantain-leaf instead of a plate; the shell of the cocoa-nut serving as a cup to drink out of, which they sometimes polished very nicely.

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They made also vessels of a kind of earthen-ware, of a reddish brown colour, and mostly of an oval shape. In these they heated their water, and boiled their fish, yams, &c.— Our people observed the natives were particularly careful of this pottery, never permitting any of it to approach the fire unless gradually, and always moving it with great caution; from which circumstances it is probable they have not yet discovered a method of burning it sufficiently.

A bundle of cocoa-nut husks, tied together, formed a broom, to dust or fweep their habitations.—The only conveniency they had for keeping water in their houses, or bringing it from their springs, was thick bamboos, that had a bore of five or fix inches diameter; these they placed upright, and stooped them when they wanted to pour any out, being at the upper end lipped fo as to form a kind of fpout.

See plate II.

Their hatchets were not unlike those of the South Sea islands, of which so many have been seen in England; the blade part being made of the strongest part of the large Kima Cockle, ground to a sharp edge.—But they were happy to adopt iron, when it had been given to them.

They had also another kind of hatchet, which was formed in a manner to move round in a groove, that the edge might act longitudinally, or transversely, by which it would serve as a hatchet, or an adze, as occasion required.—Uncouth as their 4

hatchets



1 .4 Girdle made of pieces of Crocken 2 a Tortoije shell Bracelet .

Publicat by & Nation for Court House Wilson, as the Act directs May 1st 1788.

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hatchets might appear to our people, it was a matter of furprize, to observe in how little a time the natives were able to fell a tree with them, though not without breaking several.

The things which I have above mentioned were fuch as their natural wants required; when these had been provided for, ingenuity superadded a few articles, which might in these islands be deemed luxuries. The shell of the tortoise was there remarkably beautiful, and the natives of PELEW had discovered the art of moulding it into little trays or dishes, and into spoons, with which, on particular occasions, they eat their fish and yams.—Some of the great ladies had also bracelets of the same manufacture, and ear-rings inlaid with shells.

See plate IV. fig. I. and 2.

See plate VI. fig. 2, AND Plate III, fig. 3.

How they conceived this art of working the tortoife-shell, or the idea of improving on a natural advantage, or what process they made use of to effect it, our people had no opportunity of discovering.

On days of public festivity, there was usually brought out the vessel mentioned in page 101, and there sigured as representing a bird, the top of which listed off, forming its back. It contained about thirty-six English quarts; and was silled with sweet drink for the King and his Rupacks. This was Abba Thulle's property; and when one considers it as the work of so much time and patience (and the more estimable, as being the only vessel of the kind in their coun-

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try) the King's giving it to Captain WILSON at his departure, as already mentioned, was an additional proof of the liberality of these people, who were ready to divest themfelves even of what they most valued, to give to their friends.

THEIR WEAPONS OF WAR.

The principal weapons used in their battles were spears; they were commonly about twelve feet long, formed of the bamboo, with the pointed end made of some wood exceedingly hard; they were barbed transversely, so that, having once entered the body, it was difficult to draw them out without lacerating the flesh, and widening to a great degree the wound.

Another war-weapon was the dart and fling.—The fling was a piece of wood about two feet in length, with a notch made in it, wherein the head of the dart was fixed.—The dart was of bamboo, pointed with an extreme hard and heavy kind of wood, like the spear, which they compressed with their hand, till the elasticity of the bamboo had formed fuch a curve as experience told them would reach the object aimed at; then letting it flip from the notch, it flew forth, and fell by its gravitation with the point downward, fo as to effect the purpose of being destructive if it fell upon

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the enemy.—It is hardly to be conceived with what address they directed this weapon, or the distance at which it would prove mortal. Their spears were only calculated for a certain distance, not being in general missible beyond fifty or fixty feet.—They had other spears about eighteen feet long, which were only used when they came to close quarters with the enemy.

When they went to battle, some of the Rupacks carried in their canoes a kind of sword, made of very hard wood, and inlaid with parts of shells; this they only made use of in perfonal engagement; they were of sufficient weight to cleave a man's skull.

See plate 11.

Our people saw a very few daggers, made of the sting of the Ray-fish, which is jagged all upwards from the point; they sheathed them in a bamboo, and their handles were of wood, formed into some grotesque shape; the whole length of the weapon not exceeding thirteen inches.

See plate V. fig. 1.

THEIR CANOES.

As their battles were generally fought in canoes, these may with propriety follow the account of their warlike implements.

They were, like most other canoes, made from the trunk of a tree dubbed out; but our people, who had often feen.

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veffels of this fort in many other countries, thought those of Pelew furpassed in neatness and beauty any they had ever met with elsewhere; the tree out of which they were formed grew to a very confiderable height, and refembled much the English Ash.—They were painted red, both within and without *, and inlaid with shells in different forms.—When they went out in state, the heads and sterns were adorned with a variety of shells strung on a cord, and hung in festoons.—The fmallest vessel that they built could hold four or five people, the largest were able to contain from twenty-five to thirty.— They carried an outrigger, but only on one fide; and used latine fails made of matting.—As they were not calculated to resist a very rough sea, they rarely went without the coral reef, and feldom, within it, had any violent fea to encounter; whenever it blew hard the natives always kept close under shore.—In visits of ceremony, when the King, or the great Rupacks approached the place where they intended to land, the rowers flourished their paddles with wonderful address, and the canoes advanced with a stately movement; at other times they got on with an amazing velocity.-When they went against ARTINGALL, the little canoes,

• As their mode of applying their paint was uncommon, it may merit being particularly described:—The colours are crumbled with the hand into water, whilst it is warming over a gentle fire in earthen pots; they carefully skim from the surface whatever dry leaves or dirt may float on the top; when they find it sufficiently thick, they apply it warm, and let it dry upon the wood: the next day they rub it well over with cocoa-nut oil; and, with the dry husk of the cocoa-nut, give it, by repeated rubbing, a polish and stability that the waves cannot wash off.

which

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which our people termed *Frigates*, as carrying orders from the King to his officers, flew about like arrows, and scarcely seemed to touch the water.—In the grand expedition to PELELEW, where a fleet of upwards of three hundred canoes, of different sizes, were collected together, they formed a most beautiful and splendid appearance.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the People and their Customs.—Of their Marriages.—Of their Funerals.—Of their Religion.—General Character of the Natives.

HE natives of these islands are a stout, well-made people, rather above the middling stature; their complexions are of a far deeper colour than what is understood by the *Indian* copper, but not black.—Their hair is long and flowing, rather disposed to curl, which they mostly form into one large loofe curl round their heads; fome of the women, who have remarkably long hair, let it hang loofe down their backs.—It has already been observed, that the men were entirely naked; the women wore only two little aprons, or rather thick fringes, one before and one behind, about ten inches deep and feven wide; these were made of the husks of the cocoa-nut stripped into narrow slips, which they dyed with different shades of yellow: this, their only dress, they tied round their waifts, commonly with a piece of line, though fuch as were of higher rank used a string of some kind of beads; the one figured in plate VI. fig. 1, was of a coarse fort of cornelian, and was worn by ERRE BESS; who, understanding that Captain Wilson had a daughter, gave it to

See plate V.
fig. 4.

THE PELEW ISLANDS.

Mr. H. WILSON, before his departure, as a present for his fister.

Both men and women were tatooed, or, as they call it, melgothed; this operation took place, as our people conceived, at a certain period of youth, they having never feen any children of either fex marked by it.—The men had their left ear bored, and the women both; a few of the first wore beads in the perforated ear, the latter put either some leaf through, or an ear-ring of tortoise-shell inlaid. The cartilage between the nostrils was also bored, in both sexes, through which they frequently put a little sprig or blof-som of some plant or shrub that accidentally caught their fancy *.

When the men and women grew up, their teeth were blacked; this was done by the means of some dye; our people, whilst they remained at Pelew, had no opportunity of seeing how the effect was produced, understanding only it was an operation that was both tedious and painful; but it was afterwards fully explained by Lee Boo to Captain Wilson, on his passage to England.—At Saint Helena, Lee Boo appeared much delighted at finding some groundsel, and chewing it, rubbed his teeth with it.—Captain Wilson telling him it was not good to eat, he gave him to understand

that

^{*} Perhaps it is owing to the defire of having the scent of flowers, without the inconvenience of holding them, that the Eastern people bore the cartilage between the nostrils. The common people in ITALY also wear sweet-smelling flowers stuck behind the ear, in such a manner as to fall on the face, that they may enjoy their fragrance when working or walking.

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that they had it at Pelew, and used it, with four other herbs, bruised together, and mixed with a little chinam into a passe, which was applied to the teeth every morning, in order to dye them black; the patients lying with their heads upon the floor, and letting the faliva run out of their mouths.—At night, he said, the passe was taken away, and they were permitted to eat a little.—The same process was repeated the day following, and five days were necessary to complete the operation.—Lee Boo described it as a thing which gave them a great deal of trouble, and made them extremely sick.

Both fexes were very expert at fwimming, and appeared to be as perfectly at ease in the water as on land.—The men were admirable divers; if they saw any thing at the bottom of the sea which attracted their notice, they would jump overboard instantly and bring it up.

THEIR MARRIAGES.

These were probably no more than a civil contract, but at the same time that kind of contract which was regarded as inviolable.—They allowed a plurality of wives, but in general had not more than two; RAA Kook had three; the King sive, though not living together.—They did not appear to be in any degree jealous of them, permitting them to partake of all their diversions.

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When a woman was pregnant, although she accompanied her husband, yet she never slept with him, but always separated at night; and this was uniformly practised by all the sex, even among the lowest class of the inhabitants; and it was remarked, that the utmost attention was observed to women in that situation.—When any Chief appeared with his two wives, they usually sat on either side of the husband, and the people seemed to pay them no other attention, but what is usual in an intercourse of the sexes, where the greatest good manners prevail. — One of our people, endeavouring to make himself agreeable to a lady belonging to one of the Rupacks, by what we should term a marked assiduity, Arra Kooker, with the greatest civility, gave him to understand it was not right to do so.

They name the children very soon after they are born; this is most probably done without any ceremony.—One of ABBA THULLE's wives lay-in of a son, at Pelew, during the time our people were at Oroolong; the King, out of his regard for Captain Wilson, named the little boy Captain, and afterwards informed Captain Wilson of the circumflance.

THEIR

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THEIR FUNERALS.

In the foregoing narrative an account hath been given of the ceremony observed by Mr. Sharp, at the interment of RAA Kook's fon, in the island of Pethoulle. Mr. M. WILSON, at that time at PELEW, was prefent at another funeral, of a young man who had died of the wounds he had received in the fame battle in which the King's nephew had loft his life.—The account he gave me of it was as follows:— That accidentally noticing a number of the natives going towards a small village, about two miles from the capital, and hearing that the King was gone thither, curiofity induced him to join the throng. When he got to the place, he found a great crowd, furrounding a pavement on which ABBA THULLE was feated. The dead body was brought from a house not far distant. The procession stopped as it passed before the King, who, without rising from his feat, spoke very audibly, for a short time, and then the proceffion went on.—Whether what he faid was an eulogium on the departed youth, who had fallen in his country's fervice, neither of the linguists being present, could not be ascertained; but from the folemn manner in which the King delivered his fpeech, and the respectful filence with which the people listened to him, it is by no means improbable but that this was the purport of it.

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Mr. M. WILSON followed the body to the place of interment; he observed an elderly woman getting out of the new-made grave, whom he conceived might be the mother, or fome near relation, whom affection had drawn to the melancholy scene, to be satisfied that every thing was duly prepared.—When the corpfe was laid in the earth, the lamentation of the women attending was very great.—It appeared, on this occasion, as well as at the funeral of RAA KOOK's fon, that no men, but those who conveyed the body, were present; these last sad offices were left to the tenderness of the weaker fex: the men only affembled round the body, before it was carried to the grave, where they preferved a folemn filence; their minds, from principles of fortitude or philosophy, being armed to meet the events of mortality with manly fubmission, divested from the external testimony of human weakness.

They had places appropriated to fepulture. Their graves were made as ours are in country church-yards; having the mould raifed up in a ridge, over where the body was depofited.—Some had stones raifed above them, with a flat one laid horizontally over, and surrounded by a kind of hurdlework, to prevent any one from treading over them.

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THEIR RELIGION.

There are few people, I believe, among the race of men, whom navigation hath brought to our knowledge, who have not shewn, in some instance or other, a sense of something like religion, however it might be mixed with idolatry, or superstition; and yet our people, during their continuance with the natives of Pelew, never saw any particular ceremonies, or observed any thing that had the appearance of public worship.—Indeed, circumstanced as the English were, they had not enough of the language to enter on topics of this nature; and it would also have been indiscreet to have done it, as such inquiries might have been misconceived, or misconstrued by the natives. Added to this, their thoughts were naturally bent on getting away, and preserving, whilst they remained there, the happy intercourse that subsisted between them and the inhabitants.

Though there was not found, on any of the islands they visited, any place appropriated for religious rites, it would perhaps be going too far to declare, that the people of PE-LEW had absolutely no idea of religion. Independant of external ceremony, there may be such a thing as the religion of the heart, by which the mind may, in awful silence, be turned to contemplate the God of Nature; and though unblessed by those lights which have pointed to the Chris-

tian world an unerring path to happiness and peace, yet they might, from the light of reason only, have discovered the efficacy of virtue, and the temporal advantages arising from moral rectitude.-The reader will, by this time, have met with fufficient occurrences to convince him, that the inhabitants of these new-discovered regions had a fixed and rooted fense of the great moral duties; this appeared to govern their conduct, glow in all their actions, and grace their lives.—Actuated by fuch principles, we fee them laborious, industrious, and benevolent. In moments of danger firm, and prodigal of life; in misfortunes patient; in death refigned.—And if, under all these circumstances, he can conceive that the natives of Pelew passed their lives withoutfome degree of Confidence, fome degree of Hope, I have only to fay, his idea of mankind must widely differ from my own.

Superstition is a word of great latitude, and vaguely defined; though it hath, in enlightened ages, been called the offspring of ignorance, yet in no times hath it existed without having some connection with religion.—Now that the people of Pelew had, beyond all doubt, some portion of it, appears from the wish expressed by the King, when he saw the ship building, that the English would take out of it some particular wood, which he perceived they had made use of, and which he observed to them was deemed to be of ill omen, or unpropitious.

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They had also an idea of an evil spirit, that often counteracted human affairs; a very particular instance of this was seen when Mr. BARKER (a most valuable member in the English society) fell backward from the side of the vessel, then on the stocks; RAA KOOK, who happened to be present, observed thereupon, that it was owing to the unlucky wood our people had suffered to remain in the vessel, that the evil spirit had occasioned this mischief to Mr. BARKER.

In the passage from Pelew to China, somewhat was discovered in Prince Lee Boo, pretty similar to what is commonly called second sight;—at the time when he was (as before mentioned) very sea-sick, he said how much he was concerned at the distress his father and friends were feeling, who knew what he was then suffering.—The same anxiety operated on him, on their account, when he perceived his dissolution drawing near, as we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

They certainly entertained so strong an idea of Divination, that whenever any matter of moment was going to be undertaken, they conceived they could, by splitting the leaves of a particular plant that was not unlike our bull-rush, and measuring the strips of this long narrow leaf on the back of their middle singer, form a judgment whether it would or would not turn out prosperous: this was observed by Mr. M. Wilson, in his sirst visit to the King at Pelew; and

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on inquiry, was afterwards explained to the English, by the linguist, as being done to discover if their arrival foreboded good or ill fortune.—It was noticed by several of our people, that the King recurred to this supposed oracle on different occasions, particularly at the time they went on the second expedition against Artingall, when he appeared to be very unwilling to go aboard his canoe, and kept all his attendants waiting, till he had tumbled and twisted his leaves into a form that satisfied his mind, and predicted success.—Our people never observed any person but the King apply to this Divination.

It is hardly probable but the fond anxiety of a parent, on giving up a fon into the hands of strangers, who were to convey him to remote regions, of which he could form to himself but very imperfect notions, would, on so interesting a point, induce him to examine his oracle with uncommon attention; and it is as little to be doubted but that every thing wore, to his imagination, a prosperous appearance.—Yet, to evince the fallacy of his prophetic leaves, they certainly augured not the truth, nor presented to the father's mind even a suspicion, that the son he parted with he should see no more!

On this subject, I would further wish to bring back to the reader's recollection a few occurrences already noticed:——As RAA KOOK, and others of the natives, were two or three times present when Captain Wilson, on a Sunday evening, affembled his people to read prayers to them, they ex-

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pressed no surprize at what was doing, but appeared clearly to understand that it was the mode in which the English addressed that invisible God, whom they looked up to for protection; and, however different their own notions might be, they attended the English on these occasions with great respect, seeming desirous to join in it, and constantly preserving the most profound silence—the General never allowing the natives to speak a single word, and refusing even to receive a message from the King, which arrived at the tents during divine service.

The ceremony used by RAA KOOK, after the funeral of his son, when he repeated something to himself whilst he was marking the cocoa-nuts, and the bundle of beetle-leaves, which the old woman was to place on the young man's grave, had every appearance of a pious office;—and when he planted the cocoa-nuts, and some other fruit-trees, on the island of Oroolong, what he uttered in a low voice, as each seed was deposited in the earth, impressed those present as the giving a benediction to the future tree that was to spring from it.—The King also, when he took leave of his son, said a few words, which, by the solemnity they were delivered with, and the respectful manner in which Lee Boo received them, induced all our countrymen to conceive it was a kind of blessing.

I must, in this place, add a circumstance that passed in conversation with Captain Wilson and Lee Boo, after he had been some time in England; the former telling him,

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that faying prayers at church was to make men good, that when they died, and were buried, they might live again above (pointing to the fky); Lee Boo, with great earnest-ness, replied—All same Pelew—Bad men stay in earth—good men go into sky—become very beautiful, holding his hand in the air, and giving a fluttering motion to his fingers.—This surely conveyed a strong idea, that they believed the spirit existed when the body was no more.

After combining all these facts, and uniting them with the moral characters of the people, the reader is lest in a situation to judge for himself (independent of Lee Boo's declaration) whether it is probable that their lives could be conducted with that decency we have seen, and their minds trained to so strong a sense of justice, propriety, and delicacy, without having some guiding principle of religion.—Thus much, at least, I think we may be authorized to affert—If all this was effected without it, it proves that the natives of Perlew had been happy enough not only to discover, but to be perfectly convinced, that Virtue was its own reward.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES.

I shall close this account of the PELEW islands with a few general remarks on the disposition and character of the natives.

The conduct of these people towards the English was,

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from the first to the last, uniformly courteous and attentive, accompanied with a politeness that surprized those on whom it was bestowed. At all times they seemed so cautious of intruding, that on many occasions they facrificed their natural curiofity to that respect, which natural good manners appeared to them to exact. Their liberality to the English at their departure, when individuals poured in all the best they had to give, and that of articles too of which they had far from plenty themselves, strongly demonstrated that these testimonies of friendship were the effusion of hearts that glowed with the flame of philanthropy; and when our countrymen, from want of stowage, were compelled to refuse the further marks of kindness which were offered them, the intreating eyes and supplicating gestures with which they folicited their acceptance of what they had brought, most forcibly expressed how much their minds were wounded, to think they had not arrived early enough to have their little tributes of affection received.

Nor was this conduct of theirs an oftentatious civility exercised towards strangers.—Separated as they were from the rest of the world, the character of a stranger had never entered their imagination.—They selt our people were distressed, and in consequence wished they should share whatever they had to give. It was not that worldly munisicence, that bestows and spreads its favours with a distant eye to retribution—Their bosoms had never harboured so contare

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minating a thought—No; it was the pure emotions of native benevolence—It was the love of man to man.—It was a feene that pictured human nature in triumphant colouring—And, whilst their *liberality* gratified the fense, their virtue struck the heart!

Our people had also many occasions to observe, that this fpirit of urbanity operated in all the intercourse the natives had among themselves. The attention and tenderness shewn to the women was remarkable, and the deportment of the men to each other mild and affable; infomuch that, in the various scenes of which they were spectators, during their stay on these islands, the English never saw any thing that had the appearance of contest, or passion: every one seemed to attend to his own concerns, without interfering with the business of their neighbour.—The men were occupied in their plantations, or in cutting wood, making hatchets, line, or fmall cords: fome in building houses or canoes; others in making nets and fishing-tackle. The forming of darts, spears, and other warlike weapons, engrossed the attention of many more; as also the making of paddles for their boats, the fashioning of domestic utenfils, and the preparing and burning the chinam.—Such as had abilities to conduct any useful employment were called by the natives Tackelbys; of this class were reckoned the people who built, or inlaid the canoes; fuch also were those who manufactured the tortoiseshell, or made the pottery.

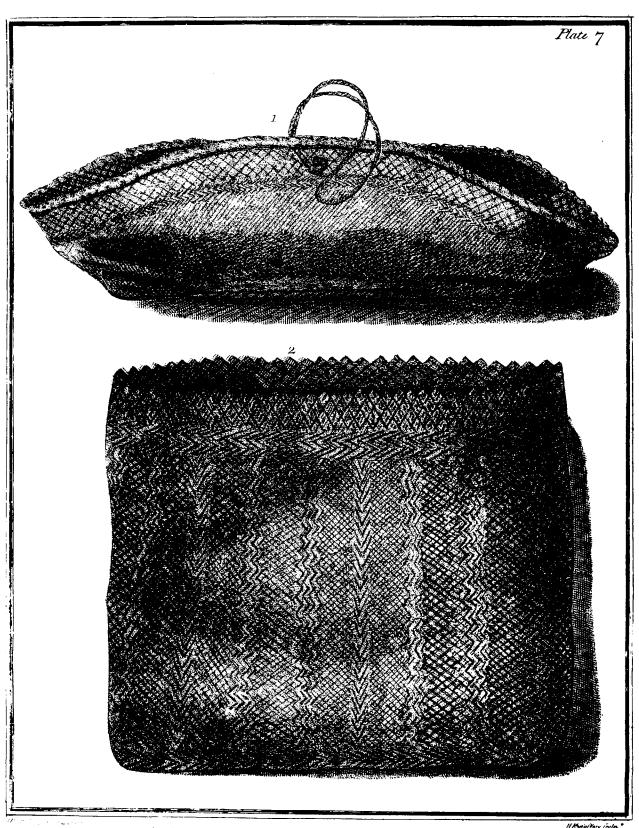
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Although industry, however zealous, must be slow in producing its purpofe, unaided by proper implements, and labour rendered extremely tedious from this deficiency, yet, in regions where fuch advantages are denied, we do not find that the ardour of attempting is abated. A fleady perfeverance, to a certain degree, accomplishes the end aimed at; and Europe hath, not without reason, been assonished at the many fingular productions imported from the fouthern difcoveries, fo neatly and curioufly wrought by artless hands, unaffifted but by fuch fimple tools as ferve only to increase our surprize, when we see how much they have effected.—Every man, by his daily labour, gained his daily fustenance: necessity imposing this exertion, no idle or indolent people were feen, not even among those whom supcrior rank might have exempted: on the contrary, thefe excited their inferiors to toil and activity by their own examples. The King himfelf was the best maker of hatchets in the island, and was usually at work whenever disengaged from matters of importance.—Even the women shared in the common toil; they laboured in the plantations of yams, and it was their province to pluck out all the weeds that that up from between the stones of the paved causeways. They manufactured the mats and baskets, as well as attended to their domestic concerns. The business of tatooing was also carried on by them; those who entered on this employment were denominated Tackelbys artheil, or female ar-

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tists.—Their manners were courteous, though they were far from being of loose, or vicious dispositions;—they in general rejected connections with our people, and resented any indelicate, or unbecoming freedom with a proper sense of modesty.

In fuch scenes of patient industry, the years of fleeting life passed on; and the cheerful disposition of the natives fully authorized our people to suppose, that there were few hours of it either irksome or oppressive. They were strangers to those passions which ambition excites—to those cares which affluence awakens.—Their existence appeared to glide along like a smooth undisturbed stream; and when the natural occurrences of life ruffled the furface, they poffeffed a fufficient portion of fortitude to restore to it soon its wonted calm.—Their happiness seemed to be secured to them on the firmest basis; for the little which Nature and Providence spread before them, they enjoyed with a contented cheerfulness; nor were their bosoms habituated to cherish wishes which they had not the power of gratifying. And it will not furely be denied, that in civilized nations the error of a contrary conduct exhibits, among the inactive, many melancholy repining countenances; whilst it prompts more daring and uncontrouled spirits to aim at compassing their views by injustice, or rapine, and to break down the facred barrier of fociety.

From the general character of these people, the reader, I should

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should conceive, will be disposed to allow, that their lives do credit to human nature; and that, however untutored, however uniformed, their manners present an interesting picture to mankind.—We see a despotic government without one shade of tyranny, and power only exercised for general happiness, the subjects looking up with silial reverence to their King.—And, whilst a mild government, and an affectionate considence, linked their little state in bonds of harmony, gentleness of manners was the natural result, and fixed a brotherly and disinterested intercourse among one another.

I am well aware, that in the expedition against Pele-Lew, the destroying the houses and plantations of the little island belonging to it, which the natives, through sear, had abandoned, as well as the killing those whom they captured in battle, are both of them circumstances which will appear to militate against that humanity which, throughout this work, I have attributed to the people of Pelew.—Respecting the first, though the landing in an enemy's country, and spreading devastation and distress, is by no means a practice new in the annals of history, political necessity qualifying the measure; yet in these regions it seemed also to militate so much against their accustomed maxim, never to take an enemy by surprize, but to give previous notice of a meditated attack, that I am strongly inclined to think this might have been a new art of war suggested to the

King

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King by the *Malay* favourite, as it totally contradicted that open generofity with which they at all times conducted hof-tilities.

As to their putting their prisoners to death, RAA KOOK, on being censured for it by Captain Wilson, said, it bad not always been so; and, in affigning reasons for being compelled to do it, seemed to shelter the proceeding under the plea of political necessity.

The number captured in any of their battles must, from their mode of engaging, be at all times very trifling. In the most considerable engagement our people witnessed at Ar-TINGALL, no more than nine were made prisoners, which the natives accounted a great many; nor were these put to death in cold blood, it rather might be called the close of the battle. It was generally the effect of unfubfided paffion or revenge, the terminating blow being, in most cases, given by some one who had lost a near relation, or friend, in the battle, or was himself suffering under the pain of a wound. Besides, as these islands were situated so near to each other, it was next to impossible to detain their captives: they had no prisons to confine them; no cartel canoes to negotiate an exchange; and, going about the island freely, the lives of the Sovereign, or his Chiefs, were at all times affailable by any vindictive spirit. They had, as the General told Captain WILSON, ineffectually strove to detain them as menial

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menial fervants. Therefore, revolting as the idea is, if they have, in this respect, adopted a maxim which prevails among the *Indian* tribes in America, and in the numerous states of Africa (though the number of lives facrificed can never bere be many) one hath only to lament that political necessity hath (in common with a multitude of other uncivilized countries) thrown a shade over these new-discovered islands.

It should be the caution of every writer, to endeavour to difarm criticism, by meeting objections that may be made.— After the good dispositions which the people of PELEW have been feen to possess, it may possibly be faid, they were addicted to pilfering when opportunity offered; a censure which many, I believe, think has been too feverely paffed on the poor inhabitants of the fouthern ocean.—In the PE-LEW islands, it was never done but by those of the lowest class; and whenever complaint was made of any thing having been taken clandestinely away, the King, as well as his Chiefs, considered it as a breach of hospitality, nor could their indignant spirits rest till the article purloined was searched for, and if found, restored.—Should some Eastern Prince, magnificently decorated, accidentally, as he paffed along, drop a diamond from his robe, and were a poor peafant (knowing how great an acquisition it was) to see it sparkling in the dust, where is that resistance, that self-denial, which would go on and leave it untouched?—A nail—a tool—or a

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had no penal statute against petty larceny. They sought only the means of rendering easier the daily toils of life, or of compassing with facility what they imperfectly accomplished by unwearied perseverance! And, I am consident, the voice of reason will unite with me in afferting, that they must have been more than men, had they acted less like men. Virtuous in the extreme would be deemed that country, where the conscience of no individual, in the cool moments of reslection, could upbraid him with a heavier transgression, than applying to his own use a bit of iron that lay before him!

In the name of humanity, then, let us judge with less rigour our fellow-creatures; and, should any one be disposed, for such trivial failings, to censure the benevolent inhabitants of Pelew, that censure, I trust, for the sake of justice, will never be passed on them by those who live in civilized and enlightened nations—for Such must be too well convinced of the inessicacy of the best-digested laws, and the inability of their own internal police to restrain the vices of mankind, by observing, that all which Prudence can revolve, Wisdom plan, or Power enforce, is frequently unable to protect their Property by night, or their Persons, at all times, even under meridian suns.—They will reslect, that every bolt and bar is a satire on society; and painfully recollect, that it is not the daring plunderer alone they have to guard against; they are

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affailable under the smile of dissembled friendship, by which the Generous and the Confiding are too often betrayed into a situation beyond the shelter of any protecting law; a wound which, perhaps, more than any other, hath tortured the feelings of sensibility!

Waiting, therefore, that long-expected æra, when civilization, science, and philosophy, shall bring us to a more confirmed practice of *real* virtue, it becomes us to view with charity those errors in others, which we have not as yet been able to correct in ourselves.

If the enlightened fons of Europe, enjoying the full blaze of advantages unknown in less favoured regions, have hitherto made so slow an advance toward moral perfection, they are surely passing the severest censure on themselves, if they expect to find it in a happier manner approached by the dark and unfriended children of the Southern World!



Prince LEE BOO Second Son of ABBA THULLE.

Published by G Nichol, for Capt Henry Wilfon, as the Act dire to May 1. 1788.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

Anecdotes of LEE Boo, second Son of ABBA THULLE, from the Time of leaving Canton to bis Death.

HAVING given a faithful narrative of all the material occurrences which happened to our people during the time they remained in the PELEW ISLANDS, with fuch information concerning their produce; the manners, difposition, way of life, and character of the natives, as could be collected in that space of time, from the intercourse our countrymen had with them; I shall close this work with fuch anecdotes of Prince Lee Boo, as I have received from some of my particular friends who often saw him. added to those I have myself been witness of:—insignificant as the amount of the whole may be, yet I think them worth recording;—from a trifling sketch, or a mere outline. enough may be gained of character, to convey to the mind no fallacious idea of the object aimed at.—In the present case, no more than an outline can be delineated—Had not this youth, who came here almost a stranger to our language, and who lived little more than five months with us, been fnatched away fo foon to fill an early grave, I X x 2 might

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might have been enabled to offer the public a more finished picture of him.

In the flight acquaintance made with him at MACAO and CANTON, he hath, I trust, interested the reader by that ingenuous openness, which was the result of native simplicity; he is there feen in the character of a new-born creature, just entering a world he was quite a stranger to, darting his bewildered eyes on every fide, and folicited by fuch a variety of novelty, that he knew not where to fix his attention. However beautiful, however stupendous the objects may be which furround us, when they have been within our view through all the progressive advance of early years, they infenfibly cease to engage our notice.—The peafant, bred at the foot of ÆTNA, or the ANDES, sees with indifference those wonderful operations of Nature, which seduce fo frequently from distant countries the inquisitive traveller. -The case of Lee Boo was directly otherwise; if I may be allowed the expression, he was born at the state of manhood, with his mind in full vigour, and inftantly found himself encompassed by scenes not only totally new, but totally beyond his conceptions—scenes which to him were so bordering on enchantment, that they were fufficient to have half overfet the inexperienced faculties of our young traveller, had he not constantly had his MENTOR at his elbow to clear up all his difficulties, point his judgment properly, and give him

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him a just explanation of whatever became an object of his notice and surprize.

We left them together, as the reader will recollect, on board the Morse Indiaman, pursuing their passage to Europe; he was treated with much kindness and attention by the Commander, Captain Elliot, and Lee Boo was so courteous and pleasant during the whole voyage, that every one was ready to render him any service in their power.

He was extremely defirous of knowing the name and country of every ship he met at sea, and would repeat what he was told over and over till he had fixed it well in his memory; and, as each inquiry was gratisfied, he made a knot on his Line; but these knots now having greatly multiplied, he was obliged to repeat them over every day to refresh his memory, and often to recur to Captain Wilson, or others, when he had forgot what any particular knot referred to. The Officers in the Morse, with whom only he affociated, when they saw him thus busied with his Line, used to say he was reading his journal. He frequently asked after all the people of the Oroolong, who had gone aboard different ships at China, particularly after the Captain's son, and Mr. Sharp.

He had not been long on the voyage before he folicited Captain WILSON to get him a book, and point out to him the letters, that he might, when he knew them, be instructed in reading; all convenient opportunities were allotted to

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gratify this wish of his young pupil, who discovered great readiness in comprehending every information given him.

On arriving at SAINT HELENA, he was much struck with the soldiers and cannon on the fortifications; and the coming in soon after of sour English men of war, afforded him a sight highly delighting, particularly those which had two tier of guns. It was explained to him that these kind of ships were intended only for sighting, and that the other vessels which he then saw in the Bay were destined for commerce, to transport and exchange from one country to another its produce and manufactures.—Captain Buller, the Commander of his Majesty's ship The Chaser, had the goodness to take him on board his own, and another ship, to let him see the men exercised at the great guns and small arms, which exceedingly impressed his imagination.

On being carried to see a school, he expressed a wish that he could learn as the boys did, feeling his own desiciency in knowledge.

He defired to ride on horseback into the country, which he was permitted to do; he sat well, and galloped, shewed no fear of falling, and appeared highly pleased both with the novelty and pleasure of the exercise.

Visiting the Company's garden, he noticed some shady walks formed with bamboos arching overhead on latticework. He was struck with the refreshing coolness they afforded, and observed, that his own countrymen were

ignorant

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ignorant of the advantages they might enjoy, saying, that on this island they had but little wood, yet applied it to a good purpose; that at Pelew they had great abundance, and knew not how to use it.—Adding, that when he went back, he would speak to the King, tell him how desective they were, and have men employed to make such bowers as he had seen.

Such were the dawnings of a mind that felt its own darkness—and had the good-sense to catch at every ray of light that might lead him forward to information and improvement!

Before the Morse quitted Saint Helena, the Lastelles arrived, by which occurrence Lee Boo had an interview with his first friend, Mr. Sharp; he had a sight of him from a window, and ran out with the utmost impatience to take him by the hand; happy, after so long a separation, to meet him again, and evincing by his ardour the grateful fentiments he retained of the attention that gentleman had shewn him.

As he drew near the *British* channel, the number of vessels that he observed pursuing their different courses, increasing so much, he was obliged to give up the keeping of his journal; but was still very inquisitive to know, whither they were failing.—When the Morse got to the Isle of Wight, Captain Wilson, his brother, the Prince, with several other passengers, quitted her, and coming in a boat between the

Needles,

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Needles, arrived fafe at Portsmouth the fourteenth of July 1784.—On landing, the number and fize of the men of war then in harbour, the variety of houses, and the ramparts, were all objects of attraction; he seemed so totally absorbed in silent surprize, that he had no leisure to ask any questions.—The officer of the Morse charged with the dispatches setting off immediately for London, Captain Wilson, impatient to see his family, accompanied him, leaving his young traveller under the care of his brother, to follow him by a coach, which was to set off in the evening. As soon as he reached town, he was conveyed to the Captain's house at Rotherhithe, where he was not a little happy to rejoin his adopted father, and in being introduced to his family.

Though part of his journey had passed during the night, yet, with returning day, his eyes had full employment on every side; and when he had got to what was now to be, for some time, his destined home, he arrived in all the natural glow of his youthful spirits. Whatever he had observed in silence, was now eagerly disclosed. He described all the circumstances of his journey; said it was very pleasant—that he had been put into a little house, which was run away with by horses—that he slept, but still was going on; and, whilst he went one way, the sields, houses, and trees, all went another—every thing, from the quick-ness of travelling, appearing to him to be in motion,

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At the hour of rest he was shewn by Mr. M. WILSON up to his chamber, where, for the first time, he saw a sour-post bed; he could scarce conceive what it meant—he jumped in, and jumped out again; felt and pulled aside the curtains; got into bed, and then got out a second time, to admire its exterior form. At length, having become acquainted with its use and convenience, he laid himself down to sleep, saying, that in England there was a house for every thing.

It was not, I believe, more than a week after his arrival, when I was invited, by my late valued friend ROBERT RASH-LEIGH, Efq. to dinner, where Captain WILSON, and his young charge, were expected.—LEE Boo then possessed but very little English, yet, between words and action, made himfelf tolerably understood, and seemed to comprehend the greater part of what was faid to him, especially, having the Captain by him to explain whatever he did not clearly comprehend.—He was dreft as an Englishman, excepting that he wore his hair in the fashion of his own country; appeared to be between nineteen and twenty years of age, was of a middling stature, and had a countenance fo strongly marked with fenfibility and good-humour, that it instantly prejudiced every one in his favour; and this countenance was enlivened by eyes fo quick and intelligent, that they might really be faid to announce his thoughts and conceptions without the aid of language.

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Though the accounts I had previously received of this new man (as he was called at MACOA) had greatly raised my expectations, yet when I had been a little time in his company, I was perfectly aftonished at the ease and gentleness of his manners; he was lively and pleasant, and had a politeness without form, or restraint, which appeared to be the refult of natural good-breeding.—As I chanced to fit near him at table, I paid him a great deal of attention, which he feemed to be very fensible of.-Many questions were of course put to Captain WILSON by the company, concerning this personage, and the country he had brought him from, which no European had ever visited before; he obligingly entered on many particular circumstances which were highly interesting, spoke of the battles in which his people had affisted the King of Pelew, and of the peculiar manner the natives had of tying up their hair when going to war; LEE Boo, who fully understood what his friend was explaining, very obligingly, and unasked, untied his own, and threw it into the form Captain Wilson had been describing.—I might tire the reader were I to enumerate the trivial occurrences of a few hours, rendered only of confequence from the fingularity of this young man's fituation; fuffice it to fay, there was in all his deportment fuch affability and propriety of behaviour, that when he took leave of the company, there was hardly any one present who did not feel a fatisfaction in having had an interview with him.

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I went to Rotherhithe, a few days after, to fee Captain Wilson; Lee Boo was reading at a window, he recollected me instantly, and slew with eagerness to the door to meet me, looked on me as a friend, and ever after attached himself to me, appearing to be happy whenever we met together.—In this visit I had a good deal of conversation with him, and we mutually managed to be pretty well understood by each other; he seemed to be pleased with every thing about him, said, All fine country, fine street, fine coach, and bouse upon house up to sky, putting alternately one hand above another, by which I found (their own habitations being all on the ground) that every separate story of our buildings he at that time considered as a distinct house.

He was introduced to feveral of the Directors of the India Company, taken to vifit many of the Captain's friends, and gradually shewn most of the public buildings in the different quarters of the town; but his prudent conductor had the caution to avoid taking him to any places of public entertainment, lest he might accidentally, in those heated resorts, catch the small-pox, a disease which he purposed to inoculate the young Prince with, as soon as he had acquired enough of our language to be reasoned into the necessity of submitting to the operation; judging, and surely not without good reason, that by giving him so offensive and troublesome a distemper, without first explaining its nature, and preparing his mind to yield to it, it might weaken

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that unbounded confidence which this youth placed in his adopted father.

After he had been awhile fettled, and a little habituated to the manners of this country, he was fent every day to an Academy at Rotherhithe, to be inftructed in reading and writing, which he was himfelf eager to attain, and most affiduous in learning; his whole deportment, whilst there, was so engaging, that it not only gained him the esteem of the gentleman under whose tuition he was placed, but also the affection of his young companions;—in the hours of recess, when he returned to the Captain's house, he amused the whole family by his vivacity, noticing every particularity he saw in any of his school-fellows, with great good-humour mimicking their different manners, sometimes saying he would have a school of his own when he returned to Pelew, and should be thought very wise when he taught the great people their letters.

He always addressed Mr. WILSON by the appellation of Captain; but never would call Mrs. WILSON (to whom he behaved with the warmest affection) by any other name than that of Mother, looking on that as a mark of the greatest respect.—Being often told he should say Mrs. WILSON, his constant reply was, No, no—Mother, Mother.

Captain WILSON, when invited to dine with his particular friends, was generally accompanied by LEE Boo; on which occasions, there was so much ease and politeness in his beha-

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viour, as if he had been always habituated to good company; he adapted himself very readily to whatever he saw were the customs of the country, and fully confirmed me in an opinion which I have ever entertained, that natural good manners is the natural result of natural good sense.

Wherever this young man went, nothing escaped his observation; he had an ardent defire of information, and thankfully received it, always expressing a wish to know by what means effects which he noticed, were produced. I was one day in company with him, where a young lady fat down to the harpficord, to fee how he was affected with music; he appeared greatly surprized that the instrument could throw out so much sound; it was opened, to let him fee its interior construction, he pored over it with great attention, watching how the jacks were moved, and feemed far more disposed to puzzle out the means which produced the founds, than to attend to the music that was playing. He was afterwards requested to give us a PELEW fong; he did not wait for those repeated intreaties which fingers usually require, but obligingly began one as foon as asked; the tones, however, were so harsh and discordant, and his breaft feemed to labour with fo much exertion, that his whole countenance was changed by it, and every one's ears ftunned with the horrid notes. From this sample of Pelew finging, it is not to be wondered, that a chorus of fuch performers had the effect (as hath been related) of making our

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countrymen at Oroolong fly to their arms;—it might, in truth, have alarmed a whole garrison.—Though when he had been some time here, he readily caught two or three English songs, in which his voice appeared by no means inharmonious.

LEE Boo's temper was very mild and compassionate, discovering, in various instances, that he had brought from his father's territories that spirit of philanthropy, which we have seen reigned there; yet he at all times governed it by discretion and judgment.—If he saw the young asking relief, he would rebuke them with what little English he was master of, telling them, it was a shame to beg when they were able to work; but the intreaties of old age he could never withstand, saying, must give poor old man—old man no able to work.

I am perfectly convinced, that Captain Wilson, from the confidence which the King had reposed in him, would have held himself inviolably bound to protect and serve this young creature to the utmost extent of his abilities; but, independant of what he selt was due to the noble character of Abba Thulle, there was so much gentleness, and so much gratitude lodged at Lee Boo's heart, that not only the Captain, but every part of his family, viewed him with the warmest sentiments of disinterested affection.—Mr. H. Wilson, the Captain's son, being a youth of a very amiable character, and a few years younger than Lee Boo, they had, during their voyage to, and stay in China, become mutually

attached

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attached to each other, and meeting again under the father's roof, their friendship was still more cemented; the young Prince looked on him as a brother, and, in his leisure hours from the Academy, was happy to find in him a companion to converse with, to exercise the throwing of the spear, or partake in any innocent recreation.

BOYAM, the Malay, whom the King had sent to attend on his son, proving an unprincipled, dishonest fellow, LEE Boo was so disgusted with his conduct, that he intreated Captain Wilson to send him back to Sumatra (which he had learned was the Malay's own country); and Tom Rose, a man of tried fidelity, and who had picked up a great deal of the Pelew language, being at this time in England, was engaged to supply his place; an exchange which gave great satisfaction to all parties.

Captain WILSON being now and then incommoded with fevere head-achs, which were fometimes relieved by lying down on the bed; on these occasions the feelings of LEE Boo were ever alarmed. He appeared always unhappy, would creep up softly to his protector's chamber, and sit silent by his bedside for a long time together, without moving, peeping gently from time to time between the curtains, to see if he slept, or lay easy.

As the anecdotes of this fingular youth are but scanty, being all unfortunately limited to a very short period, I would unwillingly, in this place, withhold one, where his own heart described

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described itself. The Captain having been all the morning in London, after dinner asked his son if he had been at fome place, he had, before he went to town, directed him to call at, with a particular meffage? The fact was, the two young friends had been amufing themselves with throwing the spear, and the business had been totally forgotten.—Captain Wilson was hurt at the neglect, and told his fon it was very idle and careless; this being spoken in an impatient tone of voice, which LEE Boo conceiving was a mark of anger in the father, flipt unobserved out of the parlour. The matter was inflantly forgotten, and fomething else talked of, when LEE Boo being miffed, HARRY WILSON was fent to look after him, who finding him in a back room quite dejected, defired him to return to the family; LEE Boo took his young friend by the hand, and on entering the parlour went up to the father, and laying hold of his hand joined it with that of his fon, and preffing them together, dropped over both those tears of sensibility, which his affectionate heart could not on the occasion suppress.

Captain WILSON and the young Prince dining with me early after his arrival, I was asking how he was affected by painting; on mentioning the subject, Dr. CARMICHAEL SMYTH, whom I had requested to meet this stranger, wished me to bring a miniature of myself, that we might all thereby observe if it struck him; he took it in his hand, and instantly darting his eyes toward me,

called

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called out, Misser Keate—very nice, very good.—The Captain then asking him, if he understood what it signified? he replied, Lee Boo understand well—that Misser Keate die—this Misser Keate live.—A treatise on the utility and intent of portrait-painting could not have better defined the art than this little sentence.

Mrs. WILSON defiring LEE Boo, who was on the opposite fide of the table, to fend her some cherries, perceiving that he was going to take them up with his fingers, jocosely noticed it to him, he instantly resorted to a spoon; but, sensible that he had discovered a little unpoliteness, his countenance was in a moment suffused with a blush, that visibly forced itself through his dark complexion.

A lady, who was of the party, being incommoded by the violent heat of the day, was nearly fainting, and obliged to leave the room; this amiable youth feemed much distressed at the accident, and seeing her appear again when we were summoned to tea, his inquiries, and particular attention to her, as strongly marked his tenderness, as it did his goodbreeding.

He was fond of riding in a coach beyond any other conveyance, because, he said, people could be carried where they wanted to go, and at the same time sit and converse together. He seemed particularly pleased at going to church, and, though he could not comprehend the service, yet he perfectly understood the intent of it, and always behaved there with remarkable propriety and attention.

Captain

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Captain Wilson kept him from going abroad, except to visit friends, for the reason already assigned, as also from another prudential confideration, that his mind might be tranquil, nor too much drawn off from the great object in view, the attaining the language, which would enable him to comprehend fully every purposed information, and to enjoy better whatever he should then be shewn. The river, the fhipping, and the bridges he was forcibly struck with; and he was feveral times taken to fee the guards exercifed and march in St. JAMES'S Park, a fight which gratified him much, every thing that was military greatly engaging his attention. To a young creature, fituated as he was, and whose eye and mind were ever in quest of information, circumstances perpetually occurred, that at the time interested those who were about him, but which at present would be trespassing too much on the reader to mention.

I went to see him the morning after Lunard's first ascent in the balloon, not doubting but that I should have found him to the greatest degree astonished at an exhibition which had excited so much curiosity even amongst ourselves; but, to my great surprize, it did not appear to have engaged him in the least. He said, be thought it a very foolish thing to ride in the air like a bird, when a man could travel so much more pleasantly on borseback, or in a coach.—He was either not aware of the difficulty, or hazard of the enterprize, or it is not improbable that a man slying up through the clouds, suspended at a balloon, might have been ranked by

him

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him as a common occurrence, in a country which was perpetually spreading before him so many subjects of surprize.

Whenever he had opportunities of feeing gardens, he was an attentive observer of the plants and fruit-trees, would ask many questions about them, and say, when he returned home, he would take feeds of fuch as would live and flourish in PELEW; talked frequently of the things he should then perfunde the King to alter, or adopt; and appeared in viewing most objects to consider how far they might be rendered useful to his own country.

He was now proceeding with hafty strides in gaining the English language, and advancing so rapidly with his pen, that he would probably in a nort time have written a very fine hand, when he was overtaken with that very difease, which with fo much caution had been guarded against. On the 16th of December he felt himself much indisposed, and in a day or two after an eruption appeared all over him.—Captain WILson called to inform me of his uneafiness, and was then going to Dr. CARMICHAEL SMYTH, to request he would see him, apprehending that it might be the small-pox.

Dr. Smyth, with whose professional abilities are united every accomplishment of the scholar and the gentleman, and whose friendship I feel a pride in acknowledging myself long possessed of, defired me to go with him to ROTHER-HITHE. When he descended from LEE Boo's chamber (where he rather wished me not to go) he told the family

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was forry to add (what he thought it right to prepare them for) that the appearances were fuch as almost totally precluded the hope of a favourable termination; but that he had ordered whatever the present moment required. Captain Wilson earnestly solicited the continuance, if possible, of his visits, and was affured that however inconvenient the distance, he would daily attend the issue of the distemper.

When I went the fecond day, I found Mr. SHARP there, a gentleman fo often mentioned in the foregoing narrative, who, hearing of his young friend's illness, had come to affist Captain WILSON, nor ever stirred from the house, till poor LEE Boo had yielded to his fate.

The Captain having never had the small-pox himself, was now precluded going into Lee Boo's room, who, informed of the cause, acquiesced in being deprived of seeing him, still continuing to be full of inquiries after his health, searing he might catch the disease; but though Captain Wilson complied with the request of his family in not going into the chamber, yet he never absented himself from the house; and Mr. Sharp constantly took care that every direction was duly attended to, and from him I received the account of our unfortunate young stranger during his illness, which he bore with great sirmness of mind, never refusing to take any thing that was ordered for him, when told that Dr. Smyth, (to whose opinion he paid the greatest

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deference) defired it.—Mrs. WILSON happening to have fome indisposition at this time, which confined her to her bed, Lee Boo, on hearing of it, became impatient, saying, What, Mother ill! Lee Boo get up to see her; which he did, and would go to her apartment, to be satisfied how she really was.

On the Thursday before his death, walking across the room, he looked at himself in the glass (his face being then much fwelled and disfigured); he shook his head, and turned away, as if difgusted at his own appearance, and told Mr. SHARP, that his father and mother much grieve, for they knew be was very fick; this he repeated feveral times.—At night, growing worse, he appeared to think himself in danger; he took Mr. SHARP by the hand, and, fixing his eyes stedfastly on him, with earnestness said, Good friend, when you go to PELEW, tell ABBA THULLE that LEE Boo take much drink to make small-pox go away, but he die; -that the Captain and Mother (meaning Mrs. WILSON) very kind—all English very good men;—was much forry he could not speak to the King the number of fine things the English had got.—Then he reckoned what had been given him as prefents, which he wished Mr. Sharp would distribute, when he went back, among the Chiefs; and requested that very particular care might be taken of the blue glass barrels on pedestals, which he directed should be given to the King.

Poor Tom Rose, who stood at the foot of his young master's bed, was shedding tears at hearing all this, which

LEE

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LEE Boo observing, rebuked him for his weakness, asking, Why should be be crying so because LEE Boo die?

Whatever he felt, his spirit was above complaining; and Mrs. Wilson's chamber being adjoining to his own, he often called out to inquire if she was better, always adding, lest she might suffer any disquietude on his account, Lee Boo do well, Mother. The small-pox, which had been out eight or nine days, not rising, he began to feel himself sink, and told Mr. Sharp he was going away. His mind, however, remained perfectly clear and calm to the last, though what he suffered in the latter part of his existence was severe indeed; the strength of his constitution struggled long and hard against the venom of his distemper, till exhausted nature yielded in the contest.

from Rotherhithe, to inform me of the state of his patient, but never gave me any hope of his recovery. Being under an engagement, with my family, to pass a week at the house of my friend, Mr. Brook Watson, at Sheen, (who was equally anxious and alarmed as ourselves for this amiable young man) I requested the Doctor would have the goodness to continue to me his information.—The second day after I lest town, I received the intelligence of his death, which deeply affected us all.—I cannot give an account of this melancholy event so well as by transcribing Dr. Smyth's letter, by which it was conveyed to me.

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Monday, Dec. 27, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is an unpleasant task for me to be the herald of bad news, yet, according to my promise, I must inform you of the fate of poor LEE Boo, who died this morning without a groan, the vigour of his mind and body resisting to the very last.—Yesterday, the secondary fever coming on, he was feized with a shivering fit, succeeded by head-ach, violent palpitation of the heart, anxiety, and difficult breathing; he again used the warm bath, which, as formerly, afforded him a temporary relief; he had a blifter put on his back, which was as ineffectual as those applied to his legs. He expressed all his feelings to me, in the most forcible and pathetic manner, put my hand upon his heart, leant his head on my arm, and explained his uneafiness in breathing; but when I was gone he complained no more, fhewing that he complained with a view to be relieved, not to be pitied.—In short, living or dying he has given me a lesson which I shall never forget; and furely, for patience and fortitude, he was an example worthy the imitation of a Stoic!—I did not fee Captain WILSON when I called this morning, but the maid-fervant was in tears, and every person in the family wore the face of grief; poor LEE Boo's affectionate temper made every one look upon him as a brother or a child. — Compliments to the ladies, and to Mr.

WATSON;

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Watson; who, I make no doubt, will all join in regretting the untimely end of our poor Prince.—From you, my friend, fomething more will be expected; and, though you cannot bring him back to life, you are called upon (particularly confidering his great attachment to you) not to let the memory of fo much virtue pass away unrecorded.—But I am interrupted in these melancholy reflections, and have only time to assure you of (what will never pass away but with myself) the sincere friendship of your affectionate, &c.

JAS CARMICHAEL SMYTH.

Captain WILSON notified to the India House the unfortunate death of this young man; and received orders to conduct every thing with proper decency respecting his funeral. He was interred in Rotherhithe church-yard, the Captain and his brother attending. All the young people of the Academy joined in this testimony of regard; and the concourse of people at the church was so great, that it appeared as if the whole parish had assembled to join in seeing the last ceremonies paid to one who was so much beloved by all who had known him in it.

The India Company, foon after, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave, with the following inscription, which I have transcribed from it:

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To the Memory

of Prince LEE Boo,

A native of the Pelew, or Palos Islands; and Son to Abba Thulle, Rupack or King of the Island Coorooraa;

who departed this Life on the 27th of December 1784,

aged 20 Years;

This Stone is infcribed,
by the Honourable United East India Company,
as a Testimony of Esteem for the humane and kind Treatment
afforded by his Father to the Crew of their Ship

which was wrecked off that Island in the Night of the 9th of August 1783.

Stop, Reader, stop!——let NATURE claim a Tear—A Prince of Mine, LEE Boo, lies bury'd here.

3 A

Among

AN ACCOUNT OF

Among the little property which he left behind, befide what he had particularly requested Mr. Sharp to convey to his father and friends, there were found, after his death, the stones or seeds of most of the fruits he had tasted in *England*, carefully and separately put up.—And when one considers that his stay with us was but five months and twelve days, we find, that in the midst of the wild field of novelty that encompassed him, he had not been neglectful of that which, before his departure from Pelew, had been probably pointed out to him as a principal matter of attention.

From these trisling anecdotes of this amiable youth, cut off in the moment that his character began to blossom, what hopes might not have been entertained of the future fruit such a plant would have produced!—He had both ardour and talents for improvement, and every gentle quality of the heart to make himself beloved; so that, as far as the dim sight of mortals is permitted to penetrate, he might, had his days been lengthened, have carried back to his own country—not the vices of a new world—but those sold advantages which his own good sense would have suggested, as likely to become most useful to it.

But—how carry back?—That event depended not on himself;—a naked, considing stranger—he trusted implicitly to others, and left the protecting arms of a father without apprehension—without stipulation.—The evening before the Oroolong sailed, the King asked Captain Wilson, how

long

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long it might be before his return to Pelew? and being told, that it would probably be about thirty moons, or migh chance to extend to fix more, Abba Thulle drew from his basket a piece of *Line*, and, after making thirty knots on it, a little distance from each other, left a long space, and then adding fix others, carefully put it by.

As the flow but fure steps of Time have been moving onward, the Reader's imagination will figure the anxious parent, resorting to this cherished remembrancer, and with joy untying the earlier records of each elapsing period;—as he sees him advancing on his *Lina*, he will conceive the joy redoubled;—and, when nearly approaching to the *thirtieth* knot, almost accusing the planet of the night for passing so tardily away.

When verging towards the termination of his latest reckoning, he will then picture his mind glowing with parental
affection, occasionally alarmed by doubt—yet still buoyed up
by hope;—he will fancy him pacing inquisitively the seashore, and often commanding his people to ascend every
rocky height, and glance their eyes along the level line of
the horizon which bounds the surrounding ocean, to see if
haply it might not in some part be broken by the distant
appearance of a returning sail.

Lastly, he will view the good ABBA THULLE, wearied out by that expectation, which so many returning moons since his reckoning *ceased*, have by this time taught him he had

3 A 2 nourished

AN ACCOUNT, &c.

nourished in vain.—But the Reader will bring him back to his remembrance, as armed with that unshaken fortitude that was equal to the trials of varying life.—He will not in bim, as in less manly spirits, see the passions rushing into opposite extremes—Hope turned to Despair—Assection converted to Hatred.—No—After some allowance for their natural fermentation, he will suppose them all placidly subsiding into the Calm of Resignation!—

Should this not be absolutely the case of our friendly King—as the human mind is far more pained by uncertainty than a knowledge of the worst—every reader will lament, he should to this moment remain ignorant, that his long-looked for Son can return no more.

At ROME, the life of one citizen faved, gave a claim to the civic wreath—At Pelew, so many of our countrymen rescued from distress, and by ABBA THULLE's protection and benevolence, not only saved from inevitable destruction, but enabled to return in safety to their families and friends, hath sure a still stronger claim to a wreath from British Gratitude!

Α

V O C A B U L A R Y

OF THE

PELEW LANGUAGE.

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Arracat - - - A man.

Artheil - - - A woman.

Nalakell - - - A child.

Rupack - - - A Chief, or title of rank.

Cattam - - - A father.

Catheil - - - A mother.

Morwakell - - - A wife.

Talacoy - - - A male infant.

Sucalic - - - A friend.

Takelby - - - A workman, or artificer.

Botheluth - - - The head.

Ungelell - - - The teeth.

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PELEW. - ENGLISH.

Kimath - -The arms.

The body. Kalakalath -

Arrassack Blood.

Oroo/ock Bones.

Toot A woman's breafts.

Cokeetb The thighs.

A dwelling-house. Playe

A public hall, or large house. Pye

Morabalow A town.

Home, a man's dwelling. Poderay

Trir A fpoon.

Oyle/s A knife.

Pewell -A cup.

- A bason. Quall

- Plates, or dishes. Tawr

Koluck -- Oil.

Aleui/s - Cocoa-nuts.

Cococo Yams.

Coffall - Turmeric.

Pook - Beetle-nut.

Curra Curra - Lemon.

T00 - Plantains or bananas.

Cabbage; i. e. the head of the cab-Caboo bage-tree.

Elouth Molosses.

Outh

THE PELEW LANGUAGE.

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PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Outh - - - A torch.

Katt - - - Smoke.

Karr - - - Fire.

Pyaap - - A rat.

Cokall - - - An island.

Paathe - - A rock.

Colocol - - - A fand, or shoal, in the sea.

Cootoom - - - Earth or land fit for cultivation.

Arrall - - - Fresh water.

Garagar - - - Wood; i. e. trees.

Athagell - - - Bamboo.

Meyrooke - - - Rattans.

Lills - - - - Spears or darts.

Allell - - - A leaf of a tree, bush, or plant.

Mallaeye - - - A canoe, or boat.

Coybattle - - - A mast.

Yarse - - A fail.

Peesorse - - A paddle, or oar.

Disoma - - The bottom piece of the out-rigger.

Beefakell - - - The shell ornaments of the canoes.

Gill - - - A rope.

Cray - - - Small line, or cord.

Ougutb - - - A fishing-net.

Poop - - - Fishing-pots, or baskets, made of split bamboo.

Thoup

A VOCABULARY OF

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Thoup - - The fea.

Neekell - - - Fish.

Cumathuck Neekell - Fish-scales.

Arool - - - Skaite, or large flat-fish.

Cossacurra - - - The common cockle.

Kerthough - - - Ditto; the flutings of this cockle-shell are circular, not radiated.

Kim - - - Kima-cockle.

Kissuruck - - - The mother of pearl shell.

Aawell - - Turtle.

Craabrutell - - - Cray-fish, or lobster.

Cockiyoou - - - Birds.

Cycp - - - Pigeons.

Malk - - A fowl.

Doothuck - - - The tropic-bird.

Oleek - - - Large bat, or flying-fox.

Niese - - Eggs.

Bushook - - Feathers, or quills.

Sweebuc - - To fly.

Mungeegy - - - To swim.

Coyoss - - - The fun.

Cills - - - To be fun-burnt, or bliftered.

Pooyer - - - The moon.

Abbthduk - - - Stars.

Meesixs - - - Seven stars, or Pleiades.

Yangle

THE PELEW LANGUAGE.

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PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Yangle - - - Sky.

Yabbath - - - Clouds.

Koyyoou - - - Wind.

Katt akatt - - - Fog, hazy or thick weather; i. e.

literally fmoky.

Kull - - - Rain.

Kull akoyyoou - - Wind and rain, a squall.

Myoofook - - - Little wind, or a calm.

Coreowe - - Lightning.

Thdrum - - - Thunder.

Passapasso - - - Repeated claps of thunder.

 $E \int aw$ - - Rainbow.

Cocook - - - Day.

Ossethellaa - - - Mid-day, or noon.

Cotharaa trioook - - Afternoon, or evening.

Cappasay - - - Night.

Olongkalla allakath - Day-light, or dawn.

Melgull - - - Darkness.

Peeleelurattle - - Morning, or fun-rise.

Coteookell acoyoss - - Sun-set.

Coltho coyofs - - - Yesterday.

Mogall - - - Burning hot.

Macrassem - - Cold.

Mathrabith - - - Hunger.

3 B

Munga

A VOCABULARY OF

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Munga - - - To eat.

Melim - - - To drink.

Meethinggis - - To be fatisfied with eating.

Thomor acocook - - Breakfast.

Weetacallell acoyos - Dinner.

Comosoy - - - Supper.

Misseowe - - - To cook, to dress victuals.

Moringough - - - To broil victuals.

Meeake - - - A fweetmeat made of almonds and moloffes.

Sopossup - - - - A sweetmeat made of a small root like a turnip.

Kalpatt - - - A fweet pudding made of boiled yams and moloffes.

Woolell - - - A fweetmeat made of scraped cocoanuts and molosses.

Mathingaa - - - Mouldy.

Mokoot - - - Rotten.

Riamall - - - The wild bread-fruit.

Kuthull - - - The Jamboo apple.

Othough - - - Beads.

Clootle - - - To cough.

Ogno/s - - - To fneeze.

Suam pepak - - To be pleased, or glad.

Gurragur

THE PELEW LANGUAGE.

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PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Gurragur - - To laugh.

Malill - - - To play, to toy.

Puckasogel - - - To deceive, to speak or act in joke, or doubtfully.

Coothung - - - Wise, or cunning—as Coothung arracat, a wise man.

Thingaringer - - Foolish, or a fool—as Thingaringer, artheil, a foolish woman.

Motur - - - To be angry.

Merengell - - - To be in pain.

Ellmangle - - - To cry.

Adapat - - - To lay down to fleep, i. e. to go to rest.

Parr - - - - A mat to fleep on.

Moopat - - - To fleep.

Peekeeis - - - To awake from sleep.

Moraile - - - To walk.

Arramooroot - - To run, or make haste.

Mooboo - - - To fall down.

Cockamew - - - To take care, i. e. not to slip or fall in walking.

Bomthocar - - - To arise from where you are sitting, to move out of that place.

Amuno - - Come in, i. e. come into a house, (an invitation or request.)

3 B 2

Bomgeeaye

A VOCABULARY OF

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Bomgeeaye - - - Sit down.

Poreowe - - To stoop down.

Koomacarr - To exchange, to barter, to give one thing for another.

Lolocov - - To talk.

Moraamaw - - - To cheer, to huzza.

Arrab - - To call to a person at a distance, as halloo!

Mora mey - - - Come to me.

Mathack - - Don't be afraid.

Ongeelatrecoy - - Means that a thing or business is well done.

Mungou - - To fetch, to bring fomething want-

Kiboteleck - - - The right fide.

Kibotelem - - - The left fide.

Annabookeeth - To give any thing, to make a present.

Ackmethack - - Thank you.

Atalell - - What is the name?

Aygaa - - This thing, or that thing.

Kitra - - - What is it called?

Swallow - - - A mat basket.

Calas - - - A fmall ditto.

7

Kissem - - An adze or hatchet, made of shell.

Sous - - Signifies a file made of fish-skin.

Carute

THE PELEW LANGUAGE.

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PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Carute - - The drefs worn by the women.

Mulakow - - To wash any thing, or themselves.

Malapall - - - To wash or wipe the hand after eating.

Mooreollow - - To clean, to fweep a room.

Mootteetur - - - To work, or labour.

Meeleemoth - - - To throw water out of a boat or veffel.

Morofoock - - - To beat, as with a hammer, or to pound, as in a mortar.

Masaketh - - To reduce, to make less.

Matheethy - - - To enlarge, to make bigger.

Marasam - - To repair, to mend any thing.

Bomgeetee - - - To throw any thing away.

Meeleekotuck - - To strike, to give a blow.

Aclaloo - - To pilfer, to rake any thing slily.

Mokamat - - - War, to fight.

Theilmuck - - Peace.

Cocuath - - - Fighting as children.

Umkarr - - - Wounded.

Umkarra lills - - A wound made by a spear.

Mathee - - Killed.

Maathey - - Dead.

Moraick - - Sick.

Thoo

A VOCABULARY OF

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Thoo - - A bile or blotch.

Moringell - - To be in pain from a bile or blotch.

Macekathe - - To itch.

Melgoth - - To tattoo or mark the body and limbs.

Protbothuck - - Their wooden fword. See Plate II.

fig. I.

Clowe - - Large.

Owmuckell - - - A thing of a middling fize.

Kickaray - - - Small.

Koomangle - - Long.

Cathep - - Short.

Merow - - A measure, answering to our fathom.

Croyeeth - - A great distance.

Icmathe - - - A short distance.

Peepack - - - A great many, abundance.

Sola, Sola - - Enough, plenty, generally spoke twice; as Sola, Sola, enough, enough.

Mooses - - Too much of any thing.

Moosess akoyyou - - Too high a wind.

Aaa - - Yes.

Deak - - - No.

Naak - - Me, myself.

Kow - - You.

Arrabeeta - - - The other fide of any thing.

Oleeakeck

THE PELEW LANGUAGE.

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PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Oleeakeck - - - High, or above.

Oleeakem - - - Low, or downwards.

Mungeet - - - Not good.

Weel - - Good.

Weel atrecoy - Very good.

Mogull - - Bad, or difpleafing.

Omacarew - - - To turn or tack, as a ship or boat.

foomgthcotooath - To caulk, or stop a leak.

foomgtb - - - Their oakum, made of cocoa-nut husks.

Debuss - - To defert or forsake a place or person.

Moraketh - - - Means for a person to go before to some place.

Maouth - - - Means that you will follow and join them.

Ago mey - - - Means go away, or out of my fight, being displeased with the person to whom it is spoke.

Deakatick - - - A dislike of what is offered you, or declaration that you will not accept it.

Ongeell - - - It will do, it is very well.

Oul mey - - - Give me that thing near you, or in your hand.

Deegaa

A VOCABULARY OF

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Deegaa - - I have not what is asked for.

Morakattow - - Go away, stand aside, keep at a distance.

Mey - - Come.

Pomray - - To go away.

Calakaa - - Prefently.

Mayfackarangath - Give me that.

Ley mey - - Bring me that.

Meemathissa - - Let me look at it.

Missak - - To look out, to espy.

Mereacrick - To fearth, to look for a thing lost.

Myyus - - To paddle a canoe.

Lagoorutb - - - To paddle fast.

Arree, Arree - - Signifies to the men in the canoes to exert themselves.

Morru - - - To hinder work, to impede it.

Calem - - To give a portion of provision to each
Chief or family at a feast.

Arrack - - To stop.

Meesoos - - - To make obeisance, to stoop to a Chief.

Meethip - - - Broke like a stick or piece of wood, purposely.

Moorookem - - - Broke like a piece of pottery or shell, falling to the ground, accidentally.

Melocketh

THE PELEW LANGUAGE.

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PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Melocketh - - - Broke like a rope by tension.

Arrasook - - A white stone.

Coreick - - Red.

Kowse - - - White.

Ka/s - - Black.

Coteetow - - Blue.

Meelemow - - Green.

Koothoo - - Yellow.

Careereeack - - - Brown.

Tong - - One.

Oroo - - Two.

Othey - - Three.

Oang - - Four.

Aeem - - Five.

Malong - - Six.

Oweth - - Seven.

Tei - - - Eight.

Etew - - Nine.

Mackoth - - Ten.

Oloyuck - - Twenty.

Ockathey - - - Thirty.

Ockawaugh - - - Forty.

Ockeem - - Fifty.

3 C

Ockgollom

A VOCABULARY, &c.

PELEW.

ENGLISH.

Ockgollom - - - Sixty.

Ockgweeth - - - Seventy.

Ockeye - - - Eighty.

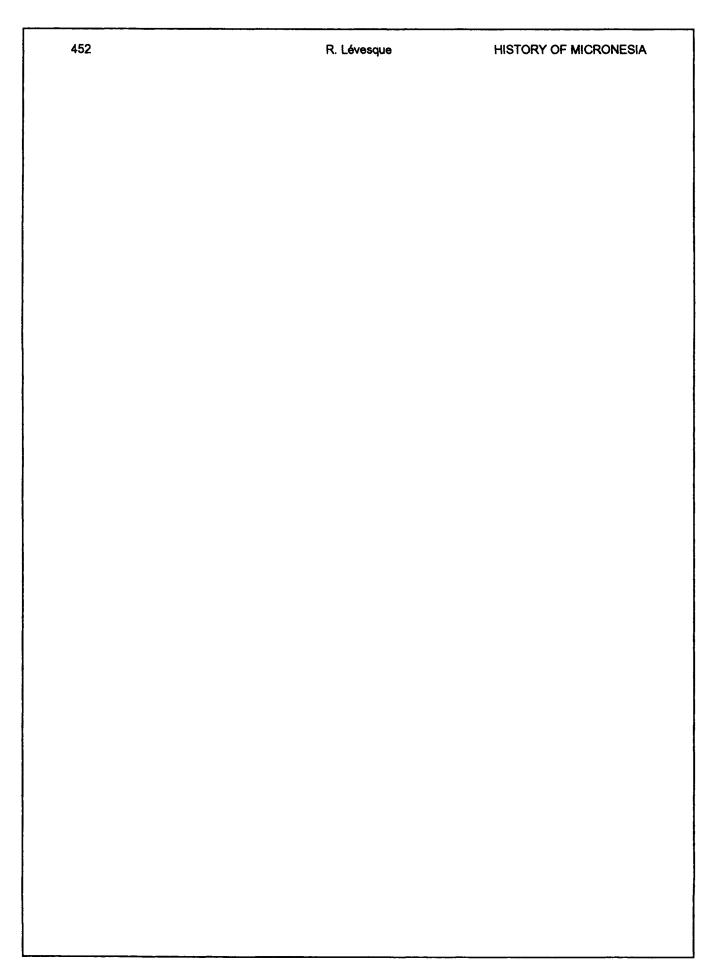
Ockatuew - - - Ninety.

Macketh adart - A hundred.

FINIS.



The launch of the schooner Oroolong in November 1783. (From Vice-Admiral Gordon Campbell's book entitled "Abandon Ship!" Iondon, 1938).



Part 2—Documents 1783D

More basic documents about the Antelope

D1. The official receipt book of the Antelope

Source: Log 578C, India Office.

Book 3: A list of some of her crew, probably in the order they were recruited.

- -Zachariah Allen.
- -John Blanch, gunner.
- -Peter Barker, 2nd Mate.
- —Philip Benger, Chief Mate.
- —George Bond (discharged sick).
- —Madan Blanchard, ordinary seaman. He had 3 withdrawals from his pay; by virtue of a Letter of Attorney, these were paid out to one Elias Heintz, as follows:
 - 20 March 1783 4 pounds (2 months);²
 - 13 August 1783 2 pounds (1 month);
 - 12 February 1784 2 pounds (1 month).
- —James Blewitt, seaman;
- —Thomas Castles, ordinary seaman;
- -John Cooper (able seaman);
- -John Cumming, 3rd Mate;
- —Thomas Dalton, Captain's servant;
- —John Duncan:
- —Joseph Dalton, ordinary seaman;
- -Richard Jenkins, Carpenter's Mate and Caulker;
- -Godfrey Minkes, 2nd Master;
- —John Megle, Steward & Cooper;
- —John Murray, Boatswain & Seaman;

¹ Ed. note: The man who stayed behind in Palau in 1783.

² Ed. note: From a letter found in this file, it was EIC policy that crewmen could only assign a maximum of 2 months wages per year to their families, etc. while they were absent while at sea. So, in this case, 4 pounds sterling is recorded as 2 months pay.

- -John Martin, seaman;
- —Albert Pearson, 2nd Master;
- -John Palkingham, Carpenter & Seaman;
- —William Roberts;
- —John Sharp, Surgeon;
- -James Swift;
- -William Stewart, ordinary seaman;
- —Richard Sharp, Sea boy & seaman;
- -John Watts, midshipman;
- —Henry Wilson [Jr.], midshipman;
- -Mathias Wilson;
- —Thomas Wilson, ordinary seaman;
- -William Harvey, Boatswain;
- -Nicolas Tyacke, seaman;
- —John Ferdinando;
- —William Cobledick, ordinary seaman;
- —John Wedgebrough, boy; 1
- —Robert White, boy.²

Book 2: More receipts, from the crewmen themselves, chronologically.

Book 1: Account book for salaries paid to the crew of the Antelope.

It is in the form of a table of entries, with the following column headings: Name; Quality (i.e. position held on board); When entered and where; Wages per month; Impress received; Run men's effects bought (i.e. proceeds of the sale of effects of men who had deserted); Run men's effects sold; Sick quarters; Dead men's effects bought; Dead men's effects sold; Funeral charges; Purserages (i.e. goods purchased on board from the captain or steward); Cash advanced; (and the final column is entitled:) Dead. Run and Discharged. When and Where.

¹ Ed. note: He was to become a young officer with Captain McCluer in the follow-up story.

² Ed. note: Ditto. The rest of the crew was made up of 12 Chinene men (see below).

D2. Official records kept by EIC representatives in China

Source: G/12/78, India Office.

Note: It is the Canton Diary for 1783 kept by the EIC Supra Cargoes posted in Canton and Macao. It is the equivalent of a modern Journal in accounting, recording mostly "payments made", as follows:

Payment.—		
Mr. Thom	as Freeman to defray charges of the Antelope Packet:	0.007.07.7
	Tales [sic]	2,927. 2/6/7
Capt. Rees	s on Charter Party, terms	1,000. —
	Tales ¹	4,007. 1/8/7
Dichurcen	nents on account of the ship Antelope in June and July	•
	ged by Captain Wilson.	1705 Willen
	s, last one being in Spanish pesos:	Dollars
Paid	39 Seamen and Petty Officers agreeable to a Promise	2011410
1 alu	of 5/ per Month in case of being reduced to a shorter	
	allowance of Provisions, two dollars each	78
Paid for	Dungaree, Tar, Rope, &c	333-1/2
I ald lot	Hams &c bought at sea	87-1/4
	10 Bundles of Rattans	52
Discharge	d A Portuguese Seaman at Macao	76-1/2
Paid for	7 Pieces of Nankeen Cloth	3-1/2
	Sundry Provisions supplied the Ship	39-1/2
	5 half-leaguers of Arrack	243
	Painting the Ship and Pinnace	46
	Paints for Sea Stock	33
	3 Matts for the main deck awning	12
	Caulkers for caulking the ship	130-1/2
	A hamper of Mustard	20
Present	To the Portuguese for the use of a long boat	— •
Advanced	[To] 17 Chinese Seamen, 26 Dollars each	340
Boat hire	On sundry occasions	4
2000 11110		
	Dollars	1,466-3/4
		=======

N.B. The whole of the above was discharged out of the silver on board the **Antelope** except head dollars 660 advanced to Captain Wilson by the Compradore. (signed) Henry Wilson

¹ Ed. note: A Chinese *tael* was then worth approx. 1.35 Spanish pesos, or dollars. One tael was divided into mace, and candereens.

Compradore's Account of Provisions and Sundry Stores for the Ship Antelope in June and July 1783.

[3 columns]			[Taels]	
—Fresh Provisions furnished during her stay at Macao for six months.				
Sea Stock	as per Accoun	nt	1,061. & 6/4/2	
—Captain Wilson's s	46. —			
—Mr. Devis's	ditto	ditto	46. —	
—Charges for procuring a chop for the Compradore				
to attend	the Ship		40. 3/2/0	
			43. 2/0/0	
—Half a leaguer of A	43. 2/0/0			
-Paid for 12 Tierces	306. 0/0/0			
—Paid for Cordage a	108. 1/2/5			
-Advanced Captain	432. —			
		Taels	2927. 2/0/7	
			======	

N.B. Captain Wilson was supplied with a Leaguer of Arrack from the Factory which is not included in this account, as it was charged in the Compradore's Accounts of the Year 1782 @ Taels 86. 4/8/8,

(signed) Henry Wilson

D3. Other foreign ships visiting Canton at the beginning of 1784

Note: These details may be of interest to some historians. Such ships, were reporded by the EIC agents, because they represented the competition.

French ships at Canton in 1784:

- -La Méduse;
- -La Driade:
- —Le Mulet;
- —La Sensible;
- -L'Hippopotame;
- —Le Pacifique;
- —Le St-André;
- -L'Astre de L'Europe;

Danish ships at Canton in 1784:

- —Crown Prince:
- -Carolina Matilde,
- —Queen Sophia Magdalena.

Prussian ships at Canton in 1784:

- -Breslau;
- ---Potsdam:
- -Prinz Kaunitz:
- —Count Kolowrath;
- —Count Zinzendorf;
- -Arch Duke Maximilian:
- ---Austria.

Spanish ship at Canton in 1784:

-Santa Florentina.

Swedish ships at Canton in 1784:

- —Queen Sophia Magdalena;¹
- -Adolphus Frederick;
- -Gustavus III.

English ships at Canton in 1784:

—Northumberland; Royal Henry; Dutton; Frances; York; General Coote; Morse; Montagu; Houghton; Lascelles; Hormont; Nonsuch; Shaw Byram Gore; Walpole.

D4. Canton "consultations" regarding the Antelope

Source: G/12/77, India Office. Note: The recorder was Mr. Pigou, one of the Supercargos.

Canton consultations 1783-84. Written by Mr. Charles Edward Pigou.

June 5 [1783]. The Antelope Packet, Captain Henry Wilson, arrived from England, by her we received a Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors dated the 14th August last, also one from the Secretary dated 9th August enclosing a List of Investment for the Ships that left England in February 1782.

- 6. Consultation.—Took into consideration the List of Investment received per Antelope, and agreed that it would be very imprudent to contract for more Singlo,² without waiting for advices from India...
- 7. Mr. Broadshaw waited upon the [Portuguese] Governor, and requested permission for the **Antelope** to enter the Typa, which was very readily granted. She will therefore remain in great safety from Winds as well as from an Enemy.

¹ Ed. note: Recorded as Danish above; probably another ship with the same name.

² Ed. note: A type of tea.

9. Consultation.—

Captain Henry Wilson having represented to us, that he had been obliged to employ the Chinese on Board the **Antelope** all the Voyage, as the few hands in the Vessel had rendered that measure absolutely necessary, and accordingly recommended them to us. We therefore agreed to give each Man a gratuity of 20 Dollars (12 Men 240 Dollars) also to allow two Dollars to each, for being at short allowance two Months (24 Dollars). We hope the Honourable Court will approve of this disbursement as we think the Men were all entitled to it from Captain Wilson's account of their extreme good behavior, and the length, and hardship of the Voyage [from England]. One Man having behaved very ill, did not receive the gratuity. To the Petty Officers and Seamen (27) were also paid each two Dollars for two Months short allowance, amounting to 54 Dollars.

[Signed by all 10 Supracargoes]

- 20. It is now fifteen Days since the Antelope arrived here, and we have not yet been allowed to have a Compradore, or permission to send any sort of Provision on board, nor will they permit her Water Casks to be brought on shore to be repaired. Several small Mandareens have been to enquire why she has brought no Goods, and other trifling questions, to all which every explanation has been given, but hitherto without effect.
- 27. After repeated applications to Canton, Caza Branca, and the Mandareen of this City, we have at length received leave to victual the Vessel, and put her in a Situation to depart.
- 18. [July 1783]. Arrived a Spanish ship from Acapulco with a considerable sum of Money on board, it is said 700,000 Dollars. She is to be loaded from hence for Mexico.²
 - **20.** The **Antelope** sailed from hence.

¹ Ed. note: White House, in Portuguese; it was the name given to the Portuguese administration building in Macao.

² Ed. note: Regrettably, her name is not given. Only the galleon San José de Gracia went to Acapulco that year, but there is no official Spanish record of her having diverted to Macao.

Captain Wilson's original narrative of the wreck of the Antelope.

Source: As above, continued.

December 1st [1783].

Received the following Letter, directed to James Bradshaw, Esquire, President &c. Supra Cargoes of Council at Canton.

"Gentlemen,

"I am very unhappy in acquainting you with the loss of the Honourable Company's Ship the **Antelope** under my Command in the Night between the 9th and 10th day of August last, upon a Coral Reef in the Latitude of 7°30' North, and about 4 Leagues distant from one of the Pelow or Palaos Islands.¹

"As the Ship took a great keel immediately upon taking the Ground, and the Water in less than an Hour, being up to the lower Deck Hatches, gave us little hopes of saving any thing except our lives especially as the Weather was become very squally with Thunder, Lighting, and heavy Rain.

"At Daylight we discovered an Island to the Southward of us to which we sent our Boats with as much Provisions, Ammunition and People as they could carry, we in the mean time, Making a Raft of our Booms, & Spars. The Boat returned in the afternoon notwithstanding it blew a Storm, with the news of having found a good landing place with fresh Water and no Inhabitants[.] [At] about 4 o'clock having taken as much Provision, Stores, and Ammunition as we could stow on the Raft and Boats we left the Ship and got all safe on shore about 10 o'clock except one Man which was drowned in clearing the Wreck of the Mizen Mast.

"We remained upon this Island untill the 12th of November, when having built a Vessel and got on board as much Water and Necessaries as we could take, We all embarked except one Man, which chose to stay with the Natives of Pelow, a neighboring Island, the Rupack, or Prince of which, has sent one of his People with me to see England.

"Gentlemen, I beg the favor of your Commands as soon as convenient whether to proceed up to Whampoa, or remain here, and also how I am to dispose of the Vessel and People, being with the utmost respect,

"Gentlemen,

"Your very obedient Servant, (signed) "Henry Wilson

"Schooner Oroolong off Macao, 30th November 1783."

¹ Ed. note: Originally, Captain Wilson may always have written Pelow, rather than the Pelew used by his editor, George Keate. Palaos, of course, comes from the early Spanish accounts.

2. [December]. Wrote the following Letter to Captain Henry Wilson.

"Sir,

"We received this day your Letter giving us an Account of the loss of the **Antelope**, and that you and your People were all safe arrived off Macao, in a Vessel you had built out of the Wreck. With respect to the Vessel, we recommend that She be immediately sold, as we are certain the Government will never allow her to enter the River without the payment of Port Charges.

"We beg leave to congratulate you on your arrival after so great a misfortune, and shall be extremely glad to see you in Canton, for which purpose a Chop and Boats shall be sent down, when we are informed of the number of Persons you have with you. We are,

"Sir.

"Your most obedient Servants,

"Signed by the Council.

"Canton, 2d December 1783."

6. [December]. Wrote the following Letter in Duplicate to the Honorable the Court of Directors.

"Honorable Sirs,

"We had the honor to address you last by the Honorable Company's Ship Queen under date the 19th of May last.

"The Business of the Season being concluded by the dispatch of the above Ship we set off for Macao on the 22th of the same month.

"On the 5th of June the Honorable Company's Packet **Antelope**, Captain Henry Wilson, arrived in Macao Roads; by her we received your Honors Commands under date 14th August 1782...

"We made application to the Portuguese and Chinese Governments for such assistance as might enable the **Antelope** speedily to refit, and proceed on her further destination with as much dispatch as possible; The Portuguese very readily granted every assistance in their power, and permission for her to lie in the Typa for that purpose, but the perverse and suspicious Character of the Chinese Government was never more strikingly exhibited than in their behaviour on this occasion; Every day produced some Message, Chop or Visit from Mandareens of different descriptions to know the quality of the Vessel, the reason of her coming, why she brought no Cargo, and other questions of similar Importance, and though we told them repeatedly that She came to bring Letters in the same manner as other small Vessels had done before, and only wanted Provisions to enable her to depart, it was not till the 27th of June, two and twenty days after her arrival that we could obtain leave for a Compradore to supply her with Provisions, and other articles necessary for her repairs; All obstacles being at length

removed, Captain Wilson's Diligence, and Activity soon put her into Condition for Sea, and She accordingly sailed on the 20th of July.

"On the 16th of July, four Days before the Departure of the **Antelope**, we received intelligence by a Portuguese ship which left Lisbon the 24th February last, that the Preliminaries for a general Peace were signed at Versailles on the 20th of January preceding.

"Since writing the former part of this Letter we have received an Account of the loss of the **Antelope** in the night between the 9th and 10th of August last in Latitude 7°30' North, about 4 Leagues distant from one of the Peloo, or Palaos Islands, Captain Wilson with all his Crew (two Men excepted, one of which remained with the Natives, the other was lost) are safe arrived at Macao in a Schooner they built out of the Wreck.

"We hope to dispatch the Ships Francis, York, General Coote, Morse, and Montagu by the 25th Instant, and the remainder of the Ships early in January.

"We hope our Conduct will meet with the approbation of the Honorable Court, which we are extremely desirous of deserving upon every occasion.

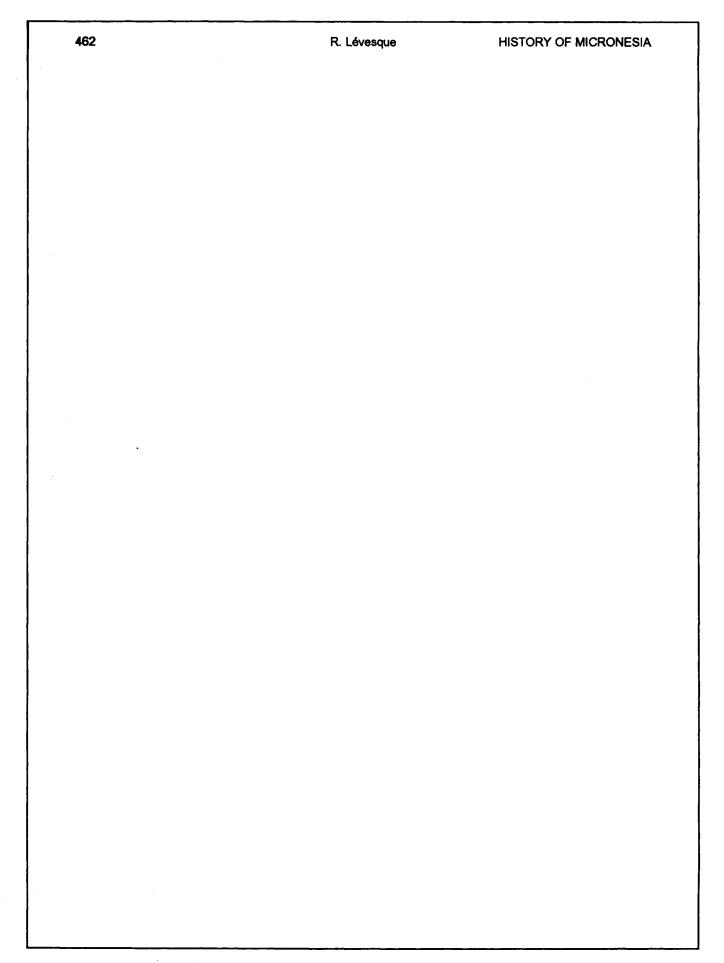
"We have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

"Honorable Sirs,

"Your most Faithful Humble Servants,

(Signed by 11 Supracargoes)

"Canton, 6th December 1783.



Part 3—Documents 1784B

Four English ships passed by Sonsorrol and Palau in January 1784

B1. The ship Ganges, Captain J. H. Dempster

Source: Log 86B, India Office, London.

Journal of Captain Dempster, July 1781-April 1785.

Ship Ganges towards China [via Moluccas]

Wednesday 31st December 1783

At a 1/4 past 6 saw land of Mindanao bearing from ESE to N Distance about 10 leagues...

At 2 p.m. Robert Better Gunner died. At daylight buried him. Lat obs. 5°13' N.

[On Friday 2 January 1784, many islands South of Mindanao were seen (near Sangui Is.). There were other ships in company, as a council of captains was held, after the ships kept losing latitude after leaving Mindanao, all the way down to Siao at about 3° N. Once more through the Molucca Passage. They had regained latitude again, and reached a position 10° N and 129° E when they were hit by a storm that split some sails.]

Courses NNE, etc., Winds light airs, etc.

Wednesday 14 January 1784

Long. obs. by ye Sun & Moon at 8 a.m. 131°30' E. No observation [of latitude].

Courses E by N, etc., Winds variable, cloudy, etc.

Thursday 15th January 1784

At daylight saw a small woody island bearing N by 18-1/2W distance 6 or 7 leagues. It lies nearly ENE & WNW.

Longitude Obs. by ye Sun & Moon at 9 a.m. 131°10' East.

The Island seen at daylight I apprehend has never been seen before, ¹ I therefore call it Ganges Island. its Longitude is determined by my observation of ye preceeding day, which states to be ye best.

Lat. obs. 5°00' N., Long. in. 130°10' East.

Courses E1/2N, etc., Winds NNW, fair, etc.

Friday 16th January 1784

At 5 a.m. the **London** astern and to windward. Carried an easy sail in ye night and kept a good look out for Land.

At daylight the **London** out of sight. At 11 a.m. made ye signal for ye **Kent** to close ye Fleet, but ye **Sandwich**, mistaking the signal, tacked.

Longitude Obs. being ye medium of 3 Observations at 10 a.m. 133°39' E., Lat. obs. 4°25' North.

Courses ESE, etc., Winds NE, hazy, etc.

Saturday 17th January 1784

Winds &c as per Log. Longitude Obs. by ye Sun & Moon at 9 a.m. being ye medium of 4 Observations with two sextants 135°40' E. of Greenwich.

N.B. One of ye Islands which I have not observed with before for some time, makes above a degree further to ye Eastward than ye other.

Lat. obs. 4°10' North.

Courses N by E, etc., Winds E by N, cloudy, etc.

Sunday 18th January 1784

Light winds & cloudy weather. A.M. performed Divine Service. Endeavoured to observe the Stars of ye opposide side of ye Moon from ye Sun but it always proved cloudy. Lat. obs. 4°55' N.

[Monday 19 January: Lat. obs. 4°52' N.] [Tuesday 20 January: Lat. obs. 4°42' N.] [Wednesday 21 January: No observation] [Thursday 22 January: Lat. obs. 5°53' N.] [Friday 23 January: Lat. obs. 7°27' N.] [Saturday 24 January: Lat. obs. 9°19' North]

Courses NbyW, etc., Winds ENE, fair, etc.

Sunday 25th January 1784

A fresh gale and chiefly fair weather till 7 a.m. when ye wind increased & blew very strong in squalls. At ye same time a heavy swell got up from ye Northward which made

¹ Ed. note: It had been discovered by one of Magellan's ships in 1522, among other sightings.

ye Ship plunge much, & carried away ye Jibb Boom and Main topsail yards. at 8 o'clock and soon after ye fore topsail split in reefing.

Employed till Noon getting in ye breaks & repairing a new main topsail yard. At 11 a.m. shifted ye old main sails & sheets & nearly at ye same time got down top gallant yards & sheet ye masts.

Since yesterday ye Ship has made water, at first an inch per hour but now 3 inches per hour.

Lat. obs. 11°12' N., Long. in. 129°36' East.

[This ship did not sight the Palau Islands.] [Monday 26 January: Lat. obs. 12°46' N.]

Tuesday 27 January 1784

... P.M. Alexander Read 5th Mate died, aged 18. A.M. buried him.

Friday 30 January 1784

... At 11 A.M. Mr. William Page writer on the Bombay Establishment died. At noon, buried him.

B2. The ship London, Captain John Eastabrooke

Source: Log 11, India Office, London.

Note: The London was sailing in company with the ships Sandwich, Kent, and Ganges, as recorded quite specifically when the ship was approaching the Palau on 13 January 1784.

The account of Captain Eastabrooke

Ship London from Batavia towards China.

[After passing by the south coast of Mindanao at the beginning of January 1784, the ships lost latitude and sighted Gilolo, or Halmehera, on 7 January. Then they headed in the direction of Palau. Captain Eastabrooke, however, did not calculate his longitude every day.]

Courses Calm heading SE, etc., Winds Variable, fair, etc.

Thursday the 15th day of January 1784

Light breezes & a fair westerly, a swell from NE.

At daylight saw the Island St. Andrews bearing N1/2E dist. 3 or 4 leagues (being 2 Islands) in sight bearing from WNW1/2W to N by W1/2W dist. off shore 5 or 6 leagues.

Sailmaker & Carpenter [employed] as before. Armourer at his Forge. In Company as before.

Lat. obs. 5°5' North.

Courses E by N, etc., Winds N by E, cloudy, etc.

Friday the 16th of January 1784

Steady breezes for the most part, a swell from NE.

Boatswain employed making twice laid rope. Armourer & Carpenter as yesterday.

At daylight, only one ship in sight from the masthead bearing SE by E.

Lat. obs. 4°46' North.

Courses E by S1/2S, etc., Winds NE by N, squally with rain, etc. Saturday the 17th of January 1784

•••

Lat. obs. 5°6' North.

Courses N by W, etc., Winds NE by E, fair, etc. Sunday the 18th of January 1784

Lat. obs. 5°40' North.

Courses NW by N, etc., Winds NE by N, cloudy, etc.

Monday the 19th of January 1784

Celestial observation of Sun & Moon at 1/2 past 10 a.m.[;] find Longitude to be 133°49'15" East. Lat. obs. 5°32' North.

Courses NE, etc., Winds SE, cloudy, etc.

Tuesday the 20th day of January 1784

Lat. obs. 5°49' North.

Courses N by E, etc., Winds E by N, etc. Wednesday the 21st of January 1784

Lat. obs. 6°01' North.

Courses N1/2W, etc., Winds ENE, fair, etc. Thursday the 22nd of January 1784

Lat. obs. 6°48' North.

Courses N1/2W, etc., Winds ENE, fair, etc. Friday the 23rd day of January 1784

A fresh steady trade throughout, fair weather. Boatswain employed as yesterday. Sailmaker repairing the awning.

At Noon saw the Land bearing N by W to NW by N dist. 7 or 8 leagues.

Lat. obs. 6°58' North.

Courses N1/2W, etc., Winds ENE, fair, etc.

Saturday the 24th day of January 1784

Fresh gales the first and latter parts, and fair weather, the middle squally with rain.

At 1/2 past 5 p.m., extremes of Pallas [sic] Islands from N by E to SW by W dist. off shore about 2 leagues. The breakers from the shore about 1 mile extending from North to NW.

At 7 a.m., extremes of Pallas Islands from N to W by S dist. off the nearest shore 3 or 4 leagues.

At 10 a.m., brought too under topsails for a Prow who came and spoke us. Asked if we would go in shore.

At Noon the extremes of Pallas Islands from NNE1/4E to WSW dist. off the nearest shore 2 or 3 leagues.

A.M. washed decks fore & aft.

Lat. obs. 6°57' North.

Courses SW, etc., Winds NE, etc.

Sunday the 25th of January 1784

A fresh trade and hazy weather, a large swell from the NE.

At 1/2 past 2 p.m., rounded the South point of the southernmost of the Pallas Islands [i.e. Angaur] bearing N1/2E dist. 2 miles.

At 4 p.m., the extremes of the southernmost of the Pallas Islands E1/2 S to SE by E dist. off shore 2 or 3 miles. The northernmost island in sight bearing NE1/2N.

At 6 p.m., the Northernmost extreme of Pallas Islands bearing NNE1/2E, the Southernmost SE1/2E dist. off shore about 5 leagues.

N.B. I take my departure from the Body of the Islands as they bore as 6 p.m. from NNE1/2E to SE1/2E dist. 4 or 5 leagues, allowing the Body to lie in Lat. 6°51' North and Long. 133°30' East of London computed from our last celestial observation.

Lat. obs. 8°06' North, Long. 132°39' E.

Courses N by W, etc., Winds ENE, etc.

Monday the 26th day of January 1784

Strong gales with hard rain in the night and a confused sea.

N.B. The Ship makes more water as we are obliged to pump her out every 4 hours.

At 8 a.m., departed this life John Blood, Seaman.

Lat. obs. 9°31' North, Long. in. 131°45' E.

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Courses NNW1/2W, etc., Winds NE, fresh gale, hazy, etc. Tuesday the 27th day of January 1784 ... At 6 p.m., committed the body of the deceased to the deep. ... Lat. obs. 10°26' North, Long. in. 131°2' E.
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B3. The ship Earl of Sandwich, Captain John Woodsworth

Source: Log 490D, India Office.

Ship Earl of Sandwich towards China.

Thursday 15th January 1784
First part light airs variable[,] later fresh breezes and cloudy weather.
A.M. departed this life Jean Philippe (Seaman).
In company with the Fleet.
Latt. Obs. 4°53' N.
To the South of Acct. 15 miles.

[Friday 16th January 1784]
Fresh breezes with squalls & rain[,] smooth water.
P.M. committed the body of the deceased to the deep.
At daylight the **London** out of sight.
In company with the **Ganges** and **Kent**.

Latt. Obs. 4°28' N.

...
[Thursday 22nd January]
... Our consorts out of sight. Imagine they must have tacked in the night.
Lat. Obs. 4°57' N.
...
[Saturday 24th January]

... Departed this life Mr. Thomas King (Surgeons Mate). At Noon committed his body to the deep.

Lat. Obs. 7°56' N.

¹ Ed. note: These two ships did not sight Palau either.

Part 4—Document 1786B

The ship London, Captain John Eastabrooke, returns to Palau

Source: Log 1J, India Office, London.

Extract from the logbook kept by Edward Bayer, First Mate

Ship London from Sooloo towards China.

Courses N by E, etc., Winds E by N, etc.

Tuesday the 26th day of December 1786

Fresh and steady trade with hazy weather and a swell from the Northward throughout.

A.M. not many birds in sight.

At 1/2 past 5 p.m., saw 3 low islands bearing from NW by W1/2W to W1/2N which I suppose to be the North and Easternmost of the Palos Islands.

At 6 p.m., the Northernmost extreme of the above islands bore W by N distance about 5 or 6 leagues.

A.M. the Carpenter employed making a new Jibboom.

N.B. I take my departure from the above islands, allowing the North End to lay in Latitude 9°7' N. and Long. 134°48' E. of Greenwich.

Lat. Obs. 9°10' North. At 4 p.m. Longitude Obs. 135°05' East.

[That was it, just a quick look at Palau.]



Captain John Meares, Esq. Sketched by W. Beechey and engraved by J. Bestland.

Part 5—Documents 1788A

The ship Iphigenia, Captain William Douglas, via Palau in April 1788

The voyages of Captains Meares and Douglas, 1788 & 1789

Source: Captain John Meares. Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North-West Coast of America (London, Logographic Press, 1790).

Introduction.

Two English ships travelled together to the Northwest Coast. The book in question includes the narrative of Captain John Meares in the ship Felice Adventurer and that of Captain William Douglas in the ship Iphigenia Nubiana. These double names, one in Portuguese and the other in English, are due to the ships having been registered in Macao, before these voyages to the Northwest Coast of America were undertaken.

Both of these ships had been bought by Captain Meares in January 1788. The Felice had a 230-ton capacity and a crew of 50; the Iphigenia, 200 tons and 40 men. Both were strongly-built and had copper bottoms. Their crews were a mix of Europeans and Chinese. Captain Meares gave the command of the Iphigenia to Captain Douglas. There were some Hawaiian passengers on board going back home. Each ship carried 6 cows, 3 bulls, 4 calves, a few goats, turkeys, rabbits, pigeons, and other stock destined for the Hawaiian Islands.

The ships left Canton on the evening of 22 January 1788. They first headed down the west coast of Luzon, past Mindoro, the Calamianes, Panay, and made a stop at Caldera, near Zamboanga, where the Spanish governor went on board the Iphigenia. In March 1788, the Felice passed by Mapia Island, then off the Marianas at the end of that month, visiting the Volcano Islands and Lot's Wife before turning eastward. The track of the Iphigenia shows that Captain Douglas sighted Tobi Island, then touched at the north end of Palau on 2 April 1788, and was near the coast of Japan at the beginning of May. As for the return voyages, the Felice came back by way of the Northern Marianas (without sighting any) in November 1788, whereas the Iphigenia returned to China, also via the Northern Marianas (Asunción, Maug and Uracas), in September 1789.

There exist documents in Spanish of the proceedings of these two ships in Nootka, specially their capture, in AGN Historia 65, cuaderno 3, located in Mexico City. Most

interesting is a detailed description of the Iphigenia and an inventory of its contents, dated 22 May 1789 (also in Cuaderno 3, fol. 14-17v, 20v-21v, with a copy near the end of the volume in question).

A1. The narrative of Captain John Meares

CHAP. VI.

Ship's Course pursued to the Easward.—Currents set her to the Island of Wagiew.—Symptoms of the Scurvy among the Crew.—wind veers, for the first Time, to the North West.—Pass Wagiew and the dangerous Tatee Isles.—Freewill Isles seen.—Natives come on Board.—Their Joy at seeing Iron.—Some Account of those Isles.—Their Latitude and Longitude, &c.—The strong Currents in their Vicinity.

1788. February.

Friday 22

No material occurrence happened till the 22d; the course was kept to the East South East; the wind blew steadily from the North East, and we daily experienced a Southerly current. At this time the Northern extremity of New Guinea bore from us in the direction of East South East, distant 120 [rather 12] leagues...

Symptoms of the scurvy had begun to appear, in spite of our strict adherence to those admirable rules of regimen so happily conceived, and successfully practised by Captain Cook. We had now redoubled our attentions to keep off the internal enemy that threatened us, with an anxious expectation of success, but we know not how far that would have been gratified, if an alteration had not taken place with us, which enlivened the drooping spirits of the crew, and animated them to new endeavours. At four in the evening of this day, when we were within three leagues of the island, the wind sprung up on a sudden from the North West, which was the first favourable change we had experienced since our departure from Samboingan.

We took an immediate advantage of this fortunate circumstance in our favour; the course was altered to the North East, and all sail set; so that, at sun-set, we had got a considerable distance from Wagiew.

More land was now seen a-head, which was very low, and, from its detached, broken appearance, we judged to be a groupe of islands.

Sunday 24

During the night we kept standing to the North East, immediately for the land, and the wind continued to the West North West, which enabled us to keep our course till day-break on the twenty- fourth, when we found ourselves within three leagues of the land seen on the preceding evening. It consisted of several islands, as we had conjectured, which were very low, entirely covered with wood, and surrounded by shoals and reefs of rocks, and appeared to be of considerable extent. They bore from North West, to North East by East, and were distant from each other about five miles.

As no such islands were placed on the charts, we thought proper to name them the **Tatee** Isles, ¹ from the word, which we continually vociferated by the few natives who came within hearing of the ship. They are situated in 0°20' of North latitude, and in the longitude of 132°2' East of Greenwich. They are very dangerous to approach, especially in the night, and the ship that should be tempted to pass through them, would inevitably be lost.

We saw several canoes paddling between the reefs; and two of them, containing each five of the natives, approached very near to the ship, vociferating the word *Tatee*, *Tatee*, with great violence; but no temptation on our part could prevail on them to come along-side, though we held up many of those articles which we thought the most likely to entice them to a nearer communication with us.—They regarded the ship with much apparent wonder; and, from their various antic gestures, we had great reason to suppose that they had never before seen such an object. They appeared to be of the same race as the Papua people, woolly-headed, perfectly black, and with the features of the African negroes; but in their forms stout and athletic. They held long spears in their hands, pointed with bone, which they, from time to time, brandished at us.

Their canoes were of a peculiar, and very curious construction;—they were very narrow and long, and, to keep them on a balance, a large out-rigger run out on one side, with net-work between, made with strong cord, manufactured from the rind of the cocoa-nut. On this, which formed a kind of a stage, were placed their arms, implements for fishing, &c. We wished very much to send boats on shore, but as the ship could not approach near enough to the land for the purpose of protecting them, on account of the shoals, we thought it highly imprudent to expose our men to any hazard.

Towards noon, to our great joy, the wind freshened up from the North West, when we bid adieu to the Tatee Isles, and we pursued our course to the Northward and the Eastward, every league of which was become of the utmost consequence. At sunset, the extremes of the Tatee Isles bore from us East by South, to South East by East, distant five leagues; the tops of the trees just appearing above the water. At this time the extremities of Wagiew bore from South West by South, to South West by West, distant 10 leagues.²

[Mapia Islands]

Wednesday 27

We now pursued our course till the 27th, with a favourable, but, in general, a light wind. It thundered and lightened with great violence, and the weather was extremely close and sultry. The thermometer was, at this time, at 88° [F], and very often at 92°.

¹ Ed. note: There are two groups of islands at the stated latitude, but judging from the fact that Captain Douglas was 2° in error of longitude when he reached Mapia, this group must be the Aju Islands, at 131° E.

² Ed. note: The east of Waigiu Island is at 131°20' long. E.

At noon the latitude was 56 minutes North, and the longitude 136°35' East of Greenwich.—Land, or rather trees, were descried from the mast-head, bearing from East by South, to South East by East: when we were tolerably near them, the currents ran very strong to the South South West: as we were not able to weather the Northernmost, we bore up to the leeward of it, and there now appeared to be four small isles, the largest of which was not more than five leagues in circumference. We ranged within three miles of the shore, when we observed a large village situated on the shore of the island, in the midst of a grove of cocoa-nut trees; every other part appeared to be an entire forest, without one interval of cultivation.

We were soon visited by a great number of canoes, containing, altogether, at least five hundred natives, all men. Each of these canoes held six or seven people, and were of the same construction as those of the Sandwich [i.e. Hawaiian] Islands. The natives also bore the appearance, and to our great astonishment, spoke the language of the inhabitants of those isles; and the result of our observation is a conjecture, amounting almost to a firm belief, that they are of the same race. They came along-side the ship without ceremony and without arms, and supplied us with a considerable quantity of fresh gathered cocoa-nuts and coir line, which was repaid by bits of iron hoop, of about an inch in length.

When the piece of iron was held up to their attention, they were all seized with a kind of silent, but expressive joy, that cannot be described: but the man who procured it, immediately began to caper and dance round the deck, and laying down on his back, tumbled and rolled about in such an extraordinary manner, that we really imagined he was suddenly affected by some very singular disorder, till he rose up and kissed the bit of iron with those emotions of extravagant joy, which manifested the extreme delight he felt at being in the possession of what he esteemed so great a treasure. His comrades, from an anxious curiosity to see it, crowded round him; but in a moment he had plunged himself into the sea, and then turning his head towards us, and again kissing the bit of iron, he swam hastily to the shore. Several iron hoops were now ordered to be cut up, and each of our visitors was gratified with a bit of the precious metal, who all left us with reiterated expressions of the most grateful acknowledgement.

These islanders are of a frank, amiable and confidential disposition; and they found in return, that kind of reception from us, which they will not quickly forget. We observed, however, in their canoes large mats, which, on enquiry, they informed us were used by them as coats of mail, and were capable of resisting the attack of a spear; indeed, so close and strong is their texture, that at a very small distance, they could scarely be penetrated by a ball from a pistol. It appeared, therefore, and the reflection is not of a pleasing nature, that these amiable people knew the arts, and, of course, must fre-

¹ Ed. note: Pegan or Pagun in the Mapia Islands is located at 57 minutes North and 134°21' long. E., which shows that Captain Meares had estimated his longitude 2° too far east by this time.

² Ed. note: Mapia was then colonized by Carolinians from the Central Carolines, not Polynesians as such.

quently feel the horrors of war; and that the god of battle beholds his victims in the remotest corners of the globe. 1

This groupe of islands was originally discovered by Captain Carteret, in his voyage round the world. He was pleased to give them the name of the Freewill Isles, from the frank and unreserved conduct of the inhabitants. It may not, perhaps, be generally remembered, that one of them accompanied him in the **Swallow**—He was called Tom Freewill, and died in his passage to the Celebes.

The interval that had elapsed, from the period of Captain Carteret's visit to these islands, to the time of our appearance before them, occupied so considerable a space, that this young man's departure with him, might very naturally be supposed to have been forgotten by his countrymen. But, on the contrary, several of the natives pointed to the ship, and then to sea, and by other significant gestures gave us to understand, that one of them had been carried away. As we were well acquainted with the circumstance from Captain Carteret's journal, we, in return, informed them that their fugitive countryman was no more: when they all entered into an immediate conference, and then renewed their communications, with an air of perfect indifference. At least there did not appear to be any one among them who, as a friend or relation, expressed the least concern for poor Tom Freewill's fate!

We soon resumed our course to the North East, with a gentle gale from the West North West. On passing to the Northward of the islands, we observed that they were connected by very dangerous reefs of rocks, which extended three or four miles in every direction. At sunset, the body of the islands bore North North West, at the distance of four leagues.

Thursday 28

The weather on the 28th became squally; the wind veering continually from North to North East, so that we seldom made good our course better than East, or East by South. At noon the latitude was 0°55', the winds light, with heavy squalls of rain, and much thunder and lightning.

Friday 29

On the 29th in the morning, as we were standing to the North, with a light air from the South East, land was discovered from the mast-head; as we ranged up with it, we found it to be the Freewill Isles. This was a circumstance which we could not easily reconcile; and as the islands in this ocean bear a strong resemblance to each other, we, at first, thought that we must be mistaken; but the point was soon settled by the arrival of many of our late friends, who came paddling through the reefs to bring us a present of cocoa-nuts, for which, they were with some difficulty persuaded to take any thing in return. One man, in particular, held up a bit of iron which he had received from us but two days before, as a token that he remembered his benefactors.

¹ Ed. note: Mapia, being so close to New Guinea, was often attacked by Melanesians from there.

At noon the latitude was 1°7' North; and, by a medium of the several distances of the sun and moon, the longitude was 137°10' East. The body of Freewill Isles now bore South East half East, at the distance of four leagues; which leaves them in the latitude of 0°56' North of the Line, and in the longitude of 137° East of Greenwich.

The currents must on the 28th have swept us bodily to leeward; but, as we imagined, not with so much force as to occasion our falling in again with these islands;—on the contrary, we found that, on standing to the North, for the last twenty-four hours, though we were steering East, our course was not much better than South, a little Easterly.

March. Saturday 1

We did not lose sight of these islands till the first of March; when, at noon, our latitude was 1°40' North; the wind, as usual, veering from North East, to East North East. The weather was gloomy, unsettled, and very sultry. At times, we had heavy squalls of rain, which proved very unwholesome for the crew, from constant damps, a close atmosphere, and wet cloaths. To these unpleasant circumstances may be added, our slow progress to the North, which so affected their spirits, and of course relaxed their activity, that all the attention and care of the officers were requisite, to check the progress of such an alarming evil.

CHAP. VII.

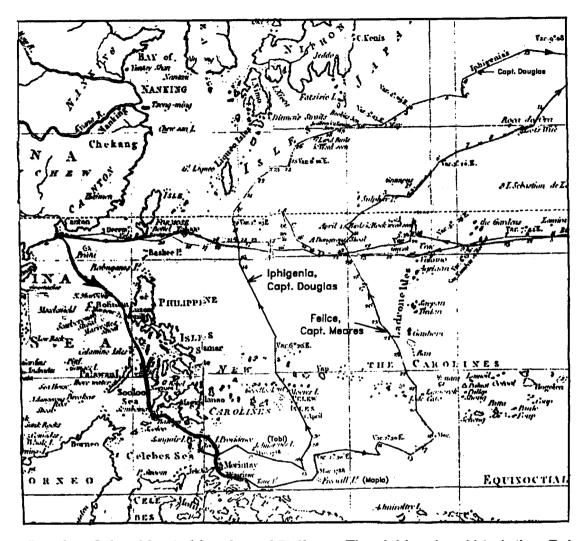
Extreme Heat of the Weather.—Very tempestuous.—Spring the Foremast.—Loss of some of the Cattle.—Lose all the Goats.—Destruction of many of the Plants intended for the Sandwich Isles.—Reasons for pointing the Ship's Course to the North West, &c.—Mode of victualling the Crew. Occupations on Board.—Intention of Building a Vessel of fifty Tons in King George's Sound.—Carpenters complete her Moulds and Model.—Chinese Carpenters ignorant of Ship-building.—Great Burthen of the Chinese Junks.—Party selected to remain in King George's Sound.—Experience the tail of a Tiffoon.—Change of the Monsoons.—Terrible Effects of Tiffoons, in the Chinese Seas and Northern Pacific Ocean.

Sunday 2

On the 2d of March, the longitude of the ship, by a medium of several distances of the sun and moon, was 136°37' East of Greenwich, and the latitude 2°52' North. At this time, the variation of the compass was 2°30' East, and the quicksilver in the thermometer was at 86, and often at 90, so that we suffered very much from the extremity of the heat.

The currents very seldom allowed us to make our course better than by South East; and hitherto there appeared no probability of being able to weather New Guinea. We had, indeed, conquered the North Cape; but there remained New Ireland, New Hanover, and many different groupes and clusters of islands, to the Northward of the Line, and many degrees to the Eastward of our situation. If we had pursued our course, we must have determined either to proceed through Dampier's Straits, or those discovered by Captain Carteret, which divide New Britain from New Hanover; but if both these

¹ Ed. note: By now, Captain Meares was about 3° too far east.



Tracks of the ships Iphigenia and Felice. The Iphigenia skirted the Palau Islands in April 1788. (Adapted from Captain Meares' chart).

passages were rejected, there was no alternative left but to stand to the Northward and Westward; and to endeavour to obtain as much of the former as would permit us to tack and weather all. On a due consideration of our circumstances and situation, the last was preferred; the ship therefore was tacked, and stood to the North West, with the wind at North East,—a point the most distressing to us of the whole compass.

The stock of fresh provisions we received at Samboingan was sufficient to last us till this time; a circumstance which was attended with the two-fold advantage of saving the salt provisions, and conducing to the health of the crew. A plentiful allowance of water was continued, as the best preservative against the scurvy; and, if a diminution of this article should be requisite in any part of the passage, we naturally determined it should take place in the colder latitudes, as, at present, an extreme and close heat required every liquid aid to preserve health, by sustaining perspiration.

Monday 3

On the 3d, the weather became extremely tempestuous. We had continual squalls from the North East, accompanied by deluges of rain, which very frequently obliged us to shorten sail. Our course was seldom better than North West, though we sometimes were enabled to make a tack or two to the East South East and East, when the squall was favourable. In this situation, at noon, we found the foremast dangerously sprung below the hounds; every exertion therefore was required to secure it, as a very heavy sea occasioned the ship to pitch exceedingly. The top-mast and top-gallant-mast were accordingly got down on deck, and the sails unbent; stages were also prepared round the head of the mast, and the carpenters were immediatel employed in preparing fishes.

This misfortune was accompanied with several others of a very mortifying nature. The late bad weather and rolling of the ship, had destroyed some of the cattle and many of the plants, in particular a fine orange-tree, in full bloom; and half of the cinnamontrees which we had received at Samboingan. There, however, yet remained alive one bull and a cow, and one cow calf; but the goats were all killed in one day by a sudden roll of the ship. Of the plants we still possessed a lime and an orange-tree, in full vigour, with six cinnamon, and several smaller plants of various kinds.

Tuesday 4

On the 4th, at noon, the latitude, by double altitudes, was 3°0' North; and the longitude, deduced from the last observation of the sun and moon, 137°59' East of Greenwich. The wind blew from the North East, and we pursued our course to the East South East. The weather was dark and tempestuous, with heavy squalls of wind and rain, which raised a confused sea.

Wednesday 5

It was not till the 5th, that the mast was secured, the fishing of which was a business of no common difficulty; and, after all, we were not without the most anxious apprehensions that it would not stand against the blowing and stormy weather we expected to met to the Northward of the tropical latitudes.

Wednesday 12

Till the 12th we continued to embrace any favourable moments of the wind. Whenever it veered to the East North East, we tacked and stood to the Northward and Westward; and, if it veered to the North, our course was bent to the Eastward. It seldom, however, permitted our standing long on either tack; for it generally blew very strong, with heavy squalls of rain. Our latitude, at noon, was therefore but 3°15' North, and the longitude 144°25' East; and on the 17th, we had advanced no further than 3°25' North, and 146°30' East. Such was our tedious progress, which, together with a continuance of the most unpleasant and unwholesome weather, tended, more or less, to dispirit every one on board. But this was not all; the continual damps, proceeding from the frequent rains, and the people being, from the same circumstance, so often, as well as so long in wet cloathing, together with moist decks, awakened our apprehensions to encreasing symptoms of the scurvy. In this situation, we doubted very much whether

we should be able to weather the islands of New Ireland or New Hanover, which bore off us not only East South East, but many degrees to the Eastward. We had worked into our present position immediately in the wind's eye.

Some of the difficulties which would probably attend the pursuing of our first track, have already been mentioned; nor were we to hope for a change from the sun's near approach to the equinoctial. Tedious calms, attended with heavy rains, were naturally to be expected with a vertical sun. A small portion of our voyage was yet performed, and an immense track yet lay before us, to reach to the 160th degree of longitude, when we must necessarily cross the Line.

According to the manner in which we had proceeded, we should not, in all probability, gain that object bnefore the 10th of April;—on the other hand, if we steered to the North West, we had grounds for expecting a change of wind in our favour, if not the monsoon, by the 1st of April:—it was, therefore, again resolved to weather the Philippines, and point our course steadily to the North West.

With plenty of water, each man was allowed half a pint of spirits in the course of the day, two-thirds of which were mixed with water, and the remainder, at this time, served in its raw state, which often proved a salutary and cheering cordial in the rainy weather. The provisions were ordered in the best manner we could conceive to preserve health, or, at least, to check the progress of disease.—In the morning and evening tea and sugar were served out to the crew;—they had abundance of rice, peas, and barley, which, with flour and fruit, were served with every possible variety they would admit. The pork and beef were always well steeped, and the constant use of vinegar was called in aid to contribute its share towards correcting the bad effects of salted provisions.

Sunday 30

We kept standing on to the North West, and nothing material happened, between the last and the present date. The weather was now, indeed become extremely pleasant, and the heavy squalls of wind and rain which had so continually distressed us, were, for the present, entirely dissipated. At noon the latitude was 21°2' North, and the longitude 139°48' East; the variation of the compass 4°24' East. During this run we every day saw large flocks of birds, some of which we perceived to be of that species which never fly far from land.

We embraced the opportunity which was afforded us by the present favourable weather, to overhaul our sails, and prepare for the tempestuous weather we had every reason to expect in our progress to the North, especially near Japan. Two compleat new suits of sails were prepared, new roped, lined and middle stitched; all the old sails were, at the same time, put in a tolerable state.

The coopers, armourers, and other artisans were always properly employed, either in the immediate service of the ship, or according to their skill, in preparing articles of trade for the American market.—The Chinese armourers were very ingenious, and worked with such a degree of facility that we preferred them to those of Europe. The

¹ Ed. note: The ship passed through the western Carolines without sighting any island.

instruments they employ in their work are extremely simple, and they very shortly accomplish any design that is placed before them.

The carpenters were also at work in preparing the moulds and model for a sloop of fifty tons that was designed to be built immediately on our arrival in King George's Sound, as such a vessel would be of the utmost utility, not only in collecting furs, but in exploring the coast.

Our head carpenter was a young man of much ingenuity and professional skill, who had served his time in London; but the Chinese artificers in this branch had not the least idea of our mode of naval architecture. The vessels of their nation which navigate the China and adjacent seas, are of a construction peculiar to them. In vessels of a thousand tons burthen not a particle of iron is used; their very anchors are formed of wood, and their enormous sails made of matting. Yet these floating bodies of timber are able to encounter any tempestuous weather, hold a remarkable good wind, sail well, and are worked with such facility and care as to call forth the astonishment of European sailors. It was, therefore, a matter of some difficulty to turn the professional skill of our Chinese carpenters to a mode of application so entirely different from their own habit-tual experience and practice.

A party was selected from the crew who were to be left on shore with the artificers, to be employed in building the vessel. This arrangement was made at such an early period, in order that the people might be fully prepared, immediately on our arrival in the Sound, to begin their intended operations. It is true that we had no one article in readiness for the purpose; our timber was standing in the forests of America, the iron work was, as yet, in rough bars on board, and the cordage which was to be formed into ropes, was yet a cable. Nevertheless, encouraged by that spirit of ardent hope which animates man to oppose the difficulties of life, and invigorates life itself, we looked forward with a kind of certain expectation that our purpose would be effected, and that the vessel in contemplation would be actually launched some time in the month of October.

Tuesday 1

On the 1st of April at noon, the latitude was 22°26' North, and the longitude 139°38' East. The weather seemed to have acquired a settled gloom, the clouds were uncommonly black and heavy, and, throughout the day, there was much thunder, and lightning. Numerous flocks of birds passed us from the windward, making loud noises in their passage, as if apprehensive of bad weather. We also passed some rock-weed, which was a sign of being at no very great distance from land.

Wednesday 2

On the 2d, the thunder and lightning encreased, without being accompanied with any considerable degree of wind. The sea, nevertheless, was in an unusual commotion, and the ship pitched so heavy, that the head-rails were carried away, and some other injuries sustained.—Towards noon it became squally, and we experienced several puffs

¹ Ed. note: Even allowing a 3-degree error in longitude, there is no island near that position, except Parece Vela which is at 20°30' lat. N and 136° long. E.

of wind from every point of the compass, which, with the encreasing darkness, left us no doubt of the approach of a very violent storm.—The top-gallant yards and masts were got down on deck,—the main-sail furled,—the top-sails close reefed, and the mizen balanced. All the sails were handed, except the main top-sail, which it was judged prudent to keep abroad: in this situation we waited the coming of the tempest; nor did it disappoint our expectations. At two P.M. the wind shifted to the South, and began to blow strong in squalls: the ship's head was kept to the North East; it thundered and lightened with great violence, and at half past three an heavy squall came from the South East, instantly followed by another from the South West, both of which blew, for a short time, with alternate and incredible fury; the latter, however, prevailed, and continued blowing from the South West for near an hour. Indeed, the meeting of these two squalls to leeward of us, was tremendous, and the sea was carried to such an height as to keep the horizon in a continual foam. Happily for us, we experienced only the tail of this tuffoon or whirlwind; but, as it was, we expected every moment to have the masts shattered to pieces; the main top-sail having been swept away, and frittered to threads.

The sea soon rose to such an alarming height, that it became necessary to set the fore-sail and scud before the storm, in order to preserve the ship, which plowed her way with surprising swiftness. It now blew from the South East with a prodigious sea, before which we kept steering. Thus we were scudding along, when, to the leeward of us, we perceived the water to rise many feet above the level of the sea in circles, which formed a beautiful but awful sight; so that we were obliged to perform the very unpleasant, and, indeed, rather dangerous operation, of heaving to in such a high sea, to avoid running into the dreadful vortex before us, which continued, as it were, to sweep the horizon till five o'clock; when this alarming whirwind subsided, and settled in an heavy gale from the South West, before which we scudded to the North East.

To those who have read Kempfer's History of Japan, the violence of this tuffoon will not be considered as a circumstance that borders on phænomenon,—such horrid gusts of wind being at certain periods, according to that writer, the common disturbers of those seas: though we had several old and experienced seamen in the ship, who had never before seen any thing of this terrible nature. We, however, consoled ourselves with the belief that it was the critical moment when the Monsoons changed; more particularly as the storm from the South West blew in such a steady current.

Had this storm happened when it was dark, it might have proved fatal; as it was, we were not a little surprised that some of the masts or yards were not carried away: however, we were not sufficiently recovered from our alarms, to venture upon setting much sail during the succeeding night.

The period when the Monsoons change in the China seas, and the Northern Pacific Ocean, is a time that should be dreaded by every ship that navigates them. These changes are generally in the months of April and October, though they sometimes happen not only much earlier, but also much later in the season. That which is considered as most dangerous, is the variation from the North East to the South West, when storms very generally trouble those seas. They are remarkably violent on the coast of Japan; but

when they arise into a tuffoon, no power or strength can withstand them. The ruin they sometimes occasion is almost incredible;—nor is it less difficult to conceive with what fury they blow from every point of the compass.

The Chinese, dread beyond all measure, these violent hurricanes, which sometimes sweep large villages and their inhabitants to destruction: at other times whole harvests are dissipated by their destructive breath, and famine follows.—From a similar cause, in the year 1787, accompanied with excessive drought, a most dreadful dearth prevailed throughout the Southern provinces of China, by which an incredible number of people perished. It was no uncommon thing at Canton to see the famished wretch breathing his last; while mothers thought it a duty to destroy their infant children, and the young to give the stroke of fate to the aged, to save them from the agonies of such a dilatory death.

CHAP. VIII.

Land seen, but prevented from approaching it.—Discovery of Islands, which we named Grampus Isles.—Feel the Weather extremely cold, with the probable Reason of it.—Number of Birds seen.—Pass by great Quantities of Rock-weed.—Discover a stupendous Rock, which we named Lot's Wife.—The Rafter of an House, and a Piece of canoe seen floating on the Water.—Tempestuous Weather.—A Turtle seen sleeping on the Sea, &c.—Weather becomes stormy as the American Coast is approached.—Cross the Tracks of the Resolution and Discovery.—Error of the Ship's Reckoning &c.—A Sea Parrot seen for the first Time.—Extraordinary Brightness in the Atmosphere, and to what Cause attributed.—The Coast of America seen.—Princess Royal sails out of King George's Sound.—Distress of the Felice, &c.—Anchor in Friendly Cove, in King George's Sound.

1788. April. Thursday 3

On the 3d of April, the weather became moderate, and the storm subsided; but about noon, the wind shifed to North West, and blew with extreme violence, accompanied by a strong and mountainous sea. Our course was to the East by North, under close reefed top-sails and fore-sail. The latitude was 24°56' North, and the longitude 143°39' East of Greenwich.

Friday 4

Towards night it again moderated, when we made sail:—the wind now shifted to the East South East, and we stood to the North East till the 4th; when the wind fixed itself in the North East quarter, and we accordingly stood to the North West, with fine and moderate weather.

[Volcano, or Iwo, Islands]

In this situation, land was seen bearing East North East, distant eight leagues, immediately in the wind's eye, which prevented us from approaching it. Our latitude at noon was 24°44' North, and longitude, deduced from our last lunar observations, 145° East of Greenwich. We regretted very much that we were not able to approach this

¹ Ed. note: The latitude indicates that they saw Iwo Island, at the center of the Volcano Islands. He was still 3° too far east.

land, as we knew of none in this part of the Northern Pacific Ocean. As we were steering to the North West, we soon entirely lost sight of it.

[Bonin Islands]

Saturday 5

On the 5th, the wind shifted to the South East, which enabled us to steer to the North East, when at two o'clock in the afternoon we thought land was visible to the East South East; but the weather was so extremely hazy, that it could not be ascertained whether it was land or a fog-bank. At three, however, land was seen in the North East right ahead, but the weather continued to be so thick and foggy, that the direction in which it extended could not be discerned. At half past four, we were abreast of it, at the distance of five or six miles, when it appeared to be an island, but of no great extent, It now rained very hard, and the atmosphere remained so hazy, that our observations of the land were rather imperfect. It however appeared to be one of those barren isles so frequently found in these seas.—Its length might be fifteen or sixteen miles from North to South; the shore seemed to be inaccessible to boats, from a great surf beating against the rocks, which terminated abruptly in the sea. The interior parts of the country appeared to be high, and a few solitary trees were very sparingly scattered on their declivities. We sailed along the shores of this island till six o'clock, when another island opened to our view, which was separated from the former by a channel of three or four leagues. It now blew very strong, with rain, and so thick a fog, that we could see no distance a-head.

Though the gale ws favourable, yet, from the appearance of the weather, it was thought prudent to shorten sail, and remain under such as would enable us to haul to the wind on either tack. The utmost vigilance and attention was employed to guard as much as possible against any danger, and we sailed, as usual, all night with the courses hauled up in the brails. These isles, of which we could not discern the number, were named Grampus Isles, from seeing a large grampus spouting up water close to the shore, which is a very uncommon sight in those seas.

The night of the 5th, was very tempestuous, with constant rain; but to console us for these inconveniences, we had a fair gale, with which we made great way to the North East.

Sunday 6

On the 6th, the wind shifted to the North West, which brought us clear weather, and blew a steady gale. At noon the latitude was 27°30' North, and the longitude 148°37' East. At this time the variation of the compass was 3°20' East.

Our progress to the North now became very rapid, and we experienced a very sudden transition from heat to cold. Having just left a climate where the heats had been

¹ Ed. note: A nautical term which means that the body of square sails was hauled up to their yards with the help of buntlines.

² Ed. note: Grampus is just another name for a killer whale, This area was to become a whaling ground some 40 years later.

intense and oppressive, it was very natural the active operations of cold should be very sensibly felt by the whole crew. This circumstance however, enabled us to reduce the allowance of water from a gallon to five pints per man, without any inconvenience whatever arising from such an alteration.

Tuesday 8

The favourable gale at North West continued till the eighth at noon. The latitude then was 28°58' North, and the longitude 154°10' East.—Our principal object was to get to the North as fast as possible, in order to benefit by the strong Westerly winds, as well as to run down our longitude in an high latitude. This North West gale continued to us the sharp piercing cold which has been already mentioned.

Wednesday 9

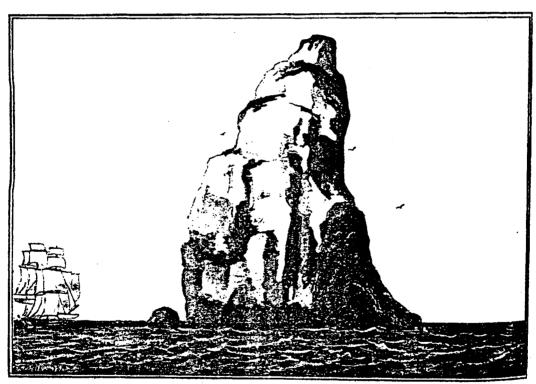
The next day we passed by a considerable quantity of rock-weed, which we imagined to be but lately broken off, and for several days we had seen great numbers of birds. We were now considerably to the Northward of the several small islands scattered either within or about the tropic, in the Northern Pacific Ocean. We could not, therefore, form any probable conjecture from whence this weed came, and whither the birds retired at night, as they regularly left us about sunset, and took their flight to the East.

[Lot's Wife mistaken for a galleon]

About nine o'clock in the morning, a sail was descried from the masthead, and, in about half an hour a large ship was seen from the deck. She appeared to be under an extraordinary croud of sail, and exhibited a very singular figure, for not one of ous, even with the assistance of glasses, could make out which way she was standing. The sight of a ship in those seas was such an unusual circumstance, that for some time conjecture was at a loss concerning it. At length, however, it was determined to be a galleon, bound to China from New Spain, and by some casualty driven thus far to the Northward; though the track of those ships to Manilla, is generally between the parallels of 13° and 14° North latitude. In consequence of this opinion, several letters were written to inform our friends in China of our safety, and the progress we had made in the voyage. This extraordinary delusion, for it was no more, continued till we were within two leagues of the object; when, on viewing it with a glass, it was discovered to be a huge rock standing alone amid the waters.—The first among us who became sensible of the deception remained silent, and diverted themselves with the strange conjectures and humorous observations of the sailors, one of whom was so certain of its being a ship, that he was convinced he saw her colours. Its appearance did, indeed, very strongly resemble a first-rate man of war, under a croud of sail; and such was its shape, that, at a certain distance, it held forth to the eye the form of every particular sail belonging to a ship. As we ranged up with this rock, our surprise was proportionally augmented, and the sailors were more than disposed to believe that some supernatural power had suddenly transformed it into its present shape. It obtained the name of Lot's Wife, and is one of the most wonderful objects, taken in all its circumstances, which I ever beheld.



Lote Mife, when taken for a lail bearing ENE difrant y Engage.



Lets Wife ! bearing & dift's Miller were to first above the land of the Sea.

By noon we were abreast of it; when it bore East North East four miles. The latitude was 29°50' North, and the longitude 142°23' East of Greenwich. The waves broke against its rugged front with a fury proportioned to the immense distance they had to roll before they were interrupted by it. It rose almost perpendicular to the height, according to the tables, of near three hundred and fifty feet. A small black rock appeared just above the water, at about forty or fifty yards from its Western edge. There was a cavern on its South Eastern side, into which the waters rolled with an awful and tremendous noise. In regarding this stupendous rock, which stood alone in an immense ocean, we could not but consider it as an object which had been able to resist one of those great convulsions of nature that change the very form of those parts of the globe which they are permitted to desolate.

Saturday 12

This day, at noon, our latitude was 33°18' North, and the longitude 161° East, with a steady gale from the Southward. We passed by a great quantity of rock-weed, and saw several large flocks of birds. In the evening a piece of timber, which appeared to be the rafter of an house, and a piece of a canoe, were seen floating upon the water, and soon after a spar, that appeared to have been newly cut. These were certain indications of land, and occasioned, if possible, an added exertion of vigilance, as this part of the Pacific Ocean is entirely unknown.²

In the evening of this day the weather became gloomy and overcast, with every usual appearance of an approaching storm. It blew strong throughout the night, and on the following day,

Sunday 13

at noon, the gale was considerably encreased. The topgallant yards and masts were accordingly got down on deck, and every other precaution taken to provide against the bad weather that threatened us. Our apprehensions were shortly realized; for about four o'clock, it blew with such violence from the South, that we were obliged to close reef the topsails, and hand the mainsail. The wind was accompanied with small rain and thick weather. We passed by large quantities of weed; and the surface of the sea was covered with a reddish spawn, that extended several miles, It soon after blew a perfect storm; the topsails were therefore immediately handed, and we scudded before it under a foresail, followed by a very heavy sea.—In this situation, we were overtaken by a most violent gust of wind, which made us apprehensive of some material damage.—But very fortunately the topsails had been handed in time, and, the foresail being now reefed, we continued to pursue our course. In this heavy gust the wind shifted to the West, and raised a very confused sea, which broke on our decks, and endangered the boats; but, in shifting its point, the wind did not abate its violence, nor did at all subside till the 14th,

¹ Ed. note: Lot's Wife is now called Sofu Gan by the Japanese. The latitude is correct, but its more exact longitude is 140°20' E., which shows that Captain Meares was still 2° too far east.

² Ed. note: There was no inhabited land for hundreds of miles from that position. Marcus Island, uninhabited, was far to SSW.

Monday 14

when the latitude was 36°20' North, and the longitude 167° East. It was determined to run down our longitude, as much as possible, in the parallel of 40° North; and, as it was an unknown [sic] track, we were not without the hope of meeting with land, previous to our gaining sight of the Continent of America, evident signs of which had been observed by Captain Cook, as well as by us, in this latitude.—Indeed from the various circumstances which have already been related, it is highly probable that there is land in this part of the Northern Pacific Ocean.¹

Return voyage, November 1788.

Friday 21

The wind did not fix steadily in the Eastern quarter till the 21st, which alteration I attributed to our near vicinity to the Ladrone Islands, which are known, at times, to alter the current of the trade-winds.

December. Monday 2

We continued our course, without any material occurrence, till the 1st of December; when in the evening of that day, we made the islands of Botol Tobago Xima [near Taiwan].

¹ Ed. note: There is none, except the Hawaiian Island chain far to the SE.

A2. The voyage of the Iphigenia, Captain Douglas via Palau—Narrative of Captain Douglas, edited by Captain Meares

Voyage of the Iphigenia, Capt. Douglas, from Samboingan, to the North West Coast of America.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Felice departs from Samboingan.—The subsequent Conduct of the Governor to Captain Douglas.—Part of the Crew confined, and the Ship detained by his Orders.—His unwarrantable Conduct.— The Iphigenia sails from Samboingan.—Arrives off a small Island, now named Johnstone's Island.—Communication with the Natives, and a Description of them.—Tawnee, a Sandwich Islander, on board the Iphigenia, falls sick and dies. Sickness of the Crew.—Pass through the Pelew Islands.-Communication with the Natives.—An affecting Circumstance, unknown to Captain Douglas.

1788. February.

Tuesday 12

In the narrative of the former voyage it has been related, that on the 12th of February the Felice left the Iphigenia at Samboingan, preparing to take on board her fore-mast, and then to proceed on her voyage.—The cause which occasioned the separation of the two ships have already been mentioned; and the orders delivered to Captain Douglas on the occasion, are inserted in the Appendix.—The following pages, therefore, contain the voyage of the **Iphigenia** after she was left by her consort; which, we have reason to think, will be found to contain some important information relative to the geography and commerce of the North West Coast of America.

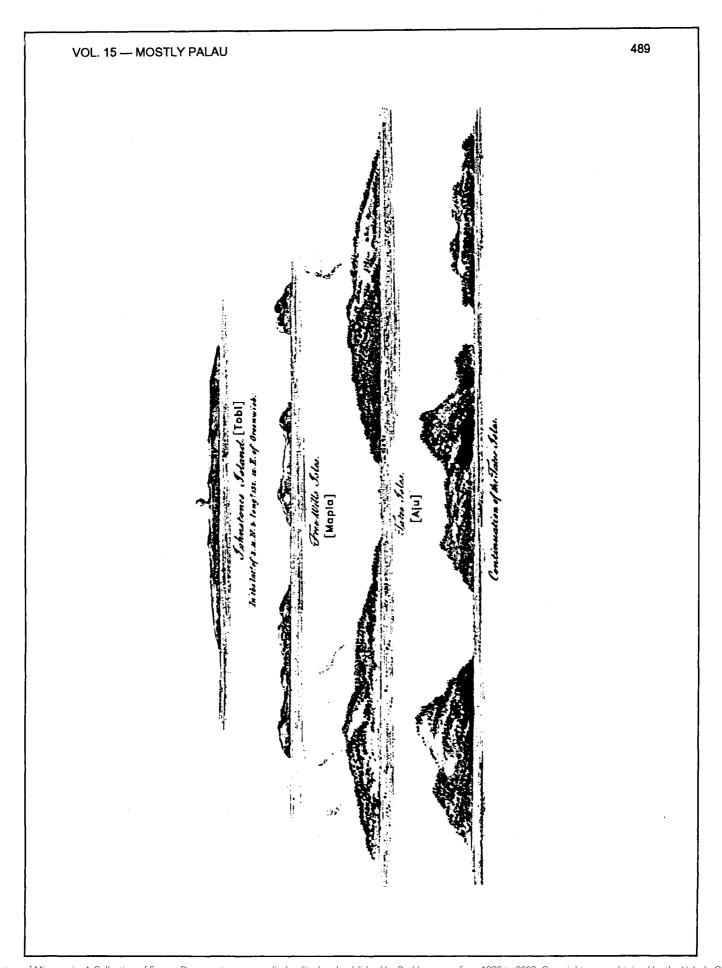
The **Felice** was no sooner sailed from Samboingan, than the governor of the place assumed a very improper and ungenerous mode of conduct towards the ship that remained. The division of our force had encouraged him, as we suppose, to some unwarrantable proceedings, which shortly ended in a rupture on both sides, to the great injury of the proprietors.

Tuesday 19

The **Iphigenia** had received her mast on board and was ready for sea on the 19th. She had also obtained several bags of rice, a quantity of vegetables, and some cattle from the governor.

As we had been informed that the most acceptable present we could make to the governor in return for his civilities and attentions to us, would be a few bars of iron, I accordingly left six bars with Captain Douglas, desiring him to add as many more, to compose the intended compliment, and to draw bills on Canton for the amount of any expences which might have been requisite for the ship and her crew.

Captain Douglas accordingly waited on the governor, and invited him to dine on board the **Iphigenia**, previous to her departure. The invitation was accepted, and the entertainment passed off, to all appearance, with the most perfect satisfaction to all parties. In the evening the company adjourned, by the governor's invitation, to a ball



on shore. But under the guise of politeness and hospitality, the subtle Spaniard was watching to take any advantage in his power; and on discovering that the principal part of the cargo consisted of iron, he turned his thoughts to the acquisition of that valuable metal;—valuable indeed it might be called, for it purchases gold at Magindanao.—The King of Spain has prohibited this article from being sold throughout the Philippines by any person whatever, except his own commissioners, who take care to make it a matter of very costly purchase: the governor was, therefore, determined to seize the present favourable opportunity of procuring it on the very advantageous terms he conceived to be in his power.

Wednesday 20

So that when an officer was sent on shore the following day to settle the account,—which did not, we believe, amount to more than two hundred and fifty dollars,—the governor at once threw off the mask, and not only declared that the whole of his demand should be paid in iron, but that he would fix the price, and arrange the weights according to his own pleasure.

Such was the answer which the officer was going to take back, when he and his boat's crew were arrested by a file of soldiers, and conveyed to a dungeon. The continuing delay of this officer's return, induced Captain Douglas to send another boat on shore to learn the cause of his detention; when the second party shared the fate of the first. At the same time the governor sent off a large proa, with fifty men, to take possession of the ship; and had not Captain Douglas been alarmed for the consequences to his people on shore, as well as to some of them who were placed in a conspicuous part of the boat, he would certainly have sunk her; which might have been done without much difficulty. He, however, thought it best to let this armed force approach without any interruption, and to suffer the Spanish soldiers to come quietly on board and take possession of the ship.

In consequence of these very extraordinary proceedings, Captain Douglas went on shore himself, to enquire into the cause of them: when the governor informed him that his sole object was to secure the payment of his bill in iron; and that the ship should not be suffered to depart till the iron was landed. It was in vain to represent that he had himself engaged, on their first arrival, to take bills for whatever they might wish to purchase. It was fruitless to urge the cruelty and injustice of invading the cargo of a vessel which had come in an assured confidence to his port and by which the principal advantages of her voyage might be lost:—He was too determined in his baseness to listen to these suggestions; and Captain Douglas was obliged to return on board, and order seventy-eight bars of iron on shore, which was nearly half his cargo, together with one hundred and twenty dollars, which he collected in the ship. But the business was not yet finished;—for the governor was very peremptory in his assurances that he would be absolutely paid in nothing but iron.—To such an exaggerated imposition Captain Douglas refused to submit; and threatened, in the most serious manner, if the governor persisted in his unwarrantable designs, that he would throw the ship on his hands. This resolution brought the Spaniard to reason, who consented at length to receive the iron

and the dollars, and gave orders to withdraw the soldiers from the ship: he nevertheless contrived to retard their departure till Captain Douglas had sent him some wine, which he had previously promised him; and it was not before he had received this trifling present that he released the people from their confinement.

Such was the conduct of the governor of Samboingan: but, indeed, no other treatment was to be expected; as it is well known by every commercial nation, that the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, dispersed through India, are the refuse of mankind.

Friday 22

It was, therefore, the 22d of February before the **Iphigenia** departed. On that day she weighed anchor and put to sea, without expending a grain of powder to do honour to such dishonourable people.

Saturday 1

On the 1st of March the **Iphigenia** had made a very inconsiderable progress on her voyage. She had been retarded by light and variable winds; while the numerous islands which she hourly saw and approached, made the navigation not only difficult but tedious, as she was obliged to proceed with the utmost care and precaution.

Sunday 2

On the 2d of March, she fell in with a very dangerous reef of rocks, which extend East and West nearly ten miles. These rocks bear no place on any of the charts we had in our possession, and are out of the water about the size of a ship's hull. The centre of them lies in the latitude of 4°10' North, and longitude, by several lunar observations, of 126°39' East of Greenwich. In the position which the ship occupied, there was a strong current setting to the South East. ¹

Thursday 6

They continued their course amidst this archipelago of rocky islets till the 6th; when at noon of that day, the latitude was 3°45' North, and the longitude 129°7' East. The variation of the compass was 2°15' West.

[Tobi Island]

Sunday 9

As they were proceeding to the Northward and Eastward on the 9th of March, a small island appeared bearing East half North, at the distance of about ten or twelve leagues. They continued steering up with it till nine at night, when observing a great number of lights on the shore, Captain Douglas imagined that they were kept burning in order to induce the ship to stop. At eleven o'clock, it being considered as hazardous to run during the night, which was very dark, the ship was hove to, but no soundings could be obtained with fifty fathoms of line.—

Ed. note: The closest thing to this description and position is the Nenusa Archipelago, at 4°40' N & 127°10' E.

Monday 10

At break of day on the 10th, they made sail to close in with the land, when several canoes were seen approaching. They therefore again hove to, in order to permit the natives of the island to come on board.—For some time they kept at a certain distance, holding up cocoa-nuts, in their hands; but they no sooner saw the hatchets which were exposed to their view in return, than the **Iphigenia** was favoured with an immediate visit. From the whole of their conduct, it very evidently appeared that they had never before beheld such an object as that which now engrossed all their regard, as it called forth their utmost astonishment; and from the very great indifference with which they promiscuously received every thing that was offered to them, it seemed as if the ship alone was the object of their attention.

It was intended that the **Iphigenia** should remain off this island for a day, in order to get a supply of water, of which they were informed by the natives there was great abundance. In the afternoon the canoes returned with more cocoa-nuts and taro-root, and the inhabitants seemed to have learned, since their last visit, the value of iron; as they now would take nothing but *Owashee*, *Owashee*, which is their word for that metal. They were entire strangers to fire-arms; for on one of them expressing a wish to have a pistol, Captain Douglas discharged it;—which alarmed him to such a degree, that when it was held towards him, he kissed the barrel, but could not be persuaded to lay hold of it.

This island, which was now named **Johnstone's Island**, lies in the latitude of 3°11' North, and in the longitude of 131°12' East. It consists of low land covered with verdure, and cocoa-trees, and is about a league in circumference. One tree in particular rises above the rest, and appears at a distance like a ship under sail.—What the island produces, besides cocoa-nuts and the taro-root, was not discovered, as the inhabitants brought nothing to barter but those articles.—The natives did not appear to exceed the number of two hundred, and are a stout, robust people. Their canoes, which held twelve or fourteen of them, were exactly the same as those of the Sandwich Islands; and the people not only displayed the same activity in the water as the Sandwich Islanders, but made use of several expressions which Tianna readily understood. A fine breeze springing up, Captain Douglas gave up his design of taking in water at this island, and continued his course to the Eastward.

¹ Ed. note: The closest modern Carolinian word is "mesche," although the word "paarang" was usually preferred for iron. They may have been their word for "hatchet, or adze," although this is "sele" in Carolinian. On the other hand, they were probably interested in the cutting part of the adze, saying the word for "blade," which is "schéé", in other words: A blade! A blade! Alternately, an object that is hard to get is "aweirisi."

² Ed. note: It has been seen many times before. Its exact position is 3° N & 131°10' E.

³ Ed. note: Tiana was from the Hawaiian Islands. Polynesian and Carolinian are more closely related than Palauan and Carolinian.

Sunday 16

The **Iphigenia** proceeded in her voyage with very little variation of weather, till the 16th; when Tawnee, a Sandwich Islander, from his watchful care and anxiety during Tianna's illness, was now sick himself. Several of the crew were also in the same situation; and the first officer, who had been ill upwards of a month, was not yet recovered; and there was every reason to fear a general sickness throughout the ship. Tianna was now entirely recovered, and owed the re-establishment of his health to the Peruvian bark, which operated almost miraculously upon the chief of Atooi. The latitude from observation was 2°0' North, and the longitude 136°48' East.

The poor amiable islander at length baffled all the care which was bestowed upon him.—A continual bleeding at the nose was the first symptom; and when that stopped, a fever succeeded, which seemed for some short time to yield to the bark; but the disorder at length triumphed, and Tawnee was the victim.

Sunday 23

About one o'clock, on the 23d, he quitted this world, and was consigned, with the regret of every one on board, to a watery grave.

Friday 28

From a continuance of light and variable winds, with occasional calms, the **Iphige-nia** advanced but very slowly on her voyage: It was therefore determined on the 28th, particularly as the sickness on board seemed rather to increase, to take every advantage of getting to the Northward. The ship was therefore put on the other tack, and though she did not make better than a North West, and sometimes a North West by West course, still it was better than continuing under that which had been attended with such discouraging circumstances.

Saturday 29

On the 29th, they had light airs and calms, with frequent squalls of rain.

Sunday 30

On the 30th there was a moderate breeze from the Northward and Eastward, accompanied also with squalls and rain, which continued to prevail through several succeeding days.

Monday 31

On the 31st, the wind varied from North East to East North East; and semetimes North North East;—and, as they were approaching a groupe of islands, called the Carolines, Captain Douglas gave orders to bend the best bower and stream cables, and to keep a very strict lookout, as there would be great danger in squally, thick weather, and at the change of the moon, among a heap of low islands which had never been accurately surveyed. It was thought necessary therefore to run every risk to get to the Northward, in order to obtain variable winds, and to get as soon as possible from a vertical sun, and into more temperate weather.

¹ Ed. note: Peruvian bark, or *cascarilla*, the product of various species of *cinchona*, the source of quinine.

April.

Wednesday 2

On the 2d of April, a fresh breeze sprung up from the Northward and Eastward, with squalls and heavy rain; but about ten o'clock in the morning the clouds dispersed, and from the medium of several very good distances of the sun and moon, the longitude was 134°36' East of Greenwich, and the observed latitude 7°25' North.

[Palau Islands]

Thursday 3

On the 3d, they had a fine breeze, with clear weather: at half past four in the afternoon saw land; and at sun-set its extremities bore from West South West to West by North, distant about seven or eight leagues. As the **Iphigenia** began to be in want of wood, and in the hope of obtaining roots, of some kind or other, as well as cocoanuts, Captain Douglas determined to take this opportunity of supplying the ship. Accordingly, at eight in the evening, orders were given to shorten sail, and heave the main-top-sail to the mast.

Friday 4

At day-break on the 4th, two low islands were seen, covered with trees, bearing North West by West, at the distance of seven or eight leagues. The land observed the preceding evening, now bore West South West, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues. As the latter appeared to be high land, and of considerable extent, it was considered as the most likely to afford some place of shelter and security; but on a nearer approach, it was discovered to consist of a cluster of islands; they therefore hauled their wind and stood for the two low islands.

At seven in the evening several canoes were seen coming from them towards the ship.—When they came alongside, they were presented with a small hatchet and two or three knives, which they took, and gave in return their whole cargoes, which consisted of nothing but two or three pieces of taro and a few cocoa-nuts.—In addressing themselves to the people in the ship, they appeared to repeat the words *English* and *Moore*, which were naturally supposed to allude to myself, as it was then imagined that I had passed through these islands, and in my passage had obtained some communication with the natives.²

As there was no possibility of approaching the South East side of either of these islands, they stood to the Northward, in order to get round a reef of rocks, and to examine the North West side of the largest of these islands; but on advancing towards it, reef appeared within reef, and from the mast-head, a range of rocks were seen, extending to the Northward and Westward as far as the eye could reach.—The rocks they were en-

¹ Ed. note: Since his latitude at noon was already 8°20', they cannot be anything but the three Kayangle Islands at the northern tip of Palau.

² Ed. note: Or probably *Mora mey*, which signifies in the Pelew language, *Come to me*. I think that the Palauans were simply saying "English. More English, since 5 years before they had had extensive contact with Captain Wilson and his men.

deavouring to weather, was now about a league under their lee; they therefore hauled their wind to the North.

Several canoes still followed the ship close, and, for a few nails, which were lowered over the stern in a basket, a return was made of an inconsiderable number of cocoanuts.—The people in one of the canoes were indeed disposed to play the rogue, and when they had got possession of the nails, refused to make any satisfaction. Captain Douglas therefore fired a musket over their heads, when every one of them leaped instantly overboard, and remained under the lee of their canoe; while those in the other canoes, as if they felt themselves protected by their innocence, did not discover any signs whatever of terror or apprehension.

One of these boats continued to follow the **Iphigenia** for a long time, and one of the people cried out, from time to time, *Eeboo, Eeboo*, and exerted himself to the utmost in making signs for them to go back. —Indeed, when he perceived that all his endeavours were vain to persuade them to return, his actions bore the appearance of a man in the most frantic distress.—After some time they observed another canoe, containing at least twenty men, paddling towards them. At first they imagined that there were some Europeans on board, and accordingly hove to; but when it was discovered that there were none but Indians, they immediately made sail, as the ship was drifting fast towards the rocks under her lee: 2—the canoe however overtook them, and the people in her discovered the same eager anxiety with the other natives for the return of the ship; but as she was at this time in a dangerous situation, very little attention was paid to the crying and continued entreaties of the islanders.

Captain Douglas was now among the Pelew Islands; a particular knowledge and admirable description of which, we owe to the sensibility and talents of Mr. Keate.—The account of them written by that gentleman, from the information of Captain Wilson, and other persons belonging to the Antelope packet, which was wrecked on the rocks that surround them, has been so generally read, that I may speak of the circumstances which connect it with this page, as a matter of universal information.—Captain Douglas was ignorant that the Antelope had been left there; and that her crew on one of these islands built a vessel, in which they returned to China. He therefore could not know that his countrymen had received every aid, comfort, and kindness which these hospitable islanders could afford; and that the sovereign of them had entrusted his son to the care of Captain Wilson, to return with him to England, to be instructed in the arts and manners of our country. Had he been acquainted with these interesting occurrences, there is no doubt but his humanity would have exerted itself to the utmost, in order to contrive some further communication with them;—for who can have the least doubt but that the canoes which followed the Iphigenia were sent to receive Lee Boo; or at least, to hear some intelligence concerning him; and that the native who has been

¹ Ed. note: They were referring to their kin, Lee Boo, who had been taken to England by Captain Wilson.

² Ed. note: The Kossol Reef.

described as calling after the ship, and employing the most frantic actions, when he found that he called in vain, was any other than Abba Thulle, the father of the young prince, agitated by the most poignant sensations of disappointment and despair.

As no attention whatever had been then paid by the East India Company to Abba Thulle, for the kind and humane treatment afforded by him to the crew of their ship the **Antelope**, he may be supposed to have been suffering, for too long a time, the alternate impressions of hope and fear.—It may therefore be conceived what his feelings were, when he first saw the distant sails of the **Iphigenia** whiten in the sun. It may also be imagined with what haste his canoe was launched from the beach to bear him to the ship, and how swiftly she was driven on to receive, as he might hope, a son, who was returned with the various knowledge and attainments of Europe, to adorn and improve his own country.—But it is difficult to conceive, as it would be impossible to describe, what such a mind as his must feel, when the **Iphigenia** proceeded on her way, and the people on board, occupied in avoiding the surrounding dangers, were as inattentive to his distress, as they were ignorant of the cause of it.—We must, however, be contented to sympathize with the affliction of this amiable chief, as he returned in melancholy disappointment to his island,—and continue to accompany the **Iphigenia** on her destined course.

At noon they had a very good observation, when the latitude was 8°20' North; the bearings of the different islands were as follow: the largest of the two islands, which Captain Douglas named Moore's Island, in honour of his friend Mr. Hugh Moore, bore South by East, half East, distant about five or six leagues;—two others, bore West South West, half South, distant three or four leagues.—From the former to the latter is a reef of rocks, which runs in a North West direction, to the distance of eleven or twelve leagues, and extends five leagues to the North of the other two.

Friday 4

At one o'clock in the afternoon they sounded, and found that they were in eight fathom water; as the current set them to the Westward, they stood on, being apprehensive, if they went on the other tack, that they should risk the being driven down on the reef, which was at this time on their lee-beam; they therefore kept the lead going; and as the water was clear to the bottom, people were orderred to the mast-head to give notice of any immediate danger, which might be easily avoided, as the sea was smooth, and the day remarkably clear.

At half past two Moore's Island bore South by East, distant fifteen leagues; and till six in the evening the soundings were from eight to twenty fathoms, over large rocks. The lead was kept going every half hour during the night, without finding any bottom; and in the morning they had a steady breeze, having got clear of all the rocks and shoals which they met with in those unknown seas.—As they had several good observations

¹ Ed. note: The ship was abreast of Kayangel Island, baptized the Good Look-out Islands by Douglas. His Moore's Island could be Babelthuap I.

² Ed. note: The ship was then over the Velasco Reef.

of the sun and moon the day before they made land, they were able to determine the latitude and longitude of Moore's Island, as well as of the reefs and shoals that extended to the Northward of it.—At noon, on the 3d, the latitude by observation was 8°20' North; Moore's Island then bearing South by East half East, distant five leagues. Good Look-out Islands bore at the same time West South west half South, distant three leagues; so that the former lies in the latitude of 8°6' North, and longitude, reduced by the log, 134°6' East; and the latter are in the latitude of 8°13' North, and the longitude 133°58'. The great shoal extends to the Northward as far as 8°43';—to the Eastward 134°13'; and to the Westward as far as the eye could reach from the mast-head, shoalwater was visible [by its color]; which, in all probability, runs as far as the longitude of 133°30' East.

Saturday 5

During the night no soundings were obtained with fifty fathoms of line. At eight in the morning, being in the latitude of Los Martires, they bore up a couple of points, in order, if possible, to get sight of it by noon;—but as there was no appearance of land, Captain Douglas hauled his wind, chusing rather to submit to the inconvenience which might arise from the want of wood, than risk his arrival on the coast of America too late in the season. He therefore no longer thought of looking for an harbour among a groupe of islands where, perhaps, no harbour of sufficient shelter and protection was to be found...

Route of the Iphigenia in the vicinity of Palau.

Time	Vinds, Weather, and Remarks.	
Apr. 1	equally with showers of rain.	
Apr. 2	I.E. fresh breezes, with squalls and heavy rain.	
Apr. 3	ofine breeze with clear weather. At day-light saw two knearing N.W. by W. 7 or 8 leagues, which were named book-out Islands. At noon they bore W.S.W. half S. 3 or	Good
Apr. 4	I.E. remarkably clear, and a smooth sea. Near a dange f rocks, which stretched as far as Moore's Island. Amo Pelew Islands.	erous reef
Apr. 5	fresh breeze with squalls of rain.	
Apr. 3	a fine breeze with clear weather. At day-light saw two kearing N.W. by W. 7 or 8 leagues, which were named book-out Islands. At noon they bore W.S.W. half S. 3 or I.E. remarkably clear, and a smooth sea. Near a danger frocks, which stretched as far as Moore's Island. Amorelew Islands.	er

¹ Ed. note: One, or both, of these directions must be incorrect.

² Ed. note: The northern tip of Babelthuap is only 7°44' North (Meares may have made a mistake in transcribing Douglas' log), but the longitude is reasonably accurate.

Return voyage of the Iphigenia in 1789.

On the 27th [July 1789], Captain Douglas, after having left letters for myself [i.e. Meares] and Captain Hunter, in case either of us should touch at Owhyhee, quitted the island.—Tome-homy-haw [i.e. Kamehameha] to the last, intreated forgiveness, and expressed the deepest concern for the alarm which he and his chiefs had occasioned; and Tianna, with all the sensibility of an honest and ingenuous mind, continued to lament it.—Indeed, such was their conduct and behaviour when the moment approached for the **Iphigenia** to depart, that there can be no doubt but that British ships will hereafter find in this island, all the comfort, protection, and friendship, which Tome-homy-haw and Tianna may have it in their power to procure them.

Tuesday 28

On the following day they came to an anchor in Witetee Bay [i.e. Waikiki], in the Island of Woahoo [i.e. Oahu]; but every article of trade being now expended, the armourers were ordered to cut up the rudder chains, in order to purchase the provisions with which several canoes had come laden from the shore.

Monday 10

After touching at the other islands for water, yams, &c. on the 10th of August, they quitted the Sandwich Islands, and made sail to the Westward.

On the 4th of October, without having met with any intervening occurrence of particular curiosity, apprehension, or good fortune, that would justify a description, they saw the Coast of China; and, on the following day, the **Iphigenia**, after her long and various voyages, and all the dangers as well as interruptions encountered in them, arrived safe, and came to an anchor in the roads of Macao. ¹

Route of the Iphigenia from the Sandwich Islands to China.

Time	Lat. N. Long. E.	Winds, Weather, and Remarks.
Sept. 10	20°12' 147ã713'	Eastward; a steady trade-wind. At 4 A.M. observed the
		distance of the star Aldebaran from the moon's nearest limb,
		which made the ship in longitude 147°54'.
Sept. 11	20°6' 146°8'	Fresh breezes, and clear. At midnight saw the Volcano
		Grande, bearing S.W. by W. distant 8 or 9 leagues. At day-
		light made sail for the 3 Islands of Urac [sic], which bore W.
		by N. distant 8 leagues.
		At 10 A.M. got several sets of lunar obsrvations, by the mean
		of which the ship was in 146°8' longitude: at which time the
		body of the 3 islands bore W. half N. distant 2 leagues.
		At noon the centre of the 3 islands was in 20°19' N. latitude,
		and 146°2' E. longitude; and the Volcano in 19°50' N. and
		in 146°23' E. ²

¹ Ed. note: The route taken was by way of Asunción, Maug, and Uracas in the Northern Marianas, as shown in the list of positions below.

² Ed. note: These measurements are 10 min, too far North and 45 min, too far East of true.

Sept. 12 20°12' 143°53	Moderate and clear. At 6 P.M. saw a barren rock, which we called Guy's Rock; it lies in 20°30' N. lat. and 145°52' E. longitude.
Sept. 13 20°6' 141°8' Sept. 14 20°16' 138°26 Sept. 15 136°13	

¹ Ed. note: That was Uracas, which was confused with Maug on some charts.

² Ed. note: This corresponds to Parece Vela.



Lieutenant John Shortland, R.N. Sketched by S. Shelley, and engraved by W. Shirisin.

Part 6—Document 1788D

The convict ships Alexander and Friendship via Angaur in September 1788

Sources: PRO London; copy in AJCP PRO 3553, 5777. Published as one of the log abstracts in Captain Arthur Phillip's Voyage (London, 1789), pp. xxv, 183-212.

Introduction.

The barque **Alexander** was under the command of Captain Sinclair, while Lieutenant John Shortland appears to have been his mate, pilot and log keeper, in spite of the edited text which seems to allude to him as the person in charge, which he was, if one considers that this was a chartered ship.

The snow **Friendship**, Captain Francis Walton, was in company, but she had to be sunk, i.e. scuttled, upon reaching the strait of Macassar.

The narrative of Lieutenant Shortland

CHAPTER XVIII.

Concise account of Lieutenant Shortland—His various services—Appointed agent to the transports sent to New South Wales—Ordered by Governor Phillip to England, by Batavia—Journal of his voyage—New discoveries.

We have been induced to subjoin in this place a concise account of Lieutenant Shortland, as well because his experience as an officer has been great, as from the consideration that his journal has been deemed, by those who best know its value, of very serious importance.

CHAPTER XIX.

Appearance of the scurvy—The boats land at one of the Pelew Islands—Account of the natives who were seen, and conjectures concerning them—Distress—The Friendship cleared and sunk—Miserable condition of the Alexander when she reached Batavia.—Conclusion.

Hitherto no difficulties had been encountered but such as necessarily attend the exploring of new coasts, wherein the anxiety is fully compensated by the satisfaction of becoming a discoverer: but a dreadful scourge now hung over our navigators, the severity of which cannot easily be conceived, even by those who have been placed in simi-

lar scenes, so much did it exceed in degree every thing of the same kind that has been usually experienced.

August 10, 1788.

It was about this time, the 10th of August, that the scurvy began to make its appearance, which, for want of the proper remedies, increased to a malignity that was destructive of many lives, rendered it necessary to sacrifice one of the ships, and finally reduced the consolidated crews of both in the remaining transport to such a state of weakness, that without immediate assistance they must have perished even in port, or would have been driven adrift again, from total inability to take the necessary steps for their own preservation.

August 13, 1788.

On the thirteenth of August, five seamen of the **Alexander** were already on the sick list, complaining of pains in the legs and breast, with their gums so swelled, and their teeth so loose that they could not without difficulty eat even flour or rice. The weather was now very variable, often sultry, at other times squally, with occasional showers. The ships were probably at no great distance from some land, as birds were frequently seen in great numbers.

August 16, 1788.

On the 16th the **Friendship** made the signal for seeing land, but it could not be descried from the **Alexander**. Sharks were also caught with the hook, and now and then some floating wood and vegetables were observed. On this day the two transports passed the equator.

August 24, 1788.

On the 24th, Lieutenant Shortland found by observation, that a current had set the ship to the west north-west or north-west by west of her account, at the rate of eleven miles a day since the 13th, when the last lunar observation had been taken.

The scurvy gained ground rapidly on the **Alexander**, notwithstanding the precautions of smoking the ship, washing with vinegar, and distributing porter, spruce-beer, and wine among the seamen.

September 2, 1788.

On the 2d of September six men and a boy, on the 5th eight, and on the 8th ten, were disabled by it from performing any duty. An increase of this kind, in the midst of all the efforts that could be made to counteract the malignity of the disorder, gave but too certain a prognostic of the ravages it was afterwards to make.

[Palau]

Sept. 10, 1788.

About noon on the 10th of September, the looming of land was discerned to the westward, which an hour after was clearly perceived, bearing west north-west, at the distance of six leagues. As the ships were then in latitude 6°49' north, and longtiude

¹ Ed. note: Angaur Island.

135°25' east, it is evident that this must have been one of the Pelew Islands, lately so much celebrated for their hospitable reception of Captain Wilson and his crew. As the account of that voyage was not then published, and Lieutenant Shortland had no charts with him that noticed these islands, he concluded that he was among the most southern of the New Carolines; but finding his longitude, from accurate observation, to be more westerly than the situation of those islands, he conceived their longitude to be laid down in the charts erroneously.

September 11, 1788.

At six in the morning, September 11th, a small island not seen before, bore west south-west, distant five leagues; and the wind coming round to the south south-west, Lieutenant Shortland bore away for the passage between the two islands. At nine, having entered the passage, he sounded and found thirteen fathoms, with a fine sandy bottom, and a strong current setting through very rapidly. Many cocoa-palms were seen on the shore, and excited an earnest expectation of procuring effectual refreshment for the sick: a boat from each of the ships was therefore manned and sent out. While the boats were sounding a-head, many Indians approached in their canoes, and by signs invited our people to shore, giving them to understand they might be supplied with cocoa-nuts and many other things; but when they attempted to land at a place which had the appearance of a Morai or burying-place, they would not suffer it, insisting that they should proceed further one way or the other. In the mean time many persons of both sexes swam off from shore, holding up bamboos full of water, which they imagined the ships to want. Mr. Sinclair, the Master of the Alexander, being in the boat, brought the following account of this expedition:

"Finding I could not make them understand that I wanted cocoa-nuts, and not water, I was resolved to land, and therefore put on shore as soon as I found a convenient place, amidst a concourse of between three and four hundred people. I immediately fixed upon an old man, (whom, from an ornament of bone upon his arm, I concluded to be a chief) and made him a present of some nails and beads, which were accepted with evident pleasure, and immediately conciliated his friendship. This was a fortunate step, as he afterwards often showed his authority by checking the most insolent of his people when they pressed forward and endeavoured to steal whatever they could seize. One seaman holding his cutlass rather carelessly had it snatched from him, and the thief had so well watched his opportunity, that he was almost out of sight before he was distinguished. Notwithstanding the offers of the natives in the canoes, I could not procure above thirty cocoa-nuts, and those green; whether it was that the people did not comprehend my signs, or that they were not inclined to carry on the traffic. These islanders were well limbed men, moderately tall, with long hair: many of them chewed the betel nut, and these were all furnished with a small hollow stick, apparently of ebony, out of which they struck a kind of powder like lime. Their arms were a lance, and a kind of adze hung over the shoulder; some men carrying one, and others two. These adzes were of iron,

¹ Ed. note: Peliliu Island.

and evidently of European manufacture. As the place where we landed was very rocky and unpleasant for walking, when I found myself unsuccessful in the chief object for which I was sent out, I returned as expeditiously as I could. In return for my presents, the old chief gave one to me which was not equally acceptable. It was a mixture of fish, yams, and many other things, the odour of which, probably from the staleness of the composition, was very far from being agreeable. When we first landed, many of the natives repeated the word, Englees, as if to enquire whether we were of that nation, but when they understood that we were they shook their heads and said, Espagnol: pos=sibly, therefore, the discovery of our nation might prevent them from being as courteous on shore as they had been in their canoes."

From some of the above circumstances it is undeniably evident that these people have had intercourse with Europeans, and probably with the Spaniards; and from the aversion which they expressed to the English, it seems not an unfair conjecture that this island might perhaps be Artingall, where our countrymen had distinguished themselves five years before by the assistance they gave to a hostile state: but if so, their knowledge of the Spaniards must have been posterior to the departure of the English, who from the narrative must have been the first Europeans seen there. Had the adventures of the Antelope's crew been then made known to the world, Lieutenant Shortland would with joy have presented himself before the beneficent Abba Thulle; and probably by obtaining a stock of fresh provisions and vegetables might have preserved the lives of many of his companions, and prevented the sufferings of the rest; but he was not fortunate enough to know that so propitious a retreat was within so small a distance.

His people were doomed to find their distresses augmented instead of diminished. Towards the latter end of September, agues and intermittent fevers began to prevail among them; the proportion of those disabled by the scurvy was constantly great, some deaths had happened, and the few men who still had health enough to carry them with difficulty through the necessary duty, were subject to the swelling of the legs, and harrassed by violent pains in the breast. Hitherto the **Friendship** had been much more happily circumstanced.

September 23, 1788.

On the 23d of September she was spoken to, and had then only one man disabled by the scurvy: but this advantage was of short duration, and the more rapid increase of the malady made a fatal compensation for the greater delay of its commencement.

September 27, 1788.

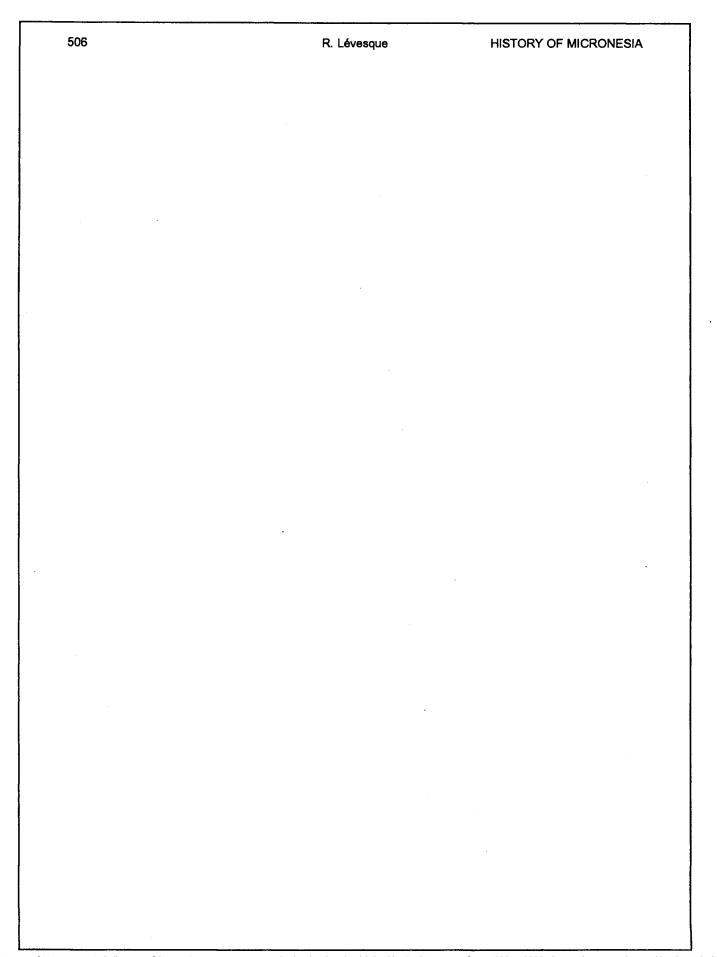
On the 27th of September, about noon, the **Alexander** made the land of Mindanao...

¹ Ed. note: This incident of European hatchets and the word Spanish may indicate the unrecorded visit of a Manila trader, although such voyages were not common until 10 years later (see Doc. 1800D).

² Ed. note: Angaur, or Peliliu, was not Artingall, although it was probably hostile toward Koror also. The first Europeans seen there were Spaniards in 1710.

Route of the Alexander Transport, Lieutenant John Shortland, from Port Jackson, New South Wales, to Batavia.

Time.	Lat. Ń.	Long. E.	Winds, Weather, and Remarks.
Aug. 31	6°00'	139°47'	Variable. Light airs, and hot sultry weather.
Sept. 1	6°10'	138°59'	Ditto. Light breezes and hazy.
Sept. 2	5°54'	138°02'	N.E. Light airs, inclining to calm.
Sept. 3	5°54'	137°39'	A great quantity of driftwood in sight. Variation 3°38' East.
Sept. 4	6°18'	137°26'	Variable. Ditto, with rain.
Sept. 5	6°15'	136°46'	Ditto. Squally, with rain.
Sept. 6	6°19'	136°21'	Ditto. Light airs and cloudy, with heavy rain.
Sept. 7	6°01'	136°05'	W.N.W. Ditto, and clear weather.
Sept. 8	6°08'	137°44'	E.S.E. Ditto, and hot sultry weather.
Sept. 9	6°18'	136°41'	Variable. Light airs, and hot sultry weather.
Sept. 10	6°0'	135°56'	S.W. Dark gloomy weather, with squalls. A strong current setting to the northward.
Sept. 11	6°50'	135°25'	Southerly. Light winds. The extreme points of the Southernmost of the New Carolines bore W. 1/2 S. and N. 1/2 W. distance off shore five or six leagues. Found a current setting rapidly to the Westward.
Sept. 12	6°38'	134°39'	Variable. Light airs and squally.
Sept. 13	6°36'	134°18'	Ditto. Gentle breezes, inclinable to squalls.
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Part 7—Documents 1789E

Another fleet of 5 English ships sailed past Palau in January 1789

E1. The Raymond, Captain Smedley

Source: Log 453C, India Office.

Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Henry J. Smedley.

Ship Raymond from Bombay towards China.

Wednesday 31st day of December 1788

... At 8 a.m. found missing George Hablis, Seaman, & supposed he must have fallen overboard in the night. He not having been seen since 8 o'clock in the evening, A.M. sold his effects at ye mast.

Lat. obs. 3°19' North.

Long. in. 2°23' East of Moratay.

Thursday the 1st day of January 1789

At 2 p.m. saw something bearing SE appearing like a ship but it coming on very thick weather a very hevy squall. Clued all up & hove the ship too immediately, not thinking it safe to run, as this part is not well known.

At three the weather clearing up saw a small island apparently not more than two miles in length, very low and woody. We were not more than 8 or 9 miles off when we first saw it. This island is very dangerous to ships coming this passage, as in a dark night, or thick weather, a ship would be upon it before she saw it.

Long. in. 2°55' East of Moratay

Thursday the 1st day of January 1789, cont'd.

There appears to be a reef off the East end, extending a mile and a half or 2 miles. At 6 p.m. the island bore SSE1/2E 5 or 6 miles. Several Prows came off from the island towards the ships but night coming on, none of them came on board. The wind coming more to the Eastward tacked and stood to ye Northward. The boats seemed to have 8 men in each, & their sails are triangular. This island not being laid down in any chart

or any Account of it in any Journals, we have given it the name of Nivels [sic] Island, after the man who first saw it. The Latitude of this island is 3°10' North & Longitude by Observation of Sun & Moon 131°55' East of Greenwich.

Saturday the 3rd day of January 1789

Light airs, variable intermixed weather. Calms throughout these 24 hours with cloudy weather. The watch picking oakum, the Carpenter same as yesterday.

At 4 a.m. made ye signal to tack. At daylight, saw a small low island NNE dist.

about 6 leagues.

At 8 a.m., the small island NE by N dist. 5 or 6 leagues.

At noon, the small island NNE1/2E dist. about 8 or 9 miles. In company as before. Lat. obs. 4°13' N.

Sunday the 4th day of January 1789

First and middle parts light breezes variable weather hard squalls and heavy rain in the middle part & dark cloudy weather. The latter part fine clear weather.

3 p.m. came alongside several canoes with 6 or 8 men in each. They brought with them a few cocoanuts.

At sunset the North point of Pulo Maria [rather Pulo Ana] E74°S dist. off 5 or 6 miles.

At daylight Pulo Maria SW1/2W 14 or 15 miles. In Company as before.

Saturday the 10th day of January 1789

Fresh breezes with a heavy sea from the NE throughout these 24 hours, with hazy weather, Sailmaker repairing the new fore sail. P.M. the ship pitching heavy struck the fore topgallant yard and mast. Kept a good lookout throughout the night, being nigh the Latitude of the Palace [rather Palau] Islands.

At 4 p.m. made the signal to join the Montrose she being hull down to leeward. At 3 a.m. made the signal for the **Asia** to close, which she answered.

Lat. obs. 6°14' North., Long. in. 5°8' East of Moratay I., 134°.25' East of Greenwich.

Sunday the 11th day of January 1789

First part fresh breezes from the Eastward, some squalls and heavy rain. Middle part wind variable all around and at times strong gusts of wind, most part continual rain. latter light breezes from the NE & cloudy weather,

A.M. swayed up the fore topgallant mast. A swell from NE. Lat. obs. 6°42' North. Long. in. 134°22' East of Greenwich.

Courses WNW, etc., Winds ENE, etc. Monday the 12th day of January 1789

¹ Ed. note: By this remark, we deduce that this was the Commodore's ship.

Light breezes with light serene pleasant weather throughout these 24 hours, people picking oakum, Caulker and Tradesmen as necessary.

At 1 p.m. saw the land bearing from N to NW by N. Hove too. Made ye signal to speak with ships. Spoke both, and finding we could not weather the land, bore away to go to the South & Westward of it.

At 6 p.m. the extremes of the Southernmost [i.e. Angaur] of the Pallas Islands from E by N1/2N to NE by N. Breakers off the West end very high trending to the WSW dist, off shore 5 or 6 miles.

Sounded no ground 45 fathoms. In company as before.

Lat. obs. 7°52' North, Long. in. 133°47' East of Greenwich.

E2. The Asia, Captain Foulkes

Source: Log 24G, India Office.

Journal of the Asia, 3rd Voyage Bombay & China 1787-1788-1789, kept by Captain J. D. Foulkes.

Wednesday the 31 day of December 1789 ... Lat. Obs. 3°18' N., Long. in. 130°25' East.

Thursday the 1 day of January 1789

First and latter parts moderate breezes, middle light airs, some hard rain at first, latterly pleasant weather.

At 2 p.m., the Commodore made the signal for seeing Land, saw a small island on the lee beam bearing SE by S 4 or 5 leagues. as this island is not laid down in any of our charts & as there is no mention made of island in many of the Journals, copies of which we have, we call it Nevilles Island after the man who first saw it from the masthead; It's low & cannot at first be seen from a ship's decks about 6 leagues. It seems not to be above of a mile in length. The wind coming scarce, we neared it to about 3 leagues. Then tacked & stood to the Northward under topsails all night. At 6 daylight it was just in sight from the mast head bearing S by E.

It was very providential we were ten miles to the Northward of it during the night before, as it was uncommonly dark with hard rain. We might have run the ship on shore, supposing ourselves in perfect safety, there being nothing laid down to the Northward of 1°h°[?] & to the East of Morintay. Several prows put off from it, with an intention, seemingly, of coming on board, but night coming on & it looking dirty, they returned to ye island on which we saw fire seemingly to guide them. Its latitude we can determine very accurately, at the three [sic] ships observed to within a minute of each other. I call it in 3° North exactly.

Lat. obs. 3°32' North.

By the medium of 6 observations of Sun & Moon at 1/2 past 11 a.m., made 131°49' E from Greenwich. This places the island [i.e. Tobi] in 131°36' East.

Courses E1/2N, etc., Winds SW, fair, etc.

Saturday 3 day of January 1789

Light airs and calm, pleasant weather. At daylight, saw an island from the masthead bearing NNE. This I take to be an island laid down in the Directory by the Name of P. Meriere.

At noon it bore NNE1/2E 4 or 5 leagues.

Lat. obs. 4°7' N. Long per obs. Sun & Moon at 1 p.m. 132°20' East.

Courses N by W, etc., Winds NE by E, etc.

Sunday the 4 day of January 1789

Light airs and calm.

PM several canoes came off from the island with 5 or 6 men in each. They had a most wretched appearance & came, apparently, to beg for food, taking every thing that was given them[.] they are a slight made people very black, hair inclining to wool, but long & tyed in a knot on the head. Some of them had their faces painted red, & all were very curiously tattooed in every part of the body. Their language seemed to be that of the Papuas, as they called a ship Coracora. They had two or three Malay words, asking for Pesue (a knife), mackan (to eat), but nothing further.

Lat. obs. 4°27' N. Long. in. 139°45' East.

Saturday the 10 day of January 1789

Fresh trade mostly fair weather, a large sea from the Northward which makes the ship uneasy.

P.M. ship the fore topmast with 3(?) best, & the spanker with the mizzen.

At 4 the **Montrose**'s hull down to Southward. Bore down & joined her. At daylight both ships hulls down to leeward, bore down to them.

Lat. obs. 6°12 North, 11 miles to the lee of account.

Courses N1/2W, etc., Winds E by N, fair, etc.

Monday the 12 day of January 1789

A pleasant breeze, fair weather & smooth water.

At 1 p.m., the Commodore made the signal for seeing the Land. Saw the Palos Islands from the masthead bearing from NW to NW by W. 1/2 past 1 Commodore made signal to speak. Spoke him & agreed to go to leeward of the islands. Bore and at 6 past, the Southernmost dist. 3 or 4 miles. The extremes from NW to N1/2W. Captain Wilson places these islands in 133°20' E which I think a little too westerly. I allow the Southernmost in Long. 133°45' E., Lat. 6°57' [N].

[At Noon] Lat. obs. 7°45' N., Find a 1° wly of 18 miles.

E3. The Duke of Montrose, Captain Dorin

Source: Log 775B, India Office, London.

Extract from the logbook kept by Captain John Dorin

Ship Montrose from Bombay towards China.

[By way of Batavia, and the Macassar Strait.]

Wednesday the 31st of December 1788

... Long. at noon 128°50' E., Lat. obs. 3°23' N.

Thursday the 1st day of January 1789

... At 3 p.m., saw a low woody island bearing S25E dist. about 10 miles. At sunset it bore S30E dist. 6 or 7 miles. Six boats from the island put off for the ship, & came so near that we could see about 12 men in a boat.

Lat. of the island 3°15' North, Long. by Lunar Obs. 131°40' East, deduced from observation made the 2nd January.

Saturday the 3d day of January 1789

Light airs & fair weather. At daylight saw a low woody island bearing N30E distance about 4 leagues. At Noon it bore NE by N distant 8 miles.

The natives from this island came on board.

Longitude Observed Sun & Moon at 0:17:22 is 132°13'15" [E.]

Ditto Moon & Aries at 6:41:57 is 131°46'45"

Carried at noon by the mean of the two is 132°12' East. N.B. These observations belong to yesterdays Log. 14 miles to the North of Account. Lat. Obs. 4°13' N.

Sunday the 4th day of January 1789

... At 6 a.m., the island bore E2°N to E12°S dist. 4 or 5 miles...

Lat. of the island 4°20' North, Long. by obs. 132°40' East.

Courses N by W1/2W, etc., Winds NE by E, cloudy, etc.

Monday the 12th of January 1789

First part cloudy, middle & latter fresh gales & fair weather.

At 1/2 past Noon saw the Paloes Islands bearing from N10°W to N45°W. At 4 p.m., they bore from N12°E to W11°N dist. from the westernmost 4 leagues, bore up to round the SW island [i.e. Angaur] which we did at the dist. of about 3 miles or rather less.

Long. obs. Moon & Antares at 6:53:35 is 134°15'45" East. The island at the time of observation bore East dist. 4 miles.

I make the Latitude of the island which I take to be the SWesternmost of the Palos Islands to be 7°00' N., and Longitude 134°10' East from Greenwich, from the medium of observation and time piece.

[The ships seem to be gone almost due north, thus avoiding meeting with any other island of Micronesia. The following two ships were straggling behind the rest of the fleet]

E4. The Contractor, Captain Bartlet

Source: Log 319D, India Office.

The logbook kept by Captain John Bartlet.

Thursday the 1st day of January 1789. [off Gilolo]

... At 11 a.m., came on board the Commodore's yawl with Mr. Rogers 2nd officer with a public letter from Capt. Parker reporting our parting company. After having had the opinion of my officers, it was unanimously agreed that Capt. Parker was to keep company till such time as we had got round Morotay as strong currents, light variable winds prevailed from the northward and eastward and a great swell from the N.E quarter, we were under great apprehension of our being obliged to bear away, and get through Pitt's Straits which is very much unknown to myself & officers.

Latt. Obs. 2°08' North.

Tuesday the 6th day of January 1789

... At 8 a.m. the Commodore hoisted his colours and parted company by mutual consent[,] saluted him with 9 guns which was returned with the same number...

Latt. Obs. 3°14' N

[On 17 Jan., the ship had reached 7°51' N without having seen any Micronesian island along the way. She passed to the west of Palau, in 134° Longitude. However, she rejoined the fleet on 30 January in position 21° N & 120° E., only one day before they sighted Formosa.]

E5. The Bridgewater, Captain Parker

Source: Log 42J, India Office.

The logbook kept by Captain Wiliam Parker Ship Bridgewater from Madras towards China.

Wednesday the 31st of December 1788

... The **Contractor** just in sight from the masthead on the lee beam. Noon, the extremes of Gillolo from the Poop from East to SSE. Tacked per signal, the **Contractor** 4 miles to leeward.

Thursday the 1st day of January 1789

... Hove too several times for the **Contractor**. At Noon she was astern. If this squally weather continues it will be impossible to keep her company.

Lat. obs. 2°11' North.

Tuesday the 6th day of January 1789

... At 8 a.m. made the signal to part company with the **Contractor** having agreed to do so by consent. She saluted us with 9 guns, which we returned with the same number.

Noon North Cape on Morotay bore S1/2E distant 8 or 9 leagues... Lat obs. 3°14' N.

Friday the 9th day of January 1789

... At 2 p.m. judged we saw land bearing E by N. Hauled up as per Log. but did not see it again.

Lat. obs. 3°28' N. To the South this day 7 miles.

[At noon] Lat. obs. 3°36' N., Long. in. 132°0' East.

Friday the 16th of January 1789

... Kept a good lookout crossing the Latitude of the Palos Islands. A great many birds about.

Lat. obs. 8°27' N., Long. in. 122°15' E.

Monday the 19th of January 1789

... At 10 a.m. departed this life Thomas Christopher, Seaman...

Lat. obs. 14°31' N., Long. in. 132°43' E.

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Part 8—Documents 1791A

The ships Panther and Endeavour in 1791 and 1793—The narrative of Captain John McCluer

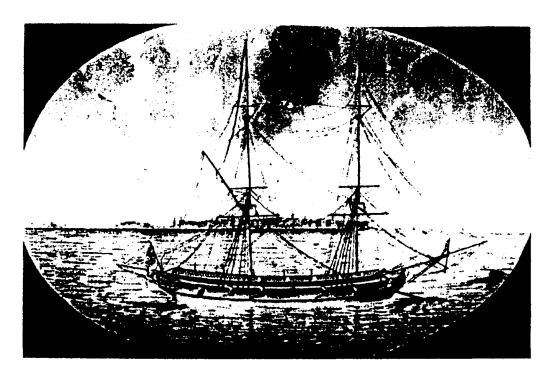
A1. The EIC directive about an expedition to Palau, dated 25 March 1790

Sources: India Office Library, E/4/1006 Bombay Dispatches, Vol. II (5 Nov. 1789-3 June 1790), pp. 129-158.

Note: The EIC agents at Bombay were to send two ships on an expedition which would include a visit to Palau. The technical details of the instructions were provided by Alexander Dalrymple, as evidenced by the marginal notes, in his handwriting, in A3 below (thanks to Dr. Andrew Cook of the British Library for verifying this fact for me).

- 18. In consideration of the frequent occasion which our China Ships lately have had to go by unfrequented Passages and the probability that it will be expedient in future to proceed in like manner, We have therefore determined that a Survey shall be made of what appears to us as the most eligible Passage.
- 19. There being many Pirates in the Eastern Seas, a small Vessell is improper for this Voyage, You will therefore equip for this purpose one of our Bombay built Vessels, on your Establishment, of not less than 150 Tons burthen. The Vessel appointed must not be a Grab; must be in very good condition; and a Prime Sailor. We mean that Vessel, answering to that description, which can be got soonest ready. And you will also appoint a small Vessel not exceeding 50 Tons to accompany her.
- 20. We direct that Lieut. Arch. Blair or Lieut. John McCluer, be apponted to the command of the Principal Vessel and of the Expedition; and that the Officer so appointed have the choice of proper Officers to serve under him, as such Voyages require the utmost viligence [sic] and exertion of every one on Board, and that a due Subordination and Harmony should ever subsist.
- 21. In our choice of Lieut. Blair, Lieut. McCluer, We do not mean to throw any imputation on other Officers who are their Senior, but we direct that One or other of these two be appointed to execute this important Service, because we have, in their *Hydro*-

¹ Ed. note: A grab, from the Arabic "yurab", is an Anglo-Indian word meaning a kind of galley used in the East, usually a low-draught vessel with two masts.



The EIC ship Panther, sketched by William Henry. One of the two ships sent to Palau to carry the news of Lee Boo's death. Her capacity was 150 tons and she carried 14 guns. Drawn by William Henry, the draftsman with the McCluer's expedition, at Suez in 1794. (From Lieut. E. Keble Chatterton's book "The Old East Indiamen.")

graphical Works before us, full testimony that they have competent abilities to execute the Survey compleately to the Publick Advantage and consequently to our satisfaction and their own honour.

- 22. These Vessels must have an extra supply of Anchors & Cables & Chains for coming to, in foul ground, and they must have as much provisions on board as they can conveniently stow; In the part of the Works to which they are destined, Provisions can only be purchased by barter. It will be therefore necessary to put on board an Assortment of Goods for this Purpose.
- 23. Those Vessels mst leave Bombay as early as possible that they may have the whole Season before them when they arrive at the Eastern Islands, and it will be much more eligible for them to arrive before the change of the Monsoon than after part of it is passed. It is our intention that these Vessels shall visit the Peeloo [sic] Islands in the course of their Voyage to convey intelligence of the death of Leeboo, the Prince whom Captain Wilson of the **Antelope** brought from thence by a Disease to which the Inhabitants of this Country are very subject.

- 24. It will be proper for the Vessel to touch at Bencoolen to take on Board a Linguist for the Malay Language & an European will be more proper for this purpose than a Native to whose intrigues they might be exposed. If they also can get a Person who understands the Ballay [i.e. Bali] Language or that of Mangerye [sic] or any of the other Eastern Islands, it will be expedient so to do but such Persons should not be a man of any consequence.
- 25. We would have the Vessels compleat their Provisions and Water at Bally or Iombok and pass the South of Rotte & Timor traversing the Passage between these Islands & New Holland, We do not mean that they should at this time, approach the Coast of New Holland, but only to ascertain whether the Bank represented in some Charts to the Southward of Timor does actually exist or not, and if it does exist, what are the depths upon it: Dampier, Vol. 1, p. 461 & Vol. 3, part 2, p. 11 mentions a sand [bank] above water about Lat. 13°55' bearing S by W from the E part of Timor.
- 26. The accompanying map published in the English Translation of Linschoten 1598, indicates that there is a Channel thro' Papua or New Guinea to the NEward of the Anoo Islands, which if practicable for an Indiaman would be the most eligible Passage for our Ships to China at a late Season, but as it is not known from particular documents precisely where to look for the entrance in the South side, it will therefore be necessary for the Vessels in this Voyage, after passing to the Eastward of Timor to stand to the NEward thro' whatever Channel they may find most convenient for them to pass thro' the Chain of Islands that stretch from Ceram towards Key, so as that may be asssured of falling in with the Coast of Papua to windward of the Strait. It would be very expedient for the Vessels to visit Honyn the Chief whereof we are informed was born at Bencoolen and is attached to the English, because Linguists may probably be there obtained who undestand the Papua Language and perhaps information may be got of the Strait for the examination whereof the Vessels are especially destined; But if they obtain no satisfactory information there they will proceed Eastward along the Coast of Papua or New Guinea till they find the Strait or reach that part of the East visited by Captain Cook to the Northward of False Cape.
- 27. If they find a Strait they will pass thro it in their way to the Peelo Islands not remaining longer in their examination of the Strait than the Month of December.
- 28. If they should not find a Strait as expected, they will according to circumstances either proceed to the Eastward or Westward along the So. Coast of Papua or New Guinea. If they go Westward, Revenge's Strait is recommended to them in preference, and you will supply them with Copy of Commodore Watson's Journal; it is in this case recommended to them to examine carefully the Shoal that lyes to the Eastward of Batanta at the mouth of the Pitts Strait whichever way they proceed they must be attentive to reach the Peeloo Islands in January.
- 29. As we are ignorant whether there be any Port, or even Anchorage, at the Peeloo Islands, it would be improper for the Vessels to be there on any account earlier than the middle of December, as after that is the time to expect good weather; nor to remain later than the beginning of February, that they may be assured of reaching China be-

fore the departure of our Ships for England in the Spring 1791 to convey to us in Duplicate the Result of the Survey and we direct that two Copies of the Journal & Remarks be always kept up and for this purpose it will be proper that an Extract Clerk be sent in the Vessel. We also direct that John Wedgeborough and Robert White who were in the **Antelope** be embarked in this Expedition.

- 30. It has been suggested to us as probability that some Inlet may be found between the Peeloo Islands in the East side, as it is not likely the tide would be so considerable at Uroolong if the Islands were closely shut up to the Eastward. However, as this is a conjecture unsupported even by report, the Commander must be guided by his own judgment in this examination; tho it will be proper for him to fall in with the Northern part of the Islands, the N. End of which Capt. Eastabrooke¹ makes it lye in 8°7 N Lat. 134°48 E Long. from Greenwich, per lunar observation, but Capt. Larkins fell in with 4 Islands in Lat. 8°22' to 8°33' N & 137° E. Long. per lunar.²
- 31. From the Peeloo Islands the Commander will proceed to the Typa in China & the Ships from Canton will have orders to receive his dispatches on board by bringing to, off the Mouth of the Typa, and to salute the Portuguese Fort at Macao in passing that they may have timely notice in the Typa to send the Dispatches on board without detention of the Ship. If at any period in the course of the Voyage they should chance to fall in with any of our Ships, they will by the conveyance transmit to us one copy of their Observations.
- 32. When the Vessels have recruited their provisions, or what may be wanting, in China, we mean that they should without delay return to Papua or New Guinea and compleat the Survey of the Strait if they have found it, or if they were not successful in that research, they will direct their Course to Bougainville's Strait and trace the South Coast of New Guinea from thence Westward in careful search of a Strait leading thro' New Guinea; If they find a Strait, or in case of not finding a Strait, when they reach that part of the Coast, visited by Capt. Cook which they left the former Season, they will then proceed to examine, by close traverse, the Passage between False Cape & Aroo Islands and Westward between Timor Laut & Wessels Island, Timor & New Holland. If they have found a Strait that would make this an eligible Passage for our Ships we would have them examine the N. Coast of New Holland to see if there be any convenient Port for wooding, watering & refreshing on that side and they will carry the most useful seeds for that purpose to sow or communicate to the Natives wherever they go.
- 33. As the rise of the Tides is represented to be extremely great on the Coast of New Holland, they will be attentive to that circumstance and their Soundings that we may know if the position of, and depths, on the edge of the Bank on the New Holland side will be a sufficient guide to Ships who may have reason to avoid coming in sight of Timor.

¹ Ed. note: In 1784 in the ship London (see Log 1I, Doc. 1784B2, HM15:467).

² Ed. note: During his 85-86 voyage in the ship Warren Hastings (see Note 1787C).

- 34. When this Operation is performed, if the Season of the year and other circumstances will permit, we recommend that they should make a Survey of the Borneo side of the Strait of Macassar in their way to China, taking care that they be in the Typa in time for our returning Ships in the Spring 1792 & they are then to return to Bombay.
- 35. The Strait of Macassar between Borneo & Celebes has been navigated by divers of our Ships and undoubtedly is the most eligible Passage for direct Ships from England to China particularly before the termination of the SW Monsoon in North Latitude and commencement of the NW Monsoon in South Latitude: But after the N.E. Monsoon is set in on the North of the Line, it may be questioned whether this passage should be preferred to the Pitts passage, because a Ship going by the Strait of Macassar must go as far Eward as is requisite in going by the Pitts passage, but in the former case after passing the Strait of Macassar, that Easting must be made against the NE Monsoon by the Variability of Winds in low Latitudes whereas by the Pitts Passage the NW Monsoon then prevailing in South Latitude is a fair wind to run down the Easting required.
- 36. Ships having passed the Strait of Macassar & finding the remains of the S.W. Monsoon ought unquestionably to run to the Northward thro' the Sooloo Seas & the Philippinas as a few day's will carry them to the Coast of Luzon where their Passage to China is secure by the help of the Northerly Current in shoar [sic] on that Coast from Manila Northward.
- 37. But at the period of the Monsoon when a Gale of Wind is to be expected, objection may be made to passing thro' the Philipinas. The objection is still stronger to passing on the Eastward of the Philipinas that sea being exposed to violent and uncertain currents being full of low Islands without soundings and dangerous shoals steep too, and affording any known shelter or sea room in any direction except near the Philipinas which would become a lee shore whereas amongst the Philipinas any wind that is not a fair wind must generally be off shore and therefore not dangerous when a Ship keeps well in with the Land[;] an examination of the Harbour in which a Ship could take shelter on appearance of bad Weather would however be very desirable.
- 38. We have not pointed out any particular Passage by which we wish them to go from China in their return to Papua or New Guinea in 1791 because it must depend on the Season of the Year and the winds they may meet with but in case they should during the SW Monsoon pass to the Eastward of the Philipinas, We recommend that they should if they conveniently can range in sight of the East Coast of Luzon and of the other Philipinas to ascertain their exact Longitude which would be of great use to Ships passing that way to or from China.
- 39. In case it should be more expedient to pass on the West of the Philipinas we recommend them to pass along the South Coast of Magindanao and to visit the Myangas [Islands]: But in this case as well as in the former, they are not to lose time from the principal object of this Voyage which is the Strait thro' Papua.
- / 40. In the course of the Voyage amongst People who have little or no communication with Europeans, the greatest circumspection is requisite, as it must be borne in

mind that an **Hydrographical Survey** is the principal object of the Voyage. The Natives must every where be treated kindly and never fired at unless the absolute preservation of the Vessel requires it but to protect the Boats Crews from Arrows it will be highly proper to carry some Targets and the Boats must on no occasion go from the Vessels unarmed and it will be expedient that not only the Boats but the Vessels be filled to skull like the Chinese.

- 41. In all countries having a correspondence with Europeans, the greatest attention is requisite that the Vessel may never be liable to Surprize[;] a Guard in the Tops with some Blunderbusses pointed to Deck is the best security against this and the Vessels should also be provided with Boarding nets. Individuals who do not give offence will be in little danger if the Natives perceive that the death of an individual would not facilitate their making prize of the Vessel. In places where Europeans have no intercourse, fear and not interest being the predominant principle, the danger to the individual is greater than that of the Vessel: but People should on no pretence be allowed to leave the shore and straggle inland where there are inhabitants: the hills of uninhabited Islands are the most convenient places for taking bearings for laying down the Coasts.
- 42. Enclosed is a list of Stock which has been recommended to us to send to the Peeloo Islands. You will send such part as you can conveniently and recommend it to the attention of the Commander.
 - 43. We have likewise sent some packages of Hardware & Glass as per list enclosed.
- 44. We have likewise sent a Box containing Books & Journals to be delivered to the Commander of the Expedition and some Oil Paper to facilitate the transmission of his Charts and Views to us.
- 45. We have appointed William Henry a Volunteer on our Marine at your Settlement and as he is represented to be Good Draughtsman, We recommend that he be employed under Lieut. McCluer. He embarks on the **Barwell**.
- 46. We depend on the discretion of the Commander in the disposal of the Presents at the Peeloo Islands so as to conciliate the favor of the Natives to this Country and to be particularly attentive to those who from the Account of the Peeloo Islands appear to have been of assistance to the crew of the **Antelope**.
- 47. The Vessels intended for the Eastern Voyage should call at Madras where some further information will be sent for their use which the departure of these ships would not allow being sent by them. The Commander must be positively injoined on no consideration to remain longer at Madras than three days nor longer than one week at Bencoolen.¹
 - 48. The Journals now sent must be returned to us at the conclusion of the Voyage.
- 49. Two Box Chronometers will be sent on the **Barwell** to be used on this Expedition[;] one of them is Chronometer sent from Bombay some time since to be repaired.

We are your loving Friends

London, 25th March 1790

¹ Ed. note: Bencoolen was an English post on the west coast of Sumatra.

William Devaynes
I. Manship
John Woodhouse
John Hunter
Paul Le Mesurier
William Bensley
Thomas Parry
Hugh Inglis
F. Baring
Stephen Williams
J. Smith
George Tatem
William Money
W. Elphinstone
John Travers

Note appended to a reprint of Keate's 4th edition of 1789 (page 394).

Source: The information must have come from a copy of McCluer's journal that was sent to England from Macao in March or April 1791.

PELEW ISLANDS.

Some Circumstances of Captain McCluer's Visit.

On the Arrival of Captain McCluer, at the Pelew Islands, the Ship's Company observed two Canoes, which made towards the Shore instead of coming to the Ships, as had been expected. These they supposed were going to give an Account to Abba Thulle of their Arrival; and in this Conjecture they were not mistaken, for soon after they saw a Number of Canoes coming off to them, in one of which was the good old King.

Immediately on his coming on board, he went up to the Captain, taking him from his Dress, to be his former Friend, Captain Wilson, and immediately felt on his Arm for the *Bone*, and enquired what was become of it. Finding his Mistake in the Person, and being informed that Captain Wilson was alive and well in England, he expressed great Satisfaction. Captain McCluer then gave him to understand the Death of Lee Boo, and the Disorder of which he died, for which Event the good old Man said he had prepared his Mind; that he had counted up to some Score Moons, but that Time being past, he despaired of ever seeing the English more, judging that they had either perished in their Voyage to China, or did not intend to return again to visit his Islands.

He was, however, perfectly confident in the Goodness of the English, and that Captain Wilson would take Care of his Son. In relating the Death of Blanchard he was full of Grief, and could hardly utter himself, so much did he feel for his Loss.

Blanchard was mortally wounded in an Engagement with the People of Pellilew, and died soon after, as did the great and good Friends of Captain Wilson and his Crew, Raa Kook, and Arra Kooker. During the Time of Captain McCluer's Stay at the Island, which was near a Month, the utmost Harmony and Friendship prevailed, and the good old King liberally supplied them with Fish and Yams, when the Canoes came in, as he used to do to his former Friends.

Captain McCluer has taken a Son and a Daughter of the King's with him to China, and means to call at the Islands again in his Passage to Bombay. In his Journal, the Captain says,

"Having pitched my Tent in a Bay opposite to the Ship, I found myself in a perfect Paradise, and could have been happy to have spent the rest of my days here."

A2. Journal of a voyage from Bombay to the Pelew Islands, in the East India Company's ship "Panther", 23 August 1790-28 December 1792

Sources: BL Add. ms. 19,301; cited in B&R 53:366; also NL Canberra ms. 4088; edited and published by Reverend John Pearce Hockin (see facsimile reproduction below).

A

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ACCOUNT

OF THE

PELEW ISLANDS,

BY THE

REVEREND JOHN PEARCE HOCKIN

ADVERTISEMENT.

The very favourable reception an enlightened public were pleased to give my account of the Pelew islands, written by my late honoured friend Mr. KEATE, has encouraged me (and indeed has made it a duty of my part) to lay before them such further accounts of these hospitable islanders as have come to my knowledge since my leaving the islands with Prince LEE BOO. Those who purchased the former work, will not be under the necessity of buying it again for the sake of this Supplement; which is published as a continuation to the former editions, and that now publishing with some additional engravings, which may also be had separate. After acknowledging my gratitude to the public, I have to return my most sincere and respectful thanks to JOHN ROBERTS and JACOB BOSANQUET, Esqrs. the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and to the Honourable Court of Directors, of the East India Company, for their ready kindness in affording me such extracts and copies from the journals of the PANTHER and ENDEAVOUR, and other records in the East India House as were necessary to complete the work.

HENRY WILSON.

PREFACE.

The Compiler of the following Supplement feels himself impressed with the greatest respect for an enlightened public, who so eminently distinguished the merits and elegant writing of Mr. KEATE, whose goodness of heart may be most clearly seen in every page of his works. He feels himself truly sensible of the disparity and disadvantage he must labour under in following so great a master; yet having the same materials of truth as were employed by Mr. KEATE, he humbly hopes for a favourable reception of this his first attempt.

A

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ACCOUNT

OF THE

PELEW ISLANDS;

COMPILED FROM

THE JOURNALS OF THE PANTHER AND ENDEAVOUR,

TWO VESSELS SENT BY THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY
TO THOSE ISLANDS IN THE YEAR 1790:

AND FROM THE

ORAL COMMUNICATIONS OF CAPTAIN H. WILSON.

BY THE

REVEREND JOHN PEARCE HOCKIN, OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD, M. A.

LONDON:

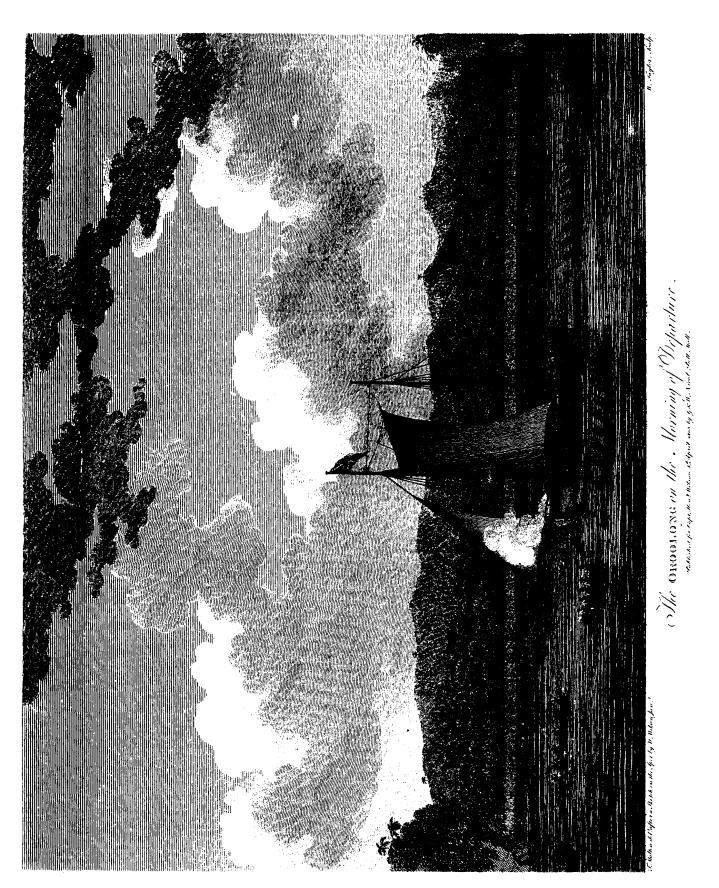
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SOLD BY G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY,

PALL-MALL; AND J. ASPERNE, SUCCESSOR TO THE

LATE MR. SEWELL, CORNHILL.

1803.



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SUPPLEMENT TO THE ACCOUNT

OF THE

PELEW ISLANDS.

CHAPTER 1.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company come to a Resolution to send Vessels to the Pelew Islands.—Orders sent to Bombay for that Purpose.—Two Vessels, under the Command of Captain John M'Cluer, appointed for that Service.—The Vessels sail from Bombay—stop at several Places on their Voyage to collect Grain, Cattle, Plants, and Seeds to stock the Islands with.—The Vessels having completed their Stock, leave the Islands to the Eastward of Java and proceed on their Voyage—make the Pelew Islands in the Night—keep at a Distance from the Land until Daylight, when seeing a Passage through the Reef, they stand in for the Shore, and anchor in a commodious Bay—several Canoes seen which keep at a Distance from the Ships.

THE Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Com1790.

PANY having resolved to send vessels to the Pelew islands, to acquaint August.

the King (Abba Thulle) with the death of his son Prince Le Boo, who came to England with Captain Wilson in 1783, orders were sent to their government of Bombay, to equip two ships for that purpose.

Messrs. Wedgeborough and White, two officers in the Bombay marine, who had been shipwrecked with Captain Wilson in the Antelope on those islands, were to be employed on this expedition.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE ACCOUNT

In obedience to these orders, the PANTHER and ENDEAVOUR, vessels AUGUST. belonging to the Honourable Company's Marine Establishment at Bombay, were fitted for this service, under the command of Captain John M'Cluer; Messrs. Wedgeborough and White were appointed lieutenants.

On Tuesday the 24th August, 1790, the ships sailed from Bombay; Tuesday 24. after getting clear of the land, Captain M'CLUER finding the ENDEAvour a very heavy-sailing vessel, and likely to prolong the passage, ordered Captain Drummond to part company, and make the utmost dispatch he could to Bencoolen, and there wait until he should be rejoined by the PANTHER.

On Thursday the 2d September, the Panther anchored in Anjengo September. Thursday 2. Roads, and there continued taking in stores and necessaries until Sunday 5. Sunday the 5th, on the evening of which day they proceeded on their voyage.

The longitude of Anjengo, by several observations made while lying there, was ascertained to be 77° 4' east of Greenwich; and the latitude 8° 39′ 26" north. From Anjengo the PANTHER proceeded to Madras (keeping at a distance from the island of Ceylon), and anchored in Monday 13. Madras Roads on Monday the 13th September, where she continued Saturday 18. until Saturday the 18th, when having completed her stores, she sailed to join her consort, the ENDEAVOUR, at Bencoolen, which she did on October. Sunday the 10th October, in the harbour of Rat island, or Pulo Tic-Sunday 31. cose, where, and in Pulo Bay, they continued until Sunday the 31st October; when having completed their equipments, and also taken on board several people to serve as linguists for the eastern islands, they departed. By observations taken in the Bason of Pulo Ticcose, its latitude was found to be 3° 50′ 33" south, and longitude 102° 26′ 30" east of Greenwich.

During the month of November, the vessels were employed in work-NOVEMBER. ing up the south coast of Java, and experienced much bad weather: it being the season for the monsoon changing from S.W. to N.E. the storms, thunder, and lightning were tremendous beyond expression; Messrs. WEDGEBOROUGH and WHITE, in letters to their friends, describe them

OF THE PELEW ISLANDS.

3

in the following manner: "In working up the south coast of Java we 1790.

"experienced exceedingly bad weather; its blowing hard was nothing,

"when compared with the heavy rain, and dreadful thunder and

"lightning, many of the people upon deck being deprived of sight for

"several minutes after the flash, &c. &c.; yet through the goodness and

"favour of God, the ships received no damage, nor the crews any

"hurt; for we arrived safe on the 9th December in the straits be-December,

"tween the islands of Lombock and Bally, and there anchored off the

"town of Labojee in ten fathoms water; the bottom coarse sand and

"gravel."

Captain M'CLUER in his journal says, they here found the tide run at the rate of two or three miles an hour, that it flowed nearly north and south; but that it was not regular. During the month of December they stopped here and at other islands and places to the eastward of Java, taking on board cattle, grain, plants, and seeds for the Pelew islands. Captain M'CLUER remarks, that in the night of the 1st January, 1791, "they had very bad weather; hard squalls of wind with "thunder, lightning, and heavy rain; one clap of thunder breaking "directly over the ship, the lightning ran down the conductor in a " stream of fire, and the concussion was so violent, that the vessel shook " in such a manner, as made them think they had run aground." It may perhaps be useful to those who may hereafter navigate these straits, and not uninteresting to the reader, to insert (before we proceed farther with the great object of the voyage) some account of the natives on the coast, with the intercourse and transactions between them, and the crews of the Panther and Endeavour, accompanied with such other remarks as appear in their journals, and may be either useful or curious.

On the 10th December, in the forenoon, the vessels anchored near the village of Labojee; a boat with two officers was sent on shore to acquaint the natives with the reason of the vessels anchoring in their port. The Bunder-master, or head man, received them with great civility, and promised every supply the place afforded. Early in the afternoon, the Bunder-master, with his father and numerous attendants,

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freely whatever was given them, differing in this respect intirely from the Hindoos or natives of India. They enquired what articles of trade the vessels had on board: being informed they were not trading vessels, they appeared disappointed, yet said they remembered an English ship having been there about seven years before, which on its arrival had a great many sick people on board, but they soon recovered on shore; they also requested the crews belonging to the Panther and Endeavour to come on shore without fear, or suspicion of their friendship: some small presents were given them, when they returned apparently well pleased with their treatment.

The following morning officers from both ships returned the Bunder-master's visit; on their landing they were met by upwards of a hundred of the natives, in appearance from the country; each had a crease or dagger in his girdle. They had for sale, fowls and fruit. The officers were received by the Bunder-master and his father in an open booth, seated on mats, spread on the sand; the officers preferred standing, on account of the crowd, and the extreme heat of the weather. They purchased several fowls, baskets of roots and fruit, for brass buttons, and other trifles. Rice they had in great abundance, but would not sell it for any thing but scarlet cloth. The watering place

the boats easily filled their casks.

This morning the officers returned again to the shore to purchase rice; the scarlet cloth had been previously cut into small pieces, which the natives were not pleased with, and therefore agreed to sell their rice for dollars, at the rate of forty pounds weight for a dollar. There is a scarcity of fire-wood at Labojee; a bay on the south side, called Poolabak is for this reason preferable. Captain M'Cluer's account of this bay is as follows:—" On our landing we were civilly received by the Rajah, who treated us with tea and sweetmeats; the inhabitants are Buggesses, i. e. natives of the Celebes, and, from the appearance of their village, had not long resided there. They said the principal produce of the country was rice, which they

is very convenient, a small river runs through the village, from which

OF THE PELEW ISLANDS.

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" exported to Timoor; they have some gold dust and bird's nests, " but of ordinary qualities; they wanted opium, gun-barrels, and hard-" ware; wished much for a friendly acquaintance with the English, " requesting to have English colours to hoist on their flag-staff, which "were given them. When Captain M'CLUER lest the shore, the " natives saluted him with seven guns; the same compliment was " returned the next day, when the Rajah and his attendants visited the " ships." Lieutenant Wedgeborough gives the following account of these straits, and their interview with the inhabitants:- "We conti-"nued at anchor off the village of Labojee from the 9th to the 17th " December, 1790, during which time we had the wind chiefly from " the westward, the weather cloudy, with frequent showers of rain.— "The natives are a civil friendly people; they supplied us with rice; "bullocks, goats, fowls, fruit, roots, and greens, at very reasonable " rates; indeed most of the fowls were purchased for buttons; a " milch goat and two kids for a silk handkerchief; three fine bullocks " for nine dollars, and other things proportionably cheap. Captain " M'Cluer paid the chief a visit on shore, and was received very " kindly, but had great difficulty to persuade the natives we were not " Dutchmen. When the chief returned the visit on board, he seemed "under some apprehensions for his safety: we endeavoured to make " every thing as agreeable as possible to him, and Captain M'CLUER " made him and his attendants several presents, which in some degree "calmed their minds; yet they could not forbear saying to our " linguists, that whether we were English or Dutch, if our intentions "were unfriendly they were prepared to receive us. The tides here " run at the rate of five or six miles an hour; Captain M'CLUER says, " sometimes eight or nine miles."

The ships having at the different islands completed their stock of cattle, grain, and seeds, lest the land of New Guinea on the 12th January 12.

 Built by birds resembling swallows, in caves near the sea; they are formed in rows like semi-cups, white and pellucid; great quantities of this sort are carried from all the Malay countries to China, where it is in great esteem, and frequently sold for five or six Spanish dollars a pound.

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January, the high land thereof appeared at noon on the 13th, to be 13th from forty to fifty miles distance. Very early the next morning they saw the islands called by Captain Carterer, "Joseph Freewills."

At nine o'clock in the morning they were distant from them about five miles. Captain M'Cluer says, "they are three low islands, the "westernmost the smallest, yet the trees on it appeared higher than those on the other two. These islands are remarkable, for off the north end of the largest lie three small islets or rocks, in a north and south direction; there are also little detached rocks at small distances from the other islands: from the mast head we could perceive the whole group encircled by a coral reef, within which appeared still blue water, but we could not perceive any entrance or opening in the reef. The form of the islands, when reversed north for south, agrees exactly with Captain Carterer's plan, as drawn by the natives upon the deck of the Swallow with a piece of chalk. The latitude is fifty miles north, and the longitude 134° 30' east of Greenwich. The extent of these islands, together with the reef that encompasses them, is not more than six leagues round."

On the 18th the vessels made the best of their way for the Pelew islands, the southernmost of which was seen at midnight on Friday the 21st. Being aware of the dangers surrounding these islands, they kept at a distance until day-light, when the weather being fine they stood in for the land, and at nine o'clock in the morning seeing an opening in the reef, they stood for it, and, finding a clear passage, passed through; having got within the reef at ten o'clock, they anchored in a commodious bay, with good anchoring ground about two miles from the shore; several canoes were seen at a distance making their way very fast towards the shore.

OF THE PELEW ISLANDS.

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CHAPTER II.

Lieutenant Wedgeborough sent in a Boat to examine a Channel, and to obtain an Intercourse with the Natives, soon after which three Canoes come alongside the Panther,—some of the People in them recognise Lieutenant WHITE,—their Behaviour and Expressions of Joy and Welcome on the Return of the English.-Lieutenant Wedgeborough's Account of his Reception by the Natives, and first Interview with the King.—They proceed together in the King's Canoe to the Panther.—On the Passage the King is made acquainted with the Death of his Son,—his Behaviour on receiving the melancholy Intelligence.—He relates several Circumstances, and gives an Account of the Death of Blanchard, and several of his own Family, in the Battle of Pillelew.—Arrives on Board the Ship, and is greatly disappointed at not Meeting with Captain WILSON.—This satisfactorily explained to him; together with the Intention of the English in sending the present Vessels, with the Commanders and Officers.—After remaining on Board some Time, he with his Retinue retires to a neighbouring Island for the Night, accompanied by Mr. WHITE.

HAVING in the preceding chapter given an account of the equipment and route of the vessels from Bombay to the Pelew Islands, together with such matter as I thought might be of use and benefit to those whom either misfortune or design may hereafter bring into these seas, I resume the account from the ships having anchored.

1791. Anuar**y**.

On the 22d January some canoes were seen, which seemed to avoid January 22.

the ships, notwithstanding the signals that were made to them; it
was therefore concluded that the persons in the canoes were either
enemies of Abba Thulle, or going express to him with an account of
the arrival of the English. One of the boats being hoisted out,

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Lieutenant Wedgeborough was sent as her to examine a channel to the westward of the place where the ships lay, and also to gain an intercourse with the natives. Soon after the boat had left the ship, and was got amongst the islands, three canoes came alongside the PANTHER, having in them several people who recollected Mr. WHITE, although so many years had elapsed since his sailing from Oroolong; one of them, a rupack, immediately came on board, and calling out WHITE, caught him in his arms, and giving him a most affectionate and ardent squeeze, seemed almost distracted with joy, calling for all his people to come and embrace their friend; he then took him into his canoe to get some sweet drink. Mr. WEDGEBOROUGH's reception was nearly the same; the account he gives is, that as soon as he got amongst the islands, the boat was surrounded with canoes; the natives as soon as they heard him speak their language (of which he had gained some knowledge, when he was cast away with Captain WILson), and understood that they were English, expressed their joy by acclamations and gestures little short of madness; pointing to Oroolong, and calling it Englishman's land, and then immediately inquired for Lee Boo. Upon asking them the reason why they did not come to the ships, they said they did not know who they were, but had sent canoes to acquaint Abba Thulle, and expected him soon. As it was drawing towards evening, the natives invited them to land, and there to wait for the King. They again inquired for Lee Boo; and on being told his fate, and the disease of which he died, they appeared composed and satisfied: being asked what was become of MADAN BLAN-CHARD, the person that remained behind, when Captain Wilson and the crew of the ANTELOPE left the islands, they said he was at Cooroora, but soon declined the conversation respecting him. The King not being arrived at sun-set, the boat was returning on board with two of the natives; but they had not proceeded far from the shore, before they saw a number of canoes pulling very fast, and among them one having a great number of paddles. The natives told Mr. WEDGE-BOROUGH that it was the King's canoe; and as they very soon drew near, he could, by the manner with which the men flourished their

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paddles, discover the King was in her, they therefore waited his coming, and at half past six in the evening, Mr. WEDGEBOROUGH says, "I had the unspeakable pleasure of once more being embraced " by the benevolent Abba Thulle." They then proceeded together in the King's canoe towards the PANTHER; on their way, Mr. WEDGE-BOROUGH acquainted him with the death of Lee Boo: the manner of his receiving this melancholy information, I shall give in Mr. WEDGEBOROUGH'S own words. "His countenance, which before bore "the most evident marks of joy, became composed and thoughtful; " and after remaining some time silent, as if wishing to recollect 45 himself, he exclaimed, " Weel, weel, weel a trecoy! (in English, Good, "good, very good)." The King then paused a little, as if to gain relief; but on his again entering on the melancholy subject, he said, he never entertained a doubt of the goodness of the English, or the Captain, but rested assured that they would cherish and take care of his son. That the return of the ships with his friends the English, convinced him his opinion was right, when he gave Lee Boo to the care of Captain Wilson: that he had counted upon the line the Captain had given him, as far as one hundred knots, or moons, and then despairing of ever seeing his son or the Captain again, he had caused the line to be buried, supposing that the vessel which the English had built at Englishman's island (Oroolong) was not large enough to carry them in safety to China, as they had sailed before the good moon set in. He then mentioned the death of BLANGHARD, but frequently paused in reciting so melancholy a tale, many of his own family having been slain with him in battle. Scarcely had the King finished the sad conversation, before they reached the ship; Captain M'CLUER received him at his entrance, and was most tenderly embraced by him: the King supposing him to be Captain WILSON, instantly felt his wrist for the rupack's bone, and seemed greatly disappointed at not finding it, eagerly inquiring what had been done with it. It being dark, the King was taken into the cabin, when he instantly found out his mistake, and earnestly asked where Captain Wilson was, and the reason why he did not return to him: being

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answered that the Captain was alive and well, and promoted to the command of a large ship (much larger than the ANTELOPE), and too large to come among his islands till they were better known, he appeared satisfied: he was then informed, that in consideration of his great kindness and humanity to Captain Wilson, and the crew of the ANTELOPE, the English East India Company had sent the vessels, with the gentlemen whom he now saw, together with his former acquaintance and friends, Messrs. Wedgeborough and White, to explain to him and his rupacks, the cause and manner of his son's death, and to bring a variety of articles for him and his people; and being shortly after shewn some of the cattle, he was lost in amazement. After remaining on board about two hours, thinking his retinue, from their number and curiosity, were troublesome, he made a motion to retire, nor could any intreaties prevail upon him to sleep on board; for he said if he accepted the kindness, his people would all want the same indulgence, and that there would be no end to the trouble they should give; that he was sure all the crew must want rest after so long a voyage; but he requested Mr. WHITE might accompany him to the shore, and stay the night, and one of his sons should remain on board until the morning, when he would return himself, and have the vessels conducted to Cooroora. The canoes were manned in an instant, and the benevolent Abba Thulle quitted the ship, quite composed and serene, being highly gratified at the return of his good friends.

The reader will be inclined, no doubt, to pause for a moment, and to sympathize with Abba Thulle. Behold this untutored Prince of Nature struggling with the fond emotions of a parent, and contending with the tenderest and strongest passion of the human breast. Weel, weel, weel a trecoy, were words spoken from a heart full of resignation: for however severe the conflict might be, his gratitude to the English prompted him to keep his sorrow silent within his breast, and prevented him from pouring forth the feelings of his heart in fruitless lamentations. Let not the reader hastily misconstrue the composure and resignation of Abba Thulle, on his receiving the melancholy news, into indifference or insensibility of mind; for excess

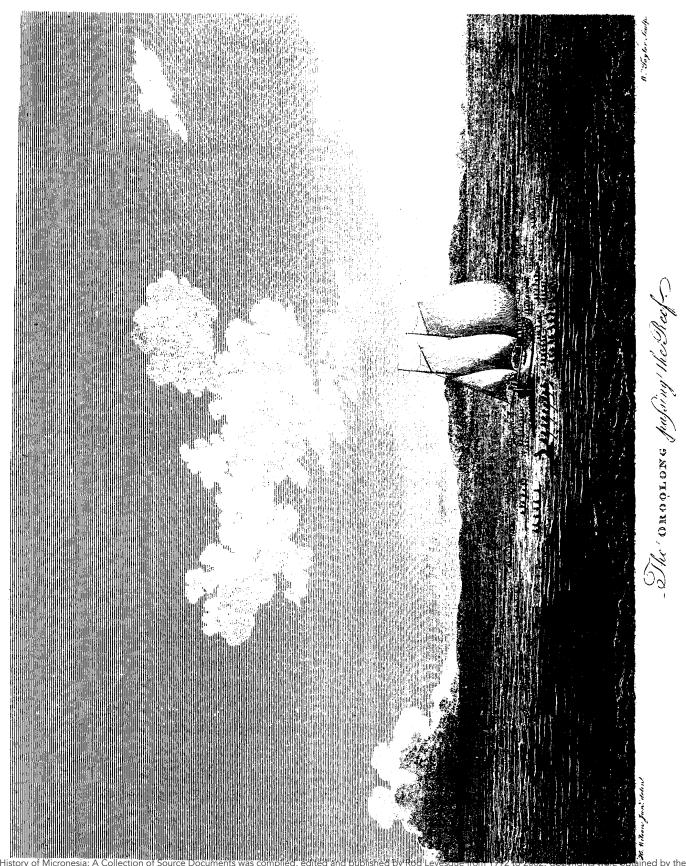
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of sorrow does not always so truly describe misery, as it denotes 1791.

JANUARY. weakness of mind. The composure and resignation of Abba Thulle, may in some measure be accounted for, from the circumstance of his burying the line, on which he had knotted one hundred moons; each an anxious memorandum of the absence of his son. More than eight years having thus heavily passed away, he had given up every hope of again seeing him. The conduct which the King observed to all his subjects, will bear ample testimony both of the fortitude and goodness of his heart: and if it be true, that princes lay the best foundation for their own happiness, by studiously promoting that of their subjects, no one more fully merited being called father of his people, than the good Abba Thulle; all his actions appeared to spring from a magnanimity of mind invariably directed to the welfare of those he governed.

I beg leave here to recall to the memory of my readers, the name of Mr. KEATE, who finished his course of human frame on the 28th of June, 1797; his remains were interred on the north side of the communion table in Isleworth church. His works will be read by the learned and finished scholar with pleasure and instruction; and it is not easy to determine, whether to admire more the superior talents of his mind, or the excellent qualities of his heart.



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CHAPTER III.

The Natives in their Canoes come to the Ships early in the Morningthe King only permits two or three of his People to go on Board, to point out the Channel to Cooroora; himself and the remainder, accompanied by Mr. White, go before to prepare for the Reception of the English.—From adverse Winds and Currents the Vessels are driven to Sea, and do not regain their anchorage for two Days .-Mr. WHITE'S Account of the Behaviour of the King and the treatment he received during the Time the Vessels were absent .- Account of BLANCHARD.—The Vessels arrive again within the Reefs, and Anchor near Oroolong.—Lieutenant Wedgeborough visits his former Residence.—The King with Mr. WHITE repair on board the Vessels, and conduct them into Amallikala Harbour, where they moor and prepare to land the Cattle, &c. the following Day.

At day-light in the morning the vessels were surrounded by a number Monday 24. of canoes from the neighbouring islands, and about eight o'clock the King and Mr. WHITE came alongside in the King's canoe, but he would not go on board on account of the number of people that accompanied him; for he by no means wished to incommode or impede the crew in the management of their sails; he said he would therefore only put two or three people on board to point out the channel to Cooroora, while himself, accompanied by Mr. WHITE, would precede them to his capital, and prepare for the reception of the English. Owing to a strong current and unfavourable winds, the vessels did not arrive at their intended anchorage until the evening of the 26th.

> Mr. WHITE's account of the behaviour of the natives, and the treatment he received during the absence of the, vessels was nearly as follows: Soon after they left the ship they landed at a neighbouring island, where a supper was dressed for them, consisting of fish and yams. During

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the repast the King entered into conversation, and made many inquires about the English, and after different people whose names he remembered, especially the boy Cobbledick, who used to sing to him. The fate of BLANCHARD was again anxiously enquired into by Mr. WHITE; but the King touched on the melancholy subject but tenderly, and as it were in half sentences, being too much affected to dwell on it. BLANCHARD was killed in battle at Pellelew when the people of Cooroora made a conquest of that island, about five months before the arrival of the Panther and Endeavour. In this engagement, which seems to have been valiantly fought by both parties, besides BLANCHARD there were killed, on the part of Abba Thulle, his brother Raa Kook, Arra Kooker, and his favourite son Qui Bill, together with Arra Zook, and a great many of the old warriors particular friends to the crew of the ANTELOPE. The inhabitants of Pellelew suffered severely in this conflict, most of their warriors being killed and their women and children carried into captivity. BLANCHARD had a wife, but left no children: as a faithful narrator, I am sorry to state that the natives, in their account of him, spake very indifferently of his conduct while among them, saying that he lived a rambling life, going about from house to house, and from pye to pye, and from his idleness making himself of very little estimation in the eyes of the rupacks; that when he wanted any thing he staid about the King, to whose family he was considered as belonging. Soon after the sailing of the vessel, to which they had given the name of Oroolong (and which conveyed Captain WILSON and the crew of the ANTELOPE to China), BLAN-CHARD lest off wearing clothes, and was tatooed or marked like the other inhabitants; the arms and ammunition which Captain WILSON left behind, the King took care of himself, not having sufficient confidence in BLANCHARD.

On the afternoon of this day the vessels being again safe within the Tuesday 25. reefs, having anchored near to the island of Oroolong, Mr. Wedge-Borough went to take a view of his old habitation in the cove, where the Antelope's crew built their vessel: he found it a perfect wilderness, the whole being overgrown with underwood, except the part where

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tne cocoa nut trees grew which were planted by Raa Kook and Arra Kooker, they looked very flourishing, but had not as yet produced any fruit. The inscription which had been cut out upon copper and affixed to a tree there,* had been taken away by the natives of Pellelew; which was one cause of the war that had just then terminated.

Wednesday 26.

At day-light the ships got under sail, and about ten o'clock the King and Mr. White came on board to pilot them to the anchoring place; there being a fine steady breeze with smooth water, the vessels went at more than six miles an hour, yet the canoes paddled at so superior a rate, that they would shoot ahead, and run round the ship like so many porpoises. At five o'clock in the afternoon they entered a snug harbour, to which the King directed them, in order to land the cattle and presents; and, while the ships were mooring, the King with his attendants went on shore, to prepare for their reception.

• Vide the Account of the Pelew Islands, Chapter XX.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Cattle and Presents sent on Shore.—The Reception of Captain M'CLUER and his Officers when they landed, together with their Entertainment.—The Presents delivered to the King—The Astonishment and Gratitude expressed by him and his People on the Occasion.—Some Account of the Malay-man Soogel, and Transactions with the Natives.

THERE being plenty of water at Amallikala, in the harbour of which ITOI.

Island the ships were now secured, the King preferred residing here to Thursday 27.

his capital, Cooroora, that the cattle might not be in want of this necessary article. Early on the morning they began to land the live stock, the necessary preparations having been made the evening before:

it consisted of,

Four young cows in calf, two young bulls, from Labojee.

Ten ewes, two rams, Bengal breed.

Eight she-goats, two rams, Surat breed.

Five sows in pig, two boars, from Bombay.

Two geese, three ducks, one mallard, from Bencoolen.

Two hens, one cock, eight turtle doves, two parrots, from Allass.

When the arms and ammunition, with the packages of hardware and European swords were landed, Captain M'Cluer went on shore, accompanied by Captain Procter, Lieutenants Wedgeborough, White, and Haswell, Mr. Nicholson the Surgeon, and a detachment of the seapoys, with their officer, a Soubadah, in full uniform, as were the boat's crew, wearing caps with yellow plates, upon which was engraved the Honourable East India Company's crest; on their landing they were received by upwards of five hundred of the natives, who were singing and dancing round the King. On the near approach of the English, they concluded the song by three loud repetitions of

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1791. Janaury Weel, weel, weel. They were conducted from the sea-side (having the English colours flying, and a fife and drum playing the Grenadiers' March) to a pye, or large house, where the natives assemble on public occasions, and, being seated on mats, were presented with fish, yams, and a variety of sweetmeats, made chiefly from the cocoa-nut. The repast being concluded, the packages containing the presents were opened: the effect upon the multitude was wonderful; they were struck with amazement, and could not utter a word, but gave frequent ha's of astonishment. The King instantly distributed the arms to the principal rupacks, recommending them to be kept clean, and fit for service when wanted.

In the morning, the vessels were removed nearer to the shore, and moored within hail; the grindstones, shovels, saws, and remaining packages of utensils were landed and presented to the King: when these were opened, and the different things exposed to view, and their uses were explained to him, Abba Thulle himself was lost in silent thought for some time.

In about an hour he broke silence, and calling his rupacks and principal people around him, made a long harangue, wherein the word *Engleese* was frequently repeated. He then distributed different articles, with his own hands, to several persons, apparently with a regard to their rank.

Mr. Wedgeborough relates the account of this transaction in the following words: "I was present at the time when the presents were "landed, and am sure it is impossible to describe the effect the sight "of the different articles had upon the multitude, most of which they "were strangers to, even in idea. When arranged before Abba "Thulle, and he was told they were for him, he was perfectly at a loss for utterance, or how to express his gratitude to the English rupacks, as he styled the Honourable Company. He asked why they sent so many things, when they knew he had nothing to send in return; that his country, if he could send it, would be inadequate to the things now before him. At length, being made perfectly to under-

OF THE PELEW ISLANDS.

- " him from England, in acknowledgment for his great humanity and
- "kindness to our countrymen, when the ANTELOPE was shipwrecked JANUARY.
- " on his coast. He very modestly replied, that the services he had
- " rendered those people were very trifling; for their being situated at
- "Oroolong, put it out of his power to give them the friendly assistance
- "he so naturally wished to have done."

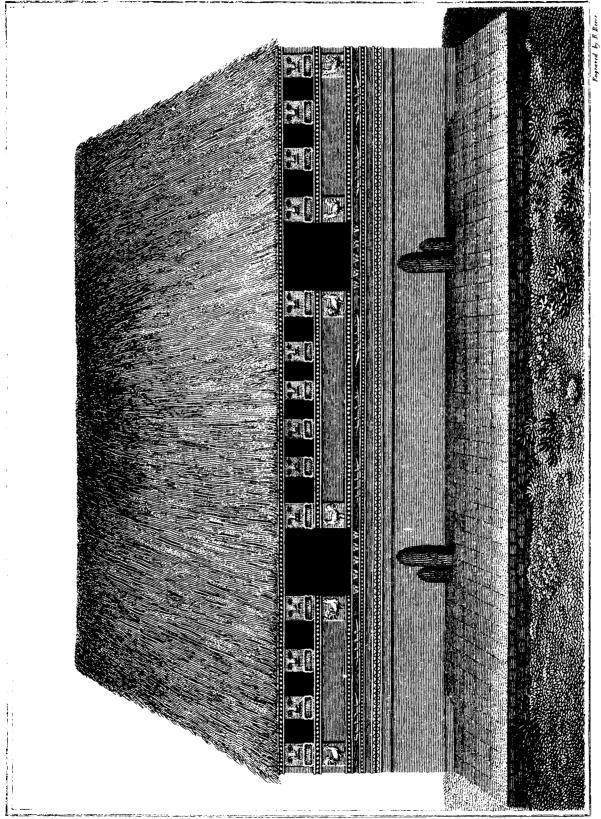
The live-stock, and other presents, being landed and received, as Saturday 29. before related, the King determined to fix his residence at Amallikala, and to leave Cooroora for the present, as he found the English were pleased with the situation of their vessels; and this he did, in order to see that proper care was taken of the cattle, and that he might be able to give them more ample accommodation and assistance. The tents were therefore sent on shore and erected, together with the Captain's marquee, close to the King's residence: when up, and completely fixed, the King and his rupacks came to view it, and greatly admired its construction, feeling it all over, and by frequent shakes of the head, general ha's, and smiles of approbation, testified their wonder and astonishment, saying the English tackelbys could do any thing. Besides the advantage derived from Messrs. Wedgeboroun and White's former acquaintance with the natives and the language, they found the Malay people, and those from the Eastern islands, of great service in the busy scenes and interesting conversations just now related. The Malay-man Soogel, who was at Pelew in Captain WILSON's time, was still alive, and held no small share of the King's favour and estimation, having had a family of four or five children born on the islands. The crew of a Malay proa had also been cast away on the Southern, or Pillelew island: these people making some resistance, and quarrelling with the inhabitants, were most of them cut off; those who escaped, were saved by some canoes from Cooroora, which conveyed them in safety to Abba Thulle.

This morning very early the King visited the ships with his reti- Sunday 30 nue; he examined very attentively every part of them; the working of the pumps he was particularly inquisitive about. Being presented with a sword and target, of the use of the latter he could not form

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the least idea, until the officers explained it, by desiring one of their warriors to throw a spear at it with all his force, which, to their great astonishment, was broken to pieces, making scarcely a dent or mark upon the target. This caused a general wonder; and was succeeded by one of the seapoys going through the exercise of the broad sword, after the Mahratta manner: the flourishing and change of position, in some measure resembling their own manner of fighting, and management of the spear, did not so much strike their attention. The great guns afforded a new object of surprise; and one being fired loaded with round and grape shot, they were all amazement at the great distance to which the shot was carried: being about to fire a second, in a different direction, the King desired it might not be discharged, as the report affected his hearing too much. A small chest of joiners' tools was greatly admired. But what most particularly attracted their attention, during this visit, was a small neatly carved head of Alexander the Great, which had been done at Bombay: of this the King was so careful, after it was given him, that he would not let it go from his hands; being apparently as cautious of it as if it had been an infant. They concluded the presents this day with some pieces of broad cloth, the texture of which, neither the King nor his rupacks could comprehend; and the Malay-man Soogel not being present, the quality and nature of the article could not be perfectly explained. They returned on shore highly pleased with what they had seen, and at the wonderful power and ingenuity of the Euglish tackelbys.



THE SIDE VIEW OF THE PYE A RA MUTINE

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CHAPTER V.

The English propose to remove their Tents into another Bay, on account of the great Number of the Natives attending the King-this Proposal being misunderstood, the King seriously objected to it, and offers to quit the Island, with all his Attendants, to accommodate the English .- To this Captain M'Gluer objects .- An Explanation takes place, and a Bead of Friendship is presented.—The King invites Captain M'Cluer and his Officers to visit Cooroora, his Capital .- The Order and Ceremony observed in the Procession .- Their Reception.—The Town and Building described.—In return for this Civility, the Natives are entertained with a general Exercise of great Guns and small Arms from the Ships and Scapous .- The King having previously given this Island to the English, the Foundation of Fort Abercrombie is laid, with the usual Formalities.

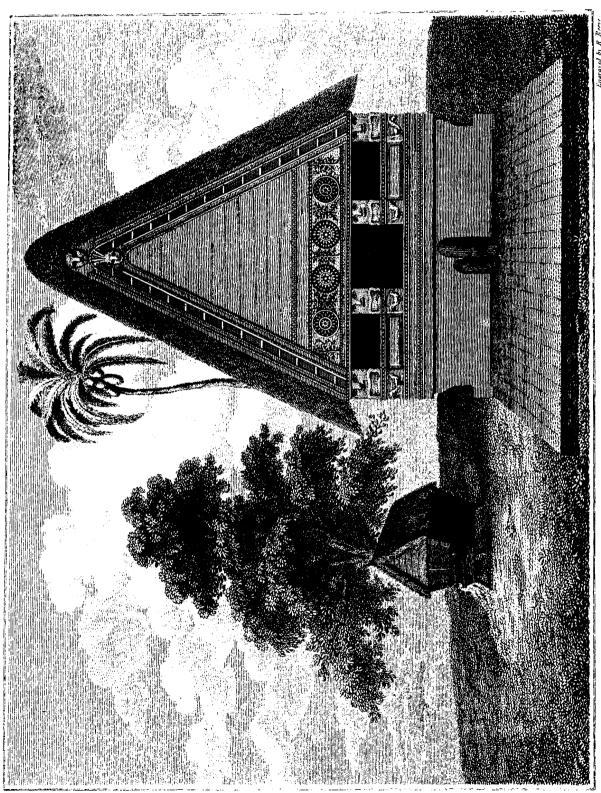
THE King's residence being near to the spot where the officers' tents were pitched, this circumstance, from which they expected to receive Sunday 30. both pleasure and accommodation, proved, from the concourse of people who constantly attended him, to be very inconvenient; they therefore proposed to the King to remove their tents into another bay, or valley, further northward. To this he seriously objected; suspecting that some trespass had been done, which had not come to his knowledge, and had offended his friends the English; he therefore requested they would remain where they were, and that himself and all his people would remove. Of this act of friendship and complacency Captain M'CLUER would not avail himself; he therefore told the King, that from the great number of people, he thought it must be inconvenient to all; that the next bay having a fine running stream of water, it would make it very pleasant and comfortable for the English, and more convenient for watering the

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ships. The good Abba Thulle was at last influenced by these persuasions, and became satisfied that no offence had been taken; he sent Captain M'Cluer a small bead, as a token of friendship and approbation: this being their custom when any difference of opinion is terminated.

This morning the King proposed that Captain M'CLUER and his Monday 31. officers should pay a visit to Cooroora; accordingly every officer that could be spared from necessary duty, was desired to be ready to accompany the King; and the PANTHER's large cutter was prepared for the occasion. The order of the procession was truly grand, and will afford a specimen of their notions of rank and decorum. A small canoe proceeded just ahead of the English boat; the King's canoe immediately following; the rupacks in their canoes keeping near, according to their rank, on the right and left, in an exact line abreast; while the smaller canoes observed the like order in the rear of the line. When they came in sight of the landing at Cooroora, the conch shell was sounded, to announce their approach; and the people in the canoes abreast of the King's, began a song, the first line of each verse or stave being given out by the King; the verse ended with a general chorus, accompanied by a flourish of paddles from all the canoes at the same instant, which had a most grand and pleasing effect. When the English boat reached the shore, the officers and crew saluted the King with three cheers, which was immediately answered by an universal cry of weel, weel. From the landing, they were conducted up a broad paved causeway to the town, which is situated under the shade of trees, apparently without much regularity. The pyes, or public buildings, are the most astonishing fabrics that we ever beheld, considering the tools and workmen that constructed them. Since the loss of the Antelope, they have built a new pye of near sixty feet in length: the floor is a perfect level, and many of the planks are from three to four feet broad, joined so close that a pin could not pass between them: the breadth of this house is nearly one-third of the length, the windows resembling the port-holes of a ship, six or eight exactly

opposite to each other; the beams are laid about seven feet high above



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the floor, curiously carved, and so nicely fitted to the supporters that 1791. they appear as one piece of timber: the roof is high, having a great slope: the thatching is a most ingenious performance, being done with the cocoa-nut leaf: the inside of this house was most curiously worked and ornamented with various flowers and figures; the ends had much the appearance of Gentoo temples. Every rupack or chief has a square piece of pavement before his house, and a small detached building, like a pigeon-house, which was taken for a place of worship. In the afternoon the English returned to the ships, where they arrived at sun set, when orders were given for a review of the seapoys on shore the following morning; and both ships were ordered at the same time to exercise great guns and small arms, by way of acknowledging the hospitality of their Pelew friends.

The morning being very fine, the detachments were landed early at Tuesday 1. the watering place, close to the tents, where being formed and dressed, they marched in military order, the fife and drum regulating their motions, round the point to the bay where the King resided, who was enraptured with their appearance. Being properly arranged, they began their evolutions by word of command, and then by beat of drum, forming and marching to quick and slow time, firing by platoons and street-firing; which being ended, the King ordered them a large tub of sweet drink, and enquired if they were born in England: being answered in the negative, and told that they were natives of India, but had been trained to the use of arms by the English, he seemed as if inspired by some mighty idea, and wanted to embark immediately on an expedition against his enemies, particularly against the natives of Artingall. From this design he was dissuaded, by having it represented to him, that the people of Artingall would soon sue to him for peace, now that commenced, the King had been informed it was about to take place, and was desired to direct his attention to the motions of the vessels: when the sixth gun was fired, he requested they might stop; but being

his friends the English were returned; and with this reasoning he was satisfied. By a signal from the shore, the exercise and firing commenced from the two ships, beginning with a royal salute. Before the firing

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told that the small arms or musketry were going to be added to the 1791. FERRUARY. discharge of the great guns, he could not imagine how people on the shore could know that; yet he conceived the idea, that as they could direct the guns to be fired when at a distance, they could also silence them whenever they pleased. Previous to this morning's exercise, the King had given the English this island, "saying it should be English-"man's land," on Captain M'Cluer's having spoken in praise of it, on account of its being so plentifully supplied with springs and running water; the soil being also good and fit for cultivation. The English colours were now hoisted upon the point of the island, and the troops passed under them, in marching from the tents to the King's residence, as before related: the foundation stone of a fort was also laid, to be called Fort Abercrombie, that being the name of the Honourable the Governor of Bombay. This island is not above four or five miles in circumference, yet has several good springs and streams of water, with some excellent small bays, and good anchoring ground all round it. At noon, success to their new settlement was a toast not likely to be forgotten: what their beverage was it matters not, for loyalty and innocent mirth consist not so much in the quality of the liquor, as in the sentiments and decorum by which the feelings of the heart are expressed.

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CHAPTER VI.

A Survey of the groupe of Islands determined upon .- The ENDEAVOUR remains there for that Purpose.—The Panther proceeds to China for Supplies.—Arrangements and Preparations accordingly made.— Eulogy on the Islands and the Inhabitants by Captain M'CLUER and Mr. WHITE.—The King being informed that the Vessels were preparing to Sail, visits the English at their Tents.—Is very much pleased when told that one of the Vessels was to remain at the Islands until the Return of the other from China, and immediately gives Orders to supply every thing needful .- A Storm, after which some Rupacks from Emmeleigue pay a visit to the English; -their Behaviour.—Character of the Chief and People of Emmeleigue, as given by Abba Thulle.—Some Chiefs from Artingall come to Abba Thulle with presents of Reconciliation.—They are received with apparent coolness, and not permitted to visit the English.—The PANTHER prepares to Sail.—Captain M'CLUER and Mr. WHITE invested with the Order of the Bone .- Proposal for taking some of the Natives to China-assented to by the King .- Affectionate ceremony on parting with their Parents .- The Panther Sails for China.—Captain M'Cluer's Remarks on leaving the Island.

This day, after due deliberation, Captain M'Cluer came to a reso-Iution to make a survey of the groupe of islands. One of the vessels Wednesday was to remain to instruct the natives in the use of the tools and implements of husbandry which had been sent to them, and in their cultivation of rice-ground and gardens; there being on board an abundance of seed and grain all in great perfection. Having carefully considered and digested the plan, the following arrangements were made in order to carry the same into effect, viz. The PANTHER Was to proceed to China as soon as convenience would permit: an account

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of their proceedings was also to be forwarded to the Honourable Court FEBRUARY, of Directors, to be sent home by the latter China fleet. The ENDEAVOUR was to remain under the command of Captain John Procter, to whom the charge and superintendance of the service to be performed, during the absence of Captain M'CLUER in the PANTHER, was given; having, as his officers and assistants, THOMAS HASWELL first Lieutenant; second Lieutenant Samuel Snook, with the charge of the plantations and gardens; third Lieutenant MICHIE, with the charge of the works; and the necessary number of artificers and tradesmen to complete and carry the intended works into execution: the whole, with some seapoys, amounting to about fifty persons. They were instructed, during the absence of the PANTHER, by no means to engage, or join the natives in their war-expeditions, but to use their utmost endeavours, to reconcile them to each other; that, in case of all endeavours for this purpose proving ineffectual, then and not till then, to take a decisive part with Abba Thulle. Every thing being now adjusted in a manner that appeared best calculated for carrying into effect the benevolent intention of the Honourable East India Company, in sending out the ships to these hospitable islanders, and the good King having commanded his people, to pay the same respect to the English, and their chief rupack, as to himself, by going in a reverend and stooping posture, when they passed their habitations, Captain M'CLUER in recording this day's transactions, adds these remarkable words: " I now found my situation quite a paradise, and could with " pleasure have spent the remainder of my days here." And Lieutenant WHITE, in a letter to his father, says, " I have not time or words to " express myself on the manners and characters of these hospitable " people; to Mr. Keate's account you must look, who has done them " no more than justice by his elegant pen."

Thursday 3. All matters being arranged, the officers and crews of the ships went about their respective employments; the large boat was sent to examine a channel to the eastward of their present anchorage, the natives having told them that there was a wide opening sufficient for any ship to sail through: should this information prove true, there is a most

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excellent harbour, with plenty of wood, and very fine water upon the islands round it.

This afternoon the King visited the tents, and having noticed the Friday 4: preparations, seemed by his questions to be very anxious to know when they intended to go to sea. On being informed that the ENDEAVOUR was to remain at the islands until the other vessel returned from China, he laughed, and said they pucka sogel, meaning that it was told him in play or joke; being assured that it was certainly so determined, and being also told the names of the gentlemen who were to remain, he was happy beyond expression, and instantly gave orders for yams and fish to be collected for the Panther's sea store, as they informed him she would sail in eight or ten days.

This day the weather was extremely boisterous; very hard squalls Saturday 5. of wind drove down the valleys, accompanied with heavy showers of rain. Though their harbour had been already acknowledged to be snug and secure, yet the stormy weather, no doubt, gained it additional praises: notwithstanding however their sheltered situation, they parted a cable and lost the anchor; so violent are the gales in these low latitudes.

This day the weather being fine, the King ordered out the canoes Sunday 6. to fish for the use of the ships, going with them himself, accompanied by Mr. White, who seemed to be his great favourite, and constantly attended him on all occasions of business or pleasure; a circumstance which gave him frequent opportunities of making himself conversant in the language and customs of the inhabitants. When the canoes returned in the evening, they brought a large quantity of fish of various kinds, nearly two-thirds of which were given to the English, and most of them being of a large size, and proper quality, were salted for sea store.

This morning two strangers were introduced as friends of Abba Monday 7. Thulle: they were rupacks from Emmeleigue. After viewing the people, tents, and, to them, other extraordinary things on shore, they were taken on board the PANTHER; which they examined with much attention and curiosity. A large looking-glass in the cabin greatly

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astonished them: when they beheld their reflected likeness, they repeated the scene so accurately described by Mr. Keate, in his pleasing account of Prince Lee Boo's surprise, when he beheld himself in the mirror, in the hospitable hall of Mr. M'INTYRE, the first evening after his landing at Macao. A present of some knives and a few beads caused no small joy among them; indeed, so great was it, that they instantly ran upon deck to give vent to it, by shewing them to their countrymen in the canoes, and proclaiming the generosity of the English. Some of the natives acquainted Abba Thulle with the various presents which had been given to these Emmeleigue chiefs. When Abba Thulle met Captain M'CLUER on shore, he acquainted him with the character and conduct of these his allies. " That "when he was at war with Pillelew, they never came near him, " or afforded him the least countenance or assistance; but that now "the English were come again to him, they wished to be known as "his good friends, for the purpose of benefitting themselves, well 46 knowing the friendly disposition of the English towards him. "In reply to this information, he was reminded of what had been told "him at the review of the seapoys; that even his enemies the Artin-" galls, would come and intreat him for peace. This conversation and 46 conjecture pleased him so much, that he said, he no longer considered " the islands as his, and that if the ships' companies would but assist " him, Artingall should be theirs."

Tuesday 8.

This day the weather was overcast and showery, which prevented the necessary work from getting forward so fast as could be wished, particularly in the plantations: seeds of different sorts however were sown by Mr. Snook, and a large piece of ground was prepared for another plantation. This day two canoes from Artingall arrived, bringing two rupacks in each canoe; they were sent to Abba Thulle to sue for peace, and brought a large bead, of coarse emerald,* as a present of reconciliation: the King received it in council, but with great apparent coolness, neither would he let them visit the vessels,

* Captain M'Cruen, in a note, expresses himself in regard to this bead, thus: "It is a stone taken out of the earth, and is supposed to be a coarse emerald."

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or be introduced to the English: "he said that they were apprehensive, FEBRUARY." from the long stay the English vessels made with him, that they were "intended to come against them."

The flag-staff on the point being fitted with cross trees and rigging, Wednesday English colours were hoisted upon them this morning; and the King being desirous to shew the Artingall embassadors the power of his friends, desired the vessels might fire two guns with shot, which was accordingly done, and no doubt it had the desired effect upon his Artingall visitants.

The weather being very fine, necessaries from the shore were sent off, and the tents belonging to the PANTHER were struck and sent on board; while thus employed, the King unaccompanied paid Captain M'Cluer a visit, the object of which was to see if a rupack's bone he then brought with him would go over his hand, as he meant to make him a rupack before the ship sailed: the bone being of too small a size, he appeared not a little disappointed, and said he should have one larger to-morrow: he stayed and partook of a breakfast of rice, and tea without milk: during this visit he made several enquires about the voyage that was going to be made, and the time it would take before their return could be expected; being answered, in three or four months, he seemed pleased; and on being asked to let some of his people go the voyage, he readily complied, and said he would send one of his sons, and as many other people as they chose. In return for this confidence, Captain M'CLUER said he would leave his son with Abba Thulle, until the return of the PANTHER. Nothing could have gratified the King more than this exchange of sons, he being very much attached to the little boy.* These matters being adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties, the King took his leave.

This morning about nine o'clock the King came with his attendants, Thursday 10. and with difficulty invested Captain M'CLUER and Mr. WILLE with the dignity of rupacks, the bones for that purpose being very small;

• This boy was about eight years of age, the son of a serjeant of one of the King's regiments stationed at Bombay, and on account of his age called by Captain M'Cluer bis son.

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the ceremony being ended, they were most affectionately shaken by the 1791. hand, after the fashion of the English. The Pelew passengers came on board this morning, being two men and two women, who had many relations: as they appeared grieved at parting with them, Captain M'CLUER proposed that they should return home; but to this proposition they would not listen, requesting they might be permitted to cry, for only half an hour, and then they would part contented: when the hour of parental and filial tenderness was nearly expired, the mother with a knife cut off three locks of hair from her daughter's head, and they then parted apparently satisfied; the parents accepted of some little presents, and returned on shore with much composure. Having got every thing on board before noon, the PANTHER weighed her anchors, and was saluted by the ENDEAVOUR with nine guns, which being returned by the Commodore, caused great amazement amongst the natives, until this compliment was explained to them. Soon after this the King came on board, and shaking them all most affectionately by the hand, took his leave. They gave him three cheers on his putting off from the ship; but this salute they could not return, the King and his whole retinue sitting motionless in their canoes, with their eyes fixed on the vessel for a considerable time. When the King had got out of sight, two chief rupacks made their appearance, who had avoided him, that they might accompany the vessel to sea, and for that purpose had stationed their canoes in a proper situation out of the King's sight. In standing towards the reef the vessel struck upon a small coral bank; their Pelew friends instantly plunged overboard, and were under the ship in a moment, to see where she took the bank; but the tide flowing, and the weather being perfectly fine, no damage ensued, to the great joy of all on board. Being within a few miles of the reef, and the evening fast approaching, the vessel anchored for the night.

Saturday 12. From this to the 16th they were detained by contrary winds and intricate channels; having gained the open sea, Captain M'Cluer concludes his first visit to these islands with saying, "Being clear of "all danger by two o'clock, we stood down to the southward of Pel-"lelew, which we passed at the distance of about half a mile. When

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"the canoes came on board, from the west side of the island, to take FEBRUARY. " out the Cooroora chiefs, they wished for the vessel to go into the " bay from which they came, for some provisions which they had "provided; but night coming on they were obliged to decline accept-"ing of this act of kindness: One of their passengers being unwell, " requested to accompany his friends that were going on shore, there-" fore only three of the natives remained on board, two of whom were " adopted children of the King, their fathers having been killed in "the wars: they are however regarded equal to his own children. It " is also said that Lee Boo was an adopted son of Abba Thulle." A more correct description cannot be given, Captain M'CLUER says, of these people than hath been already published by Mr. KEATE; the only defect in their character is, that they are light-fingered, when an opportunity offers, from the chief to the lowest class of people; + yet great allowances must be made even for this. That they do not pilfer or thieve among themselves is very evident, for they leave their houses unprotected, their spears and utensils lying exposed, and frequently not a neighbour-within a mile of them.

This is a surmise of Captain M'CLUER.

[†] Captain M'CLUER seems to think that he had been rather hasty and harsh in giving the chiefs and natives of the Pelew islands this character, by his saying immediately, "great allowance must be made even for this;" possibly he either recollected, or had again read, what was published by Mr. KEATE, Chapter IV. upon this head.

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CHAPTER VII.

A particular Account of the Documents and Authorities from which the remaining part of this Supplement is taken.—Transactions after the sailing of the Panther.—The King and Rupacks pay Captain Procter a Visit, which at first alarms him.—The Business explained, and their Request refused; but afterwards granted.—The King gains a Victory over his Enemies of Artingall.—A Description of the Islands, and the Division of them into Districts, with the Titles of the Chiefs, as far as could be ascertained.—Account of the Customs, Marriages, Divorces, and Funerals, with other Matters.

HAVING in the preceding chapters of this narrative accompanied 1791. FEBRUARY. Captain M'CLUER and the officers of the PANTHER, in their account of the expedition from Bombay until their arrival at and sailing from the Pelew islands for China, I shall now return to the history of the transactions of the Endeavour, Captain Procter. It is incumbent on me, and a duty due to my readers, to acquaint them with the sources from which the following pages are derived. The ship Warley, in the service of the Honourable East India Company, of which Captain Wilson was commander, arriving at China in the year 1794, Captain WILSON there met with Captain PROCTER, who had been ordered by the supra-cargoes, the year before, to accompany his Majesty's ship Lion, and Honourable Company's ship Hindostan, on their voyage to the northern parts of China, with his Excellency Earl Macartney, his Majesty's Ambassador to his Highness the Emperor; and from Captain PROCTER and his officers, he got the following information. Having thus stated the source of the narrative which is given in the following chapter, for the satisfaction of my readers, I shall proceed to relate it from that authority.

. For some time after the PANTHER's sailing, no transaction of suffi-

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cient consequence to be related occurred. The officers and ship's company who remained, were busily employed in carrying the orders FEBRUARY. under which they acted, into execution, particularly in giving the necessary instructions to the natives for the cultivation of the ground, and the use and advantages to be derived from the variety of tools and instruments which they had received. To these instructions and orders they most willingly and constantly attended. In the margin of the original publication, Captain PROCTER made some remarks on Mr. Keate's account; and relates the following incident: "Some-"time after the PANTHER had left the islands for China, the King, "accompanied by his rupacks, came to our dwelling, and having " seated themselves in due form and order, remained for a consider-46 able time silent and serious. This behaviour, so contrary to all " their former, induced me to imagine they had some complaint to " make of our conduct, though we could not accuse ourselves of any "impropriety of behaviour; I therefore addressed Abba Thulle, re-" questing to know what made him and his rupacks so reserved, and "whether the English had done any thing to displease him or his " people; when I had done speaking, he looked at me with a smile " so kind and good, that my fears were entirely at an end: he then "preferred a request in the most modest manner, and hoped that " we would assist him in an expedition against Artingall. To this I " was obliged to make the following answer: that it was not in my " power to comply with his request, as my orders from Captain " M'Cluer were to the contrary. The good old King said, it was " well, that I must obey my superior rupack; but he gave me a look so " very impressive of disappointment, yet so free from anger, that I con-" fess it quite overpowered me. After remaining for some time silent, " he said, Only permit your people to go in some of the canoes, and " stay at a distance to notice the battle; and, in order to obey my " superior rupack, the men should be directed not to fire, but merely " show themselves to the enemy. He added, that should the Artin-" gall men get the advantage, he trusted to the steady friendship of

** the English, and the superiority of their muskets, for securing his

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1791. "retreat. So much delicacy could not be withstood; the terms were agreed on, and I had the satisfaction, at the return of our men, to hear that the friends of the English were victorious."

I shall continue to relate such other remarks, as were made by Captain PROCTER and his officers, in marginal notes on the original Account of the Pelew islands. Speaking of Artingall, they say, "Ar-" tingall and Emmeleigue are on the same island, the largest of the "group which is called Babel-thou-up: this island is divided into " several discricts, or governments, Artingall being the largest; the 6 capital of which district is called Malligoyoke, where their King " resides, whom they style Ericli, and who is constantly in hostility "with Abba Thulle. The next district is Angrarth, the chief of " which has the title of Icari, and is friendly to Cooroora, as is Em-" meleigue; these are the principal, and also the largest districts of "the island Babel-thou-up, which is about sixty miles in circumfe-4 rence. There are several other small districts, some friendly and "some hostile to Abba Thulle, who being an independent prince, " was generally at war with the King of Artingall to preserve that " independence. There were also some chiefs on these islands styled "Uckaleeth, a kind of religious men, or priests, who were held in "very high esteem, particularly one residing at a town or district "named Iry, to the northward of Cooroora."

It appears, therefore, by the foregoing quotation, that the different islands, and even districts of the same island, have distinct and independent chiefs, or kings, with different titles or ranks among themselves. Of the order and succession, and the number of rupacks at Cooroora, with their rank and title, the following are the principal:

Abba Thulle, the King.

Kickaray Abba Thulle, the minister.

Clow Arra Kooker, the general, or heir apparent.

Kickaray Arra Kooker, or second commander.

All these, except Kickaray Abba Thulle, succeed to the throne, in their respective turns. Besides these, the King of Cooroora has eight or nine other rupacks of the first rank, who are the persons with

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whom he consults on any business, or affairs of moment. The island upon which Abba Thulle resides, is called Ere-cle-thew, and the capital Cooroora. There are also a number of small towns, each having its superior rupack under Abba Thulle, together with some of an inferior rank, who must, when called upon, assist the chief with all their canoes and men. These pay a kind of rent or tribute to the King, at his capital, in yams, beetle-nuts, leaves, &c. &c. the produce of their district: such is the state of government observed throughout the group of the Pelew islands. When an inferior rupack displeases the King, he takes from him his bone, and either keeps it, or bestows it upon some other person, as he may think right; but the chief rupacks of towns or districts being hereditary, he cannot displace them without danger of a revolt from his government.

The practice of tatooing, or as the natives call it, melgothing, and also the blacking of the teeth, is universal with both sexes: the females of high rank have it done at the age of six or seven years. The hands undergo the operation first; then the arms, as high as the shoulders, after which the feet, and so upwards to the hips. Among the lower class of women, the time of being melgothed depends upon their abilities to pay the female artist who performs the operation; but as it would be disgraceful to marry, or be betrothed, before this operation has taken place, it is rarely delayed to years of maturity. The men take greater liberties in this mode of ornamenting their persons, for they puncture at any time, and as much as they please: in general, however, the hands and one thigh are melgothed, with a line up the arms, representing birds, fish, &c.; some few of them are marked up the body, but not many.

Their marriages are without any public form or ceremony, excepting that of obtaining the consent of the parents, or chief rupack: all things being previously agreed on, the man conducts his wife to the house designed for her future residence, of which he gives her possession as mistress. A rupack, or any other person, may have as many wives as he can maintain, but each wife must have a separate house; this custom therefore gives the rupacks more wives than the common

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people. and the King more than the rupacks. Separation or divorces sometimes take place, and apparently by mutual consent: when this happens to a rupack of distinction, the lady remains single until a rupack of the same rank takes her home, none of a lower class daring to approach her for fear of offending her former husband: this restriction is not always strictly observed; but in general is as hath been just related.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Panther's arrival at Macao, and of the three Natives of the Pelew Islands being inoculated with the Small-pox.—The Panther leaves Macao, and returns to the Pelew Islands.—The Account given by the Pelew Passengers to their Countrymen, of the wonders they had seen, particularly his Majesty's Ship Leopard of Fifty Guns—The King solicits Captain McCluer for Assistance against his Enemies, the People of Artingall, which is granted.—A Detachment is ordered on this Occasion under the Command of Lieutenant Wedgeborough.—his Account of the Expedition.—Description of a Sea Monster.—The Submission of Artingall.—Abba Thulle acknowledged the Superior of the Pelew Islands.

I shall now continue the narrative from the Panther's journals, commencing at Macao, where she arrived on the afternoon of Wednesday the 2d March. His Majesty's ships Leopard and Thames had arrived there two days before: the English supra cargoes being at this time at Canton, the gentlemen of the Dutch factory accommodated Captain M'CLUER and his officers at their habitations; and in so attentive and obliging a manner were they treated by Mr. Van Braam, the chief, as amply to compensate for the absence of their own countrymen. During their stay at Macao, the three natives from the Pelew islands were inoculated with the small-pox, and to the great joy of their friends, English and Dutch, they got perfectly well, not the smallest cause for regret or anxiety attending their illness. On the 20th March his Majesty's skips Leopard and Thames, with the China fleet, sailed for England; by this fleet the PANTHER's journals were transmitted home, in the ship Lord Thurlow, Captain WILLIAM THOMSON, and were received in the month of August.

1791. March.

On the 26th March the PANTHER sailed from Macao, and reached March 26.

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the Pelew islands on Friday the 10th June. No sooner had the ship arrived than Captain M'CLUER was visited by Abba Thulle, accom-Friday 10. panied by Messrs. HASWELL and SNOOK, who acquainted their friends with the success and progress made during their absence of four months. Captain M'Cluer says, "our Pelew passengers had much trouble in " relating, and making their friends give credit to the many curious " and uncommon things they had seen during their absence: in these " relations they often drew a comparison between the English and "China-men, much in favour of the former, whom they represented to " be a brave and warlike people, whereas the Chinese were effeminate " and crafty, and without that natural ornament so much prized by the " Pelew people, the hair of the head." The Pelew-man having seen his Majesty's ship Leopard of fifty guns, while in Macao roads, I shall give his description of her, as it will serve to convey an idea of the wonder and astonishment his relation must have caused in his own countrymen: when he related to them his seeing the large English ships at China, they asked if he had seen a Makamat Decal, or fighting ship; he answered yes; they then enquired how large she was, " as big as that island," pointing to one with his hand, nearly two miles in circumference. Such are the ideas they entertain of every thing English.

> A few days after the PANTHER's arrival, the King solicited Captain M'CLUER for the assistance of the English against his enemies of Artingall, which request being complied with, orders were issued for the long boat and men for this service, with arms and ammunition, to be ready on the sixteenth; Lieutenant Wedgeborough commanded the party.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the long boat left the ship, being Thursday 16. completely armed with one brass six pounder, two swivel guns, and a musquetoon, having also ten men with small arms, under the command of Mr. Delano. Lieutenant Wedgeborough went with the King in his canoe, and twenty seapoys in different canoes, together with Mr. Nicholson the Surgeon, who accompanied them, in case of any accident happening to the party. Upon leaving the ship Captain M'Cluer ordered the crew to give them three cheers, which was

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returned from the long boat and people in the canoes, at which the King expressed great satisfaction; after the cheering, the little flotilla proceeded to Cooroora, where it arrived about sun set; the arms and ammunition being landed, the seapoys were marched up to the King's pye, or dwelling-house, where they and the seamen were entertained with yams and sweet drink, and the gentlemen with a supper of fish and yams. After supper, a pye or public hall was cleared for their accommodation; and Lieutenant Wedgeborough, after giving the necessary orders for a night guard took leave, and retired to the house of his succalic Arra Kooker, to sleep.

At sun rise he waited upon the King, thinking that he would Friday 17. embark immediately for Artingall; but in this Lieutenant WEDGE-BOROUGH was mistaken; it was not until five o'clock in the afternoon that orders were given for embarkation. The King commanded the canoes to proceed directly to Iry, which is nearly half way to Artingall: here the Uckaleeth, or great prophet, resides as chief rupack. In this order was displayed the sound policy of Abba Thulle, Iry being a frontier town, and effectually guarded against invasion, by being the residence of the prophet; the inhabitants of all the islands holding his place of abode as sacred.

On their passage they disturbed a sea monster, called by the natives a Musague, and, from the description they give of it, resembles in many particulars the Mermen of Norway. From this monster they get the bone that invests the wearer with the order of rupack. The account of this fish is so extraordinary, that I shall give it, as related to Mr. WEDGEBOROUGH by Pimmoo, a fine youth, who afterwards went in the Panther to the coast of New Guinea. He said the largest he had seen was sixteen feet in length, and twelve feet in circumference, being as much as two men could encompass with their arms extended; its head is like that of a seal, with arms or fins, with which it feeds itself; the female has breasts with four nipples, just below the arms, where it suckles its young; it has no hair upon its body, being smooth like a porpoise; its tail is in the form of an equilateral triangle; its principal food is beech de mer and sea weed: the male and semale are

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readily distinguished. From each fish they get three bones, which are of considerable value; the first is cut from the skull, or front of the head, and is of the lowest order; the second is taken from the middle of the head, and is only worn by the chief rupacks; it is the same as represented in Plate IV. fig. 3, in Mr. Keate's accurate account of the Pelew islands: the third bone, is that which joins the head and neck, and is the largest; it is worn by men who are not rupacks, but who have signalized themselves by some act of personal bravery.

Before the arrival of the long boat at the pier or wharf of Iry,

two hundred canoes had assembled, having in them the friends and allies of Abba Thulle; in about a quarter of an hour the King joined them, and immediately gave orders to make all possible haste to a place about a league from Malligoyoke, and there to wait his coming in the English boat. Soon after the departure of the canoes, the King desired the long boat to proceed through a narrow channel made by the small islands on the north side of the bay; in this passage, the water being very shallow, they were frequently obliged to track the boat almost to the breakers on the reef to the eastward. The boat was accompanied only by one canoe, in which was Arra Kooker, or Saturday 19. General. About two o'clock in the morning they came in sight of Malligoyoke, and immediately cast anchor till day light, when, seeing but very few canoes, they weighed, and rowed towards Malligoyoke: soon after they were under way, a small canoe came to them, with orders to join the main body, lying then close to the shore, about two miles to the southward of Malligoyoke pier: here the King intended to wait the return of a messenger or herald whom he had sent to the King of Artingall, to acquaint him of his being come to offer terms of accommodation. About seven o'clock the long boat joined the fleet, and the King expressed himself highly pleased with the appearance of the people after such a night of fatigue. He now informed them that, in two or three hours, he expected an answer from the King of Artingall, whether he would listen to terms of accommodation, or risk the event of a battle. He then requested that the muskets might be fired singly, that the enemy might form an idea of

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their strength: this request was immediately complied with, and the report of near forty muskets must have operated very strongly on the counsellors of Artingall, for in less than an hour, a canoe was seen to come off from the pier, pulling towards the fleet in great haste: every one was eager to be present with the King at this first interview with the deputies of Artingall. The people in the canoe pushed through the fleet, seemingly in high spirits, flourishing their paddles in a very dexterous manner, until they came near the canoe in which sat Abba Thulle; they then all instantly stopped, and lying on their paddles, approached the King's canoe slowly, by setting theirs, with bamboos, alongside of his. A perfect silence ensued for about five minutes, when one of the rupacks from Artingall, there being four in the canoe, beside the rowers, taking courage, asked another why he did not speak to Abba Thulle. The silence being thus broken, a conference ensued, during which beads were offered as a pacification to the King, but refused; Abka Thulle then proposed terms to them, and pointed to the long boat armed and manned with Englishmen; also to the seapoys; at the sight of which they appeared perfectly astonished: they were then dismissed to acquaint their King with Abba Thulle's propoals. During this conference no person was in the canoe with the King, or interfered in the conversation between him and the Artingall people; but after they were dismissed, and gone to some distance, he then advised with Kickaray Abba Thulle, concerning the terms that had been proposed by each party. In the space of half an hour the canoes and long boat were directed to join the van division, then lying about a mile from the pier of Malligoyoke: after the fleet had thus joined, the four Artingall rupacks returned, and informed the King that they had agreed that his fleet might come to the pier, together with the English, that they might the more easily, and without loss of time, discuss and settle the terms of accommodation; the canoe and people continued with the fleet, which proceeded immediately towards the pier, where it arrived about noon, and took its station at the outer end, to be out of the reach of the oliooks, in case the accommodation should not take place.

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1791. June. The pier of Malligoyoke is an astonishing fabric, and shews what men, even in a state of nature, are capable of performing, when they call forth and exert their powers. It is in length about a mile, twelve feet in height, and fifteen feet broad at the top, but considerably more at the base; built entirely with coral rocks, piled ingeniously upon each other. It extends from the town to within about a quarter of a mile of the outer reef, through which is a very commodious passage for small vessels or boats into the open sea, especially during the southwest monsoon.

Abba Thulle having remained in consultation with the Kickaray Abba Thulle and some of the principal rupacks, at a short distance to the southward of the pier, joined the fleet about an hour after it had taken its station. During this interval, a deputation of four rupacks was sent from the town, and a very long conversation ensued, in which the King took occasion to shew them the brass gun, and also the round and grape shot: when the use and effect of these were explained to them, they seemed struck with terror and amazement, and shortly after the conference broke up. After this interview, a general confidence seemed to take place between the townsmen and the people in the canoes. Several inhabitants came down, from motives of curiosity, to see the English, and were well pleased with their reception, having small presents of beads given to them by the officers. Abba Thulle was particularly attentive to some of the inhabitants, and, in consequence of his distinguishing them, the presents and favours conferred on them by the officers were of a superior quality. In this, and in many other instances, Abba Thulle seems by nature to be well skilled in the art of government. During the afternoon several other conferences took place, and, as a mutual confidence seemed to prevail among all ranks, the King proposed a visit to some of the rupacks on shore. Whether the English misunderstood his meaning, or he afterwards changed his mind, is not certain; but before five o'clock, he requested that the English officers and seapoys would go to the town without him, which they did, followed by a train of near five hundred Cooroora people, armed with spears. When they came near the town,

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being within pistol shot of one of the paved squares, where some rupacks were sitting in council, they were desired to stop, upon which the seapoys formed in one line, with their front towards the pier, and were directed to fire in two divisions, to reload, and then to fire a general volley: this was executed with a dexterity that could not but give great satisfaction. The noise and shoutings of their Cooroora friends at the different discharges, were truly tremendous to the inhabitants, and the whole scene must have had a powerful effect upon the people of Artingall. An invitation soon after came to Mr. Nicholson and Lieutenant Wedgeborough to visit the General, or Arra Kooker of the town, which was unadvisedly accepted: they were going to his house, accompanied by Pinnoo, but fortunately were prevented by Rukeley, Captain Procter's succalic, or friend, who strongly urged them not to go; for he said, there could be no motive for this invitation, but to get them into their power; and that then the Artingall people would sacrifice either one or both of them, in revenge for the injuries they had received from the English, in taking so decided a part in their wars with Cooroora. While conversing on this matter, a messenger came to Lieutenant Wedgeborough from Abba Thulle, requesting him to return with the seapoys. This request was immediately attended to; and when they came to the end of the pier, they found the King seated, and in conference with some of the Artingall rupacks: he had been under some apprehensions from their long absence and other circumstances, and had desired Mr. Delano to let him have an armed European to attend and stay by him until their return. In the evening some rockets and fireworks were discharged: but it is hardly possible to convey an idea of the astonishment that appeared in every countenance when the rockets were played off, which were accompanied in their flight with the shouts and acclamations of nearly two thousand people. Some of them falling near the town, the people of Cooroora and their friends were almost frantic with joy, telling the Artingall people, that these were English oliooks, and that as these things were merely their amusements, they

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might judge what would be the effect of their guns and muskets, when they were seriously engaged in battle.

Having re-embarked the seapoys, at eight o'clock the long boat, accompanied by Arra Kooker in his canoe, went and anchored at the distance of half a mile from the pier; the King remained on shore during the night, and that they might not be surprised, torches and Sunday 19. lights were continually kept burning. At day-break they were joined by the King in his canoe; and on their having stationed themselves close to the pier, he was very urgent to have the brass six-pounder landed there immediately: to this proposal Lieutenant Wedgeborough strongly objected, unless plank could be procured to make a platform for it. The King agreed to the necessity of this being done, and said some planks should be brought. About eight o clock another deputation, apparently much more satisfactory than any of the former, arrived from the town, for no sooner were these persons departed, than Abba Thulle smiled, and said, there would be no fighting, as the Artingallpeople had consented to his terms. About an hour after, the King desired the long boat might accompany his canoe to the shore near to the town, from whence, in about half an hour, another deputation arrived, requesting Abba Thulle to land, and receive their principal bead and submission; upon which the King desiring the seapoys might be landed, orders were immediately given for that purpose: as soon as they were formed, they were marched up the town, and halted at the place where they had performed the firings the preceding evening. The King, accompanied by the English, then proceeded to the place of council, where the rupacks of Artingall were assembled. Abba Thulle no sooner appeared, than one side of the council square was cleared for him and his attendants, the other side being occupied by the rupacks of the place. After much ceremony, the assembly being seated, a general conversation took place, and all former animosity seemed to be forgotten. Lieutenant Wedgeborough took an opportunity to ask the King which was the principal rupack; the King

pointed out two, who, he said, were of equal rank; one of them, a
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cheerful pleasant looking man, seeing himself noticed, soon after entered into conversation with Lieutenant Wedgeborough, who embraced the opportunity of saying how pleasing it was to the English to see them and their good friend Abba Thulle reconciled and on amicable terms; that it had long been the desire of the English to see peace established throughout the islands; that they were not the enemies of Artingall from inclination or ill nature, but that they were the steady friends of Abba Thulle, the most heartfelt gratitude being justly due to him, on account of his great hospitality towards the English at Oroolong, when their ship was broken upon the rocks near that island: and should the like misfortune happen to any vessel near Artingall, the like humane conduct would not fail of gaining the same steady friendship, and commanding an equal share of gratitude; adding at the same time, that should any vessels come near their islands, they ought not to be afraid of going on board with cocoa-nuts, yams, fish, or whatever else they might have to spare, and they would be sure of getting in return, iron, cloth, and beads. Scarcely were the last words spoken. before the rupack suddenly broke his silence, and asked if they could get powder also. Shortly after this a general silence took place; the chief gave into the hand of a rupack a bead, which he very carefully inclosed in his hands, and then moved slowly towards Abba Thulle, with his body bent, as is usual on approaching the King; he said something in a low tone of voice, that seemed to meet the approbation of the assembly; he then appeared to be in the act of presenting this bead, and Abba Thulle on the point of receiving it, when he suddenly drew back his hands, and asked, if so rich a present did not entitle the bearer to some reward; the King immediately gave him a China bead of the second size; as soon as the rupack had received it, and not till then, he, with great solemnity, resigned the rich present to the hands of Abba Thulle, who made a motion to retire. When they came to the place where the seapoys were stationed, the King desired that some of them might fire a volley, which was done, accompanied, as before, with the acclamations of his people. They now proceeded about a quarter of a mile to the southward of the pier, when they came to a pye with the usual paved square in front; here Abba Thulle

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was soon seated, surrounded by the rupacks of Cooroora and its allies, very few of the Artingall people being present: during their stay here, Lieutenant Wedgeborough was naturally anxious to know what it was that had put an end to so much dissension and bloodshed; the King kindly indulged him in his request, at the same time enjoining him to be extremely careful, lest he should let it fall to the ground; for if such an accident happened, it could never be taken up. This precious token of peace and amity was a bead or stone of a yellow colour, in length about two inches, in depth or thickness one inch or more, formed like a wedge, with two holes at the base, for the purpose of putting a line to suspend it on. Lieutenant Wedgeborough's curiosity being gratified, his first concern was to return in safety the momentous charge. During the time they were thus employed, several large tubs of sweet drink were sent from the town, accompanied by great numbers of women and children to see the English; and some presents of beads not a little pleased them. The tubs of sweet drink being emptied, orders were given to embark, and some men were sent in the long boat to conduct her without the reef to Iry.

Most of the canoes, as soon as manned, paddled to the southward, four or five only remaining with the King, although he was lying near to that shore whose inhabitants, two days before, had been his inveterate and dangerous enemies; they were detained here nearly an hour, in expectation of the hostages from Artingall, who now arrived, consisting of three rupacks, two men of an inferior rank, and two women. A Cooroera rupack and his people were ordered to remain behind: this request, the King said, was made by the people of Artingall, for the purpose of acquainting the English, if they came there, that they were now friends with Abba Thulle. The Artingall hostages being distributed in the canoes, they returned to Cooroora, where the inhabitants welcomed them with dancing, and every other demonstration of joy, bringing down to the boats sweet drink and baskets of provisions in great profusion. Thus, by the exertions and assistance of the English, the benign and generous Abba Thulle was placed in peace and glory among his affectionate and loyal people; and after this expedition acknowledged the superior rupack of all the Pelew islands.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Vessels sail from the Islands for the Coast of New Guinea .the Behaviour of Abba Thulle on the Occasion,—sends three of his People with them, that they may gain Instruction during the Voyage: The Vessels touch at Amboyna. Friendly Behaviour of the Dutch.—Leave Amboyna, and return again to the Coast of New Guinea.—Interview with the Natives, who treacherously, and without Cause, kill Mr. Nicholson, Surgeon of the Panther.—Leave the Coast of New Guinea, and make the Coast of New Holland .-From thence Proceed to the Island of Timoor, where they meet with the utmost Hospitality.—One of the Pelew Passengers dies.—Leave Timoor and sail for Bencoolen.—Another of the Felew Passengers dies during the Voyage.—The ships stay Four Months at Bencoolen, then sail for the Pelew Islands; on the Passage touch at the Island of Sooloo, and take a fresh and as large a Supply of Cuttle, Grain, Seed, &c. &c. for the use of their Pelew Friends, as the Vessels can receive on Board, with which they arrive safe.—Death of Abba Thulle.

THE English continued in the discharge of every friendly and good of the continued in the discharge of every friendly and good of the continued of the natives, who on their part made every return in their power, till the 27th of June, when the vessels sailed from the Pelew Monday 27. Islands, to carry into execution their orders for a survey of the coast of New Guinea.

Upon this occasion the good old King again manifested his zeal and care for the benefit of his own people, as well as his firm confidence in the friendship of the English; for understanding from Captain M'Cluer, that it was his intention, after the business the ships were going upon should be finished, to stop again at his islands on their way to China, the King requested that some of his people might go with the English ships, and that they would leave one or two of their

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1791. countrymen with him, until the expedition was over, that his people might be made conversant with their manner, and as like Englishmen as possible. Accordingly two boys were left with the King, and three of the natives embarked on board the Panther, on a voyage of instruction and discovery. The friendly Abba Thulle, with his accustomed attention and care having himself seen the vessels clear of danger, took his leave, after first giving the youth Pinnmoo an affectionate admonition for his future conduct, and earnestly intreating his friends the English to return to him as soon as their business should be finished.

Some other occurrences not altogether unworthy of notice may here be mentioned, before the final departure of the ships from the islands, occurrences, which, happening on coasts and seas hitherto unknown, when faithfully related, will, I trust, at least amuse if not instruct the reader.

On Saturday the 16th July they saw land, and commenced their

JULY. Saturday 16.

survey, on the northern part of the coast of New Guinea, which they continued for the space of two months; during that time their intercourse with the natives was friendly and kind. Being rather short of provisions, the vessels steered for Amboyna, where they arrived on Wednesday the 28th September; they remained here twelve days, completing their stock of provisions and water, and experienced every attention and accommodation the Duch and the inhabitants could afford; the Dutch chief, Mr. Van Schilling, exerting himself to the utmost in supplying their wants, and in doing away every idea of jealousy or rivalship between the two nations: he informed

SEPTEMBER Wednesday 28.

OCTOBER. men on Monday the 10th October, and resumed their business on the coast of New Guinea on Monday the 24th.

them they were the only English ships that had visited that island for above a century. The ships left Amboyna and these friendly Dutch-

Wednesday

Early on the morning of Wednesday the 26th, they saw several canoes coming off from the shore; about nine o'clock eleven of them were near the ship, and as the people in them made every possible sign of friendship, Mr. Nicholson, the Surgeon, was induced to go into

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the long boat, that was towing a-stern of the Panther, judging that October. a conversation with them, and a few presents, would render them familiar, or at least well disposed. In this good office he was employed for some time; but having given to one man, who appeared to be a chief, a piece of chintz, he in return invited Mr. Nicholson into his canoe, this offer he unthinkingly accepted. They then endeavoured to force the boat keeper out of the long boat, which caused an alarm; when they immediately discharged a flight of arrows into the ship, which wounded four of the crew. Mr. NICHOLSON seeing his danger, attempted to regain the long boat, but unfortunately could not effect it; for receiving a violent blow from a club, he fell into the water, and, the Barbarians piercing him with a spear, which forced him under, he was seen no more. The great guns and small arms were now discharged, which soon dispersed these savages; and a consultation was held, on the propriety of landing to demand justice from the inhabitants of the village from whence the canoes had come; but as this measure would have involved the innocent with the guilty, not to mention the risk of lives in the execution, it was deemed adviseable to give up all thoughts of revenge, and to proceed on the voyage. Such has been the humane conduct not only of an individual ship, but of the people of England at large; who have always shewn themselves more studious to pacify animosities than to increase or revenge them; never wishing to unsheath the sword, except in such cases as have deeply affected immediate security, or the honour and prosperity of the nation. On this unfriendly and savage coast they continued till Wednesday the 21st December, when having completed Wednesday their survey, they stood away for the coast of New Holland, and from thence to the island of Timoor, where they were most hospitably received. That this was not the first instance of hospitality towards our countrymen, their conduct towards Captains BLIGH and EDWARDS, with the people that remained of the Bounty and Pandora, will sufficiently testify. The season being sickly, all the kind assistance experienced from the friendly Dutchmen, could not arrest the hand of death; they buried an officer, and one of their Pelew passengers.

From Timoor the vessels sailed in the afternoon of Saturday the 24th

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APRIL. Wednesday 27. AUGUST. Friday 17.

March, for Bencoolen, where they arrived on Wednesday the 27th Saturday 24. April. During this passage another of the Pelew passengers died, the youth Pimmoo, who is mentioned in page 37. The ships remained at Bencoolen till Friday the 17th August, when they again sailed for the Pelew islands, stopping in their route at the islands of Sooloo, where they took in as much seed, grain, and cattle as the vessels could JANUARY. Monday 20. receive; and on Monday the 20th January, 1793, they arrived at Pelew. No sooner were they anchored within the reef, than they were crouded with the natives, who brought the melancholy tidings of the death of the humane and beneficent Abba Thulle. This sorrowful event took place about three months after the vessels left the islands; the surviving brother, or the Clow Arra Kooker, whose name, or family, is Angusswangaa, being now the King or Abba Thulle.

> Here, I trust, the reader will give me his attention for a few moments, and with feelings of gratitude unite with me in contemplating the ways of Providence. A distressed and shipwrecked people are cast away upon a distant and unknown coast; they are there succoured and cherished by the natives with a liberality if not unknown, yet not surpassed in any civilized country; nay, in some instances, far exceeding any thing before experienced; for in relieving the wants of these strangers, they frequently gave up their own usual and accustomed portions of food. We have in the course of this narrative had abundant testimonies of the hospitality of these people. And even in their primitive state we have found humanity and charity shining forth in all their actions. The blessings of superior knowledge conveyed to them by the English, were most gladly and thankfully received and acknowledged. Behold then these generous Islanders in all their actions; no lapse of time, nor even the untoward circumstances of delay or apparent neglect, could wean their affections from their friends and instructors, whom they considered not as being of a superior order, but as men of more enlightened minds.

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CHAPTER X.

Islands for China, and never afterwards rejoins the Panther, being ordered to join the Ships attending his Excellency Earl Macartney, his Majesty's Embassador to his Highness the Emperor of China.—Soon after the departure of the Endeavour, Captain M'Cluer signifies to the Officers of the Panther his Intention of resigning the Command of the Expedition, and remaining on the Islands.—On February the 2d addresses a Letter to Lieutenant Wedgeborough officially to that purpose; accompanied with a List of Stores which he requested to be left.—The Officers of the Panther hold a Consultation on this extraordinary Occasion.—Captain M'Cluer's Request is assented to,—the next Morning a formal Resignation of the Command is made.—The Panther leaves the Islands and returns to Bombay, sailing first to China.

The detention of the vessels at Bencoolen retarded their return to the Pelew islands so long, that very soon after their arrival Captain M'Cluer came to a resolution to dispatch the Endeavour to China; in consequence of this resolution, Captain Procter sailed from Pelew; when he reached China, the supra cargoes, having no particular instructions, thought proper to order him to join his Majesty's ship Lion and the Honourable Company's ship the Hindostan, which were attending Earl Macartney, then on an embassy to the court of Pekin: these orders being complied with, and other unforeseen causes taking place, neither the vessels nor the commanders ever joined company again; I shall therefore accompany the Panther and Captain M'Cluer to their finally leaving the Pelew islands.

The cattle which had been brought from the Sooloo islands being landed, with the seed, grain, and various other articles, they began

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with no small anxiety to look forward to, and prepare for, taking a final leave of their hospitable friends; for in every act towards our countrymen they have the fullest claim to this title; and the extraordinary circumstance I am going to relate will fully shew how justly they merited it. The purpose of this expedition being nearly accomplished, Captain M'CLUER, who secretly intended resigning the command of the ships, and fixing his abode for the future among these people, now made his intention known: some inclination of this kind was probably in his mind, when he said, as mentioned in page 24, " I now found my " situation a perfect Paradise, and could with pleasure have spent the " remainder of my days here." These sentiments were never obliterated from his mind, for shortly after the sailing of the ENDEAVOUR, some conversation or conference on this interesting and extraordinary subject must have taken place between him and the officers of the PANTHER; for on the 2d of February, 1793, he addressed a letter to Lieutenant WEDGEBOROUGH, of which we present the reader with a copy.

To Mr. John Wedgeborough.

Sir,

"Having made known to the Honourable Court of Directors my intention of remaining at this place, you will take charge of the PANTHER, with all her stores and provisions; also the journals, charts, surveying instruments, and every thing belonging thereto; you will make out exact inventories of all the stores belonging to the vessel, also duplicates of the same to be lodged with me or my attornies: the originals you will deliver to the Bombay Presidency, with the other accounts which you will be charged with.

"I will write to the Bombay Presidency the cause I have for re"maining at this place. It will be a sufficient vindication for you,
and the rest of the gentlemen belonging to the vessel, for me here
to acknowledge, that you have used every argument in your power
to persuade me from this uncommon and unprecedented step: and
I say, moreover, you have not only done your duty in this point,
but in every other, as officers and gentlemen could do, since I had
the honour of commanding the Panther.

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- "Considering my circumstances and rank in the service, this step FEBRUARY. " will be taken for an act of insanity, or the effect of some disorder;
- "however this is not the case; for I have been determined upon it
- " ever since I lest Bencoolen, and have provided accordingly at the
- " different ports we touched at; and it is nothing but my zeal for my
- "country that prompts me to follow this resolution; and I hope to
- " succeed in the plan I have formed, which may benefit my country
- " and the world in general, by enlightening the minds of these noble
- "islanders: should I fail in the attempt, it is only the loss of an
- " individual, who wished to do good to his fellow-creatures.
 - "To make my situation comfortable, and the natives attentive to
- " me, inclosed is a list of articles, which you can spare from the vessel,
- " without distressing her in her now situation.

(Signed) " JOHN M'CLUER." 2d February, 1793. To Mr. John Wedgeborough.

The following list is a copy of the indent, sent by Captain M'CLUER to Mr. WEDGEBOROUGH.

- " Muskets with bayonets 20 Fuzee ammunitions 240 boxes
- " Pistols Pistol ditto 240 ditto
- " Wall-pieces Common powder - 8 chests
- " Pole-axes 12 Flints
- "Musket ammunition, 2boxes, Pouches with leathern belts, 20,
- " the forge, &c. with the anvil and bellows, a large frame-saw, and a
- " standing vice.
 - " SIR,
- " Please to consult with the other two gentlemen belonging to the " service concerning the propriety of granting me the above articles."

2d February, 1793. (Signed) "JOHN M'CLUER." " To Mr. John Wedgeborough."

" On consultation it was agreed to let Captain M'Cluer have "the above enumerated articles, with a proviso, that in case the

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"Honourable Company should not be pleased therewith, that they should be accounted for by his attornies. This provise being agreed to by Captain M'Cluer, the articles mentioned in the indent, together with a grindstone, were delivered to him on shore.

"The determination of Captain M'Cluer to remain on the islands being now fixed, and the stores and ammunition which he requested to have, being delivered to him, as also a boat, in the forenoon of February 3d he came on board, and all hands being ordered to attend, he, in the presence of the ship's company, formally and deliberately resigned his command to Lieutenant Wedgeborough, as their future commander."

From this time to Thursday the 14th they were employed in various services and acts of accommodation to their Pelew friends, from whom they were soon to depart, perhaps for ever. This is one of the most interesting and difficult trials of human fortitude and resignation; to part with long-tried friends and intimate connections, in the bloom of health and strength, with almost a certainty of its being the last adieu, calls for a support far more powerful than ordinary resolution.

Thursday 14. At day-light on Thursday the 14th February, the Panther unmoored, and sailed out of the harbour of Arrakapassang towards Oroolong: owing to contrary winds and unsettled weather she did not clear the islands and reefs until Tuesday the 19th February, on the noon of which day, being without all the reefs, they proceeded to China, where they arrived on Thursday the 7th March; after having there refitted, and taken on board the necessary stores and provisions for their voyage to Bombay, they sailed for that port on Munday 22. Monday the 22d April, steering down the west coast of Luconia and passing through the Straits of Macassar, and arrived at Bombay on Saturday 17. Saturday the 17th August, 1793, after an absence of nearly three years, the vessels having left the harbour of Bombay on the 24th August, 1790.

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CHAPTER XI.

A Letter very unexpectedly received in England from Captain M'CLUER, with an Account of his having left the Pelew Islands .- His arrival at Macao, where he falls sick.—He purchases a Vessel, and returns to the Pelew Islands-embarks his Family and Property-sails from thence, taking with him several of the Natives of both Sexes. -Arrives at Bencoolen, whence he proceeds to Bengal-sends some of his Family to Bombay .- Captain M'Cluer and his People never more seen or heard of .- Captain WILSON arrives at Bombay -is informed of three Pelew Women living there-pays them a Visit-receives a Letter concerning them.—Captain WEDGEBO-ROUGH takes Measures for conveying them to their Native Country.—They embark on board Captain Wilson's Ship, under the immediate Command of Lieutenant Snook, for China-a Vessel is purchased there by the Honourable Company's Supra cargoes, in which they are sent Home, under the Care of Lieutenant Snook -arrive in perfect Health-their Reception, with an Account of the State of the Islands and of two Ships that had visited them.— Lieutenant Snook returns to Macao. — Captain Tucker of the Bombay Marine, on his Way in 1802, makes the Pelew Islands .- Four Canoes come alongside his Vessel; in one of them an Englishman, one of Four who had been some time residing on the Island .- Conclusion.

1791

HAVING thus accompanied the ships PANTHER and ENDEAVOUR through their voyage, I shall, for the satisfaction of my readers, relate such information as has come to my knowledge, relative to Captain M'Cluer and the Pelew islands, since the sailing of the PANTHER in February 1793.

The islands being in the NW. part of the Pacific Ocean, and out of the track of commerce, as described in Mr. Keate's valuable work, no intelligence was expected to be received from them, unless by accident:

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J W N z a letter, however, arrived in England from Captain M'Cluer, bearing date at Macao the 14th June, 1794, in which he states, that after fifteen months residence on the Pelew islands, being tired with his situation, he embarked on board his boat with three Malay-men, and two of his own slaves, in all six persons, intending to go to the island of Ternate " to hear the news." When they got to the southward of the islands, meeting with bad weather, he altered his intention, and determined to proceed to China through the Bernardine passage; in consequence of this resolution they touched at Pellelew, and having taken in a stock of cocoa-nuts, stood away to the northward, and in ten days reached the Bashee islands, passing so close to Monmouth island as to speak with some of the inhabitants; but not being able to make themselves understood, they did not land. In crossing the Chinese sea they met with very bad weather, but arrived at Macao without any accident. Captain M'CLUER's sudden appearance greatly surprised the gentlemen at the English factory, and he again took up his residence with his former friends, the Dutch gentlemen, being politely accommodated by Mr. VAN BRAAM, the chief, in their factory. Captain M'Cluer was taken ill of a fever and ague, and confined for above a month. In giving the account of his voyage from Pelew to China, he says, that his companions in the boat, and himself, had no food but cocoa-nuts and water; they had no instrument or chart for their guidance, except a single chart of Captain Wilson's; they spoke nothing but the Pelew language during the passage, it being the only tongue they all understood. In this letter Captain M'CLUER also states, that the soil of Cooroora is remarkably fertile, yielding two crops of rice in nine months; that the cattle, sheep, and goats throve so amazingly on the herbage, as to be scarcely able to walk, and that several had died in consequence of their over-feeding; that having had a son born there, the natives were much pleased, saying they should now have an English Abba Thulle. Captain M'CLUER in this letter expresses a hope that the East India Company may continue him in their employment, with his rank in the Bombay marine, notwithstanding his having remained on the Pelew islands without leave, as it was a step taken by him to benefit his country.

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After recovering his health, Captain M'CLUER determined to return to the Pelew islands, to take thence his family and property, and return to Bombay: to effect this purpose, he purchased a vessel at Macao, being furnished with money to the amount of ten thousand dollars, for his bills on Bombay. In pursuance of the resolution taken, he returned to the Pelew islands, and embarked his family and property, taking with him from thence several of the natives of both sexes, there being six or eight women servants said to have been sent to attend the child born there. On his voyage from the Pelew islands to Bombay, the vessel touched at Bencoolen, where they met with the Honourable Company's ship Europa, Captain Applecanth, bound for England, and the Bombay, a frigate belonging to the Bombay marine, bound to Bombay. By this latter ship he sent some of his family to that port, with six of the Pelew women; himself, with the other natives, proceeding in his own vessel to Bengal; from whence he again sailed, and was never more heard of, nor any of his crew.

In July 1797, Captain Wilson arrived at Bombay in the Honour- July 1 able Company's ship Warley, and was there informed by Captain WEDGEBOROUGH, then commanding the ship Princess Royal, bound to England, that there were three Pelew women living at Bombay, who had been taken by Captain M'CLUER from the Pelew islands, when he finally left them; that having been absent so many years, they were now very desirous of returning to their native country; that it had been in the contemplation of the Bombay government to send them home the year before, but owing to the war, they could not spare a vessel from their marine for that purpose. These women were living at Mazagaum, a village about three miles from the town of Bombay, in the family of Lieutenant Snook. This gentleman had very humanely given them shelter and protection under his humble roof, when they were left to subsist on the benevolence of the Company. In a few days Captain Wilson visited these strangers, who were, he found, taller than the Pelew women are in general, and they appeared to have been very well taken care of, through the humanity and good offices of Mr. Snook and Doctor Helenius Scott, who had,

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when they no longer emertained any hopes of Captain M'Cluer's returning, induced the government to be at the expense of their clothing and board. The names of these three women, were Reemo, Cockilla, and Cocathey; Reemo was the oldest; her hands and arms were tatooed like the stitching of long gloves; Cockilla's hands also were tatooed, and very much like the stitching of habit or short gloves; the youngest was not marked at all. A short time after this visit of Cap tain Wilson to these females, he received a letter from Mr. Wedgeborough, a copy of which, for the satisfaction of the reader, I shall here insert:

To Captain HENRY WILSON.

"SIR,

"You being the first discoverer of the Pelew islands, I think it " proper to acquaint you that there are three women, natives of the "Pelew islands, now at Bombay: they came away with Captain " M'CLUER, of the Honourable Company's marine, when he left those " islands. Captain M'CLUER being dead, they were in my charge, as " his executor, until, by the humanity and good offices of Doctor "Scorr, they were taken under the care and protection of the govern-"ment here. As they are very desirous of returning to their native "country, and as I am on the eve of sailing for Europe in the com-" mand of the ship Princess Royal, I beg to request your assistance, " together with that of Doctor Scott, in an application to government " to have them sent home; a measure that was in contemplation last " year, but from the particular circumstances of the times, was obliged " to be postponed. Indeed I cannot help saying, that I think their " being sent home is a measure highly necessary, especially as there "were some Chinese left at the islands by Captain M'CLUER, to " instruct the natives in the cultivation of land, and rearing of cattle, "who, in justice and humanity, ought to have the means afforded, " them of returning home.

" I am, &c. &c.

"Bombay, August 7th, 1797.

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In consequence of this representation, Captain Wilson wrote to Boctor Scott, inclosing him a copy of the above letter, and requesting him to consider on the propriety of submitting the same to the Bombay government, for their sanction and aid, in order to carry into effect these very laudable purposes. Doctor Scott accordingly waited upon Sir Charles Warre Mallett, then acting Governor in the absence of Governor Duncan, when it was agreed to send the women home by the way of China, under the care of Lieutenant Snook; Captain Wilson having offered to accommodate them with their passage to China, on board the Warley, where they arrived in perfect health on the 2d January, 1798.

In the afternoon Lieutenant Snook, with the women, and their presents from the Bombay government, consisting of several tools and utensils for their future use, with which they were liberally furnished, were landed at Macao, from whence Lieutenant Snook sent up a copy of his instructions, and the letters from the Bombay Presidency, advising the supra cargoes at Canton, of their having sent three Pelew women, the only survivors of those left at Bombay by Captain M'CLUER; that they were embarked on board the Warley, under his charge, for the purpose of conveying them to their native country, agreeably to their wishes. The letter concludes by saying, "we are induced to "trouble you with this recommendation, in order to promote that " friendly spirit which has been so eminently exhibited by those " islanders towards our nation." Not being able to obtain a vessel for hire to convey these people home, the committee of supra cargoes ordered Lieutenant Snook to purchase a small one, and equip her for this purpose; which was accomplished the 10th February, and the equipment proceeded upon without loss of time; but owing to the scarcity of men and stores at Macao, it was the 4th March before they sailed. After being a few days at sea, bad weather causing them some damage, they were obliged to return to Macao, from whence they again sailed on the 14th, and after a very tedious voyage reached the Pelew islands in safety. As soon as they arrived, a canoe came alongside from the southern islands: an English vessel always rejoiced the hearts of

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the natives, and the more so now by having their country-women on board; very soon afterwards a number of canoes came off from Angour, and assisted Lieutenant Snook in getting the vessel into safe anchorage. Being in want of provisions, they immediately sent for some cattle. Of the stock which had been conveyed to these islands, the sheep only had failed; goats and pigs were as plentiful in the northern islands and districts of Artingall and Angrath, as at Cooroora. The inhabitants were greatly pleased at the return of their country-women, and were as attentive as usual to Lieutenant Snook and his small company, while they staid with them; and, according to their natural kindness and disposition, behaved to them in the same friendly manner as they had formerly done to our countrymen. They informed Lieutenant SNOOK that there had been two other vessels there since the departure of the English, and the description they gave of them seemed to point out one as a Spaniard, which staid but a few days, taking only a view of the islands and inhabitants; the other they described as having a great many guns, and men who talked a great deal, and inquired much after the English, whose vessels, they said, if they met with, they would blow out of the water into the clouds; these remained some time among them, and behaved very differently from the supposed Spaniards.

Lieutenant Snook having performed the service he was sent upon, refitted his vessel, and taking on board the Chinese left on the islands by Captain M'Cluer, as mentioned in Mr. Wedgeborough's letter to Captain Wilson, he returned to Macao, and from thence to his appointment and situation at Bombay.

Here I finish the account of the friendly natives of the Pelew islands.

Captain NATHANIEL TUCKER, of the Company's marine, sailed from Bombay with dispatches to China, in February 1802, and touched at the Pelew islands; four canoes came off to him, in one of which was an Englishman: the account he gave of himself to Captain Tucker was, that three more Europeans, belonging to a country ship which had gone to Port Jackson, were put upon the island to collect beech de

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mer, tortoise-shell, sharks' fins, and other articles for the China market, against the return of the vessel, which was to take them on board; this, he said, was the fourth time he had been left on those islands for that purpose, and always met with the most friendly and hospitable attention from the inhabitants. They were very solicitous for Captain Tucker to anchor within the reefs, but the service he was on requiring dispatch, he was unable to gratify them, and was obliged to make sail without any further communication.

In concluding this Narrative, I hope for the reader's excuse, in calling to his remembrance the liberality and munificence of the Honourable East India Company in the equipment of the ships, with the ample provisions of stores, cattle, grain, seeds, instruments, and tools, sent out for the future use and comfort of these untutored, yet humane children of nature, who in return testified, both by word and actions, how truly sensible they were of the extent and benefit of the gifts bestowed on them. Judging from the mild and tractable disposition displayed by the natives of these islands, and their attachment to the English nation, of which they may be now said to have become a part, let me indulge a hope that the time is not far distant, when the dayspring from on high, which hath visited them faintly, will break forth with glory; and the light of the Gospel will be propagated with more assurance of success in those mild regions, and still milder inhabitants, than in less genial climates, where the minds of the people as yet seem to be scarcely awake to the contemplation of the Almighty.

LINES

SENT FROM AN UNKNOWN PERSON TO CAPTAIN WILSON,
DECEMBER 3d 1790, BY THE POST.

When titled villainy returns to dust,
How soon ascends the monumental bust;
What crowds of venal poets swell the song,
And roll the mournful notes of death along;
All nature sickens, saddens, and decays,
To furnish out a couplet in his praise;
And Providence is tax'd with cruel sway,
Who took the darling of the earth away.
Not so when modest worth, from public eye

Not so when modest worth, from public eye
By modest manners screen'd, retires to die;
Some pious relative, or weeping friend,
Attends his bed, to calm his latter end,
And oft, perchance, lest he should lie unknown,
They trust his merits to a letter'd stone:
Precarious fame! the sexton's rugged hand
Throws the memento down to clear the land;
Then is the name (in song by none rehearsed)
In Lethe's stream eternally immersed.

And such, Lee Boo, had been thy hapless lot, So hadst thou been neglected and forgot, If Keate (to rising merit ever true, Kind and indulgent) had not held to view The various virtues of thy opening mind, And thus to fame thy memory consign'd. Yet though e'en Keate relate thy artless tale, And sorrows universally prevail,

For thy sad fate, in every gentle heart, By nature kindly form'd to bear a part In others sufferings; though the eyes o'erflow " In all the tender luxury of woe," And bosoms melt with pity at thy name (These tributes sure thy gentle merits claim); Though the good CAPTAIN and his household strove Each other to excel in deeds of love; Though death was spoil'd of his severest sting, Nor troubled conscience in thy years could ring A clam'rous peal, the parting soul to fright, And render horrid its descent to night; Yet never, never can all this atone For loss of such mild virtues as thine own: Will this, when told thy father, noble Chief! Stop the strong current of resistless grief? Has not imagination, in alarms, Pourtray'd his son return'd with arts and arms, To bless his kingdom with a lasting race Of warriors all, and all in love with peace? Shall he, regardless of each social tie, Calmly resign LEE Boo, without a sigh? And will unmoved thy gen'rous uncles stand To hear thou died'st regretted in our land? Ah no!—But vain the attempt for my weak pen To trace the feelings of these virtuous men. My vig'rous fancy often takes its way, Swift as a sun-beam from the god of day, And tow'ring lights the embow'ring trees among, Which shade the peaceful isle of Oroolong. Here I behold, upon the rocky shore, The anxious chiefs assume the dashing oar, Stretch to the main, and brave each stubborn gale, In hope to spy the long-expected sail;

Wider, and still more wide, their course they steer, No long-expected sail's discover'd near-Ah, treach'rous nation! faithless as the wave Which off'ring pleasure often yields a grave, Might they not say?—and thus, in serrow, brand With base ingratitude our native land; Then with dejected countenance they turn, And thy suspected cause of absence mourn. Though weak my pen, I still can contemplate, And sorrow as a brother, for thy fate: Perhaps kind heaven, in mercy to your isle, To keep it still from wickedness and guile, Bade the destroying angel take you hence, And paid with joys eternal, joys of sense. Whate'er the end of Providence may be, Tis ours to weep, and bow to the decree.—

A3. Extracts from McCluer's actual logbook of the voyage

Source: BL Add. ms. 19,301.

Note: The text was slighted edited for proper punctuation, in order to make it easier to read.

Voyage to the Pelew Islands.

Sunday 23d of August 1790. In the afternoon slipped the moorings but the wind and tide being unfavorable we came to at the middle ground, where we settled all our private worldly affairs, and I really believe there was no one on board that owed money to any one, when he left the post, so that we stood away boldly without the least remorse of conscience.

There was only one married person among our crew, and he engaged himself only 15 days before we sailed who never returned to the arms of his beloved, having bequeathed his last on the Island of Timor.

Altho I was only 31 years of age at the beginning of this Voyage, I was the eldest of all the officers, so that none of us was wore out with age, and we left Bombay all in sound and perfect health, excepting Mr. Drummond.

24th. Weighed with the tide of ebb, and worked out of the harbour, the **Endeavour** (our consort) in company, kept by her till clear of the port, finding she bore her sail very well, and answered our expectations, we stood on, we sailing rather better than her in a head sea, and left her to pursue her course direct for Bencoolen.

Having received two Box chronometers from the ship **Barwell** and those, from report, going but indifferently, I could not have an opportunity of trying them in Bombay Harbour to determine their exact rate, I purposed at Anjengo to regulate them, the Longitude of that place being determined accurately from the last season's Observations, the true difference of Longitude being so much wanted between the two sides of the Peninsula.

[The **Panther** first went to Anjengo (8°39' N. & 77°47' E of Greenwich), then to Bencoolen, where the **Endeavour** had arrived 5 days earlier.]

Oct. 30th. Having great reason to be disgusted at this place, I was very willing to get away from it, wishing never to see it again. I left it without regret, on the morning of the 30th having been here 20 days, and all that time lost to the voyage by first stopping here.

Mr. Drummond, Commander of the **Endeavour**, still continuing ill of his disorder [of the liver], I persuaded him all I could to remain behind, but this he would not harken to, thinking the sea air would be of service to him, I had him shifted on board the **Panther**, and made up accommodations for him; that he might be better attended, and receive medical assistance, gave temporary charge of the **Endeavour** to Mr. Haswell his officer, sent on board the Surveying and Sailing Signals with our next destination.

Dec. 1st. Light variable winds, We have now by hard work got to the East end of Java which we make to lye in by Chron. 114°42' E & Lat. 8°50' S. The low South point of Bali shows like a separate Island, flat on the top, which the Dutch call in their Charts Table Point. The interior parts of Bali is [sic] very high and there is a peak upon it as high at that of Lombock, but not so sharp at top.

About 2 o'clock in the morning departed this life Lieut. William Drummond, Commander of the Endeavour, much lamented by us all; he was an active, and enterprising officer, well skilled in the theory and practical parts of his profession. He was likewise a jovial companion and a warm friend, the loss of such a Character, was not felt without some regret. We committed the corpse to the deep, with three vollies of musquetry and his vessel fired 24-minute guns for him, he being of that age when he died. Appointed Mr. Thomas Haswell to the temporary command of the Endeavour, Mr. Proctor whose right it was to succeed, still remained chief officer of the Panther in preference to the commanding the Endeavour. Mr. Michie, was directed to continue on board the Endeavour as officer.

Dec. 17th. ... By a general consultation we agreed that the season was too far advanced for surveying New Guinea and to be in China time enough to send our accounts home by the returning ships of this season, therefore took in stock for the Pelew Islands with a determination to make the best of our way for them, by the shortest route, provided here 6 cows, 2 bulls, 20 goats with paddy and straw for 3 months sufficient.

20th. ... we went up the inlet to the Village Sarraparrang and bought several goats, kids & fowls. This village is very small in comparison to the other, Pullabah.

[The ships went by Lombok, through the Strait of Sappy, then along Celebes Island.]

1791 Jan. 1st. ... Celebrated the day with a fine bullock which we kept for the purpose. The stock all in good health except the goats, having lost a great many by death since I left the strait, they are all taken with a sore mouth, which prevents their eating the paddy, the Bengal ewes which I brought from Madras are all in good health and have most of them lambed on board but their lambs all died for want of nourishment. and the wet weather.

2nd. Moderate winds from the Northward. Noon, the East end of Bouro S32°E. Lat. 2°34'30" S.

¹ Ed. note: They were then at the village of Laboijee on Bali Island.

A little before noon a certain circumstance happened which I cannot help relating to show how precarious a sailor's life is, however, landsmen are equally liable to accidents tho' not perhaps so frequent.

The Endeavour being about half a mile from us, by accident a duck fell over board, from her. The Commander, Mr. Haswell, regretting the death of the poor duck thinking it might linger sometime in the water, put a small canoe overboard and went in her alone after this duck, the vessel then having little or no way through the water, taking a piece with him loaded with small shot, in case he could not take alive to kill it, away he went determining to bring it back dead or alive, he was in this point for one mistaken. The duck being chased by something, which appeared to it uncommon, did not wish to change its situation disagreeable as it might then seem. Whenever the canoe came nigh, it would dive and come up at a great distance, which kept him amused till he began to be tired with paddling the canoe about, was resolved at last to shoot it, at last he let fly at it, but his vessel being so very unfirm, that with the recoil of the piece, away went the canoe bottom up. His people from the vessel, seeing their Commander in this situation made their best efforts to send the boat to his assistance, but in the hurry in getting her out, they threw her by mere strength overboard and filled her with water. During this period a monster of a shark came with his nose above water close by the canoe, and swam round it. Mr. Haswell at this time had got upon the bottom of the canoe and seeing his danger it may be supposed that he did not find his condition very agreeable expecting every moment to have a limb taken off, he splashed with his paddle and hands in the water to frighten the monster but he still played about him, till the duck began to flutter with its wings, it not being dead but wounded with the small shot. The shark perceiving this small object, made for it with open mouth, & took it into his stomach, and wagged his tail at the prize. The duck being wounded could not avoid its destruction. Mr. Haswell seeing what he had to expect from the fate of the duck, began to reflect on the unwariness of his conduct, and kept his eye upon his enemy, expecting to be attacked every minute, he kept hauling for the boat and beating the water with his hands and feet which did not frighten the shark, but made him the more eager for his prey, he still played round the canoe and not knowing how to come at a proper mouthful, by this time the boat came to his assistance (which was still half full of water) which freed him from the jaws of death. He came directly on board of us to relate the story, we all congratulated him on his narrow escape. Providence had brought him several times to the very point of accidental deaths, during the Voyage, and was at last taken off, suddenly at Timor, by a dysentery.

Now to proceed with the Voyage, it now begins to be more interesting, whatever you think deficient here you will be informed at large in the Journal. The Latitudes and Longitudes I intend to add in appendix and only mention a few, that concerns the thread of the history.

[In the middle of January, they were coasting along the north coast of New Guinea.]

14th. ... At daylight in the morning land was descried in the SE quarter, as it was said to be low land I bore up for it & by 8 o'clock was within a mile [from] the Westernmost Island. They proved to be 3 low islands situated as shown by Capt. Carteret [i.e. Freewill's Is.], excepting the compass being reversed. The three are connected together by a coral reef, and no doubt but they are the same Islands also seen by Capt. Meares, altho' we differ so much in Longitude, but we make the same difference with him in respect to the Tattee Islands (as he calls them) which can be no other than the Yawl Islands so well described by Captain Forrest, instead of the word Tatu Tatu, which was so vociferated by the natives was misunderstood by him. They must have said Battu Battu, which is **friend** in their language, (they speaking the Papua language). The people of Waygoo and Papua always called out so on their first approach to us.

But to the thread of the story, we having no time to spare for the further examination of these islands, we stood away from them concluding them to be Freewills Isles, as we found them to be in the same Latitude with Carteret & Meares.

The situation of these islands in our Chart may be relied on, altho we did not determine it by Lunars taken off the Islands yet our Chronometer continuing its rate so uniformly from Bombay for these 4 months past, we little doubted it in a run of little more than 24 hours, from the Strait, whose Longitude is now well known. This run so short as it was, the Chron. discovers an Easterly set of 42 miles from Revenge's Strait.

The islands and shoals in this track are so badly situated in the old Charts that ships are alarmed at this passage when now it is known. I proclaim it a safer passage than up the Tunnel, as a ship may make regular stations as a stage coach. On account of the variable currents, a chronometer is just as requisite as a Hadley [sextant], to proceed with confidence.

15th. We stood from these Islands away to the Northward having a strong Easterly current, we judged we had sufficient easting to fetch the Pelews. The swell we found short and rolling toward the NE.

Lat. 2°46' North at Noon, Long. 135°21' E.

Our crew all in perfect health, not a sick person on board of either vessel, although we have undergone a deal of wet weather. Our Pelew stock is likewise in good order.

16th. About the third degree of North Lat. we found the wind variable and inclining to the Eastward and by the chronometer and observations find the current set above a mile per hour to the ESEward.

17th. Variable winds and rain, the current SE. Lat. 4°18' N.

18th. Winds baffling and unsettled with a heavy swell from the NE. The current now due East 28 miles. Lat. 5°9'30" N.

19th. Throughout a perfect calm with a heavy swell from the Eastward having great reason by a current of 40 miles to the Eastward. This is the track to gain easting, but

how should we know it, without a chronometer, in 1793 we had a westerly set in this Latitude. 1

20th. This day the sky was much overcast, and we had fresh winds from the Southward and Eastward which seemed to us uncommon in this track of the NE Monsoon, this sudden and irregular spirt we supposed was occasioned by the Moon being on the full which affects the winds as well as currents in those seas, and also we found the current had changed to the ENE above 50 miles this day.

From 8 in the morning being in the Latitude of the South end of the Pelews kept away WNW. At noon in 6°45' N.

First part a steady breeze from the Southward which was also uncommon. By our evening sight, found ourselves in the Long. 137°4' E. and by account in 133°30' in the run of a few days from the Straits only. This shows how precious a jewel a chronometer is in those seas. In this Lat. we lost the easterly current; we imagined its draught to be obstructed by the chain of the Pelews. We proceeded in for the land in the Lat. of 7° North. By chance we fell in with these Islands just as the tides took off, which are said to run rapidly through the reefs and channels; we found the swell much abated and the weather moderate. During the night kept under an easy sail and made the **Endeavour** lead ahead and keep a good lookout. Noon in Lat. 6°52' N. & Long. 135°45' E.

Winds from the Eastward, the current being northerly, stood in due West.

At 5 p.m., was in the Long. of 135°22'48" E by Chron. and although the horizon was very clear we could not see the land from our masthead when we had a view of 12 or 15 leagues. I gave order to run 30 miles on the West course from sunset, then, if nothing was seen, to lie to the remainder of the night. We had only ran 22 miles of the 30 when land was seen about midnight. We then hove to, till daylight, when we found ourselves about 10 leagues from the shore, and the Southern Islands (Pillilew) bore WbN. stood for the break in the land, then bearing NWbW made the Endeavour signal to lead, had an officer at the masthead. When we came within about 3 leagues of the land, the officer from the masthead reported that he could see the reefs extending a long way from the shore, and could not perceive any opening. I still laid on to get a nearer view of it. I went up to the masthead myself and found we were then standing in a direct line for what appeared to be a good channel and saw several others about the reefs. We shortened sail and let the Endeavour get on, when she approached the entrance, she made several sheers about, which was alarming to us, but we found this was only in trying the depth of water, seeing the bottom under the vessel, it appeared to be less water than there was. The least we had was 7 fathoms which is just in the bar of the entrance, and this is near 3 miles wide. We now followed the Endeavour, finding no danger, and when within the reef, we increased our water to 14 & 16 fathoms sandy bottom. We anchored in the middle of the harbour in 14 fathoms and sent the Endeav-

¹ Ed. note: This comment about 1793 shows that this narrative was re-written 2 years after the event.

our to sound all over the bay, close in to the shore. Here we are safe at anchor in a good harbour.

Now for our reception at Pelew. Being now I may say in Abraham's bosom, sheltered from all winds and seas, we proceeded to putting our large boat in the water. In the afternoon saw 2 small canoes under sail. We waved to them but they would not come near us. We imagined they were going with the account of our arrival, and our conjectures were right so far, for in less than two hours we saw about 20 canoes standing towards us. Before these made their appearance, I had sent Mr. Wedgebrough away in the long boat to examine the channel to the westward, which appeared to be navigable for a ship. Our boat met Abba Thulle and his whole retinue coming by this channel he was examining. The old man was truly happy to see him and recollected Mr. Wedgebrough's face but forgot his name and supposed that all the former people had come back. It being late in the evening, when he got on board of us, he did not perceive my features but felt my arm for the Bone. When he was made to understand that I was not Captain Wilson, but that Capt. Wilson was still alive and well, and that he had a larger ship than the one he lost at Oroolong, to which he was well satisfied, I told him of Leeboo's fate, to which Mr. Wedgebrouogh had been beforehand with me, this he said was we'el, that it was much the same whether he died in England or Palou, he was certain the Englees would be kind to him, he then told me that Blanchard had not been dead one Moon; he died of this country disorder, breaking out in sores owing to the poverty of their food. He was quite happy to see the English again thinking they had not reached China in their small vessel, and could not otherwise account for their long absence. The vessels were now crowded with his people and he observing how we were encumbered with them, he went on shore, and made them all follow him, also two of our officers, Mr. White & Mr. Haswell, accompanied him. In their stead, he ordered two or three of his Rupacks to remain on board.

At daylight in the morning we weighed intending to work up near Corrora, made a stretch out to the Eastward. Found when we came without the reefs the current set strong to the southward, and when we made the board in, we did not look up where we started from. In this situation we made another tack off till midnight. The next morning,

25th. We barely lay up for the channel we came out of, and was [rather were] necessitated to go through by Oroolong. The King and his attendants joined us, and ran ahead in their canoes, and pointed out the channel for us, but not understanding their language, and maneuvers, we kept our own boat ahead of us, and by the numerous banks that lay in the way we found this channel rather intricate.

26th. In the afternoon came to off the N. end of Oroolong in 20 fathoms soft ground. Sent Mr. Wedgebrough to look at his old residence at Oroolong where the vessel was built, found it all overgrown with underwood and the inscription left by Capt. Wilson

had been torn off the tree and taken away by the people of Pillilew. Found several bits of the sheathing copper about the beach.

At daylight weighed and made all sail to work to Corrora. The wind being dead against us, we made several tacks and very smooth water with a fresh breeze we made good way through the water, our only inconvenience was our decks being lumbered with people and so many canoes about us, notwithstanding we went above 6 knots. Their canoes would shoot past us like so many porpoises. During our traversing we passed several small patches of coral bank with 3-1/2 & 4 fathoms upon them.

27th. About sunset we got up to the Island Arrakappasang where anchored in 18 fathoms within a quarter of a mile of the shore. I showed the King what stock I had brought him, and promised to land them in the morning. This he seemed pleased with, but his main demand was [for] musquets, and powder, without which he said all he had would be of no value, as his neighbours woud take all from him. He then took his leave for the night with his attendance, but not all. I could not keep the vessel clear of them so soon, we being too great a novelty to be soon forsaken.

In the morning I landed the stock as follows: 4 cows, 2 bulls, 10 Bengal ewes and a ram, 7 she-goats & 3 he-ditto, 4 sows with young and a boar pig, 1 pair of geese, 2 pairs of ducks, all in good order and condition, the latter remarkably tame. How the poor animals tore the grass as soon as they saw it, and ate rather too much at first, for one of the she-goats died the next day, and made a hearty feast for the King and Rupacks who licked their chops at the repast.

In the afternoon sent on shore the arms and swords, they not knowing the use of the bayonet; these and the swords were immediately distributed among the Rupacks. The arms he put aside for his own use.

28th. A.M. went on shore accompanied by Messrs. Proctor, Haswell & Nicholson the Doctor, also the Suberdah of the detachment, all fully dressed in uniform, likewise the boat's crew in a regular dress with the caps and a yellow plate on the front of them with the Company's crest which altogether made no small show. We landed with the Drum & Fife playing the Grenadiers' March and was [rather were] kindly welcomed by the natives who were assembled for this purpose of our reception to the number of 500 all dancing on the beach and the old King among them. They concluded their dance with 3 loud shrieks, with the word Weel! Weel! Weel! We were conducted to one of the Pyes, the description of which will appear in another place. They spread mats for us to sit upon, and put before us a hothpoth made of the Tarra [i.e. taro] root. This is only prepared so for Rupacks, but it being too greasy with coconut oil, it did not suit our palate—we only tasted it to please them. Not knowing their language we should have been at a loss to make them acquainted with the reason of all these things being sent them but fortunately the same Malay that stood Linguist for Capt. Wilson still remained, and as I had several Malays among the Sepoys [i.e. soldiers from India], we made out our meaning tolerably well. For that purpose the Malay (Soogle) was always

near the King. I must here observe that they are dull in comprehension and have no ear for music, & altho they seem apparently satisfied with the explanation of any thing, yet they are frequently at a loss and uninformed; also their language is very difficult to learn, and I now am surprised how Soogle conveyed Capt. Wilson's words as well as he did, considering he had only been 10 months among them, when the **Antelope** was lost. We stayed with the King about an hour, had our pockets picked by his Ladies of honour and returned on board.

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In the afternoon we sent on shore the grindstones and the several packages of iron-mongery sent by the Company to them. They were opened before the old man, the sight of which struck them all with amazement. They could not utter a word but looked at each other with their mouths open.

The 400 Kypattebs sent from Bombay being now opened, this was a new object, and the most desirable of all the iron work, he distributed a few to each of his principal Rupacks, and then ordered the chest to be nailed up again. The hand hatchets was [rather were] those he distributed with his own hands. As I found that he (the King) was the only person to whom the English had to thank for the safety of their countrymen, I delivered every thing sent by the Company to him, and let him dispose of them as he thought proper, but I found he extended his generosity too far, for on my return from China he had very few of the things left.

29th. The King finding that we were perfectly reconciled to this Island, he also took up his Residence here, that he might the more readily supply us with what his country afforded.

Sent our tents ashore, and pitched them near the King's Pye, also my own *Rowtee*. When it was put up, the old man came into it, and was highly delighted with the construction, gave several ahs! of amazement, and examined it very minutely, calling some of his Rupacks to join him in laughing at so great a curiosity.

In the morning he came on board of us accompanied by several of the principal Rupacks. At this visit I made the King a present of a horseman's sword, and a target, at the same time showed him the use of it by making one of his men throw a spear at it with all his might, which scarcely left the mark where it struck, at the same time the spear snapped short off, about 6 inches from the point. The composition of this shield was now a matter of enquiry, but we not knowing sufficient of their language, left the explanation till some future period. I told the Malay to tell him [that] it was made from the skin of an animal, which came as near the truth as we could express ourselves; all the Surat targets are made from a composition like glue. I at this time made the son of Arrakoker (which since the loss of the **Antelope** has gone by the name of Harry from being the friend of Capt. Wilson's son) a present of a Mharratta sword of 4 feet in length, and made one of our Sepoys flourish it, which highly delighted the Company, and this was often repeated afterwards, whenever that Sepoy was at leisure. I also gave the King and each of the Chiefs a piece of broad cloth which was also esteemed a valuable present, the manufacture of which they could not comprehend. The Malay gave them a sort

of an account of it, but far from the truth. All they understood from his description was that it was made from the **hair** of the sheep of England. They now got up to take a look over the vessel. Our people was [rather were] now employed pumping the vessel of water that had been started in the hold. This extraordinary piece of machinery attracted every one's attention, it being a belt pump & delivered a deal of water they could not satisfy themselves enough with this curiosity. On their way forward they espied the forecastle's guns, and the King begged of me to fire one. I ordered it to be loaded with round and grape. When ready I told him to look where the gun was directed, being prepared for the shock with his fingers in his ears, I ordered it to be fired; the scattering of the grape in the water and the round shot at a great distance threw up the water like the blowing of a great fish, made such an impression on their senses that it is not to be described; they kept chattering together & screwing their mouths about for near half an hour upon this subject. Having seen enough for one day the old man and his party took their leave.

I must here relate a circumstance that occurred the first day we came within the reefs. While we [were] employed in turning to windward, the King and Rupacks being on board, we placed rather too much confidence upon their honesty, and notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of our servants, we could not prevent losing a number of useful articles such as keys and things of little value, but of great utility, and of little use to those that took them. An excellent opportunity offered for my disgust to thieving fell upon an unfortunate Malay which had been but lately driven here from the Talour [i.e. Talaud Islands.] This fellow was caught taking away the last pair of snuffers that we had on board. He was instantly brought up to the shrouds, and seized up before the King and above a 100 of his people then on board. They all looked with astonishment at this ceremony and kept a profound silence. Told the Malay to explain to the King that in England, people were hanged till they were dead for stealing, and the next time this fellow was caught thieving he must be killed, for the present I should only give him a whipping. The King made for answer that I might do as I liked with him, and at the same time made a harangue to his people of a considerable length "telling them not to expect any protection from him, for their misbehaviour, that I had his full leave to punish those that deserved and he was certain the English would not punish them without a cause." The Rupacks were for killing him directly, and a brother to the King who was only 3 days after caught in the same act, was the most assidious in seizing the fellow up. I ordered the Drummer to give him two dozen with a regimental Cat, but before he got half his quantity he made a sham faint. This the Pelew people took for being dead but I convinced them to the contrary by stopping the Cat till a bucket of salt water was thrown over him. When I found the fellow was joking with us, he got the remainder and was sent instantly out of the ship. This early example I found had but a small effect on the conduct of the natives, they only took care to be more circumspect and cautious in their proceedings. I found this was learned from an early period of their lives

¹ Ed. note: Cat o'nine tails.

and the most dexterous in this art was looked upon to be the most respected; those who are caught in the act are called fools (*Thingaringer*).

Finding my tent very much crowded and pestered by the curiosity of the natives I had it moved to a little bay nearer the vessel and away from the bustle of the crowd. In this bay was a beautiful rivulet of water, where I found convenient to have our linen washed unmolested, and a most pleasant and delightful spot. When the King understood I was moving my residence he seemed very much affected and was afraid I had been displeased with him, or his people sent to beg of me to remain where I was & that he and all his men would move to another part of the Island, but having explained to him the reason of my moving for the benefit of the fresh water he was reconciled and sent me a Palou bead, at the same [time] telling me that I might do as I liked, that the Islands were all at my service. He was unhappy he had nothing worthy of our acceptance for the many favours he had received from the English, whose name was never to be forgotten on these Islands, saying that the small children are taught to sing and dance in their praises, and they will always be happy to see an English ship. To these compliments I told him that the English wanted nothing in return for what they had sent them but their friendship; while they were sincere, the English would never forsake them.

30th January. Although I had my tent ashore I preferred sleeping on board the vessels for several reasons. After breakfast (as I was dressing myself to go on shore) the King proposed today a party to Corrora. I observed a hand come in through the blind of my cabin window, and make towards a basket of glass bangles that stood near. In making a second attempt he found himself detected and throwing what he had in his hand into our boat astern, he left his canoes and took to the water like a dolphin. I ran on deck and pointed the centinel's musquet at him. In an instant every canoe left the vessel and the women (who were many on board) all took [to] the water, and if I had not sent the boat to pick them up, some would have drowned. This vagabond kept playing about the vessel till I was quite exasperated at him. Being so very conscious of his guilt, he expected nothing less than instant death, made every effort to avoid me, I fired twice near him and the third time I loaded the piece I put the ball into the fleshy part of his arm, still this would [not] bring him on board. He kept diving about under the bottom till I got two boats manned, one on each side and brought him on board, which was as much as 4 men could hold, he being an exceedingly stout fellow. He being brother to Abba Thulle and the third next the Government I sent him bound ashore to the King with an officer, that of being shot through the arm was sufficient together with the disgrace. Soon as the boat was near the shore he leaped out and away he ran into the woods, to hide himself from the King. The old man being acquainted with the affair was sorry I did not shoot him through the head, instead of the arm. This affair very much discomposed the King's mind, and made him ashamed of his Relations. When I went ashore he seemed very sorrowful, making me understand through the Malay that I had a very bad return for the kindness I had shown his country and begged of me in future not to send any one to him but punish the offenders myself and he would be glad to see them punished for their faults. This (I told him) I hoped would be a warning to his people and that Rupacks would not be excused if caught thieving, for then they were no longer Rupacks. The subject was now dropped, and we prepared for the trip to Corror.

The procession [was] as follows.

In our boat I was accompanied by Messrs. Proctor, Haswell & Nicholson & Mr. White went with the King in his canoe. Our boat led the van with a small canoe before her to show the proper channel. Next was the King's canoe directly astern of our boat, on each side of him came the Rupacks according to their rank. Nearest him 4 state canoes on each side. Behind those 9 came 9 others according to their rank and so on for near 100 canoes. When we approached Corrora, they sounded the Conch and the King gave out the first stave of a song which was taken up and chorused by the whole cavalcade, and indeed they deserved that appellation for they resembled much a troop of Horse. At particular turns of their song the whole line would flourish their paddles at the same instant, and with such regularity that had a very agreeable effect to a spectator. When we landed we gave them three cheers which was answered by the whole fleet in their manner Weel! three times.

The first thing that presented our view on landing was the building of a new boat house, the gavel end of which was just lined out for carving, and the work of the old man. He had already delineated the cow, with the sailor in his dress with a round hat, and trousers, not badly imitated.

From the boat house, we proceeded up to the Village along the causeway which is broad enough for two wheeled carriages to pass each other. We were then conducted to the principal Pye, which is really a curious piece of workmanship and has been built since the loss of the **Antelope** which goes by the name of "the English Pye."

This extraordinary fabric is 70 feet long and 15 broad, and near 40 feet high. The whole is nicely planned, and joined together with astonishing ingenuity. The beams and all the inside are curiously carved with hieroglyphic remarks of their Country and transactions, brought on from time to time. They have emblems of wind, storms, rain, famine, plenty, war & peace. War & fishing parties seem to be their chief delight. At the gavel ends sits a naked woman which represents their hospitality to all strangers. This figures they hold in a religious light but show them no kind of adoration. More will be said on this subject when I am better informed. The floor of this building is perfectly level, raised about 5 feet from the ground and has many planks between 3 or 4 feet in breadth, which denotes what size timber their islands afford. This amazing work, they say was completed in 3 months, which is hardly credible; the whole is fixed without a nail or bolt or any kind of peg, the only ironwork about it is two ring bolts belonging to the **Antelope**, at each gavel end. This Pye is so contrived that a rat cannot enter it.

Here we were regaled with sweet drink made in a superior manner to what is common and is really a very pleasant beverage.

We were now treated with boiled fish and yams and every pain was taken to make our situation pleasant and comfortable, although it is contrary to their custom to sit in company with their guests, yet Abba Thulle knowing our manner kept always by us and ate when we did. Not being accustomed to sit on hard planks, this we found our only inconvenience in this visit, and it raining most of the time we were ashore prevented us from examining the country and the village as we wished.

February 1st '91. Next morning we rambled about the village a little, and found most of the people in their habitation and as we came near any of their houses they would call us in to partake of any thing they had, and was [rather were] pleased if we condescended to taste any of their food. We found every house placed at a sufficient distance, so as not to incommodate each other, and every house had its name, or title, and all its appurtenances about it. The family has always the remembrance of death before their eyes, from the graves of their ancestors being all in the front of their houses, in square pavements and round these squares are planted their betel nut trees and this leaf for chewing, and without these are their coconut trees, planted so as not to injure the house or children by the nuts falling, which notwithstanding their caution sometimes accidents are unavoidable. They have a [good] deal of fine level rising ground, but all uncultivated except where their trees are. The yam plantations are all in the vallies in wet ground; this is their staff of life, and is carefully cultivated by their women, the men looking upon working the ground to be a disgrace.

On our leaving Corrora I examined their Pier which is the next curiosity to their Pyes. The wharf runs out about a thousand yards from high water mark, and on this they oppose their enemies and fight their battles, the gaining possession of one of these piers is the same as storming a fort with us. Of this more hereafter, when I describe the manners and customs of these people, which I intend to do in a separate work.

We now all returned to our Island Arrakapparang but not with the regularity we left it.

In the morning I ordered a general review of our Detachment, on shore with blank cartridge. They were all landed at my tent, and there they dressed and prepared, this being done unknown to the King and his people, I went to his Pye before [-hand] to see what effect the first appearance of the Sepoys would have upon them. Upon hearing the Drum I knew they were coming, and bade him look the way they were. Shortly they made their appearance round a point, marching quick time by files, and as every pair doubled the corner, the King would call out Katheeluk! thinking they would never have an end. They were now drawn up before him, and they mustered 40 rank and file, besides the Suberdah, Drum & Fife. They now proceeded through their manual exercise, then with the tap of drum, quick & slow marching, wheeling and forming into divisions, then concluded with firing into divisions, and street firing, then the change of the bayonet by forming them into two parties. Of all the maneuvers, the King admired the street firing the most, and of the whole he was highly delighted, and ordered a large tub of sweet drink for the Sepoys. This sight so greatly inspired the old man with courage that he was for setting out directly for Artingal with all the Sepoys just as they were, but I could not agree to his desire.

When the Sepoys had finished their exercise, I made a signal (agreed upon) upon which the vessel fired 11 guns which surpassed any thing they had yet seen and this salute made a dreadful noise among the hills, and I make no doubt was heard at a great distance. This ceremony was concluded by hoisting the English colours and cracking a bottle of wine under the flagstaff, and we give it the name of Port Abercromby, in compliment to our Governor of Bombay. This ceremony was highly seconded by the King calling all the Islands **Englees**.

2d. The people were remarkably quiet and peaceable, and I had a levee from morn to night at my tent, but all kept a respectable distance, and when a party of house women came, I the men were obliged to retire. I had a line drawn to keep everyone at a respectable distance and they observed my direction with the greatest punctuality.

Upon the whole I found this situation very pleasant and agreeable, and formed the crew into three divisions, one was on liberty to run about and stretch their joints, another was selected to keep our stock of wood and water, and the other employed on board the vessel on the rigging &c &c.

This morning the King came round to breakfast with me, quite unattended, and he relished our boiled rice much and promised to sow it in his yam grounds [as] soon as we left the place. I made him understand [that] if [he] had rice, ships would often come and trade with him for it, and give him in return what he liked best. For this purpose I ordered all the paddy that remained on board to be put up with care and landed, also made the King a present of 5 bags of rice to give him a relish for its cultivation.

As the taking the small vessel to China tended to answer no useful purpose and as I was obliged to come this way on my return to Papua, I formed the resolution to leave the **Endeavour** here, to make ourselves better acquainted with the people and their language, also to instruct them in the way of the various articles sent out by the Honorable Company.

Things being thus arranged we now began to prepare for a separation, made up their detatchment 20 strong from the best men of our detatchment, and left stores and provisions for one year for 50 men, this crew being about that number. I likewise ordered the Doctor to fit them up a medicine box, with a set of directions for using the medicines. Left also the Armourer with his forge & tools, and in short nothing was wanting on our parts to make their stay here comfortable. Their crew and those ordered from us liked the change, particularly the Europeans and we left them all in perfect health.

February 2d. About 8 o'clock in the morning one of our goats kidded and it being a pretty female kid we called it Peggy. I mention this in particular, it being the first thing born at the Pelews.

¹ House women & Pye women are different in regard to respect.

Our Carpenter making a regular flagstaff. The Caulker employed on our upper works which was very open.

3d. In the afternoon the King paid me a visit, and he was very anxious to know when we sailed as he wanted much for us to go over to Artingal before we left him. When I told him of the small [force] remaining behind, he would not believe me for some time, till I was serious with him, at which he was highly pleased, and he promised to consider them all as his own family. I then told him we should sail in the large vessel in 8 or 10 days at furthest. He then took his leave promising to go and order provisions for our departure.

[Survey of Malakal Harbor]

As this place where we lay is much out of the way for any ship of size to come that has no time to lose, I went in our large boat to examine the coast to the eastward to search for some good anchorages. From our vessel we passed through a small opening, and discovered a fine spacious harbour, with good and regular soundings all over it except a few straggling spots, which are visible from the vessels deck or mast head. In this harbour was a pleasant island called by the natives Amalakel, and has a very curious spring of water which is never dry and may be conveyed into a boat by the length of a bamboo. Twas now my business to examine the offing for a channel in, where I found two navigable entrances, the Northernmost rather narrow, the Southernmost the widest but more intricate, its longest reach lying NNW & SSE but the plan already in your possession will give you a better idea of it, which I did not plan till my return from China, the reefs about here are well supplied with fish of several kinds, and the fishing parties come to this Island Amalakel to regale themselves. Having now seen all I wanted, returned on board.

4th. Had boisterous weather, frequent hard gusts from the hills, but nothing could hurt us being snug under the lee of the land, we, however lost a small anchor which was not astern to steady us, it having been as well on board for the service it was of, as we lay very well afterwards without one, the wind being always from the NE to ENE.

5th. The wind blowing very hard the King sent a number of canoes out a-fishing for us but owing to the bad weather they had but little success.

In the morning two Chiefs from the Island Emeleegue was [rather were] introduced to me. I received them kindly and showed them the vessel which they examined with a deal of curiosity. A large Peir [rather peering] glass in the cabin attracted their particular attention & greatly astonished them, and as monkeys generally do, they could not help looking and feeling behind it, which gave those who were accustomed to the vessel an opportunity of laughing at their expense. I gave my visitors a knive and a few beads each, which made them perfectly happy, that they ran on deck instantly to show those in the boats what they were possessed of. When the King heard I had made them pres-

ents, he told me through the Malay, that they did not deserve any thing, for when we were not here they never came near him, but assisted his enemies with men and canoes. I comforted the old man by telling him he had nothing to fear while the English remained his friends, and that even the Artingalls could come and beg his friendship. To this the old man laughed and made for answer ["]These islands were no longer his but all belonged to the English and that the people of Artingal were the only enemies he had to fear, now he bid them all defiance.["]

6th. We proposed inclosing a Pye upon a hill for the Residence of Mr. Proctor and his people but finding several inconveniencies attending this proposal declined it & began to inclose a Pye on the beach, which the King gave us for that purpose.

The Carpenter having finished the flagstaff with cap and cross trees, rigged it and hoisted our colours on it.

7th. Mr. Snook having a botanical turn sowed several seeds on the brow of a hill which contained a beautiful spot for that purpose. I also planted [a] coconut tree which I brought from Laboigee [on Bali], as a memorial to our visit at this Island.

8th. Moderate winds and pleasant weather. The King and his party returned with a good quantity of fish which we got a portion of and put in salt for our sea stores.

A.M. arrived Ambassadors from Artingal. They were apprehensive of our coming against them by the long stay we made. They had brought the King a large bead of considerable value with them. They were for all this but coldly received, and were not permitted to see me, or any of the vessels. The King begged of me to order 2 guns to be fired, but did not tell me his reason, yet I complied with his request by two from each vessel which no doubt had the desired effect upon his new visitors, and they made but a short stay.

9th. Moderate weather. Bent our sails and began to prepare for sailing, received a quantity of boiled yams and coconuts for the people, gave every one some strings of beads to adorn their ladies with, which were very loving and obliging to them.

10th. Settled weather and fair, struck our tents, and was very loath to leave so pleasant a spot, got on board all our little matters from the shore. This morning I was susprized by an early visit from the King, all alone, this was only to know if a Bone he had then in his basket would go upon my hand as I must be invested with that Order before I went away. The bone was too small by a great deal, and he would endeavour to get another before we sailed. Before he left me he fortified his stomach with a good quantity of boiled rice & corned fish, and drank a basin of tea without milk. I had a fine Surat goat that gave me near a pint of milk morning and evening, which I intend for this place to breed.

11th. Our people went on fast with the inclosure, and we divided the Pye into 3 appartments, one for the Gentlemen, one for the Crew, & the other for a storeroom, where they lodged the best part of their dry provisions.

12th. Fair weather, A.M. the King paid me a visit, and asked me several questions concerning our Voyage, and when we would return. In this I satisfied him. I told him I would leave my son under his care and I expected, he would let me [have] one or two of his people [to] go to China where they would see our manners and customs, and learn something of our language. This he readily agreed to, and told me I should have one of his sons, and as many of his people as I chose to take. I told him I did not wish to take more than one of each sex, as I should not be able to attend to more as I should

He then told me that two of his children should get ready to go. His daughter was to be under the care of Mr. White & the man under my care, and the other two he told me to choose any of his whole dominions; they could not refuse. The girl I made choice of was the daughter of a Chief who was killed at the conquest of Pellilew and was saved with her mother and two brothers by the timely interference of one of the Corrora Chiefs, who afterwards espoused the Mother & adopted the children as his own, and this girl with her brother was also ordered to prepare for their Voyage and as they wanted but little preparation they were all on board in two hours after this. The King ordering his own brother Arakooker with his state canoe to go and fetch them on board.

When they arrived, they seemed all to be in high spirits and not in the least dejected with so sudden a change.

But in the morning when we were preparing to sail we had a different scene transacted. There was nothing but weeping and wailing, all round the vessel, by the relations and acquaintances of our new passengers.

The old Rupack and the Mother, with all the family came to take their leave of those under my charge, and this scene was truly distressing to us spectators, seeing them so much affected with the idea of parting. I frequently told them to go and take their children ashore, but this they would not agree to, and only begged I would allow them to cry a little over their children, then they would leave us. This laudable request I granted them, and they were as good as their promise. During the time we were weighing our anchor was their time limited and a very affective scene it was. It struck me so forcibly that I could more easily delineate it than describe it. When this time was near expired, the Mother with a knife cut off 3 locks of her daughter's hair, and put it carefully up in a leaf, and took it with her. I soon dried up their tears by some strings of beads, and other trifling presents. The two children now came up from the canoe and the rest of the family reluctantly quitted their hold of the vessel, and sat with their eyes fixed towards us, as long as we were in sight.

On casting, the Endeavour saluted us which we returned, stood down for the Oroolong Channel under an easy sail as the King was expected to come and take leave of us. About 9 o'clock he came on board with several of his principal men. He had now brought with him the Bone which I was to be invested with, and they began to proceed with the ceremony, but unluckily this was not much larger than the other and it would not go without a deal of pain. He then proposed cutting it, and asked for the carpenter's saw, but I knew the Doctor's would do the job much better. This being produced brought a smile of approbation from the old man. The first cut was done very well, but he would assist the Doctor in the second, and between them the bone was broken, this brought forth a general scream, or shriek. What was now to be done? He instantly laid hold of one of the Rupacks and drew the bone forcibly off his arm. This Chief looked upon this piece of robbery as a point of honor, and he submitted to the ceremony with pleasure. This bone like the other would not go on my wrist without cutting & I begged him to let the Doctor do it, without his assistance, which he accomplished with a nicety. Now the carpenter's drill was produced and 8 holes were made in as many minutes, which, as he never saw this machine before, made a hearty laugh, and the old man wagged his head saying, if the English would stay with him the remainder of his life, he would every day see something new. The broken bone was given to Mr. While as a token of his friendship to him, with the charge of his daughter.

He then shook us all by the hand as did his Chiefs and took his leave of us, telling us to make haste and return. He now collected all his canoes together and lay off and looked at us till we got a considerable distance from him. We gave him three cheers at parting, but they were too much dejected to return it, although they knew the custom very well.

We now thought ourselves entirely clear of the Pelew people but I was mistaken, for when the King and his party was at a distance, the King's brother (of a younger branch) came on deck. We were surprized at his appearance, and the more so, as there was not a canoe near us, but he had taken care to provide for this in a proper place. 'Twas only two days ago that I had a dispute with this lad, and it shows their forgiving, and placable disposition, by the following small breach between us.

I happened to be on board one day when a young [girl] had on a string of beads about her waist that some of the Gentlemen had given her. This lad, according to [the] custom of the country instantly took the beads from her, and divided them between him and a Rupack with a bone on his arm, in presence of the girl's father, who durst not say a word on the subject. This being done in my presence I could not help remonstrating against the impropriety of the act. I told him he could not be a Rupack by doing so, and that English Rupack could not do so. He said a deal to convince me he was in the right, but I could not agree to it, that if anyone had a right to the beads it was the girl's father and not him. He was very much vexed [that] I should take umbrage that [rather with] his conduct. He then collected the beads and laid them down before me, but I swept them off the table on the deck. This action convinced him I was displeased with him and he instantly left the vessel with the girl and father. Next morning he got

¹ Ed. note: Two holes to each end of the two halves of the circular bone, to be held together by strings and form a bracelet.

the King to intercede in his behalf, and we were friends again, as [he] promised not to do it again. His fidelity and care for our safety kept him by us till we were past every danger and when the vessel touched on a small patch of coral on our passage out, he lept overboard, and was fore and aft under her bottom to see what part of her took the rocks, and when we swang clear off he was highly pleased and seemed the most interested on board for our safety.

Notwithstanding all the examples we made in punishment for thieving, we could not deter them from exerting their dexterity, and indeed great allowance must be made when everything is such a novelty to them, and that novelty enhance the value of the articles, for things, like with ourselves, are not merely valued for their use but for their singularity and scarcity. I will say that for them: they are not mercenary, but will part with what they have with the utmost goodwill, without the expectation of a return; perhaps they have learned this method of generosity from their intercourse with us. The ladies also never make any bargain for their commodity, but trust entirely to our liberality, but enough of this here.

Before I leave these islands, I must inform you, how I was obliged to exert a proper authority and subordination among them, and I found it the best and only method to support a regular system of rectitude among them, by punishing them when they deserved it, and some of our boys came in for examples to them, who seldom were forgiven when they inclined to steal. Corporal punishment is so seldom practiced among those people that they much dread its effects, and is next to death with them. The following circumstance brought a general terror among them, and I am well convinced it had a good effect in favor of those that remained behind, although Mr. Proctor thought otherwise.

The evening before we weighed a fellow was detected walking off with our salt sellar [i.e. shaker], and as chance would have it, a proper object for an example. I instantly ordered him to be seized up to the main shrouds. We had then above 50 people on board and many of their Rupacks also, the King's eldest son. I likewise loaded a pair of pistols and laid them on the capstan before me. This made them believe I was going to shoot the fellow. I then ordered the Boatswain to bring his Cat, and give him a dozen. This being well laid on, the fellow bellowed dreadfully. The spectators seemed to pity him, and was [rather were] going to cast him loose till I handed one of [my] pistols, which made them desist. I then asked any one of them that chose to take his allowance, he then should be released, but every one had more regard for his own skin than to sacrifice it for his friend. They now all took dudgeon and said they would go and tell the King, but this threat did not deter me from giving the offender the remainder of his compliment, and I then sent him after the rest ashore, and in half an hour after, I followed, to hear what the King would say on the subject, but the affair was not even mentioned, & those that [had] gone out of the vessel in dudgeon on purpose to tell the King, as they said, now sat trembling for fear I would start the subject, but it was entirely forgotten, and we talked on other matters of trifling importance.

This same evening, the centinel at the gate of our inclosure, let one of the Pelew people take his bayonet from him. As this was an act of carelessness not to be overlooked and the fellow, an old offender, I ordered him to be stripped and seized up to the inclosure. This ceremony being made known to the King he begged I would desist in the punishment, and he could endeavour to recover the thief. The bayonet was almost instantly recovered, but not the thief. I told the King that in Bombay or England a soldier would be severely punished for losing his arms while on guard, and that this man must be flogged for his carelessness. Finding I resolved in the business he said no more. I ordered him a dozen with the regimental Cat, and, before he got his portion all the women of the Pye were sent by the King to intercede for him, thinking I might relent and yield to female influence. As they came when he had got a dozen and I ordering him to be set at liberty they thought they had succeeded in their intercession, and returned highly pleased.

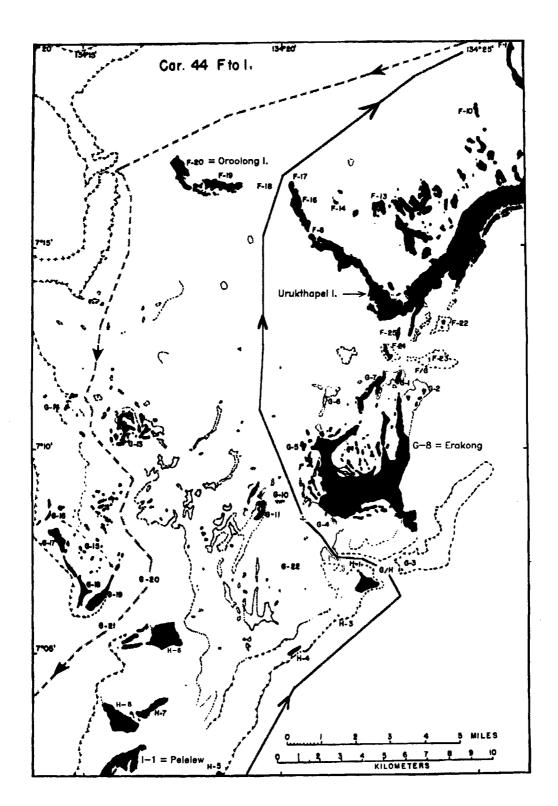
I will now leave Mr. Proctor with his vessel and crew here to amuse themselves at these Islands and proceed on our voyage to China.

13th. With a fine moderate [weather] we passed Oroolong about 10 o'clock in the forenoon and stood for the same channel we came in at going along at an easy rate, and not being so attentive as we ought, all at once we stopped short with our stern against a small patch of coral. The water being like a sheet of glass, we threw the sails [in] reverse and swang clear off in a few minutes. 'Twas here our Pelew friends showed their concern for us and thought our bottom was of so light a construction as their vessels, and was quite happy we received no damage.

14th. Proceeded with our boat ahead, and finding the wind much Easterly, we hauled up under the land and anchored for the night. Here we took the time and settled the rate of our chronometer.

In the morning our friend Syrekelleek told us there was a good channel to the Southward. I was glad of this discovery as the one we came in at was direct against the wind and of a good extent, that [it] would be necessitated to warp a good way.

As I wished to gain every information I could about these Islands, in the morning we proceeded by the direction of our Pilot. We went very safe along for about 10 miles. When we approached this channel, we discovered the coral reef extending almost from side to side, leaving a very narrow division and that lying in a very crooked direction, we had now entered this channel they called to us to luff, but we were now close to the wind and in luffing we lost our way that we were obliged to come to all standing. When we brought up our stern was within 5 yards of the rocks. We quickly handed our sails and kept the yards to the wind for fear we should drive and injure our rudder. Luckily we held fast till we carried out a whole hawser with the stream anchor [on] the weather shore. We laid the anchor on the reef and hauled up by it, till we weighed the bower, and dropped it nigher [i.e. nearer] the weather reef. We now held fast for the night. As the flood tide set through at the rate of three knots, and we expected the ebb would be



The Panther's tracks at Palau. Exit in February 1791. Return in June. (Adapted from E.H. Bryan's Guide to Place Names, Honolulu, 1971).

equally favourable, I saw from the mast head [that] this channel was very crooked and almost as intricate as the other; however, as we had come this far I was determined to persevere through. We took here a chain of angles which will facilitate the general survey of the Islands. Observed in Lat. 7°8'34" N. I

15th. In the morning we began our work in warping which employed us this whole day, as we had some blowing weather, that was unfavorable for us. Found this channel about one mile in length, and in the evening we anchored off a small Island which they call Akumokum.² The channel was here very narrow, and our berth during the night was very unpleasant as we had several fresh squalls with rain, and we lying athwart the stream leading to the wind, our stern swang very near a point of rocks. In such a situation the least shrink or stretch of the cable is alarming to the imagination. I fancied we drove and ordered another anchor to be dropped. This however was of service for shortly after a very hard squall came on which raised a little popling swell, and really brought the second anchor ahead. The wind abating we carried, out of the stream and end & held fast by it till we weighed both bowers, and then hauled up to the weather shore.

In the evening [our] Pelew friends went in their canoe to Pellelew, to provide us with fowls, and fresh coconuts but I believe they were somewhat uneasy at our situation and was afraid I should be angry with them for bringing us this way. This channel is a very good one to enter at & had we known it on [the] evening of the 23rd of January, we should not have undergone that anxiety we did fearing we would fall to leeward of the Islands.

Till noon employed warping and got within our stretch of the entrance.

16th. The wind [being] moderate [we] carried out a good long warp for the last [time] well over in the weather reef, held in the warp at half a cable's length till we stowed both bowers and stopped our topsails with rope yarns & hoisted them up, then ran the stream up to the bows, and made sail clear of all danger by two o'clock. At 5 rounded the South end of Pillilew and hoisted in our long boat. During this operation our friends came off to us and begged we would return for the night but this I would not consent to. One of our male passengers began to feel his bowels disturbed by the motions of the vessel, begged of me to let him go ashore which I consented to. We now left the Pelews.

17th. We now left the Palou Islands and took our departure from the South end of Pillilew allowing it to lie in Lat. 6°57' N. & Long. 134°33'28" E. The wind hanging much to the Northward that we did not make better than a WNW course, however we kept

¹ Ed. note: The ship was north of the entrance named Ngerumekaol, G-21 in Bryan's Place Names, is more like 7% N.

² Ed. note: Now spelled Eomogan, G-12 in Bryan's Place Names.

³ Ed. note: It lies exactly in 6°58'15" N. & 134°14'05" E.

a full [sail] & made a good way through the water. Our passengers, particularly the two girls, are much affected by the motion of the vessel.

18th. Squally weather with a large sea from the NE, the squall came well easterly, that we made about a NNW1/2W course, and by our observation we find the current Northerly 33 miles since we left the land, and by the chronometer we find the current setting also to the Westward about 20 miles.

(Vide abstract)

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Till we got up into the Lat. of the Bashee Islands we kept as the wind admitted, sometimes to the Westward of NW and sometimes to the Northward of it but with a full sail.

The 4th day from the land the girls began to recover from their sea sickness, and to examine their baskets of eatables which are lying all about the cabin. The man never lost his appetite, but keeps jumping and running about the vessel, sometimes at the mast head and is much surprized being out of sight of land. His name is Kockywack, and a merry Cock he is. He has been employed these two days past in making a paddle out of a broken oar, but he is very unhandy with his hatchet, not being much accustomed to work, being of the King's family. He is an adopted son, the same as Leeboo was, and they are considered by the people of Pelew the same as their own children.

Nothing material happened till the 26th when we made the Northern Bashee Island, the sight greatly enlivened our passengers who never had been so long from land before. The next morning I was acquainted by Kockywack of a large hill being in sight on the right hand. This was the Island of Formosa. We now felt the cold very severely, but I found it did not so much affect the Pelew people as we expected, for our friend would be frequently at the mast head without a shirt or jacket; the trousers he kept on through decency and respect to us.

We now came among the fishing boats which were all poised together at the extremity of their nets, we passed some very close, and gave our friends a view of them which greatly entertained them. We were saluted by the barking of their dog at passing which our passengers wished to imitate.

Altho it was very foggy weather we ran through these Islands entirely by your Chart and found it very correct respecting the situation of the Islands. We discovered 3 rocks which had escaped your notice; they lie in a triangular direction and I have inserted them in the General Chart.

March 2nd. Arrived in the Typa. It having the appearance of blowing weather, we did not wait for a Pilot, but ran in direct and anchored, which gave some umbrage to the Portuguese Governor as he thought he would lose his [income] mostly of the Pilotage, but this was all adjusted when we met, and being an old acquaintance at Goa, we kept on very good terms, and he proferred his services to provide what I wanted for the vessel during our stay. I understood his meaning and was obliged to submit to the imposition of his Deputies during the absence of our Supracargoes.

Soon as our anchor, I sent a small boat away to a village in the Typa who shortly returned with a quantity of oranges, soft bread, & some fish which was a glorious sight for our passengers, but how they danced when they tasted the oranges.

On my arrival I wrote up to Canton acquainting the Supracargoes with the circumstances. I received their answer to have my dispatches ready by the 15th as by that time the fleet would be ready to sail as they only now waited the Orders of Commodore Blanklett who was to convoy them.

The news of the King's ships being here, and the account of the probability of a Spanish war, set all our fellows agog. I found it a difficult job to keep them on board, besides there being several vessels bound for NW America and gave 10 & 12 dollars a month. I was under apprehension of being [left] unmanned here, and nothing but the strict vigilance of our Marines kept them on board.

The Dutch Supracargo having but little business to settle at Canton, they had arrived at Macao a few days before us, and I and my officers were kindly invited and entertained by the Chief of their Factory, and during the absence of the English Gentlemen we received that politeness from the Dutch which will do honor to their Nation.

The Dutch Gentlemen having all separate appartments although under the same roof, each Gentleman took one of us, as his particular Guest, which appartments were to be considered as our home during our stay at Macao. I was chosen by the Secretary, Mr. Feirlink, whose civility will ever be remembered with the warmest sense of gratitude.

The Dutch Chief was very desirous to see our new people, but as I understood the smallpox was raging at Macao, I proposed inoculating them before they were landed. This proposal was seconded by the Doctors, and accordingly the matter from a good subject was procured, and they being in a good habit of body wanted no other preparation than to acquaint them with the reason of this operation, and had them be of good cheer, which they submitted to with the utmost good humour. When the man was seratched with the lancet so as to make the blood come, what says he: Is that all? Come, dont be afraid to cut, went and brought along carving knife and putting it [in] the Doctor's hand, saying **cut away! dont be afraid**, but this being unnecessary he called the Doctor a fool & said he was not acquainted with his business.

They now went ashore, and were conducted all over the town, which they greatly admired, the Chinese shops and the markets took up a deal of their attention, as I gave them money as they wanted it [for] their every visit bought something, but were very loath to part with their money.

The Dutch Gentlemen were highly entertained with these people. The man was a very good spearsman and he frequently amused himself throwing the dart which he frequently sent 170 & 180 yards and the hand spear of 12 feet long, 60 & 70 yards.

As we could not keep these people at the Dutch factory, I took a house for them and employed people to take care of them and the Dutch Chief, Mr. Van Braam, was so kind as [to] send them every day victuals from his own table, and I visited them twice a day to see they had every thing they wanted.

As I did not like to send our Journal by this conveyance, I drew up an abstract of the track which I hope you found sufficiently satisfactory for the present; this business kept me on board till I had all finished. While I remained on board, there was always one or two of the officers on shore with the Doctor to look after our Palou friends, to keep them in spirits.

On the 13th, the Commodore arrived in the Roads with the Fleet. When he came on shore I waited on him, and gave him a verbal account of our Voyage and also acquainted him with the disposition of our Crew, many of which had already absconded on the appearance of the ships. He told me that he would give my people no encouragement to come on board of his ships, as he had already many above his complement who were serving, **volunteers without wages**, but should they come on board of him, he could not turn British subjects out of his ship. As the service I was upon was [for] the general good I begged not [to] distress the vessel. On the contrary, he told me, if I would come on board, he would give any number of men I wanted, providing they entered voluntarily. On the account of the rumour of a Spanish war, I did not expect any would change their situation to go on a dangerous Voyage of discovery, which every seaman knows, is a Voyage generally accompanied with hardships.

Our vessel was now stripped to the bare masts to refit our rigging and our hold was in the utmost confusion, taking in ballast and stores. In this condition I had a general application from the Europeans to quit the vessel to be sent on board the **Leopard**, and even from those who were covenanted to the Company. What was now to be done?

Although all these vagabonds agreed with me for the Voyage and in consideration of which had received an advance of four months pay, they now claimed the protection of his Majesty's ships. Six of the most ungovernable I sent on board the **Leopard**, with an officer, begging he would give me six in their stead, and the rest I persuaded by fair words to return to their duty.

By this conveyance, I let our Pelew Prince go on board to see the large ship, who was accompanied by the Doctor of the ship who assured me there was no danger from the smallpox till it made its appearance; this was only the 7th day after the inoculation.

Captain Blankett mustered all his men to know of any would go on board our vessel on discoveries, but not a man would move or change his situation. He had now twelve of our best men on board. Finding none of his men would enter with us, he wrote a note to Captain Truebridge on the subject, which the officers on this service conveyed, and we got seven of his sweepers fellows, that had never seen a ship before this Voyage and were of such a stamp that we never could make them in the least useful all the remainder of their stay with us; two of this gang being of the true Hibernian [i.e. Irish] tribe of Villains left us among the Savages at New Guinea, a very proper place of abode for such vagabonds.

Our Palou friend was highly delighted with the large ship, and he told me, that if he told the King all he saw on board of her he would call him a fool, and would not believe him.

I delivered to Capt. Thomson's purser my dispatches which I understand came safe to hand.

Mr. Lindsey of the **Henry Dundas**, told of having accurately examined the straits of Macassar on their way to China and had settled most of the points of Longitude by good Observations. This I was glad to hear as I supposed by that, some of my work already done.

The Fleet sailed, and our Supracargoes arrived at Macao, and a room in the Factory was ordered to be fitted up for me, but I was too insignificant a character to be the companion of the English supracargoes. I only saw them at dinner time, and when I waited on them at their appartments I was received with all the formality of a stranger, nor was I invited ever to any of their private meals, or societies, their concerts excepted, those being public for any one. The great contrast between the honest Dutch hospitality, and stiff formal magnificence and profusion of the English, was truly conspicuous to strangers, & was very obvious to Captain Blankett, who paid Mr. Van Braam a very high compliment for his attention, and preferred putting up at the Dutch house during his stay at Macao. I am very happy to have it in my power to publickly acknowledge the kindness and friendship of the Dutch during the whole of this voyage, for wherever I went, they paid me the greatest attention, and civility, as will be seen as I go on with this Voyage.

Mr. Freeman must be exempted from the above reflections. Whatever his private character may be, I am not here to investigate, but I will say so much from what I experienced during my short stay at Macao, that he behaved to me and the other Gentlemen of the vessel, with a deal of kindness and hospitality, and I observed he befriended several strangers without the least view of interest or ostentation, but with that laudable turn of good nature to relieve his fellow creatures, when in necessity. It is his misfortune to be too much off his guard in distributing his favours; and [he] often allows himself to be imposed by Sycophants, who take advantage of him by their wheedling flattery.

This Gentleman was particularly attentive to our Pelew people, and the man was strongly attached to him; when he understood, he was the Friend of Leeboo, and from the many trinkets this Gentleman gave him, he had reason to remember him.

The 10th day after the innoculation the Pox made its appearance. Their fevers were but slight, and did not confine them in the least, that they constantly ran about the house. The man had only two very small pimples in his face, and 5 or 6 more on his body. The girls had about a dozen on their face, and the same number on their body, and a fine full pox it was. The 20th day they began to scale and fall off, and in a few days they were washed and clear of the disorder, so we had cautioned them not to scratch or pick themselves, that long before we sailed there was not a mark to be seen on any of them. By this they were taught the disorder that Leeboo died of, which greatly surprised them, they having it so favorable.

It being now the month of April I made every exertion I could to get away, wishing to get round the Northeast point of Luconia [i.e. Luzon] before the Monsoon changed

that I might reach the Pelews before the SWest set in; however, I could not get away before the latter end of the month, although we used every endeavour.

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We likewise picked up a number of stragglers about the streets of Macao but they could not relish our pay. I was obliged to promise them pay according to their abilities and a premium of 2 months pay if they returned to this port with a good character of their behaviour during the voyage, on those terms I engaged several, but I am sorry to say, that none of them deserved the reward held out.

The famous painter Spoilem¹ came down to Macao [from Canton] at my request; his terms, was [rather were] to be ensured 50 dollars for his trip. This sum I gave him for a picture of myself and the three Palou people in a group; this piece I hope is already in your possession which I left with Mr. Freeman to be sent home by the Ships of next season. This piece was judged to be a striking likeness of every one in the group, and the Palou were much pleased with their own resemblance. Mr. Harrison and several of the Gentlemen had a copy of the three people,² so that Spoilem had a deal of work upon his hands that instead of 50 he got about 500 Dollars by his trip, as every Gentleman on board of us had their phiz. taken, in miniature.

Our Palou people were now perfectly recovered, and ran all over the town, and have seen every thing that is worth their observation, being now so full of their remarks wish to return to their country to unburden themselves. The constant sumptuousness of the Company's table gave them an awful idea of the Gentlemen that sat down to it, and they observed that Mr. Harrison, altho he was the same as the King with them, sit on an equal height with the others, which was not the case with their King. They had not the least desire to taste any of the dishes. Fish plainly boiled, and yams was their standing food, or a fowl, which they liked best when cold. The fruit, of any kind, they were ready for, and the three would eat about a hundred oranges in the course of the day. I bought up a quantity of cloaths for them at second hand, which answered better than the trouble of making up for them.

I always took them to the concert, but found the music too strong for their organs; they even went to sleep at every act. They were more delighted with the lights and chandeliers, than with the music. They liked the sweet cakes, but would not taste any of the liquors; lemonades and water was their only drink.

On Good Friday I took them to see the procession but not being sufficiently acquainted with their language could not explain the reason of this ceremony to them. I took them to all the churches, when they were illuminated; this they had some idea of, and behaved with much decency, and even wished to follow the example of the other women in kneeling, but this I did not allow them. The want of their language left them

Ed. note: Spoilem, or Spoilum, was a Chinese artist who made European-type paintings and portraits to order. See, among others, Mildred Archer's India and British Portraiture, 1770-1825.

² Ed. note: Only one of these portraits has survived, and is preserved in the British Museum, Ethnology section (formerly in the Museum of Mankind). It is reproduced in Peacock's book (see Bibliography).

still in the dark, and every thing they saw was like a vapour to them for want of its true explanation.

I next conducted them to the gaol [i.e. jail], and showed them the prisoners through the grates; they seemed much to pity them, till some of the Coffrees laughed at them (seeing such strange faces and attended by Gentlemen). They observed they must be very bad people to laugh in such a place. I told them that was a place for thieves, I then led them up stairs to the scuttle of the Dungeon and had [them] look down it, but to this I could not persuade them. They supposed it a place of evil spirits. I told them that people who killed another person were put down here for a long time then taken up and hanged by the neck till they were dead. After seeing this, they were afraid of the Portuguese, and said it was not so in their country [where] they wish to be back again, and ever after, they would not go near that road where the prison was.

After all our ease and attention to these people an accident happened which had nigh put an end to our Prince. One day he went with me to the Dutch Factory, & one of the Gentlemen gave him a pipe to smoke in one of their appartments, I being otherwise engaged, did [not] perceive it. Unknown to anyone he laid down his pipe and away he ran into the Market among the Chinamen and before I knew that he was out of the Dutch factory, I was disagreeably acquainted of the Pelew man being dead in the China market. This unlucky account threw me into the utmost confusion, I ran away to the place where he was, and sure enough found him quite senseless laid out on the ground, all besmeared with dirt off the street. I made enquiry into the cause but now could not learn the smallest of the matter. The Chinese flocked round and looked all perfectly innocent of the business. I sent to the Dutch Factory and got one of the Gentlemen's chairs and the Doctor came also. He was conducted to the Factory, and the Doctor instantly bled him, and gave him a draught that brought him to himself. All he knew of the affray was, when he got among the Chinamen, he caught one of them with his hand in his pocket. On being discovered he made the best of his way off and our Palou man after him, and being closely pursued he went into some of their narrow lanes, where he was joined by his own countrymen. Our Palou man made several chops at him in his flight with his little hatchet till he now inclosed in a narrow place, and surrounded by many. Several strokes were made at him, with their bamboos, which he fended off with his hatchet till one of them coming behind him with a large stick (and) struck him on the side with it, that his head went round, and he fell asleep. This account of his agreed with what was afterwards related of the affair, and the offenders was [rather were] severely punished by the Mandareens, at the request of the Dutch Chief, who gave a good reward to find out the agressor, which seldom fails with a Chinaman.

By the timely attention of the Dutch Surgeon, our Prince soon recovered, and now nothing would pacify his revenge, but the death of a Chinaman, and I had a good deal to persuade him against such rashness. I told him to remember the scuttle in the Prison, where either he or I must be thrown down, if a Chinaman was killed. This had the best effect of my argument, and he was somewhat pacified, and I requested of him never to go abroad by himself, as he frequently did before this accident and would make his own

bargains with the Chinamen and when he came home would show me how well he had laid out his money although he had not a 4th of its value.

A few days before we sailed, this lad gave us an instance of their treatment to their women, and ever after lost him the goodwill the Dutch Gentlemen had entertained of him by this one unguarded action of his. Being one day on a visit at the Dutch house, we had met in one of the Gentlemen's rooms where some of their women had come on a party. Our Palou lad took the liberty to put his hand upon one of them he was acquainted with, upon which, she slightly pushed him from her. This being so contrary to the custom of his country, his savage blood instantly rose & he gave her two strokes with a cane he had in his hand. This rude act of his was in my presence. I instantly ordered him out of the house to go home, and I could hardly keep my hands from beating him with the same stick. He went from my presence but kept by the Dutch house all night, and when I was gone he begged of the Gentlemen to intercede with me in his behalf. Next morning I sent him on board, acquainting Mr. Wedgebrough (then Commanding officer) of his behaviour. He was so much dejected with our marks of displeasure, that he refused food, and at last grew desperate and wished to end his existence. The 3rd night after this accident, he stripped himself naked, and swam to the boat astern, in the middle of the night, and cast her loose with a strong tide setting out of the Typa. The Centinel luckily perceived the boat to drop from the stern, made the report upon which another boat was luckily on board, and instantly sent after her. This boat was supposed to have broken from her moorings till our Palou Gentleman was reported to be absent.

Owing to the strong tide, they were a considerable time to get back with the boats, and our Ambassador was almost stiff with cold on his arrival.

The Gentlemen, finding they had an uncultivated being to deal with, were necessitated to wax him into a good humour, and be promised if they would but forgive him this fault he would not do so again. He was unacquainted with our manners and customs; [he] only did what was done daily at Palou.

On the 25th [April 1791] I came on board to sail, having settled all my accounts and affairs after taking leave of all the Gentlemen, not forgetting the Governor who had good reason to tell me "to come back soon." He did not forget to send me a Pilot for the Typa, with the bill accompanying for both in & out. The bill was necessary but not the pilot, as we knew the Typa better than he did.

The 26th weighed at daylight and worked out with the tide of ebb, and came to in the Roads. Through the negligence of our Portuguese compradore we found many things deficient that I found in his Bills, in particular we had not received our bitacle lamps, which were sent to be repaired. This obliged me to send a boat ashore again with an officer.

[On 10 May, they were at the Bashee Islands, where they stopped at an anchoring place located at 18°53'30" N & 121°19' E. This corresponds to the west side of Camiguin Island, one of the Babuyanes.]

{On] the 2nd night we lay here, perceived a light at the upper end of the bay, which denoted the island to be inhabited. Wishing to have some intercourse with the natives I sent a boat with an officer, a Malay & a Portuguese with her, likewise one Palau Savage, as he must be on all parties.

I left the management of this trip entirely to the officer's own judgment and either through his timidity or whatever was the cause we could not get an intercourse with them. Their account of the trip is thus. Having landed at a different part of the bay, the Palou savage was directed to go and reconnoiter them, and the others of the party were to follow him. Cockywack found them all asleep round the fire, they being awakened by a person of his odd appearance and not understanding a word of his language they began to move. Our friend called to the Malay to come to him, and the strangers finding they were discovered by more than one person, they thought of their own safety and began to move and by the time the Malay came up they were all on foot, to the number of 30, as they said (but I doubt of this number). They spoke a language the Malay did not understand, and the officer hailing those who had advanced, induced the whole to take to their heels and left all their little matters behind them. The officer now joining the other two, examined all about them and found several bamboos with rice, and others with some kind of flesh resembling mutton nicely spiced and highly seasoned. They left every thing as they found it and returned on board.

Upon this report I went the next morning expecting to meet with some of the natives, but could not see one of them. I saw where their fires had been, in several places, and many of their burned bamboos lying about, but could not even trace the road they went.

Saw many of the yellow birds, heard the cocks crowing among the hills, and our Gentlemen shot a few hens about the watering place that were deliciously tasted.

To the Southward of the harbour about half a mile from Iron Island, is a sandy bay, and at the South end of this bay is a **natural curiosity**, viz. a boiling spring of saltwater, just at high water mark, it throws the water up at times with great violence and appears at a small distance like the smoke of a fire. In the bay some small huts were put up by the natives, which I suppose come here at times, to turn turtle, as we saw several old beds. We watched one night to see if any came ashore but were disappointed; they commonly come on the weather side of a coast which is something singular.

18th. Having completed our wood and water and the weather [being] moderate, weighed from the harbour, and stood out the Northern channel having very little wind we were off the Port at Noon within a mile of High Island and observed in Lat. 19°54'40" N.¹

[By following the East coast of Luzon closely, they were often in danger.]

¹ Ed. note: Balintang Island.

...

Had our vessel not been a prime sailer we must ere this given up this mode of proceeding to the Pelews; however, I dont repine at our mischance as our Voyage is altogether an experimental one... I dont like to follow the beaten track, 'tis cowardly in a discoverer, however I wish the wind would favor us a little as I long to see our friends at Palou.

2d [June]. Pleasant breeze from the Eastward, kept a full sail to get to the Southward, we have reason to expect the SW winds as we open the Sooloo Seas, Northerly current of 10 miles.

Lat. at Noon 13°40' N. & Long. 128°7' E.

Caught a large booby which was a noble feast for our Palou friends, they preferring it to fine China capons.

- 3d. The wind still continuing to the Eastward, stood on to the Southward.
- 4th. A steady breeze from ENE. the clouds beginning to collect and look dark in that quarter, found a southing set of 13 miles.
- 5th. Squally weather and heavy rain, the wind flying about between E. & NE, made a SEbS course. The Pelews bearing about ESE of us, I was not now in the least apprehensive of the change of the Monsoon, we continued a SE course which I wish to continue till I get into the 7th degree.

One of our people struck a fine bonito, which was given to our Palou friends.

- 8th... The morning of the 8th being clear we took several sights for our Lat. but was saved the trouble of the calculations by a good Meridian Altitude which gave the Lat. 6°59' N. just as we wished it.
- 9th. Got a set of good sights for our time, which showed we had not a run for the night, therefore we hove to with our head to the Southward during the night. It blew exceedingly hard, which laid us over without any thing out, but the balanced trysail. There we were situated, in a hard gale of wind, a dark night, heavy rain, and to windward of a dangerous reef of rocks and Islands, and depended entirely upon a piece of machinery, which did not deceive us. It may be well imagined I did not sleep sound this night, although the happy seaman before the mast, ignorant of his situation or danger, swings out his four hours in his hammock, without the least anxiety, when he relieves his messmate, will say, with Jack: "where are we now?" who is answered, that he neither knows nor cares, "let them look out that has the watch," happy are the crew, that can thus far confide in their conductor. When the contrary happens, a general murmur ensues, and when they cannot give vent to their grievance, distemper generates and ends in fatal diseases.

[Return to Palau in June 1791]

The long wished for dawn of day approaching but the weather being so very thick we could not see any considerable distance. It may be supposed our Palou savage did not stay below on this occasion. Nothing being in sight we made a press of sail on the vessel as much as she would bear, and stood boldly on the Eastward. From daylight our friend did not quit the mast head, and about 10 o'clock he was the first that saw the land which proved to be the Island Eynowr [i.e. Angaur]. I thought he would have jumped down on deck, when he first discovered it. We were standing exactly for the channel between the Islands, when we made them, and by noon were between the Islands Eynowr and Pillelew, the former bearing South 2 miles & the latter EbN 4 miles, in Lat. 6°57' N. We could not have made a better landfall, and our reckoning agreed to a mile.

10th. The weather now clearing up, and a pleasant breeze froom SSW, stood close along the East side of Pellilew, and rounded the Southern reef of Ackum-Okum, and anchored on Eracong bay, in good bottom 15 fathoms. Saw 3 or 4 canoes standing towards Corrora, seeming to be on express with the inteligence of our arrival. A little after we came to, a small canoe came alongside of us, & gave us all the news we wanted. It looking very gloomy over the land, found ourselves snugly sheltered from all winds, and this is an excellent situation for any ship to come to for a few days, where she may be supplied with wood and water very conveniently. \(^1\)

It may be well supposed that the report of our arrival did not make a small stir in Corrora, I may say in the whole chain of Islands for the report soon spread over all.

In the morning early hoisted out our long boat and sent her with Mr. White to examine the Amelakel channel, which if navigable for us, to lye at its entrance, till we joined him, with a favorable flag up, otherwise to return on board.

About 8 in the morning the whole fleet of canoes were discovered rounding the bluff point, and at 9 the King came on board accompanied by Messrs Haswell & Snook, in other canoes, they were all overjoyed to see us again, the people were almost frantic at the sight of their friends, being all in good health and high spirits. The two girls were dressed in blue silk petticoats, & yellow jackets adorned with blue and green beads curiously variegated, and large blue beads about their necks, which made a superb appearance in the eyes of the natives, and the old King could not help smiling when he looked at them. The two girls sat down at the King's feet all the time he was on board, and answered such questions as he put to them with a pleasing satisfaction expressed by their countenance. At this time the Prince was running all over the vessel, and so much had pride got hold of him, that he changed his dress, and varied it every half hour, the whole day throughout and it was not to the common people's question that he would deign to answer, but to those of consequence. He however, like most travellers, enlarge

¹ Ed. note: Erakong is now called Eil Malk, but the ship was in what is now called Shonian Harbor, G-22 on the previous illustration.

upon his observations so far, that he stretched beyond the bounds of probability, and long before we left the place, not even what was really true, would be believed and his remarks were sometimes referred to me and the other Gentlemen to be confirmed.

The first day he was describing the size of the 50-gun ship, he compared it to an island about 3 miles in length, and several other extravagances in proportion which soon reduced his credit. Notwithstanding his endeavouring to stuff his countrymen with the strange accounts of his Voyage, he took care to be circumspect to the King and the Chiefs and gave them a true relation of things as he really saw them.

Weighed anchor and stood under an easy sail through the Northern channel of Earacong bay, and by Noon had entered the channel directed by Mr. While in our long boat. At this time number of canoes round the vessel, but no person suffered on board but the King's family, and the principal Rupacks, and this regulation I intend to adhere to, while we remain here, in consequence of our losing so many things the last time, and I found it answer so well at this place I shall adopt it all the remainder of the Voyage, it is by far the best way to deal with these Eastern people.

A grating slung over each quarter, or a stage over the stern, is the best method of trading with them, and this method prevent their being maltreated by the people before the mast.

June 11th. On going through these coral reefs a person at the mast head is the best, unless his eyes is dazzked by the Sun ahead. The direction of this channel lyes NNW & SSE for one mile, then it hauls NNE to clear two banks, which I call Black Bank and White Bank from their appearance. When passed these, we stood direct for the low point of Amelakel Island or what I call Opening Island in the sketch of this harbour, which will lead between two banks, each having but one fathom water on them. We stood close up to the watering place, within hail of the shore, and anchored in 16 fathoms water sandy bottom.

Here we were secured from all winds and the water like a sheet of glass. From the recent blowing weather, it was necessary to examine our rigging at the mast heads. For this purpose we struck our topmasts, and found several things out of order, in particular, our main trussel trees, which was employment for our carpenter, also we changed our topmast cross trees, so as the top gallant masts went up abaft the topmast for the conveniency of striking them in blowing weather without lowering the topsails, and this method we found afterwards considerable advantage from, and most convenient for small vessels.

12th. Light winds from the Southward and pleasant weather. Divided our people into three parties, one to go ashore for their diversion and wash their cloaths, the other to cut wood and fill water, and the 3rd to attend the vessel and duty on board.

The vessel from daybreak till sunset was surrounded with canoes but not a man permitted to come over the gunwale, except the principal men who sat down peaceably on the deck. The appearance of our large China beads roused up the spirit of invention

among them, and industry was introduced among them for a while. A brisk trade was carried on for oil, fowls, turtle-shell dishes [and] spoons, and various articles which were purchased at moderate rate. I placed a Quartermaster at each gangway to purchase what might be presented, on purpose to manage them, and settled a stated price on the different articles according to their value.

Owing to the great confusion on board, we neglected winding up the chronometers but the Box [type] going still, we found they had not altered their rate and this was the only time they were neglected, during the Voyage.

13th. The winds Southerly with pleasant weather, the **Endeavour** being secured in a basin, and unrigged they were now busy in preparing to join us, Mr. Proctor informs me [that] on our leaving the Islands, that his officers and crew were mostly taken ill by disorders of the country, owing to their non imprudence, that they could not proceed on the examination of the Islands. Notwithstanding this, they (contrary to the order I had given them) had joined the natives in 3 different engagements, and by distinguishing themselves, they were all created Rupacks of the first order. He never gave me a sufficient reason for his actions, nor did I make further enquiry, as we still had a long Voyage to encounter together, and did not wish to begin any altercation, on the subject. But I conceived that harmony and unanimity of sentiment, had not subsisted among them during our absence, which was the real cause of things not being as I expected. They complained of faring [badly], because they had not the luxuries which we are accustomed to. When at the same time they had besides the produce of these Islands, good provisions from the vessel with tea and sugar, and liquors of various kinds, such hardships are not always to be met with, on discoveries.

What ruined their measures as I suppose (having no other authority) was their vessel being at too great a distance from their house, and the crew being so divided, made it troublesome to convey different articles as it was necessary, besides having two different messes, their stores were not so well husbanded as they might have been. The least movement of anything from the shore to the vessel was alarming to the natives, and by keeping so many articles on shore, they were in a manner at their mercy, as they could at any time prevent their embarking, and likewise their sailing had they (the natives) chose it.

The rerturn of the **Panther** put a different face upon all our affairs, even the climate seemed to smile at the event, as Mr. Proctor said they had not seen such fine weather since we left them.

14th. This day the King and Rupacks came on board to beg [if] I could assist him in one battle against the Artingalls. He was well assured they would not fight, only wishing we would appear before the place to convince them the English was an ally of Corrora. They said at the last victory they would not totally subject themselves till the large ship came back. On our arrival, an Embassador was dispatched to know if they would submit, which has been refused. They say let the English come in sight of them, then

they will treat. By this it appeared they were doubtful of our assisting the people of Corrora.

To put a period to those disputes and quarrels I thought it would be shortest and safest method to show the Artingalls that the English were firm and unshaken allies to Corrora, and we should assist them when they wanted our aid. I told the King and Rupacks that we would endeavour to settle his affairs before we left him but we had no time to spare, he must be brisk in his motions. He promised to be ready in 2 days.

14th. The **Endeavour** being ready to join us, and our long boat to assist in bringing her round the Islands that lay betwixt us, next morning she came to close by us.

Between the 2 vessels we selected 20 Sepoys and 10 Europeans for our Expedition with their small arms and ammunition; also a brass 6-pounder with a few charges of powder and shot. The whole was committed to the care of Mr. Wedgebrough accompanied by a Mr. Delano, Volunteer, & the Doctor, who had not a sick man on his list and was at a loss for amusement.

15th. In the afternoon the King came on board and was highly pleased with our military preparations. The Sepoys were all in their Regimentals and the Europeans in a uniform dress which I happened to prepare for a boat's crew, in particular occasions. They all embarked and we gave them three cheers at parting, which was returned by the whole fleet. They then set off for Corrora.

I am sorry I cannot give you a regular account of the expedition to Artingall, as Mr. Wedgebrough omitted to leave me a copy of it; however, there is nothing of material consequence during the trip. Suffice to say that as soon as the fleet appeared off Artingall, their Ambassadors were dispatched with all speed, and they submitted to any terms we chose to prescribe for them. Hostages of both men and women were sent to Corrora, and Abba Thulle had the honor of being seated on the pavement of Artingall and all the Rupacks gave him each a bead of submission. Mr. Wedgebrough distributed several China beads among them, and assured them while they were friends to Corrora, the English would never be their Enemies. They remained part of a day with them, and fired several China rockets & fireworks which greatly astonished the Artingalls. They all returned on the 22nd without any killed or wounded and the King in high spirits with his success which pleased him better than if he had brought away some dead bodies to dance over.

During the absence of our people we employed ourselves about preparing the vessel for sea. I set several China orange seeds on Amelakel, also some peach trees which I brought from China.

For these three days past we had visits from all the old hags in the place who took advantage of their husbands' absence to come and have a look at us, and also several of the men whom I threatened to take into custody till the King's return; their excuse was [that] they knew well that the Artingalls would not fight when they saw the English coming.

We found here the tides the same as at Arrakapasang, viz. high water at 6 o'clock & the difference 6 feet. As neither wind or tide could affect us, we layed with our anchor apeak all the while we stayed.

22nd. In the forenoon the King and his attendance arrived with his men and women, hostages from Artingall. The old man could not find words to express his gratitude; however, it was strongly pictured in his countenance, saying that the Paloos were Englees and we might do as we pleased upon them.

I then told him his business being now all settled, I should sail tomorrow, but this he would not consent to, and I must not go till his grand feast was over which should be in 4 days, and after that I should go, and his Ukaleeth should speak to the great Ukaleeth for a good wind for us.

As I had not sufficiently examined this harbour for the want of the large boat, I thought I might very well employ a few days this way, as it was of the [rather no] consequence being on the Coast of New Guinea now or a month later, as I was certain of the Southeasters being the prevailing winds on the North side from the Journals of ships that had come that way.

The King was very glad I complied with his wish. I made him a present of a dozen of China paintings, some large jars to put his molasses in, several iron pots and frying pans of the Chinese manufacture, which was all very acceptable, having nothing of the kind at Palou, and their earthenware being so very brittle, they were sometimes much distressed for pots particularly if they should chance to quarrel with the Palou where the clay comes from, there being only one place that produces this blue clay and this they make up very clumsily. A couple of good potters would be a grand acquisition among them which might be easily sent from Bombay.

During these four days we amused ourselves variously. I took a tolerable sketch of this harbour and observation for the Lat. and Longitude, the small boat employed keeping up our wood and water.

26th. In the morning went ashore to partake of this grand feast, were received at the water side by the old King, and he walked up with us, which was reckoned an uncommon piece of condescension. As we entered the village we found nothing but dancing in every quarter. The large Pye was cleared entirely for our reception and we took possession of it, and having some liquors and a piece of salt beef, with bread and other requisites we made ourselves quite at home, and for the regard the old man had for a glass of wine, he kept close to us. This grand feast was composed of nothing else than yams, the fish being but few were entirely reserved for us.

¹ This Ukaleeth is a priest which pretends to be inspired at times, and holds a communication with a great Athaleeth which governs all their wars, and actions. There is a male or female priest of this kind in every Village.

In the afternoon they began [to] build their pyramids of yams ready boiled—they were 12 in number—and had all finished by sunset. One was considerably higher than the rest, and composed of the larged yams, and the others decreased in size to the last. Every thing being now ready the Council sat and it was unanimously agreed upon that the English having done them the greatest service in the late war was [rather were] entitled to the head, or highest pile, the others was [rather were] distributed according to their different allies, as they were deserving. Our pyramid stood but the others [were] soon demolished when they knew whom they belonged to, which was signified by one of the Rupacks calling the name of the Paloo as he touched the different piles. I observed none of the strangers got fish, but a pot of boiled fish was presented to us; though not very sweet, it was distributed among our boat's crew. This grand feast now ended with a drink of their molasses and water mixed in their large tubs. Our own salt beef and biscuit was a better feast than theirs which we engaged with a glass of wine after it, then each retired to his respective Sucalik, and got a mat for the night, and I was very glad to hear the cocks announce the approach of day, as my quarters were very uncomfortable, chiefly so, not being accustomed to lying so hard. The heat of their low houses, occasioned by so many people in them and the vermin, together with the bamboo flooring had so incommoded my bones, that I could scarcely stand upright in the morning. I made for the boat at daylight and got on board by sunrise.

About 8 the King and many of his Rupacks came on board, and was very much affected at our preparations for sailing. The old man told me I had so much enriched his country by so many beads and other things, that the people would all grow foolish, and not obey his orders, which would oblige him to take all their beads from them. He wanted nothing more but musquets and powder, and that I told him I could not spare more, as I was going to fight the Papoas. This he said was right, told me to go, and soon return.

The Bone he gave me before we went to China having been cut, he thought it was not so good as a whole one, and begged he might put on a whole one, but this I would not consent to, as I had got it nicely clasped with silver at China and could take it off & on at pleasure. I made a present of a dozen of those bangles well imitated by the Chine, of Ivory and so well done that they could scarcely be known from the natural Bone, and the Pelew people greatly admired them, being so white and well polished.

The King wanted some of his people to go with us, but those he pointed out I did not like. He then told me to pitch on any one I chose, which I did upon the very one I wanted to go to China with me, when his father sent beads to the King to have him excused but now he could not refuse the King's positive order. This lad was the foremost paddle in the King's canoe and was the next in succession to the Prime Minister (or Second King). Soon as he received the Royal mandate he instantly jumped on board, and conceived himself highly honored, but this was not the case with his aged father, who shortly followed him when he hanged about his neck & gave vent to his grief by a flood of tears. The young lad supported his father with a degree of manly fortitude not to be expressed. I understood by Mr. Proctor's desire, the King had permitted two women

to remain on board the **Endeavour**, and as security for these 3, I could not refuse his request, to let one of my people remain with him. I chose a little boy, from European parents whom I had taken under my care from Bombay, as a Companion to him. The Doctor proposed to let his apprentice likewise remain; this lad was Bombay born about 10 years of age, the other about 8. This proposal pleased the King much and convinced him we should return again, and he instantly took them under his care, and called them his children.

We now proceeded through the same channel we came in at, attended by all the Fleet, who had a different appearance to the time we came in. Instead of playing about us like mad men, they sat in a pensive position, keeping way with us with one or two paddles, the rest blowing their noses as if they were attending a funeral.

We got clear of the channel with safety & when without all the reefs, we hove to, and hoisted in the boats, and secured every thing for sea weather. When this was done, we proposed making sail. When the King came up out of his canoe (where he had sat all this time) and took a very affectionate leave of us, the old man shed tears like a child as if he was possessed with a second sight or a view of futurity, told us he was going to die, and he would not see us again; however, he said, come back when you please, these islands are yours, (pointing to them) calling them Englees. He then unwillingly descended into his boat, and gave the sorrowful order to quit their hold. We now filled the sails and dropped from them, who all gathered into a cluster, and gave vent [to] their griefs, continuing in that situation as long as we could discern them. The lad's father had still kept by the vessel with a small canoe, and we frequently obliged to remind him of the great distance we were from the land, and it was with much ado we got him away by sunset when we were about 6 leagues from the shore, nor did we perceive him making for the shore so long as we could see him.

27th. We now left these Islands and a deep compassionate people, who felt our departure from them, with great affliction, and I have reason to believe it was not feigned but real, having in general felt the value of our friendship and acquaintance.

I intend to stand up to the Northern extreme of the groupe to determine its exact Latitude but it looked like blowing weather, I stood on to the Southward.

At daylight the highest peak of the Pelew Islands just in sight from the deck bearing NNW distance 10 leagues.

For the Lat. and Longitude see the table annexed. 1

28th. Variable winds from the SW with squalls, kept close hauled to the SE and made no better than a SE1/2S course.

29th. Light winds from South to West. By our observations, found a Southerly set of 42 miles since we left the land, also by the chronometer 30 miles a day, Easting.

¹ Ed. note: No table is annexted to the manuscript.

30th. Calms and very faint airs throughout, the leg gives 6 miles Southing, but by our observation at noon, we are 5 miles to the Northward of yesterday, so changeable is the current in these seas that there is no depending upon them for a day together.

From the 31st of June to the 13th of July, calms and squalls alternately with a cross chopping swell which is the ruin of our sails and cordage. Passed several pieces of driftwood and seaweed. Took every advantage of getting to the Southward.

14th. The springs coming on, we had reason to expect a change of weather, which we would prefer from any quarter, rather than a calm. Noon, were in Lat. 38' N.

15th. The **Endeavour** being about 3 miles from us, we lay by till she joined company. The weather broke in upon us with a deluge of rain and hard squalls, all round the compass. In the intervals we embraced the opportunity of seeing so much water that [we] filled up every vessel we had.

...

Since we left the Palou Islands our sick list has increased to the number of 32, from both vessels, entirely occasioned by our amours at that place, and the Doctor has thought proper to throw them all down into Salvation, so that the vessel stinks like a pot of mercury, from stern to stern. To prevent contagion, I have ordered all the sick on one side of the vessel, but although several of our crew besides are not in the Doctor's list, I may safely say there are but few on board that had escaped, which makes our work hang heavy on those who are obliged to stand the deck, and being so weak, I am not in a hurry of getting in with the coast. As our disease is not dangerous, I expect soon to be in order again.

Our first leaving of those Islands gave us sufficient warning to be cautious in our dealings, but the Ladies are so complying and loving that it is beyond the power of nature to resist the temptations. This distemper is almost general among them, owing to their manner of living, & frequent connection with each other, and notwithstanding their simple diet, they are sometimes carried off with it in a state of putridity, having no other remedy among them than fumigations and hot baths; with these they dry the disorder up into their bones, and it becomes hereditary, and their children are born with it. Blanchard died with the same disorder, and was broken out into one continuous sore, and what increased the distemper was his diet, as they say he soon came into their custom of eating putrid and raw fish, for want of better.

16th. In the forenoon saw the land from the mast head bearing SW...

[Synopsis: The ships explored the coast of New Guinea westward, etc. employed at surveying and exploration work for some time in what is now called the neck or Geelwinks Bay area of New Guinea. The people there had regular contact with Moluccans. McCluer was checking the accuracy of the Dutch charts and that of Captain Forrest.

They visited Waigoo, Rawack, etc. They went through Revenge's Strait, etc. having many contacts with Papuan natives as they went. They were looking for a possible passage through New Guinea but, of course, did not find any. Since they collected many birds with beautiful plumage during this trip, including cockatoos, some of them probably survived as far as Palau, and may have been introduced there at this time. By 1 September, they had reached the SW corner of New Guinea. They stopped ashore for several days, dug a well, and "our Pelew friends were very fond of the place as they could paddle about in their [Palauan] canoe unmolested." They then visited a Dutch port in Cajeta Bay. There they were welcomed by the Resident, whose house impressed the Palauans: "This being the first decent house our Pelew friend had seen, he was highly delighted with the construction & the various apartments & conveniencies, a stream of clear water being so contrived by art as to go nearly all round the house, made it very pleasant and cool." The fort, called Fort Defence, was only half finished. McCluer says that he understood enough of the Dutch language to keep up conversation with the Resident. "Our Pelew man was highly delighted with his attention and kindness to him. He showed him several tricks of slight [of] hand that perfectly astonished the innocent fellow that he took the Resident for a god and was afraid to come near him. The deception of swallowing a knife was done with a deal of dexterity, so much that the poor Pelew savage really imagined the knife went through him." McCluer met an old Frenchman (unnamed) who lived there, and the two conversed in French; this man was probably someone who escaped from the Bougainville expedition, he thought. Having decided to go to Amboyna, they received some food supplies from the Resident. "Our Pelew prince begged of me to leave him the [Palauan] canoe as a mark of his attachment." This place had a latitude of 3°23' S. They reached Amboyna on the 27th. They took up residence with the Dutch Governor. Communication was good because of the paymaster, who spoke French fluently. Besides, one Artillery officer there spoke English. There were Chinese traders at Amboyna and Spanish pesos were readily accepted by everyone.]

During our stay in Amboyna our Paloo passengers were highly delighted with the place and were loath to leave it. The Dutch were remarkably kind to them, had them at all their entertainments, and the Governor made them sit at his table, which they thought strange in so great a Rupack to condescend so far. The Amboina Ladies had the Paloo girls at all their houses, and were much delighted in their company, making them several little curious presents. Our strangers admired the houses, gardens, baths, horses chiefly. Phymoo in particular admired the fortifications and the great guns. The strong doors, and men constantly under arms gave him a strong idea of the superiority we had over his poor country. He only wished Abba Thulle had such a Pye at Coroora, then they would sleep without fear of their enemies...

We had our provisions of all kinds on board for 6 months, and 3 months water, we took also with us 10 heads of cattle for present expense. The cattle here is not plenty; they charged 15 Spanish dollars a head for them. Hogs, goats, & poultry is not unrea-

sonable when purchased at first hand. I got here 3 pairs of tame deer which I intend for the Paloo Islands.

On the 11th [of November] we left Amboina making Fort Victoria to lie in Lat. 3°42'50" S & Longitude 128°32' E.

[While trading with some Papauan natives, the Doctor went down into one of their canoes and was hijacked. The men aboard the ship fired at those natives, but they killed the Doctor with a hatchet and a lance before he could be saved.]

[By Christmas 1791, the ships were exploring the north coast of Australia. In January 1792, they went to Timor to refit. On the last day of January, they reached the Dutch fort at Coupang.]

Our Palow friends now enjoyed themselves once more on the land, but to our great grief this was the last land that two of them ever trod upon. The Gentlemen of the place was [rather were] very kind to them, and had them to all their houses, and were much noticed by their families.

[However, most of the crews got sick in Timor, supposedly by eating too much local fruits.]

Our chests of medicines being of no use to us on board without directions, I ordered them on shore to be properly fitted up by the Doctor of the place... During the month of February we had got all ready for sea, and most of our stores and provisions on board, and we proposed the 10th of March for our departure.

On the 5th our Armourer was taken violently ill of a fever as he was at work and the next day the chief officer of the **Endeavour**, Mr. Haswell, was taken ill of bloody flux which obliged him to come on shore for medical advice. His disorder increased upon him. I now gave up all thoughts of sailing till he either recovered, or was no more. To add to our calamity, on the 10th, one of Pelew girls was laid up with a severe fever. On the 16th Mr. Haswell baffled all the Doctor's skill and constant attendance by quitting this life, who escaped numberless perils during this Voyage, (of his own seeking) to remain forever here. His funeral was superbly conducted and attended both by the Dutch and all of us that could be spared from the vessels. The Governor did honor to his remains by firing 24 minute guns from the Fort at his internment, that beeing his age in years...

About this time several boats arrived from Savu with horses, &c. They are strong allies of the Dutch but troublesome people to the villagers. They are reckoned a brave race of people and a very useful check upon the Rottenese or any Radjah that rebels. The Kingdom of Coupang stands much in awe of them. The old Radjah is now 91 years of age and walks 3 or 4 miles every morning; he remembers Captain Cook being at Savu, the same as if it was but yesterday. They are very much afraid of the smallpox,

and a boat arriving from Solor with slaves, it was reported the disorder was on board, upon which they instantly left the place to a man.

We were very careful in not letting any of the Palow people without some of us with them; however, unfortunately our Prince in quest of some night game [sic] escaped all our vigilance which was the cause of his death. ¹

Feb'y 20th. The weather now moderate and apparently broke up, we moved the vessels from Suman to the roads.

21st. Sent all the sick on board except a Pelew girl which was now given over for life, and now we only waited to see the fatal event, when on the 22nd she departed this life and was decently interred in the churchyard, followed to the grave by all the Gentlemen on shore, and although not a Christian by baptism we read part of the funeral service over her being well deserving it. During the time we knew her she led a life of perfect innocence and simplicity, and died like a sleeping infant.

The Palow people bore the loss of their companion stoically, and (what is contrary to their custom) followed her to the grave without a tear.

Our Prince still keeps his health, drinks a dram, smokes a pipe, and is of all our parties abroad & at home. We make him bathe twice a day in the River which we found very healthy to all [of] us on shore.

I cannot help remarking here how soon pride (or I may give it a milder name) got the better of our Palow native. We being invited to spend the evening with the Governor, I by accident went into the appartment where our Prince slept, when to my no small amusement found him ironing his shirt, and caught him in the very act of plaiting the frill, he being seen in this unnatural amusement to him, was not less alarmed than Colonel Bath was on being found warming the candle for his sister. This extraordinary occasion was occasioned by the Washerman being rather backward in bringing home his linen, and ever bashful to ask for another change, and he deemed it very improper to go to the house of the Klow Rupack [i.e. Big Chief] with dirty linen, I instantly made an addition to his wardrobe so as not to occasion further uneasiness on that score, and gave him directions to apply to me for any thing he wanted. My former Ambassador was not possessed with so much reserve, or modesty, for he helped himself to any thing he wanted, and his back was so conveniently calculated, that my cloaths fitted it exactly, and when he was knocked down and robbed in the street of Macao, he had on my second best uniform coat.

23rd. Having nothing further to detain us, we settled all our accounts and having expended all our cash at Amboina gave bills on the settlement of Bencoolen [in Sumatra] for the amount.

¹ Ed. note: Not then, but later, from small pox.

[Firstly, the ships headed for the Strait of Sunda, hoping to meet with English ships returning home from China.]

We had by this time the misfortune to find the smallpox had got on board and unluckily on our Palow friend. This being a matter of serious consideration, we began instantly, on the discovery, to prevent the contagion from spreading. As we had above 20 people on board of both vessels, that never had the smallpox, the greatest part of that description being on board the **Panther**, I ordered all those from the **Endeavour** who had not ever [had] the disorder and sent other in their stead from the **Panther**. Being thus prepared, our Palow friend took his last leave of us, and went on board the **Endeavour**, being then the third day, I saw it was a dangerous kind and gave him up for lost, but as there was a probability of saving him, I gave Mr. Proctor orders to make the best of his way for Bencoolen and there get some fruits, or some medical assistance. To keep up his spirits, I sent Mr. White with him, being his *Suckalic*.

We now parted company, she for Bencoolen, and we for the Straits of Sunda to watch for the passing of the China ships.

20th & 21st... There being little probabiltiy of our meeting the European ships in the Straits of Sunda as the late gale has undoubtedly taken them all clear off, and our foremast being crippled, and several of our crew laid up with different distempers, thought it the most prudent step to proceed to Fort Marlbrough [i.e. Bencoolen].

26th. In the afternoon the third sail proved to be the **Endeavour**, our consort. By making her signal, [she] soon joined us, and to our sad grief heard of the death of our Palow Ambassador who departed this life the 9th of the month and as supposed the 10th day of the disorder. We now proceeded together in company. In the night we parted again, and we arrived in Poolo Bay the 28th at 5 p.m.

We are now arrived at that unhealthy spot Bencoolen, where we have much reason to repent ever coming near it.

[Synopsis: The ships were refitted at Bencoolen and the rats, ants and centipedes taken on board with the firewood at Timor had to be gotten rid of. So, the holds of the **Panther** were filled with water, etc. Two bad sailors were transferred to the Indiaman **Asia**, Captain Foulkes, then in the harbor. Correspondence and the first drafts of McCluer's charts were transmitted to England aboard the **Asia** which left for England in June 1792. The **Endeavour** came straggling into Bencoolen with most of her crew having died. McCluer was now in a serious bind, as even his own crewmen had deserted him and gone on board the **Asia**. To make matters worse, he and the other officers became sick with fevers. Besides, the principal surgeon of the settlement died. A relief ship, the **Wycombe**, Captain Wood, finally arrived on 23 July. "Her arrival saved the lives of several belonging to our vessels."]

...

Being now in perfect order on both vessels I purposed to proceed to China before I go to Bombay, as I expect some further instructions by the ships of this season and having two of the Paloo people on board and two of ours on their islands, I thought it necessary to take those islands in our way by which means I hoped to accomplish the remaining part of my Instructions, while our chronometers continued to go well, which notwithstanding all our disorders, were kept constantly going during our stay here.

On the 17th of August took our departure from Rat Island allowing it to lie as before in Lat. 3°50'30" S. and Long. 102°26'26" E. of Greenwich.

...

While in the Strait we had occasion to take water from our casks in the hold, and to our surprize found them all rotten, so that they would not bear moving. In some we got half a cask, others were entirely leaked out. I suspected as much, but [as I] had no opportunity of repairing, or exchanging them at Bencoolen, I thought it best to stop at Batavia, where we likewise could take on many useful articles for our Voyage.

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[They made it into the harbor of Batavia on 16 September.]

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Batavia I found the most convenient place I had yet visited, on account of the accomodations of the hotel. Here we were well provided with good provisions and if we desired any particular dish, it was instantly procured, or any thing the country produced, it was directly sought after...

The 1st of October, we left Batavia with a good store of every thing and as much live stock as we could carry for the Pelew Islands, and all in better health than when we arrived.

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[They coasted the north side of Borneo, then stopped at Balambangan, where they took on wood and water. On 23 November, they reached the island of Jolo, in the southern Philippines. The local chief entrusted McCluer with a letter to the EIC, written in Spanish.]

•••

The Datus [i.e. chiefs] questioned us much about our destination, and our business, which we never disguised but told them the truth. Consequently agreed in our accounts but they like the Dutchmen could not comprehend the reason for going to a place that produced no kind of trade and no advantage or return for coming so far. I told them the English Company had no lucrative view in sending vessels to those Islands, but on the contrary were at a very great exprnse in fitting them out to carry a present to the inhabitants as a grateful reward for their kindness to the crew of an English ship that was wrecked on their coast. This pleased them much and gave them a very high idea of English generosity, and they at the same time observed they never heard of any thing of this kind before, of any Nation. They were well acquainted with Geography. I gave

them a large Map of the World, which they much admired, and I pointed out to them the situation of the Palou Islands, and our route towards them...

The Sultan's brother sent me a horse and a mare, but not having accommodations for them, we necessitated to return the present. The turkies I provided at Batavia having all died, except 2 cocks and wishing to have a breed of those birds at the Paloos, I offered any money for a couple of pair. A Chinaman hearing I was desirous for them, brought me a hen sitting upon 10 eggs and a cock bird; for the whole he asked me 10 dollars in cash which I instantly gave him, and was glad of the bargain, they being very cheap considering being but lately imported from Manilla. My paying so well for this another hen was produced sitting on 9 eggs; for these I paid the same sum and was in hopes of carrying them safe to the Paloos, they being domesticated, though there was little chance of breeding the chickens on board, for want of verdure.

Paying so well for the rice, I had the quantity I desired, as much as both vessels could take in, for which I paid according to agreement, and settled all our accounts amicably.

[On 2 December, the ships left Sulu, or Jolo, and went down to Celebes, then off Gilolo on the 14th, then heading east toward Micronesia.]

It now came on to blow and rain with a most tremendous swell setting in from the Westward and no Moon to guide us. I thought it most prudent to lay to till daylight, which we did near mid channel with our head towards the Island Riou. During the night we tumbled about in a dreadful manner so that I was much alarmed for my Palou stock. As it happened I lost a fine lamb & a bull. The swell broke on board of both sides, that we were all happy when day broke...

[They sailed by Morotay, whose East side they found to lie in 129° longitude E.]

26th [December]. Light variable wiinds from the NW and a Westerly current, saw the North Yawl Island.

From Manuaran [Island] I refer you to our logbook being a most singular route and had upon the whole a very tedious passage to the Palou Islands.

[Return to Palau in January 1793]

We fell in with the Palou Islands in the Lat. 7°30' N off the district of Jyry [i.e. Airai]. At this time them and the whole upper country were in arms against Corrora & Errakeltheo, but our appearance off their Islands soon turned the scale in their favor. We stood close in with the land and soon got conference with the Natives and learned the whole account of the late change in Government. Their first inquiry was after Phymoo, but alas! Phymoo & Kathelbly was [rather were] no more, the other two girls gave them a slight account of their death, which was instantly conveyed to the shore, to their par-

ents. We sailed along the outside of the reefs, and came to in our old harbour Earacong the 18th.

It may be well supposed we were not long at anchor without a visit from our Friends. We lay fast during the night, and in the evening hoisted out our boats, and got all ready for proceeding through the channel by Oroolong. At daylight weighed, and stood through the Islands and banks towards Oroolong. By the time we got up with the island, the King and several of the Rupacks came on board. The weather being boisterous, we did not get up to our anchor ground till the 20th.

Being now snugly moored we set about dispatching the **Endeavour** with all possible speed, that she might arrive in time at China for to transmit the accounts of our progress by the ships of this season.

Accordingly she filled up her wood & water and sailed by the 26th with a letter to the Court of Directors acquainting them with my Resolution of remaining here to establish an English Settlement.

The second day after my arrival I landed the following stock: 5 cows & a bull calf, 7 deer, 6 she-goats & a 1 he ditto, 4 pair of geese, 2 pair of turkies (which had brought forth 15 chickens on board, but they all died) also 6 pair of ducks & about a dozen of laying hens & a cock. In putting the cattle into the boat a fine young cow slipped out of the slings by [not] being over careful and broke her back that she never recovered. The deer by being tied by the legs, never rose after they were landed, & the second day after the cattle was landed, two of the cows fell down a precipice and killed themselves. Three of my ewes, and two of the goats killed themselves by eating till they burst. I just discovered the malady in time, and had them properly attended by my own boys, otherwise I should have lost all the pains I had taken with them.

[End of McCluer's narrative.]

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Part 8—Document 1791B

The ships Panther and Endeavour in 1791 and 1793—The narrative of Amasa Delano

Source: Amasa Delano. A Narrative of Voyages and Travels (Boston, priv. printed, 1817).

Notes: Delano was a U.S. citizen serving aboard the English ships Panther and Endeavour, belonging to the East India Company, under Commodore McCluer, when they visited Palau in June 1791 and early 1793. He was born in Dixbury, New England, in February 1763.

A Narrative of Voyages and Travels, in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres comprising Three Voyages Round the World;

Together with a Voyage of Survey and Discovery, in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands.

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- -Remarks upon the crew
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 - —Port San Pio Quinto—people of Luconia
 - -Going on shore after turtle
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 - -Sailed for the Pelew Islands



Captain Amasa Delano

NARRATIVE

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

IN THE

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IN THE

PACIFIC OCEAN AND ORIENTAL ISLANDS.

BY AWASA DELANO.

BOSTON:

FRINTED BY E. G. HOUSE, FOR THE ATTHON.

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Chapter II.

The sale of the Massachusetts—Repairs of Ships in China—Parting with the crew of the Massachusetts—The characters of some of the crew—Entering the English service at Macao, under Commodore McClure—Remarks upon the Typa—Macao Roads and Canton Bay—The change of the monsoons—The Babuyane Islands—Events on the passage.

After the **Massachusetts** was sold, ¹ and I had obtained an honourable settlement with the owner for myself and my brother, I undertook the superintendency of the repairs of a large ship, belonging to the Danish East India Company, which had been dismasted by the board, and in other respects materially injured in the Typhon, in the China Sea.

•••

My brother Samuel, who had been with me constantly, with whom I shared in all things, and kept one purse, was my principal support in the arduous task of repairing the ship. After the completion of this, and a settlement with the owner, we all separated. My brother went to the North West Coast with a Capt. Douglas.

...

Wampoa, where the Danish ship was repaired, is the port, or anchoring place, for all vessels in the China trade, and is nine miles below Canton, on the same river, which is called the Tigris.

Taking leave of all on board the Danish ship, I proceeded to Macao, in the brig Grace, with Captain William Douglas, the same with whom my brother had shipped to go to the North West Coast. On our arrival at Macao Roads, we found a large fleet of homeward bound English East Indiamen. They had left Wampoa several days before the Grace, in order to join convoy under the protection of the Leopard, a fiftygun ship, commanded by Commodore Blanket, and the Thames, a frigate, commanded by Captain Trowbridge, both of whom were afterwards admirals. The two men-of-war were at China this season to protect the fleet, in case a contest should ensue from the disturbance among the Spaniards, occasioned by a difference between them and the English at Nootka Sound... The last of March 1791, when they were ready for sea, I took leave of the two captains, and again of my brother. In two or three days, they sailed...

Going on shore at Macao, I found many friends, whom Maj. Samuel Shaw had procured for me, before he left Canton.² They were the English, Dutch, Danish and Swedish supercargoes, besides others. They remove from Canton to Macao every spring for the benefit of the wholesome sea air during the summer months. They were there at my landing; and one of them, Thomas Freeman, Esq. ... offered me a room with himself in

¹ Ed. note: The U.S. ship Massachusetts was sold at Whampoa to the Danish Company for \$65,000 and the U.S. crew dispersed.

² Ed. note: Major Shaw was one of the first New Englanders to visit China in 1785. He was appointed U.S. Consul by the U.S. Congress in 1786, but he did get to Canton until 1789. He died in 1794.

his factory, in a most friendly manner. I accepted his polite invitation; took a room with him, and resided in his house about two weeks. Commodore John McClure, who commanded an expedition to the eastward, to the Pelew Islands, New Guinea, New Holland, the Spice Islands, and others, was also at that time lodging with him. The expedition was fitted out from Bombay, by the English East India Company, and consisted of two Bombay marine vessels, the Panther, a snow of about two hundred tons, and the Endeavour, a small snow... Commodore McClure and myself soon became intimately acquainted with each other, and were friends. He wanted both officers and men, having lost several of the former by sickness, and of the latter by desertion. It was a further consideration with him, that I was capable of building and repairing vessels of all kinds, as my labours upon the Danish ship testified, from which I had gained great credit. To make use of his expression, "He considered that I should be a very useful man to him as a seaman, an officer, or a ship builder; and if it was agreeable to me to go on board the **Panther** with him, I should receive the same pay and emoluments with his lieutenants and astronomers; I should not be subject to any command but his; and as he was out on survey and discovery, if I liked such a trip, he would make the circumstances pleasant to me." The service was just that for which I had always entertained a strong desire, and I did not hesitate a moment.

The 14th of April 1791, I went aboard the **Panther** as a volunteer officer, doing duty as lieutenant, and subject to none but the Commodore's command. This last article made it very unpleasant to me for a short time, for the Bombay Marine was as regular as any public service whatever. The officers, who were to obey me, did not all think the regulation proper, and were not satisfied. This however was but for a short period.

We all soon became friends. They found in me a man able and willing to do his duty at all times in any capacity, for which I professed to be qualified; and one who was evidently desirous of being their friend and companion. I found in them gentlemen, who were just and generous; and after the prejudice was removed, which had arisen from my admission to office out of order, and from my character as an American, with all the associations of the late war, they were kind and cordial to me, and I was more happy than I had ever been in any service, or with any set of officers before. As my purpose, in writing this narrative, is not only to give useful information in regard to trade, navigation, countries and their laws, but to encourage good moral sentiments, and impress the value of good examples, my readers may be pleased with a brief notice of the general character of my companions in this expedition.

They were all North and South Britons by birth, had been educated in good schools in England and Scotland, and entered young into the Navy, or into the Bombay Marine. They had never known any but public service. From the youngest midshipman to the commodore, not one had arrived at the age of thirty.² They had not been ex-

¹ Ed. note: That is, the War of Independence of the U.S.A.

² Ed. note: The names of some of these young officers, mentioned in this narrative, are: Lieutenant John Wedgeborough; Lieutenant Robert White; Lieutenant Gerard Drummond, a Scot; Lieutenant Samuel Snook; Dr. Nicholson, the surgeon.

posed to any degredation of sentiment or moral feeling, by that miscellaneous intercourse with nations, in the pursuits of trade, which has too often corrupted the mind and character through the temptations of avarice and commercial policy, especially when at a distance from home, and free from the responsibility to superior officers, as a substitute for the influence of the social relations upon conduct in the midst of friends, whose good opinion and offices of kindness and confidence are necessary to happiness. They were in principle and practice honest, ingenuous and honourable; despisers of meanness and duplicity in every form; just and generous in the common duties of life; respectful to each other in their familiarity and playfulness, and faithful in their friendships. It deserves to be particularly mentioned, that they encouraged in their conversation, and regarded in their conduct, high and honourable sentiments toward women. Their ideas of the importance and sacredness of the marriage relation, and of the character of a wife, were such as wise and good men, in a pure state of society, would rejoice to approve and disseminate. In the variety of countries and people where they visited, and the effects of different manners and institutions upon the communities, they had an opportunity to acquire a practical liberality of mind, while their estimate of the pre-eminent value of the domestic virtues was continually exalted. Let it not be supposed, under the dominion of prejudices, which are too common on shore, that this is a kind of praise but ill adapted to a sailor's life and habits. From my own observation, and the virtues of more fellow seamen than I have room to name. I am able to meet this misrepresentation, and to affirm the extensive influence which moral, domestic and religious feelings have over their hearts, their conversation, their actions and their hopes.

There is also another article in the conduct of this expedition, which ought to be mentioned as equally honourable to my companions and worthy of imitation from others. Their treatment of the natives was uniformly just, honest, generous and friendly; no impositions were practised upon their credulity; no mercenary advantages were taken of their ignorance; and no treachery was used toward their interests after making professions of higher principles and better forms of society among Christian people. The impression left upon the minds of the natives in every place, which our expedition visited, must have been favorable to us, and useful to them. It could not but have excited in their minds many reflections, and probably some resolutions, upon the subject of using the means of civilization, and seeking the blessings of such a religion as ours. It is my deliberate opinion, that most of that, of which we complain in the character and conduct of the natives of different countries toward us, is owing to ourselves, to our avarice and cupidity, to our selfishness, and the disregard of our own principles as we have at first announced them. If all voyagers, travellers, and missionaries had treated the natives as honourably and wisely as they were treated by Commodore McClure and his companions in the expedition, we should not only have enjoyed uninterrupted friendship with them, but should have gone very far toward the accomplishment of their civilization, and the introduction among them of our own forms of society and religion.

But it is time that I return to my narrative. We continued the preparation of our vessel for sea, and were also employed in taking on board provisions and stock till April 27th, 1791, when we weighed anchor, and sailed out of the Typa. This is the name given to what Sir George Staunton calls the outer harbour, or bay at Macao.

After weighing anchor on the 27th, we sailed eastward out of Canton B

ay, taking the most common passage, which is between the Grand Iama Island and the main land north of it. From this island, lying in north latitude 22°5', and in east longitude 114°34', we continued working eastward, with light variable winds from the southern quarter, in from nine to fifteen fathoms water, and over a soft muddy bottom. In forty or fifty miles, we lost soundings with a line of forty-five fathoms. We held this course till the 14th of May, and then anchored in port San Pio Quinto, one of the Babuyane islands, in latitude 18°54' north, and in longitude 122°23' east. No harbour is more convenient than this for taking in wood and water. ²

The large blue pigeon, which Captain Wilson saw at the Pelew Islands, we saw here, and carried one to the ship as a specimen. It is three times as large as the pigeon of this country;³ and its blue is deep and rich except that upon the breast, which is changeable with red, producing with its graceful motions the most agreeable effect upon the eye.

The tide, at Port San Pio Quinto, did not appear to be regular, but I should think the rise and fall as much as five or six feet. The bay seemed to be clear of danger. The shores round the island were indented with small bays, some of which we visited for turtle, whose tracks we saw, and for which as well as for fishing, the people of Luconia, at a distance of eight or ten leagues to the south, come to this place. One night we observed a fire on the island, and sent a party to learn what might be discovered from it. The party landed in a boat, with a native of the Pelew Islands, whom we had with us, and whose name was Cockawocky. They saw Indians engaged in cooking round the fire, and our Pelew Island-man crept close to them before they discovered him. The moment they did, however, they ran with the greatest consternation, leaving every thing they had behind them. Cockawocky followed to assure them, that we would do them no harm, and that we had been thus cautious in making our approach to them, that we might ascertain their numbers and be sure of safety for ourselves. But they fled the faster for his pursuit, and we then lost the opportunity to have an interview with them, a loss which we particularly regretted, as our Commodore always made it a point to establish a friendly intercourse with the natives wherever he could, and to leave benevolent impressions upon their minds in regard to white people, and especially the English. We afterwards found, that they were from Luconia. Cockawocky, by whom they had

¹ Ed. note: North of Luzon, Philippines. His position differs from that given by Capt. McCluer.

² Ed. note: This island was Camiguin, in the southeast corner of the Babuyan Islands. The port on the west side of this island is still called San Pio Quinto.

³ Ed. note: The pidgeon of New England, U.S.A.

been so much alarmed, was brought from the Pelew Islands in the **Panther** when she came to Macao. His name, as it sounds to our ears, might be thought indicative of his character; for he was a forward, officious, and blustering fellow, quite unlike to his countrymen generally, who are mild and modest.

We sailed for the Pelew Islands, May 18th, working round the north east side of Luconia till the 1st of June. The winds were light from the points between east and south. On the 2d, in latitude 15°10' north, the wind hauled to the north east, and on the 5th, to the north and west, when we were in latitude 10° north. The winds continued from north west to south west till June 9th, when we made the Pelew Islands. On the 10th, we anchored under one of them.

Chapter III.

The Pelew Islands—Abba Thulle—Expedition to Artingall.

Of the Pelew Islands, the most south west is Onour [i.e. Angaur], whose western extremity lies in latitude 6°54' north, and longitude 134°20' east. This island, when a ship is seeking a harbour among the group, must be made in the south-west monsoon. A seaman may take his choice to sail north or south of it: but if to the north, daylight is necessary, as some reefs are to be passed in running east and northward for the other islands. A ship ought to go well to the south of them all, especially when coming from the westward; for if she should keep in the latitude of the mass of the islands, she would fall directly upon the reef where Captain Henry Wilson was wrecked in 1783, in the **Antelope** packet. This reef lies in the form of a crescent, encompassing nearly all the north and west parts of the cluster, so that in attempting to make a harbour, it is necessary to sail on the south and east side. It should be remembered, however, that the east side is considerably lined with reefs, although it is possible, notwithstanding them, to find a harbour. The south part is most easy of access, and yet it is very difficult, in consequence of such innumerable shoals of coral rocks. The whole should be sounded with a boat, before any attempt is made with a ship. Although I have been in five or six safe anchoring places, formed by the islands and the reefs, I must yet urge great caution upon every stranger how he enters among them; and after all, the most minute description would be insufficient for his safety.

We got into a good anchoring place the 11th of June, when our vessel was crowded with natives of both sexes, and the water was covered for forty or fifty yards round with canoes, which they perfectly filled. They came on board with great eagerness, and with as little fear or suspicion as a child would enter a parent's house. Interest, cordiality and happiness seemed to reign among all parties. It was delightful to witness such an exhibition of benevolent emotions, and still more to partake in them with an active curiosity and a lively sympathy.

These islands are tolerably well described by Captain Wilson, who was assisted in his work by George Keate, Esq. I will add, however, a few remarks upon this truly amiable people.

In regard to Abba Thulle, their king, it may be observed, that his likeness is pretty well drawn, and his character better delineated, by Captain Wilson; but the one should be softened, and the other should be heightened. The likeness is too savage and ferocious, and has not the expression of wisdom and benevolence found in the original, even when I have been conversing with him through a linguist, where the full effect can never be given to intercourse, I often thought that I could see more in his countenance than in that of any other man I ever knew. All, who were acquainted with him, were fully satisfied, that he was possessed of the very first natural abilities. I had some reason to be flattered with the idea that I was a favourite with him; for he used to tell me that I understood ships, guns, muskets and pistols, and had the art of swimming, diving and fishing better than any body who had visited his people. Having been on board the **Antelope**, then called the **Franklin**, in Boston, with a view to go a cruise in her, and having paid particular attention to her on this account, I was well acquainted with her general character and appearance. I built her in miniature, furnished her with full rigging, and made a present of her to the king. Messieurs Wedgeborough and White, who were in the **Antelope** when she was lost, and who were at this time astronomers with us, said that my miniature was a good likeness of the original. The king was much pleased with it, not only because it was a handsome piece of work in itself, but because the wreck of the **Antelope** had been in his possession.

As a proof of his magnanimity, it ought to be stated, that he always gave notice to an enemy at least three days before going to war with him. This was told to me by some of the chiefs among his enemies, when I went out with a part of our own men to aid this king against them. They spoke well of him, and said that Abba Thulle never lied. He was considered when he was young as the greatest warrior ever bred in the Pelew Islands; and yet as eminent for his justice and humanity. His subjects were in general strongly attached to him; but some of them, who lived in the distant islands, notwithstanding his great and good qualities, were ungrateful and unwise enough to revolt from him. While we were there, some of the people were in a state of rebellion. As Captain Wilson had done before us, we joined the king, and went against the inhabitants of Artingall, one of the islands under his dominion. The expedition for this purpose was fitted out the 21st of June, and was quite powerful. Some thousands of men were embarked. Two of our officers, the surgeon, a number of sailors, and a detachment of sepoys, 1 were among them. I was assigned to the command of the launch, a large boat, with a crew of Europeans. We had a six-pounder brass cannon, several swivels, a chest of ammunition, and each man a musket. The king, according to his usual generosity, had sent word to the people of Artingall, that we should be there in three days for war. Although I was a Christian, and was in the habit of supposing the Christians superior to these pa-

¹ Ed. note: Soldiers from India, in the employ of the English East India Company.

gans in the principles of virtue and benevolence, yet I could not refrain from remonstrating against this conduct on the part of the king. I told him, that Christian nations considered it as within the acknowledged system of lawful and honourable warfare, to use stratagems against enemies, and to fall upon them whenever it was possible, and take them by surprise. He replied, that war was horrid enough when pursued in the most open and magnanimous manner; and that although he thought very highly of the English, still their principles in this respect did not obtain his approbation, and he believed his own mode of warfare more politic as well as more just. He said, that if he were to destroy his enemies when they were asleep, others would have a good reason to retaliate the same base conduct upon his subjects, and thus multiply evils, where regular and open warfare might be the means of a speedy peace without barbarity. Should he subdue his rebellious subjects by stratagem and surprise, they would hate both him and his measures, and would never be faithful and happy, although they might fear his power, and unwillingly obey his laws. Sentiments of this elevated character excited my admiration the more for this excellent pagan, and made an impression upon my mind, which time will never efface. Christians might learn of Abba Thulle a fair comment upon the best principles of their own religion.

Previous to our departure for Artingall, the king assembled all his force at Pelew, made all the necessary preparation of provisions and arms. We moved in the evening, pursued our course through the night, and on the morning of the 22d arrived off Artingall. The day was fair and pleasant. The canoes formed three lines, front, centre, and rear. The launch, with English colours flying, was in the centre; and the canoes pulled abreast in lines, with each a flag or banner resembling ours as much as possible. We came within a long reef, which extended several miles, and were then before the town, in smooth water, keeping in order as we approached. With our spy-glass, we saw that the beach was covered with natives for a quarter of a mile near to the town, who had arms in their hands. When we were within a mile of them, the King gave orders for our musquito fleet to come to an anchor. This being done, he requested that a gun might be fired, and a signal made for some one to come off to us. We complied with his wishes, and immediately we observed people go to a stone pier and enter a canoe, which was paddled directly to our boat, at the astonishing rate of eight or nine miles an hour. When they were within our lines, the king's canoe being made fast alongside the launch, they drew up at about four yards distance from us, and then, at the clapping of hands by the steersman, they all at once backed water with their paddles, and stopped as suddenly as if they had struck with a rock. After this, they came alongside the king's canoe, and we saw the chief, who was with them, and who sat distinguished from all the rest upon a seat in the centre. Their conduct upon this occasion attracted my attention and excited my admiration. With bold and fearless countenances, and with simple but determined manners, they looked round on all the instruments of death, which we had brought with us, and preserved a uniform air of indifference and courage. No signs of fear or doubt were betrayed by them, notwithstanding our expedition and various European arms must have appeared formidable, if not irresistible to them, unaccustomed

as they were to meet a foe thus equipped. In addition to the articles already named, we had pistols, boarding lances, cutlasses, and a Chinese rocket which resembled our torpedoes. Although the rockets were not very destructive in fact, they had an alarming appearance, and made a great parade of death to those who saw them approaching with smoke, and fire, and threatening leaps upon the water.

The king said to the chief, "Are you ready to fight?"

- -"We are."
- -"Are you willing?"

He frankly answered:

—"We are not; but we will sooner fight than have any laws imposed upon us, which we think unjust and disgraceful."

The king told him, that we came prepared to give them battle, if they would not yield their rebellion, accept of pardon upon proper terms, and submit to the laws of their sovereign. A negociation might be opened before a resort should be had to force. It was proposed to the chief, that he should go on shore, confer with the people, and if they were resolved on war, a signal should be made for hostilities to commence; but if they were inclined to peace and reconciliation, word must be sent us, and we must be invited to go up to the pier. The proposal was accepted, and they inmediately started for the shore. The manner in which they made ready to put their canoe under way, was interesting to a European. The custom prevails among all the Pelew Islanders. One man of the crew pronounces a kind of chant, and instantly they all flourish their paddles over their heads with a perfectly uniform motion, and with the greatest dexterity. The exercise is as regular as that of a military company, and much more difficult to the performed. As our treble line of canoes approached Artingall that morning, this flourish of paddles by our crews was beautiful and impressive; but I thought that the rebels, who were now returning with their chief, executed it with still more grace and majesty. A strong interest for them was excited in my mind. Their open, candid, and admirable behaviour secured my partiality; and won my best hopes for their prosperity.

When the chief and his party arrived at the pier, they were met by the crowds on shore, and after a short consultation returned to us as before. They brought a message for the king and the fleet to come to the pier, declared their readiness to enter into a negociation, and offered us any provisions that we might want during its continuance. As I had already taken a friendly part with them in my feelings, I was much delighted with this message. We were soon under way, drew up to the pier, and were received with every mark of respect. Refreshments were pressed upon us, and were as cordially received. The terms, which the king proposed, were that the people of Artingall should carry him from his canoe on a kind of litter to their place of state, and set him on the throne; that the two highest chiefs, who had been named kings of the two islands in rebellion, should bring to him several valuable jewels, which they held at that time, and which had descended from his ancestors; that they should acknowledge him to be their

¹ Ed. note: Rather districts.

lawful sovereign, and promise never more to revolt on pain of death; that the under chiefs should prostrate themselves before him with their faces to the ground, and make the same promise with the two first chiefs; and that they should exchange sixty women as hostages to secure the observance of peace. The king had remarked, that this exchange of women as hostages had generally been followed by a long period of tranquillity and good order. When those terms were made known to the chiefs of Artingall, through their own ministers, they seemed very unwilling to comply with them, and at first I thought they never would. They, however, took them into consideration.

At this time it was low water, and many hundred acres of the reef were bare. Abba Thulle gave his people liberty to go out upon the reef, and collect shell fish. Crowds of the men of Artingall were also on the reef, and our people mingled with them in all directions, so that it was impossible to distinguish them from each other. This produced not a little anxiety in the minds of some of us, who were not accustomed to such a mingling of enemies in a time of war. We remonstrated with the king against such unguarded conduct; but he said that it was the best way to forward the negotiation; that his own people were safe, and knew how to act; that they would become familiar with each other and remove animosity; and that the object was not to subdue the rebels merely, but to make them good subjects. I now saw, from the actual experiment, the advantage of an open and generous policy, especially when united with such terms of submission on the part of the rebels as would leave no doubt of the king's power to conquer them by force if he chose. This naked savage had introduced such a spirit of confidence among the inhabitants of these islands, that treachery was never feared. We were left so unguarded, that it appeared to me, the men of Artingall might have taken us by surprise and have made us captives, had they consented to violate the laws which rendered the suspension of hostilities sacred. The launch was aground, and the natives might have come down opposite the pier, with stones and spears and have got possession of her. But no symptoms of treachery appeared. We lay at this place three days and nights, during the negociation, and were treated with every kind of hospitality. I was indeed many times uneasy, and thought the terms hard on which the king insisted; but his reasonings were always good, and his policy effectual. He said that he had demanded no more than was necessary to prove his own sense of the injury done to him, to declare his power, and to satisfy the dignity which should always be paid to the throne. What he had required was indeed a great deal for the people of Artingall to do; but he could not require less, and more would be inconsistent with the future contentment and obedience of the people. He said further, he should think that we were destitute of humanity, and more pretenders to the virtues of the heart, if we were not willing to protract the negociation as long as there was a reasonable prospect of success, when our forbearance could not be ascribed to weakness or fear, as we had so great a superiority to the enemy. He assured us, that those, who now appeared so kind and friendly, would fly to arms and fight desperately, should we show that we were really haughty and vindictive, and seeking concessions beyond the justice of the case. He would not wantomly shed the blood of any of his fellow creatures, and much less of any of his subjects, although they might

be in the wrong. Such were some of the numerous sentiments, of the most noble kind, which Abba Thulle expressed to us during the period of the negociation. However savage may be the exterior of such a man, his heart must be allowed to be richly furnished with affections and principles worthy of a Christian disciple. If he is wanting in our forms of religion, he still has the substance and dignity of virtue.

The policy at length succeeded. We were rejoiced to hear, after our long delay, that the people of both islands had agreed to all the articles which the king had proposed. Action soon followed determination. The litter, which looked much like a bier to carry the dead, was brought. The pier, of which I have spoken, was about a quarter of a mile long, from twelve to fifteen feet wide on the top, and spreading out at the bottom, from fifteen to eighteen feet high, and was built solid with rocks. The king was taken out of his canoe by the arms of his returning subjects, was set upon the litter, and eight men of Artingall carried it in their hands off the pier, and then on their shoulders up a paved way to the place of state. They enthroned him on a high seat, made of wood, and covered with mats. My fellow officer, the surgeon, and myself followed, and stood by the throne. The two first chiefs approached him, half bent, holding the jewels suspended by strings, and presented them to his majesty. He received them with dignity and grace, and afterward bade them stand erect. He put such questions to them as he thought proper, and as the occasion required, all of which were answered to his satisfaction. The under chiefs were then called, twenty five in number. They also approached half bent, kneeled, brought their breasts to the ground, and kissed the king's feet. He then bade them rise, and questioned them as he had done the others. After this ceremony was over, the women were brought according to the treaty. When they were collected, the king told each Englishman, if he saw any woman with whom he was pleased, he might take her. Next he said the same to his officers, who are denominated rupacks; and last he gave the same liberty to his common men, till the sixty were selected. I was curious to know whether any of the women would be unwilling to go with those by whom they were chosen; but I discovered in their countenances only cheerfulness and pleasure.

The articles of the treaty being settled, the people of both parties assembled round the square, where the seat of the king was, and partook of the various refreshments, which the bounty of the island could supply. They amused themselves in dancing, and in different plays, for several hours, while the king was settling the details of the future conduct of this portion of his subjects. One rupack only was removed from his office in Artingall. When every thing was arranged to the satisfaction of the king, we re-embarked for Pelew, and took the broken rupack and the sixty women with us.

This was not the first time that our people had gone out with Abba Thulle against the people of Artingall. The crew of the **Endeavour**, now with us, had been engaged in the same way, while the **Panther** was gone to China. The officers told me, that the men of Artingall had fought terribly, and that no people were more brave. The inhabitants of Pelew had taken several of them prisoners, and had put them to death in a manner not agreeing with their general character for humanity. I cannot account for the degree of cruelty, which, on this occasion, was practiced by them, who had so many

good sentiments and real virtues in most of the departments of life. The Pelews seemed to think themselves at liberty to disregard the feelings of humanity toward prisoners, when they would treat an open enemy with magnanimity and justice. When they were asked, why they were so barbarous toward their captives, and yet so generous and honourable toward the same persons as enemies, they answered, that an enemy would meet them face to face, but the captives would be plotting destruction under the appearance of contentment and good will. It is certainly inhuman beyond any apology, or extenuation, to cut off the leg of a prisoner, and beat his own face with it, while he is yet living, although this is intended to be a mode of death, and not of protracted torment. The maxim, handed down from their forefathers, was, that more is to be feared from one prisoner than from five open enemies. The force of education and prejudice may account in part for this contradiction in the character of the Pelews on the score of humanity; but it cannot prevent us from severely condemning the cruelty which they too often manifested toward the victims of their conquests. If some prisoners act treacherously, it is not a sufficient reason for the conquerors to treat the whole with barbarity. From the testimony of my predecessors at these islands, I am compelled to believe, that the sentiments of Abba Thulle have not always had the same good influence over his subjects as they appeared to have when I was with them. The conduct of the expedition, of which I was a part, and where I had the opportunity of minute personal observation, was remarkably judicious, politic, and humane. The general character of the people also was friendly and excellent, although there can be no doubt that their virtues were very much owing to the extraordinary talents and worth of Abba Thulle.

From the sentiments and conduct of these islanders in regard to prisoners, I was led to devote much reflection to this subject, and particularly to the effect upon them as a body, which is produced by the treachery of one, or a few. Let those, who are taken captive, who have asked and received quarter, and who have thrown themselves upon the mercy of the conqueror under the rules of honour and confidence, never be guilty of any crimes, sedition, infidelity, or conspiracy, toward the sovereign who protects them, or the people upon whose hospitality they live. The influence of falsehood and crime in the conduct of a few prisoners, is incalculably bad upon all their companions or successors. The responsibility, therefore, which attends the condition of a prisoner, is very great and important. Christian communities should remember this, and apply it to soften the miseries of war.

We returned to the **Panther** the 25th of June, and found both our vessels ready for sea. On the 27th of June 1791, we took our departure for New Guinea.

[The story of Madan Blanchard]

But before I proceed in the narrative of our voyage, I wish to mention a striking instance of retribution which attended the abuse of power by a European among these people. Captain Wilson, when he went to China, left at the Pelew Islands a man named Madan Blanchard. This man was much caressed by the king, and every body was compelled to pay him great respect by the royal order. He became arrogant and licentious,

as persons are apt to do, when suddenly raised to unusual power and consequence. The natives told me, that he would take their tarra [i.e. taro] root, yams, cocoa-nuts, canoes, wives, and every thing he chose; and if they made any complaint, would contrive to have them beaten and disgraced. What little address he had for the purpose of justifying himself with the king was greatly assisted by the fear, which the king entertained, that Blanchard might be able to make the English believe on their return to the islands, if he were offended, that the nation had been insulted through him, and that vengeance ought to be taken. He continued this course of abuse for nearly three years, when he went over with a rupack, who was his favourite, and with six or eight men to a small island, where the people had been injured by him. They intended to spend the night there, as was supposed, in some pursuit of selfishness and vice. In the evening a quarrel arose, and Blanchard and his party were put to death, except two who escaped in their canoe.

Such was the conduct, and such the fall of a man, on whom the English had placed great hopes, that he would effect some important good by his stay among the Pelews. Instead of teaching the nation better principles than they had, and labouring to elevate their affections and character, as a Christian ought, he did considerable toward corrupting and oppressing them. He not only disgusted them with his hypocricy, and injured them personally by his oppressions and example, but he made them quarrel sometimes with their king, and with one another. I was extremely sorry to hear that the king resented his death among his subjects, and punished the inhabitants of the island where it happened.

It will be remembered, that the Pelew Islanders had never seen any white men, until the time when Captain Wilson was cast away among them, August 10th, 1783. As a warning to others, it may be mentioned, that this happened in north latitude 7°20', and in east longitude 134°40'. They treated him remarkably well and helped him to build a small vessel, after the loss of the **Antelope**, that he might return to his own country.

Before we left them, we made the king many presents. Some had been sent him by the English Company, among which were muskets, and a quantity of gun-powder. These, we learned on our return to the islands after an absence of two years, had done them incalculable mischief. The change in their condition was melancholy indeed, when we visited them again. The good king Abba Thulle had died, and with him passed away that valuable influence which was exerted over the whole character of the people, and by which their practice was in so great a degree preserved from treachery and depravity. Although the government was an hereditary monarchy, yet there were ambitious men, according to the fact everywhere else, ready to seize upon any favourable occasion to raise themselves to power. Of this character was the man whom Wilson calls Arra Kooker, and who usurped the throne after the death of Abba Thulle. This excellent savage had only one son living at the time he died, a man of a small mind, and not able, like his father, to maintain his authority, and much less to acquire power, and make improvements. The party of Arra Kooker fought against the supporters of the

¹ Ed. note: As the English pronounced the rank of this chief, now spelled Rechucher.

young king, till by intrigue and treachery nearly all the brave warriors of Abba Thulle were slain, and the usurper was finally settled on the throne at Pelew. His promises that the administration of the government should be just and paternal, and by which he had acquired popularity, proved to be, what such promises usually are, deceptive and worthless. He was selfish and oppressive, and experienced the fate of almost all such men in a natural course of retribution. He was assassinated.

It was in January 1793, when we returned to these islands. I was astonished to perceive how great a change could be effected by bad rulers is so short a period. The people, whom we had left just, humane, and happy, were now in a state of oppression, mutual distrust and opposition, and were gloomy and wretched. The personal influence of a single great and good man at the head of a nation, diffuses itself in such a variety of ways, and acts upon so many subordinate agents, that its results might almost be thought miraculous. The value is never estimated, till an opposite influence is contrasted with it. The contrast was sad indeed, for the poor inhabitants of Pelew.

[The story of Captain McCluer]

In this place, perhaps I ought to observe that the account, which I have given of our expedition to Artingall, may not be found in the journal of the **Panther**; for Commodore McClure forbid it to be inserted. The reason of this I never perfectly understood; but in general it was said, that we were in no case to act with the natives in an offensive war, and that this co-operation with Abba Thulle might be considered as contrary to our instructions.

Although it will be a partial anticipation of the course of my narrative, it will be proper here to insert the remaining remarks which I have to make upon the Pelew Islands. It had been, as I believe, the design of our Commodore, for a long time, to devote his attention particularly to their improvement. When he was at Amboyna he procured a number of plants of the nutmeg and clove, some growing in pots, and some taken up from the earth with a quantity of soil about the roots. At other places, he collected various plants and seeds, both for ornament and use. He also furnished himself with cows, bulls, sheep, goats, hogs, several kinds of deer, and the varieties of domestic fowls. With these he landed at Pelew. He likewise took a marquee [i.e. a large tent]; the **Panther**'s launch; three or four female slaves of Malay, from nine to twelve years old, which he purchased at Timor; some males of Malay; a Bombay female, born of European parents; and five or six male slaves, from different eastern coasts. With these he resided in the [Pelew] islands for a number of months. Afterwards he came in the launch with his male slaves to Macao, purchased a ship, returned to Pelew, took his female slaves on board, and left the islands forever. \(\)

¹ Ed. note: The name of this ship was the Venus. It arrived in India, where McCluer began trading between Bombay and Bengal. On his return voyage from Bengal, he and the Venus disappeared in a storm.

Our curiosity may be interested to know why he commenced an enterprise, which he so soon abandoned. He evidently cherished the idea, at one time, of making such improvements upon the Pelew islands as would render them a delightful residence for a civilized and agricultural people. It has been said that he designed to spend his life among them; but of this there is not sufficient evidence. He probably meant to stay a much longer time than he actually did. It was a great object with him to transfer thither, and to cultivate the spices of the Dutch islands. His project, considered in all its parts, mut have been romantic; and even if it had not been so, his preparation was insufficient to secure success. I have never learned what was the fate of the spices, but I have been satisfactorily informed that the multiplication of the animals and fowls has been so great as to make the islands very convenient for ships to stop at them, and obtain supplies. They also abound with cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, yams, tarra root, bread-fruit, limes, and bananas. Wild fowls, the same as those which we have about the barn door, a large kind of blue pigeon, and a bat of enormous size, called by the crew the flying fox, are found there in great numbers.

They are supplied also with several kinds of fish, with ses-turtle, and with various species of the oyster, among which is the pearl oyster in great abundance. There is one kind which has a shell, each half of which is large enough to hold thirty gallons of water. Notwithstanding the size of the oyster, the meat is excellent. It is cut into pieces, and boiled, stewed, or fried. The utensils for cooking are made of clay, and are burnt in the same manner as our coarse pottery. The inhabitants wear no clothes, and drink only water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut and of the sugar-cane without distillation. Canoes for fishing, and houses of a small, unexpensive, but comfortable kind for shelter, complete their list of wants; all of which are easily supplied. In looking at such a state of society, although it is unquestionably inferior to ours, yet we are sometimes tempted to regret that the contentment, which appears to accompany a people of so few wants, cannot be preserved more perfectly amidst the relations and interests of civilized life. The increase of wants, while it often, and perhaps generally, multiplies virtues and blessings, and calls out a greater variety of talents and sympathies, does also too often lead individuals to the use of dishonest means of gratification, and to vices, which render a portion of polished nations more miserable than any savages. If the inhabitants of the Pelew islands had not as many virtues a we have, they certainly had at first fewer vices. And even if the proportion between their virtues and their vices, when compared with the proportion among us, should be found, as I think it would, in our favour, still, one cannot help lamenting, that the machinery of civilization, the means and motives for extensive improvement, should develop so many selfish and base passions, and destroy in so many instances the simplicity and confidence, which gave such a peculiar charm to the character of the natives of the Pelew islands when they were first visited by the English. But man seems to be destined to taste of the tree of the knowledge of evil as well as of good, in order to learn how to taste of the tree of life and live forever. Vice and virtue, misery and happiness, are not relative terms more than they are relative states of the mind and the character. The good appears never to be fully estimated, and

permanently secured, till the evil has been felt, and, after a painful trial, dismissed. The simplicity, amiableness, and confidence of natives are never proof against the temptations to an abuse of their intercourse with the inhabitants of civilized countries, in the efforts which are at first made to meliorate their character and condition. The innocence and loveliness of children must suffer great changes in the transition from youth to manhood, and must be frequently assailed and tried, before confidence can, in all situations, be reposed in them. An experiment of our weakness is sometimes necessary to persuade us to adopt the means of obtaining and confirming strength. The critical stages in the formation of individual or national character are frequently attended by errors and excesses, not witnessed before or afterward, but which are the proof of the previous feebleness of virtue, and the parent of its succeeding force and dignity. Unhappily for the Pelew islanders, they have lost much of their early simplicity and goodness, and have not yet gained the intelligence and virtue of a civilized people. They have mixed their native character and habits with those of the Europeans, and have not now the excellencies or the enjoyments of either. When I saw them on our first visit, under Abba Thulle, they were far more interesting than they are at present. Their change of character will account for the difference of the strain in which I speak of them at different times.

In regard to their religion, I learned that they believe in one God, in the unlimited extent of his government, in the most important moral distinctions and religious duties as taught by the light of nature, in the immortality of the soul, and in future rewards and punishments. They have very few forms of religion, little ceremony in their worship, and no houses or temples devoted to this purpose. That their creed was not merely speculative, and that the want of houses of worship did not proceed from a disregard of God or his laws, may be inferred from the benevolence and humanity of their hearts, from the honesty and fidelity of their lives, and from the actual fruits of their principles in their mutual confidence and happiness. Had their virtues been as vigorous and permanent, after their intercourse with Europeans, as they were unaffected and genuine at the period of their discovery, and had they continued to be happy under an increase of relations and wants with the means of gratification, we might now acknowlege it to be our duty to study their history more minutely in order to arrive at the secret of their moral worth and social blessings. But their failure under the experiment, places them upon a level with other savage nations; and while it warns the agents of civilized communities not to repeat forever the same injudicious plans of improvement upon the aborigines of the soil, it teaches us also, that if our vices are more numerous than theirs, our virtues are not only more various, but are much stronger, better guarded, more fruitful, and more elevated.

There is one trait of character, for which the Pelews were remarkable, their fidelity in the engagements of **friendship**. They carried their ideas of the sacredness of this virtue to a very great extent, and doubled whether it were proper to make a profession of it, in the first degree, to two persons at the same time. In this they were probably too scrupulous: for it belongs not to the nature of true friendship to justify an alliance in

guilt, or to force an individual into a confederacy against the interests of society or religion. Personal attachments are entirely compatible with general benevolence, and ought always to be regulated by it. He only is a genuine friend, who imbibes this spirit, and regards it in his intercourse with those to whom he is bound by specific promises and pledges. On our arrival, the king proposed to us, that we should each choose a friend. We answered, that we intended to be the friends of them all, and hoped that they would all be our friends in return. This, however, did not meet the sentiments of the king. He spoke to us of the pleasure, the peace, and the mutual safety, which would arise from the kind of confidence required by their laws of particular and inviolable friendship. We complied with his wishes, and the Commodore chose Abba Thulle, each of our officers chose a chief, and the crew made selections from among the people, according to their judgment or their caprice. For myself, it is my prayer always to find as faithful a friend as he was whom I chose at Pelew, and never could I pray for a better. He was always watching for opportunities to do me service, anticipating my wants, and giving me information of every danger. Should it be thought by any reader, that the terms of friendship, as here described, must have rendered it mercenary, because the reciprocity led each of the parties to expect a reward for every office of kindness, I would answer, that such an objection carries with it its own refutation. The very idea of a perfect reciprocity removes the motive of selfishness, and makes the good, which results from united efforts, a social possession. But besides this, the fact deserves a place in my narrative, that when I was about to leave the Pelew islands for the last time, and forever, I found it difficult to persuade the friend, whom I had chosen, to accept of the presents, which I had purchased for him during my absence, and which I knew were particularly agreeable to his taste. My fellow officers found the same disinterestedness in their intercourse with the individuals among the chiefs whom they had chosen for friends. A man, who finds it hard to conceive of real benevolence in the motives of his fellow creatures, gives no very favourable testimony to the public in regard to the state of his own heart, or the elevation of his moral sentiments.

Marriage was esteemed among these natives as a relation of great importance and responsibility. It was solemnized in presence of the king, or of some chief, whom he had clothed with authority to make the contract binding. Previous to marriage, there seemed to be little restraint imposed upon the sexes by public sentiment, as it regards their conduct towards each other. It was considered as an honour for any woman, married or unmarried, to be in a state of pregnancy; and if she were unmarried, it recommended her to a husband. After marriage, however, remarkable as it may seem to us, the women were eminently faithful to their vows.

In taking my leave of these islands, where I spent so many happy days, and learned so many new views of the savage character, I have only to say, that there is a multitude of details still in my memory which would be useful and entertaining to the public, had I the time and the patience to reduce them to form for the press, and did the limits of this book permit them to be inserted. After observing that the soil is good, the surface not very mountainous, but generally fit for cultivation, the land covered with a fine

growth of hard wood suited to the building of houses or ships, and that the usual reptiles of the east are found there, I shall give a copy of a letter which I received in 1800, from one of my fellow officers in the expedition. The writer, Samuel Snook, was a lieutenant in the **Panther**, and deserves the confidence of the community.

Bombay, May 6th, 1800. Dear Delano.

After repeated inquiries, I have got some small tidings of you by Captain John Hall, of the American ship **Charles**. I was much disappointed at not hearing from you when you were at Bengal in 1794. I wrote to you there several times, but never was happy enough to receive an answer. Michi, one fellow officer, told me on his return to Bombay, that he saw you once, and you then informed him that you had a letter, or some packet to send to me.

You must have heard ere this of the loss of Captain John McClure, in a vessel called the Venus, which he purchased at Macao, after leaving the Pelews, in the boat we left with him. After obtaining the vessel, he returned again to the Pelew islands, and by permission took away seven female natives. From thence he proceeded for New Guinea, Amboyna, Timor, and at last for Bencoolen, where he was met by the Bombay frigate, Captain Pickett, who was about to go to Bengal with despatches. The commander of the Bombay, being a particular friend of McClure, requested of the Bencoolen government to allow McClure to carry them [i.e. the despatches] to Bengal, instead of sending the frigate, which was wanted for more essential service. The request was granted. McClure put six women on board Captain Pickett's vessel, who were consigned to the care of Wedgeborough, our fellow officer, on their arrival at Bombay. He then sailed for Bengal [from Bencoolen], and had a safe passage. After obtaining the permission of that government to proceed for Bombay, he took in a cargo, and sailed some time in August 1795. It has been threatening weather a good while, and McClure was advised to delay his departure a little. But he did not regard the advice, and it is supposed that he suffered in the gale, which happened soon after he parted with the pilot.

In September 1797, the government of this place deemed it necessary to send the natives to their islands again, excepting three, who had died by the smallpox. Captain Henry Wilson, who was cast away there in 1783, being at Bombay, and about to go to China, generously offered them a passage in his ship; and if he were not able to touch at Pelew, they were to be landed at Macao, with instructions to the secret committee at Canton, to endeavour to find some conveyance for them. They had lived in my house from the time of their arrival in Bombay, and the government directed me to accompany them, and ordered me an allowance accordingly. Captain Wilson also wished to have some person with him, who had been at the islands since they were surveyed. I was happy in the opportunity to make the trip. Your friend Wedgeborough was at Bom-

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bay in the command of the **Princess Royal** Indiaman at the commencement of the business; but before it was settled he had sailed for Europe with his wife and family.¹

[Lieutenant Snook at Palau in 1798]

On the 1st of October, with the Pelews on board, we began our voyage to China in the **Warley**, accompanied by the **Neptune**, **Abergavenny**, and **[HJindostan**. When the ships were abreast the Pelew islands, the wind came from southwest; and as we did not wish to lose so fine a breeze, we proceeded to Macao, where we arrived January 1st, 1798. This was one of the best eastern passages ever made.²

After procuring a vessel at Macao,³ and suffering much perplexity, I got to the Pelew islands the 14th of July, 1798. The people were happy to see me and their three friends again; but liked the presents better, I believe, as they consisted of arms and ammunition. The man, whom McClure shot in the arm for stealing, is Abba Thulle now! The place is somewhat better than it was formerly, but not much, as they have killed all the sheep. They have a few goats and hogs. The black cattle have much increased since you were there.⁴

I returned to Macao in December, and from thence to Bombay. Wedgeborough had arrived about a month before me from Europe, in March 1799; and White, our fellow officer, who had been master attendant and assistant, was gone up the Red Sea, as boat master to the detachment with Colonel Murray. I was requested to hold the situation as master attendant and assistant during White's absence, to which I consented. But during the month of July, White returned very ill from the Red Sea, and, lingering till October, he died. I then was confirmed in his post, and am now in that situation.

In August 1799, Gerard Drummond, our fellow officer, arrived from England in the Admiral Hughes, where he had been for the recovery of his health: But directly after he arrived in India, he began to fall away again, and the 17th of March 1800, he died of the liver complaint. Wedgeborough was taken by the French, and carried to Mauritius last October. He is well, desires to be particularly remembered to you, and is to sail for Madras in a day or two in command of the Lady Clive. Lieutenant Proctor, our fellow officer, is gone to Europe for the benefit of his health. Michi is fixed in Bombay as assistant to the marine store keeper. Lieutenants Smyth, Gilman, and Henry, our fellow officers. are well.

¹ Ed. note: This ship may be a larger ship than the sloop of the same name that had been captured by the Spanish on the Pacific Northwest coast in 1791.

² Ed. note: These four ships crossed Micronesia in December 1797, but did not sight land. See STM July 1798 for Snook's new ship, the Diamante. The third ship may be the Abercromby instead. This Neptune was an East Indiaman and not the same as the U.S. Neptune mentioned in STM Oct 1798.

³ Ed. note: There is evidence, from Spanish sources, that this ship was named Diamante.

⁴ Ed. note: We now know that the expression "black cattle" which was earlier used by Anson in 1742 to describe white cows, simply means ordinary cows and bulls. Such cattle lasted for 100 more years, until the crew of a German ship killed the remainder.

I have written a long scrawl in a hurry. You will therefore excuse the diction. After this I hope to be favoured with letters from you. You know how to direct them to me as I am in Bombay, and I shall be happy to hear from you. Praying for your health and happiness, I remain

Your friend and well wisher, Samuel Snook. [To] A. Delano.

Since the receipt of this letter, I saw two men at the Sandwich [i.e. Hawaiian] Islands in 1806, who had been at Pelew about the year 1804. I had known them for many years, and could place confidence in the information which they gave me. One of them had resided there for a number of months. He told me that many revolutions had happened among the inhabitants of the islands since I visited them; that there had been six or eight kings since the death of Abba Thulle; and that the stock, which we had carried there, was generally doing very well. The sheep, however, had been nearly or quite destroyed. He neither saw nor heard any thing of the nutmeg or clove, which McClure had taken so much pains to introduce and cultivate. How thorough his examination or inquiry was upon this subject, I do not know, but I did not consider his account as decisive against the hope that the spices yet remain in some of the islands at least, and may be brought forward hereafter without a repetition of all McClure's pains and expense. I had a renewed testimony from my two acquaintances, that the firearms and ammunition, which we had left with the Pelews, had done them incalculable injury. They were divided into parties, and were frequently at war with each other. They were still friendly to the white people, but had lost the spirit of confidence among themselves, and were the victims of alternate stupidity and the violence of contest. It makes me melancholy whenever I think of the unhappy alteration in the character and conduct of this people since they became acquainted with the Europeans. It is a wise provision of nature, that savages should be limited to few and simple weapons of warfare till they have acquired the habits, and have entered into the pursuits, of civilized society, by which their passions shall be checked and regulated. This system of things ought not to be violated by us, as it is when we give them our instruments of mutual destruction, without giving them at the same time the arts, the institutions, and the employments, which are necessary to render the instruments a sage possession, and to convert them into the means of lawful defence and supply.

I have heard, that some ships have touched at the Pelew Islands for refreshments, and have obtained beef, vegetables, water, and wood. If the cultivation of the land was more extensive, and the provisions more abundant, so that ships might always be sure of finding supplies, the islands would be an excellent place for them to stop at, as they are just in the course which it is best to take for a voyage to China. It is no more than prudent to go as far east as is necessary to touch at them in order to avoid the north east trade winds, which sometimes prevail far to the northward in the season of the year when eastern voyages are made. I am persuaded, that the English government, or the

East India Company, will before long pay some attention to these islands for this purpose.

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Chapter X.

From Sooloo through the sea of Celebes—Gilolo—Passage to the Pelew Islands—Further remarks upon them—Passage to Macao.

We sailed from Sooloo through the chain of islands northward of Celebes, in latitude 2°15' north, between Tagolanda and Bissano [i.e. Biaro], the former north, and the latter south. The passage is very clear, about three leagues wide...

[Sailing directions for Palau]

Sailing eastward [from Waygoo, New Guinea], one is subject to calms and squally weather. We had a very strong easterly current all the time, till we were as far as 3° north latitude, after which we had a strong north easterly current, and steady winds at north east, in December and January. In 5° north latitude we had a current setting north west, at the rate of forty or fifty miles a day. After passing that latitude to the northward, we had a westerly current nearly as strong. By this, and the strong northerly winds, we were obliged to go southward again in order to get more easting that we might make the Pelew Islands. We then stood to the northward, in the latitude of these islands, having strong winds from the north east, all the time, with squally and rainy weather.

To run for the Pelew Islands, if you are to the eastward of them, keep in the latitude of 7°05' north, you will then fall in with the north east end of the group; and I believe that there are no reefs off that part of them. I know that there are several reefs to the northward, and the current is constantly setting to the south west, in the latitude of the islands at this season of the year. Hence it is proper to run in the latitude of the Pelews, 7°25' in the north east monsoon. In the south west monsoon, you must run down for the southernmost island of the group, as has been already mentioned.

We arrived at the Pelew Islands the 20th of January 1793. We were pained, and the disappointment of our expectations mortified us, when we found the confusion and the sufferings, which the misconduct of the successor of Abba Thulle had brought upon the people. Those of our old friends, who had survived the civil dissentions consequent upon the death of the good king whom we had left there in 1791, met us with friend-ship and cordiality.

As I have several new remarks to make upon the Pelew Islands in this place, something like as apology is due to the reader. At the time the third chapter of my narrative was put into the press, I thought I had collected in it all the information, which would be interesting to the public. But in conversation with some of my friends since, I have detailed to them a few facts and circumstances, which they have persuaded me to insert in this part of my story, where a proper opportunity is offered for their introduction by their arrival again at the islands. Should a second edition of this work ever be published

under my inspection, this portion of the present chapter will be added to the third, and the method of the whole narrative be rendered less imperfect.

What I have said of Arra Kooker earlier, I have reviewed carefully, since it came from the press, and have compared it with my notes, which were taken at the time. Raa Kook should be substituted for Arra Kooker. They were both brothers of Abba Thulle, but Raa Kook was the oldest; had the command of the forces next to the king; and was a man of the most ambition, and of the severest temper. If Abba Thulle had died without male issue, Raa Kook would have succeeded to the throne by right; and it was this circumstance which led him to think of attempting the usurpation against the eldest son of his brother, who was the lawful sovereign. It is said, on the authority of Wilson, in a collection of historical and geographical works by Thomas Smith, volume xii, and page 61st, that "the general [Raa Kook] was to succeed the king in case of his death, and on his demise Arra Kooker, when the sovereignty would again revert to Abba Thulle's eldest son, then to Lee Boo, and so on." But this is undoubtedly a mistake. We had distinct information, that Raa Kook, who was on the throne when we were there in 1793, was a usurper, and had deposed the lawful successor of Abba Thulle, his eldest son.

It may be remarked that Abba Thulle [i.e. Ibedul] is properly a name of office, although I have heretofore used it in this narrative as the name of an individual person, in which sense it is also used by other writers, and was so employed constantly in our conversation, as well as by the Pelews themselves. The real name of the individual, whom we first knew as Abba Thulle, whose likeness is given in this book, and who is spoken of by Wilson, we never discovered. This double use of the name Abba Thulle, is one of the reasons why a degree of uncertainty should have existed in my mind in regard to Raa Kook and Arra Kooker. For when we arrived, in 1793, a canoe come off to us as usual before we landed, and we inquired, "who is the king now?" The natives answered, "Abba Thulle." We said, "who was the king before?" They answered, "Abba Thulle." The truth is, that the despotism of Raa Kook was such as to make the people, from fear, merge the name of the usurper in that of the office, and cease to use the former. The history of this man might not be publicly canvassed, and the means, by which he rose, derailed. Nothing was allowed which would tend to increase the sensation among the people, that violence had made war upon justice.

The news of the assassination of Raa Kook, as I mentioned earlier in connection with Arra Kooker, I received from the two persons, to whom I have alluded as my informants, and also from others at Macao, who had opportunities of intercourse with the Pelew Islands.

In regard to Abba Thulle, the king whom we first knew in 1791, and who deserves to be called the great, in distinction from all the others who bore that office afterwards, it may be said, in addition to the description of him already given, that he was not only an eminent warrior, statesman, and sage, but was a most sportive and delightful companion. He was as distinguished for his pleasantry in the hours of relaxation in his house, or among his friends, as he was terrible in the field, able in council, or sagacious

in morals. The women of his court wore a species of apron, called a *cray*, which was made of the husk of the cocoa-nut. They had also ornaments upon their wrists, necks, ankles, and in their hair. With any, and all of these in turn, our officers and myself have often seen him, in the flow of feeling and good nature, make amusement for himself, the women, and us, without the least offence to any individual. We had become so much acquainted with the language, that we could enter into the spirit of his wit and humour, and were able to find new sources of admiration for his character in his moments of the greatest levity.

When we sailed in 1791 from the Pelew Islands for New Guinea, we left two boys with Abba Thulle, who was to be a father to them, and teach them whatever was to be learned in regard to their language, manners, customs, arts, religion, and laws. Their names were Ross and Terence. They were born at Bombay, of European parents, and were active, intelligent, and interesting. The king and the natives were extremely fond of them, and treated them like young princes. They had every facility for improvement and happiness, which such a state of society afforded; and they promised to be of great service to the commodore in the project which he had formed, of extending the blessings of civilization, agriculture, and christianity, among the Pelew Islanders. The design in leaving them, however, was not accomplished, partly because of the civil dissentions, which followed the death of Abba Thulle, and partly because McClure abandoned the enterprise, upon which he entered, as has been stated earlier, and which probably extended at one time in his mind to the idea of becoming the king of the islands. This idea was not in fact so extravagant as it would at first appear, nor was it at all connected with a purpose of usurpation by violence or injustice. Commodore McClure was always, and every where, a great favourite with the natives, and particularly at the Pelew Islands. In consequence of his design, and the efforts which he used to introduce among them the domestic animals and the arts of agriculture, he was voluntarily made equal to the king in the administration of the government, and in the direction of all their affairs. Every thing was managed according to his wishes. At his age therefore, about thirty, it is not surprising that he should have cherished the idea of becoming sovereign in this dominion, and of forming a people and their institutions after a model of his own. Although I have said, that there is not sufficient evidence of the design, which has been ascribed to him, of spending his whole life at Pelew, and abandoning England forever, yet it is highly probable that he intended to execute some great project, like the one here suggested, and which would have required many years to be brought to maturity. The decision of this question cannot now be known, since he died not long afterwards at an early age.

On our return we found the boys had been separated, Ross remaining at Pelew, while Terence was taken to Artingall. This separation was not the effect of any hostility to the boys, but of the policy and self interest of the contending parties. Each wished to have some pledge of their attachment to the English, and of the care they had bestowed, during our absence, upon the wards left behind. Hence it was that Terence was carried away to Artingall. We did not see him, while we were at Pelew, but he was afterwards

delivered to the commodore, and brought away in the **Panther**. Ross we took on board with us, when we came to Macao.

At this visit, we parted our vessels for a time, and I went on board the **Endeavour**, while the **Panther** stayed at Pelew. The **Endeavour** remained about a month only at the islands, and the **Panther** about two, but McClure continued there with the **Panther**'s launch for a number of months.

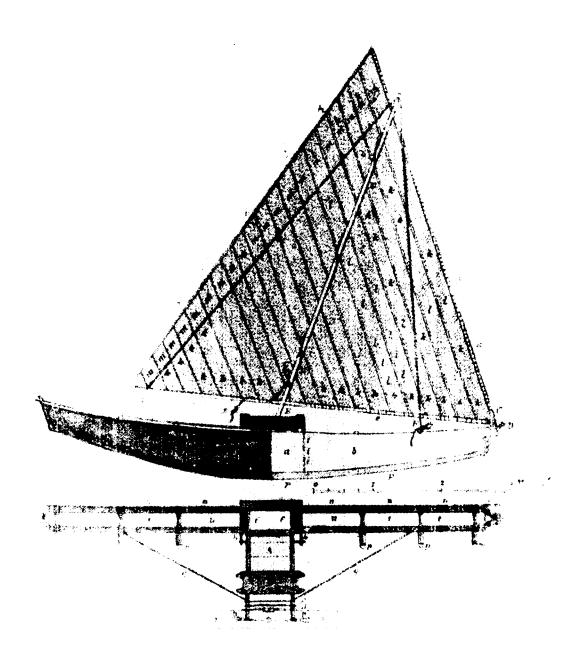
[Palauan canoes]

A circumstance on our arrival from the Spice Islands will show the wonderful activity of the natives of Pelew in managing their canoes, and the rapidity with which they can sail. As we approached the town, a canoe, having a sail and an outrigger, with ten or twelve men, came off, according to custom, to meet us. We were going at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. We threw out a rope for them, which they caught while in the centre of the canoe, not knowing the effect of it upon themselves. The canoe was immediately turned over and over, and they let go the rope. They were, as they always are, excellent swimmers. They got their canoe upright at once; bailed out the water; arranged the sail; and with the wind and their paddles overtook us at the distance of a mile.

Their canoes always have one outrigger. Some of these for war are thirty and forty feet long, from two and a half to three feet deep, and eighteen inches wide. They can go equally well with either end first, and always keep the outrigger to the windward in sailing. The mast is in the centre, with a lateen sail, the yard shifting at pleasure from one end of the canoe to the other. The outrigger preserves the balance, and the narrowness of the canoe permits it to be propelled very fast through the water. Sails and paddles are both used, when great speed is wanted. The canoes are beautifully ornamented with inlaid work of mother of pearl, of any other oyster shell, or of any shell which is white. The outside is always painted red, and the white figures are very conspicuous by the contrast. The decorations are in imitation of birds, fishes, flying foxes, and men. The paddles often are adorned in a similar manner, especially those of the king and the chiefs. They have each but one blade. In some of the eastern islands there is a blade at each end, the hands are in the centre, and the paddle is used alternately upon the sides of the canoe.

The children of the Pelew Islanders are all taught to swim very early, the girls as well as the boys. I have seen the mothers throw them into the water twenty times in succession, when they were not more than two or three years old, and catch them up again, after they had paddled awhile with their hands and feet, and were about sinking. In this manner the art of swimming is acquired incredibly early, and affords them complete protection against drowning, since they can all swim like dolphins.

They are remarkably sharp sighted, although they dive a great deal in the salt water after oysters and other shell fish, a practice which is said to injure the eyes. But the mothers are in the habit of squeezing green lime-juice into the eyes of their children, when they are a week old, and afterwards. I have seen this done often, and even to adults. At



Palauan sailing canoe, named "kaep." Average size 35 feet in length, 14 inches of beam, and 25 inches in depth. Mat sail, according to Kubary (1895). The main differences with Central Carolinian canoes were: the lack of upturned extremities; the lack of asymmetry between the two sides of the hull; the lack of a lee platform; shorter and stubbier outrigger float, etc. It was painted red, with white ornamentation. (From James Hornell's Canoes of Polynesia, Fiji, and Micronesia (Honolulu, 1936)).

first, it produces exquisite pain, and makes the children writhe in agony. But after a time, the painful effect principally ceases.

The tarro-root, mentioned earlier, is the same with our dragon root. It has, if I remember right, a yellow flower; it grows in low marshy land; is cultivated with as much care as we bestow upon Indian corn; is collected by the women, who are sometimes drawn out of the bog, where it grows, with a rope; and is often cut into thin slices, and dried like apples. It cannot be kept, in its green state, longer than a week, without turning sour; and just before it is spoiled it becomes glutinous. It must be boiled much, or it will take the skin off the tongue and mouth. It has the shape of a beet, with annular ridges at the top and half of the length, and is as thick as a man's arm. It is propagated by cutting off the root, and putting the part, which remains, into the earth.

[Trepang]

Among the articles of trade at New Guinea, and some of the neighbouring islands, I have spoken of the beach-de-mer, which is often called the *swalloo*. At the Pelew Islands, swalloos were found in basins of water not more than knee deep, at low tide, on the reefs. The black often weighed a pound. It is about a foot long, as large as a man's wrist, without any perceptible mouth, and with a thick skin. The outer part of the skin is taken off by scalding, and the swalloo is then pickled, and dried in the sun, after which it is fit for sale, or use. When it is cut open, it looks like the hard meat of a sea clam. The swalloo I found in much greater abundance on the shores and reefs of the Pelew Islands than in any other place I ever visited. This is one of the articles of trade there, or might be made such, to a great extent.

Among themselves, they have a system of barter in fishing lines and tackle; in cocoanut oil for the hair, the body, and as an article of food with fish; in cocoanut shells beautifully wrought and inlaid; in *kypattles*, or hatchets formerly made of flint, the oyster shell, and bone, but now of iron or steel, which they procure by intercourse with Europeans and others; in bows, arrows, spears, swords, and all the implements of war; and in ornaments for the ears, wrists, body, and hair. These we were able to purchase of them for trifles, to any amount we wished.

[Clarifications of earlier stories]

Since the third chapter was printed, I have seen, during the fall of 1816, my brother Samuel, who is mentioned at the beginning of this work. He tells me, that while he was at Macao, in the latter part of 1807, he saw a vessel, which had just arrived there from the Pelew Islands, with a very valuable cargo of swalloo, oysters and tortoise shells, cocoa-nut oil, and a variety of valuable kinds of wood, for cabinet work. The cargo was sold for a large amount, and the profits of the voyage were very great. The islands seem to be in a better condition; the trade more important; and the stock of animals

¹ Ed. note: A possible reference to the Spanish ship Modesto, Captain Fernandez, that visited Palau in about 1808.

much increased. Some Europeans have settled there, taking wives, according to custom, from among the natives, and raising a population of mulattoes.

I have spoken earlier of the order, in which the canoes, accompanying the launch, approached toward Artingall. At that time, the natives sung a war song, as it is customary among them on all similar occasions. They practice a kind of chant, with great skill in keeping time, and in executing all the motions, which are periodically required of them. I was able to understand the substance of the words, which they used, and a part of them might be thus rendered:

—"We are the warriors of Abba Thulle, the great king. Let us be brave men. We have slain our enemies. Let us be invincible. We will conquer or die."

At the close, a word was pronounced by an individual, who might be considered as a chorister; and immediately the flourish of paddles followed. As for the chant mentioned earlier, it was a song with the meaning in our language as follows:

—"We are heralds from the chiefs of Artingall. We are lovers of justice and law.— We are friends to the good. We seek our rights and honour with peace.—We bury our hatred when we enjoy the love of our king." Then again the flourish of paddles.

Something is said of their **religion**. To that account may be added some pious hymns, which I have several times heard, and which will give more precise ideas of their devotion. I have often seen the men and women sitting together after sunset, particularly in moonlit evenings, and heard the women chant their prayers and praises, while the men would listen, and at intervals join in the chorus. The meaning of the words was not always the same, but alway included a prayer for Abba Thulle. I remember one instance, in which the impression, made upon my mind by their devotion, was deep and interesting. It would not be in my power to give an adequate translation of the hymn, but it began with thanksgiving for the serene and beautiful evening; for the peace, which they enjoyed under Abba Thulle; the health and prosperity; and then it offered a prayer for his continuance in life, for his success in war, and his wisdom in government; for their parents, children, and friends; for good seasons, abundant fruit, and tranquil days for their enterprises on the water, and the collection of fish and food; for deliverance from civil war and domestic contentions; and for the fruitfulness of the women, and the prosperity of the islands.

The Panther has just come from Pelew, at the time when I first became acquainted with commodore McClure at Macao, as stated earlier, and had brought two Pelew women, and Cockawockey, a Pelew man, whos name I have already given. One of the women was a daughter of Abba Thulle, who had formed a desire to visit China under the protection of the commodore. While we were lying in the harbour at Macao, and on our passage back to the Pelew Islands, it was a custom with these women and Cockawockey, as it was afterwards with the women whom we carried with us to New Guinea, to take their seats together in some retired part of the deck, and sing a religious hymn in a peculiarly plaintive and touching manner. We were often listening to them, while we appeared to be engaged only about our own concerns. We could plainly distinguish many of the sentiments which they sung, and heard prayers to the Deity, that

he would protect and bless their fathers, their mothers, their sisters, and their brothers; that he would keep them in health, and make them happy; that he would allow themselves to return to their native islands in safety, and make glad the hearts of their friends to receive them; that he would be kind to Abba Thulle and the people; and that he would send them fruit, and give them peace.

It was a frequent petition in their prayers, that they might have an abundance of tarra-root, the principal bread of the country, and the chief object of their cultivation. There was also a great aversion to barrenness among the females, and their prayers often ascended with an earnest intreaty that they might have children.

A circumstance of considerable interest happened, when we were returning to Pelew from Artingall, as mentioned earlier, after the treaty of peace with those who had revolted, and the sixty female hostages were with us. Abba Thulle and Wedgeborough, my friend and fellow officer, were behind the launch and the greatest part of the canoes employed in the expedition. We were desirous of stopping at some place till they should come up. It was a delightful evening at twilight, when we saw, in passing one of the islands, a beautiful cove, where we might have a charming place to lie at rest, till the king and his party should overtake us. During this period, the chiefs were pleased to unite in a song of thanksgiving for the advantages, which they had received from the English in the success of the present expedition, and also for the good they had derived from the nation at other times. They offered praise to God for the assistance of the brave Englishmen, just, generous, greater than others, and equal to gods; expressed their gratitude for a victory and a peace without the shedding of blood; hoped they should never have war with the English; said they would rather be their servants, than their enemies; wished them prosperity in their expedition; and prayed that they might return to their friends in health and safety, and enjoy every blessing.

All this was done with some ceremony, and with great solemnity. The natives stood upon the benches of their canoes, and kept time with their feet, as well as with their hands. The sound, which they produce by striking the flat hand upon the hollow part of the thing, is wonderful. It is loud and clear when an individual does it alone; but when it was done by this multitude together, the report, and the echo from the forest, through the stillness of the night, and over the unruffled surface of the cove, were deep, and awful beyond description.

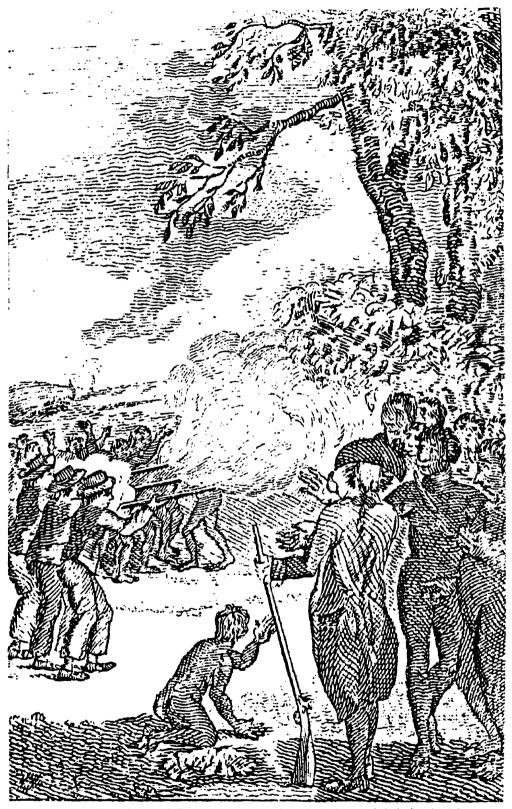
This song continued about twenty minutes. It is the common practice, on such occasions, for one to name the song and the few short and simple sentences which are to be sung. The sentences are always direct and brief, easily remembered and repeated, and many of them handed down by tradition, which are learned early, and can by habit, be called up to the mind at pleasure. They have persons among them, who can make with facility such alterations and additions as any new combination of circumstances may require. I have always found great force in the laconic language of savages. And under such circumstances as the above, the ornaments of rhetorick, and the long sentences in which they are often conveyed, would only mar the beauty, and weaken the impression of their simple songs. However mixed with errors in regard to many of the

subjects of thought, and duties of life, the religion of the Pelew Islanders may be, it must be allowed by all to be of great value, so long as it contains sentiments, and cherishes affections, like those of the pious hymns here recorded.

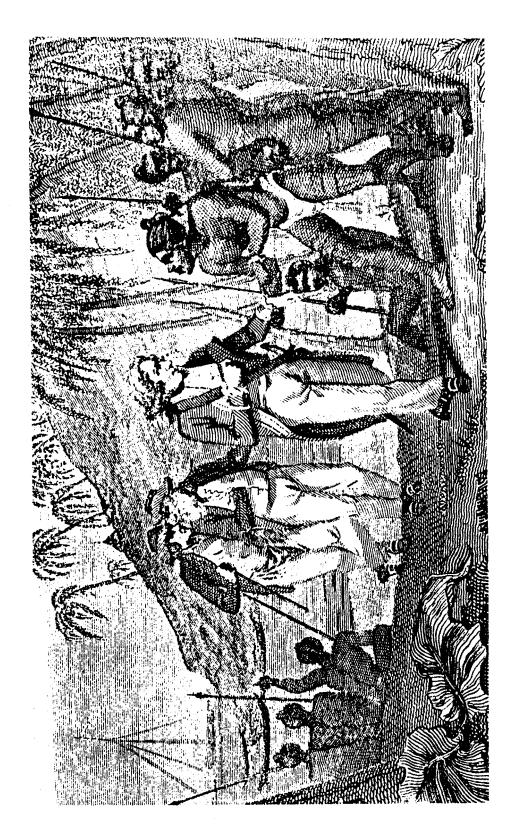
Leaving these islands, we sailed for China through the straits of Formosa. We had severe gales, thick and stormy weather, a remarkably high cross sea, and found the passage uncomfortable, as it usually is in the north east monsoon. Off the south end of Formosa, there were many dangers, which it was difficult to avoid entirely, especially as the commander of the **Endeavour** was quite young, and seemed not to be thoroughly acquainted with the navigation of this sea. Fifteen leagues east of Grand Lama, we got soundings in a thick, dark, stormy night. With much difficulty we made the Asses-Ears, two peaks on the China shore, about a mile distant, bearing north east, three leagues from Gran Lama. We were then in nine fathoms water. The Ears were a guide, by which we entered Canton Bay. After this, we found no difficulty till anchoring in the Typa.

¹ Ed. note: After McCluer stayed behind in Palau, the Panther was commanded by Wedgeborough and the Endeavour by Proctor.

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The introduction of firearms to Palau by the British in 1783



Captain Wilson invested with the order of the bone.

Appendix 1

The first vocabulary of the Palauan language

Analysis by Rod Lévesque

Notes: The first two columns of this vocabulary were recorded by Captain Henry Wilson in 1783 and published by Keate in 1788. His main informant must have been Lee Boo. Pronunciation varies and English orthography also; there may also have been some misprints introduced by the printer. For modern Palauan and English equivalent words, reference was made to the "New Palauan-English Dictionary" by Lewis S. Josephs (Honolulu, 1990).

Pelew	English	[Modern equiv.]	[Real meaning]
Arracat	A man.	Chad	Man.
Artheil	A woman.	Redil	Woman.
Nalakell	A child.	Ngalek	Child.
Rupack	A chief, or title of rank.	Rubak	Chief, male elder.
Cattam	A father.	Chedam	Father.
Catheil	A mother.	Chedil	Mother.
Morwakell	A wife.	Mesech-il	My wife.
Talacoy	A male infant.	Tolechái	Baby.
Sucalic	A friend.	Secheléi	Friend.
Takelby	A workman, or artificer.	•••	•••
Botheluth	The head.	Bedúl	Head.
Ungelell	The teeth.	•••	•••
Kimath	The arms.	Chim	Arm.
Kalakalath	The body.	Kluáku	Chest.
Arrassack	Blood.	Rásech	Blood.
Oroosock	Bones.	•••	•••
Toot	A woman's breasts.	Tut	Breast.
Cokeeth	The thighs.	•••	***
<i>Playe</i>	A dwelling-house.	Blai	House
Pye	Public hall/large house.	Bai	Club-house.
Morabalow	A town.	Belúu	Village(s).
Poderay	Home, a man's dwelling.	•••	
Trir	A spoon.	Terir	Large spoon.
Oyless	A knife.	Olés	Knife.
Pewell	A cup.	•••	•••
Quall	A basin.	•••	Basin, bowl.
Tawr	Plates, or dishes.	Toúr	To cook/heat lightly.
Koluck	Oil.	Chelúch	Coconut oil.
Aleuiss	Cocoa-nuts.	Líus	Coconut (tree).

Pelew	English	[Modern equiv.]	[Real meaning]
Cocow	Yams.	Kukáu	Taro (tuber).
Cossall	Turmeric.	Kesól	Turmeric (plant).
Pook	Beetle-nut.	Búuch	Betel-nut.
Curra Curra	Lemon.	Kerekúr	Sweet orange.
Too	Plantains or bananas.	Túu	Banana.
Caboo	Cabbage.		
Elouth	Molosses.	Ilát	Coconut syrup; treacle.
Outh	A torch.	Oltaút	Light (fire).
Katt	Smoke.	Chat	Smoke.
Karr	Fire.	Ngáu	Fire.
Pyaap	A rat.	Beáb	Rat.
Cokall	An island.		[see Sand below].
Paathe	A rock.	Bad	Rock.
Colocol	Sand bar, or shoal.	Chelechól	Sand.
Cootoom	Earth or arable land.	Chútem	Land.
Arrall	Fresh water.	Ralm	Fresh water.
Garagar	Wood, i.e. trees.	Kerrekár	Wood; or tree.
Athagell	Bamboo.		•
Meyrooke	Rattans.	•••	•••
Lills	Spears or darts.	 Lild	Spear (handle).
Allell	Leaf of tree/bush/plant.	Llel	Leaf.
Mallaeye	A canoe, or boat.	Mlái	Canoe.
_	A mast.	Orrákl	Mast.
<i>Coybattle</i> [sic] <i>Yarse</i>		Eárs	Sail.
Peesorse	A sail.	Besós	Paddle; or oar.
Disoma	A paddle, or oar.	Desómel	Outrigger.
Beesakell	Bottom part of outrigger. Shell ornaments of canoes.	Besáchel	Type of shell.
Gill			~ -
	A rope.	Keóll V arási	Type of rope. Cord.
Cray	Small line, or cord.	Keréel Uúked	
Ougouth	A fishing-net.		Fish, or mosquito, net.
Poop	Fishing-pots	Bub	Fish-trap. Sea.
Thoup	The sea.	Daób Naíleal	
Neekell	Fish.	Ngikel	Fish.
Cumathuck Neek		 D1t	 Clasta an mass field
Arool	Skaite, or large flat-fish.	Rrull	Skate, or ray-fish.
Cossacurra	The common cockle.	Chesechúr	Type of sea-clam.
Kerthough	Ditto.	Kerátel	Giant clam.
Kim	Kima-cockle.	Kim	Large clam.
Kissuruck	Mother-of-pearl shell.	Chesiuch	Oyster shell.
Aawell	Turtle.	Uél	Turtle.
Craabrutell	Cray-fish, or lobster.	Cherabrúkl	Spiny lobster.
Cockiyoou	Birds.	 mri	 E 1
Cyep[sic]	Pigeons.	Biib	Fruit dove.
Malk	A fowl.	Malk	Chicken.
Doothuck	The tropic-bird.		 T. 741 4
Oleek	Large bat, or flying-fox.	Olík	Fruit bat.
Niese	Eggs.	Ngáis	Egg.
Bushook	Feathers, or quills.	Búsech	Feather.
Sweebuc	To fly.	Suébek	To fly up.
Mungeegy	To swim.	Mengikái	To swim.

Pelew	English	[Modern equiv.]	[Real meaning]
Coyoss	The sun.	Cheós	Sun.
Cills	Sun-burnt, or blistered.	Sils	Sun; day.
Pooyer	The moon.	Búil	Moon.
Abbthduk	The stars.	Btuch	Star.
Meesixs	Seven stars, or Pleiades.	•••	•••
Yangle	Sky.	Eánged	Sky.
Yabbath	Clouds.	Eábed	Cloud.
Koyyoou	Wind.	Oíu	(Wind) squall.
Katt akatt	Fog.	Chetechát	Fog.
Kull	Rain.	Chull	Rain.
Kull akoyyoou	Wind and rain, a squall.	Chull a oíu	Rain and wind squall.
Myoosook	Little wind, or a calm.	Meiusech	Calm (sea, weather).
Coreowe	Lightning.		•••
Thdrum	Thunder.	Derúmk	Thunder.
Passapassoo	Repeated thunder claps.	Besebásech	Rumbling thunder.
Esaw	Rainbow.		
Cocook	Day.	•••	
Ossmethellaa	Midday, or noon.		•••
Cotharaa trioook	Afternoon, or evening	•••	•••
Cappasay	Night.	 Klebeséi	Night; 24-hour day.
Olongkalla allakati		-	•
Melgull	Darkness.	 Milkólk	Dark.
Peeleelurattle	Morning, or sun-rise.		Dark.
	-	 Ngeltél a keós	Setting of sun.
Coteookell acoyoss		•	•
Coltho coyoss	Yesterday [sic].	 Mekeáld	 Hot.
Mogall	Burning hot.		
Macrassem	Cold.	Mekerásem.	Cold (person).
Mathrabith	Hunger.	Mad er a kall	Dying of hunger.
Munga	To eat.	Mengáng	To eat.
Melim	To drink.	Melím	To drink.
Meethinggiss	Satisfied with eating.	Medinges	Full (with food).
Thomor acocook	Breakfast.	•••	•••
Weetacallell acoyos			•••
Comosoy	Supper.	···	<u></u>
Misseeowe	To cook/dress victuals.	Chesiáu	Food contribution.
Moringough	To broil victuals.	Melengóes	To boil.
Meeake	A sweetmeat.	Míich	Almond.
Sopossup	Ditto.	Sebóseb	Arrowroot (dessert).
Kalpatt	A sweet pudding.	•••	•••
Woolell	Another sweetmeat	***	
Mathingaa	Mouldy.	Oumangidab	Moldy food.
Mokoot	Rotten.	Chut	Rot.
Riamall	The wild bread-fruit.	Riámel	Football fruit.
Kuthull	The Jamboo apple.	Kidel	Malay apple.
Othough	Beads.	Udóud	Palau money.
Clootle	To cough.	Klukl	To cough.
Ognoss	To sneeze.	Osngós	To sneeze.
Suam pepak	To be pleased, or glad.		Нарру.
Gurragur	To laugh.	Ocherchúr	To laugh.
Ourragas			

Pelew	English	[Modern equiv.]	[Real meaning]
Puckasoogel	To deceive.	•••	•••
Coothung	Wise, or cunning.	•••	•••
Thingaringer	Foolish, or a fool.	•••	•••
Motur	To be angry.	•••	•••
Merengell	To be in pain.	Mekringel	To be hurt (& suffering)
Ellmangle	To cry.	Lmángel	To cry.
Adapat	To lay down to sleep.	Ad a bad(?)	(We) asleep.
Parr	A mat to sleep on.	Bar	Blanket; bedding.
Moopat	To sleep.	Mo bad	To go to sleep.
Peekeeiss [sic]	To awake from sleep.	Olekíis	To awaken.
Moraile	To walk.	Meráel	To walk.
Arramooroot	To run, or make haste.	Remúrt	To run.
Mooboo	To fall down.	Mobúu	To fall down.
Cockamew	To take care.		
Bomthocar	To arise.		To get up(?)
Amuno	Come in.	 Tmúu	To enter.
Вотдееауе	Sit down.	Bo mkiéi	Sit down!
Poreowe	To stoop down.		-
Koomacarr	To exchange, to barter.		
Lolocoy	To talk.	 Melekói	To talk.
Moraamaw	To cheer, to huzza.		
Arrah	To call to a person	•••	•••
Mora mey	Come to me.	 -méi	Come
Mathack	Don't be afraid.	Medákt	Be afraid.
Ongeelatrecoy	Well done.		
•	To fetch.	·	•••
Mungou Kiboteleck		•••	•••
	The right side.	•••	•••
Kibotelem Annabookeeth	The left side.	•••	•••
	To give any thing.	•••	•••
Ackmethack	Thank you.	 N. (1.1	•••• ••••
Atalell	What is the name?	Ngákl	Name.
Aygaa	This thing, or that thing.	•••	•••
Kitra	What is it called?	<u></u>	
Swallow	A mat basket.	Suálo	Basket.
Calas	A small ditto.	Cheláis	Fishing basket.
Kisseem	An adze or hatchet.	Kisem	Axe; or adze.
Sous	Signifies a file.	Ksóus	File, rasp.
Carute	Dress worn by women.	Cheriút	Grass skirt.
Mulakow	To wash any thing.	Melechólb	To wash.
Malapall	To wash/wipe the hand.	Melebál	To wash hands.
Mooreollow	To clean/sweep a room.	•••	•••
Mootteetur	To work, or labour.	•••	
Meeleemoth	To throw water out.		•••
Morosoock	To beat, or to pound.	Merúsech	To pound, or push at.
Masaketh	To reduce, to make less.	Meritech	To crush, or grind.
Matheethy	To enlarge, make bigger.	•••	•••
Marasam	To repair, mend anything.	•••	
Bomgeetee	To throw anything away.	•••	•••
Meeleekotuck	To strike, give a blow.	Melík	To strike (with fist).
Aclaloo	To pilfer.	•••	***

Pelew	English	[Modern equiv.]	[Real meaning]
Mokamat	War, to fight.	Mekemád	War.
Theilmuck	Peace.	•••	•••
Cocuath	Fighting as children.	Klakoád	To fight, brawl.
Umkarr	Wounded.	Omekoád	To kill.
Umkarra lills	Wounded by a spear.	Omekoád a lild	Killed by a spear.
Mathee	Killed.	Mad	To die.
Maathey	Dead.	•••	•••
Moraick	Sick.	Merákt	Very sick.
Thoo	A bile or blotch.	Bdúu	A boil.
Moringell	To be in pain.	Mekringel	Hurt.
Macekathe	To itch.	Mekekád	Itchy.
Melgoth	To tattoo.	Melngód	Tattoo.
Prothothuck	Their wooden sword.		•••
Clowe	Large.	Klóu	Big.
Owmuckell	Thing of a middling size.	•••	•••
Kickaray	Small.	Kekeréi	Small.
Koomangle	Long.	Kemánget	Long.
Cathep	Short.	Kedéb	Short.
Merow	A measure.	Meréu	Arm's length.
Croyeeth	A great distance.	Cheróid	Far.
Icmathe	A short distance.	Kméed	Near.
Peepack	A great many, abundant.	Betók	Many; plenty.
Sola, sola	Enough, plenty.	•••	
Moosess	Too much of any thing.	Imís	Too much.
Moosess akoyyou	Too high a wind.	Imís a oóu	Too strong a squall.
Aaa	Yes.	•••	
Deak	No.	Díak	No.
Naak	Me, myself.	Ngak	I; me.
Kow	You.	Káu	You.
Arrabeeta	Other side of any thing.	Er a bita	Across from
Olecakeck	High, or above.	•••	***
Olecakem	Low, or downwards.	•••	•••
Mungeet	Not good.	Mekngit	Bad; evil.
Weel	Good.	Ungíl	Good; nice.
Weel atrecoy	Very good.	Ungil	***
Mogull	Bad, or displeasing.		***
Omacarew	To turn or tack.	Om(e)chéro	To turn over.
Joomgthcotooath	To caulk or stop a leak.	***	•••
Joomgth	Their oakum.	***	***
Debuss	To desert		•••
Moraketh	To go ahead.	Meráel	To go ahead; to leave.
Maouth	Will follow.		•••
Ago mey	Go away.	•••	•••
Deakatick	A dislike of what is offered y	ou. Díak	Not
Ongeell	It will do, it is very well.	Ungil	Good!
Oul mey	Give me that thing	•••	•••
Deegaa	I have not what is asked for.	Dibús	Missing.
Morakattow	Go away, stand aside.		•••
Mey	Come.	Méi	Come.
Pomray	To go away.		•••

Ockeem

Ockgollom

Ockgweeth

Ockatuew

Mackoth adart

Ockeye

Fifty.

Sixty.

Seventy.

Eighty.

Ninety.

A hundred.

Pelew	English	[Modern equiv.]	[Real meaning]
Calakaa	Presently.	***	•••
Maysackarangath	Give me that.	•••	•••
Ley mey	Bring me that.	•••	•••
Meemathissa	Let me look at it.	•••	•••
Missak	To look out, to espy.	Omés	To look at/after.
Mereacrick	To search for.	Meréb	To loo for
Myyuss	To paddle a canoe.	Meiúus	To paddle.
Lagooruth	To paddle fast.		•••
Aree, Arree	Signifies to the men in	•••	***
Morra	To hinder work, impede it.		***
Calem	To give a portion	•••	To serve food.
Arrack	To stop.	•••	•••
Meesoos	To make obeisance.	Suóu	To bow.
Meethip	Broke like a stick.	•••	•••
Moorookem	Broke like a piece of pottery.	Merúkem	To break; shatter.
Melocketh	Broke like a rope by tension.	Melóched	To break off.
Arrasook	A white stone.	•••	***
Coreick	Red.	Orríik	Red (earth).
Kowse	White.	Cháus	(White) lime.
Kass	Black.	Chas	(Black) soot.
Coteetow	Blue.	•••	•••
Meelemow	Green.	Mellemáu	Blue.
Koothoo	Yellow.	•••	***
Careereeack	Brown.	Cheriik	Reddish-brown.
Tong	One.	Tang	One (person).
Oroo	Two.	Orúng	Two.
Othey	Three.	Odéi	Three.
Oang	Four.	Oáng	Four.
Aeem	Five.	Oim	Five.
Malong	Six.	Malóng	Six.
Oweth	Seven.	Uid	Seven.
Tei	Eight.	Teái	Eight (persons).
Etew	Nine.	Itíu	Nine.
Mackoth	Ten.	Machód	Ten.
Oloyuck	Twenty.	Llúich	Twenty.
Ockathey	Thirty.	Okedéi	Thirty.
Ockawaugh	Forty.	Okouáng	Forty.
			w== 0

Okeim

Okólem

Okeuíd

Okái

Dart

Oketíu

Fifty.

Sixty.

Seventy.

Eighty.

Ninety.

(One) hundred.

Additions taken from the text.

Pelew	English	
Toluk	Taro tray.	
~ •	Tr' 1 '	

Ongal Fish-serving bowl.

Klilt Dugong bracelet.

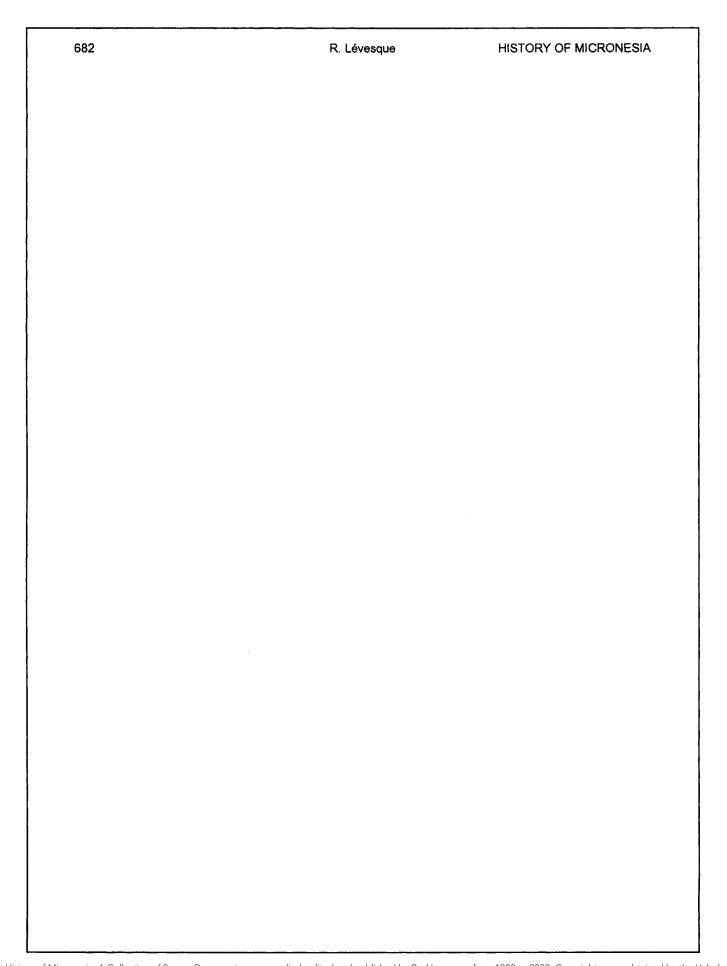
Kerong Priest, or sorcerer.

Diangel Canoe shed.

Mengol Concubine.

Chelid God, deity.

Deleb Spirit, ghost.



APPENDIX 2 -- BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICRONESIA. Part 15B.

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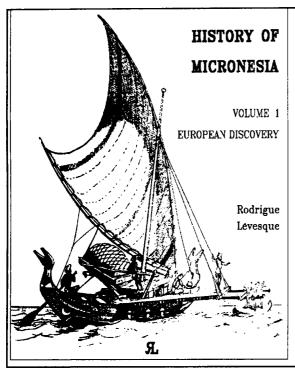
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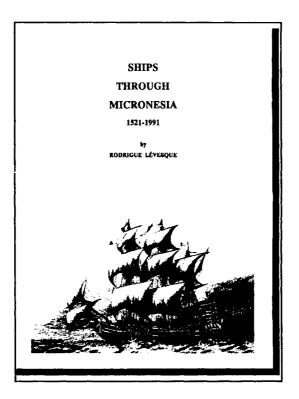
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