Edward Robarts was among other things whaler, beachcomber, Tahitian rum producer, Tuamotuan pearler, butler in Penang, gardener and policeman in Calcutta. He deserted his ship in 1798 in the Marquesas, and lived there as a native, where he was adopted by the chiefly families, married a chief's daughter, and fought in battle as a Marquesan warrior. He spent longer in the islands than did most eighteenth-century beachcombers, and got to know more about Polynesian society than did most other early observers.

After leaving the Marquesas Robarts was employed in Penang as butler to a relative of the Raffles family. Raffles introduced him to Dr Leyden, under whose patronage he wrote this Journal. Now published for the first time, it is as Robarts wrote it, although Professor Dening has made some minor concessions to readability, as well as providing the invaluable introduction and annotations.

Robarts's account of his Marquesan life is the single richest source of material yet published on this least known and understood of all Polynesian people. The scholar will find that Robarts's ethnography modifies some later preconceptions about the Marquesas, and throws new light on the processes of cultural change in the Pacific. For the general reader the book is an enthralling autobiography of a common man who led a most uncommon life.

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The Marquesan Journal of
Edward Robarts 1797–1824
General Editor: H. E. Maude
Literary Adviser: J. W. Davidson

Pacific History Series No. 6
The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts 1797-1824

Edited, with an Introduction by
Greg Dening

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Pacific History Series

The Pacific History Series of books provides an outlet for the publication of original manuscripts important to historians and others interested in the Pacific islands.

When in 1595 Mendana discovered the group of islands which he called Las Marquesas de Mendoza, in honour of his friend the Viceroy of Peru, he found them inhabited by a strong and healthy people, well-formed, robust and with good features, their women having fair countenances and graceful forms, and some being judged even prettier than the ladies of Lima, long famed for their beauty.

Eight days later, when he left in search of the Solomons, at least 200 Marquesan men, women and children had been killed; for as Quiros, the chief pilot, lamented, the natives and Spaniards did not understand one another.

In this initial encounter is epitomised the subsequent history of the Marquesas: a history in which the drama and pathos arising from the interaction of two mutually incompatible cultures may be seen writ large. In most respects the least compliant of the Polynesian communities, the natives and Europeans have indeed seldom understood one another; while their geographical and structural fragmentation left the Marquesans
ultimately defenceless in the face of western political aggression, with its concomitants of disease, alcohol and opium, and the well-meaning but equally genocidal assaults on their customs by administrators and missionaries alike.

As a result a people who, based on contemporary estimates supported by archaeological evidence, probably exceeded 50,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was reduced to approximately 20,000 in 1840, 4,820 in 1890, and a nadir of 2,225 in 1926. Since then the population has steadily risen to over 5,000 and will no doubt grow more rapidly through immigration from the increasingly over-populated Polynesian groups. But the Marquesans of the future renaissance will be as genetically unlike those seen by Mendaña as the Guamanians of today resemble the Chamorros discovered by Magellan, though no doubt a few vestigial remains of the original island culture may be preserved to titillate the tourist.

With such unsurpassed ingredients for a diachronic study of contact relations it seems surprising that, almost alone among the major island groups, no modern history has been written of the Marquesas. The reason lies, one suspects, in the absence of published source material depicting the Marquesans as they were before their way of life had been significantly modified by Europeans, a deficiency which has clearly handicapped the anthropologists, who have been compelled to use the insubstantial and often dubious narratives of early transient visitors as their base-line authorities.

Yet all the time, through one of those capricious whims of fortune which make documentary research such a rewarding pursuit, there lay hidden in the archival sections of world-famous libraries in Australia
and Scotland two detailed and (within the limitations set by the authors' perceptiveness) reliable narratives on the immediate post-contact Marquesans in the missionary William Pascoe Crook's 'Account of the Marquesas Islands', covering the period of his stay from June 1797 to January 1799, and 'The Journal of Edward Robarts', who lived there from December 1798 till the end of February 1806. Together they constitute the most valuable manuscript sources on any Pacific islands peoples known to exist.

Both these unique documents are now being published in the Pacific History Series, commencing with Robarts's Journal: the less known and in some respects the more interesting of the two, which also includes descriptions of the author's subsequent life in Tahiti, New Zealand, New South Wales, Malaya and India, while endeavouring to support his Marquesan family as a poor white on the fringes of European society. It represents a notable addition to that distinct and important genre of Pacific literature fathered by beachcombers, not one of whom had lived as a transculturite for as long as Robarts and few of whom had become so identified with indigenous norms.

I first learnt of the existence of Robarts's Journal from a catalogue reference, and visited Edinburgh in 1962 to read the original manuscript in the National Library of Scotland. Its value to Pacific scholarship was immediately apparent, and fortunately Gregory Dening, now Professor of History at the University of Melbourne, who had completed his master's thesis on the prehistory of the Eastern Pacific, agreed to undertake the task of editing it for publication.

This he did with characteristic thoroughness, spending some months at the
Australian National University working on the text before proceeding to Harvard, where he studied Marquesan ethnohistory under Professor Douglas Oliver for his doctoral thesis. The consequential delay in the manuscript's final publication has clearly proved in the event to be a fortunate one, in that it has enabled the introduction and footnotes to be prepared and revised with an expertise in Marquesan culture and history which must be as unique as the Journal itself. Canberra, 1973

H. E. Maude
Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge first and foremost the constant assistance and inspiration of Professor H. E. Maude, whose knowledge and enthusiasm for things Pacific are beyond compare. A Visiting Fellowship granted me by the Australian National University gave me the pleasure of working in the Department of Pacific History, to the Head of which, the late Professor J. W. Davidson, and members I am much beholden. The National Library of Scotland, who now owns the Robarts Journal, have given permission for its publication, and the Mitchell Library, Sydney, has permitted the publication of extensive quotation from the Crook manuscript and other materials in its collection. From the many who have assisted me in research or typing or corrections, I would single out for especial thanks Nicky Coles, Katy Richmond, Elizabeth Vincent and Jenny Martin. It is too late to thank Dr Hare and Dr Leyden and others who made it possible for Robarts to write his Journal, but I am sure Edward Robarts would have blessed their names. And I bless his.

Melbourne
1973

G. M. D.
Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

**ADB** *Australian Dictionary of Biography*

**DNB** *Dictionary of National Biography*

**HRA** *Historical Records of Australia*

**HRNSW** *Historical Records of New South Wales*

**HRNZ** *Historical Records of New Zealand*
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Herman Melville found fame, if not fortune, by extending, in literary licence, a four weeks’ stay at Nukuhiva in the Marquesas to four months, and by adding to his own experience the accumulated knowledge of men who had been there before him, such as David Porter, C. S. Stewart, and Adam von Krusenstern.¹ These three in their turn had depended on others to interpret and describe the life and customs of the Marquesas islands. Porter leant on a beachcomber, Wilson, who in 1813 had been on the island ‘many years’. Stewart had his beachcomber, Morrison, who had been there several years in 1824. Stewart also possessed a manuscript which he had certainly read and probably had with him. William Pascoe Crook had been left in the Marquesas in 1797 by the London Missionary Society ship Duff. After unsuccessful missionary efforts at Tahuata and Nukuhiva, he had returned to England in 1798 where he wrote (or probably he and Samuel Greethead together wrote) ‘An Account of the Marquesas Islands’.² Stewart used this account in his description of the Marquesas. The Russian, Krusenstern, found two Europeans at Nukuhiva when he arrived there in

¹ See Anderson, 1939: 70–98; Porter, 1822; Stewart, 1833; Krusenstern, 1813.
² Crook, ‘Account’. Samuel Greethead in 1800 was the chief scholar of the South Seas for the London Missionary Society. There is extant correspondence between him and the directors announcing the stay of Crook at Greethead’s residence, Newport Pagnell. Niel Gunson, of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, informs me that the Mitchell Library copy of Crook’s manuscript appears to be in Greethead’s hand. The account is written in the third person.
1804. One was French, Jean Cabri; the other was English, Edward Robarts. They had been in the Marquesas for five years. They acted as pilots, informants, interpreters, guides and foremen during the Russians' eleven days' stay.

The aboriginal Marquesan culture collapsed very quickly. European diseases, European missionaries, European education, European goods killed it from within and from without. By the time scientific anthropology arrived in the twentieth century, the old culture was only a memory, preserved in oral tradition, or in the glimpses early witnesses had provided. No one has been able to write the anthropology of the Marquesas without depending on Porter, Stewart, Krusenstern and Langsdorff (1813–14). Behind these stood Wilson, Morrison, Crook, Cabri and Robarts. Wilson, Morrison and Cabri left nothing of their own. Crook's manuscript is still unpublished. Edward Robarts's own Journal is now published for the first time.

Captain James Cook had spent three days in the Marquesas, 8–11 April 1774, in Resolution Bay, Tahuata (Cook, 1961: 363–76). Resolution Bay was his name for what the Spaniard Mendaña had called Madre de Dios in 1595, and what the islanders themselves called Vaitahu (Markham, 1904, I: 26). Whatever name the bay went by, its craggy, precipitous shores and lush valleys had not been a happy rendezvous for European and Polynesian. Mendaña had left some two hundred islanders dead. They had been shot in their canoes, they had been shot as they swam in the bay. They had been shot as they disturbed the nuptials of prostitutes and convicts which some quaint sense of propriety had demanded at first landfall. One of the English sailors, to Cook's chagrin, had shot a thief dead, a life for a nail. Robarts claimed twenty-four years later to have held the nail in his hand, a sort of Marquesan museum piece and memorial to the irrationality of the 'men from behind the sky'.

The Frenchman, Etienne Marchand, visited the bay in June 1791 (Fleurieu, 1801). Deliriously delighted at disorder, like all Frenchmen in the Pacific, he left the Marquesas with nostalgic memories. Despite riotous pilfering and confusion only one Marquesan had been wounded by the accidental firing of a sentry's blunderbuss.

Hergest in the supply ship Daedalus had a trying visit to the bay in March 1792 (Vancouver, 1801, III: 145–52). Not only did he have to survive a fire in the gunroom. His men were teased and insulted and had their hair pulled by the excited islanders.
One of his young officers burst into tears at the frustration of it all, and innumerable objects, including a musket and a grapnel from under a floating longboat, were stolen. Hergest was forced in the end to discourage this behaviour by musket and cannon fire over the houses of the valley. He reckoned on only having wounded one islander. The visit of the Daedalus a year later to Nukuheiva in the Northern Marquesas was more disastrous.3

Then Josiah Roberts, showing Yankee initiative, constructed a prefabricated schooner, the Resolution, 90 tons, in the bay. He and his crew were at Vaitahu for four months. He had to defend himself against attacks at least twice, killing several and wounding many (Roberts, 1795: 238-46). Thus the first contact of the Spaniards, British, Americans and French with the Marquesas was not auspicious. Worse was to come.

Before 1797, all that was known of the Marquesas was that there were two groups of islands separated by 140 miles along a north-east line. Mendaña and Cook had visited only the southern group; Marchand, Hergest, Ingraham, an American who discovered the northern group,4 and Josiah Roberts had visited both groups. In all there were found to be ten islands, five in the northern or leeward group, five in the southern or windward group. The people were known to be the same brown-skinned, handsome race that populated the rest of Polynesia, speaking a dialect that a native of Tahiti could understand. The characteristic which made Marquesans remarkable was their tattooing. Older men were so covered in tattoos that they seemed to be a bizarre, blue-black colour. Their women were accounted among the most beautiful in the Pacific.5

The islands lay across the trade winds and were the first significant stopping places for food, water and wood after the long haul from the Horn or from the whaling grounds of the Eastern Pacific. By the map they might seem to have been more important to Pacific whalers than in fact they have been:

3 See Crook, 'Account': 239-40; [House?], 1957; Haweis MSS.: 278.
5 Before 1797 ethnographical description of the Marquesas was slight and superficial. Except for Josiah Roberts, who had no interest in these matters, no one stayed more than a few days. The most important were Marchand and the extant manuscript material surrounding this expedition. See Channel, 'Voyage'; Roblet, 'Notes et journeaux'; Fleurieu, 1801.
upwind from Tahiti, more northern than the usual route from the Horn, more southerly than the normal Spanish route from South America. The known harbours were good, but not altogether safe. Food and water supplies were uncertain. The sandalwood traders discovered the Marquesas in 1810, but they had cleared the islands within six years.6 David Porter had dreamt dreams of American glory in the Pacific and took possession of the islands for the United States, but the Americans were more successful in forgetting this episode than the French. In 1842 the French, deluded beyond measure by the same dreams, acquired the islands with pomp and circumstance.7 But decay had already set in and their history had begun its long, slow slide into the grave of forgotten societies and forgotten places.

On 6 June 1797, the Duff anchored at Vaitahu with the intentions of leaving two missionaries, Crook and Harris (1799: 113–48). They found that 'Honoo', the chief whom James Cook had met, was dead and that 'Teinae', his son, was chief of the valley. The efforts of early visitors to the Pacific to transfer what they heard of Polynesian language on to paper resulted in an erratic and complex orthography. However, it seems less confusing for the reader if the names are left as they have been given to us rather than to offer an alternative set, which, if more acceptable, would only be surmise. With two Tahitians, 'Tom' and 'Harraweia', as interpreters, Crook endeavoured to collect enough information about the islands to make a decision to stay. He wrote when he had made his decision:

The People appear kind, friendly, and teachable but very childish. They have no Human Sacrifices, neither do they kill their children ... All we can do with this people till we have learned their Language, is to set them a good example which we hope through Grace to do. Amen.8

Harris had been hesitant from the beginning. One night, when Crook left him alone, he had ill-advisedly shown the Marquesans what he possessed in his trunk, and among his goods was some red cloth. The islanders took all he had. 'Teinae's' wife, curious at the remarkably abnormal behaviour of the mission-

6 Roquefeuil (1823) gives the only contemporary account of the sandalwood trade in the Marquesas. See also Maude, 1968: 199–200, 364.
7 Herman Melville in Typee used the French Annexation to make his biting contrast of civilised and savage ways. See Caillet, 1930: 65–9, 92–100.
8 Crook, Journal, 12 April–15 June 1797, in Haweis MSS.
aries and the *Duff*’s crew towards women, tried to see for herself what the difference was, and Harris spent a terrifying night seated on his trunk on the beach waiting for daylight. Crook’s consequent decision to stay alone on Tahuata, with little likelihood of support or return for at least a year, must have taken a high degree of courage. He did not know then what he was soon to know: that men could starve to death in these beautiful islands, and that there was a ferocity and starkness in the Marquesan life that made the romantic Rousseau-esque dreams of natural man seem grotesque.

Crook’s stay at Tahuata, after the *Duff* had left, was not happy. He knew nothing of the language and was frustrated in his attempt to learn it because of the Marquesans’ contempt for his not understanding them. He was stripped of all he had, scoffed at, and left outside of any system of food distribution in a time of food shortage, and not given the means to obtain it. He was a cultural enigma to the Marquesans: he could not speak; he had no skills; he had no powers nor rights beyond those the chief gave him. He even wore women’s clothing for modesty’s sake. He was an outsider, a cultural non-person. To make matters worse, one of the Tahitians, ‘Harraweia’, stayed on the island and roused antagonism towards Crook (‘Account’: 149).

Meanwhile he was making an ugly discovery. War was endemic in the Marquesas, and ‘Teinae’ was involved in the expeditions against Hiva Oa, an island three miles to the north. A priest of the valley had died and victims were required for sacrifices. Crook saw the bodies brought back. The corpses were mutilated and mocked, put in the oven and eaten by the priests. Then the failure of the breadfruit crop had brought famine and many had died. He saw one dying woman savagely mocked by her half-starved neighbours:

> Her flesh being entirely wasted from her bones, and her strength therefore perfectly exhausted, the natives amused themselves with giving her a slight push, which was sufficient to bring her to the Ground, against which her bones rattled like a Skeleton. (‘Account’ 157)

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8 See Wilson, 1799: 141–2; Crook, ‘Account’: 147–9.
10 Two short biographies of Crook—the anonymous *Memoir* and John Ham (1846: 14)—say that Crook himself was subjected to mockery and contempt for not joining in. But his own account says nothing of this.
By any standards that Crook could apply, Marquesan life was hard and savage.

In February 1798, the *Alexander* of Boston, Captain Asa Dodge, arrived, but despite all he had seen and endured, Crook stayed on and conditions improved a little for him, for the *Alexander* left 'Tama', a Hawaiian who became Crook's protector. 'Tama's' strength, skill and story-telling, and his musket, were respected by the Marquesans. He reorganised their fighting forces and engaged 'Teinae' even more enthusiastically in raids and wars against Hiva Oa.

The *Betsy* was next to arrive and Crook surprised Edmund Fanning, her captain, by stepping out of a canoe on to her deck before she could drop anchor and announcing, 'Sir, I am an Englishman, and now call upon, as I have come to you, to preserve my life . . . I am a missionary' (Fanning, 1833: 85ff.) Fanning says—but Crook's own account makes no mention of it—that the Marquesans intended to cut off the *Betsy*, so Fanning made away from Tahuata without stopping. He took Crook with him as he was, leaving Crook's trunk, his Bible, some letters and a journal at Tahuata to later mystify Edward Robarts as to the fate of the pious young man on the island before him.

The *Betsy* sailed for Nukuhiva and anchored at Taiohae on its southern side, where Crook, this time well supported by Fanning and by his own knowledge of the language, formally exchanged names with the grandson of 'Keattonnue', the chief of Taiohae ('Account': 241–4). This was not without cost to Fanning who had to endure a morning's dancing and chanting at the *tohua* or dancing place, seated on the knee of a large chief, whose chest was smeared with coconut oil and yellow stain. Fanning only escaped by enduring a half-hour's noserubbing with his hosts, an overall experience which he said 'I have no very great wish ever to be caught in again' (Fanning, 1833: 133–6).

Crook, left at Nukuhiva, lived much more happily under the protection of 'Keattonnue'. He acquired land and a home. The wars at Nukuhiva were not so pressing nor was there so much bloodshed. Yet his missionary work was as hopeless as at Tahuata. At the end of December two whalers, the *Butterworth* and *New Euphrates* arrived, first at Comptroller's Bay and then at Taiohae, and Crook decided to leave with them and return

Back at Tahuata, a few weeks before Christmas Day 1798, Edward Robarts had deserted from the New Euphrates. He was experiencing the loneliness of being a cultural curiosity and was being pinched and handled to see if his colour was real. He had seven more years of life among the Marquesans before him. He was to follow in Crook’s footsteps from Tahuata to Nukuhiwa, live with the same friends, be adopted by the same chiefs, share the same network of relations. Their stories and their journals are necessarily intertwined. Together they make a remarkable episode in Pacific history.

Edward Robarts was to make his first mark on history five years later in the journals of the Russian Expedition to the Pacific. On 7 May 1804, the Nasheda, under command of Adam Johann von Krusenstern, arrived at Taiohae on Nukuhiwa. The Russians were surprised to be met by two Europeans dressed in native fashion and tattooed. They were Robarts and Jean Cabri (or Cadiche or Joseph Kabrit: he did not seem to remember which). The two were bitter enemies—a sad comment, the Russians thought, on the innate hatred between English and French.

Not content to disturb the peace of the whole civilized world, even the inhabitants of the lately discovered islands of this ocean must feel the influence of their odious rivalry without so much as knowing the origin of it. (Krusenstern, 1813: 111)

The Russians effected an uneasy reconciliation between the hostile parties and even got them to shake hands. Indeed, in the end, they solved the problem completely. Cabri, making a last attempt to score over Robarts by being last on board the ships, overplayed his hand and was carried off the island. He was taken all the way to Kamchatka and provided endless opportunities to those of scientific bent to examine his tattoos and study the slow return of his memory of French and of his previous life. Desolated as he was by his separation from ‘les madames et les mademoiselles’ of Nukuhiwa, ‘les madames et les mademoiselles’ of Bordeaux proved to be the warming core of his memory. He was encouraged to practise a little sorcery on
board, but it was unsuccessful, because, as he complained, there was no burial ground in the ship.\textsuperscript{11}

Cabri, it seems, had integrated fairly well with the Marquesans and spoke their language fluently, better than Robarts. He had thrown himself enthusiastically into their tribal wars and had several victims to his credit. He had married a Marquesan woman and had a family by her. ‘Beaucoup d’esprit’, he said of Marquesan men, ‘il ne couchera pas avec sa soeur, un autre baiserá sa soeur et il couchera avec un autre fille, beaucoup d’esprit!’ Krusenstern (1805: 116) related how he had once given him a good new shirt:

but he immediately bartered it with one of the sailors for a red flannel jacket. When I told him that he had suffered himself to be cheated, he would not listen to me. As soon as he went on shore he put on the jacket, and with feathers on his head and a lance in his hand danced on an eminence, capering and jumping in a most extraordinary manner. Several of the natives then wished to accompany him, in order that they might go to war. He now showed them how they would creep along and conceal themselves behind bushes or among the grass, and in what manner, when they fell in with any of the enemy they would beat them and carry them off. He seemed to be inspired with an enthusiastic spirit of warfare, and extolled what gives these people so much pleasure.\textsuperscript{25}

On his own account he baulked at the ultimate integration into Marquesan cannibal society, not for any moral reasons, but because that sort of thing made him sick. He had, however, put his victims to good use by bartering their bodies to less squeamish warriors.

At Kamchatka, Cabri took a liking to the local governor and stayed there (Nozikov, 1945: 24). From Kamchatka he made his way to Moscow and St Petersburg, where he exhibited his tattoos and Marquesan dancing and played cannibal charades for the curious great. His ability to swim with the ease of the Marquesans won him a job as swimming instructor to the marine cadets at Cronstadt. He was examined at times by scientists and presented to several crowned heads. But in later years he fell on leaner times and ended his days in the fairs of Brittany and Paris. There are stories of his taking unkindly to the

\textsuperscript{11}Krusenstern, 1805: 3–13, 115–23, gives a detailed description of this voyage with Cabri.
competition at the Orleans Fair from a famous performing
dog Munito and of his demonstrating his Marquesan skills on
the competitor's head. When he died in 1818 or 1822 at
Valenciennes, there was talk of his making a more permanent
contribution to science, as the local museums thought that his
hide should not be lost to posterity.\footnote{Langsdorff, 1813–14: xiii–xiv; Vincendon–Dumoulin and Désgraz, 1843:
357. Robert Ker Porter met Cabri during his travels in Russia. Cabri filled
Porter's evidently willing ear with much romantic fiction, and they both
wept copious tears over his sad story. Porter's account (1809, II: 40–50) is
inaccurate on almost all points.}

When Robarts appeared on board the \textit{Nasheda}, he also had
established a way of life for himself. Among the Marquesans
he wore a tattoo on his chest that showed that he belonged to a
\textit{tapu} group that surrounded the chief. He had married a sister
of 'Keattonnue' and built himself a house. By exploitation of the
custom of \textit{e inoa}, or name exchange, he had created a network
of relations in different parts of the islands. He counted himself
a member of the priestly group and apparently was quite con­
vinced of the powers of witchcraft. A dog and a musket made
his role as \textit{toa}, or warrior, important to the chiefs with whom
he lived. He had proved industrious as pilot and interpreter for
ships that visited the islands and possessed certificates of recom­
modation from their captains. The Russians added their own
testimonials:

Roberts in particular, in whom we found reason, from his
orderly behaviour, to place the greater degree of confidence
[than in Cabri], conducted himself uniformly in the most
disinterested and irreproachable manner, and exerted his
most strenuous efforts to promote our wishes in every respect.
(Langsdorff, 1813–14: 97)

And Krusenstern said of him:

Robarts, although he appeared to me to be an enthusiast, and
of no settled character, was a man of strong understanding,
and I really believe a good man. The worst that his bitter
enemy the Frenchman could say against him, was, that he
evinced no skill in stealing, and therefore was in constant
danger of dying of hunger. He had, however, by degrees
acquired that esteem from the savages, which reason must
obtain from stupidity, and he had more influence over them,
than any of their most distinguished warriors. To the king he
had become particularly necessary, and I have no doubt that he would effect more good than the missionary Crook, who remained for some time upon this island, was able to perform; for the latter had no other idea than that of converting the Nukuhiwiwers to Christianity, without recollecting that it was first necessary to make them men; for this purpose Robarts appears to me more proper, as well on account of the example he afforded, and of his activity, as the esteem which they universally bore him, than either Crook or any other missionary whatever. He has built a very neat house and possesses a piece of land, which he cultivates with care and diligence; and he never fails, where it can be done, of introducing improvements before unknown to them. From his own account he leads a happy independent life, and is only troubled by the thoughts of being surrounded by cannibals, for which reason he is particularly fearful of the next war. (Krusenstern, 1813: 175-6)

There was some difference among the Russians as to whether Cabri or Robarts was the more competent informant. Langsdorff inclined to Cabri under the misapprehension that Cabri had been much longer in the Marquesas than Robarts and because he was apparently more assimilated:

Roberts, on the contrary, lived much more separate from the islanders, and had not, as far as we could judge, any thing like the same readiness in speaking their language: he seemed much less acquainted with the manners and customs of the people; indeed, evinced a great indifference with regard to them. He had, however, a better natural understanding, with greater civilization in his manners, and appeared by his more reserved behaviour to have obtained a powerful influence over the people. (Langsdorff, 1813–14: 98-9)

The Russians did Robarts the service of publishing the only writing of his that reached print. This was a letter written in Calcutta to Dr James Hare outlining his career up to 1810. This letter is reprinted in Appendix I.

Robarts's ship the Euphrates had left England in November 1797 and had sailed down the Atlantic by the Cape Verde Islands, Rio de Janeiro and the Horn. Nearly a year's whaling up the west coast of South America and around the Galapagos got them only a hundred barrels of oil in a twelve-hundred-barrel ship. Small efforts at piracy against the Spaniards were
as unsuccessful. In December 1798 damage from a sudden storm to them and their companion the Butterworth drove them to the Marquesas. Here Robarts deserted for what at first sight seems a reason a little too high-minded to be plausible. He deserted, he tells us, because he wanted no part in a mutiny that was being planned. In fact, we know from Crook's Journal that the crew of the Euphrates deserted to a man at Nukuhiva and were only got back when the captain of the Butterworth held hostages among the Marquesans (Crook, 'Account': 272-4). Robarts was 27 years old when he deserted. All we know of him before this is that he had sailed in the African slave trade out of Jamaica and Santo Domingo, had visited St Petersburg, had unsuccessfully wooed a Cheshire farmer's daughter and was born near Barmouth in Wales.13

Tom, the Hawaiian, was the instrument of Robarts's desertion. He provided the canoe and arranged that a friendly chief would house him. Robarts remained nearly a year at Tahuata, moving about the island. This moving about was a feature of his nearly eight-year stay in the Marquesas. Not only did he move from Tahuata to Hiva Oa to Nukuhiva, where he finally settled down for the last six years of his stay to act as pilot to ships visiting Taiohae, but he travelled from valley to valley on each island. He made this mobility his conscious policy, thus establishing a widening network of friends with whom he exchanged names, and in this way enjoyed more independence.

For the same reason he kept himself unattached, until in 1803 he realised that marriage brought with it land, and land the exclusive rights to food produced and stored on it. The great famine, which he had been lucky enough to live through, taught him the necessity of owning land, especially as he felt himself more competent than the locals to grow a variety of foods. So he married into 'Blood Royal', as he is pleased to call it: a chieftain's daughter. All his life this would be a source of pride. He was reduced to beggary in later years, going from one great man to another, and he was always wistful of his own days of greatness, a chieftain's son-in-law, adopted son of every great chief in the Marquesas, a tribal warrior, a pocket Napoleon, a man whose friendship the great sought after. His Journal ends with the hope that his half noble and only surviving daughter Ellen will receive the kindly favour of the gentility of England.

13 Search in the records of Barmouth has uncovered nothing about Robarts's birth.
In 1806, because tribal wars had got out of hand, because the network of relationships had finally trapped him and he had to choose between friends, he left Nukuhiva with his wife and daughter in the privateer Lucy. He was making for Botany Bay. The Lucy's captain had told him a story about a land flowing with rum and breadfruit and a government extravagantly generous with grants and labour. When the missionaries at Tahiti disillusioned him, he left the Lucy and stayed eighteen months at Tahiti making rum for the ships plying between Tahiti and Botany Bay. Life in Tahiti became difficult with the beginning of wars in 1807. He applied for a job as a pilot on the General Wellesley on a pearl trading trip through the Tuamotus. It was an unsuccessful trip and after returning to Tahiti the General Wellesley drove south to New Zealand to collect wood. Robarts by his own account was the hero in several encounters with islanders and with Maoris who attempted to cut off boats' crews. He was an unbashful saviour. By the Journal's end the reader has the suspicion that Robarts might not have been an easy man to live with. The General Wellesley made her way north to Fiji and New Ireland looking for sandalwood and then to the Palau Islands and across the South China Sea and finally to Penang. It was an uncomfortable trip for Robarts and his family. A Mrs Randall used to antagonise the captain when in her cups; the crew was a motley mixture of Malays, Chinese, and escaped convicts; food became scarce in the long becalmment, and Robarts, by his account, had to save the ship several times from the incompetence of its officers.

In Penang Robarts found employment with a Mr Thompson, whose wife was the sister of the Hon. Thomas Stamford Raffles. He became butler, storekeeper, and occasional cook. These were Robarts's happiest days. He reached the peak of his social career when he had a hand in the preparation of a dinner evening at which the Governor and the social élite of Penang were present. He dwells lovingly in his Journal on the evening, during which Mrs Raffles sang 'The Boyne Water' in 'high stile' and Mrs Thompson sang 'The Banks of the Dee' to the accompaniment of the German flute played by Captain Phillips. But they were short days. Mr Thompson died in June 1810 and Robarts was forced to move with his wife and children, now three, to Calcutta. Raffles secured for him the patronage of the famous Dr Leyden who set him to work writing an account of
his experiences, but Leyden left Calcutta and Robarts took a succession of jobs as teacher in an orphanage, peace officer, and overseer of the Botanical Gardens. In 1813 his Marquesan wife died. In 1815 his eldest daughter became ill and he obtained a letter of recommendation from Lord Minto to Governor Macquarie and set off with the children and fifty gallons of rum to get land in Botany Bay. Macquarie greeted him coldly. 'This land, Mr Robarts', he said, 'is fit only for thieves and rich men.' Robarts sold his rum for a passage back to Calcutta in the *Frederick*. The return was not without event. Robarts assisted a certain Mrs Compton to leave her debts behind her in Sydney Town by hiding her in his bed, and presumably was to earn the gratitude of the patrons of the Old China Bazar Theatre in Calcutta where she later starred until 'the drops of Brandy she used to take on going on the stage soon closed her sparkling black eyes'. The *Frederick* ran aground twice off the Queensland coast despite Robarts's timely warnings and was rescued both times by his resourceful actions. The ship made her way to Timor, where, understandably enough, the captain made an effort to leave Robarts behind. In Calcutta from 1817 to 1824 his story was of a long series of missed jobs and of dependence on the piecemeal charity of the wealthy. 'I was born to be unfortunate', he says at one stage, and the last five years of his Journal till he closed it in July 1824 were full of misfortune, fire, death, disease. He had married again, and of his two wives and seven children only his second daughter Ellen was left to him.

Apart from a few comments from visitors to the Marquesas, the odd reference to him in the missionaries' journals at Tahiti, and the appearance of his name in Calcutta directories, all that we know of Robarts is what he says of himself. He was by his own estimation only a little man, and his Journal is all that saves him from oblivion. Yet to have been cook, sailor, carpenter, builder, tailor, moonshiner, midwife, teacher, storekeeper, butler, overseer of the Botanical Gardens, trader, deserter, slave-trader, and Marquesan warrior, in the fifty-three years that we know of him, was a fair achievement for a lifetime. When in European society he was a 'poor white', living on the fringes of society in the native quarters of Calcutta. Despite the centrality he gives himself in all his ship-board adventures, he was forecastle material. In a sense this made his achievement in the Journal the more remarkable. For all its
ungrammatical, unpunctuated limitations, the Journal is full of surprises. There is even an ambitious attempt at a little poetry, or possibly poetical paraphrase, complete with a delightful footnote to indicate that Robarts was not really a 'lover' of his wife but her husband. He obviously read a little—a few novels, some of the journals of his day and oddments of poetry.

The Journal, of course, is self-defensive. The numerous incidents with sea captains who rob or trick him, or with Calcutta gentlemen who criticise him and deny him jobs are described in moralising terms which leave no doubt as to Robarts's high-mindedness, his undying gratitude, his sense of hurt pride. His deeply emotional reactions to situations such as favours done for him, or misfortunes suffered, are described in stereotyped terms. A dozen times a silent tear of gratitude slips down his cheek, or a thousand tender ideas spring to his mind, or there is sparkling joy in his children's eyes, or he receives the uncharitableness of others with a sad smile. But these are not so much signs of hollowness in his character as evidence that, for him, being literary meant being conventionalised. His memory of his Marquesan days is highly romantic, not in what he did, but in how he did it. His gallantry to Marquesan women, his self-conscious role of protector of the weak, belong more to his literary medium than to himself. There are many places where he decides that a little style is called for by the drama of the moment. Moonlight on a reef, families drowning in a canoe, a sea-captain having slices carved off his leg by cannibals, all stir some turgid prose. Being literary for Robarts strained his resources to their limits. He must have felt that the crowning misfortune on his life was that his journal was never published.

Beneath the romance there was some simplicity of character. Clearly he was proud of the jobs he did well—his guides for navigation in the Marquesas, his services to visiting ships, his rather remarkable cures for scurvy, his training of his dog Neptune. Yet there are anomalies. His gratitude and respect for his Marquesan friends are expressed often in the Journal and it is difficult to believe that he did not feel obliged to them for their hospitality and kindness. But the Russians said:

The Englishman, Roberts, cautioned us not to place any confidence in these islanders; to be always on our guard, and, when any of them offended us, to shoot them immediately: he assured us that this would produce no bad conse-
quences, and that the rest would give themselves no trouble about it. (Krusenstern, 1805: 11)

On his telling, he displayed considerable ferocity towards other islanders in the Tuamotus, New Ireland and the Western Pacific, always from the highest motives. Despite the apparent idyllic nature of his marriage with ‘Ena-O-Ae-A-Ta’, the missionaries at Tahiti, as we will see, passed on the gossip that he beat her and on this account she attempted suicide. Then there is the question of rum, his frequent sicknesses at crucial moments and his inability to hold or get jobs in Calcutta. Although he protested often that he could live without liquor, it is remarkable how often he is involved in troublesome incidents concerning rum in Tahiti and on board the General Wellesley and Frederick. A Captain Phipps said to him in 1818: ‘O, Mr. Robarts, I found you are well known in Calcutta.’ One wonders why, and whether the reference was as good as Robarts thought it was. His unemployment and multiplicity and variety of work might have been due to nothing more than the fact that he was on the edge of Calcutta society. Walter Hamilton wrote about that society:

Without being attached to some department of the service, or trained up to some mechanical trade, there is little hope of prosperity for a young man migrating on chance from Europe. Here all the inferior situations of clerks, overseers, &c. are necessarily occupied by the natives, and it is by these graduations in Europe, that young men rise to opulence in the commercial world. It is scarcely in the power of the governor-general, to assist a person of respectable connexions who does not belong to the service, or one of the liberal professions . . . (Hamilton, 1828, I: 324)

Perhaps so long as Robarts possessed the notoriety of having married a Marquesan and lived on a cannibal island, he had easy access to the patronage of Calcutta society. When that notoriety wore thin, he slipped back to where he belonged. Or perhaps demon rum pursued him a little closer than he would admit.

Why the Journal was never published we do not know. Possibly its poverty of punctuation, its unsophisticated style, the absence of paragraphs and chapters in a long 80,000-word manuscript frightened away the publisher. From the Journal itself we know that Robarts had begun to write an account of
his life in Calcutta in late 1810. He began to write his manuscript 'to raise the wind for an honest morsel'. On the strength of his service to Mr Thompson in Penang he approached Thomas Raffles for employment in Calcutta. Dr John Leyden met him in Raffles's house and offered him forty rupees a month and a room to work in to write his journal. He worked for Leyden till 30 January 1811, when Leyden went to Java with Lord Minto. Leyden had introduced him to Dr James Hare, who helped him find a job as a teacher, then as a peace officer, in Calcutta in October 1811. Apparently Hare took an outline of Robarts's Journal back with him to England about this time. Possibly it was the letter which was published in Krusenstern (1805). Leyden had taken the bulk of the manuscript with him to Java, where he died, but Robarts was able to get it back through a Mr McTier and a Mr C. M. Ricketts. Then Hare asked him to rewrite the narrative in preparation for its publication in England. But Robarts got the opportunity to get to New South Wales. When he returned to Calcutta he found that Hare was about to leave for England. Robarts apparently did no more writing until March or April 1819 in Murshidabad, where he had the patronage of Mr Ricketts. Then in 1824 Hare was back in Bengal and on 14 July Robarts gave him the final manuscript.

The manuscript is at present in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and was acquired by the Library some time before 1925, but there is no record of its provenance. The Library possesses some papers of John Leyden and some letters of James Hare. As Leyden never possessed the completed Journal before his death, the present manuscript presumably came to us through James Hare.

The manuscript itself seems to be a fair copy with few corrections. The handwriting is neat, small and easily read and the same hand has written all 171 pages. The first 160 pages are watermarked 'S and C Wise 1814' on one half of the sheet and there is a heart-shaped device on the conjugate half. These pages are larger (15½" x 9½") than the final pages (13½" x 8½") which are watermarked with the same device and 'S Wise & Co. 1821'. The paper is typical laid paper of the early nineteenth century. The Journal is bound in pasteboards covered with marbled paper (fawn, reddish brown and black) with the spine and corners in dark red leather, tooled in gold. The endpapers and pastedowns have a different watermark.
('J. Whatman 1822') from the papers of the Journal. Thus the Journal was written on loose sheets and bound later. The flyleaf is blank save for a note in the top right hand corner '17.8.18'. Overleaf there is a note reading: 'Robarts is mentioned in "Extract of two letters from Captain von Krusenstern", in (Tilloch's) Philosophical Magazine, vol. xxii (1805), pp 6–13, 16'. On the final page, which is lined down the middle, someone other than the writer of the Journal has written a partially legible poem:

I have seen years for sixty five
and many more I hope to thrive
A happier day I neer had seen
Than when Auld Scotia saw her Queen
Her husband Bairns and all together

The monarchs that we loved so well

.... in her mountain haether

I

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The heartfelt strain
Auld Scotland own again again.14

There is no reason to doubt the Journal's authenticity. Wherever places, dates and persons could be checked this has been done in the notes. For a journal covering twenty-seven years the accuracy is quite remarkable. The text of the Journal is published as Robarts wrote it, although there have been some concessions to readability. Punctuation has been added, and the work divided into paragraphs and chapters. Where punctuation or the addition of a word failed to make grammatical sense of Robarts's prose, the text has been let stand. Two or three of Robarts's own footnotes have been left in the text within brackets.

Robarts's Journal deserves a place with the classics of Pacific beachcomber literature. This exotic group of men on the frontier of European society were prolific in their literary legacy. Yet not one of them in a long list which would include William Mariner and George Vason at Tonga, John Morrison

14 Details of the manuscript were furnished by the Assistant Keeper of the National Library, Edinburgh, Dr E. F. D. Roberts.
of the *Bounty* at Tahiti and Tubuai, William Lockerby in Fiji, William Diaper at Vanua and Levu, Herman Melville at Nukuhiva, could lay claim to a longer stay in the islands than Edward Robarts. Very few of them could claim to have begun their stay in the Pacific before him in 1798.\(^{15}\) For these reasons alone, and because his memories of life as an 'outsider', both of his own society and of a more simple one, form a legitimate contribution to human experience, Robarts deserved to have been more fortunate in finding a publisher.

The prime importance, however, of Robarts's Journal is in the light it throws on Marquesan society at a time before it had been radically changed by European contact. Within a hundred years of Cook's visit and long before the arrival of scientific observers, the population of the Marquesas was decimated. A conservative estimate would place the population in 1798 at about fifty to eighty thousand. In 1887 at the time of the first census it had dropped to 5,246. This social disaster and many other social changes meant that there has been only one way to reach the indigenous character of Marquesan culture and that is through history. In this respect Robarts's contribution has been twofold. He was informant to the Russians Krusenstern and Langsdorff, and he has left us his own journal.

After the excesses of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory, historical reconstruction has been unpopular in anthropology. In non-literate societies there seemed to be only one mode of reaching the historical past and that was through the memories of old men, tradition, legend and genealogy, and this was unsuitable on two counts. Firstly, legend, genealogy and tradition are not historical. They are views of the past which are more relevant for understanding the present than accurately picturing what has happened in history. Memories are notoriously idealistic. They provide a tidy picture of the past, an 'as if' world which distorts the untidiness of daily living. Rules and laws and customs are represented as if they were actual ways in which people lived. Secondly, with so many living societies dying as the anthropologist viewed them, there was too much to be done describing and analysing functioning human societies to engage energies heavily in digging up the past.

Most anthropologists would accept these premises, but there is more to historical reconstruction than legend, tradition and

\(^{15}\) Maude (1968: 134–69) gives a survey of beachcomber literature and the characteristics of this phase of Pacific history.
memory. A universal phenomenon of human history has been the extending frontiers of literate societies. From Herodotus to the astronauts, men have confronted worlds outside their ordinary experience and captured them in their reports. These fallible, limited reports which are filtered through a mesh of prejudices and false assumptions are the stuff out of which historical reconstructions are made. All observers, even scientific observers, and all accounts, even the day-to-day accounts of an anthropologist’s diary, are selective. A native informant is as selective and as fallible as a historical document. An anthropologist moving from the particular to the general out of his own and his informant’s experience moves in the same way from his sources as a historian moves from his primary documents. He may move more easily because he has more checks against his selectivity, but the process is the same.

Robarts’s Journal is important, not because it is an accurate and full account of Marquesan society; it is neither accurate nor full. Nor is it important because he was an insightful observer. As an observer he had severe limitations. He was introverted; his journal was not strictly an account of the Marquesas islands, it was the story of Robarts’s reactions to the peculiar circumstances of his life. His grasp of the language was quite limited. For example, his memory for European names and ships was exact, but he gives only a few Marquesan names. His final account of Marquesan culture is slight and superficial, if compared with any ethnographical account of simple societies. And he suffered the limitations of most cross-cultural observers: he saw a different Marquesan world as if it was a distorted reflection of a more familiar one.

Robarts’s defects as an observer do not destroy his value; they only limit it. He had the supreme advantage of having been there. He did not write a dissertation, for instance, on the social function of Marquesan chiefs or on the role of Marquesan women. He tells us directly and indirectly with the particularity of experience what he saw chiefs do and what he saw women do. Our generalisations, hedged around with all sorts of conditions, will come out of his particularities.

Were Robarts the only informant we had on Marquesan society his contribution would have been at the one time more limited and more valuable—more limited because his vagueness would be impossible to substantiate and his judgments impossible to check, more valuable because he would have been
all that we have. In fact, of course, his account is not alone. Nearly every major visitor to the islands in the early nineteenth century left his confused and piecemeal picture of Marquesan life. In forgotten places—in Hawaiian newspapers, New England gazettes, in the archives of Catholic missionaries, in odd memoirs of men like Thomas Lawson, and Valéry Lalhour, in the day-to-day journals of later London Missionary Society Missionaries, as well as in W. P. Crook's more perceptive and fuller thesis—there are checks and counter checks. They give in their totality specific knowledge of Marquesan society against which Robarts's description is both intelligible and supportive. It is a mistake to underestimate the strength of literate man's urge to record his presence or to measure it by the small percentage that is published. It is on this strength that historical reconstruction depends.

This is not the place to reconstruct Marquesan society, but some features need to be described if Robarts's account is to be intelligible.¹⁶ The society into which he was injected was dominated by the valley system of the islands. Each island was ribbed around with valleys isolated one from another by high ridges. Large areas along the dry leeward sides of the islands were uninhabited and most of the central areas of the islands were deserted, either because the soil did not support a population or because the endemic tribal wars did not allow their settlement. Only one island, Ua Pou, had any overall political or social organisation. The rest were conglomerates of mutually antagonistic valleys, which warred singly against one another or in groups united in brittle alliances. On most of the islands a dual division of antagonism could be distinguished, but within these divisions allies only found unity of purpose in their antagonism to the opposing axis.

Each valley held its own social system in which the chief (haka' iki) and priest (tau'a) played dominant roles. Tribal life in its ceremonial, economic and political aspects revolved around these two. The almost unanimous opinion of early European observers who saw Marquesan society from the beaches was that chiefs were indistinguishable from their

¹⁶ There have been extensive ethnographies of Marquesan society, all of them written long after radical changes had taken place. For the most important see the following: Clavel, 1844 and 1885; Drioult-Gérard, 1940; Gracia, 1843; E. S. C. Handy, 1923, 1925, 1929; Lesson, 1880–4; Rollin, 1929; Tautain, 1895, 1896, 1898.
subordinates. They wore no insignia of office; obedience to their commands was haphazard; they possessed no inordinate wealth. This observation was due to the Europeans' fallacy in defining political and economic power in their own cultural terms and then denying its presence. Crook's and Robarts's accounts make it quite clear that real wealth and power lay in the hands of the chiefly classes.

In a society in which the ordinary material goods were in fair abundance, social classification was more subtle than could be guessed at by comparing external wealth. The tribe was divided into commoner and tapu classes. There may have been some discernible physical differences between these, with commoner darker from exposure to the sun and less tattooed. The main distinction lay in their relationship to the chief. The tapu class was directly associated with the chief in all key social activities. Behind the tapu which set them apart and set rigid embargoes on all sorts of social actions such as firemaking, intercourse with women, and noise, these men of the tapu class prepared for wars, invested the chief's son with the tattoo marks of his eminence, and gathered together as experts in all the arts and crafts of the islands. All the principal offices of the tribe—chief, priest, and the priest's assistants, warrior (toa) and experts (tuhuna)—were filled from the tapu class, who were made up of the junior members of the chief's family or of junior branches of the most important stock in the valley. Women were excluded from this group.

When Robarts entered Marquesan society, he immediately became engaged in the tapu group and especially with those who were closest to the chief. He was a most desirable asset to the chief's household. Because of Crook's manuscript, we know the two main families of which he became a member. At Tahuata it was 'Teinae's' family; at Nukuhiva it was 'Keattonnue's'. These families and the social structure of Marquesan society are discussed in Appendix II. All that happened to him has to be understood in terms of his relationship with the chiefly group. He entered that group in a sense automatically because he, with other Europeans, was classified as supernatural. There was a category of living 'atua' into which some priests and chiefs were placed. These were men of peculiar powers. Through them life and efficacy in social endeavour came from the ancestral stock. Robarts was introduced into any particular chiefly family by the social mechanism of e inoa, or
name exchange. Names were very important in Marquesan society. Nearly every feature of a valley or of the valley's material goods were names. Names were real symbols of the persons named and to exchange a name, especially with chiefs, was to enter into a relationship whereby rights and obligations were exchanged with the name. In this way Robarts immediately established a set of relationships throughout the whole valley and the whole island, relationships which could be translated into concrete terms in the sorts of hospitality and assistance and respect he could call on whenever he wanted.

The chief possessed his eminence by being first born of a line which could claim paramountcy through the charters of tribal genealogies. The chief might be actually the first born of that line, or he might be the first born of another line and adopted in the place of a female. He possessed his chiefly powers and rights from his birth, and the tribe was deeply involved in his life cycle. His birth, his naming, his circumcision, his first tattooing, his marriage, his memorials for his dead father, his death were all occasions in which the tribe was engaged in ceremonial feasting, dancing and sacrificing. These were moments of largesse in which the whole valley participated. Associated with him in an especially close way, sharing in his and his father's generosity, were his peers in the tapu class, who became obligated to him in a sort of informal age group. In this way they shared in the processes of tattooing, circumcision, etc., by which they became social persons. It was the chief who in name possessed the lands of the tribe and who could manipulate the laws of inheritance by granting the use of land to those close to him. He organised most of the economic and social activities. His ownership of one of the principal crops of breadfruit illustrates his social centrality.

Breadfruit ripened four times a year in the Marquesas. Its value lay not so much in its abundance as in its capacity to be preserved. Robarts described in detail methods of preservation. Every household had its pit in which mah was kept against daily needs, and every tribe had its pits which would hold mah for as many as forty years against famines and the ceremonial needs of the valley. The chief as the principal owner was the central source of distribution of this essential crop. Robarts himself bore a tattooed mark on his chest which gave him membership of a small group of men who bound themselves
closely to the chief in return for being fed and supplied in famine times.

Women play an important role in Robarts’s Journal. Because they were ‘unclean’ they could not belong to the tapu class as such, although they were associated with their husbands in the style of life which the tapu class enjoyed. On the one hand their lives were conditioned by many social regulations which preserved tapu men from their uncleanliness. Whole ranges of food were forbidden them; they could not eat with tapu men; they were forbidden entry into certain places or could not walk over certain objects; they were restricted in their sexual relations with men especially at times when tapu men were engaged in tribal activities; a circumscribed social etiquette was required of them as to the objects their clothes could touch. On the other hand, it is obvious that women rose to positions of power in Marquesan society: ‘Keattonnue’s’ mother ‘Butahaie’, of whom both Crook and Robarts were favourites, wielded considerable political power. The chief’s daughter shared an eminence with her first-born brother in important ceremonial occasions, such as her own name taking and marriage.

Robarts was a little prudish in sexual matters and preferred us to see his dealings with women in terms of an eighteenth-century romance. We can only presume he enjoyed the sexual freedom of the Marquesas, which by European standards was quite startling. European visitors never quite got over the apparent promiscuity of Marquesan girls and women. Two elements were involved. One was the existence of an adolescent society called the ka’ioi whose members from puberty to marriage enjoyed considerable freedom of sexual experimentation and on whom the tribe depended in its feasts for dancing, entertainment and songs. It is not clear from early accounts who precisely made up the ka’ioi. Probably the children of chiefs and of other important men in the valley were not included.

The second element was the custom of secondary husbands, pekio, which has caused the Marquesans to be classified among the few polyandrous societies of the world. All women of importance—Crook only records one exception—possessed pekio, sometimes a plurality of them in succession. Some pekio did not lose their tapu status and possessed considerable property in their own right. ‘Keattonnue’s’ pekio was also a tribal warrior.
But other *pekio* repudiated their *tapu* status by eating with women, wearing women’s decorations and taking on themselves the sort of limitations of a woman’s life. Whether all *pekio* had access to the primary husband’s wife is not clear. Some certainly did. Other men did, also, such as those to whom the husband offered this hospitality, and those who were owed this hospitality by reasons of name exchange.

In both Robarts’s and Crook’s accounts the most awesome and powerful personage in Marquesan society was the *tau’a* or inspirational priest. The more powerful of these seemed to have lived in some isolation in hidden spots of the valleys. They played a leading role in sorcery, discovering the will of the gods, decisions on the need for human sacrifice, and on going to war. The most powerful were considered *atua* and it is quite clear from all accounts that their death was a moment of social crisis. It was always followed by expeditions for human sacrifices and always involved the imposition of stringent *tapu* on a valley as the burial and memorial feasts were prepared.

Wars and feasts seem to have been the two main events which attracted Robarts’s interest in the Marquesas. What were the root causes of the endemic wars is not easy to identify. High population undoubtedly put pressure on the available resources. This pressure was heightened by the instability of the breadfruit crop, which in its turn was caused by irregularity in the rainfall. There seemed to be no social mechanism to end the feuds which were inevitably triggered by raids for human sacrifices. Ceremonial truces temporarily halted wars, but did not end them. Aggression and hostility were so deeply rooted that they hardly seemed to need a cause to trigger them off other than the long tradition of enmity between valleys. Indeed it is hard to escape the impression that war, or at least the display of warrior virtues, was an end in itself. Robarts seemed to have played an active part in them only during his stay at Hiva Oa. The face wound he suffered then might have ended his pretensions of being a general. But there is also a suggestion that he realised that Marquesan war was different to his own conception of what war should be. He emphasised its ceremonial and disorganised nature. Displays of wealth and ornamentation, individualistic bravado for which the reward was the possession of the trophy of enemy dead, public shows of prowess, and the concentration not on defeat of the enemy but on the procuring of one of the enemy’s bodies demonstrated the
peculiar nature of Marquesan war. Chiefs mostly did not take part. They were present in the living symbol of the toa who wore the chief's regalia into battle.

The ko'ina or feasts are more easily understood. The chief's real wealth lay in his largesse and generosity and each social group's unity lay in its communion of food and ceremony. Virtually every rite de passage of principal persons, every tribal activity was ceremonialised in a feast with its accompanying dances and chants. For the more important feasts, the total resources of the valley, or even of an island, would be tapped, and all energies concentrated on its preparation. Food would be laid aside for months, new songs and dances learnt by the kaio'i, utensils and ornamentations exchanged and formal rituals of summoning and of truce carried out. These large koina were undoubtedly catalysts of unity in which old obligations were fulfilled and new ones created. The most important of the koina were those which memorialised a dead chief or priest who had been atua, who were the very symbols of closeness to the stock of its origins and through which prosperity and abundance was assured. The smaller koina were media of social exchange. In return for labour done, for a house built, a stone platform erected, a canoe constructed, there would be a feasting. It was the chief who had his hands on the principal resources of food, the land and the sea, and who could most effectively organise all such activities.

Early observers took the tapu system as the principal means of social control. They interpreted it as an irrational legal system sanctioned by superstition. They listed wide ranges of forbidden actions, forbidden places and forbidden foods. Universally they reported that the Marquesans believed that a breach of tapu would result in disease, principally kovi or leprosy, and death. Europeans quickly learned that the tapu system was more effective than their muskets or cannons and they had the chiefs 'taboo' this or that action. Without attempting to resolve anthropological controversy, I would suggest that the tapu is less a legal system or a direct means of social control than a social category out of which flowed concrete social actions and rights. Certain men were tapu temporarily or permanently. Their permanent tapu or sacredness meant that a reverence peculiar to objects which should not be profaned was owed them. Their temporary tapu, during which they engaged in socially important activities such as the tattooing of the
chief's son, or the pursuit of turtle and other fish set aside for the chief, or in the construction of a canoe, which in its named parts was a social map of the tribe, again called for particular reverences of behaviour which would ensure success. Social control in the Marquesas was both more subtle and less subtle than the *tapu*. In its more violent aspects it was less subtle. The weaker were subject to physical violence practised by the stronger. Robarts and Crook both give examples of summary violence practised against the commoner. It was more subtle because both the *tapu* class and the commoner were bound to the chief as the real source of all that was desirable in Marquesan life.

A full ethnology of the Marquesas must be left for another place. The commentary accompanying the text of Robarts's *Journal* is intended to identify and specify customs about which Robarts is vague, to throw such light as can be obtained about these customs from other unpublished sources and to identify further sources of ethnohistorical information from early European observers.

What Robarts described, he helped to change. The arrival of Europeans, and above all the prolonged stay of such men as Robarts and Crook, began processes of fundamental social change in Polynesia. The disaster of depopulation following the introduction of European diseases was change enough. There were other more radical processes by which the whole way of life was being undermined and destroyed.

The sudden and haphazard appearance of ships and men entirely different in looks and clothing and possessing an array of goods beyond all experience was in itself a cultural shock for the Marquesans. The early European ships were received with almost hysterical excitement. There was a confusion of whistling, shouting, acts of bravado and menace, measuring of ships, counting of guns, unmistakable gestures of hospitality from the women. When European power was discovered there was also a strange mixture of servility and sociability. In a sense the Europeans' irrational behaviour, their indiscriminate breaches of *tapu*, what Marquesans saw as their complete inability to speak and their poverty of women and of food—all these tended to make the European the total outsider. The Marquesans solved this anomaly by categorising them in the early visits as *atua*. Categorising them did not control them. They lay in their irrationality beyond all Marquesan control.
Priests could not threaten them, sorcery could not touch them; chiefs could not effectively sanction them. The exchange of pieces of iron and beads and mirrors for such services as swimming casks of water through the surf or for food were socially meaningless. They rewarded service, not socially significant people. In these circumstances a commoner might equal a chief.

It is within the context of these culturally meaningful events that the process of change must be understood. The mere introduction, for example, of a whole range of European goods in themselves made little change. The mirrors and beads that were added to ornaments, the shoes that were stuck in headdresses, the pipes that were inserted in ear lobes, were not in themselves culturally meaningful. Nor were the exciting new experiences such as being shaved, or tasting pancakes and honey and port wine, or watching a fife and drum band, or being seasick on the rolling ships, or stretching out on the deck to gaze in wonder at the Galapagos tortoise. These were new, but only superficially changing. All the new introductions, such as cats and dogs and goats, or new foods such as pineapples and oranges and pumpkins, or whaling spades to use as clubs and bayonets and cutlasses, were oddities so long as they did not introduce changes in social structure or the means of production.

Unimportant European goods were unexpectedly important in this regard. The colour red was tapu for all but the chiefly classes in the Marquesas. The hiapo or loin cloth of a chief was made from the reddish bark of the young banyan tree, red-feathered birds were his property and red flowers were reserved for him. The Europeans gave red clothes and red jackets, or the red feathers of Brazilian parrots, indiscriminately or in return for services, and the monopoly of an important symbol of social power was lost.

The musket in its turn was the symbol of European power. As such it was more desirable to the Marquesans than useful as a weapon. There are horrifying tales of warriors streaming off to battle with muskets whose barrels were half filled with gunpowder, and every description of actual battles with muskets leaves the impression that noise rather than effectiveness was their main asset. In any case people, other than those who fired the muskets, were rarely hurt and combatants stood well beyond one another’s range. Yet the musket was the
symbol of power, and the chiefs early attempted to procure a monopoly by centralising all trade in a bay through their own hands. Since pork was the chief commodity desired by the Europeans, the principal means to procuring that monopoly was through the trade of pork, and later through the trade of sandalwood. But the short supply of pork meant that there was not enough for both the Europeans and the ko'ina, and the chiefs had to make the choice between two symbols to social power, their own and the European. Their choice of European was inevitably to undermine their position in the Marquesan political economy.

European visits tended to be concentrated in three valleys in the Marquesas: Vaitahu at Tahuata, Taiohae and Taipivai at Nukuhiva. Visitors presumed that bays suitable for European harbours would be the most important political and social centres. They were not, but European visits made them so. They became centres through which European goods were channelled into the islands. This not only upset the existing social balance by selecting chiefs for positions of prestige and power on criteria which were outside the Marquesan social system; it also meant that valleys and islands outside these centres had to scramble for attention and goods. Within a very short time after Robarts's departure from Nukuhiva, ships had to show extreme care when they visited the Marquesas, and especially when they visited those valleys other than the three named. Robarts himself refers to the worsening conditions. By 1817 at least two boat crews had been taken and eaten and the Matilda had been cut off and burnt. In the twenty years after Crook's arrival nearly fifty ships had visited the Marquesas and some thirty-one deserters had stayed on the islands for shorter or longer periods, as well as an undetermined number of Polynesian from other islands. They all ate away at the Marquesan way of life in incalculable ways. Take, for example, Edward Robarts's behaviour in regard to his wife. Not only did he allow her to eat food that was tapu to Marquesan women, such as pork. When the time came for the birth of his eldest daughter, it was he who acted as midwife, and none of the rituals surrounding the entrance of a child into the Marquesan social world were performed. One wonders whether she was the first truly social half-caste in Marquesan society. There must have been many children of European sailors born in the islands before her, but they would have been easily absorbed.
She, like her father and other Europeans, were social non-persons.

It is clear where there was one area of important change. These European visits paradoxically weakened the chief's power by endowing him with the trappings of European authority. In this way the chiefs were isolated, obliged to demand services which did not benefit chief or tribe, but only the European who could return no service except useless goods. What was done for the chief in a secular way was to be added to in a religious way when the missionaries began to settle in the islands after 1834. In return for the increased benefits of a church, or the attractions of a mission station, the chief had to strip himself of the religious supports of his power and all the cosmological rationales of his social position. But then, by 1835, it did not really matter. It is possible, through the journals of the London Missionary Society, to make a pilgrimage to the valleys that Crook and Robarts visited, and, where they saw hundreds and thousands of warriors, we would find only twenty or thirty in a valley. The later chiefs at Tahuata, who displayed their muskets, or proudly pointed to doors on their houses, or said grace before meals, or asked when British kings might visit them, or promised unending allegiance to this flag or that, were kings of decay.

Robarts's Journal ends with his musing whether a trading venture would realise enough to save against a 'rainy day'. 'And then I shall be able to judge what to do in the Evening of life, as I have had a long and singular career of an enterprizing and unfortunate life up to the age of 53 years, and I thank my God that I am now as active as when I was 20 years of age, but I am not so strong.' He says that, and he is gone. Every year from 1822 to 1831 his name appears as Police Constable in the East India Register. In 1832 there is nothing. In 1833, among the death notices there appears: 'August 22, 1832, Mrs. E. Robarts'. Whether this was a third wife, or whether, more probably, this is a misprint for himself, we do not know. He is unfortunate to the end.
In November 1797 I sailed from Blackwall on board the Ship *Euphrates*, bound round Cape Horn in search of sperm whales. We left the Thames with a pleasant breeze and in a few days arrived safe at Spithead. We were here detained with contrary winds until January. At length the wind came fair. The Commodore hove out a signal for the fleet to get under way. We in a short time were under sail with a fine Easterly wind. Now I take a long farewell of poor Briton. The wind continuing fair we stood down channel with a numerous fleet, bound to different parts of the globe.

In three weeks we arrived safe at the Island of St. Jago. We came to anchor in a small bay, which I suppose is their principal...
ciple harbour, it being guarded by a small fort. At the landing place is placed an old piece of ordnance to prevent any assault that might be made, but the touch hole is worn so large by time that a great part of the force of the powder would fly through the touch hole, and of course was not much better then the sign of a gun.3

The troops, both Officers and privates, are color’d people. In fact the general part of the Inhabitance are of a mix’d breed. Accommodations for strangers are very bad—nothing to be had for refreshment, no liquor except a wretched spirit call’d augo-dent,4 not so much as a loaf of bread, or a boil’d egg, or even a stick of wood to be got to cook anything you might buy in the market. Plenty of live turkeys, fowls, pigs and goats, fruit, etc. was brought to market during our stay. Here clothing of all Kinds meets with a rapid sale, for if you go on shore with a jacket or coat on you are shure to have 4 or 5 following you to purchase it. For my part I had on a good blue Jacket but the weather being hot I pull’d it off and carried it on my shoulder. I was so teased to part with my Jacket, that I was glad when it

Fishery in 1796 (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1796, in Whale Fishery MSS.). Twenty-three of these are listed as sailing for the Pacific Ocean. On 14 November 1797, he wrote to Chalmers: ‘The Pacific Ocean abounding with Spermaceti Whales, all Adventurers who can afford to venture the risque of so large a speculation send their Vessels into those seas, where we consider them safer from the Enemy than in any other part of the Oceans where Sperm Whales are found . . ’. See also Jenkins, 1921: 212ff.; Stackpole, 1953: 147–9; Starbuck, 1878: 90ff. (for the story of early Pacific whaling after the first trip in 1787 of Captain Shields in the Amelia).

3 St Jago was the English name for Sao Thiago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands. John Purdy (Stevens 1816, II: 31) recommended Port Praya as the island’s principal harbour and commented on the ‘two remarkable old forts on the east side’. The Mission ship *Duff*, taking London Missionary Society missionaries to Polynesia, including W. P. Crook to the Marquesas, called at Port Praya, on 14–15 October 1796. ‘The principal town . . stands against the sides of two mountains, between which there is a deep valley two hundred yards wide, that runs within a small space of the sea. In that part of the valley next the sea is a straggling street with houses on each side, and a rivulet of water in the bottom, emptying itself into a fine cove, or sandy bay, where the sea is generally very smooth, so that ships ride there with great safety. A small fort is erected near the landing-place of this bay, where a guard is constantly kept, and near it is a battery mounted with a few small cannon, but incapable of resisting an enemy’ (Wilson, 1805: 94).

4 *Aguardente* (Portuguese): ‘firewater’ or inferior brandy or rum. In Cape Verde Islands *aguardente* is usually a white rum, i.e. a rum in the early stages of distillation (Lyall, 1938: 56).
was gone. It cost me 12 or 14 shillings. I sold it for five dollars, and, "Jack Tar" like, must have a wet bargain. I got half a gallon of liquor to boot. I treated all in the house, men and women, and took my leave.

I went to market and bought 6 or 7 good pigs and a turkey. Now I had got them, I was at a loss how to get them down to the water side. It came in my head—my observing that the country people when they came to town lett their horses go loose—that it would be no hard job to get one. So I left my stock in the market to search for a horse. I did not go far before I got one. Nobody said anything to me. I mounted and rode back to the market and tied my pigs by the legs and laid them across the horse and remounted. Away I rode down to the waterside and returned on board the ship. Most of the ships crew had purchased more or less live stock so that our deck was [so] crouded, that we was obliged to use them faster than we wish'd.3

Our stay at this place was only a few days. We took our departure from hence with a fine pleasant breeze. Nothing occurring, we in three weeks more arriv'd at Rio Janario, a most spacious harbour. There is several small flatt Islands in the passage going into the harbour.6 On them is cannon placed in all directions. This entrance is so fortified that it would be useless for any power to attempt the entrance of it with hostility. This harbour is one of the finest that I have seen in any part, it being about 4 or 5 miles wide. I suppose there is a large river runs into the Interior part of the country.7

6 The Duff experienced the same conditions at the market at Port Praya. The country people needed a little time to bring their goods to the ship and the Duff could not stay (Wilson, 1805: 23).
6 Purdy (Stevens, 1816, II: 36): "The first islands that are met with, coming from the East or Cape Frio, are three small islands that have a rocky appearance, lying near to each other, at a point 7 miles distant from the harbour."
7 The city at Rio de Janeiro was called St Sebastian. The harbour was defended on the east by the fort of Santa Cruz and on the west by the fort of St Joao or Luzia (Purdy in Stevens, 1816, II: 36). There was no large river at Rio de Janeiro, only small streams. English voyagers always complained of the suspicious treatment given them by the Portuguese authorities. James Colnett (1798: 6-7) explained to whalers what was to be expected at the harbour: 'On the arrival of a ship off Santa-Cruz at the mouth of Rio Janeiro, the Patimore or harbour master comes on board, takes charge of the vessel, carries her into the harbour and moors her in a good birth. Sometimes the mate is first taken out, as was the ceremony with me, to
Several elegant buildings [are] to be seen from the harbour. This place has the appearance of trade and commerce. The streets are tolerable wide and the houses in general are neat. Here are several nunnerys. The ladies are very reserve of being seen by strangers. Their windows is lattice work thro' which they peep.

By chance I got a sight of two young ladies. I was passing by a cabinet makers shop where there was several workmen at work. I stop'd to admire some elegant peices of workmanship. The master of the house came to the door and very politely press'd me to come in. I accepted his offer. He was a very old man; he walk'd about his house by the help of his stick. He shewd me round his workshop, till we came to the back parlour door. He then led me into the presence of his wife and two daughters who received me in so polite and friendly manner I could not but admire them.

The eldest might be about 15 years old. They were both fine figures, of a gracefull shape. Their hair, long and black, hung in natural ringlets down their back. Their eyes [were] black and sparkling. There was a something in the manner of these young Ladies claim'd respect. They were very full of enquireys about England and other places. My Knowledge of the Portuguese language being very slender I could not satisfie them but with very few answers to their numerous questions.

The Old Gentleman ask'd me if I was of any trade and should I like to live in Rio Janario or not, [and] if I should like to live in his family to learn his daughters English. In fact I was so suprized at his Questions and his proposals, I was at a loss how to answer him. My being taken at an unp—, 8 I could not come to a resolution. The evening drawing near, I took my leave of them and Returned on Board the ship. I endeavourd

undergo an examination; but the captain is not suffered to leave the ship without orders; neither will any supplies be admitted until a visit has been made by the officers of police, to enquire into the health of the crew, from whence you come, whither you are bound, what is the particular object of your voyage, and the time you wish to stay. The mates are then taken on shore to be examined, when their declaration with that of the commanding officer, is laid before the Viceroy whose official permission must be given before any commercial intercourse can take place between the ship and the shore: the captain and officers must also sign a declaration, acknowledging that they and their crew consider themselves as amenable to the laws of the country, while they remain in it.'

8 Illegible. Possibly 'unprepared'.
to pay my new friends a second visit, but to my mortification I could not effect it. If I had got on shore again I should have try’d my fortune in that part, as the offer seem’d so favourable. However it was not my fortune to stay here.9

We was making preparations for our voyage. Everything being ready here, we got a good stock of excellent pumkin—-the finest in the world. They will Keep good at sea for 12 Months. Our Capt got every thing he could think of for ship use, such as rum, Molases, oranges, Limes, etc.10

After a stay of 10 or 12 days we unmoor’d and set sail with a pleasant breeze on our Voyage towards cape Horn. Nothing

The missionaries on the Duff left the following description of Rio de Janeiro, 12-20 November 1796:

The town appeared to the missionaries not bigger than Bristol, and they supposed it might contain about two hundred thousand inhabitants. The streets are narrow, but straight, regular, and well paved. Their windows and the upper part of their doors being latticed with rods laid across each other, and close shut all day, a stranger walking along, and seeing their women and children peep through these gratings, might suppose their dwellings so many prisions. The streets are filled with shops of every description, many well stocked with Manchester goods and English prints, but the druggists’ and silversmiths’ make the noblest appearance. Water is supplied by an aqueduct, on the Roman plan, for notwithstanding the name of the place, there is no river of any note. The inhabitants are a mixture of Portuguese, mulattoes, and negroes. Cloaks and swords are generally worn by the men. The ladies have fine dark eyes, with animated countenances, and their heads are only adorned with their tresses, tied with ribbons and flowers. Labor is chiefly performed by slaves. On their landing, the missionaries were greatly shocked to see a poor slave, worn out with disease and labour; advancing with feeble crawl to the water’s edge; and soon they were much affected by a number of human beings exposed for sale naked, in the public marketplace; whilst others, in companies of six or seven chained together, were traversing the streets with burdens, driven before their masters like horses or dogs.

The European settlers are in general gay and fond of pleasure; yet, as at Lisbon, extremely superstitious; the cross is erected upon the tops of the hills, on the forts, and at the corner of every street is a figure of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary placed in a niche, or kind of cupboard, with a curtain and glass window before it; in the night, candles are lighted; and here the people stop to address their devotions, and the whole night long the voice of their chanting to these images may be heard. Even the common beggar makes a trade of religion, by carrying a little crucifix at his breast; at this the poorer sort cross themselves, and the beggar blessing them, must be paid for his benediction as well as the pope.

The Government is so strictly cautious, that the inhabitants can have no intercourse whatever with strangers without leave first obtained from the viceroy. (Wilson, 1805: 40–2).

Purdy comments that all provisions except wheaten bread and flour could be obtained here and recommended pumpkins as the only vegetable that would last at sea.
occur'd except we boarded a small vessel bound to the River Gran.\textsuperscript{11} We made the Falkners Isles one morn\textsuperscript{8} at sun rise. We past them before we saw them. We pass'd by the Patagonia shore with a fine breeze. Our top gall\textsuperscript{1} sails was set and the fore top mast studding sail. In the afternoon the breeze freshen'd. We took in our small sails and from that reeft the top sails. At sun down we was near enough to discern the form of the land, rocks, etc., with the spy Glass.

The weather now began to be cold and heavy gales of wind. It was about three months after we saw the falkners Isles before we got round Cape Horn. The sea running very high, our ship was continually under water. Sometimes no fire could be made on deck to cook our food. We made shift with bread and water. Our Capt was a very good humane man. He would give liquor several times in the day and night to the crew on deck.

At length we doubled Cape Horn and run down the coast of Chilla till we came to an Isle call'd Mocha.\textsuperscript{12} The day being fine our Capt orderd one of the boats to be lowered down. Some black whale being near us, our Capt wish'd to exercise some of his crew. He harpooned one of the whale and play'd with her for some time, till hauling the boat too near to lance the whale, she, with a flounce of her flukes (flukes—the tail of a whale) stoved the boat in pieces and set the crew afloat. No one was hurt except I,\textsuperscript{13} Bowden the ships cooper who receivd a slight cutt in the mouth. The moment we saw our Capt's distress a boat was sent to his relief. We got the wreck on board and spliced the main brace (a sea term for a Dram of liquor) with all hands. This is what we got by pricking black whale.\textsuperscript{14}

We still run along the coast of chille till we came to an Island call S\textsuperscript{1} Kergs. We got one small sperm whale near this Isle. We stood near to the Isle and sent one boat on shore which

\textsuperscript{11} Rio Grande or Sao Pedro, 780 miles south-west of Rio de Janeiro.
\textsuperscript{12} Colnett (1798: 28–9) had discovered the sea 'covered with' spermaceti at the Island of Mocha. It seems obvious that Captain Glasspoole was following the same track as Colnett, up the South American coast to the Galapagos and across to the Californian coast. Enderby had written to Chalmers in June 1795 describing Colnett's successes (Whale Fishery MSS.). Amasa Delano (1818: 276) described Mocha in 1800 as famous among whalers for its wild horses and hogs.
\textsuperscript{13} i.e., one.
\textsuperscript{14} Black Whale or Black Fish were usually chased only by sperm whalers to supply oil for the ship's own consumption. Whalers counted them dangerous as they would sometimes leap into a boat when harpooned, which is probably the point of Robarts's comment. See Bennett, 1840, II: 235.
did not return till next Morn*. In the course of the night it blew very hard and the sea running very high our stern boat was taken from the Stern Without the Knowledge of any one till morn&. This was rather unfortunate as all the Irons and lances for three boats was put into the stern Boat, it being the most ready place for them when wanted. Our boat was returnd and brought from the shore a few lean wild hogs and some mint which was very good. It servd some time as tea for the ships crew. From this Isle you have a view of conception Bay, a spanish settlement.\textsuperscript{15}

Our Capt and his officers seemd to think it best not to stop cruizing for sperm whale in so high a lattitude.\textsuperscript{16} Altho our Capt had been very fortunate the voyage before at this same place, [he] was over persuaded by his chief Officer to run down to the Gallapagos Isles. They are situated on the Equator, a place where many ships had been lucky by compleating their cargos in a short time. But it was not our lott. We run down the coasts of Chilla and Peru till we came to the Gallapagoses.\textsuperscript{17} Here we found several ships in a large bay cruizing in and out in search of whale.

\textsuperscript{15} Late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century maps and accounts do not identify St Kerg's. Isla Quiriquina in Concepcion Bay seems to be the only island that would fill Robarts's description (see \textit{Admiralty Chart} 1819, Chile Bahi, Concepcion). Delano (1818: 278) visited Quiriquina in 1800 but did not call it St Kerg's.

\textsuperscript{16} The main sperm whaling grounds in the central and eastern Pacific were the Coast of Chile Ground, Callao Grounds (off Peru), Panama, Galapagos, Off Shore and On the Line. The last three were strung along the equatorial belt and were hunted the year round. The Coast of Chile Ground, of which Robarts is speaking, was hunted mainly in December and March, for which the \textit{Euphrates} was too late (see Townsend, 1935: 14). Townsend charts more than 50,000 sperm and right whales caught in the nineteenth century according to the time of the year of their catch.

\textsuperscript{17} Galapagos Islands, 580 miles west of the coast of South America, were first made known by Tomas de Berlanga in 1595 and had been used by the buccaneers, Dampier among them (Great Britain, Foreign Office, 1920). Colnett had reported excitedly that he believed these islands to be the 'general rendezvous of the spermaceti whales from the coasts of Mexico, Peru, and the Gulf of Panama' and recommended the islands as a central point for British whale fishing (Colnett, 1798: 147, 159). Enderby had written to Chalmers, June 1795, that he was 'almost afraid they have found one of the chief Nurseries of the Sperma Ceti Whales' off the Galapagos (Whale Fishery MSS.). The uniformly cool waters about the Galapagos (because of the Humboldt Current) attracted large numbers of sperm whales (Townsend, 1935: 7). Delano (1818: 383–5) mentions the whaling there in 1801.
The first thing we did was (our crew [was] so eager for turtle) a boat was sent on shore and brought on board some of the finest green turtle I ever saw. Here would have been a fine repast for some of our noble citizens of London to feast their appetites with calapee and calapach turtles 400 lb. weight. But as sailors are never contented with their food, turtle soup was soon cry'd down. It was then minced and fry'd. Just the pure flesh was eat. The fins, guts and calapee, etc. was hove over board with “dem the dog that first brought it on board.”

We cruiz'd in the bay for some time. At length a schole of whale came into the bay. We was all life in hopes we should have these kind of visits more frequent. With three boats we caught eight sperm whale without any accident. This was our share at this place, for we cruized in and out of this bay for six monts and never saw or got any more sperm whale. We began to have a bad hope of our whaling voyage.

In the course of our time on this coast our Capt. had got some information of a spanish ship bound from Acquapulca to Lima laden with Bullion. We left the Gallapagos in company with the Buttersworth, Capt. Fraser, of London. This ship had been a sloop of war. She mounted 28 Guns of 12 & 9

18 Calipash or carapace is the upper shell of the turtle, or the green gelatinous substance next to the shell. Calipee is the lower shell or the light yellowish substance next to the shell. Pacific whalers took off these enormous turtles from the Galapagos by the tens of thousands. Townsend (1925: 70) estimates that after 1831 a minimum of 100,000 were taken, without estimating the number before that date. Visitors to the Galapagos in the 1880s wrote of turtles with names of ships and dates as early as 1791 carved on their backs.

19 Enderby listed the Butterworth as 390 tons, owned by Curtis and sailing out of London (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1796, Whale Fishery MSS.). She had previously been in these waters under Captains Brown and Sharpe. Colnett (1798: 150) met the Butterworth at the Galapagos Islands in 1793 and said that she had been taken from the French in the British-French War. Captain Sharpe made a poor impression on Colnett. Wilson (1799: lxxx) said that on 1 June 1792 the Butterworth under Captain Brown had visited Tahuata in the Marquesas with two smaller vessels. Vancouver met up with the Butterworth under William Brown, together with the Jackal and Prince Lee Boo, at Nootka, September 1792. The Butterworth is described in Vancouver's journal as an 'English frigate of thirty guns'. Evidently Brown sent the Butterworth home to England in 1793, and stayed in command of the Jackal and Prince Lee Boo (Howay, 1915: 86–7). Enderby reported her return to London in 1795 with 85 tons of oil and 17,500 seal skins. She was whaling in De La Goa Bay in 1796 and in 1797 sailed for the Pacific (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1796, 1797, 1798, Whale Fishery MSS.).
pounders and [was] well man’d. Our ship mounted 12 six pounders and 22 men. We made Abingtons Isles. They lie in one Deg, N. Latt.\textsuperscript{20}

Here our boats went on shore and got a quantity of turpin.\textsuperscript{21} Now this animal is, I suppose, is not much known except to some few such as south sea whalers. Its form is something like a turtle except it has legs and feet instead of fins. Its neck is long, and the shell is black and high. A turtle is more flatt. The turpin lives on grass and herbage, but on board of ship I have know them to live several weeks without food or water. A turpin when open’d is exactly like a turtle in shape, but not in color. A turpin’s fat is of a fine gold yellow; the flesh is red, and realy the most delicate thing to eat imaginable. The flesh is a nice fry. The legs and gutts makes the finest soup in the world. This Kind of food meet with a Kind reception at first among our crew, but they soon became weary of it also, craveing for salt provisions. In fact I have seen one of the crew heave them over board in the night. This man was one of the vilest scoundrels that ever was in a ship. His name was Martin.

However in the night, by some means or other, we parted with the \textit{Buttersworth}. It was agreed by the two Capt to call at cocos or cocoanutt Isle. It is said to lie in 5 Deg. N. Latt.\textsuperscript{22} We searched for it several days, but could not find it on neither tack. The weather was very Hazy with drizling rain. We could not see above a mile. I think the strong current setting out from the land was the reason we could not find it.

However, we being joined by our consort, we proceeded along the coast of Callifornia, haveing pleasant weather and fine breezes. On this coast we was Joincl by Capt Baxter, Ship \textit{Liberty} of London.\textsuperscript{23} She was a fine large ship mounting 12 or 14 guns. Being three in number [we] was become a formidable

\textsuperscript{20} Abinging Island is the northernmost and the most isolated of the Galapagos and had been visited by Colnett (1798: 152). It lies at 0° 38' North.

\textsuperscript{21} Terrapin. Whalers usually spelt it ‘turpin’ and in a great variety of other ways: turpine, tarpan, turupin, terapin (Townsend, 1925: 69).

\textsuperscript{22} Isla de Cocos, 5° 35' N and 87° 2' W. Colnett (1798: 66-74) had visited the island.

\textsuperscript{23} Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1795 (Whale Fishery MSS.), listed the \textit{Liberty}, Captain Baxter, 276 tons, owned by Lucas, as having sailed for the coast of Peru in 1794. She is also reported as having sailed for the Pacific in 1795 and not returned (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1796, ibid.) and as having sailed for the Pacific in 1797, owner still the same, but not then returned (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1798, ibid.).
squadron. Capt Fraser of the Buttersworth was Commd, being the best equipt for war. It was agreed, or at least it was the whole talk in case we should fall in with the Spanish ship, that Bold Capt Fraser would lay him along side while our ship the Euphrates was to get on his bow, or Quarter, or under his stern to rake him at all opportunities, and I make no doubt but that the crews of both ships would have fought while there was powder and shot on board. Nothing else was talkd of but our expected Prize.

At length one day, about 2 PM, the man at the mast head cry'd out "Sail ho". We was all over joy'd at the sight of this stranger. Every one was in motion, some to make sail, some clearing the decks ready for engageing. For my part, I was down in ships run in a moment and handed on deck the boarding nets and two tubs fill'd with cartridges ready made.

For once our Capt and his chief officer was on the cabin lockers looking out of the windows, having just dined. Mr Holmes, our second officer, had the watch on deck. He was as eager as any one on board for to engage the spaniard. I had securd the cabin door to keep the Capt in the cabin (as he was not aware of what was go[ing on] on deck) untill the Buttersworth came rangeing up on our larboard Quarter. Capt Fraser hail'd our Capt. He was coming on deck, but finding the door was fast he begd we would let him come on deck, promising he would not hinder us from engageing the spaniard. I was sitting on the hatch to prevent any one from opening the door, but as he promised so fair I opend the door.

He came on deck to answer Capt Fraser. He was surpriz'd to see, I suppose for the first time, his little ship all clear for action. Never I believe did the Euphrates make a more warlike appearance before or scince. Capt Fraser told our Capt. that he would engage the spaniard. We hoisted our red flag and gave him three cheers for his generous offer.24 His crew was not backward in cheering us in return when they saw our union Jack and red flag flying.

Presumably this was the Budgee Jack, the distinguishing flag of the privateer till 1856. Since 1694, vessels receiving commissions of Letters of Marque or Reprisals had been required to show at the masthead, in addition to St George's flag, 'a Red Jack with the Union Jack described in a Canton of the upper corner thereof next the staff'. The Budgee Jack was different only in its proportions from the red ensign adopted in 1707 (Perrin, 1922: 124-6).
The *Liberty*, Capt. Baxter, was in sight. A signal was made for her. In a short time she came up with us. Our Capt haild the *Liberty*, Informing Capt Baxter of the project, wishing to give him a chance with us. However, to our consternation, he blankly said he would have nothing to do with engageing the spaniard. He further said we were not justifiable to attempt to engage the spaniard being whalers and not privateers. We had a Letter of Marque commission on board. He haul'd his wind.

Our Chief Officer not wishing to come to action used all his means of persuasion with our Capt. to give up the chase and [the Capt.] seeing the *Liberty* cowardly running away, was over biased. We gave over the chase, altho' we was got so near that we could see with the glass that the stranger was a large Spanish ship, and was crowding all the sail they could set, makeing in for the land.

Our ships crew was so disapointed at this unexpected turn they very unwillingly shortend sail. Our Chief Officer was now quite the hero. He had got a catouch box buckled round him and was capering about with a loaded pistol threatning to shoot the first man that refused to brace up the yards and haul the ship by the wind. This change in affairs was the beginning of all discontent among the ships crew.

One day after breakfast all hands was calld. As usuall the crew below had agreed to refuse working all day and Keep watch at night. In fact there was no use to have all hand on deck in the day time when we had no whale on board. It tended to no other purpose than to amuse the tyrant Disposition of our Chief Officer, who made it his sole study to find out puzzel work, as he termd it, but the ships crew, being weary of this Kind of treatment from a man they deemd not worthy of being an officer, would not come on deck, only those that had the watch on deck. He came to the hatchway with a hectoring voice threatning what he would do to the first rascal that should disobey his orders. In the course of this disagreeable fray the Capt. came to the hatchway. He enquired the cause of the squall. The people told him the case. He, according to his general goodness towards his men, told them he did not desire any such thing should be done. So from this forward there was only watch and watch.

Everything now seem'd composed. Each did his duty without a murmur. As our Prize had escaped, we had no further hopes then a tedious search after whale. We run down the coast of
Calliforna as far as 16 or 17 N. Latt. We fell in with a schole of whale. We got 8 of them with 3 boats. This time no accident happened excepting the loggerhead of the Chief Officers boat was torn out of the boat by a large 90 barrell whale—no further damage but the loss of the whale.25 One thing I must not let pass. That is [that] our Chief Officer was a good man in a boat—but on board the ship a devil incarnate. Our whaler being towd along side and securd, liquor was servd out to the crew.

The next thing was to clear away for to receive the blubber on board. Everything was got ready and at day break we began to cutt in. Our whale being got in, the try pots was a going with all speed.26 The weather now began to be hazy with a small, thick rain. However we with some extra trouble got the most of our oil boild. Our pots and cooler with some casks were full on deck.

Another Circumstance occurd during this fair of oil, which should no be omitted. Our Capt came forward one day and was giveing some necessary directions conccerning the try works, as it was raining and the oil in danger of overflowing, which would have proved fatall had it taken fire. Our Chief Officer came forward and began to countermand the Capts. orders to his face. This caused some alteration between the two. The Chief Officer behaved in a very unbecomeing manner to the Capt. He even snapt his fingers in the Capts face and actualy turnd him from before the try works. Here was a fine example for a ships crew whose mind was already fired with hatred entirely oweing to his bad treatment towards them. They would have confind him, only our second Officer Mr Holmes, a young gentleman of great abilities and greatly belovd by the ships crew, persuaded them not to interfere. Nothing further occurd.

Some few days after, the wind began to freshen. Ship Liberty

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25 The loggerhead was a cylindrical pillar employed to restrain the line when the latter was attached to a whale (Bennett, 1840, II: 196).
26 Two or three trypots for boiling down blubber were placed in solid masonry tryworks, usually between the foremast and mainmast. These tryworks were some ten feet by eight feet and five feet high, sometimes cased with wood and a hatch. The foundations did not penetrate the deck, and the whole rested over the 'goosepen', a water filled basin, to protect the decking and ship from the fire. Two or three days might be spent trying a whale and it would take about an hour to make a kettle of oil (Bennett, 1840, II: 191; Robotti, 1962: 110-14).
haild us a short time before sun down. The Buttersworth was in sight, and in the evening it Began to blow fresher. At length it came on to blow a very heavy gale of wind, and the sea running mountains high a heavy sea broke on board our ship, which took at one sweep the try works, cooler and several casks of oil, with about 14 fine pigs and the cook house over board. Our boats were all stowe to peices. The Jib boom and mizen top mast was also gone, and, to our great distress, our ship sprang a leak. On sounding the pumps [there] was found to be between 4 and 5 feet water in the hold. Here was a proof of gods goodness to cheer the hearts of the distress'd. All hand except myself was impoy'd at the pumps. When all hands was calld up from below, a butt of biscutt broke adrift, which took the ladder from under my feet. Down I fell and hurt my hip and loin, [so] that with some dificulty I crept into the cable tier. The Bread Butt was tumbling from side to side till morn«.

Towards morn the gale abated, and between 5 and 6 oclock there was little or no wind, but very foggy. And as it cleard to our great sorrow we descried the stump of a mast. At the same moment it cleard quite and shew'd to our view the Buttersworth with her main mast gone about 10 or 12 foot above the deck. Here was a truly pityable and disressing view for a feeling heart. In vain did we look from our mast head for the Liberty. Nothing could we see but casks floating in the horizon. We very fortunately picked up the wreck of the Buttersworth's main mast, which was got on board and refitted again, which proved of great use.

It was now very fine weather, and in cruizing to and fro for several days in a fruitless search for the Liberty nothing could we find, only an empty cask marked Mizen top sail. Finding our hopes was at an end, we Join'd our consort the Buttersworth.

I must here beg leave to make some remark according to my own opinion on the Loss of the Liberty. She was a large, deep waisted ship, and it is common for ships when they have whale on board to have their hatches off. This must have been the case, she haveing her reeft top sails set when she pass'd athwart our bow near sun set, and this seemd to be the sail intended for the night. But the gale came on in so sudden a gust I imagin that the people was most of them aloft takeing in the sails, and a heavy sea has broke on board. Her being deep waisted and [no] other vent for the sea but into her hold, [it may have happened] that before the people could get from aloft she
must have been in a sinking state and past all efforts of recovery: Viz., [It was] a dark dismal night. The seas [were] running mountains high, and in so short a time every thing [was] adrift [and] the hatches wash'd away [by] one sea after another. [This] soon terminated their truly pityable and untimely fate. I suppose she had about 40 men on Board.27

[I] must now return to the Buttersworth. Capt Fraser sent his boat on board Our ship for our Capt to go on board of him, our boats being all stove. The two Capt. agreed to steer for the Marquesan Isles, a groupe of Islands situated in 10\degree S. Latt in the Pacific ocean, as the most secure place for refitting and refreshing the ships and crews.28 We spoke the London, Capt Gardner. This ship also belongd to the same owners as our ship did, Messrs Mather and Anderson of Blackwall.29 Capt Gardner was surprizd to see the two ships in such a state, for he had not felt anything of the gale. This plainly shews that the gale was narrow, as he could not be many leagues distant from us. At the time of the gale he had his royal yards across. He parted from us under American colours for fear of the spaniards, as we was abreast of Acquapulca, the port our lost prize came from.

Every thing was put in motion for refitting our consort. The crew of both ships was employd refitting the riggin, the carpenters in fishing and scarfing the mast, which was compleated in a manner which deserves the applause to the seamen and carpenters. Our crew, except a few hands, was sent every morn\& at day light on board the Buttersworth to dispatch the work the quicker, and [it was] very fortunate our ship did not make more water than we could with ease Keep free with our pumps.

27 There appears to be no other record of the Liberty's loss, beyond the fact that she had not returned to London by 1 January 1798 (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1794, Whale Fishery MSS.).

28 The Marquesas lie between 7\degree 50' and 10\degree 35' S, and 138\degree 25' and 140\degree 50' W.

29 Robarts refers to the owners as Mather and Anderson. Only Mather's name is mentioned in Enderby's records, but an Anderson is listed as captain of one of Mather's ships, the Bellisarius, 336 tons, and working the Pacific in 1793 (Enderby to Chalmers, 10 January 1794, Whale Fishery MSS.). The London is listed as having sailed out of London to the Pacific Ocean in 1795, 247 tons, Mather the owner, and as having apparently sailed again (or been still out) in 1797. Captain Gardner followed the Buttersworth and the Euphrates to the Marquesas (see Crook, 'Account': 279). She returned to London in November 1798.
At length our Consort once more spreads his topsails to the heartfelt satisfaction of all then concerned. We have very fine pleasant weather with gentle gales. Here we glided through seas crowded with beautyfull dolphin, albercore and flying fish. The Air was clouded with the featherd creation. Everything seemed to congratulate us on our late delivery from a watery grave. Our next Job was, as our try pots and works was washd over board, to remove the try works from on board the Buttersworth on board our ship. This was done, and the pots was fixd and the brick work performd by our chief officer. In fact he performd it in a most capital manner worthy of praise—let every one have their due.\textsuperscript{30}

All our hard labour was now over for a time; nothing was thought of but our approaching pleashure at the Marquas Isles, which place we arrivd in about one month from the time of our misfortune.

\textsuperscript{30}Crook ('Account': 271, 280) noted that the Euphrates had been damaged in a hurricane off the coast of California, and that it was initially thought that she was too damaged to continue whaling, but after nearly a month at Nukuhiva it was decided to do so.
We made the Island of St.\textsuperscript{1} Cristiana\textsuperscript{1} and came to anchor into a small bay. At this place Capt Cook stopt in his way to the Sandwich Isles. He named this bay after the name of the ship

\textsuperscript{1} Santa Christina was the name given to Tahuata by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1595. He anchored at Vaitahu and called the bay Madre de Dios. Captain James Cook renamed it Resolution Bay in 1774. Before the arrival of the \textit{Butterworth} and the \textit{Euphrates} in December 1798, the following had all visited or touched at Vaitahu: Joseph Ingraham in the \textit{Hope} and Etienne Marchand in the \textit{Solide} in 1791; Josiah Roberts in the \textit{Jefferson} in November 1792; William Brown in the \textit{Butterworth}, \textit{Jackal} and \textit{Prince Lee Boo} in June 1792, and possibly Captain Sharpe in 1793; the mission ship \textit{Duff} in 1797; Asa Dodge in the \textit{Alexander} in February 1798; Captain Edmund Fanning in the \textit{Betsy}, May 1798; and a Captain Green, a sealskin trader, in June 1798. They had all left their marks in different ways on the island. Tahuata is a leaf-shaped island, nine miles long and in parts four miles wide, lying across the trade winds. It is the remaining north-west segment of a volcanic crater. The rim of this crater, over a thousand foot high at its lowest point, forms a curving ridge that divides the island east and west and rises in the centre of the island above 3,000 feet. The east and west sides of the island are ribbed with valleys divided from one another by abrupt ridges. The slopes on the east side tend to drop abruptly into a few wide valleys, those on the west side more gradually into a number of narrow valleys. Limited communications between eastern and western valleys and between individual valleys on each side of the central ridge formed the single most important environmental determinant of Marquesan social and political life. Physical division was reflected in social hostility between valleys. These hostilities in their turn dominated their economic and political life. There are several legends collected at Tahuata in the nineteenth century which purport to give the origin and history of hostilities on the island. The only light we have on this history comes from Crook's account of the different valleys at the time of Robarts's arrival.
he then commanded, the *Resolution*. Here we found a native of Owyee. He had been to Boston In America From Owyee in one of the ships from Masafuira going to China with seal skins, and had stopt at Boston some months. But on his return to Owyee, the ship touching at S' Cristiana for refreshments, his being to courteously treated by the Chief of this place and attracted with the beauty of the Ladies of the Isle, [he] had

Robarts's experiences of Tahuata were confined to four valleys: Vaitahu and Hapatoni on the west and Hanateio and Hanatenatena on the east. This combination is a little curious. Some ten years or more before his arrival two groups or tribes, the Hemma who occupied Vaitahu valley and the valleys to the north, and the Ahhoutinne who occupied Hanatenatena, formed an alliance against the Tuppohe who occupied all the southern and eastern valleys. The Tuppohe were wiped out and the Ahhoutinne occupied their valleys except for Anapoo, immediately south of Vaitahu. When Robarts arrived, the Hemma, under Teinae, the chief of Vaitahu, held Anapoo, Vaitahu and Ivaiva. The Ahhoutinne, under their chief Duteitei, held Haaiopu, Hanatenatena, Hanateio, Hapatoni and Hanatefau. They had raided Anapoo several times immediately before Robarts's arrival, and had once held it and returned it to the Hemma for ransom.

What is not easy to understand is that Robarts, who deserts in a Hemma valley, Vaitahu, is allowed by the Hemma chief to go to Hapatoni, an Ahhoutinne valley. The answer might lie in the uneasy peace that existed at that time. Robarts never gives us the name of the chief at Hapatoni and we have no way of knowing who he was. The answer is most likely to be found in some sort of relationship, political or social, between Teinae, a chief of Vaitahu, and the chief of Hapatoni. The only clue that we have is that Teinae's niece by his sister was married in Hapatoni to a young man whose brother, maybe a twin, was Teinae's adopted son. Robarts was probably passed around a whole network of Teinae's relations. For those more interested in anthropology, that network is discussed in Appendix I.

2 Published descriptions of Vaitahu are to be found in Cook, 1961: 373-4; Forster, 1777, II: 17-19; Fleurieu, 1801, I: 31 ff. Crook ('Account', 127 ff.) described it at the time of Robarts's arrival:

The North Head Land of the Bay is formed by a Cliff, not very lofty, nor steep, and becoming lower to the North Eastern part of the Bay, where it terminates in a stoney shore, and the head of the bay commences with a sandy beach, turning to the Southward, in length about ¼ Mile. This beach is divided near its northern end, by a rivulet which is never dry, and which descends in a winding course from the more Southern Valley of Witahhu [Vaitahu], and runs through a pretty level ground, adjoining the beach. After violent rains, this Stream overflows, and the rapidity of its current bears away every thing within its course. On the beach, between high and low water mark, several trees remain fixed, which were brought down thither by a flood, within the memory of the present inhabitants. The path up the Valley, which in many places is very steep and rugged, runs mostly along the side of this stream, and, after rains, is difficult and dangerous. Five men are said to have been drowned, in the flood just spoken of. The Vallies run up into the body of the Ridge, toward the Centre of the Island, for 1½ or 2 Miles, but the
forgot his own native country. Of course he was left by consent. He came on board our ship and speaking a little broken English was our interpreter. He was useful to both ships in procuring refreshments, wood, water, etc.4

As it was morning when we came to anchor, everything was snug before the evening. Our decks were crowded with natives the whole day. They behaved tolerably well, except some few articles stuck to their fingers, but is no more then we might expect. About 4 PM, our decks was cleared of the natives. Those that had no canoes swam on shore.5

windings, and the steepness of the path, have led Mr. Forster, and some others, to suppose the distance from the shore to the central Ridge, to be much greater than it is. The highest part of the Ridge, is directly above the Vally of Witahu, and the Way of access to it is along the side of that branch of the Mountain which forms their southern boundary ... the easiest way of passing from Witahu to Anateiteina [Hanatenatena], is either to cross all the lower ridges between the former and Uppatone [Hapatoni], or ascending one of these to continue along the side of the Central Ridge to the head of that Valley, and then, crossing the end of the main Ridge, to proceed northward again, along its eastern side.

3 Masafuero. One of the Juan Fernandez Islands, about 500 miles off the coast of Chile, between 33° 30' and 33° 50' S and 79° and 81° W (Great Britain, Foreign Office, 1920: 35).

4 The Alexander, Captain Asa Dodge, of Boston, had dropped the Hawaiian ‘Tama’, or Sam, or Tom as Robarts called him, at Tahuata in February 1798. He came equipped with a ‘suit of regimentals, a chest of cloth, a musket and some ammunition’. Tama’s ability to throw stones and spears better and further than the Marquesans impressed the latter far more than Crook’s devotion to the Bible. Tama was adopted by Teinae and made toa or chief warrior. By the time Robarts had arrived in December, Tama had already had considerable impact on the tribal politics of Tahuata and Hiva Oa. Between February and May 1798 he had temporarily stopped hostilities on Tahuata itself and had twice at least led a combined force of some eight or nine hundred warriors in canoes to attack the Naiki on Hiva Oa. In the first expedition he enjoyed considerable military advantage over the Naiki with his musket, but was wounded by a stone in the second. Both Crook and Robarts spoke with affection of Tama. Crook was a little envious of Tama’s success at entertaining the Marquesans with stories of Hawaiian customs. But Crook was working at a disadvantage. The Polynesians were always more interested in other Polynesian islands and their customs than in anything the Europeans had to offer. Tama easily persuaded the Marquesans that the English had no gods at all. He had been to America and seen for himself (Crook, ‘Account’: 168, 198–9).

5 Every ship that visited the Marquesas was troubled by stealing until the chiefs realised that one mode of centralising the flow of European goods through their own hands was to put all ships under tapu. Cook was plagued with pilfering and a man was shot by accident in Vaitahu because of it (Cook, 1961: 365–6). The French suffered all sorts of indignities trying to avoid the same accident when they visited the bay in 1791 (Fleurieu,
Map of Tahuata redrawn from a manuscript sketch map by G. LeBrennec.
In the evening, before sun down, numbers was seen swimming from the shore. As they came near we was very agreeably surprized to find they was a party of Ladies come to pay us a visit and see the accommodations of the ship. As we could not place seats for them on the water, we hauld one of our boats to the ships side. They got in to rest themselves. They were dressd in pettycoats made of leaves of a tree, so that when they got out of the water they made no bad appearance, and soon [they] found their way on deck. They seated themselves very orderly and sung many of their songs. In fact they passd the evenё very merry and in the course of the night some retired one way and some another. In the mornё they took to the water and swan on shore.

In the fore part of the day we had some fine hogs brought on board. The bread fruit was not ripe; we got but few. Everything passd apparently in a state of real happiness. Every one was eager to perform his duty in refitting ship. Each was

1801, I: 33–5). They even lost nails out of the ship's wood, as well as hats, handkerchiefs, and muskets. The Duff lost the card and needle from a compass (Wilson, 1799: 133). In these early visits order was restored by firing a musket or a cannon, and the numbers of islanders swarming over the visiting ships were no real threat. After 1805 European goods in the form of muskets and boats seemed more attractive and the Marquesans became aware of their own strength. It became dangerous to allow numbers on board, as we shall see.

This form of dress of leaves—bark cloth would not survive the swimming —occasioned one of the more famous incidents in European-Polynesian contact in this very bay. Some young women 'possessing such symmetry of features . . . that as modes for the statuary and painter their equals can seldom be found', swam round the mission ship Duff for three hours until they were finally allowed on board. The goats on the decks of the Duff were more forward than the crew of the ship, that some London wharfie wag had dubbed 'The Ten Commandments', and being no doubt hungry for a little fresh greenery, deprived the ladies of what little cover they had, by eating it (Wilson, 1799: 129–30).

The sexual liberty, as well as the beauty of the Marquesan women, amazed the early visitors. They were all a little startled that husbands could offer wives, and brothers their sisters with apparent abandon. Even a sailor's broad experience of human nature found no precedent for the freely offered favours. 'We were not a little surprised to see girls, who seemed not more than eight or nine years old, very free in their approaches to us, and appearing no less desirous of making a market of their charms than their older companions' (Langsdorff, 1813–14: 94). See also Fleurieu, 1801, I: 108–11; Porter, 1822, II: 24–5, 29–30; Krusenstern, 1813: 115–16; Lisiansky, 1814: 67. The young women belonged to the Ka'ioi, an adolescent group which was allowed considerable sexual freedom.

In the Marquesas, the main breadfruit crop ripens in January.
pressing to shorten the time for our departure as we had made but a poor progress in the course of our voyage. Our ship carried 1200 Barrels of oil. We had been from London about 13 months and only got 100 Barrels of sperm oil, which made us desireus of pushing on our voyage.

In the course of our stay at this place our Chief Officer began his former manner of behaviour towards the ships crew. The minds of the men was so agitated they consulted among themselves what to do. Some was for going on shore—others for a more desperate act. At length they formd a plan to take no notice of anything till the ship was at sea. Every thing was Keep secret.

I one evens was siting alone on the forecastle as was my usual custom, passing away my time with the pleasing hopes that in a few days to be once more makeing my way towards the white cliffts of Briton, there to renew my tender tale to my favourite fair. But alas, how was my pleasing thoughts frustrated, when one of the crew came to me. He askd me if I could Keep a secret. I was greatly surprizd at this question [and] could not make any reply. He said it was of no use for me to make any objection, as all the foremast men had consented to take the Ship when at sea and make the best of their way to some Spanish port on the coast of Peru. The Idea of so dark a deed filld me with the most heartfelt grief. I here at once saw the danger I was surrounded with. I could never consent to have anything to do with so atrocious crime. He bound me over never to devulge the affair to any one during my stay with them.8

I became very unhappy. My appetite faild me. I was once on shore on liberty. I viewd every thing with a prying eye, but evry thing seemd to give but poor encouragement, tho the natives was remarkable Kind. However I returnd on board in the evens and endeavord to compose my mind. I at times conversed with the Interpreter concerning the treatment among the natives towards him. He gave me a distant flattering idea of them.

8When the Euphrates reached Nukuhiva after leaving Robarts at Tahuata, all the able seamen went on shore and refused to come back on board. According to Crook, they alleged that they had been ill treated and that the Euphrates was a dangerous ship in which to return to England. Captain Glasspoole kept some islanders as hostages on board ship. There was some danger that all the sailors ashore would be killed, but with the mediation of Crook and with an exchange of goods, they were returned to the Euphrates (Crook, 'Account': 272–4).
Every thing was compleated on board; the two ships was ready for sea; We expected our stay would be short. Xmas day was come. We had plenty of roast and boil'd pork; Our Capt gave plenty of liquor for all hands to make merry. For my part my heart was too full to partake of mirth. I did not go to dinner. The Capt came to me when dinner was on table. I told him I was unwell and begd to be excused.

In the course of the afternoon I told the Interpreter, whose name was Tom, that I wised to go on shore to live. He seemd very happy and told one of the chiefs then on board of my intention. He came to me and clasp'd [me] in his arms with so much unaffected joy and made me understand I was wellcome to his house and should have his protection. But ah, how was my mind torturd! The thoughts of my native country, my friends and all that was dear to me, each was present to my view, but I found no other recourse but to quit the ship.

I, with the help of my friend Tom, made the chief understand how I wished to carry on my Design. He accordingly obeyd my instructions, which was to come off from the shore just after the Evn^e gun was fired at 5 PM, Dec^e 25, 1798. The chief left me about 4 PM and paddled on shore. I was very unhappy, not yet firmly determined. Sometimes I thought to take my chance. Othertimes I shuddered to think of the horrid crime of Piracy. At all events I foresaw the remainder part of the voyage was a raged road and nothing to be expected that might tend to a peace of mind. I was doubtfull of the ships crews conduct lest they should committ some hot brained act that might bring them to an untimely end.

The evening drew near. Every one was below makeing merry. Capt. Fraser spent this day on board our Ship, also some of his men. The song and grog was moveing round cheirly. It was dark. I packed up a few Cloaths, not wishing to take much on deck for fear of discovery. The steward came on the forecastle, askd me what I was doing. I answerd I was makeing up my bed to sleep on deck, the weather being hot. He suspected my design, beg'd I would take him on shore with me, said he was weary of his brother in law the Chief Officer continually treat-ing [him] in an unkind manner. He said he required no favour from him only common humanity. But I could not consent to take him with me on account of his sister, for she was on board some time with her husband before we left England, and I observd she [was] very tender over her brother. She was a fine
woman and something so Kind in manner that gaind the love and esteem of those who became acquainted with her. I frequently had the pleashure of conversing with her. She was very fond of reading. I sometimes would amuse her with a few pages of some good novels I had. Whatever became of myself, I would not lead another into my misfortune.

I baffled him some time. At lenght the gun fired. Every one was below but Tom. He I had stationd in the fore stay sail nett to watch when the canoe came for me. As I had refused all day to drink any grog, I said to him if he was determined to leave the ship to go below and get some cloaths and bring up some grog for him and me to drink. Away he goes. The canoe was under the ships bow. I slipped down the cable in a Moment and my friend Tom handed my cloaths down to me.

Away we pulld towards the shore. The land being high, no one could see the canoe from the ship. The night was very dark. We arrived on the beach. The chief got out on shore. We Kept the canoe afloat. His friend the chief of this bay came and made me to understand if I stopt here some of the natives would see me and that would lead to a discovery. My new friend lived in another bay some distance from this place. We paddled along shore under cover of the shade of the land till we was out of the bay. I lookd at the ships as I left the Bay, biding them a silent adieu. On going round a point of land that oepned to the wind and sea our canoe upset. My friend and his two men jumpt out. I Kept fast my few cloaths. They soon bailed the water out and got into the canoe again. It began to rain heavy and the wind blew very hard. We haveing the wind in our faces, what with the rain and the spra of the sea, we could not see our way.

However about midnight we arrivd at my friends house, which was on the beach. As soon as he was landed he hol­lowed for some time. This was giveing notice a stranger was come. It was still raining very hard. He led me to his house and

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6 Robarts's vagueness makes it very difficult to make identifications. The presumption is that the 'chief of this bay', i.e. Vaitahu, was Teinae and his 'new friend' the chief of Hapatoni, possibly Tehauitafettere (Crook, 'Account': 140–4).

10 Hapatoni, called Abberdony by Robarts, is a shallow, crescent-shaped bay about two miles south of Vaitahu, ending abruptly in the slopes which rise to Paoho Ridge behind the bay. See Adamson (1936: 48–50) for the most comprehensive geographical description of the island. The only recorded visit of a European to this bay before Robarts and Crook was
introduced me to his royal consort who receivd me with every mark of friendship. I was greatly surprizd at the figure of this lady. I did not expect to have found so handsome a woman in this remote part of the globe. Her skin was white and delicate, her countenance open and mild, commanding respect, her brows finely archd. Her tresses flowd in natural ringlets on her shoulders, which gave her an agreeable appearance. Here was beauty in its native charms, no help from paint, french chalk, or poisonous washes, which is used in Some parts of globe much to the hurt of them that make use of this destroyer of beauty. It being late, nothing could be got that I could eat except some cocoa nuts. They brought me this. I eat with a good appetite and content of mind, a thing I had not enjoyd for some time before.

By this time, as is customary in that country night or day when a stranger comes to a King or chiefs house, the other natives comes to pay their respects. They are remarkable fond of strangers, several came round me to feel whether I was flesh and bone as they was. My cloaths being Wett they brought me a large cloth that I might pull of my cloaths. My new neighbours began to disperse except some few.

I must here beg leave of my fair reader to permit me to relate such matters of fact as are within bounds. My friend took me by the hand and led me to the side of his consort who was sitting on a fine matt. I was a little surpriz'd at this part of the ceremony when he told me I must sleep on the same matt with her. I must confess the ladys artillery was powerfull enough for any man to surrender, but I could not accept of this unrivaled peice of friendship. I ashurd him by sighns that I was perfectly satisfied of his sincere friendship towards me and begd leave to retire at a becomeing distance from his consort, which was granted. I told him it was against the laws of my country to sleep with other mens wives. He then insisted I should have a companion that was not married. He calld a female by name, that of Marchand, 19 June 1791 (Fleurieu, 1801, I: 46). Robarts's uncluttered description does not indicate that the chief's house was a cluster of buildings: a sleeping house (fa' e) set on a paved stone platform, the rear beyond a long boundary forming the bed space; a cooking house and storehouse (fa' e tumatu); a sacred house for tapu men (fata'a), where women were never allowed; a sacred place or shrine where the important events of the chief's life took place (taha tupapa' u); and a collection of dwellings for attendants and warriors—all set near a paved dancing area (Gracia, 1843: 122 ff.; Handy, 1923: 43, 62–7).
a relation of his, a very handsome young lady. She was ex-
tremely fair. She might be 17 or 18 years of age. To oblige my
friend I submitted. She covered me with her mantle and drew
the one I had from under. It being now very early in the morn-
g, I suppose about 2 O’Clock, our light was put out. We com-
posed ourselves to sleep. For my part I was asleep in a few
minutes.11

At sun rise great numbers of our neibours came. The place
was crowded. Their numbers became troublesome for a stranger
in my situation. I retired along the rocks to bathe. Finding
several large basons formed by nature in the rocks and supplyd
with water by the sea dashing against them, in one of these
basons I bathed secure from the shark.

After spending some time in reflection I returnd, and set
myself down on a bank at the back of the house in a grove of
cocoa nut trees, viewing the handy works of nature around me.
I heard a sudden outcry among the inhabitants. I could not
think what was the matter. I look’d towards the part I came
from the night before. I saw the two ships coming out of the
harbour, standing for sea. There being but light winds all day,
the ships was in sight till sun down. I view’d them with a heart
full of grief, often uttering a prayer for their safety and pros-
perity. I had the satisfaction to hear some years after that they
got safe to London.

Being now left alone I composed my mind and endeavour to
be cheerfull. Two or three days after, Tom paid me a visit. I
enquired of him how he left matters on board the ship. He
inform’d me I had not long left the ship before I was missing.
They on board thinking that I was drownded, Tom said he did
not undeceive them. He stopt here some days and then returnd
to Wiactohoo.12

11 ‘Every woman having one male bedfellow, if not more, their common
covering is the large cloth in which the woman is clothed, when she is up.
In consequence of this custom, if a man comes into a house, in the daytime
to lie down, which is not unusual, and finds a Woman lying down in the
house, he makes no scruple, whoever she may be, to shelter himself under
the cloth she has covered herself with. It is not supposed that this famili-
arity is often made a pretence for lewdness’ (Crook, ‘Account’: 10).

12 The Butterworth and the Euphrates continued to Nukuhiva. They took
with them two young men from Vaitahu. Temoteitei, a boy of fifteen or
sixteen years, the youngest son of Pahouhonu, Teinae’s paternal uncle,
was on the Butterworth. Another, Onoete, was aboard the Euphrates, but
asked to be let off at Nukuhiva and was replaced by one Hekonaeeke. The

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I accompanyd him on my first visit to the chief of that place who receivd me in a very friendly manner. The inhabitants all seemd to try to outdo each other in Kindness to me. My not being able to form any idea of their language, and their numbers so pressing round me made their company a burden, every one asking a number of questions. I could only answer with a smile or a nod. At times I was obligated to secret myself till they was gone, which sometimes would be sun sett. I would then return to the house. My friend and his consort very kindly receives me—more like a parent, a brother or some near Kinsman then an entire stranger, and that [from] an uncivilized race of people quite different from enlightened nations! These poor benighted people shews that hospitality not to be meet with among a number of people who call themselves christians. I speak as I have found, and deem it the duty of every one to greatfully acknowledge the worth of the friendly hut that screens him from want and misery; for this ceartenly was my situation, a stranger in a strange country, among a race of people I could not converse with. At times my heart was over­whelm'd with gratitude. I grievd I could not express my senti­ments, only by dumb shew.

I passd away my time exploring the neighbourhood round me. Every thing I saw was something new. My friend Tom being gone over to another Island on a visit, [I] am left alone [with] no one to converse with but my neighbours, who at present I cannot understand.

My friend and his family goes every day to the sea side, leaveing me in care of the house. By this means I am left
nearly the whole day alone, which gives me an opportunity of peeping and prying about me. One day, in the absence of the family, I got privately into the ancient Kings Moria. This place is held sacred; no females are allowed to enter, or any of the low class of men. Here I found my friend's father in a coffin made very neat out [of] one solid trunk of a tree and covered with cloth and worked over all with a plaited line made with the husk of old cocoa nuts. All is completed in a neat and curious manner. In this manner they keep their dead above ground. Except a leper they always bury. In time of war they hide their dead to prevent the enemy from abusing the bones of their friends.

When a person dies they make a feast the same day, and if they have got any hogs they kill some for the feast. The body is washed and laid in state. If a warrior, he is dressed in his war dress, and his implements of war are laid by him. One person of respect is chosen to invite those friends they choose to point out. Numbers of women always come to weep over the deceased. Their tears are always very handy. I have seen women weep with so much apparent sorrow that I thought their hearts would break, and in the same breath would get up, wipe her eyes and go sing in another part of the house, or tell those around her what a fine school of fish had been caught that day. This sudden change I could not let pass unnoticed to see the difference between real and false sorrow. The Prophets followers always come to sing their ceremonies [in] a dialect

13 Almost all the early visitors had an inordinate interest in Polynesian funeral matters, and coffin, sepultures and burial customs have been often described—Krusenstern, 1813: 172-3; Lisiansky, 1814: 81; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 154-5; Porter, 1822, II: 126-7; Stewart, 1833: 185; Bennett, 1840, I: 328; Handy, 1923: 105-22. The 'King Moria' Robarts refers to is a me'ae or sacred place used for burials and for performances of ritual in times of festivals. The basic element was a stonewalled platform on which were set, according to the different purposes of the me'ae, houses for the bodies of chiefs and priests, for human sacrifices, temporary shrines, images (Linton, 1925: 31-40). The corpse which Robarts saw belonged to Teinae's father, Honou, whom Cook had seen in April 1774 and whom Hodges had drawn (Cook, 1961: 367, 375; Forster, 1777, II: 19). Crook had initially lived in a house adjoining Honou's me'ae (Crook, 'Account': 138). A fuller description of it is given in Wilson, 1799: 134.

14 Langsdorff (1813-14: 155), presumably through Robarts's or Cabri's information, adds: 'It is a great object among the enemies from the neighbouring valleys to endeavour to steal away a corpse, and they conceive that they have performed a most heroic deed if this be accomplished'.

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peculiar to them selves, [which] they Keep [up] till the feast is ready. It is servd up to the guests upon the family allter. The great men and strangers of rank are allways invited. My being named after the chief [I] was treated in fact with more respect then himself; For when he came, he might sit where he could, but for me they would make a seat. This Kindness was never forgotten by me; for if I smiled or seemd pleasd, they thought themselves amply rewarded. People of rank make several feasts in memory of their deceased friends. They allways send some of the feast to the prophets Moria where there is some of the Pagan fraternity to eat what is sent. There is a rough image fixt in the ground at the moria. On the head of this log of wood is put a small part of every thing sent. This no one eats, being held sacred. The funeral feast of a prophet is only eat by those belonging to the moria and the surviveing prophets.15

15 Memorial feasts (mau tupapa’u) were a distinctive feature of Marquesan ceremonial life, beginning with the ko’ika vai-mata which Robarts describes. The women in mourning were called mata hika-hika. The person whom Robarts always refers to as the ‘Prophet’ was the tau’a or inspirational priest who looked after the remains of the dead, presided at all ceremonies and was the mouthpiece of the gods. His assistants were the tuhuna o’ ono, the ceremonial chanters, and the moa, assistants who looked after sacrifices. Crook has this description of funerals (‘Account’: 40–3):

A kind of Bier is made of Warlike Weapons, tied across each other, and is usually set up in a small house, adjoining to the habitation of the deceased person. The Corpse, neatly dressed, is laid out upon the bier; and continues some days, till it becomes very offensive. It is watched, and lights are burned by night; the priests attending, and chaunting mournful ditties. The principal business on funeral occasions is to prepare a feast. While the provisions are baking, a principal man, dressed with Cloth, Ornaments and a very large hame, sometimes kept for the purpose, goes to invite the priests and superior orders. Thus decorated, and furnished with a fan, he goes around to their houses, calling out, to kai, or (this is) your invitation. The Persons summoned, collect in a tabbu house; and the Women, finely adorned, assemble without side the house, as spectators. The Priests, at the front of the house, set about making a sort of small shrine of white rods of puroio, and Cocoa Nut leaves curiously twisted, with bits of white Cloth. They are in various forms; some in imitation of their houses. Little Urns, made of Cocoa nut leaves, are placed at the sides of the Shrines; and provisions are put within the Shrines, in cocoa nut shells; which the departed spirit is expected to partake of. His scent is also supposed to be regailed by cocoa nut oil, into which hot stones are put for the purpose. The priests continue, in the meantime, chaunting, and till they conclude their songs, no person must meddle with the provisions, nor even light a fire within their sight. All continue fasting, till the hogs are baked; which is seldom finished before the afternoon. The Women are
As soon as a prophet is dead a flying party sets out in quest of an offering to the departed prophet. They go down into the enemies valley in the night time and lay in ambush till some unfortunate victim passes by. They rush on their prize. Away they shoulder it—sometimes before the neighbours are alarmed—till they have got clear off. Then they stop on the ridge of the mountain at some clear spot to be seen by those in the Valley. They then display to their view the unhappy victim [who] is tied to a pole and carried by two men. At the same time they set up the war whoop three times and then make the best of their way. The body is carried to the prophets moria, and sometimes it is sacrificed or hung on a tree for that purpose. The Valley is tabooued, [that is] to say an embargo that no fire shall be made for seven days or any females to be seen out of their houses. And if any strange canoes should land during the deceased prophets funeral ceremony, as soon as [they are] actually landed, and the canoe is hauld up, the canoe with its contents, men and all, is taken and carried on mens shoulders to the Moria as an offering to their deity. Now sometimes the stranger perceives his danger before it is too late [and] he escapes clear.

also usually restrained, on these occasions, from anointing themselves. When the hog is, at length, brought from the Oven, commonly half done; the Master of the family cuts up the flesh with a bamboo cane and separates the bone with a sharp stone. The head is always the Portion of the Priest; and often some other part; which he usually prefers, and therefore lays aside the head for another meal. The joints are distributed to the principal persons; who invite others to partake with them. Vegetables and pudding, served in leaves, accompany the pork. When enough has been eaten, each person sets aside what he has left, against another meal in the same place. They sit and talk there, or go away and return, till the whole provisions are expended; which sometimes requires more than one day. The Meat is often returned to the oven, sometimes even a third time, and is the better for the additional dressing.

10 Crook ('Account': 154-6) describes the events following the death of a tau'a at Vaitahu. See also Gracia, 1843: 117-18; Delmas, 1927: 76-83; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 149-150. Captives were called tinaka and were killed or tortured to a ceremonial chant and hung on a tree with parts of their bodies distributed to the gods and to the chief. The enemy were called ika (fish) and the search for victims was known as to ika (fishing) and there is a close relationship between fishing and all aspects of these ceremonial sacrifices. Trophies of skulls, fingers and pudenda were worn in battle.

17 These aspects of Marquesan culture were described in detail by early visitors: Krusenstern, 1813: 170; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 149-50; Porter, 1822, II: 48, 114-15; Thomson, 'The Marquesas': cxxi-cxxvii; Crook, 'Account': 46, 252.
The funeral rites from first to last is two or three months. After this a general feast or fair is proclaimed. They build houses on a spot of ground which forms a good street. These houses is to receive strangers during the feast. The houses is very neatly built and ornamented [and] close to each other.18 And at each end of the playground the young ladies learn to dance during the preparations, which is generally six months or more. They are kept in houses darkend from the rays of the sun. Every day they make a dark green paint from leaves of a tree and rub themselves all over from head to foot. This is done to whiten the skin of those tanned with the sun. It has a good effect. It makes the skin clear and fair. They are fed up to gather flesh, so as to look well. Great preparations are making at every house that can produce a well shaped handsome young lady to dance. The mother and her assistants are employed making fine cloth for the family.19

I must beg leave to describe the dancing dress of the Ladies, something reversed to polish'd nations. The head dress is a turban very neatly made, nearly in the shape of a trooper or light horse mans cap. In the front is placed an ornament of black feathers. Over that is fixed a bunch of grey hair, the beards of old men. This, tho singular to the idea, Has a fine appearance. Their ears is decorated with sperm whales teeth cutt in two and polished. Round the neck is placed a string of porpoise or black fish teeth finely polished. The next is the waist. The lady being accommodated with a fine white cloth for a petty coat, it is gathered into large plaits. It is put on, but does not close before. Over that is placed a broad band which goes 3 or 4 times round the waist. It comes low enough to make a decent appearance. Behind is placed a broad train of two

18 The feast (ko'ina) celebrated all events of Marquesan tribal and family life. Birth, death, betrothal, marriage, harvest, naming of the chief's daughter, tattooing of the chief's son and deification of dead priests were among the occasions for the ko'ina. They took place at the tohua, a large cleared space for dancing, surrounded by stone paepae or platforms on which houses were built and from which spectators according to their dignity would watch. The dances, the songs and the distribution of food were their essential elements—Crook, 'Account': 7-8, 87-91, 253-61; Krusenstern, 1813: 169-70; Gracia, 1843: 69-70.

19 Marquesans valued light coloured skin, especially among women of more important families, and among the young men of the ka'ioi group. They daubed themselves with an extract of the papa vine (Phaseolus amoenis) (Crook, 'Account': 6-7; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 113-14; Stewart, 1833: 162-8).
pieces of fine cloth, composing two large bows on the waist band. Behind their body is naked.20

The grand day is come. The first that makes her appearance is generally a young lady of celebrated beauty. She is ushered on the ground with the beating of drums and the sounding of conch shells and then receives the salute of the war whoopee three times. Thus commences the grand festival of ending the ceremonies of a deceased prophet, King or Chieftain. The general dance leads off. The Ladies dance on a fine mat in front of their houses. The warriors dance on the play ground in great numbers. The houses are filled with strangers who come from all parts of the Island. During the festival, a number of marriages take place. At these times there is great plenty of food provided, such as whole hogs, roasted fish, baked sweet plantains and prepared bread fruit. This feast is free for three days, at which time men of rank sits on the mountains at the passes to prevent any depredations being committed by the common people. By this means every one departs in peace. At these times numbers of the enemy comes. All is welcome and free to come and go.21

Very frequent after these feasts they go to war, through a challenge from the enemy. Their general battles is fought on the ridges of the mountains. The country is so formed by nature that fifty men may keep any of their passes from being taken by the enemy; for, if once their ranks are broke, there is great confusion among them. They retreat. The enemy follows them close and gets into the plantations, destroys all before him, burns the houses, spoils the Bread fruit and cocoa nut trees.

20 The kahu of large sheets of bark cloth was white or scented and stained with a yellow dye from the ena root. The noku or cloth of very great length was also used at festivals (Gracia, 1843: 135; Handy, 1923: 279–82; Krusenstern, 1813: 157–9; Crook, ‘Account’: 17–18).

21 Crook says that at a large ko‘ina as many as 10,000 people would attend:

The largest houses are, however, appropriated to the reception of the crowded Guests, who instead of repairing the fatigues of the day, sometimes keep up private dances, of single men and women, throughout the night; whilst others, in the same place, are telling stories, or sleeping if possible, amidst the confusion.

In a large Tahoeaua, two separate parties are often employed in attending to different songs, which are performed with so much vociferation, accompanied by drums, that the noise has been thought similar to nothing in our country, except, that of a full peal of Bells, within the Walls of the Belfry itself. (Crook, ‘Account’: 87–9).

They have two Kinds of wars. The one is with their avowed enemy, that when he is taken he is hung on a tree on the grand moria as an offering. The other war is through some quarrel with their allies speaking disrespectful of some of the Ladies of Blood Royal, an affront never pardoned. The two parties must meet, and if the party offending ask pardon, it is mostly granted, but if they fight and any one is taken alive they let him go free. If [anyone is] Killd the funeral honours are paid to the deceased.22

22 Crook, 'Account': 91 ff.: Their Wars are either between the inhabitants of neighbouring Islands; in which, sometimes, the whole force of one Island, will be collected, to attack a part of another; or between different independent nations, in the same Island, who maintain constant hostility; or between smaller tribes, who are more commonly in alliance together; or finally, between different families of the same neighbourhood; in which the ruling Chief is liable to be opposed, even by his own Kinsmen. The Causes of War, as among us, are as unlimited as ambition, passion, and superstition, in which they originate. If a warlike Chief thinks, by singly attacking a weaker neighbour, or by combining with another against a stronger one, he can possess his Country, and exterminate the people, it is judged a sufficient occasion. If an unpremeditated squabble arises upon a Visit, and a few persons of one party are killed; it is sufficient to cause a slaughter, commensurate with the power of the Nation, to whom the deceased, however greatly they might be the aggressors, have belonged. The various calls for human Sacrifices, at the demand, or upon the death of a Tawa etc., are regarded as indispensable occasions of attacking an enemy.

Their Wars are conducted either by pitched battles, or by surprise. The former method is seldom attended with much bloodshed; and often concludes without a single death. The design of fighting is made generally known; and the ceremonies, carried on in the tabbo houses, afford sufficient warning. The adverse parties usually know the fixed day, and readily meet their assailants, in a situation of equal advantage to both parties. If they have mistaken the time, or delayed too long, they hurry in a disorderly manner, singly, to the field, as soon as they find that the enemy is occupying it. Their principal concern seems to be, that of appearing on such occasions, in all their ornaments; and whatever tends to make a greater show, or is thought a striking curiosity, is taken to the field, if opportunity admits. They then discharge their slings, from a considerable distance; and do not close, till they see an enemy fall; when they rush in, to kill, or carry him off; in which they are obstinately resisted by the adverse party, and often disappointed of their purpose; in which case, and likewise if they succeed, they again retire to the same distance. They use spears either for throwing, or piercing with the hand. Their weapons, for close encounter, are a long club, formed like a paddle, six or seven feet in length; and one, not above half so long, resembling a large mallet, or wooden battle axe, the head of which is finely carved, or polished.

As they always part at night, and return to their homes, it is often without victory on either side. The battle is seldom renewed in the same form very shortly, but if human sacrifices are required, the more effectual mode of secret incursions, with a larger or smaller force, is next
A family quarrel frequently happens which ends sometimes in a truly lamentable manner. Their prophets pretend to tell them of fine Islands, uninhabited, with all kinds of food in great plenty, that they have nothing to do but make a canoe and go and take possession. Great numbers have gone, led by these uncertain tales. Now suppose some canoes may have reached some yet unknown Isle or two. Another canoe comes in the same track and comes to land. Those that have first got possession will not suffer a second to land on any account whatever. The[y] must pass by in search of another Isle. A canoe cannot live but a few days at sea even in very fine weather. I have seen several canoes that set off on these unhappy discoveries, some of them perhaps may have 30 or 40 souls on board, cramped up, no room to stir for several days. Their limbs get benumbed. Their canoe [being] very leaky, they are wearied of bailing the water out. The canoe gets swamp't and I make no doubt their poor hearts overwhelm'd with grief [and] no land in sight, down they sink. Thus terminates their truly pitiable and untimely fate.23

adopted. These are generally attended with bloodshed. If they can surprise stragglers asleep, they keep them alive, till they are to be sacrificed. If they fall in with a small party, by land, or in a Canoe, they immediately slaughter them; for they know their fate too well, to surrender quietly, to any force.

If persons happen, thus, to be seized by near relations (which is not uncommon) their affinity is their protection; and they are dismissed, safe and sound. When the object is not to conquer the Country, it is also usual to release a person of distinguished rank, that has been seized when asleep. There are also certain occasions, on which prisoners, whether thus taken or wounded and made captive in battle, are judged improper to be killed; and are scalped, and sent back to their friends. It is said that they usually survive this operation at the Marquesas. It is performed likewise on many persons who are sacrificed, but who are not immediately eaten. But in general, where the invasion is made with considerable force upon the territory of an unsuspecting enemy, the slaughter is great, and indiscriminate as to Rank, Age or Sex; and the Trees for food are destroyed, beyond the reparation of 15 or 20 years future growth. The inhabitants, if too weak to resist, and timely alarmed, flee to a neighbouring Valley, inhabited by their friends; and the conqueror sometimes establishes himself in the possession of the Country, sometimes is again driven out.

The organised war was called He toua and the raiding moe oe and utu po.

23 Robarts's account is substantiated by the deserter Wilson's report to Porter (1822, II: 54–5) that some 800 people from Nukuhiva had sailed off in the manner Robarts described. There is no evidence that the Marquesans were in touch with any islands other than their own. Crook ('Account': 30) gives a list of forty-four names of islands he collected
I have frequently been ask’d to go with [these canoes], several families offering me their daughters in marriage to conduct them to their promised land. I have told them with tears what they might expect. Nothing could change them. It has often griev’d me to the heart to see a handsome young lady weeping with her neighbours a few days before her departure. It happens sometimes, when a family thus leaving their country is belov’d by their neighbours, the canoe gets broke to atoms and they [are] led back to their houses. Sometimes this step has the desired effect and sometimes not; for they will hire a small canoe and go over to another Isle and build a canoe for their purpose and come over unexpected in the night time and take on board all that is concearnd. Sometime some repent and swim on shore again.

Haveing spent some weeks at this place I take my leave and return to my friend at Abberdony. I set out one afternoon and overtook one of their prophets. Haveing seen him before, I thought he lived at Abberdony. I kept company with him over climpers and rocks, untill I got to the top of a High promon-tary, to look at almost perpendicular. I was greatly surprized when I found myself quite out of my expectation. Had it been morn2 in lieu of evng, I could have spent the whole day. I had from this place a fine view of the Isle. I could look down into several vallies at once, as the tops of the mountains are not more than 150 feet broad. He was going down to a valley on the other side the Isle.24 He pressd me much to go with him, but I refused. He then shewd me a trackless road to go down to Abberdony, a much worse [road] then the one I had come. I decended by degrees and got about half way down, but could get no further, for the rocks was loose under my feet. Fortunately some of the natives espied me coming down this dismal passage. They came up to me. Otherwise I must [have] endeavourse to have got back and slept on the top of the from the Marquesans. These were presumably known by legend and by accidental voyages. There was frequent enough travel within the Marquesas (ibid.: 192, 202) although some of the early visitors thought them poor navigators (Krusenstern, 1813: 109; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 193–4). Famine, exile, and war created conditions in the Marquesas which made their semi-deliberate drift voyages from a group at the head of the trade winds important in the Polynesian dispersal. See Dening, 1962: 102–53.

24 Robarts was standing on Paoho Ridge, or a little further to the north on Uuao Ridge.
mountain that night. It was sun set when I got down of the rocks. Young and Old came to wellcome my return. I could not suppress a tear of gratitude from starting. How pleasing was everything this friendly class of people did. Every thing was done with such a hearty good wellcome, Kind and free beyond description. I have traveld in several parts of the globe, but I never found in any part such unrivalld hospitality. I have often been lost in thought pitying this poor benighted race of mankind, to observe their intellects so keen and not to enjoy the blessing of the Knowledge of the true god. I have often endeavour to describe to them the creation of the world, the fall of Adam, the death of Abel, the world drownded and Moses breaking the ten commandments, and explain'd to them what caused him to break them. Here I strove to convince them that what they worshiped was nothing but trumpery. Alas, my faint arguments had no weight with them. I told them of the birth of Christ, his persecution and crucifixion and his ascending into heaven. When I told them of the grand tribunal when the trumpet shall sound to call the dead from their graves, some was eager to know if we should know each other on the last day. I said it could be so if god pleas'd. They pass'd of all I could say as a dream. The promised time was not yet come that all who hear the word of god shall believe.25

The time now approaches for a small fair on the East side the Isle. My friend informs me I must go with him. He had confer'd the honor of calling me his namesake. This is the grand

25 Krusenstern (1813: 175), speaking of Robarts at Nukuhiwa, believed that he: 'would effect more good than the missionary Crook, who remained some time upon this island, was able to perform; for the latter had no other idea than that of converting the Nukahiwers to Christianity, without recollecting that it was first necessary to make them men: for this purpose Roberts appears to me more proper, as well on account of the example he afforded, and of his activity, as the esteem which they universally bore him, than either Crook or any other missionary whatever'. Crook registered his own frustration in his journal. They were incapable, he complained, of conceiving anything unlike some object which they had seen. They could only compare a book to a head-dress and letters to tattoos, and when he had explained that it took a month to sail around Britain and that America was much larger, they asked whether Britain was not like Tahuata, and America like Hiva Oa. Some of them agreed to Crook's distinction between soul and body and acknowledged Jesus as a great god, but Teinae remarked to Crook that, as their natures were different, so were their gods. There was no harm in stealing, lying, killing, eating men, adultery—they were never punished for these, but blindness, disease and death came to them for transgressing their own tradition.
point of respect and protection towards a stranger. The morn came. We set out early. We traveled over the Mountains through a wood till we came to a deep valley well inhabited. The trees was loaded with bread fruit and cocoa nuts, Plantains, etc. We decended into the vale and was receivd with the greatest respect by the petty chiefs. Some brought flying fish, others bread fruit and cocoa nuts. We was seated on a large altar. I set admireing to look at these poor creatures working as hard as if they was to receive some great reward. Our repast was bread fruit, roasted and beat into dough, then putt into cocoa nut milk. Our fish was roasted, some was soused in salt water. All was served up in very neat bowls. They might have been made by a turner for neatness. I made a very good meal.

We set out again. Great numbers followd. Food was prepar’d for us at several places. We proceeded to the next valley. We came to the lower pass, which is a place almost unpassable. Only one at a time can go over. It is a high perpendicular flat rock. You have to pass with your face to the wall, with scarce hold for your feet, holding with your fingers by small lumps or Knobs on the face of the rock. If you slip down, you fall into a deep cavern and are dashed to peices. However I got over safe. We decended into the vale and was receivd by a great number of all ranks of people from different parts of the Isle. I was introduced to them in the name of their chieftain. I was treated with uncommon respect and Kindness. We stopt here several days. At this place there is a water fall which falls over the rocks on to the beach. Morn and even, both sex come to wash. At lenght we took our departure. We slept one night on our return. On the second day we arrivd at Aberdony. I was very well pleas’d with my Journey.

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26 Name exchange (e inoa) was the most important Marquesan social institution in the integration of Robarts into Marquesan society. The name was identified with the person and in the formal union of e inoa all rights of property and privilege between persons of equal rank were exchanged. Through e inoa Robarts stood in the same social relationship by marriage and by descent to all persons related to the one with whom he had exchanged names (Crook, ‘Account’: 242–3; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 99; Porter, 1822, II: 28).

27 Probably Hanateio.

28 The best description of all Marquesan material culture is in Linton, 1923. See also Crook, ‘Account’: 80 ff.; Stewart, 1833: 147; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 170–6; Porter, 1822, II: 121.

29 Probably Hanatenatena.
Some time after, two strange canoes arrived on the East side of the Isle by way of Ohea va o ah from New ka heava. My friend sent an invitation for the strangers. Great quantity of food was prepared. In two or three days our guest arrived. This person was nothing less than a great Chief and prophet, an old friend and name sake of my friend who introduced me to the stranger in his name. Here was something noble in this interview. My friend took us to an altar by the sea side. My new friend put a branch of a cocoa nut tree between him and me, a memorial of lasting friendship, pointing at the same time to that part of the horizon were his country lay, assureing me I should find the same kindness if ever I came there. A fine hog was killed and baked and plenty of fish with every thing suitable.

Our friends stoped here 18 or 20 days, during which time they refitted their canoes, which in general are small. Of those that they use to run from one Isle to the other the best of them is not more than three foot wide and about 30 feet long. Two of these canoes are made fast together with outriggers or poles to keep the canoes at a distance of 6 or 7 feet from each other. They have a large sail with the broad end uppermost. Thus equiped, they will run from one Isle to the other. 12 or 14 men, besides hogs, cloth, food, etc. goes in one of these double canoes. If they swamp, all hands jump into the sea, and, if fine weather, they will free the canoe in a short time. But if there is any swell of the sea, it is all over with them, except they are only a few miles from the land. Then they will swim to the shore and get another canoe to bring the swampt one into port, but this is seldom the case. They mostly get swampt half passage over, and all hands perish. Canoes have been picked up, and it has been some years before the Isle or the family the canoe belongd to is found out.

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30 This was probably me'ae Anapara, described by Linton (1925: 180) as being by the seaside, a small paepae now much broken up.
31 The coconut leaf was a formal sign of peace and was called kopiti kowa'ehi. There are many descriptions of formal welcomes and peace making with Europeans (Fanning, 1924: 125–7; Fleurieu, 1801, I: 32; Porter, 1822, II: 8–11; Crook, 'Account': 241–2; Vancouver, 1801, III: 147–51.
32 The canoes of the Marquesans were unanimously judged to be of poor quality. They are described in Fleurieu, 1801, I: 117–18; Krusenstern, 1813: 163–4; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 173; Stewart, 1833: 152–4; Porter, 1822, II: 12–13.
Our New ka heava friends having departed, I take my leave and pay a visit to my friends at Resolution Bay (Wiae to hoo), who receivd me very Kindly. After having been here several days, I was alarmed one morn at day break by the natives shouting and making a great noise, but I soon found it was Tom return'd from the other Isle. He had seen a ship in the offing the even before. As the distance is only from where he came being 6 or 8 miles across to where I was, he got a passage easy. I observ'd he was in a great hurry. My friend set out with him for the beach. My friend inform'd me there was a ship in sight.

My having a swelld face and a gathering in my gums, I declind going with them. However in a few hours they return'd in company with Capt Gardner of the ship London. He did not know me, but I knew him. He asked me a number of trifling questions, among the rest what ship I had left. I inform'd him. He then said I was wellcome to go on board his ship. I thanked him. I made one visit on board. My not having much acquaintance with any one on board, I did not wish to intrude on strangers; for if I dined with them it would pinch their allowance. I had plenty on shore, and being among them renew'd my grief. I chose retirement. They stopt here but a few days. They took their departure, but put back in 3 or 4 days, having sprung one of their masts.

I paid them a visit with a present of bread fruit and cocoa nuts. I also sent them some hogs on purchase. Capt Gardner inform'd me of their damage. I return'd to Abberdony in the ship's boat to procure a piece of timber to fish their mast, as I knew my friend had a piece of good seasoned timber that would answer the purpose well. I prevail'd on my friend to give the piece of timber as the ship was in distress and could not venture to sea untill the mast was repair'd. Capt G— offer'd something in return for the timber, but I hinted to my friend to refuse it. He did so. I told Capt G— that my friend was very happy that it lay in his power to serve him. He was extremly wellcome to the piece of timber.

One of the crew was very ill with the scurvy. I brought him with me on shore. He had nearly lost the use of his limbs. This

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The London spent from 8 to 28 January at Tahuata and then sailed for Nukuhiva. She returned to Tahuata on 21 February, having caught some whales among the islands, stayed at Vaitahu till 7 March and from there sailed to England (Crook, 'Account': 184–5).
was my first experiment on the scurvy. I buryd him in the ground nearly up to the heart several times and fomented him frequently with roots and plants I had gatherd. [This is] not to say that I had any real knowledge of the virtue of these plants. I had tasted them at times. I found no harm as poison from them. I was persuaded if they did no good they would do no harm. However, thank God, I had the satisfaction in a few days to see my patient walk about. I was amply rewarded to see I had not lost my labor. The mast being repaird, they was ready for sea. I conducted my patient on board. Capt Gardner was Kind enough to offer me anything in reason that I should ask. As the service I had done him was no more than what I thought myself in duty bound to do, I ask'd no favours. However he gave me some trifling artickles of iron and a few pounds of course salt. During their stay a stout boy, a native of france, had hid himself among the natives. He proved to be a very bad person not worth notice. He departed to live on the other side the Isle. I would not suffer him to be in the same house with me.34

Being now a second time left alone I imploy my time by degrees to learn the language among my friends. Tom was returnd to the other Isle. One day in the absence of the family I took a walk to look about me. I observd an old house uninhabited. Out of curiosity I peepd in and espyd a large chest. This enduced me to go into the house. I opeind the chest, it not being fast. Here I found some medicinces, a bible and some other good books, an old pair of black breeches, a Keg which once had been full of nails, with several letters written in a Journal. They was numberd. On peruseing them I found they had been wrote by a person of the name Crook, one of the Missionaries that was sent out the first time the Mission Ship Duff—I shall make a further remark in its proper place on the Duff—came to the south seas. This discovery gave me a great deal of uneasiness. I could not tell what to think. By the date

34 This was Jean Cabri, for whose story see the Introduction. The London also took away a Tahitian, Harraweia, who had left the Duff and been hidden by the Marquesans at Hanatenatena. Crook complained about his bad effect on the island and the false reports he spread about the missionaries. Teinae and Duteitei had prevented Harraweia's departure on the Alexander in February 1798 (Crook, 'Account': 149, 164). Robarts makes no mention of the Tahitian. He may not have been long enough on the island to recognise the difference between the Tahitian and the Marquesans.
of some of his papers he had been absent about eight months. At times I was very unhappy. Sometimes I thought he had died; other times I thought he had been murdered, as I found several things among the natives I supposed to have been part of the contents of the chest. Oft would I weep in some secret place. How much did I regret the loss of the company of this good young man. At least his writings was pious [and] gave me to think he would have been a very prizeable companion in my situation. However I found a very good companion in Mr Crooks bible and the other good books I found in his chest. In course of time I found that he had departed on board an American ship which left him at New ka heava with a dog named Pato, and when I come to that part of my narrative I shall inform my reader of Patos return to America.

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35 If Robarts discovered Crook’s goods after the London’s departure in March 1799, it was at least ten months after Crook’s departure on 21 May 1798. Crook’s house was built on a stone platform called Hetehete’s paepae (Crook, ‘Account’: 162).
My mind was become calm and, my being able to converse with my neighbours, [I] pass away my time more agreeable, sometimes in reading, others in visiting; for my friends was always glad to receive me. I was greatly at a loss for pen and paper.

Having spent some months here, I return to my namesake at aberdoney, who receives me with his former Kindness. He is imployd getting ready a double canoe to go on a visit to the other Isle. He proposed that I should stay to take care of his affairs in his abscence, but I was very desireouse of going to see the other Isle. He consented.¹

¹ Hiva Oa lies only three miles to the north of Tahuata. As at Tahuata, a central ridge divides the island east and west, and valleys separated from one another form the basic environmental factor. At Hiva Oa, however, the central ridge is, in fact, two mountain systems, separated by the valleys of Tahauku and Hanaiaapa and a flat area of country at medium elevation. The western system reaches over 4,000 feet at Temetiu and drops precipitously on the southern and eastern sides to Atuona and Taaoa valleys. The western slopes are less precipitous and extensive areas of plateau are found above Hanamenu and Motutapu valleys. The eastern system of mountains stretches as a ridge along the centre of the island separating valleys on either side, in places with a knife-edged peak, and in other places with small plateaux. Crook believed that Hiva Oa was the most populous of the Marquesas Islands in 1798 and estimated that there were 10,000 fighting men on the island. Our knowledge of Hiva Oa at the time of European contact is quite limited. Until exploration for sandalwood opened it up after 1813, almost all ships visiting the Marquesas stopped
We set out one afternoon. We sai'd round to the East end of Towatta till we came to a snug little stoney beach. Here we landed and made a fire and dressed our food for supper. By this time the sun was set. We launchd off and sai'd towards the SE end of Ohea va oah, and, with the help of our paddles, we gain'd as far as we should go till day light. We pulld in shore and made fast our canoe to the rocks till day Break. Some got on shore, but no sleep [was] to be had. At day light we proceedd on our passage till we came to a point of land we had to go round. The swell of the sea was so great we was nearly being swampt. However we got round safe. With a deal of hard pulling we got into the harbour. The beach was crowded with natives of all ranks and ages. This place is calld Anaoupea.²

As we came near the beach the natives came into the water up to their arm pitts. This rather alarmd me. My friend bid me not to fear, that these people were his particular friends, and so I found them. As soon as the canoe touchd the ground the

either at Tahuata or Nukuhiwa. When the sandalwood was depleted in six or seven years, ships still tended to avoid the island, as the Hiva Oa had a bad reputation for aggressive behaviour. Crook's and Robarts's experiences on Hiva Oa were confined mostly to the western and eastern sections respectively. Crook's knowledge of Hiva Oa was far less extensive than his knowledge of Nukuhiwa and Tahuata: he paid only one short visit to the valley of Taaoa. Robarts began his Marquesan military career at Hiva Oa, but it is not easy to identify the places of his triumphs and failures. Handy (1923: 27–30) outlined from the later oral sources the basic tribal hostilities at Hiva Oa, in which the Pepane, who occupied all the valleys east of Tahauku on the south coast and east of Hanatepua on the north coast, were continuously at war with the Nuku, who occupied the western section of the island. Undoubtedly the battles which Robarts described belonged to this traditional hostility. Crook's experience was totally within the Nuku group and he described the sub-feuds which went on among the Naiki, Pikina and Tiu. It seems that Robarts's relationship with the Ahhoutinne at Hapatoni on Tahuata threw him into the Pepane group of eastern Hiva Oa because these two groups saw themselves in alliance owing to a legendary common descent from Pane, the younger brother of Nuku. Crook's relationship with the Hemma at Vaitahu threw him into the Naiki, Tiu and Pikina groups of the west who all claimed common descent from Nuku. See Lesson (1880–4, 1: 38–139) for a later analysis of tribal distributions.

² Hanaupe. This is a long, deep valley, but it does not fit Robarts's description of three miles long (Le Bronnec, 1922: 61). Only the larger valleys on the south side of Hiva Oa are well supplied with water. Lesson (1880–4, 1: 139) says the Moea were the tribe which occupied Hanaupe. Christian (1910: 205) gives the Kua-i-te-oho as the tribe.
Sketch map of Hivaoa based on a survey by G. Bonno.
natives at one run took our canoe, men and baggage, to a good
distance above high water mark. My being the first white man
that ever landed on this part of the Isle, the natives was very
pressing. My friend inform'd them that I would not come out
of the canoe unless the crowd dispersed. As the ladies of rank
are generally the first at such time as this that comes to wellcome
a stranger on his landing, several did me the honour of their
company. I was seated on the bow of the canoe. They set
down on a grass place, inviting me to land. My friend was
conversing with the Chieftain.

At length the Chiefs wife and daughter came from up the
Valley. The way was cleared for them. She approachd towards
me with her daughter who was a remarkable fine, well shaped,
handsome, young lady about 15 or 16 years of age. Her hair,
long and black, hung in ringlets down her back. Her skin [was]
extremely white and clear, her countenance open and smiling.
[She had] a mild and Kind manner of speaking. I view'd this
paragon with pleasure and pity. I was lost for a moment
contemplating on the different situations of mankind on the
face of the earth. I thought what a wide differance there was
between this young lady and those of my own country in point
of manners and conversation. I was rouzed by the Old Lady
calling to me and inform'd me that I was adopt'd her daughters
name sake. This news was very agreeable to me. The chief
hearing this began to caper about. He gave the signal. The
natives sett up the war whoop; the drums beat; all was joyous.
A white cloth was spread for me to alight on. My fair namesake
approachd to receive me and gave me her hand. So I alighted.
I returned her the compliment, as is the custom of the country,
with a friendly embrace. She and her mother led me to a party
of ladies who placed me and my fair friend in their center. We
being seated, they sung several songs in praise of my name-
sake, beating time with their hands in a very pleasing manner.3

From hence they conducted me to their dwelling house up
the Valley. As to my friends in the canoe, some was gone one

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This does not seem to be the normal e inoa or name exchange. Perhaps
the chief's daughter was his first-born and this would have made the
occasion more than ordinarily important. Yet there are peculiarities. The
exchange was between male and female, which was not normal; the girl
later feeds Robarts, which would be against tapu. Unwittingly, Robarts
may have been making himself the girl's pekio or secondary husband. See
Introduction.
way, some another. We arriv’d at the house. It was situated on one side of the vale on a hill, from which place I had a good view of the interior part of this extensive valley. It is more than three miles from the beach to the upper part. It is well stocked with bread fruit and cocoa nut trees. Water is very scarce at this place. My namesake brought me some food herself. She held the bowl while I eat. This Kindness from so fair a creature made the repast more pleasant. My friends from the canoe was come to the house, and in a short time a fine large Hog roasted was serv’d up, and great quantities of food was brought from the friends of my fair namesake. These Kind, hospitable people thought themselves highly honour’d to have a namesake for their young lady “from the back of the sky” (as they termd it). The hog was cutt up with a peice of bambooe. I asked my fair friend to partake of her generous feast, but to my regret it was against their laws. Altho the hog was given in honour to her, she must not eat of it. We spent several days at this place. Every morn & even my namesake would take me a pleasant walk on the tops of the neighbouring hills, from whence I had a view of the country round, the sea and the adjacent Islands. My fair friend often press’d me to stay, but, the water not being good and the place quite out of the way for ships, I could not consent to stop, altho I pity’d her; for she was so extreamly Kind and generous, her company so pleasing.

At lenght an invitation came from a powerfull chieftain in the N. East side of the Isle for my friends and me. I must confess I took my leave of my fair namesake with reluctance. I gratefully thanked her for the many Kindnesses she had shew’d me, and said I should remember her when perhaps I might be many thousands of miles distant from her. She wept. I bid her adieu with pain. We departed at day dawn and set out over land along ridges of the hills in some places not more than two foot wide, steep on each side. We had about five miles distance to go over the mountains. We arriv’d at the Pass. We decended from hence. I had a view of the finest vale I had yet seen.

4 I.e. atua. The name was given by the Marquesans to Europeans (Porter, 1822, II: 52; Crook, ‘Account’: 30; Coulter, 1845: 204). The name and consequent privileges of deification were applied to other members of Marquesan society (Crook, ‘Account’: 35). Whether Robarts was categorised as an atua in this sense, we do not know.

5 The kohe, or bamboo knife.

6 Pork was tapu to women (Langsdorff, 1813-14: 137; Krusenstern, 1805: 15).
This place is called Boo a mou. It is well stocked with Bread fruit and cocoa nut trees, but marked in several places with the ravages of war, such as cocoa nut trees with their tops cut off. When I got down into the valley, I was greatly delighted. The ground was even and not stony and steep as other places I had visited. We walk’d thro groves of Bread fruit trees and great quantities of plantain trees, till we arrivd at the Chieftains house. He was abscent.

We was all conducted up to a fine large alter. In a short time the chief return’d. I here, for the first time, call’d on a namesake. It was the son of this great man, a fine boy of about nine years of age. Just at this moment a man was brought that was caught stealing some cloth plants belonging to one of his daughters. This had like to have proved fatal. As soon as he heard of the crime, he took a rope and was going to strangel the thief. A mob arose directly and said if he put a man to death on a day of mirth and in the presence of his sons namesake, we should die also. We was about ten in number. His daughter, hearing this, rushed through the crowd and got hold of the man and cover’d him with her robe. The man then was liberated. Momently every thing was composed as if nothing had happend. My poor friends understood our doom if the man had been strangd. I did not know for a long time after. However all was calm; the drums beat; all was mirth, and in a short time a fine hog was roasted and plenty of other food provided. A grand dance commenced that even.

My new relations paid a deal of attention to me, was often pressing me to stay with them, and several offers of marriage.

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7 Puamau, a deep amphitheatre-type valley, with most of its floor below sea level. Visitors to Hiva Oa comment on the spectacular nature of the winding, narrow track between Hanaupe and Puamau (Christian, 1910: 126-30; Le Bronnec, 1922: 61; Adamson, 1936: 46. Pahatai was the name of the tribe in the valley (Lesson, 1880-4, I: 139).

8 Although early visitors, such as Porter (1822, II: 61), believed that there was no dishonesty among the Marquesans with one another, or that there was no punishment of theft except by revenge (Roquefeuil, 1823: 56; Lisiansky, 1814: 80-1). Crook ('Account': 157-8) related how Teinae executed with an axe and ate one of his servants who had stolen some breadfruit. 'Sometimes an arbitrary powerful man will kill an inferior, without pretence' (ibid.: 96). Robarts was probably wearing the hamī or loin cloth, a long strip of bark cloth that was wrapped round the waist and between the legs to form a small apron back and front. Crook had undoubtedly confused the Marquesans by wearing the larger woman’s waist cloth as more modest.
was proposed to me. Altho there was numbers of handsome young ladies of rank, but I saw not one that I preferd to my fair name sake I had left at Anaoupea. Nor had I a wish to stop at any place long; for my mind was bent on makeing a tour through all the Islands. As I was a bachelor, I meand to keep so untill I had finished my tour thrho these Islands.

However somebody had informd my friend that I was Intending to stop at this place. One morns as was my custom to go with him to bathe, he seemd offended. I could not think for what. As I thought it policy to act with one general rule and manner of behavour, [so], if I was offending, I would but seldom let them see it. For if once they find a person of a bad temper, they dispise him. Several days passed. My friend seemd reservd in his manner towards me, but I found a deal of this was artifice, till one day he set down to breakfast without sending for me. As I always eat with him I saw there was something I could not find out. My new relations took notice that I did not go to breakfast as usual. They took this oppertunity of still pressing me to stop. At length I consented; for I plainly saw if I gave way to these Kind of turns it would lessen their esteem for me.

The morns came for their departure. My friend came to me. He askd me if I was ready to depart. I answerd that I had consented to stop for a few months, at the same time returning my ever greatfull thanks to him for all past favours. He askd me how many moons I would stop, promising to come for me. However we parted. Here was a affecting scene. He stood by me weeping. At length he set out to go, but soon returnd. I hid myself. I could not see him again; it would only encreas his sorrow. I wishd him well; he was a good man too. He pursued his journey ore the mounteins. A man met him at the passes. He was resting himself with his eyes fixd on the Vale below still weeping. I would have followd him when I heard this, but was prevented by my new friends. I endeavourd to be cheerfull. They brought me some bandages for my waist and some turban cloth, etc.⁹

Great numbers of inhabitants came to see me, my being the first white man that ever came to that part. In fact some was

⁹ Robarts’s frequent reference to the ‘ turban ‘ is interesting. Temple assistants wore a dark bark cloth turban tied at the back of the head, leaving an end hanging. Krusenstern (1813: 127) said that Robarts reckoned himself one of the priest’s family at Nukuhiva.
afraid to come near me, [and] said I was a ghost. Others said I was from the sky. I endeavoured to undeceive them. Some of the fair sex would come and feel my hands, arms and feet. Others more rude would pinch me to see if I had feeling. However I bore all patiently, and by degrees they was less troublesome. After a short time I began to pay my visits among the people of rank, every one makeing me a present, more or less, of cloth, Turbans, bandages, etc. I was treated with the greatest respect at every house I visited. I was seldom at my new home. In fact I had a general home at every house. I was never at a loss for a roof.

Just at this time one of their prophets had began his prophecy. A day was appointed for a general assembly of all males to attend at their grand moria. The morn came. Every one prepar'd to go before the prophet, each takeing one or two old cocoa nuts as a present to the prophet. I got close to the prophets hutt, and in a short [time] this Pagan deluder came out, attended by two men dressd up in a hidious manner. On their heads was a kind of broad fan made with the black feathers of cocks tails. A cocoa nut branch—wove—hung down their backs. Round their waist was hung the skulls of the poor victims that had been sacraficed to their diety. They all three set down on a stage erected for the purpose. The drum sounded a dolefull sound. One poor creature was hanging close to the prophet who set rocking from side to side like a greenland bear adrift on a peice of ice. His eyes rolld about; he trembled very much. For some time the natives made a clattering noise with cocoa nut shells to rouze him to speak. At lenght he appeard to receive a shock from something invisible and began to speak with a shrill squeaking voice, prophecying many things that never came to pass. Every thing around had a gloom of horror. The different trees, large and shady, aded to the gloomy scene. Their prophet sent them again to fight, wanting more victims to compleat his prophecy.10

Ah, my fair reader, was the polishd race of men to pay as much attention to the numbers of good men that tells us our duty to god as these poor benighted souls do their pagan prophet, we should be happy. But which is the worst of the

10 Gracia, 1843: 46, 117–18; Stewart, 1833: 173–5. The Tau'a become convulsed, look wild, make their fingers quiver violently and run about squeaking, sometimes predicting destruction to their enemies, sometimes demanding human sacrifices (Crook, 'Account': 46).
two, or, in other words, the most to be pitied? The polishd part
of the world have some thousands of teachers, but these have
none. Or, at least, those that did come did not stop long. I do
not wish to dip my pen among thorn, or pretend to explain
the reason any further then [that], I suppose, of course, [in]
the few months that Mr Crook was among them (as, by his own
writings, he could not get hold of the language), his situation
became irksome, haveing no one to converse with.

The day being appointed for them to go to battle, great
quantities of smooth stones was gatherd—in general the size of
an egg. For these stones they dive in the sea to the depth of 25
or 30 feet water. The old men makes spears and slings. In time
of war numbers of men sleep in houses built on their altars,
absint from women. The morn* was come. The drum beat at
the grand Moria and was answerd by the beating of drums And
[the] sounding of conch shells, in lieu of trumpets, from the
different altars. Every one was busy. I got up. The moon shone
bright as day. My attendant took my turban and bandage. The
women always go to see the fight, carrying with them small netts
full of stones. [They attend] at general battles, but not when a
flying party goes, because the flying [party] lays in ambush.11

We set out and was joind from all parts of the valley. We
became a formidable party. Our road was such as I had never
taveled before, over rocks, thro thickets, up and down, till we
came to the top of the mountains. The land here is very high
and unregular, forming a vast number of hollow places and
small narrow vales, which turn and winde in various forms.
[There is] a deal of fertil land laying waste. On the tops of these
mountains their battles are faught. The greatest part of the
land lying waste, [they] confine themselves to the valley. We
advanced towards the enemies quarter. About five miles
distance we were joind by the Inhabitants of several valleys in
alliance with my friend.12

11 The ceremonials of war, weapons and ornamentations have been well
described by early visitors—Krusenstern, 1813: 162, and 1805: 117; Langs-
dorff, 1813–14: 150–1; Porter, 1822, II: 36–7; Gracia, 1843: 54–6; Shillibeer,
1817: 51; Coulter, 1845: 192–200.
12 They were proceeding on the trail along the central ridge and presum-
ably were picking up groups from the flanking valleys. The main groups
would probably have been the Etucho from Hanapaoa and Moea (Crook,
‘Account’: 194) and the Etucho from Motuua, Hanahi, Nahoe, the Haamau
from Hanahoehe and Hanamate, and the Moea from Hekeani and Hanaupe
(Lesson, 1880–4, I: 189).
We proceeded till we came to a place which was the beginning of the enemies ambushment. From this place I had a fine view for several miles over the hills. Our advanced party gave a signal they could see the enemy. The old men [and] the prophets followers arranged themselves with the prophet in the center. He began to prophecy victory to their spears. The drums beat; the conch shells sounded; they set up the war whoop; the very ground and trees shook with the echo. They rushed forward and gain'd the next rising ground. Old and young of each sex follow'd with the stones and spears to supply the warriors. The two partys met. This being the first of their general battles I had seen caused me to take notice. I advanc'd tho the bushes thinking to get on the wing and have a view of the front warriers, but I was glad to retreat as the ground we met on was very disadvantageous for us, the enemy having posted themselves in several paths as nearly flanked us. I took particular remarks of every place either to advance or retreat. I pointed out their errors as they are under no form of order every one acting as he thinks best. However, we drew back by degrees untill we got nearly on an equal advantages. Not more than 3 or 4 could sling at a time. Our party made several daring attempts to rout them but could not gain the summit. On the other side of the steep hollow between us I ask'd them what they thought of a retreat. They said they never did, except they was overpower'd. I made them to understand first for the women and old men to withdraw to a place pointed out, and then dispatch a strong party with plenty of stones and spears to take their post in ambush at a certain place so advantageous to us that it could not fail. I picked out the boys and had runners and sent them away, at the same time blocking up the passage with branches of trees. Everything was got ready. Our army drew off thro the bushes leaving the road, excepting those few that was slinging stones to amuse the enemy. We made a sudden retreat, which gave the enemy to think our party was defeated. They pursued us close, but the blockade of branches was a great obstruction. They following so eager, thinking themselves victors, tumbled over one another at the blockade, which gave us time to retreat at ease without being out of breath. We passd our ambush. They follow'd close after us. Our party now seeing their advantage attacked the enemy as warmly in the rear—a manoevre they never expected. At the same time the flying party faced about on them in an instant,
which thew them into the greatest confusion imaginable. Numbers were wounded. They left the road and took to the woods. Night coming on, we could not pursue them, as we had some miles to go. We withdrew towards our Valley. We reachd the passes just at dark. Nothing of any danger occurd our party [in] this battle.

They now rest several days from war, employing themselves makeing spears, slings, and diveing for stones, [and] at times exurciseing the boys in slinging. They use large nuts in lieu of stones to sling, & [are] frequently makeing sham fights. Accidents often happens among the young heros, as the loss of an eye or a broken head, which is done in close quarters by the blunt spears they heave at each other.13

One day, as I was on my rambles, I passd a house. The person within callld me. I went in to the house, where was sitting an elderly lady with two young ladies. One I Knew to be my adopted sister. [I was] informd that this lady was the Chiefs mother and the other young lady was my eldest sister.14 I had not seen them before. I often visited her. I became very fond of her. She was very handsome, rather of low statue. Her manner [was] so engageing; she was extremly generous, lively and scencible. Her conversation often surprizd me. The Old lady was very good company. She livd in this house with her grand­daughter, watching the body of one of her sons who was lying in state. He had been Killd some months before by a stone which had been slung from the enemy and stuck in his head. This was the first dead body I had seen before it was putt in a coffin. He was placed in a sitting posture with his instruments of war on each side of him. I touched the body. It was quite hard. At the back of the house was a long pole with a callibash fixd to it. In this is put part of their food before they eat as an offering to the departed shade.15

Everything being ready for another battle, we set out one afternoon. We got over the passes before sun down. The weather was very fine and nearly the full of the moon. We marched till we came to a long and broad grove of trees. Our

13 Rubbed oval stones for slings (ke'a pehi hua) were carefully chosen, as were the throwing stones kahuka ke'a (Handy, 1923: 131). The boys played with their small bows (pana) and darts (kohe) or imitated the sham battles of the men in games called vaeake, teka kaokao (Crook, 'Account': 86-7).
14 There is no way of identifying this woman.
15 The treatment of bodies is described by Handy, 1923: 106-10; Porter, 1822, II: 126-7; Thomson, 'The Marquesas Islands': cxxix.

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family set down about the center. Our callibashes was brought full of food, and water being got, we eat our supper. By this time great numbers of men & women with boys & girls arrivd, loaded with burdens of long leaves about six inches broad. With these they covered the sheds, every one lending a hand. It was done in a few minutes. Next was brought a Kind of fear. Of this our beds was made. Every one took his place, rearing his spears at his feet in case of surprize in the night time. The young women arrange themselves in circles. Thus the evening commences [with the] singing [of] their love and war songs. Some of the warriers dances; others advances in different directions as out pickets to watch the enemy till day break.

Our camp broke up. We advanced to the spot our ambush was posted at before they stopt to perform their cerimonies, and then marched on till we came to the enemies lines. Finding no one we pusd on to [the] foot of a long steep hill that leads into the enemies country. Some of the most expert warriers went up first, the rest following at a small distance. One advanced with caution till he came to the spot of life or death. He made a sighn the enemy was at the passes. He advanced a few steps. The enemy arose to sling stones at him. He rushd forward and spear'd him thro the body. Down he fell and was soon hurried to the bottom of the hill. He was not dead when he was brought down, but they soon dispatch him by strangling him with his own sling. He expired crying out: "O my daughter, my daughter!" The body was then brought and laid in the front of our army. The women and young girls danced in derision. The enemy came down the hill where a smart action took place, which lasted till even. Our party made one salley and drove the enemy up the hill. We withdrew to our Vale. Thus terminated the toils of this day with a few wounded, not dangerous.

18 Coulter, 1845: 197-9, described similar scenes, although the presence of women and the singing of love songs is difficult to reconcile with the heavy tapu imposed before battles (Delmas, 1927: 141-5). Handy (1923: 135) says the women were allowed to eat with their husbands preceding combat.
17 There is a steep ascent of about a thousand feet up to Ootua along the central ridge. It begins at the head of Hanahi and Utete valleys (Adamson, 1936: 45).
18 Why the warrior should cry out 'daughter' is a mystery. The word for daughter was tomohine. Robarts's vocabulary gives toa moee. Perhaps he confused it with tomoa—the cry of encouragement by women to warriors in battle (Dordillon, 1981: 398).
The next morn the body was carried to the grand Moria and hung upon a tree. Some few days after we set out again to fight, sleeping on the mountains as before. But we marched sooner and gained the passes of the enemy by day dawn. We here halted. Some of our party advanced to another hill. From this place I beheld a fine looking country situated on the tops of broad mountains. Our out pickets made a signal the enemy was approaching. They had a long dreary hill to come up. Seldom more than one comes first. Our party, over eager, was seen too soon. The man escaped. The enemy withdrew to a part of the hill where they thought to hold their ground. Here was fought one of the bravest battles ever remembered by any of their old men. Several of the enemy was spear'd and numbers wounded by our slingers and carried off by their own party.

At length our champion was wounded. This man had braved the fight the whole day. None could stand before him. He bid defiance to their whole army singly, as on the spot he stood there was not room for two to stand. At last a random stone struck him in the head. He was carried off safe.

This unfortunate event had never proved fatal to us. This man falling so disheartened the rest, they proposed running away. For my own part I should have been one of the first that would have been taken, my being the third or fourth person next the enemy. Of course, in the retreat on a narrow ridge of a hill, I had no chance to escape. I told them if they run away it would be the worst thing they ever did. If they retreated, they must fight as they run or not a man would be saved. However we drew of till we came to a small platform on the side of the hill. I persuaded them to make a stand here with the best of our men and send the rest away with the women and young girls that was on the top of the hill.

The enemy pushed very hard on us. However, a thought came in my head that in the situation the enemy stood he could not make a firm stand. I advised my friend to hearten his Men up and let the most expert advance with what spears and stones they had, and every man to fill his belt with stones and Keep the enemy in play. In the mean time, [there were] 10 or 12 smart youths armd with a bundle of bark fighting spears, [who], each of them, said if I would go with them

10 Thomson ('The Marquesas Islands': cxxvi–vii) and David Porter (1822, II: 114–15) describe this. Crook said its horrifying nature precluded description.

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round the other side of the hill to look at a passage which would bring us on the enemy's flank, they would shew the road. The side of the hill appear'd to me to be perpendicular, but on going thro the bush I found a passage up the rocky side of the hill, so that one at a time could get up. I got up to the top, which was flatt. I found myself right over the enemy. I crawld on my belly till I got sight of my Party. I made motions for them to be ready to rush on the enemy, that my small party could rout them. They could not hurt us were we was. I returnd to the spot right over the enemy. My young heros hove a few spears among them. They could not think. They could not tell where the spears came from. This did not start them. I espyd a large peice of loose rock, and with a deal of labour we rolld it to the edge of the hill, then lett it go. Down it fell among the enemy, which compleatly routed them. At the same time our party set up the war whoop and rushed on the enemy, driveing them from their post.

They had no place to make a stand till they was at the bottom of the hill, which was a fine flatt place near to their houses. In their flight we took one man. Here they was joint by a fresh party. The whole country was alarmd by our approaching so far even to the door of their houses. Here they renewd the fight with vigor. They got water & food. We was thirsty and weary. The sun [was] exceeding hot. Our strenght it was exhausted. We could get no water. The enemy was in the brook. We was obliged to retreat. Even was drawing on. We was about 10 miles from our Vale. The enemy followd close after us and pressd sore on us.

We could not face them till we got to the top of the hill, a space of two miles. Here some of our bravest men got water from the young women and sent them away with all speed. The rest of the army drawing of by degrees, we retreated over the passes, the enemy at our heels. It began to rain a little, which made the ground slippery. However we got down till we came to a place that we could make a stand. Water was got.

20 On the western side of Ootua is a small plateau, called Aimoa, at about the 1,300 feet level. It is bordered on the north by Kaava Ridge, on the west by the abrupt slopes of Tahauku valley. The plateau is the juncture of two trails, one from south to north from Tahauku to Hanalapa and the other along the central ridge (Adamson, 1936: 45; Christian, 1910: 100). It is today marked by deserted calms and stone platforms. The plateau is very fertile (Le Bronnec, 1922: 59).
I got for the first time the whole day a drink. I was so weary I could scarce stand. My skin was so burnt with the sun, I was as red as scarlet. We was nearly got to the bottom, when something seised two men that was before me. They had no power to run. I prest them before me, at times turning on the enemy that they might escape. The enemies spears & stones was flying round me so thick, and they close at my heels, I was forced to push my way past them to save myself. Just as I was past them a few yards, they was Knocked down and taken.

So this day after all our toils we took one & lost two. We return’d to our Vale. It was dark before we reached it, some with grief, some with joy. This prisoner was also sent to the grand Moria.

We rest ourselves for some time after this fatigueing day. I bathed several times a day to take the fire out of my skin, which peild of like the skin of old onions. At length the day is appointed for the last battle to close their prophets prophecy. The morn’s arrivd. They all set out with their prophet in company. This day is more for mirth then war, every one making the best appearance he can. Their Allys meet them on the mountains, making a grand appearance of about 4000, evry party bringing their drums and conch shells. A very grand dance ensues: some is fighting, others dancing. At times those that was fighting would set down and talk with each other with as much composure as though they was friends and then rise again and renew the fight. 21

We had a smart skirmish for about three hours. Several was wounded on both sides. We had a strong party in ambush on their right wing. The center amused them while I was gone with another strong party round the other side of the hill to get on their left. I was successfull, and, in the moment of victory, I receivd a stone from a sling under my right eye. It cut a hole thro, and two of my upper teeth fell in my mouth. I fell down senseless, being stund by the blow. I lay bleeding for a short time and soon recoverd. I get up and bid them defiance, and, to the surprize of all, I walkd away without assistance. When I came to the spot of mirth, the army was greatly concerned, the ladies in particular. I told them there was no danger. I hoped to be well in a few days.

A lady—a stranger to me—came and put her mantle under me to sit on. She was a chieftains daughter of high rank. She

had several attendants with her. Other young ladies of rank came and took me by the leg as I sit and put it on their head and shoulders. This was the greatest honour they could do to me. The mantle or robe of a chiefs daughter are held as sacred, nothing to be put on them or on the head that touches the ground.  

My head began to ache very much. The blood ran fast from my wound. I felt myself very weak. I begged to depart, my having about six miles to go home. The fair stranger sent for some leaves and she bruised them, dressed my wound and bound up my head with her turban.  

I thanked her for her kindness. She with her attendants escorted me some distance from the army. As even was drawing near, I begged of her to return. She consented with a seeming reluctance. I embraced her and took my leave. I never saw her more.  

A prophets son and daughter accompanied me home. I rested several times in the way, and at dusk I arrived at home. I bathed in a cool spring of water, took a little light food and retired to rest. Next morning their surgeon came to look at my wound. He wanted to probe it. I looked at his instruments, but the sight of them was enough for me. His lancet was a sharks tooth, his probe a bone of some kind. I thanked him for his offer, but would not have any thing done to it.  

I kept my head bound for several days just as the fair stranger had bound it on the mountains. At length I opened it myself. I put some water into a cocoa nut shell. This served for a looking glass. I was very glad to see my wound closed up and would not leave much of a scar behind. I was blind of a night for about two months, but no pain.  

Peace now taking place, my friend's brother in law was going to his bread fruit gathering.  

He invited me to go with him.  

22 Langsdorf, 1813-14: 136; Roquefeuil, 1823: 55.  


24 One of the Marquesan specialist trades was surgery—tuhuna tatihi. See Handy, 1923: 269.  

25 The breadfruit gatherings, some four crops a year, were among the most important social events of Marquesan life. As Robarts indicates, they demonstrated the political powers of the chiefs and provided the main means by which economic wealth was channelled through the chief and redistributed in the form of feasts or payment for services rendered. The first and main crop belonged entirely to the chief (Handy, 1923: 183).
We set out one afternoon to the south side of the Isle. We arriv'd in the evening. The tenants came to welcome us. Our calibashes was brought full of food. The neighbours brought us some fish as a present, [which is] a custom at these Isles when a chief or person of respect goes to any place distant from home. Early the next morning they began to gather the bread fruit. Every one [was] in motion. Great numbers of men came to the harvest, this chief being greatly beloved by the poor people. He was brave, mild and liberal. His wife also was a very good, kind hearted woman. She would not let me go to stay at her brothers house. I pass'd several months very agreeable at this place.

At length a great chiefs wife came on a visit from a valley at some distance. As I have already remarked, these people are remarkable fond of strangers. Particularly a white man was a great novelty among them. She invited me to her country and fain would have taken me with her. She was one of the finest women I had yet seen. She was tall, well made of a majestic air, a fine pair of black eyes that would pierce through adamant. I declind going with her, promising I would pay a visit in a short time. My having made a tolerable progress in learning the language, [I] could converse fluently. In some short time after I set out, stopping two days at another chiefs house. At length I arrived and was received with the greatest respect and friendship. This lady adopted me her son, having no male issue. I past some time at this place in a state of flying happiness as I was always on the move, not stopping long in a place; for the more I traveled among these people, the more I dived into their manners and customs. [For] by confining myself to one place and one family I could not be acquainted with their general temper and dispositions.

In the course of time, this ladys sister came on a visit to her. This lady surpassed her sister for beauty. Her hair was an

26 Presumably this valley is not Hanauppe, but is possibly either Ooa or Hekeani which flank Hanauppe.
27 Certain fish were eaten only by chiefs and members of the tapu class (Crook, 'Account': 55; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 137).
28 There is no way of identifying these next three valleys Robarts describes. Because he ended this stage of his visit to Hiva Oa at a valley which he called 'Anateetaper', which was probably Hanaiapa (see footnote 31), they are all likely to be valleys on the north coast. This valley, to judge from its position relative to others, might be Eiaone, although it hardly seems a valley from which 'a great chiefs wife' would come.
Aubourn brown color and very long. When loosed, [it] would flow in ringlets below her waist. Her eyes brows finely archd, her countenance open and smileing her manner and conversation captivating, this lady was formd to please. I had heard great talk of her a long time before I saw her, but their representation of her was a deal short of her. I could see in her those beauties that these people take no notice of, a beauty of mind, courteous to all. She was extremely fair, and a fine blush on her checks. This Lady also invited me to her house in a large Valley about five miles distance, well stocked with bread fruit and cocoa nut trees.29

In the course of a few days after her departure I paid her a visit and was received with every respect that could be shewn. Food was prepar'd ready before I arriv'd. I had scarce time to bathe & dress before the house [was] crowded with a large party of young ladies with attendants. They came to wellcome me to their Valley. Being all seated, they commenced singing & danceing, beating time with their hands. They paid a deal of attention to me. I had only four young ladies to fan me. They Kept up the merry night untill an early hour next morn². The musick of their voices lulld me to sleep towards midnight. As the sun was very hot in the day time, and no wind, I was fatigued with my journey. In the morn² I arose and took a walk to look about me. I stooped a few days according to promise and return'd back.

My being so agreable situated between the two houses, I was sometimes at the one, and sometimes at the other. Thus I pass'd away whole months wrapt in the Bosom of friendship, till a lady came from a valley about seven miles distance. This Lady also named me after her son and press'd me very much to go to her part of the country. I promised to go in a few days, and in the course of a short time a canoe was got ready for me to go by water on account of the two Valleys being at war at that time. My friends was afraid to lett me go over land, fearfull of the enemys ambushment.

Early one morn⁸ I set out by water and landed in a small bay.³⁰ Next the beach was nothing but bushes. I advanced further up the valley, where I found some Inhabitants. I soon was conducted to the chiefs house—it was pleasantly situated—where I was received with respect & Kindness. Food was prepar'd

² Hanapaaoa?
³⁰ Hanatekua?
in a short time. I rested some time without any throng of company, as most of the inhabitants lived up the vale. They knew nothing of my arrival till the afternoon when, as is customary, a party of young ladies paid me a visit. I spent a very agreeable afternoon; for several of them was very good company. We had a little chit chat among us for a while. They then began to sing, and after the sun was down they retired to their houses. The road being bad, I stopt two or three days at this place. The people of rank made me several presents. This place did not take my fancy, it being a narrow valley and no other foot path then along the brook that run thro the vale, every house being surrounded with a stone wall; that it, the loose stones just put one on another, which made it dangerous going up and down the vale.

One even a canoe came from the valley I was going to with another invitation. I declined going with them that even, as I was seated with a party of ladies [and] I did not wish to leave them in an abrupt manner. I thankd them for their invitation and I should do myself the pl easeure of waiting on them the next day. Away they went with the news that I was coming. I spent the even very agreeable with the chiefs family.

At day dawn next morn I went to bathe while a canoe was getting ready for me to embark. When I came to the beach, I was surprised they had launched one of their War canoes, and [it was] well manch. I stept on board. Away they pulld. It being calm—the sea was like a mill pan—the canoe run very swift, & in a short time we was round in to a large bay. Here was a beautiful view. Several vallies formd this bay. A number of netts was a fishing. The fishermen brought a quantity of fish as a present for me. I gave the fish to the men that pulld the canoe. We got down the bay. The beach was so crouded I could not land. The canoe pulld backwards & forwards several times. At lenght the chiefs mother in law came with several attendants. She waved her mantle. They pulld the canoe to the place where she set. Her mantle was spread over the shoulders

81 Hanaiapa. Robarts later gives the name of this valley as 'A na tee ta per'. Crook ('Account': 190), without clearly identifying its position, names a valley Unnatetappa on the north coast and says it was inhabited by the Uaivi. Fetteatabu, wife of Teinae's younger brother Buakka, came from here. Fetteatabu's sister's husband, Hokke, was probably chief of Hanaiapa. Delmas (1927: 139) and Christian (1910: 205) say that the Uaivi tribe held Hanaiapa.

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of several persons; for the beach was so crouded, I would not land. I was carried some distance from the beach. Then I alighted and was conducted to my new father & mother, followd by such a croud of people I was obliged to retire on the altar. I realy thought the people was all turnd frantick. No white man had ever been in this part before. These people was over Kind.

I had not been long at the house before a fine hog roasted was served up with plenty of other food. In the even I was dressd up in the country custom and was conducted to one of their dancing grounds, which place was crouded with some hundred of spectators. When I enterd the grounds I observd they was for surrouning me. I waved to them to Keep their seats: I would visit them all by degrees. The ladies in particular always croud round a stranger. When there is but few, their company is very agreeable; their conversation is innocent and lively, full of enquires.

Just at this time there was several funeral feasts in memory of persons deceasd a long time back. I was invited to them all. I had several pigs, with cloth turbans, Bandages, spears and other things made me a present of by several people of rank. I spent several months in this valley. It runs into several branches about three miles inland from the beach. Here is a fine fishery of bonetos, albecore & other smaller fish, by which means a number of poor families are supported. Every day food and cloth is brought to barter for fish from the interior parts in alliance with this Valley. This place is calld A na tee ta per.

Some months after my arrival a general meeting was appointed on the south side of the Island. I took this oppor­tunity of Going to see that part of the Isle. I set out early one morn with one attendant and past thro a deal of fertill land uninhabited. It is plain that it has been inhabited a long time back. I made a close enquirey of what was the reason that this fine land lay waste. They informd me that this land was desolate thro war. The inhabitants had been Killd and drove away by the adjacent powers. This country is open, situated on the

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82 Most early information about trade and barter concerns trade with Europeans. Crook ('Account': 211–13) and Bennett (1840, I: 337) give some information on inter-island trade in the Marquesas. The smaller catches of fish would have been bartered. Deep sea fish would have been taken to the tohua for the chiefs (Handy, 1923: 170–3; Thomson, 'The Marquesas Islands': cxxiii; Gracia, 1843: 70).
tops of the mountains and is subject to the ravages of war on
every side. This is the reason they do not reinhabit this part.
The pavement of houses are still to be seen to this day.\textsuperscript{33}

I pursued my journey till I came among the inhabitants who
live on fine spots of ground well stokd with bread fruit and
cocoa nut trees. I made no stop, but travellld on over the moun-
tains till I came to the brink on the other side. From hence I
viewd the Island of Towatta. I descended down the side of the
mountain till I came to a narrow beach, not a pistol shot over.\textsuperscript{34}
Here was assembled some hundreds of men, women & children,
each party fearfull of the other, they being declar'd enemies.
This assemble gave an oppertunity to those that chose to go
from one party to the other as hostages. That is, suppose one
goes from my party to them, one comes from them, rank for
rank. I passd the day very agreeable. They invited me over.
My hundreds of friends around me would not let me go as they
had no hostage to send that my party would accept of. The day
passd on. The warriers of each party amused themselves with
heaving large green nuts at each other, which they are very
dexterous at; for they will heave for some time before they hit
each other.\textsuperscript{35}

In the afternoon the beach was shaded. I went to the brook
side that run between each party. One of their warriors hove
a nut. It struck me in the side. The beach was divided in a
moment. Each party took too their spears. I waved with my fan.
I begd of my party not to close the day with blood shed on my
account. Altho I was very displeasd, I was not much hurt. I only
desired they would call the person that hove at me and give
me a fair chance to repay him the compliment. He came for­
ward. He was a tall, raw boned, powerfull man. A bunch of
nuts was brought for me. Some of them weigh about a pound. I
let him heave several times before I took my aim. He was caper­
ing about. He thought that I was afraid. I hove at him twice.
The second time I brought him to the ground. The nut I hove
struck him on the temple. I stood some time expecting some
one would second him, but no one oferd. All was composed.

\textsuperscript{33} There is a trail from Hanaiapa to Tahauku across the central ridge and
\textsuperscript{34} Tahauku (Le Bronnec, 1922: 58-9; Linton, 1925: 149-51).
\textsuperscript{35} In the kaokao, or sham battle, warriors threw ihi (chestnuts), ehi (coco-
nuts), mei (young breadfruit) and ama (candlenuts), alternately giving
themselves as targets to one another (Handy, 1923: 298; Crook, ‘Account’:
86).
Our drums beat for a dance. A great chieftains daughter came down first. One from our side in company with me went half way to receive her. She then advanced the other half. I took her by the hand and embraced her. I led her to my Party. She seem'd fearfull when among us. I desired my Party to leave the beach for the ladies. They obeyd and retired on to the rocks. This young lady was a fine figure. She was very fair, her hair of a flaxen color, her features extreamly delicate. She appeared to be 19 or 20 years of age. She was not married. After a matt was brought for her to sit on, several ladies from our party came to her. Food was brought. I helpt her to some. I fetcht her water myself. This pleas'd her party. They said I now had got a wife: I must take care of her. Several Jokes was past on each side. She seemd pleas'd. The ladies being seated, the cheerful song commenced. This lady had a sweet voice. She, to oblige me, sung singly, as I had heard of her fine singing a long time before. I calld two young men, sons of chieftains, to come down to dance before her. In return, two was sent from her side to dance to our ladies. Even's drew near; the sun was retiring to its western seat. Several presents was sent to this lady. Her party in return sent presents. The warriers exchanged spears and fans. The beach was cleard. Our ladies retired up the rocks. I then conducted this fair lady over to her party. She presst me much to go with her. I must confess I had a great inclination, but her country was not so pleasing as the one I was in. I led her to the place were her father was sitting. I said I had brought his daughter back safe. "Well", says the old chief, "you have come this far: you must go home with her. If you will come and live with me, I will give you my daughter in marriage. She has plenty of land to support you." I thanked him for his generous offer. I told him as I was Young I meand to return among my own country men. I realy would have accepted his offer, but these people was continualy at war, and the country unpleasantly situated. I took my leave and returnd. She sat on the rocks and sung. I stood some time to listen to her voice. They calld after me to return. I waved her adieu and returned to my party.36

36 The meaning of this incident is unclear, unless it was the e ha'a oa i te toua, or formal peacemaking ceremony. The fan (tahiti) which Robarts mentions was undoubtedly an insignia of his position as toa, warrior or priest's assistant (Fleurieu, 1801, I: 108; Krusenstern, 1813: 158–9; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 81; Porter, 1822, II: 127).
On my return home, a chief invited me to stop that night. I complied as it was moon light, and I had a long way to go thro the woods. We arrived at his house. Food was brought. We got supper and past away the evens very agreeable. Next day a hog was roasted. In the course of the day, [I] took a walk to the top of a hill. From here I had a view of the country round me. I now determined to visit the whole country I had seen. I stopt only a few days at this house.

I took my departure and proceeded on to a great chiefs house were I was receivd with respect. I stopt only one day at this place, as the land before me was uninhabited, it being subject to the ravages of war. I turnd my rout for Ana tee ta per. My friends was very happy to see me return; for they had heard that I was gone over to the country of the lady I conducted back to her father.

I rested myself some time, and then set out again on my visiting rounds. I set out one morn over the mountains and reached the place I was going to in the afternoon. I calld on the Chiefs son as my name sake. The mountains not being so well inhabited as the vales, a person may go a long way among the trees unnoticed. This was the case. I was at the door before any one Knew of my arrivall. My namesake was a fine comely boy of about 12 years of age. Him and his mother came to receive [me]. In a short time the neighbours began to gather about the House. Food was brought, I past the even as at other places, But at this place I was lonesome. My new father was a man of very few words. I had no one to talk to [as] my namesake [was] always from home.

He had a half sister; she was about 14 years of age. She was an exceeding good companion. She lived on her own estate near to her fathers house on the top of a hill which looked toward the sea. I was sitting with her one day under the shade of a tree from the heat of the sun. She started up on a sudden, looking towards the sea. I lookd to the same place and saw two

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87 Robarts would seem to have returned to Hanaiapa by a different route, possibly through Vaipae, saw the mountain country to the north-west, and returned to Hanaiapa through Vaiutu. Handy (1923: 26-8), suggests an old trail in that direction. Adamson (1936), generally more accurate, does not.

88 On the south side there are a number of hanging valleys surrounding Utetete. Moevai would have been the most likely one for Robarts to have stayed at.
ships sailing towards Towatta. I run to my father for a canoe to take me over, a distance of about 15 miles. All the canoes that was large enough to go was out of repair. This did not stop me. I got two men and I set to work to repair the canoe. We compleated our job in three days, and in the afternoon of the third day I set of with six or seven men to pull the canoe.

We had got about 3 miles from the land. We had a fine wind. Our canoe, being a single one, was easy upset. This was our case thro carelessness. We could not get back; for we was going before the wind with a heavy swell. As soon as we upsett, all hands Jumpt over board, swimming and towing the canoe towards a point of land about nine miles distance. When I was in the water, something rough touched my foot. I thought it was the back of a shark. I got into the canoe and employd myself in heaving the water out. I did not tell my companions that something had touched my foot in the water as it would frighten them, for they wanted to forsake the canoe in the afternoon, but I cheered them up not to heave the canoe away. If they had left me, I could gain the rocks myself, but the canoe would be dashd to peices. The sun was set; the wind died away; my companions got fresh courage. I made fast all our bandages together, which made a good line. This, made fast to the bow of the canoe, servd for a tow rope, and by midnight we reachd the rocks. We soon hove the water out of the canoe and securd it for the night.39

We had not been long on the rocks before a large canoe full of men came close past us. My companions hid themselves for fear. I haild them and askd what tribe they was of. They knew my voice. Several swam on shore to me, asking me where my people was. One of them was a great chief, a friend of mine. I had seen him before over at Towatta. He says to me: “Dont be frighted. I wont hurt any one with you.” I calld to my people. They came forward. One of them was a slight man, very swift a foot, and was a daring fellow in time of battle. He had in his time Killd in battle many of this chiefs party, who on seeing him Knew him by the gleam of the moon [and] said: “You are now near me”. “Yes,” says the other very calmly. The chief said: “I will not hurt you for my friends sake”. The chief asked me if I had any food. I told him that all our

39 Robarts probably landed on the southernmost point of Hiva Oa, near Taehoa. His companions would have been Pepane and the people who discovered him Naiki.
food was washd away with the sea, and one large Hog was drownd that I had brought as a present for the ships.

My friend set of with his canoe to get me some food. He sent the canoe back in about two hours with plenty of food & water [and] with an invitation from the lady that I had seen at the narrow beach. As we had been upwards of nine hours in the water, she was fearfull I must be unwell and begd I would come to rest myself a few hours. Her father would give me a large canoe to go in safety. I sent her my gratefull thanks for the regard she shewd towards me, but I well Knew if I went to her it would not be easy to come away. I declind going. I set on a bank above the rocks and got some food to eat with my people. We eat hearty. I laid me down to rest on the bare rocks, which was sharp and rough. My being overpowerd with the Heat of the sun and the sea, I fell into a sound sleep. The heavens was my counterpain. In the Morn I awoke well refreshd and took a walk a short distance to stretch my limbs. On my return the sun was just riseing out of the sea. I awoke my people. We eat some food and set out. It being nearly calm all night, the sea was smooth. We pulld across and arrivd in the course of the forenoon at Towatta, but no ship to be seen. I found myself very much disappointed. My friend informd me that only one ship came to anchor. There being no one to Interpret for them, they did not stop one day.40

I had omitted a few pages back to inform my reader that some time after my arrival at Anateetaper I heard that a ship was at Towatta. I saild for Towatta in a large double canoe. When I arrivd, the ship had saild several days. I found poor Tom the Owyee man in a dying state. I stopt with him part of two days. He made several attempts to strangle himself, but I prevented him. When I left him he was all but dead. I could be of no good to him. I took my leave of my friends and set sail for Anateetaper. Thus fell poor Tom. And the french boy was gone in some ship that touchd there.41

They was now at war. Families was divided. Every thing wore

40 Checklists in Starbuck (1878: 186–98), United States (1938), and Hegarty (1964), do not indicate which among American whalers this and the next ship Robarts mentions might be. There was, however, considerable whaling activity in the South Pacific in 1799 and early 1800 (Robotti, 1962: 55–60). Enderby (Whale Fishery MSS.) does not give specific details for these years.

41 Jean Cabri had in fact left on the London, Captain Gardner, 7 March 1799 and had been landed at Nukuhiva (Crook, ‘Account’: 185).
a gloomy aspect. My friend pressd me very much to stay to go against the party he was at war with. He had two muskets with plenty of powder and shot. I told him I could never fight against a people that was my friends. I respected each party too much to lift my hand against either. I stopt a few days and returnd to Uckamow, the name of the place I lived at.

We arrivd in the afternoon. My namesake sister came to meet [me] as her mother livd in the valley I landed at. She was at her mothers on a visit. I slept at her mothers house that night. Next morn we departed for our mountain habitation. Provisions now began to be very scarce. The land was burnt up with the sun. The trees yeilded no bread fruit. At times I would visit my friends at Anateetaper.

My friend was about to repair his double canoe to make a voyage to Newkaheava. It was some months before every thing would be ready. I was very desireous of takeing this opper­portunity of seeing that Isle. I passd the most of my time on the mountains, as the low lands had no food. At lenght the canoe was ready. I came of the Mountains and Just at sun sett we made sail. We had a fine breeze all night. Four men keep heaving the water out all night. The next day we arrivd at the Isle of Wooah hunje.

My friend had formerly livd at this place. His former wife was still living. He had two fine daughters by this lady. This Isle is but small but produces the handsomest women of all this groupe of Islands, in fact of the whole south seas yet discovered. Our canoe being secur'd, my friend conducted me

42 Presumably hostilities had broken out again between the Hemma and the Ahhoutinne and Robarts refused to go to war with Teinae against his friends at Hapatoni.
43 Probably Ha'a Mau. This was the name of the general area on the south coast of Hiva Oa, east of Tahauku. Robarts probably landed at Utetete and returned to Moevai.
44 Ua Huka. Robarts is inconsistent in the use of Marquesan dialect, in this instance keeping to the southern form. Ua Huka was the smallest and least important of the inhabited islands. It is described in Adamson (1936: 63–6). Crook ('Account': 212) estimated Ua Huka's total population at about 3,000, with 800 fighting men, and said that they lived high up and at a distance from the sea. The sister of the chief who owned most of Ua Huka, Kamohei, was the wife of a younger brother of Keattonnue, Tamati. Crook notes that she was 'singularly fair and delicate'. Handy (1923: 30) says that later traditions claim a special relationship between Ua Huka and the tribes of eastern Hiva Oa.
up to his wife's house. His daughter came to receive us. She was a very handsome, well-shaped figure of about seventeen years of age. I visited all the inhabited parts of this Isle. I had many presents made me from people of rank and several hogs roasted. It is a general rule among these Isles when a canoe goes on a visit or bartering trip to take a present, giving it in the name of some of the deceased of the family you go to. If you give a small sow pig, they will kill a large hog in return with plenty of other food from the several relations. If a spear or fan, or some head dress is given, they give fish and other food in return. This makes good the old saying of 'Set a sprat to catch a herring'. Nothing worth notice at this Isle, except, as I have observed, the females are extremely handsome. We stopped here about a fortnight and then took our departure for Newkaheava.
We set sail in the morning and landed at the South East end of *Newkaheava*. Just at sunset. I slept on shore. I was a little surprised when a person took me by the hand. I looked at him, but did not know him. The face was tattooed all over and disguised the features. When he spoke, I drew my hand from him. I knew him to be the French boy. I coolly asked him some

1 Nukuhiva, the most important island of the northern Marquesas, was not discovered by Europeans till 1791, when the American Joseph Ingraham in the *Hope* sailed past. Ingraham narrowly beat Marchand and in quick succession between 1791 and 1793 Nukuhiva received four names by one genuine and three would-be discoverers: Federal Island (Ingraham), Beaux (Marchand), Sir Henry Martin (Hergest), Adams (Robarts). Wilson, in the *Duff*, was the only other recorded visitor before Crook arrived with Fanning in the *Betsy*, May 1798. Nukuhiva is the largest of the Marquesan islands, but by Crook’s estimate second in population to Hiva Oa in 1798. He calculated there were 6,000 fighting men on Nukuhiva. There were large uninhabited areas on the western and north-western sides and in the centre of the island, partly because of the constant wars, partly because of the infertility of these areas.

Europeans tended to presume that the best harbours in the Pacific were the most important places for the Polynesians. By giving their patronage and trade to these harbours, the Europeans, of course, soon made them so. Three harbours on the south side of Nukuhiva attracted European ships: Hakaui (Port Tschitschagoff), Taiohau (Port Anna Maria), Taipi and Hooumi (Comptroller’s Bay). The three groups who inhabited these valleys, respectively, the Taioa, Tei’i and Taipi, had a continuous history of hostilities. The first two found union in their antagonism to the third, and at the time of Robarts’s arrival enjoyed a somewhat tense peace. Together they participated in some sort of union with the valleys on the
few questions. When at a small distance I saw a white man coming, I asked who and what he was. Being informed he was an Englishman, I took the liberty of speaking to him.

He informed me he had been left on the Island of Masafuero about two years and a half before by an American Ship to procure seal skins, but the ship not returning at or near the time appointed he had got his passage of the Isle. The ship touching at Towatta, he had met with this French boy who he found to be a very bad and treacherous villain. He had been persuaded by this vagabond to leave the ship, listening to a number of fine stories took his advice. He had, when he left the ship, several axes and other useful articles. He had two or three muskets. He gave the French boy one with powder and shot. This place being at war, the French boy goes with his musket to the other party. Walker was the name of the Englishman. He went one morning to see the fight. He was going through the bushes and the French scoundrel fired at him. He says the ball broke the branch of a tree close to his head. This was French gratitude: he could have no other view then to kill Walker and by that means get his property.

Having heard Walker's story, I took my leave for the present. Our canoe being secured, so we went to a chief's house. Food was got ready. We past away the evening very quiet, as there were two white faces there before me, mine could not be of much novelty to them. In the morning my friend, my namesake that I had seen at Towatta came and bid me welcome to his country. According to his former promise he ordered a large hog to be roasted for me with plenty of other food and fish. I invited Walker to the feast, but not the French boy. The natives and Chief took notice

north-west of Nuku Hiva so that the island could be roughly divided east and west on a line drawn between Taiohae and Aakapa, the two sides being inhabited by two general groups called Tei'i and Taipi. Later French colonial administrators liked to imagine a 'kingly' centralisation of powers on Nuku Hiva in the chiefly line of the Tei'i group at Taiohae. Robarts's story must indicate that this was wishful thinking. The mountain ranges of Nuku Hiva are peripheral and surround a central depression called the Tovii. The inhabited valleys slope down the outer edges of these ranges to the sea.

Apparently Cabri persuaded Walker to leave the London, which called first at Tahuata and then at Nuku Hiva, although we would expect Robarts to mention the London.

Robarts landed at Comptroller's Bay but in which valley is unclear. Probably it was the western valley of Taipi.
of it. They asked me the reason. I told them the truth. After
that they began to dislike him. In the evening we had plenty of
company. The place was crowded. Walker had a small house
he lived in by himself. Him and me retired from the crowd. I
was soon missed. A party of young ladies came to the door and
begged I would favour them with my company as they had heard
much of me but never had the opportunity of seeing me before.
A man was brought them. They sat down and in a short time
began to sing. This brought the Wives of several chiefs. Walker
sat silent for he could not speak a word of the language. For
my part I passed a very agreeable evening. The ladies retired at
a late hour. In the morning I took a walk to look about me. I was
much pleased with the appearance of the country.

In the course of a few days an invitation came for us to go
to the North East end of the Isle, a few miles distance over the
mountains.\(^4\) We set out early one morning and reached our jour-
neys end about mid day. A fine hog was roasted for us. In the
evening a warrior came dressed up with a large bunch of flowers
and presented them to me. I took them and hung them round
my neck. This bunch of flowers was an invitation not from one
lady but from a great number who had assembled at the play
ground and begged I would favour them with a dance.\(^5\) I could
not refuse, as it is a rule to comply with these kind of
invitations. I dressed and went to the play ground, conducted
by a large retinue of warriors. The ladies was formed in a half
circle. One young lady stood in the center with her mantle in
her hand. As I drew near she put the mantle down for me to
sit on. As she had honored me with her mantle, I took the
flowers from [my] neck and put them round hers. This was
returning her the compliment. I being seated, the circle closed
round me. They began to sing. I led the dance. Several
warriors joined me. The ladies was pleased, for they did not think
that I would have come. Several unmarried young ladies of
rank made me a present of their turbans. I accepted of them. I
put these on my head in a roll. This was to assure them that

\(^4\) Robarts could have gone along the coastal trail to Haatuataua on the
north-east side of Nukuhiwa. The tribe there were friendly to the Taipe
(Handy, 1923: 31–2). His 'over the mountains' might suggest the inland
trail to Hatiheu, also friendly with the Taipe, but he later told the Russians
that he had never been to Hatiheu (Krusenstern, 1813: 144).

\(^5\) This was the hei, or taki hei, a necklace of fragrant flowers. The incident
seems to indicate that he was being presented with the red pandanus
hei, which was the symbol of the kaioi (Handy, 1923: 289–90, 39).
no one else should have them to wear. The sun being set, we parted.

A great numbers followd to the house I was to sleep at. The House was so crouded [that] after I got my supper I stole away and went to another house to sleep, for if I had stayd the Ladies would have Kept me a dancing till morn.

The next day in the afternoon news came that the westerly winds was began. I had several presents made me during our short stay. We set out and got over to our canoe all in a hurry. We launchd off and pulld out to sea. When we got well out, the wind was strong against us. We put back and landed about midnight. The canoe was securd. I went to rest.

I had a great many spears, slings and other presents, which I had put in my friends house. In the course of the night my friend that came in the canoe with me had exchanged some of my best spears & slings and had put inferior ones in their place. This mean behaviour I did not like. I was resolvld to speak to him on the subject, for he had in his own country made away with my hogs in my absence and never mentioned it to me. However, I very calmly thanked him for all past favours. I said to him I had done with him. He asked me if I was angry. I answerd it was not Worth being angry, but at the same time I was sorry he had forfeited my esteem; for had he askd me, I would freely have given him the whole. He begd me to forgive him and not stay behind. I said I forgave but could not forget. I tied up what belongd to me and gave them in charge of my friend the Prophet.

Next morn I set out on my travels, till I came to a beautifull country situated on the high land above the sea. Beyond that is the mountains. I calld on the Chiefs grand son for my name-sake. I was very Kindly receivcl by my new relations. My father & mother was on a visit at her fathers, who I found was the principle Chieftain on the Whole Island.

6 In all probability Robarts's action in putting women's clothing on his head was culturally quite shocking to the Nukuhivans. It is annoying for the student of culture change not to know how they reacted to it, or in what category this placed Robarts in Marquesan society.

7 Crook's genealogical information tells us that Tahhatabbu, the eldest daughter of Keattonnue, was married to Mouwateie, the son of the chief of the Hapa tribe which lived in the inland valley of Muakke (Crook, 'Account': 234). Mouwateie was still a chief of Hapa when David Porter arrived in 1813 (Porter, 1822, II: 34, 58–9). Porter said he was a chief of one of the six Hapa tribes, the Naiki.
I had been here several days when my father came and informed me I must pay a visit to my mother. I readily complied, and in a few days we set out. We had about three miles to go. When we came to the pass, I beheld with surprise and pleasure the country beneath me. Four fine Valleys forming a spacious bay, a commodious harbour for shipping. We descended down the side of the mountain and passed through a fine land, well stocked with bread fruit and cocoa nuts trees, till we came near the beach.⁸

We was met by the King.⁹ His person is of low stature. He is quite dark, being tattooed from head to foot quite close. He received me in a very familiar, friendly manner. He conducted me to his mother's house, situated on the beach. At this time he resided there. I was received in a kind manner by his mother, wife, daughter and other Ladies of the Blood royal. His mother was a very lively, talkative Lady, very kind in her manner.¹⁰ I was seated near her. She said I must not leave them to go to live at any other place, for, says she, Crook lived here till his country ship came and took him away, and so must you. Indeed, I felt myself so contented and comfortable [that] a something attracted me to this family. I thanked her for her generous offer.

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⁸Stewart (1833) described both the trail Robarts would have taken (215-16) and Taiohae (224-6).

⁹Keattonnue (Cato Neway, Kettenowee, Gattanewa) was haka-iki of Taiohae. His power and family are discussed in the Introduction and Appendix II. Descriptions of him are to be found in a number of places—Crook, 'Account': 224-5; Krusenstern, 1805: 8, and 1813: 114-15, 118-20; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 90-1, 115, 130-1; Roquefeuil, 1823: 41, 59; Porter, 1822, II: 24, 27-8. 'He was a very strong, well made man, with a thick and extremely fat neck, from forty to forty-five years of age. His body was tattooed with a dark colour approaching to black, so completely, that it even extended to spots on his head from which the hair had been cut away. He was in no wise to be distinguished from the lowest of his subjects ...' (Krusenstern, 1813: 114).

¹⁰Butahaie, Keattonnue's mother, was the reason for his considerable power (see Appendix II). She had inherited all her own father's authority and property, and he was counted chief of all Taiohae, except Pakiu and Havau valleys. Her marriage to Temouteie concentrated political power in the hands of Keattonnue's father. Temouteie was lost on a sea voyage and Butahaie lived with his younger brother, Buakakahau. Between the two brothers she mothered some seventeen children, of whom Keatonnue was the eldest, and the youngest in 1799 was Diddehehaeke, aged nine. Crook described her house as being near a tohua on the way to Havau and a little west of Ekoei, near the beach ('Account': 223-4).
At this time their prophet had begun his prophecy. The Valleys was silent, no one going about; everything was dull & silent. I spent some time here. This place is called Tio foie.

One morn of early I set out on a visit to Walker. He lived at about five miles distance. I found my friend from Anateetaper was here still, all well. I slept that night and returnd in the morn.

I now finding myself comfortable situated, [and] the Harbour large and safe for ships to lay in, I employ'd myself surveying the harbour and rocks and observeing the different sets of the current—being the most invaluable Knowledge that I could gain to assist the weary Navigator in the time of need. [I employd myself thus,] as ships frequently pass by, being unacquainted with the harbour and no one for a pilot, as these Islands are situated in the track from the coast of Peru and the Island of Masafuero for ships bound to China, and there are a number of ships, both English and American, that frequents that track. In time of war these Isles are an excellent rendezvous for ships in the Whale fishery and [for] Privateers that frequents the coasts of Peru and California—[these] not being able to procure any refreshments among the Spaniards; for sometimes they pay for it with their lives.

I had the pleasure of Makeing myself particularly usefull to several ships that touched at this place; for ships touching at any of these Islands in the south sea frequently meet with accidents, sometimes through their own misconduct, and sometimes thro the hostile behaviour of the natives. I shall beg leave to intrude on my readers time to inform them of some of these, as such horrid actions should never pass unnoticed.

In the first place—as far as I could trace from the natives it was about the year 1794–5—a ship touchd at Towatta, calld by the english St Cristiana. Here they built a large deckd boat as a tender for the ship. I suppose she was one of the fur traders that goes in the furr trade on the North West coast of South America.

However, in the course of their stay at this place a fray took

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11 Crook described three tau'a at Taiohae: Touwattea who lived at Maioa and inherited his powers from his father; Pihhenu whom he described as elderly and head of the priests; Houtabbu who had been introduced to the priesthood by Pihhenu and was very well versed in traditions ('Account': 232–3).
place. As to the truth of this account I make not the least doubt,
as I have receiv'd it from several people and lastly from the
man with whom the fray began. This mans wife swam on board
the ship and stayd for four or five days with one of the ships
crew. The man, uneasy at the absence of his wife, swam to the
ship to look for her. He found her and was conversing with her
some time. Her american gallant, seeing them talking [and] not
Knowing who the man was, hove a cocoa nut husk and hit him
on the head. This passd of all in good part.

The next day his wife went on shore, taking her gallant with
her. He had a musket with him. They arrivd at the house. The
native receivd him friendly and brought him some food. He
put his musket down. Some short time after, the native took it
up to look at it. This caused some altercation between them.
At lenght the native struck the American with the butt of the
musket and says he broke his arm at one blow and then hove
the Musket down and ran away much frightend at what he had
done. This is what began the fray.

The crew of the Ship landed with fire arms. The natives
faced them. A battle ensued not far from the beach. Three
natives was Kill'd—the father and his two sons. A fourth was
wounded in the left arm. He is now the reigning Chief at Reso-
lution Bay. Now here is one strikeing instance of the Kindness
of these people. They bore no malice. They came to good terms
again. Altho they was the Injured party, They came and helpd
the Americans to launch their boat, which they never could
have done of themselves.¹²

Now the next was another American Ship that touched at
Newka heava. This I first learnt from the natives and lastly
from the person himself that was the Chief Officer of the ship
that had done it. When I saw him he was Chief Officer with a
Capt Griffin Barney (Note see pages [127] and [128] for the Acc¹
of Capt. Barney), belonging to North America. The name of
the Ship and port I have forgot, but I make no doubt the story
is well Known at Salem & Newhavin. Unthinkingly I mentioned
the circumstances of some ships haveing cruelly shot the Chief-
tains brother. Capt B momently said he would not venture into
the harbour. My being informd the reason, I ashured him that

¹² This incident evidently occurred during the visit of Josiah Roberts, in
the Jefferson, which stayed at Vaitahu from 11 November 1792 to 24 Feb-
uary 1793, while a schooner (the Resolution) was built. No mention is
made in Robarts's journals of the incident. See Roberts, 1795: 238–46.
I would not point out his officer as being party concerned in shooting the Chiefs brother. However, he would not trust me. This was in the latter end of Aug or early Sep 1803, when Capt B touched here.13

The real cause of this murder was [that] the Chiefs Brother went in a canoe with his brother in law with some bread fruit and plantains. The latter have a plantain out of the canoe. It struck some on on board the ship. In return a musket was fired instantly and shot the Chiefs Brother through the breast, and in four or five days he died, much lamented. Here was cruelty in the darkest color. They took the body on board, but the wound was mortal. On their going out of the harbour the young man's uncle followed the ship, craving the body. They gave him his dying nephew and a slip of scarlet cloth—a fine plaister for a murdered man.14 Thus these kind people escapes for a time, but it will come home in the long run.

Now the next was an accident, but how careful should a person be when he points a musket at one object and kills another. Now this was the case with a boat belonging to the ship London of London, Capt Gardner, in 1798 or early in 99.15 This ship touched at New ha heava in the south east harbour. The boat went on shore. One of the natives either stole or attempted to steal something out of the boat. A musket was fired from the boat, missed the thief and shot a young lady who was sitting in the Chiefs house on the beach adjusting her turban. She was going to look at the boat landing. The ball went through her head. She died momentally. Here is a truly pitiable case. As far as I could learn, she was very handsome—about sixteen years of age. Now if these people had been inclined for revenge, they could have killed the boat's crew on the spot.

I hope, if ever this Narrative should fall into the hands of any one frequenting the Pacific Ocean, [they learn] to be cautious.

13 Robarts repeats the story later in the journal and gives the name of the ship as the Concord. There seems no other record except Robarts's of these two visits. Captain Griffin Barney sailed in the Barclay out of New Bedford Massachusetts, in 1795, 1797, and 1799 (United States, 1938: 48). The Concord, Captain Whyer, found the Barclay, Captain Griffin Barney, of New Bedford, with the Mars, Captain Swain, of Nantucket, whaling near the Falkland Islands in late January 1800. These had been to Masafuero (Robotti, 1962: 32–7).

14 Plaister, a covering or bandage.

15 This was at the end of January 1799 at Ho'oumi. Crook (Account: 280) says that the Taipi stole a musket and conflict ensued.
and not to leave things in the way of these Kind of people, as
they are apt to pilfer. Never fire a ball till you are obligated,
nor be allured from your boat on any account, as at several
Islands in these seas they will entice you from your boat with
their young women, who will lead you from the beach into the
bush. There you get murdered, and the boat becomes their
prize, if the ship is not well in shore so as to have the boat under
the cover of the ships guns.

Having given my reader a short account of these horrid
practices of being too handy with the musket, [I] must now
pay a visit to Walker, who I found in low spirits. Provissions
runs scarce in this part of the Isle. He wishes to leave this
place and come to live with me. I promised to come for him
by water on the decrease of the moon, as I observd the breezes
did not blow so strong as on the increase. During my absence
a war broke out with the tribe he lived with, and the Allies of
The tribe I lived among. He had a musket and his friend per­
suaded him to go to fight with them. This news reached the
ears of my friends at Tio foie. They was very uneasy on the
subject. Numbers of the warriers and principal men assembled
at the chiefs mothers house, being the place of all publick
concerns. They held a consultation what to do. Their different
projects made me to smile. My friend, looking me seriously in
the face, asked what caused me to smile. I answerd him, to see
them meet troubles half way. “How half way?” replyd he. “You
have no musket and they have, and in five days more the enemy
will ravage our country.” I then begd them not to be alarmd.
I would go and prevent the musket from doing them any harm.

The next morn[2] I set out and in the course of the forenoon
I arrivd. I found poor Walker sitting in the midst of the chief
men. I did not take any notice of them, but went to my friends,
the prophets, house. In a short time they sent for me. I went to
them. They asked me what I came for. I replied: “Is not your
country free for me to come and go. You must have some reason
for this uncommon enquiry.” They answerd that they thought
I was come to hear about the war. I seemed strange to it. How­
ever, they told me to my Face they had nothing to fear and that
my friends would be in their hands in a few days more. I said

[2] That is, between the Taipi, with whom Walker lived, and the Ati-toka,
who lived at Aakapa on the north side of Nukuhiva.
but little. That day passed. I retired to rest without any food.

Next day Walker and I took a walk along the rocks retired from any one. The French Boy followed to hear our conversation. I turned round and threatened to spear him with the spear I had in my hand if he came one step further. He ran off. Walker then asked me what was best to be done. I advised him to pack up every thing useful in the night; for if he did any thing in the day time we should be suspected; for the Chief had got the musket hung up over the place he slept. But to make sure, I took all the powder and shot and hid it unknow to Walker.

However, three days escaped and no food except a few ounces of very small fish, but I was determined at the hazard of my own life to frustrate their project; for they boasted too soon. On the fourth day preparations was made to set out that night. In the afternoon they brought me a small quantity of food. I had no appetite to eat much. In the evening they called Walker to go with them. I had taught him to say that both of us would come after them toward day dawn. The Chief capered about for joy, shoulders the musket and was going away. What, says I, if you take the musket, what would be left to protect their old people, their houses and war canoes. “Ah,” say he, patting me on the shoulder, “a very good thought.” He momently gave the musket to me.

They all set out, leaving their women & children behind. I walked the beach till midnight. No one was stirring. Walker and me, by the help of a Knife, worked a hole at the end of the house large enough to get in at and take what we wanted away. I found a canoe on the beach that would answer our purpose. We launched it and put every thing in, and away we pulld along shore. We had about three leagues to go. When we got out of the harbour, the wind began to blow and the sea began to be rough. Walker’s heart faild him. He wanted to return. I would not consent, altho we was in danger of being drowned every moment. I set a small sail on the canoe. We run fast, for I was doubtfull of a discovery. At length the wind and sea increased. We could run no further. My Knowing the rocks and inlets, we pulld under the shelter of a high rock in smoot water, waiting for day light.

17 Weapons were collected in a warrior’s house and displayed there on the walls (Gracia, 1843: 54-6; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 128-9).
At day dawn we set out, but was obligated to land on a beach belonging to my friend. The canoe being safe, I set out over land, leaving Walker to watch his canoe. Several of the inhabitants gathered around Walker when I was about to leave him. I espied one warrior that I was doubtful of, as he belonged to a tribe that some months before Walker had wounded one of with his musket in a skirmish between the tribe he had lived with and the Allies belonged to. I took his musket and loaded it with buck shot and gave it to him. I then told the warriors that was come that if any one molested him or the canoe in my absence that he would shoot them. I told them I was going home to fetch a large canoe as the wind blew fresh [and] the small canoe was dangerous. They said: “For what reason will we hurt our friend? He is come with you. He is now on our side.”

I set out and was over to Tio foie in about an hour. My friends was waiting impatiently. They began to doubt of my success, but was surprised when I informed them that I had made a clean sweep. I ordered a large canoe to be mand & launched to fetch Walker. I drank some gruel and set out in the large canoe. We got round in a short time. I found all was well. I sent my consort in the canoe. I had plenty of my tribe with me. They took up his luggage and I set out over land with them. We had got to the top of the mountain and was coming down Just as Walker landed amidst loud acclamations of joy. He was adopted grandson to the King.

When I arrived with his luggage, my friends was so overjoyed

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18 This was possibly Haka Pa'a which Crook said was the seaside outlet to Muakke and was owned by the Hapa, who were hostile to the Taipi and were sometimes called Tei'i. Robarts could have reached the trail to Taiohae from there (Crook, ‘Account’: 220).

19 Crook was adopted as a grandson and given the name of Keatonne’s grandson—Pakouteie. This was also Keatonne’s name. Pakouteie was actually the eldest son of a middle-aged woman, Henateiana Taiohono Tutake, who was married to Duetowa, Keatonne’s eldest son, aged about this time fourteen or fifteen years. Pakouteie was only about four years old in 1799 and was considered heir to Keatonne. The first born of haka-iki took on their privileges from the moment of birth. Crook found that his name gave him considerable entry and importance. Pakouteie’s mother, by Crook’s account, had an extraordinarily large number of pekio, or secondary husbands. He says she had forty. Robarts intimates a little further on that he shared the same namesake with Walker, although he made no mention of a naming ceremony for himself.
they thought they could not reward me enough. I told them that I asked no greater reward than lasting friendship and [for them] to shew Kindness to my Country men whenever their ships might touch there. This they promised me in the most solemn manner. A fine hog was soon Killd and Baked for a feast in honor to the young Prince, our name sake. Few was permitted to eat of the hog. I retired to bathe. Afterwards I drank some more gruel, my stomack being weak, havning had very little food for five days. The tribe I brought Walker from would give him food privately. They thought I would depart for want of food, but my mind was so bent to frustrate their design that at times I actualy felt no hunger, and when I had compleated my plot, I was amply rewarded with that heart felt satisfaction. I thankd providence that granted me the means of stopping such a carnage as would have been done had they got Walker to have gone to have fired on my party with his musket.

I rested myself to recover my former strenght, haveing been much tird by my late enterprize. I take Walker out in a canoe to shew him my marks for a guidance to bring ships to an anchor in the Harbour, as I was desireous of going over to the North side the Island—a part I had not yet seen—to visit the Royal family of that District. This was the place that Walker was to have gone to fight against. The Blood Royal here consisted of the Kings aunts, uncles, cousins & neices and other near a Kin. As I livd with the King at Tio foie, I had not seen many of these my adopted relations.20

I set out on a visit to them early one morng with a strong party of warriers to conduct me safe over the Mountains, as the lower class of the enemy would give any thing to get hold of me, if no Chieftain was present. My being related by adoption to most of the Chiefs of the enemy's tribes, none of them would allow the least insult if they Knew it. Nor would the Lower Class attempt the least insult, if they found me in the proper road going or coming to or from their valley, but if they caught me on the Mountains, which is the fighting ground they would Kill me and cutt me up on the spot. Not a word would be said untill I was missed and scearch made. Then the truth would come out and who ever had murdered me their land would be

20 It is quite clear from Crook's account that Taiohae on the south side and Aakapa on the north side were closely related valleys. Aakapa was possibly a ceremonial centre of Nukuhiva.
taken and they would be sacrificed in revenge of my death.21

However, I got safe over the ambushments, and being in safety, my party returned. They had about 15 miles to go back. I had about 4 or 5 miles further to go. I pursued my journey with two attendants and arrived at sun set at the house of a cousin to King Cato. He was out when I arrived. His wife & servants was at the house.22 This lady receivd me with all the respect that could be shewn. She took the mantle of her shoulders and placed it under me. There being no fish to be got, [she] sent a party of men to go and catch wild birds on the sides of the rocks & Mountains, as they were at roote in their holes—this they do with torches—and in the course of 2 hours was brought a good repast of wild birds.23 This lady, on taking of her mantle, gave me an opportunity of seeing her fine shape. She was tall & slender, extremely fair, and her beautiful, long, dark brown hair hung in ringlets below her slender waist. To say the truth, she was a very handsome woman and her kind and courteous manner of behaviour claimd respect. She was lively and conversant. Her husband was a very kind and generous, free hearted man.

After I had made a hearty repast, a singing party of young ladies came to spend the night. My friends lady, according to custom to my rank, spread her mat for me to sleep on and gave me her mantle. The night was spent in the greatest harmony. The sweetness of the young ladies singing lulld me to sleep about midnight, as I was weary. The day had been very hot and little wind, which made traveling heavy. In the morn we went to bathe. I rested here two days. My friend was mostly absent in the day time. The amiable company of his fair consort did not require any more to render the time agreeable.

On the third day early I set out with my two attendants and reachd my journeys end about noon. As soon as I came to the pass to descend into the Valley, some of the inhabitants espied me coming down the side of the mountain. They gave the alarm of my arrival. Great numbers ran to me with loud accla-

21 Robarts’s statement is supported to some extent by Crook, who said that the network of marriage relations between the tapu classes did not prevent hostilities between the tribes, but only made for personal safety of the higher classes (Crook, ‘Account’: 234).
22 There is no way of identifying this place.
23 The kuku were hunted with a sticky pole (mahuke), and the tropic birds were also hunted at night (Handy, 1923: 180–1).
motions of Joy. I stopt to bathe. The females came to wash me. I then proceeded to the Chieftains house, which was at one end of the danceing ground, [which is] a long square with houses for the company to sit in. The Chieftain, with his wife & daughter and a great number of warrier, came to conduct me to the house. As I enterd the play ground, the Drums beat off, the conk shells sounded, and the war whoop was sett up 3 times 3. The war dance led off. A large hog was got ready with plenty of fish and other food.24

After the war dance was over, the Warriers being armd brought their spears and spades, Battle axes, etc., & reard them around me. They then set up the war whoop again and thankd me in the name of their Diety in the most greatfull and affecting terms for the late delivery from the most cruel deaths that, I think Providence, [it was] permited me to stop. Judge, my reader, what was my feelings to see these poor benighted race of people express their gratitude in such affecting terms, some taking my leg and putting it on their head, others lay prostrate on the ground, as it were in deep devotion.25 I told them not to thank me. I had done no more than what I was in duty bound to. There was a God above to whom their thanks should be given. The scene had something solemn and awefull, I could not help sheding tears.

The Hog, fish & other food being ready and laid on the alter, I ascended the alter in company with the Chieftain, and at my request he invited the principle men and a number of warriers to the feast. Food was brought from all quarters in abundance. After we had eaten our repast, the Dance commenced again. The weopens of war was laid in the alter. No females are allowd to come near the alter. Several days past in rejoyceing.

At lenglit a messenger came over from the King to inform me that a ship had arrived five days back. I informd my new friend it was my intention to set out that eveng by water for Tio foie. A good sised canoe was got ready. A large hog was

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24 Aakapa. Crook ('Account': 231–5, 248), says there were two chiefs of the Ati-toka who lived at Aakapa: Tahedeiyo, who was related to the husband of one of Keatonnue's sisters (and whose daughter was married to his second son), and Kaiuteitei, who was somehow related to Tahedeiyo. Aakapa is a large amphitheatre-type valley with a permanent stream. Crook described a ko'ina at Aakapa at which he saw 10,000 people at three tohua. Linton (1925: 119) describes two tohua at Aakapa.

25 Crook experienced the same etiquette, but its meaning is unclear.
caught, & ripe bread fruit & cocoa nutt [were put aboard],
which, [with the] 7 men to pull and myself, was as much as
[would] Deep load the canoe. In the even8 the canoe was
launchd. I took my leave. Numbers of females set on the beach
weeping; others was singing songs in my praise.

We pulld hard along shore till about midnight, [when] we
landed on a sandy beach. This part was uninhabited. We laid
down to sleep, and before day dawn I awoke and calld the
people to launch the canoe. This was a hard days pull. We had
about 40 miles to go. We Keapt close along shore, as the water
was smooth & little wind. We reachd, before sun set, a small
bay which belonged to King Catos Brother in law.26 We had
about 6 miles to go. Here the water was rough. I got the Hog
carried over land for fear of the Canoe being upset and the Hog
drowned. The canoe I set on to Tio foie with her cargo.

When I reached Tio foie, it was night and too late to receive
any thing on board the Ship. At day light I went on Board the
Ship. The Capt receivd me in a very polite manner. I pre­
sented the Hog, Bread fruit & cocoa nutts to the Capt. He
thought I had brought them for sale. I informd him it was a gift
to me from my friend on the North side of the Isle to bring to
my country men. If he pleased to accept of them he was well­
come. It came free and I gave it freely. However, he gave a
small boar pig, as the canoe men seemed to admire it. They was
greatly pleasd. I sent the canoe back to my friend on the North
side.

In my abscence Walker had prevaled with the Capt to give
him his passage. When this was settled, he then informd the
Capt of me, who then finding that I was a powerfull man
among the Indians was very desirous of seeing me. He made
many enquiries conccerning these people and how I livd among
them, their manner & customs, etc. To all I answerd to his satis­
faction. This ship was named the Minerva of Salem in North
America, Capt M. Folger, [and was] from Masafuero with seals
skins Bound to Canton in China and from thence Home to
Salem.27

26 Robarts paddled or sailed around the west side of Nukuhiva, which was
mostly uninhabited. The bay in which Robarts stopped was either a small
fishing cove called Vannua Tahua or the last valley on the western side,
Vea, both of which belonged to the Taioa people (Crook, 'Account': 216).
27 Captain Mayhew Folger had sailed out of Salem, October 1799, and had
gone sealing at St Mary's Gulf off Conception and at Masafuero. He then

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Now Walker, during our acquaintance and after he came under my protection, had offered me a Large sum of Dollars and his Musket on condition that I would give him the first chance of leaving the Island in any ship that he might get a passage to go in. [He promised this], as it laid in my power to debar him from going on Board any ship, or even being seen on shore by any of the ships crew, as I could send him to another part of the Isle until the Ship was gone, but no such ungenerous, unmanly thoughts ever entered my mind. He said he could not make himself happy among the Indians as he could not get hold of the Language. To this I consented, but his money I would by no means accept of. He might give me his musket; it would be of great service to me to protect the place I livd in; for the name of a musket I always found sufficient without using it with shot.

As Walker had began with getting wood & water for the Ship, I did not offer my service. Only he lost some of the wooding axes. The natives had stole them. I went on shore and found out the party that had stole the Axes and made them bring them back. When the axes was brought back, the Sailors was for beating the thieves. I forbid them. For why did they give the axes out of their hands? Its what I never would allow. They might cut the wood, and the natives should carry the wood to the Boat, which was by far the heavyest work. Altho I would not allow the thieves to be beat, yet I had them disgraced by there country men, which was more painfull to the mind than a beating would have been to the body, as being disgraced by the sailors they would resent with their spears & slings, and a boats crew might thus be cut off. As for me they dare not say a word to. By these passive means I always maintaind good order. I never had any accident or Quarrell with any ships crew & my tribe in the course of ten years.

I spent a few agreeable days on board the Minerva with Capt Folger. He was a very polite, agreeable, lively companion. Their wood & water being compleated and every thing secure for sea, Capt Folger begd the favour of me to Pilot the Ship out to Sea.

recruited men at Callao and sailed for Canton through the Marquesas. The Minerva returned to Salem on 5 May 1803, the first ship from that port to circumnavigate the globe. The trip from Canton took 153 days. Robarts says the Minerva left the Marquesas on 11 April 1801. This seems very early in the year. October or November would have been a more likely month (Stackpole, 1953: 218).
I momently complyd, and early next morn* unmoord and run
the Ship out clear of the Land, and then hove the main yard a
back and lay the ship too. The Boat was lowerd down. I took
my leave. On going into the Boat I calld to Walker to bid
him farewell. At the same time I told him never to promise
what he did not mean to perform; for he had not taken any
notice of his promise to give me his musket, but made an
excuse, saying he had given it to the Capt, as the ship was short
of fire arms. This was false, for I saw plenty of muskets in the
cabin, but I askt no favour. Thus I parted with the ungreatfull
on April 11th 1801. I landed on the nearest part to the ship and
walked over land home.

I was now left again to myself. I contemplated on the in-
gratitude of mankind, yet I had one consolation that I had done
a good turn to a fellow creature who paid me with ingratitude;
for Walker was starving with the tribe he livd with. But I
servd my own purpose well in bringing him away from the tribe
he livd with. I said to myself: “I can do without a musket. I
trust to providence to grant me health. I can protect myself
against my enemys with the point of my spears and a watch
Keept at the passes on the mountains.”

Only our allies on the North side was weak, on account of
their country laying open on the enemys side. This caused us
to [be] on the alert. We frequently would make our appearance
at the enemys passes on the Mountains by day light in the
morn$. This Keept them in awe. My friend on the North side
sent over a strong party with an invitation for me to go over to
a great feast. But I declind going over for several days, as I
had spies in the enemy country and they had sent me word
that the enemy was preparing to come on the Mountains, but
I could not learn on what day. I advised the King to beat the
alarm drum and assemble the whole of the three tribes on the
south side.28 This he complyd with. The next day a grand
assembly meet at the Kings Danceing ground. I then advised
the King & his brother with a number of the head warriers to
secure our passes to prevent surprize, and for the body of our
army to advance into the enemys country as far as possible we
could get, and lay in ambush night & day, takeing food for
several days. Water ran thro the ambushment. On this proposal

28 Probably the Taioa, Hapa and Tepi.
they set up the war whoop and beat to arms, and that even we set out, and at day dawn we reachd our ambushment.

We lay here several days. At length some of the enemy espied our ambushment as they was rambling thro the woods. They gave the alarm. The enemy fled. We pursued as far as was safe. In our retreat fire was set to the houses, and my party would have beat the bark of the bread fruit trees. By this means the trees would die. But this act I would by no means consent to. For I told them those trees would feed them another day, for it frequently happend that plenty of bread fruit would be in one part of the Island when the other parts was starving, the inhabitans dying in great numbers for want of food. This attackt on the enemy drove them into the greatest consterna­tion. They gave up the thought of coming on the mountains.

After a few days I set out for the north side. The feast was over some time, but my friend had reservd one of the Largest Hogs to Kill when I came. I arrivd on the second day in the even after I left Tio Foie. I was receivd with the greatest respect. Food was prepaid and brought to me on the Altar. After I had eaten, I retired to rest, being much fatigued after travelling two days together, the sun being extremly hot on the mountains.

A party of young ladies of rank came on a visit to the Chieftains Daughters. They had not seen me when I was there before. They are remarkable fond of strangers. They seated themselves on each side of me as I lay on the Matt. Some rubd my limbs to take out the pain which occurs from fatigue & a Burning hot sun. Others commenced the Even song which was Keepd up untill an early hour next morng. Some fish was brought. I forbade them not to put it on the Altar, as I wishd the ladies to partake with me. The Chiefs Daughter then order food that had not been on the altar for herself and the other ladies.29 Our little but pleasing repast being over, I retird again to my matt. One of the ladies, according to the custom of the country paid to my rank, hove her mantle over me. The cheerfull song recommenced. I fell into a sound sleep in the midst of the ladies. I awoke early in the morn and went to bathe. My skin was much burnt with the sun. I spent several very agreeable days at this place. My feast being over, I was

29 For food tapus on women see Armstrong, Hawaiian Spectator 1 (1838): 13, Crook, 'Account': 9-10; Stewart, 1833: 150 ff.; Handy, 1923: 262.
desireous of departing. My friend press't me much to stop longer.

Shudder not my fair reader at what I am now going to relate. I was one afternoon with the Chief & several others of rank at the prophets dancing ground. At this time the spirit was on him. He was prophesying, just as I sat near him. Shortly after I heard the war whoop, and in a little time a poor unfortunate victim was brought and laid before him. It was a young woman of the enemy's tribe [who] had been gathering wild chestnuts. It being hungry times, food was scarce among the poor class of people. She was caught in the woods by a party that had been out to reconnoitre the enemy. As soon as she was caught, she was put to death and then tied hand & foot and carried by two men on a pole without any covering. As soon as the body was laid before the Prophet, he ran to it like a vulture. He took a stone and broke the skull and took the brains out and eat them raw.  

When I beheld this horrid sight, I walked away and went to my friends house. When he came home he asked for what reason did I leave the play ground. I told him and then entered into close conversation on eating human flesh. He said it was what was taught by their forefathers, to eat their avowed enemies, but there are many that will not eat human flesh. The conversation turned. He then asked me if the French man had any fire arms. I answered him no. He then says to me: "What is the reason you cannot live here as well as at Tio foie? I have of food in store—Plenty. You will not be hungry with me, and if Beauty takes your fancy, have your choice." I answered I knew very well that he had plenty, and, as to the young ladies, their charms were powerful enough to attract me, but yet my mind was devoted to more than my own personal care & pleasure.

The discovery that the Marquesans were anthropophagists (or cannibals) was both alarming and fascinating to nineteenth-century writers. Langsdorff (1813–14: 141 ff.) devoted pages to philosophising about it. It was, of course, a shattering of the illusions about the soft savages of the South Seas and Rousseau-esque interpretations of Polynesian life. Robarts told Krusenstern (1813: 166) and Lisiansky (1814: 87–8) that cannibalism was practised for food, but Crook (‘Account’: 157, 198) denied this. He always associated the eating of human flesh with the desire to possess the prowess of an enemy and regarded its practice as being confined to a very small number. Ko'ina heana was the feast of human flesh and the annihilation of personality. For discussions of Marquesan cannibalism see Tautain, 1896b: 443–52; Thomson, ‘The Marquesas Islands’: cxxvi; Porter, 1822, II: 41–7; Shillibeer, 1817: 38; Crook, ‘Account’: 3, 97, 154, 161.
I had the welfare of the weary navigator uppermost in my mind, and his country [was] too far distant to attend in time any ship that might arrive. An accident might happen unforeseen in my absence. Lives might be lost on both sides. On this point he agreed with me.

In a few days I took my leave in company with two young ladies of rank and a party of warriors. We set out by moon light and got to the pass by day break. On this side the Isle the rocks are steep and the mountains very high. We came to a fine run of water. Here we bathed & eat some food. I then took my road direct across the mountains for *Tio foie*, which at other times would have been dangerous, as we had to go thro several places where the enemy had laid in ambush, but I was well informd that the enemy was very weak for want of food, and their Chiefs would not give any food out of their stone pitts. This gave me courage to venture. We walkd hard all day, only stoping to drink water, and eat as we walkd. We reached the passes of *Tio foie* before sun down.

We was a little alarmd. A man came running behind us. I stopt in the path to receive him with my spears. 4 more was close by, ready with their slings. I sent the two young ladies on to make the best of their way down the pass. They gave the alarm that I was beset by the enemy on the other side the pass. The alarm drum beat, and my party was comeing from all parts to my assistance. Now I was so situated that had it been a party of the enemy I could Keep them at bay while I had stones to sling. However, this man cameing near and seeing me couch to heave my spear, he calld out and told me his name. I Knew his voice. He was a favourite warrier of mine. He said he had tract our foot steps from the Brook. He had ran the whole of the way, but could not overtake us. We decended into *Tio foie*. At dusk I arrivd safe the Kings house. The family came round. Some wept: others was Joyous, for on the alarm they was doubtfull of my safety. But they well Knew I would Keep my ground with 10 or 15 good men against 100 of the common run of the enemy, which, so near as I was, would give time for assistance to arrive. The King, as was usual, had been absent all day, [and] was Just come home. I went to bathe. Food was prepaid for me by the Queen. The King was very desireous of hearing the state of our Northern Allies and what I Knew of the enemys motions. I answerd him in every particular.
Next day I went to the Kings mothers house, as the Royal family generally met there every day, it being close to the sea side. One end was in the water. About midday the family was assembled. I paid my respects to the family. The young princesses laid their mouths on me, which is a high mark of esteem. Great numbers came to welcome my return next day, as [it] was my custom at times to visit the inhabitants.

I was sorry to observe the Bread fruit on the trees began to be very scanty, and the poor people had no food in store. Numbers of poor familys began to feel the fatal effects of famine. I past away several days of visiting my neighbours; for I mised several. I advised them that had land on the sides of the mountain the soil was good to plant yams, Plantains & other roots, which would help them greatly in time of need. Some took my advice, and in a few months their labour made a pleasing appearance; while others, indolent, groaned with the pains of hunger and did not clear away their lot of land, for they all could plant plantains among the bread fruit trees.

After some time I mentiond to the Queen that I was desireous of visiting her brother, a powerful Chieftaint. She was glad and said: “Go and see my country”. Her Brother lived in a deep and very long valley about 5 miles distant to the west of Tio foie. I had never been there, only by water [and] on the beach. She sent word to her Brother that I was about to visit them. They was very glad, and preparations was made for my reception. The day was appointed. I set out. When I arrivd at the pass to descend into the valley, I had a fine view of the rocks on the opposite side over which a fine water fall made its way down into the valley. The rocks was something awefull in appearance, some in the shape of a pyramid, others like towers of various shapes—spires, pillars—and others in the

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31 What Robarts experienced at Nukuhiva, Crook ('Account': 159) experienced at Tahuata in 1797. See also Wilson, 1799: 130-1; Lisiansky, 1814: 87; Ham, 1846: 14.
32 Robarts's information does not entirely agree with Crook's on this point. Keattonnue's wife, Teheyatioa, according to Crook, had a younger sister who was married to Poutinne, the haka-ika of Hakaui. It would have been her brother-in-law, not her brother, that Robarts visited. David Porter (1822, II: 89) claimed that in 1813 the daughter of Keattonnue was the wife of the chief. Poutinne had visited Tahuata while Crook was there and had sailed all around the Marquesas triumphantly displaying a goat. Krusenstern (1813: 132, 159) described Poutinne (Bauting) as gigantic in stature and about fifty years of age. Keattonnue's wife was the daughter of Katomo, chief of the Taioa tribe, which was centred on Hakaui.
form of tents. All had a curious and romantic appearance.33

The inhabitance had been frequently at Tio foie. They had seen me before. When I arrived at my friends I was receivd with every respect. My friends wife was a very stout women. Of her I cannot speak too well. This lady was of an open, generous temper. She always made it her study to render every thing comfortable for me. She was remarkable, lively & enter­ taining in her manner. Her son was married to one of the Kings daughters, being first cousins.34 Here I spent about four months in the most agreeable manner.

At lenght her Brother was fitting out a canoe to go over to the opposite Island, called Woo ah bo, about 15 Leagues distance.35 I went over with him to visit this place. On my arrival I was sorry to find the fatall effects of famine was severely felt all over this Island. I made a tour round this Isle. At present [I] found nothing worth notice.

I returnd to New ka heava in about 3 weeks. Our canoe was deeply laden with luggage belonging to several people going over to New ka heava to purchase large canoes for the purpose of leaveing their country to go in search of other land, where plenty of food is abounding. The prophets pretend to have seen in a dream fine countrys a few days sailing distant. This the poor deluded people believe and leave in numbers the land that gave them breath.

We set out in the Evens, but was obligd to put back, the sea breeze blowing too strong. About midnight we made sail again and stood over for New ka heava. The Queen of the silver bower shone extremely bright. We had got about half passage

33 The Russians were very enthusiastic about Hakaui and described the valley in detail (Krusenstern, 1813: 130 ff.). It is a narrow canyon, whose western cliffs reach to 3,000 feet and are fantastically sculptured by erosion. There is a waterfall of some 2,000 feet from the river that flows out from Vaioa valley (Adamson, 1936: 58).

34 Again Robarts's information does not seem quite correct, according to Crook. This 'friend's wife' is presumably Uuhwei. She had no sons at this time but one of the daughters, Teabu, was married to what Robarts would call her first cousin, the eldest son of Keattonnue's sister, Taheibu. Crook added that Teabu was actually Keattonnue's child by Uuhwei and that this was the source of some tension. She was adopted by Keattonnue's pekio, Paienue, as heir (Crook, 'Account': 234-5).

35 Ua Pou was known as Cathedral Island from its fantastic spires and turrets (Adamson, 1936: 60-3). Crook ('Account': 211-12) said that it was the only island under one chief, whose name was Fettu-uga. The island was in constant contact with Nukuhiva.
over when a sea broke over us and swampd our canoes—it was two lashed fast asunder from each other about 5 or 6 foot. As soon as our canoe was swampt, the Indians all huddled together, never offering to do anything for their relief. I must confess I had but little hopes of liveing, but in the midst of danger is no time to give way to fear & despair. I was calm and collective. Death was before my eyes. I thought on my dear native land and every moment I expected to be in the Jaws of a shark. There was plenty swimming about. However, I got the sail taken in. This easd the canoe. I then made all hands Jump over board and plunge with their feet to Keep off the Sharks. Still this would not do. I had only one effort left. That was I hove all their luggage over board, and thanks be to divine providence that this snatched me from the Jaws of death. Our canoes lightend. I let two men get into each canoe, and [they] baid the water out. Their luggage was most pickd up again. All hands got into the canoe again. We made sail, and at sun rise we landed. I think we was 15 or 16 in number. I do not wish to praise myself; It was providence that saved us. One thing I am ceartain. Had they been left to themselves, they would never have survived. They gave themselves up to despair.

When I landed, I returnd god thanks for our deliverance. I was as glad as a condemnd criminal that had got a repreive at the place of execution. I went to my friends house. They, liveing distant from the beach, Knew nothing of my arrival. The family was all very glad that I was return. They paid me the honors due to my rank. Food was prepared. I went to bathe. After my repast I retird to rest, being very much fatigued. I really believe, when I was in the height of danger the night before, I had for a while the strenght of 2 or 3 men. Every nerve was straind. I thought on those I left on the Banks of the Mersey and Thames, which aded new vigor and cheered me up in my truly distressd situation.

Some two or three months escaped. Some evil minded person had represented to the King at Tio foie that his Brother in law had used some threatening language, as tho he wishd to go to war with the King. Things went on so far that no one dare go to Tio foie. This made the whole family very unhappy. News came that next day war would be declard against them. My friend prayd I would go to Tio foie and in [his] name declare that neither he nor any of his family had said any thing disrespectfull, and, as for war, it was the most distant thing in his
mind. (For truly he was not a fighting man). I set out and de-
livered my embassy. Every thing was composed, and the person
found out who had [given] rise the report. I retirnd in the
even* with the agreeable news to all parties.\textsuperscript{30}

In a short time after, the King came on a visit to his brother
in law and took me home with him—as I never deemd myself
at home, only when I was at Tio foié—I paid my daily visits to
my neighbours and was glad to see in some places a few bread
fruit on the trees, but these was soon done, and the dreadfull
effects of famine was severely felt in all parts of the Island. I
Knew eleven out of twelve to die in one House With hunger.
I saw the bodies laying on the ground in a putrid state. The
survieing one proved to be the grandmother. When her grand
daughters died—they was two fine girls in days of plenty—I
saw one of them laying in a shallow run of water. She, poor
creature, had crawl'd from her house a small distance from the
water to get a drink. When I found her, she was almost gone.
I lifted her out of the water and laid her on the grass in a cool
place. She died in a few minutes. I stood and wept over her,
pitying her most untimely and shocking death to die with
hunger & thirst. These girls might have been saved, but I had
been abscent, and the stench of the dead bodies in the house
[being such that] no one would go near the House. To return
to the grandmother. When her grand daughters was dead, she
was the last. She got by degrees into the woods and there sub-
sisted on roots of trees and what she could get untill the bread
fruit began to be fitt to eat. She then retirnd, And in the days
of Plenty would relate how she livd in the wood. She was a
prophetess of distintion. I have felt the pains of hunger
severely, but providence, ever good, gave me fortitude to bear
my lot thro all scenes of life.

Some months escaped. One afternoon a ship passd close by
the mouth of the harbour.\textsuperscript{37} I got a canoe launched, but could
not over take her. The sun was declining to its western seat.
The Ship was going before the wind with a croud of sail set.
She was soon out of sight. This brought a deep sigh for the land
that gave me breath. I said to myself: “Why do I repine?
Providence has place me here for his good purposes.” Thus I

\textsuperscript{30} The hostilities of the Tel'i and the Taioa were a little older and deeper
than Robarts suggests.

\textsuperscript{37} Unidentified ship, unless it was Coutance in the \textit{Adèle}. He sailed past
Nukuhiva in 1803 (Coutance, Extrait).
would comfort myself and lookd forward for better days. I never gave way to frett, but Keepd my spirits up, altho so severe a trial was enough to daunt the courage of a Lion.

In the course of 2 or 3 months after, the Chief of Woo ah bo came over on a visit, and seeing me so extreamly meagre—for certainly I was a near skeleton: I was lively but extreamly weak—he had the Kindness to ask me to [go] over to his Isle with him, but his canoe was small. I would not venture, as the Breeze was blowing strong. He told me that the people was dead, and now the trees was breaking down with the weight of Bread fruit. Numbers went over, and canoes, going daily for food, saved great numbers from starving to death. A few days after, I went over in a large canoe. My friend receivd me with the greatest respect. I was his daughters adopted name sake. Food was ready. I took but little, as my stomack was weak; for I have Known people in my situation when they got food eat too much, and it has Killd them. So I acted with caution. As god was pleased to spare me when hundreds died, I would not endanger my life by eating so much, as I could eat a little frequently. Every attention was paid for the recovery of my strengh. In one month I was able to walk well. I passed several months here.

In my abscence the King at Tio foie had gathered a small crop of Bread Fruit. He sent for me. I returnd and found my friends something better than when I left them. They was surprized to see me alterd so much for the better, altho in time of plenty I was light & slender, but that was owing to my walk­ing a great deal—for those Mountains was very fatigueing. When hunger came, these people would sleep away their time and by that means become languid and low spirited. For I found stiring about passd away the tedious hours.

One day I was returning from up the valley. I espyd a fine figure of a young lady Just as she was comeing out of the water from bathing. She could not see me; I stood among some low trees. I viewd her with a partial eye. I enquired who she was. My attendant informd me that she was a younger sister to the King. She seemd to be about 18 years of age. When I got home, I askd the King concerning her and if she was his sister. He said yes and pressd me to accept of her for my bride. As it was lawfull for me to have her, I readily complyd. I went to her and had some conversation with her, and in two or three visits I found she had no aversion to me, and in a few days I offerd her
my hand. She accepted it without reluctance, and according to the custom of the country she became my bride. I had seen her for some time before, but, thinking she was married, never enquired who she was. Nor I should never have asked, had I not seen her on a plantation that no women was allowd to walk on. The King had given it her in the time of famine to Keep her alive.38

Having now changed my situation in life, I find something more to amuse my time with. The first Job was to build a new house and repair the enclosure, which was of loose stones. Then I cleared away the weeds & grass and planted plantains. Next I cleared away a spot of ground And planted a good quantity of tumeric, of which they make a perfume. It’s very valuable, its being made at this Island only.39 At length I blessed my eyes with the pleasing sight of seeing the trees beginning to bud, and in their proper time the trees was breaking down with the weight of Bread fruit, and, thanks be to god, thus was we saved after a three years famine. I gatherd a good crop for the sake of the Lott of Land my wife had. I prepared it for Keeping with my own hands and put it into the pit.40

38 Robarts never gives us his wife’s name in the journal. Her death notice at Calcutta gave it as Ena O De Atah. In his letter to James Hare printed as Appendix I in this volume, Robarts says the ‘king gave me his own sister —Ena-O-Ae-A-Ta, to be my bride, as a small token of his esteem; I have ever since thought it a great one’. There is no name recognisable as this among Keattonnue’s sisters, but Crook does not give the names of three of the women in Keattonnue’s family. Krusenstern (1813: 128) described her: ‘Robarts’s wife, a pretty young woman of about eighteen years of age, seemed in some measure to have departed from the custom of her country, and, in our opinion, very much to her advantage; for she had not rubbed her body over with cocoa-oil, which, although it gives great lustre to the skin, produces a very powerful smell’.

39 Robarts describes the baking of tumeric (ena) for decoration later. Crook (‘Account’: 220) said that the process of making ena belonged as a monopoly to one valley on Nukuhiwa, Muakke, where the Hapa lived.

40 Krusenstern (1813: 127) visited Robarts’s house: ‘we could not however withstand the request of the friendly Robarts, to visit his house; nor did we regret the little round we were obliged to make in order to get there. It was built after the fashion of the island, was quite new, and stood in the midst of a wood of cocoa trees. Upon one side flowed a small stream, and upon the other, in the middle of a rock, was a spring of mineral water.’
One day in the latter end of May, 1803, the alarm was given from of the mountain that a ship was in sight. I momently got a canoe and pulld out of the Bay. I got sight of the ship, and, as soon as they saw the canoe, the Ship Hove too. I was soon on board the ship. When I askd the Capt if he was for going into the Harbour, he said yes and was happy to hear an English tongue in that remote part of the world. I then took charge of the Ship, Trimd the sails and stood in for the bay. As I enterd the bay, I orderd the boats to be cleard and got out. This was soon done, and two boats [were sent] a head to tow the Ship as it fell calm under the Land. We was in a short time at our Anchorage and came too with the best Bower anchor.

This Ship was called the One Idea of Newhaven, North America. The sails was soon furld and the Decks cleard. The King and some of his Brothers came on board. They did not stop. They returnd on shore. A boat went from the ship and returnd with a large party of young ladies, who was desireous of seeing the ship. Haveing every thing snug & the Boats securd, I set down to take a glass of grog. Coffee being ready, we retird to the Cabin & took our even® repast.

After supper Capt Brinell & a Mr E. Mix, a supercargo, askd me if I had ever seen a dog named Pato. I told [them] yes: the dog was well: he was at the Kings house. He said he could wish to recover the dog. I enquird how he came to leave the dog. He

1 Neither the One Idea, nor Captain Brinell, is to be found in the more readily available sources of American whaling. The One Idea might possibly have been the Oneida. A ship of that name is mentioned in Starbuck (1878: 550) at a much later date, 1857.
then informd me that he left the dog with a Mr Crook, whom he had pickt up at Towatta and had brought to Tio foie, and [who], at his own request, was left with King Cato. This information cleared up my mind as far as to Mr Crook, whom I thought was dead or had been Killd. To return to Pato. He was the property of a wine Merch at Newhaven and was found guilty of sheep stealing about the year 1797 and was banished for the above crime, but was recalld June 8th, 1803. Capt. B. gave two other dogs in his room.

The even being late, I retird to rest. I slept on deck for fear of any accident in the night time, as the Charge of the Ship & the lives of all hands lay to my charge. Early in the morn, I went on shore with the boats to wood & water. I employd the natives to wash the casks & fill the water. This I attended to myself, for water for a ship filledd in a careless manner frequently proves of serious consequence. Nothing is worse than Bad water on Board a ship. Also I got one Boat load of wood & returnd on Board to breakfast: returnd on shore: made two trips of wood & water: returnd to dinner and made one trip in the afternoon, as it was my rule to clear Decks at 4 O Clock in the afternoon. At day dawn calld all hands, Leaving some to wash the Decks, the rest on shore to wood & water. So, by this means, I compleated in a few days their wood & water, procureing fresh Pork, fish & vegetables, Bread, plantains, tarrah root.

And the Capt offered to give me a passage to America, Informing me at the same time that when he left Masafuero there was ten or twelve ships which had not compleated their cargoes of seal skins. Some of these ships was to touch at New ka heava on their Way to canton in China, and, if I stopt to see the Last of these ships clear of these Islands to come to Newhaven, that I should be provided for. I spent the few days the ship staid

Fanning (1924: 144) made no mention of a dog among the things he left with Crook at Taiohae. Crook ('Account': 253) said that his 'great dog' helped to panic the enemies of the people of Taiohae, and that the natives in general were much afraid of the animal.

Taro roots; there were some thirty varieties cultivated in the Marquesas (Brown, 1991: 132–4).

The sealing at Masafuero was at its height about this time (Stackpole, 1953: 208, 213–14; Robotti, 1962: 36–7). Fanning (1924: 223) was informed that there were more than thirty American sealing vessels off the South American coast in 1801. Delano (1818: 306) had seen the crews of fourteen ships sealing on shore at Masafuero and with some exaggeration estimated that 3 million seals had been taken there since 1797.
extremely happy. I found Capt Brinell from my short acquaintance to be what the world calls a good hearted man. Mr Mix, the supercargo, was lively good company.

Capt B. inform me that he had got every thing he could for his use; he wishd to depart. Accordingly, the usual signal for sailing was made by firing a gun and to Loose the fore top sail. I sent up the top gallant yards, and got the Boats stowd, except one, and unmoord ship, rideing by single anchor. We spent the evening with a party of Ladies who came to amuse the Capt and crew with a farewell dance, which lasted till after midnight. As the ship was going to sea, I did not sleep but little, and at day dawn calld all hands and hove up the anchor and made sail. We was soon out at sea. Capt Brinell made me a present of a musket with some powder & shot and several other things of value to me, tho trifling to him. The ship now being well out in the offing (to say, clear of the Land), the Boat was hauld alongside for to convey me on shore. Thus I took my leave of Capt Brinell, Ship, One Idea of Newhaven, America.

I must confess I felt a regret as I went into the boat. These people was on their return home to reap the reward of the toils of a two years voyage, and myself an exile from all that is dear to me. Yet the thoughts of doing good, which was and I hope ever will be, uppermost in my mind, debar'd me at present from returning to society; for assisting of the weary navigator was certainly of the greatest Importance to commerce, and commerce is the glory & support of nations. I could do more with a wave or beckon of the hand then the force of arms could accomplish. I was little in myself, but my mind was great. I never lookd at a steep Mountain, but I reachd its summit. I landed from the boat in tolerable good spirits, [and] took leave of the boats crew. I stood on the rocks untill they reached the ship. The boat was hoisted up, and the Ship Bore away before the wind. I waved a silent adieu and walked home.

The first thing I did was to take the Lock of my musket and tied that with my powder, Shot & flints in a bundle together and hid it away where no one would ever find it, as in my absence the french man might steal it; for he used to come at times under pretext of paying me a compliment. I always receivd him in a cool but civil manner, [and] would order him food to eat as I did other strangers. When I had put my trifles by, I went to my Brother in Law the King. He enquired if the ship was gone safe. I answered yes. He then says to me: "How long
will it be before Crook returns? For," sayd lie, "I expect him every season. According to his promise, he would return in two or three years with his mother & sister, a horse or Cow, with some sheep." They shewd me a spot of ground where some plantains was planted, and it had been fenced in with bamboes, and gave it the name of Maria’s Compound. (Maria [was] his sisters name).⁵

It is now 25 years since Mr Crook left New ka heava. He was left by the ship Duff, mission ship, the first time she left England. The Duff left England bound to New Holland, [and] arrivd there. From thence she sail for Otaheita, and from thence to the Marquesas Isles. Arrivd at Towatta (Sᵗ Cristiana), Mr Crook, and I think a Mr Harris, was landed. Mr C. staid, but the other was alarmd At the freedom of the ladies [and] only staid one night on shore and returnd on Board the Duff next day, leaveing Mr Crook alone. This I found by a Journal I found in the chest that I found in the Hutt. Mr C. staid, but the other was alarmd At the freedom of the ladies [and] only staid one night on shore and returnd on Board the Duff next day, leaveing Mr Crook alone. This I found by a Journal I found in the chest that I found in the Hutt. Mr Crook got his passages to London in the Ship I had left and arrivd safe. I scince have been well informd that Mr C. now lives on an Isle near to Oteheita, only a few miles across, at which place the Missionaries are beginning to form a traffic with the other Isles. They are Building Vessels for the purpose of tradeing between these Isles and New Holland.⁶

Being now in expectation of Ships arriveing, I Keep a good look out to the Eastward from of the mountains, but nothing hove in sight untill Sept⁷. One afternoon [there was] the alarm of a ship in sight. I got my canoe launched and pull out of the Bay, got sight of the ship, and was soon along side [and] got on Board. I askt as usual from whence they came and where bound to. This Ship was the Concord of Salem, America, Capt G. Barney.⁷ I then askt the capt if he would go into the Bay. He said it was Eveng. I told him I could take the ship safe into anchor night or day. He declind. I did not press. I then askd

⁵Crook had persuaded Keattonnue to give him a piece of cleared land. The land had about a hundred breadfruit and coconut trees on it. In one corner was a shed in which a boy called Hekonaeke, who later went to London on the Euphrates, lived and watched the trees. Crook organised a feast in the Nukuhiva manner to clear and enclose the land. Thirty or forty men shared a catch of fish and assisted Crook (‘Account’: 249–50).
⁶Crook had returned to the Tahitian mission after thirteen years in Sydney. He retired to Sydney in 1830. He revisited the Marquesas briefly in 1825 (Davies, 1961: 286; Ham, 1846: 27–8).
⁷See Chapter 4, note 13.
him if he meand to go into harbour in the Morn*. He said yes. I then informed him I wished to heave the ship about and stand to the Southward until 12 at night, and then veer ship and run for the harbour, which, if the breeze stood, I would be at an anchor by sun rise. I was very unwell with the headach. I did not go to supper when the Capt sent for me. I stood in deck until 12 at night, and then hove about and stood for the Land.

In the course of the Even*, as I was in conversation with the Chief mate, I mentioned the circumstance that some years back the Kings younger brother had been shot by some person on board of a ship that had touched there. I no sooner made mention of this than the mate confessed that he was on board that ship when it happened. He said that some natives came off in a canoe and that one of them hove something and struck some one in the face belonging to the ship. In return a musket loaded with Ball was fired. The Ball entered the Breast of the Kings Brother, and in two or three days he died. Now a half brother in law to me was the person that hove a ripe plantain on board the ship, not meaning to give the least offence to any one. The plantain was hove with a view of attracting notice, as they wanted to sell their cargo of bread fruit, cocoa nuts & ripe plantains, which was a very acceptable lot of food for men who had been living many months on salt provisions. Now supposing the plantain hove really hit any one, or the Capt himself, a ripe plantain would not break any bones or even the skin. Was there the least cause to fire a loaded musket at a man naked and unarmed—a man, who was come to feed them & was for so trifling a thing thus murdered in cold blood? Their is no excuse; for they certainly knew the musket was loaded. They afterwards took the dying chieftain on board, and I make no doubt was sorry for what was done. Two days after the fray, they put to sea. As the Ship was leaving the harbour, the Uncle of the King pulled after them and begged the body of his dying nephew. They lowered him into the canoe and gave with him a piece of scarlet cloth—a fine plaister for a murdered man.

Capt B., overhearing our conversation, then said he would not venture His ship into the harbour for fear I should have informed the King that his Chief mate was on board the ship where his brother was shot. The officers and crew endeavoured to dissuade him from so ungenerous a thought, for they was much in want of refreshment. I made no reply. Only I requested the
favour of the Boat to put me on shore. To this he complyd. He
orderd some things to be packed up. When the Package was
brought me, I askd what it was. They informd me it was a
present from the Capt. I sent him my compliments and that I
was very much obliged to him for his Kindness, but as I had
not been of any service to him or his Ship or crew I beg to be
excusd. They presst me to accept of the present. The Capt came
on deck himself and told them to give me the Package. I then
said that I felt myself very much hurt. I could not by any mean
accept of any thing. On my going into the boat he began to
waver in his mind and was inclind to go into the harbour. I
answerd that I would not have anything to do with his ship,
and, if she went to anchor, they might do the best they could.
This I ashurd them: that I would not hinder them of any
thing, but I would not render them any assistence.

The ship lay too. [With] the second mate and four men to
pull, the Boat conveyd me on shore. The mate had brought
some Biscuit & cheese in the Boat for himself. When we
landed, he and three men accompanyd me home. When they
saw my royal consort, they was much surprized, for she certainly
was A fine figure and a handsome woman. I told them that she
was sister to the King. She got some people and gathered some
good bread fruit, cocoa nutts & ripe plantains and gave them
as a present to the mate & those with him. He gave the Biscutts
and chee, and, after regaleing over some coco nutt milk, they
took their departure. I accompanyd them to the Boat and stood
on the Beach untill they got on board safe. I must confess I
was much hurt at the Capts ungenerous surmise to think that I
should injure him for the fault of others. I pass away my time
with my lovely consort in a state of true happiness.

Nothing occurd worth notice untill May 1804. As I was
bathing at the Back of my house early one morn, my people
on the mountains gave the alarm that a ship was in sight. I ran
to the Beach. My canoe was mand. When I got there, I got in
and away we pulld out of the Bay and got sight of the ship. My
canoe being well mand, [we] soon got near to the Boat, which
was sounding a head of the ship. They took me out of the canoe
into the boat. The officer gave me a bit of red cloth, a few fish
hooks & some nails, he thinking I was a native. This diverted
me, nor did I undeceive them untill after I got on board. My
beard was very long; it coverd my breast, for I had not been
shaved for about 3 years. My skin [was] tand with the sun. No

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one on board thought but that I was a native. The Capt & his officers viewd me.

My ears was filld with the sound of several languages, Viz, French, dutch, Rush, german and sweeds. I could not tell what to make of them. The ship, I Knew, had been an English sloop of war from her build. I made sighns for them to hoist their Colours, for I thought she was a french privateeer. However, they hoisted Rushian Colours. I then spoke to them in Broken Rush. They all stared at me. A french Gentleman on board ask me could I speak french. I answerd him in that language: “Yes, a little.” The Capt then askd me in Rush what country man I was. I told [him] I had the honor of Being an English man. He spoke tolerable good English. He askd me could I pilot his ship safe to anchor. I answerd him yes, and that I would steer her myself, if he would have the goodness to answer me in trimming the sails. As none of his Officers could understand English, it would cause confusion. The Capt said he was very happy that I could thus oblige him. He then gave me charge of the Ship.

KRUSENSTERN (1805: 6–7) described the arrival of the Russians in this way:

The captain suspected that the master of some American ship must have behaved ill to the natives, and that this might serve to account for their timidity. [Few canoes came out to the Russians.] At length two boats were despatched to explore the bay of Anna Maria, so called by Hergest. When these boats were about a verst distant from us, we observed a canoe making towards them. Our expectation was now at its height: we saw the canoe approach the first boat, and in a few minutes both of them rowed off together; our boat proceeded forwards, and the canoe, which steered for the ship, approached the second boat. We could now plainly perceive that all the people in it were naked: one of them, who was of somewhat lighter colour, we took to be their chief or king; for we are told by navigators that the higher ranks have a whiter colour. This person stepped into our boat, and the crew of our ship all exclaimed, ‘The king! the king!’ The boat and the canoe then both rowed towards the ship. We now observed something in the water near the canoe, which we at first believed to be an islander swimming; for we knew from books of voyages that they are very expert at this exercise. ‘A man swimming! a man swimming!’ was repeated both in Russian and German. All hurried to the head of the ship, and one climbed up on the shoulders of the other. On their nearer approach we discovered to our regret that the excellent swimmer who had afforded us so much satisfaction was an outrigger or cross pole placed over the canoe, which was not above a foot in breadth, to defend it from being injured by the rocks. When the islanders got close to the ship, the light coloured person climbed up, and, to our astonishment, addressed us in English. We soon found that he was an Englishman, who had already spent five years in the island; he was almost entirely naked, having only a narrow girdle tied round his middle, and was tattooed on the breast. The canoe rowed past the ship, and the men addressed to us a kind of speech. The index
I took the helm and steerd for the harbour, a fine breeze blowing. I enterd the Bay with all sails set. The water was deep and the shore bold. I steerd close to the rocks, running farther in. I took all the small sails in and run the ship to anchor under her top sails. According to my custom when I brought any ship to anchor to ask for a glass of grog, it was brought. I drank to the Capt health. He then informd me he was in want of wood & water & every refreshment that could be procured, and that the ship Belongd to His Imperial Majesty, the Emp of Rushia, sent on discovery, and that he had parted with his Commodore a few days back, and begd the favour that I would despatch him in readiness for the arrival of the Commr. I then begd leave to make one observation: That was, as I could speak but very little of the Rushian Language, I could not Keep his men in any proper order on shore, but, if he pleasd, I would give him my plan of conducting the Duty on shore. But, if in case of his officers or men broke my rules, I would not be answerable for anything that might happen. But on the other hand my rules being strictly obeyd, I would be answerable for any thing that might occur. He was very well pleased. I gave him my instructions. He then gave his Officers my shore rules for working or for men on liberty. The day was far spent. However, I orderd all the Boats to be hoisted out. This was soon done, as I told the crew that was all I would do that day.

Great numbers of the inhabitance was come down to the beach. I went on shore. My brother in law came to me, enquiring what country the ship belongd to. Having informd him, I then addressst myself to all around me and begd of them not to forfeit my esteem & good will. As I could not go about the

of their right hand was always stretched out, and they moved it towards us nearly in the same manner as when a person threatens. Mr Roberts, for such was the Englishmen's name, informed us that this motion was an assurance of friendship.

At length one of the natives in the canoe took courage and clambered up the side of the ship; he was the king's brother. He was exceedingly timid; sat down at the Englishman's feet, grasped one of his legs, looked round with great fear, and pressed his face, as if ashamed, against the back part of the Englishman's thigh. He was followed by another. We endeavoured to inspire him courage; patted him, and called him our tayo.

The other published accounts said that the canoe of eight islanders held a white flag of peace and that Robarts gave two certificates from American captains attesting to his good conduct and immediately warned the Russians against Cabri (Langsdorff, 1813–14: 89–90, 96; Krusenstern, 1813: 110–12).
valley with the officers in search of Plants, curiosities, flies, insects, etc., [for the reason] that I had to attend the wood and watering parties, [I] begd they would not be troublesome to the strangers, or to follow after them in crowds, as it might alarm them, altho no harm was meant. To this they promised the strictest obedience. By this means only a few boys would go with the Botanists about the Valley, which renderd their rescearches comfortable. I returnd on board. Dinner was on table. The Capt sent for me to dine. I went to dinner. It was evens. After dinner I went on deck and got a bed made up, as I always made it a rule to sleep on deck.

Early next morn at day dawn, I orderd to call all hands. Two boats was mand, one for wood, the other for water. I employd the natives in filling the water and carrying the wood, a fresh gang to every boat load; for had I employd one gang of natives, it might cause envy. So I was willing to give a fair chance to as many as I could. By this means I securd the good will of the poor people. I allowd 20 natives to carry the Long boat Load of wood and about 25 to fill & swim of the casks of water to the boat. The water was raffled of to the ship [with] each boat load. One peice of good iron hoop [was given] to every man employd. They was satisfied, and my turn was servd by this means.9

In three days I nearly compleated the wood & water, When one afternoon, as I was on shore with a wooding party, my people from the Mountains gave the alarm of a ship in sight. I went on board to inform the Capt that a ship was in sight and begd he would send a boat out to meet the ship, that by the time she was of the mouth of the Bay that I should have the boat loaded and should be ready to board her. Just as I got on Board with the Boat load of wood the ship was of the

9 Krusenstern (1813: 120) says: 'The natives lent every possible assistance to our people; they filled the casks, and swam with them back through the surf; nor would it, without their help, have been possible for us to have procured more than one boat load of water in a day; and even then not without great exerctions on the part of our men, and the risk of endangering their health. With the assistance of the natives we could with great facility send off the boat three times in the day, while our people had only to attend to and watch them, and during eight days, they only succeeded in getting one iron hoop from a cask, and this convenient mode of obtaining water cost us each time no more than a dozen pieces of broken iron hoop, about five inches long.'
mouth of the harbour with the flag of Rushia flying. I went on Board and brought her to an anchor.

This Ship was the Neva Belonging to the Emp' of Rushia, Sir Ge° Lysiansky, Comm'dr. He receiv'd me in a very polite manner. I soon found the difference between these two Commanders, for I was scarcely on Board when I was accommodated with a new shirt & trowsers and a morn° gown. Not that I was in want, for I had several changes on shore, but I never wore them. I allways wore a turban & bandages round my waist, but it shewed a Kind, generous spirit. The crew was furling the sails. I was walking the opposite side the Deck. Sir Ge°. call me over to come on the side of the quarter deck he was on. He askd me would I assist him as I had the other ship. I answerd that I was happy to serve him in the Important duty he was employ'd in. He then begd I would favour him with my company of an Even° in his own cabin. At lenght supper was ready. Sir Ge° very politely conducted me down to supper into a commodious, long dineing room. The officers all came to supper, about 12 in number. After supper I went with St Ge° into a Spacious cabin. The conversation was various. I had been at St Petersburgh in Rusiah and Knew several Gentlemen that St Ge°. was acquainted with. Some excellent beer was brought.

It growing late, I beg leave to retire. My haveing the charge of two ships, [I] could not sleep much. I went on Deck. The first Lieut inform'd me that when I wish to rest that a cabin below was prepaid for me. I thankd him. I told him that I allways made it a point to sleep on deck, as the natives swim about the bay in the night time with small netts—two men to a nett to catch fish. They might be fird on in a mistake. He then orderd the Colour Bag to be brought up. The bag being brought, he then took out the Colours. He calld for a clean sheet that was put under me. The french colours he placed at my feet, the Rushian flag for my counterpain and the English Jack for my canopy. He spoke very good English. I returnd him many thanks for his Kindness, and [said] that I should remember him when many Leagues apart. It was near midnight. I told him that if he would hoist out two boats by day

10 On 10 May 1804, the Neva, with Yuri Lisiansky, caught up with Krusenstern at Nukuhiva (Lisiansky, 1814: 66).
11 The kuavena, a small fish, and the ihe, flying fish, were caught at night (Handy, 1923: 176-7).
light that I would take them for wood with the other ships Boats. I then laid down, took a fly nap and was up before day light, calld all hands, and the Boats was out by day light. I went on shore calling for the other boats and got the 4 boats loaded and went on Board the Neva to breakfast. After breakfast I went on shore, made two trips with 4 Boats and returnd to dinner.

Thus, in a few days, I compleated the wood, water & what refreshments could be got. Sr Ge° then proposed one day to go on shore. On the day appointed, the two Capts and principal officers went on shore. I conducted them to the Kings house, from thence to the Grand Moria (their place of worship). On their return, I call at my house, but did not say that I livd there. When we came to the house, my consort came to Wellcome them. Sr Ge° view her attentively. She was then far gone in her pregnancy. He then said who is the husband of this Lady. I smild and said: "Your humble servant". Matts was brought to sit on, And young cocoa nutts was opend to procure their delicious sweet, cool water to drink.12

I then conducted Sr Ge°, his Surgeon and a gentleman of the party, who was an Embassador from france to see a spring of the most pleasant water I ever drank. They all drank of the water. The Embassador took a second draught and said it was the finest water he ever drank. Sr Ge° took several Gallons to present to his Royal Master.13 We returnd to our matt's. The party was much pleasd with the cool retreat shaded with plantain trees of my own planting. Sr Ge° in the way of conversation says to me: "Mr Robarts, you seem to be compleatly happy in this remote part of the world". I answerd in respect of my choice of a companion thro life I was truly happy, but yet that happiness was embitterd by their continual wars, which was out of my power in my present situation to put a final stop to. Altho I had prevented a deal of blood shed and prevented my party from going to war, yet the enemy would be committing depredations, which could not be passd over without resentment.

The Surgeon lookt at his watch. The hint was taken. It was time to return to Dinner. Sr Ge° very politely invited my consort to go on board. I thankd him, but she could not go, for the sun

12 The visit is described by Lisiansky (1814: 71-4) and Krusenstern (1813: 123-8).
13 Krusenstern mentions the springs only in passing (1813: 127).
was very hot, but I would bring her another day in the morn part. We returnd on Board the Neva to Dine. In the afternoon I procured several fine Hogs and other refreshments. The even was spent in conversation on different subjects with Sr Ge.

Next day I went on shore after Breakfast. First I calld on my spouse, next on the Ladies of the royal family. I found them dressing. I askd them where they was going. They answerd to see the Ship, for they had never been on board of ship before. I was well pleasd. They was all ready. I took the Queen & her daughter in law in each arm. The rest of the ladies followd. When we came to the Beach, Sr Ge could see us with the spy Glass. The Barge was sent imedately. I handed the Ladies into the Barge, and by the time we reachd the Ship the chair was ready to hoist the ladies on board. Sr Ge attended the gangway with his first Lieut to receive the ladies.

As soon as the Queen got on Board, she askd where was the guns. I shewd her them. She admirrd them much. Sr Ge order a salute to be fired. This alarmd the Ladies, but they was very much pleasd. Next the Queen askd where was the pumps. I shew her them. People was calld to work the pumps. This she admirred very much. Next [it] was a garden in the Quarter deck [that] took her notice. Then Sr Ge conducted them into the Dineing room, & Great Cabin. "Now", says Sr Ge, "Mr R., you have brought the ladies unawares. What shall we give them to refresh with? Will they drink wine?" I said no, but with his leave I would find something. I then desired the servants to bring some whole biscuits and some sugar and water in tumblers. The Queen and all the ladies was extremly delightd. The Queen was remarking to me how neat & clean every thing was and pointing with her finger. Sr Ge askd me what she was saying of. I told him, and in his name I returnd her thanks for the compliment. Next was the cooks appartment, but it being below, so full of smoke, her Majesty could not enter. The side cabin doors was all open. The snugness of the Cabins took her notice. The Ladies On takeing their leave requested that in their names I would return Sr Ge their thanks for his polite attention & wishd him a save return to his country.14 On comeing upon deck, her Majesty took another

14 Krusenstern (1813: 117-18) says: ‘the whole royal family did not fail to come on board by seven. I lead them all into my cabin to make them a present. A portrait in oil of my wife struck them particularly, and they
view round the ship. Ceartainly, the Neva was a very fine ship of about 500 tons burden and had formerly been calld the Thames of London, built for the accommodation of passengers going to the West Indies. Sr Ge° had gone thro his naval degrees on Board the Scepter, 64 guns, in the English service. Every thing being compleated, the next day was appointed for a party of pleasur.

After Breakfast the Nevas Barge was got ready. The two Capt's and me went in the Barge and several officers in the Launch. We set out with a fine Breeze to a harbour a few miles distant to view the rock & curiosities to be seen among them. We landed in a short time and went up the valley. Haveing satisfied their curiosity, [we] returnd to the Beach. Here was the House of the sister to the Queen. Here we stopt to refresh. The natives brought great quantitys of Coconutts & plantains which was purchasd.

We was about to depart. Two of the Naturalists wishd to return over land. They askd me to go with them. I answerd that I had no objection, provided Sr Ge° gave leave. Leave was askd and granted. We set out. I took the nearest road over the mountains. My consorts made but a poor hand of traveling over land. We had not got half way before they complaind that they was footsore and could go no further. They had their shoes on: I had none. Night was coming on. It began to rain. One lookd at the other till one of them began to cry. I thought to myself: "If this man crys for this trifle, what would he do if he had the smallest part of what I had gone thro to encounter

stood for a long time before it with every symptom of pleasure and surprise, pointing out to each other the curled hair, which they consider as a great beauty. A looking-glass was no less an object of their astonishment. It was not improbable that some of them had already seen such a thing, yet they all looked behind the glass to discover the cause of this wonderful appearance. A large mirror, in which they were able to view their whole persons, must have been something new to them; and the king was so particularly delighted with it, that, either from vanity or curiosity, upon every visit, he immediately went into my cabin to this glass, standing before it for whole hours to my great annoyance.'

15 Yuri Fyodorovich Lisiansky, born 1773, was among the sixteen best Russian junior officers sent in 1793 for training in the British Navy, where he served until 1798. Krusenstern had bought both ships off the British, because there were no suitable Russian ships (Nozikov, 1945: 1–3).

10 The Russians counted this visit to Hakau, which they called Port Tschitschagoff, as one of the highlights of their visit, and described it in detail (Krusenstern, 1813: 128–33).
with?" I was highly diverted within myself, for, had his sorrow flowd from any real cause, I should have pitied him.

However, I cheerd them up and bid them not to be uneasy, but to sit there a short time, and I would return. They thought I was going to desert them. However, I set out and in a short time returnd with three stout men. One carried their bag of botany and box of Butterflies, etc; the other two clapt them on their shoulders like a couple of sheep. The rain abated. We decended down the rock and arrivd at a plantation belonging to the King. Here was a good house for the reception of the Royal family in the Bread fruit season.

I got a line from one of them Just saying they was safe. I had a double barreld gun with me. I loaded it with powder to make a signal for the boat when I reachd Tio foie. I set out thro a wood. It raind very hard, accompanyd with heavy lightning. Loud thunder is not heard at these Islands; a distant sound is only heard. I reachd Tio foie. My gun locks was securd from the rain. I fird twice. At lenght the ships boat came. It still raining very hard, I got on board of Capt Kraulestern ship. I found him in great concearn as to the safety of his two officers. I gave him the note and informd him of the whole of our adventure. He laughted heartily, but blamed me for comeing thro the storm in the night. I answerd I thought he woidd be uneasy [and this] caused me to come. I retired and got a towel to dry myself. I had nothing on, only my bandage. I left my shirt & trowsers behind me to prevent catching cold. Then I went into the dineing room and got a glass or two of Hollands gin to drink to Keep out the cold. I got supper and spent the Eveng with several of the officers. They could speak but a word here and there of english, and my broken french, Dutch & Rush made a patcht up conversation. The storm was over. I went on deck to sleep.17

Next morn I went on board the Neva to breakfast, As I was better accommodated and more comfortable on board the Neva, as there was no pride in S° Ge°. [He] was affable, mild and [had] a something in his manner that claimd my respect and esteem.

17 All that is said about this incident in the Russian journals is: 'Drs. Tilesius and Langsdorff, who returned by land, were not back until the next morning: they were so weariied with their walk which led over very lofty and steep hills, as to find themselves obliged to pass the night in a house about half way, belonging to a friend of Roberts, who had acted as their guide on this journey' (Krusenstern, 1813: 133).
Ceertainly he had the advantage of haveing in his youth been brought up among English gentlemen of the Royal Navy. Capt K. had been brought up in the Navy of Rushia—a wide odds. After breakfast, Sr Ge° informd me that he wished to depart the next day and askd if I should like to go to Kamsestchckay. Or he would take me to Rushia. (If I had accepted this offer, I have often thought it would have made my fortune, but its now no time to relent. What we never had we never lost). I took up the chart to look as to the climate, and, finding that by the time that the Ships would reach there it would be extreamly cold, I thankd him for his Kind offer, [but said] that my consort was too far gone in her pregnantcy and that a sudden change of climate might endanger her life.19

However, he made a handsome present of several things which was of value to me. On my going on shore, Capt Kraulestern waved to me. I went on board. He askd me what Sr Ge° had given me. I informd him. He also made me a good present and gave me a very handsome sword, but in my hurry I left it behind me. The surgeon gave me some Jesuits drops.20 This proved a very valuable article. With it I have compleated several cures of wounds by spears, when fresh done.

I took the presents on shore and returnd on board, unmoored ship & swayd up the top gallant mast and made the usual signal for sailing by fireing a gun and loosing the fore top sail. At day break next morn5, [I] sent up the top gallant yards, weighd anchor and made sail, but, the sea breeze springin up sooner then usual, we came to anchor and got to sea next morn5. The french man swam on board one of there ships after I had taken my leave, and went, I think, as far as the Sandwich Isles.21

I beg leave to observe that Capt Kreulestern has made some remarks on the marquesas Isles, also an unfavourable one on the Ladies. For I declare their is as fine shaped women at those Isles as in any part of the world. I speak of their shapes, because

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18 Kamchatka.
19 Krusenstern (1813: 176) says somewhat mysteriously: 'I offered to convey him to the Sandwich islands, from whence he would easily find an opportunity of getting to China; but he could not prevail on himself to quit his wife, who during our stay there bore him a son, and it is probable he will end his days in Nukihawa'.
20 Jesuit’s Drops, a Copaiva or Friar’s balsam, used as inhalant in respiratory tract inflammation and as an external antiseptic.
21 See Introduction.
when it rains they go to fetch wood and bathe in the sea naked except a small bunch of leaves tied behind and front. As these times their shapes and blemishes are seen, and, as to their features, they are in general agreeable, with fine arch eye brows, and there is a number of handsome [ones] among them. I dont pretend to say they are all Paragons—some are handsome, some ordinary.22

I also saw my name made mention of in Tillocks Philo Magzn. 22d Numb. 23. I further beg leave to ask the Impartial reader if he could think that Capt K., who was only twice on shore and that in my company, could be much of a Judge as to there language, manners, etc., and, as to women, I would not allow any to go on Board on account of the holy paintings that was on board each ship. The Clergy man on Board the Neva also forbid women coming on Board in the night time. There is a wide Difference between a visit to look at the ship and those who would swim on board and stay till morn8. Certainly those who only sails the same track & touches at the same places as number of other ships have done before them, if they dont find out something that no one took notice of before, there is no discovery or particular remarks to fill up a Journal. The Islands are still in the same place, Lattd & Lonst still the same as they was when Capt Cook arrivd here.23

I could say more on the subject, but at present I forbear. As I observd before, the two ships got safe to sea May 17th 1804, and, to my heart felt satisfaction, [I know] that I had compleated the duty of these two Ships to my wish. I took my leave, wishing them all good health and a safe return to Cronsted.24

22 This was Krusenstern's final judgment on Marquesan women (1813: 153-4):

The women all looked well; at least nothing could be said against their countenances. A well proportioned head, a face rather round than long, a large sparkling eye, blooming colour, very good teeth, curled hair, which they ornamented with a white band, in a manner very becoming to them all, and the remarkably clear colour of their bodies, may perhaps entitled them to a preference over the inhabitants of the Sandwich, Society and Friendly islands, yet an impartial eye might perceive many faults in them, which the companions of Mendana and Marchand either overlooked, or would not discover. Their form, for instance, is any thing but beautiful; their person is generally short, and without carriage, and this is the case even with girls of eighteen; their gait is likewise awkward and unsteady, and their lower stomach particularly large . . .

23 Krusenstern, 1805. Robarts is a little over-sensitive, because the overall judgments of the Russians concerning him were very sympathetic.

24 Cronstadt.
Haveing had very little sleep for about 12 or 13 Nights, [and] my days was mostly spent in the heat of the sun, [I] find myself much fatigued. I rest myself at home a few days to enjoy a drop of old Jamaica Sr Ge° had made me a present of. And, as the Bread fruit was nearly fitt for gathering, I dug a new store pitt ready to receive my crop of fruit. And on May 27th, 1804, Just after sun rise, my royal consort was deliverd of a fine daughter.

I was at the back of the house. On hearing the child, I started out of my store pitt and ran to the house. No midwife being at hand, I did the office myself. I had made Rollers, etc. before. My tinder box & dry wood was ready in case of a squall in the night. I cutt the navel string and securd it, sent the child to be washd in the brook, put a rooler round my consort, got her to rest, made some gruel and set of the news to my Brother in Law. The family wish me much Joy, and they all repaird to my Cottage and was much pleasd at their new relation. I was happy to see providence still favourd me thro all perils.27

I pass away my time at home, except the time expended in going to my meals on the royal altar. The bread fruit being full ripe, I gatherd a good crop, prepard it myself and put it in my store pitt.

Nothing particular occurd untill Octr., 1805. Early one morn° I heard a gun fired. I ran to the beach. A canoe was launchd. Away we pulld. When I got out of the Bay, I saw a large ship to windward, but the canoe was not safe to go out in. A strong breeze was blowing. Just at this time my canoe was swampt. A sailing canoe bound to Woo ah bo comeing up, I get on board of her. But the ship Keeping too far to windward, I could not reach her. The day was far spent. I run for Woo ah bo. The Sky lookd black and squally. I set another sail and pulld with our paddles to reach the land. I had 15 or 16 miles to run. The canoe men was frightend. I cheerd them up and claped the canoe before the wind and run for the nearest land in that direction. And Just as we landed, a very heavy squall of wind and rain came on. Had we been caught in the squall a

27 The birth of any Marquesan child, and especially of one of high rank, was surrounded by tapu and ceremonial (Crook, 'Account': 173-4; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 151-2; Lisiansky, 1814: 83-4; Gracia, 1843: 74). One imagines that Robarts's skill as midwify would not have made up for the dismay of his wife that the child was born so unnaturally, nor for the tribal nonentity of his daughter, born without the ceremonies that made her a member of society.
mile or two out at sea, we should have lost our canoe. The men could swim. They would take care I did not sink. Its a folly to meet troubles half way. The Ship felt the squall; some of her sails was shatterd to ribbons. When we got on shore, I askd the canoe men what they was frightend at. They said at the wind and rain. I told them never to give way to fear in time of danger, for in our situation we should only have lost the canoe. They could swim and reach the shore. The canoe being hauld up, we sett out for the Chieftains house. The family all receivd me with every mark of Joy & respect. Food was got ready for me and other food for the canoe men. They belongd to the King [and] was Kindly treated. The wind being far to the Northward, I could not gett back for ten days after. Several canoes came over. They inform me that the Ship was anchord in the eastern harbour.\textsuperscript{26} I was very uneasy.

A lenght the wind came fair. I took my departure with a fine Breeze and landed at \emph{Tio foie} in the Even\textsuperscript{8}. My relations was very happy I was returnd. I order two large hogs to be caught. In the mean time I ran home to see my wife & daughter, found all well, return to the Beach. A large canoe was mand, and two fine hogs \textit{were} ready. I embarkd with the King and his eldest brother. We set of. The sun was retired to its western seat: the even\textsuperscript{8} was fine; the moon was at its full and shone in full splendour, and the ripple of the sea heighted the beauty of the scene. We pulld hard. Our canoe ran swift, and about 9 PM we drew near to the Ship.

One of our Enemy Chiefs was on board. He would not let the canoe come along side the ship. I was silent. We paddled till we was close to the ship. The natives then espied me in the canoe. The Capt came on deck. The Chief mentioning my name several times to the Capt and pointing to the canoe, the Capt could not understand him, but calld and waved for us to come on board. I got on Board first, still speaking the native language.

The Capt receivd me in a very polite manner. The natives was all silent. The Capt said to his officers: “What a silence is here. They seem to be afraid of this man. I wonder who he is.” The Chief then began to talk with me and \textit{was} telling me a smooth story. I perfectly understood him. He now saw his

\textsuperscript{26} At Taipiva or Hooumi in Comptroller's Bay.
market spoild. I was much displeas’d, for I over heard their wispering and found they robd the ship. I made him go of the Quarter Deck and stand at a distance. The Capt says: “Heres is something the matter. I wonder what it is.” The Capt set down on the Hen coop. I walkd the deck a short time to recover myself.

At lenght I paid my respects to the Capt and wellcomed his arrivall. He started, takeing my by the hand and says: “Is your name Robarts?” I answerd yes. The Officers & ships crew expressd their joy. Capt Clark said he had been ten days in the harbour, but could not sleep in the night. Some time before a canoe had arrivd from St Cristiana, or Towatta. I wrote a letter addrest to any commd that might touch there and gave it to a trusty friend to take with him, and, when any ship came, to go on board and give the letter. He would get a present for so doing. By this means my letter came to Capt Clarkes hand. He made a present to the bearer as I had directed in the letter.

Must now return to the King and his Brother, who was in the canoe. I went to conduct them on deck and introduced them to Capt Clark and presented the two hogs, a free gift. We then retired to the cabin. Some refreshment was brought. I eat hearty. My appetite was Keen. I had eat nothing scince I left Woo ah bo. Altho I had plenty, my mind was fixd to reach the ship. I spent the even§ with the Capt & his mate. About 12 O’Clock I went on deck to sleep, and in the morn§ sent my Brothers in law away, telling them that I would bring the ship to Tio foie. After Breakfast I went on shore to Bathe. Altho I was in the enemies country, no one dare insult me. I had many friends. I went to pay my respects to some families of rank and then went in a shady, cool place and lay in the water. My skin was blisterd with the sun. Some ladies, my friends, brought bruised leaves and rubd me with the Juice to take the fire out of my skin. In the course of the forenoon, [1] returnd on Board.

We stopt a few days and then hove up the Anchor and run down to Tio foie. Capt. C. was very much pleas’d as we enterd the Bay, seeing so fine & commodious a harbour. We came to anchor about noon in 5 fathoms water. “Now,” says Capt C., its always my rule when I come to Anchor to take a glass of grog.” I answerd [that] so far we agreed. I then attended in moveing the ship, furld the sails and down top gallt masts &
yards & ccleard away the Boats, ready for next day. Capt Clark informd me he was in want of refreshment, wood & water. The teeth of sperm whales are of great value. They make ornaments of them. 27 He shewed me several. I told him I would procure a good stock of hogs for them. I chose out two for myself: the rest I reservd for trade. Next morn at day break, the boats was sent to wood & water, which duty I conducted as with other ships.

I had not been many days on board the ship before I perceivd there was a Demur among some of the crew. I said nothing to the Capt, but I allways had the Boats chaind & lookd every night to prevent any of the crew from getting away. None of them let me into the secret. As I always Keep the Quarter deck when on board and seldom spoke to any of the ships crew, except on a point of duty, they was cautious of me.

However, one Even at sun down the sky lookd very black. I went on the forecastle to look at the cables. I observd one of them was chaffed (or ragged) close to the water. I orderd a stopper to be put on to prevent the cable from parting. While this was doing, the wind shifted round to North and blew a strong gale. The yards was pointed to the wind for the ship to ride easy. It came on to rain. I went below into the cabin. The Boat was hoisted up, but not lockd. The night was very squally. I slept in the cabin. In the middle watch, it began to blow very hard at North sight of the Land with heavy rain. I lookd on Deck and saw it was nothing to fear as to the safety of the ship. I went below. Some time after, the Chief Officer came and informd the Capt that the waist Boat was gone with six men. They took this oppertunity, my sleeping in the cabin.

Next morn I sent spies to different parts and went over to another bay myself, but no tidings of the Boat. I returnd in the even. The Capt said he [did] not care a d—m for the men, if he could get his boat again. It struck my mind that, the wind being fair the whole night to run to Woo ah bo, they had gone over there. The Capt says: "Oh, no. They [are] on this island".

I then proposed to him to go to sea and take a cruize for a fortnight and then to come back [and] the ship to Keep at sea. Only the boat [was] to land in the night time, and, if his men and boat was found, I gave him my word I would deliver

27 News quickly travelled among Pacific voyagers concerning the value of sperm whale teeth for the Polynesians (Porter, 1822, II: 10, 25; Roquefeuil, 1823: 53; Gracia, 1843: 88–9).
both men & boat to him again; for his ship was a large ship of about 1000 tons burden. She was three times too large for the Whale fishery. He had been out 18 months from London and had bad luck with a large ship and about 50 hands, men & Boys, and the loss of the men and boat was a bad Job. The Ship was callld the *Leviathan*, of London, Capt J. Clark.\(^{28}\)

Every thing was compleated, and, the weather fine, the Top Gall\(^4\) mast and yards was sent up and in a few days after he took his departure, Octr 22\(^r\), 1805. This ship belonged to Mr Bennett, Wapping Dock. This Gentleman had made a present of several things of value to me in these parts and a fine spanish blood hound which proved a most faithfull creature and a fine hunter for birds and catching hogs. With my faithfull Neptune, as he was named, I could catch a Large hog and secure him myself. Being once more left and being extremly fatigued, the weather being very hot, I take a few days rest.

One afternoon the King came and said that a man had come and informd him the boat was come over from *Woo ah bo*, and that another tribe was decoying the men to Land, meaning to take the Boat from them. I told him the only thing to be done was to go and take boat & crew, Just as they was, and bring them to *Tio foie*. He then replyd: "You will go with me". "By all means," I answerd. I get up and went to the Beach. I orderd one of the Largest and swiftest war canoes to be got ready on the beach. Early the next morn\(^g\), a party of warriors came. All was ready. The King got in. Away we pulld and got abreast the harbour the boat was to come to.\(^{29}\) We lay on our paddles.

In a short time I saw the boat coming round a point of land. The canoe being mand as in war, I order the most of them under cover, in case their seeing a canoe mand & armd might too much alarm them. As they was in rough water, I wanted to get them in smooth water and then I could do as I pleasd. They got round and was pulling into the Bay. I followed them close.

\(^{28}\) The *Leviathan*, 303 tons, owned by Mellish, had been working the South Whale Fishery out of London, at least since 1794 (Enderby to Chalmers, 1 January 1795, Whale Fishery MSS.). Whether the discrepancy in description is due to Robarts's inaccuracy or to the fact that this is another ship, we do not know.

\(^{29}\) Hakauui.
I had a matt over me. They did not Know me. I orderd them
to pull alongside the Boat. I then stood up and hove of the
matt and Jumped into the Boat. A few of my men followd me to
prevent any thing that might happen. Each man was armed.
This put them in such a panic, seeing they was thus taken.
There was three Harpoons in the Boat. I securd them. They
now had no power to resist, had I meant to use force. I then
askd them what they meand to do. One of them answerd in a
very abrupt manner, saying I had sold them. I could not help
smiling at this Kind salutation. I then informd them the ship
had saild several days before, and in very plain terms repre­
sented to them their situation, and, if they chose to put them
selves under my protection, they was welcome. I had no interest
in view. As they was my country men, their wellfare was all I
aimd at. I was very sorry they had acted as they had done. On
the other hand, if they did not wish to accept of my offer, should
any thing happen to them, they need not expect any assistance
from me.

They at lenght consented to go with me and gave me the boat
a present. I woidd not accept of her. If she was made use of, it
should only be for the general good. There was a chief and four
natives in the boat with them. These was ready to take posses­
sion when [they] landed. I went and sit by the chief, he not
thinking what I was going to do. I talked with him some time
untill something took his attention. I stoopd and put my head
between his legs and hove him over board. The other four
followd thro fear. Numbers was swimming from the shore
thinking to get the boat. I told the crew to pull out in the bay
and not let one native in the boat. I got into the canoe and
landed and in an angry tone askd the inhabitants did they
think that I would suffer either man, boat or ship to be
plunderd within my reach. I threatend them that I would visit
them over land. My warriers brandishd their spears for the
War.

Cato Neway, my brother in law, set silent, because these was
the Queens tribe, and, if a war ensued, it was not his doing:
it was mine. They all sat on the ground, a mark of Obediance.
Not a word was spoke. Some presents was brought. I hove them
on the beach and put my foot on them—to say in dumb shew
that I would serve them so. The Queens sister came and beg me
not to be angry, holding in her hands the emblems of peace,
a coco nutt open and its branch. I took it from her hands and embraced her, drank the coco nutt water. The Husk was carried and hove on a sacred alter. I then waved to the Boat to come near. I took my leave on friendly terms and swam to the Boat, leaveing the Canoe to follow. They pulld out of the Bay.

I now found one of the Boats crew had got his arm broke short in two. The skin was whole. This was done at Woo ah bo by a native slingling a stone at them. However, we arrivd safe at Tio foie. We landed near my Mothers house on a sandy part of the beach and took every thing out of the Boat and turnd her bottom up. A number of men being present, I got them to lift the Boat up at once and carried her into the house. Next I counted every thing belonging to them and conducted them to my mothers house (the old Queen) and gave them an appartment that before I was married I used to sleep in. We took some refresment and then went to the brook to bathe. I then instructed them in several things and as to their behaviour, not to take any liberties with any females about the house. Haveing comfortably placed them, I took my leave and went home to my family.

Next morn, I visited them to see that they wanted for nothing. I then desired them to wash all their dirty cloths and dry them well and Pack them up and lay them by untill wanted. They then gave me the harpoons. These as well as the Boat I refused. I told them they was welcome to what I had done or might do for them, and as long as they merrited they should have my protection, as I deemd it a part of my duty to assist the distressd.

In the course of the day Cato Neway returnd with the canoe. A great number of inhabitants came to the Beach. Cato Neway then in [their] presence returnd me thanks for the able manner I had conducted matters and [for] recovering the boat from the other Bay. Next morn I told him that one of the Boats crew had got his arm broke. He then went with me to look at the mans arm. It had been broke fourteen days and was very much swelld. Coco nutt oil, warm, was brought and the arm was rubd for some time. At lengh the swelling came down. I made splinters from the body of a plantain tree and got cloth for Ban­dages. Cato Neway then set the Bone and bound up the arm, and in less than one month the man could use his arm. Cato Neway was the most skillfull surgeon on the Island. He is a real
friend to our Country. When any ship arrives, he first look at the Colours. If not English, he is very shy of them.\textsuperscript{30}

I asked these men for what reason they left the ship. They answered, bad usage and short provisions—I must confess two bad things on board of ship. And it is too often the case, when ships frequenting remote parts of the globe, that men are treated more like brutes than human beings by their tyrant officers. I don't mean to censure all, god forbid. Now when it happens a good set of Officers are together, if the Capt is bad, the crew does not feel so much of his treatment, as they would do from bad officers. And it frequently happens in war time that ships going on long voyages are manned with a mixture of men, such as three Quarter and half sailors with a number of Landsmen. Now perhaps in a whole ships crew there is not above four good seamen besides officers to be found. The ship goes to sea; the watch is set. When the helm comes to be relieved, these three Quarter and half seamen can't steer the ship. A landsman is not expected to go to the Helm. These three Quarter & half gents ship in this manner, because they get more wages than a landsman. In this case a hell breaks out on Board of ship. The four good men complains of the hardness of doing another mans duty.

Now these men was a Gunner, a cooper, cook, & Boatswain, one Landsman and a usefull Boy. We may say a good crew. Certainly Capt Clark was a severe man before me, and I make no doubt but he was more so at sea. However, every thing being arranged for the comfort of these men, every one was named after some of the royal family, and all lived in one house. At times they would Quarrel with each other. This I found very disagreeable. I then proposed that they each of them should be supported at the different houses of their names sake. This was Agreed on and good order preservd.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30} David Porter claimed at a later date that Keattonnue and the Nukuhivans: 'to secure to themselves that friendly protection which their defenceless situation so much required, have requested to be admitted into the great American family, whose pure republican policy approaches so near their own' (Porter, 1822: II: 83). A succession of British, French and American ships demanded respect of the Marquesans for their respective flags.

\textsuperscript{31} Crook had discovered, as had many others who lived as beachcombers in the Pacific, that there was safety in possessing nothing that the islanders wanted (Maude, 1968: 149–50).
Some time after Butahaie, the King's mother, wanted to send her nephew to Towatta with some loaves of Baked Tumeric on sale. She asked me if the boat was trustworthy. I surveyed the boat and found her shook to pieces, wanting a deal of repairing. I asked the crew if they had any objection to let the boat go, as it would please the old lady and by that means be obliging themselves, as the favour of the old lady was worth the favour of the Whole family. Her word was a law. They even did not go to war without her consent. She was a woman of sound reason, her intellects Keen, and firm in her resolutions. They consented for the boat to go. I undertook to repair her. I began to make pegs and nails [which] I made out of pieces of Iron hoop. I had files to cut them with, and in the course of a few days the boat was finished fit to go to sea. Everything was ready.

We waited for a westerly wind, as the time drew near for those winds to blow. One morning I was going over to another Bay for fish. When I reached the top of the mountain, from thence I had a view of the other islands. I looked to the westward. I saw a small black cloud in the horizon. I stopped to watch the rising of the cloud. In a short time a large black bank with curling clouds on its top appeared, a shure sign of a west wind. I returned and informed my mother. She ordered the food to be got ready. I told her I should depart that evening at sunset, as [I would be] embracing the first of the Breeze [and] was shure of a passage up to the other Islands; for some times the wind would only blow for a few hours and then die away. These winds in general are very narrow. I have known a westerly wind to blow at Woo ah bo for some days and we knew nothing of it at Tio foie untill afterwards.

In the afternoon I got the boat out and carried to the water edge. In the evening a great number of people came to the Beach to see the boat depart. I got everything into the boat and got her afloat and stopt the mast and hoisted the sail. I chose the Gunner to go with me—he was a quiet young man [and] I was partial to his company—and two natives. We was four in number. We all got in and pulled out from the beach. The scene was something affecting. The Royal family was weeping with numbers of others. Some was singing my favorite war song. They was afraid the boat would be lost. I said: "You trust

Butahaie.

See Chapter 8, note 6.
your canoes with your dearest friends. The Boat is worth a hundred canoes to go the passage. I am only an unfortunate stranger among you. Don't fear. I will, please my God, return in a few days." To this their cries was louder. Several men swam to the Boat. They wanted to try how many she would carry. I was aware of what they wanted. I fill'd the sails and pulld with the oars and waved them a farewell. We was soon out of their reach and was out of the Bay.

I stood out for sea. Phoebus had retired to her western seat. The sky was very black and [there were] heavy clouds, but we had but a light air. We pulld hard. About midnight we caught a light breeze which soon died away. We still Kept pulling with our oars. The Boat made no more water then what was hove out with a coco nutt shell. We pulld and saild all night.

At day dawn I found myself abreast of Woo ah hunga. As the sun rise, a light breeze sprang up. We rowd & saild all day and at sun set we reachd the west end of Ohe va oah. We was close to the shore. I spoke to the fishermen on the rocks—the Gunner was asleep—when a heavy puff of wind took the Boat, which so frightend my two passengers they wanted to swim on shore. I laughd at them and bid them sit still, as their moveing about delayd the Boat running. We was then going at the rate of sixteen miles an hour. I run along shore in smooth water to shorten my distance the sooner when I got abreast of the NW point of Towatta. I then run over for that Island a distance of eight or ten miles. I was bound to Aberdoney, at which place we arrivd about midnight.

I awoke the Gunner and told him we was at our destined port. I sent one of my passengers on shore for some water for I was very faint; for I had no water to drink all the passage. One of the passengers upset our water Just as we left Tio foie, and I would not land again. The people on shore, hearing I was come, was over Joyd. An old attendant of mine swam off with some coco nutts, [from] which being opend I got a drink. We then lay the Boat too for the night. I laid down, but could not sleep.

At day light we landed and got the boat carried up and put in a shady place. I went into my old habitation, my name-sakes house. It was on the beach. A young lady was sitting on the matt. I askd her who she was. I was informd it was my friends new wife. I said no more. They then informd [me] my
[friend] the Chief was on the mountain, for war had broke out again among them. I sent for him. He came in a short time, and when he came near me he could not speak. A silent tear escaped his eyes. At length his wife that I left him with came. She was very happy to see me. I made her a present of a loaf of tumeric. I was extreamly sorry to find that she was parted from her husband on account in a Quarrel she had cursed his eldest Daughter born of his first wife who was dead.34

A fine Hog was roasted for me and two more at other houses for my passengers. They invited me. I went Just to say I eat. Every thing wearing a different aspect about my friends house, I could not sit long in the house together. My friend took notice that I did not be free and conversant with his new wife. I answerd him that his new wife was a stranger to me. I perhaps might offend her, was I to be free with her. This [was] my excuse. Altho she was young, fair & handsome, yet there was a something in her manner that was not engageing—a want of Kindness. My consort the gunner, not haveing learnt any of the language, sat silent. Even8 was come. My friend took leave to go to the mountain to guard the pass for the night. Before he went, his wife had spread her fine matt for me to sleep on, as was the custom of the country for the namesake to sleep on. The even8 passd on tolerable. A great number of my young & old friends came to wellcome my return. About midnight they retird. My female friend coverd me with her mantle. I slept sound untill morn8 on my side of the matt.

[I] got up and went into my old bathing bason in the rocks by the sea side. This Bason was formd by nature and was supplyd with water by the sea tumbling into it. Here you bathe secure from the shark, and close by, in a small bump of a rock on its top, is a hollow place not bigger than a large wash hand Bason. In its center is a spring of exellant water. From this Bason one half the inhabitants in the valley is supplyd with water. At sun rise my friend returnd. He askd an old servant woman if I slept on the matt. She told him I did, but I slept alone. I spent a few days in irksome pastime.

At lenght I set out to visit my friends at Wiae to hoo, takeing with me a loaf of tumeric as a present for my friends wife. I arrivd and found her at their house on the beach. She was so

84 Crook (‘Account’: 5) said that a husband might dismiss a wife, but that it seldom occurred. See also Thomson, ‘The Marquesas Islands’: cxxi; Porter, 1822, II: 121; Handy, 1923: 100.
surprized, I thought she would turn crazy. My friend was on the mountains guarding the pass. She calld for to catch a hog to roast for me, but I forbid her, but thanked her for her Kindness. My old friends the fishermen came to wellcome my return with a present of fish. I spent the day with my dear female friend, for so I must call her, for she took great care of me when I first left the Ship.35

In the even§ We set out to go to the Dwelling House up the valley. Fish we brought with us. We spent the even§ very agree­able. Several of my old friends came to wellcome my return. Early in the morn§ my friend came down from the pass on the mountain. He was very happy to see me. Breakfast was got ready. His wife gave me a fine Hog and a large Mantle, a present for my consort. My friend gave another hog.

Everything seemd changed; children grown; a new generation was presented to my view. I had been abscent upwards of seven years. A large Bundle of my sea cloths was all worm eaten. They was hung up in the house in remembrance of me. I could wish to have spent a few days with my much lovd friends, but the westerly winds was gone, and the regular trade winds had taken their course. My family would be alarmd. [This] hastend my departure. I left two letters addresst to any Capt that might touch here. I took my departure.

My friend accompanyd me in his canoe to Aberdoney. As soon as I arrivd, we got the Boat refitted and made secure, for the Breeze blew strong. I put on a fresh coat of slime on the boats bottom to make her sail fast. Every thing was ready. We spent the evng with a party of young ladies who amused us with singing untill midnight. At day dawn next morn§ I got the Boat carried into the water, put every thing in, and I took care to secure the water to drink. I now returnd my friend my ever gratefull thanks for the present and all past favours. I took my leave, I confess, with regret, this being the Chief that brought me from the Ship Euphrates of London, Capt Hv Glasspoole. (The Ship belongd to Messr Anderson & Mather, Blackwall). And this spot I landed at and afterwards lived at. A spark of affection and gratitude glowd thro my bosom; for these people had reard me, as it were, from a child. When I could not ask in their language for food, they cherishd me unaskd for, and

35 Teinae had had three wives. This was probably Tepaihena, whom Crook ('Account': 144) said was very ill-used by her husband.
now I was become a powerfull man where I resided. And I hope thro all tribes and tongues to greatfully remember the Bridge that conveys me safe over.

Haveing a fine breeze, we was in a short time near to the other Isle. Some fisher men, on seeing me, brought me some boneta (a tropic fish) as a present and informed me that a friend of mine was arrivd from Newka heava and was at a Chiefs, an old friend of mine. I hauled my wind and steerd for the Bay. We landed and got the Boat carried into a large cave in the rocks by the sea side. In this cave lived several fishing families. I went to the Chiefs house. Here I found my eldest sister in laws husband. He had left home 3 or 4 days. All the family was well. I waited several day for his departure. He being a heavy man, I wanted to have brought him in the Boat with me. At lenght he desired me to go home, and he would follow.

Next morns early I took leave and set sail. One double canoe was in company with us. We had a fine breeze and reached Woo ah hunga that evn. We run down the Isle and hauled round under the lee side close to the rocks in smooth water and hove too under the main sail for the night. We got our supper and took a flying nap, and before the morn star was up we set the fore sail and bore away for New ka heava. We had a very strong breeze. The boat run very fast, and in a few hours we landed at Tio foie after being absent eighteen days. When I landed, I was surprizd to see the Old Queens house put in order for mourning. I askd who was dead. “Nobody, now you are come,” replyd the old Lady. “We all thought you was lost.” My wife came to the beach. I gave her my luggage and then got the Boat carried into the house, paid my respects to the Ladies of the Royal Family, and retired to my house.

Now during my absence a plot was pland among my relations against the King. When it came to my ears, I opposed it strongly. Thinking to gain my point without going to war, I plainly pointed out to them the danger of a family war; for,
if a family is divided, they most assuredly would be scattered like sheep without a shepherd, and then become a prey to their enemies. And they never could recover their lands again out of the hands of the warriers. You may as well attempt to take a Kid from a tyger; for, when a war of this Kind happens, the conquering warriers divides the Land among themselves. If the Chieftaint happens to be on a large lott of land at the time of surrendering, he secures that lott. He gets no more. I plainly saw it was policy for me not to involve myself in a war among my relations. This would be making my friends my foes, and after my decease one or other Party would be enemies to my children. Their land would be taken from them, and they fall from royalty to be outcasts. These things I weighed in my mind and came to a determination to leave the country the first opportunity, much against my real inclination.

I was well situated. My family lived on their own plantation, and I had a large one of my own that I had purchased. My servants took care of it and one that I took possession of, as the family that it belonged to was all dead. I had a right to it, as I took possession first after the decease of the family. No one dare dispute my right. I was their head in war. I headed them in war against their enemies and was at every battle in the heat of it. But to lift my hand against my relations I could never consent to.

When I first came to New ka heava, the warriers a short time

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39 Crook had this to say about property and property quarrels ("Account": 95-8):

Private quarrels about property, or occasioned by a murder committed upon a relation, are usually productive of private War, if the parties live at some distance, and are independent of each other. In other cases, it is common for the opponents to meet, before a large concourse of people; and standing at a considerable distance apart, to make loud and long harangues accompanied by the most violent gesticulations. In this manner, one of the Orators is usually induced to give up his claim. . . . Property in land, or trees, altho’ accurately known by the owner, is exposed to the encroachments of powerful superiors. They likewise make free with articles of food, European presents, etc. which they find in the hands of persons who cannot resist them. The inferiors are, likewise, ready to plunder one another; if a Superior gives them his permission to scramble for what belongs neither to him nor them. In general, however, it descends to the oldest Son, or next akin, at the death of the proprietor, but during his life, he can distribute it as he pleases, by which means, the younger branches are, sometimes, most amply provided; and property and authority are not inseparable, nor always proportionate. See also Langsdorf, 1813-14: 132; Roquefeuil, 1823: 58-9; Lisiansky, 1814: 84.
before had drawn the King into a war against his eldest sister. This was a plot among the warriers to get hold of the Land. A short war commenced. The Sister & her family with her party was drove of their heritage and took shelter in another part of the Island. The warriers shared the land among them. Only a small lott fell to the Kings son. Some time after, the sister came with some of her family to visit the Old Queen, her mother. The King happend to come at the time. When I saw the sister fall prostrate at the Brothers feet, the whole of them began to weep bitterly. I sat at a short distance, a silent spectator to view this truly piteouse and sorrowfull interview.

At lenght I askd what was the reason of their weeping. They informd me of the whole, and from that moment I become interested in their behalf. As I observd the King weep much over his sister, I had a gleam of hope of recovering the lott for her again that fell into the young princes hand. She staid a few days and then returnd to her exile abode. One day the old Queen and I was alone. The conversation turnd about her eldest daughters miserable condition. I answered her: was there no means to bring the King round to give up the Land that fell to his son? She answerd, no one as yet had mentiond it to him for fear of offending him. I answerd that I would bring it about in the course of a few days.

Accordingly I did, and so far gaind his consent that the Old Queen was to take his sister and lead her on to the spot of ground and set her down on the spot where formerly the family had a house, and, if any one came with a branch, another with some material for building a temporary house, others would follow the example. No one offerd to build a shelter for the unfortunate princess. The King was at a distance viewing the motions. Some warriers came and said, so that she might hear, that there was no land for her: she had her time; it was theirs now, and they would Keep it. I turn about and sternly told them it would be but for a short time, and then I walkd to the stone wall and pushd the stones down and made gaps in the enclosure. This was the token that a war would commence.

I then went to conduct the Old Queen and her daughter Back to the beach. The King returned to his house. Some time passd, when a thought came in my mind that the Kings eldest daughter was married to a powerfull chieftain, and I was her adopted son. Her husbands tribe lived in the highland. When
she came to Tio foie, she livd at her Grandmothers. This gave me an oppertunity of putting in motion the subject of her aunt being in possessions of the whole of her lands. My mother says: “You see how it was when you went before. No one offerd to build a shelter for her.” My father was present. I address them in the presence of numbers of people who was come to pay their respects to her in such a manner that my mother says to my father: “Grant your son his request.” She then burst into tears, at which my father got up and took his spear and brandishd it for war and set out to his tribe. My mother staid behind. When he got to the lower pass, he sett up the war whoop. This put the inhabitants into the greatest consternation.

Some time escaped. When my fathers tribe picked a Quarrell with the people which refusd to give up the land to the Kings Sister, this darling moment I embracd to make a second motion to the Old Queen to get all her party with her grand daughters tenents. The King would follow to accompany her on an appointed day with her daughter to seat her again on the ruins of her house. She with my mother thankd me for the part I so ardently undertook. It was resolvd and the day fixed on that she would again conduct her daughter to her land and my fathers tribe was to take possession of the pass to come down by.

No one of the warriers party Knew any thing of what was going on till the day the Old Queen with her daughter & most of the royal family had enterd the upper play ground with their parties from all parts of the lower valley. The Dolefull Drum beat the signal for war. My fathers tribe appeard on the mountains. They set up the war whoop in answer and came part of the way down to the pass to wait the second drum beat.

The Old Queen [and] her daughter was first. I accompanyd them to assist them in bad stoney places. The royal family followed behind. We arrivd. The Old Queen placed her daughter on the ruins of her house and waved her mantle saying: “Who is on my side?” All was silent. At lenght a respectable man came to me and put my leg on his shoulder,

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40 This was Tahhatabbu Fettutinne, who was married to Mouwateie, son of the chief of Hapa. She was classed by Crook as the only woman of property who did not have a pekio. She was dark-skinned and in Crook’s time her daughter, a favourite of Butahaeie, lived in a tapu house under the care of a man-servant (Crook, ‘Account’: 231–2).
saying: "What is this war about?" I answered: "Your Queen is come to see that you one and all consent to restore the land to her daughter, which you so cruelly and unjustly have taken possession of. If you refuse this day, the war commences and none will be spared." Others drew near to hear what was said. I waved to bring the signal drum.

When they saw that I would not be put off, they consulted a short time. When a large hog was brought and a distant house roof and utensils to erect the house, I then bid them to return the land in a proper manner and solemnize the same before their deity, or, on a future day, they would have a plea to say that the land taken in war was not restored with a general consent.

Their prophet came and the usual ceremony [was] performed, until they came to the part which mentions and particularises the names of such & such lots of lands. They only mentioned the lot on which we stood. The King sat at a small distance from the spot. I sent him a Broken stick. This denoted that only a part of the land would be restored. He sent me in return a whole stick. This denoted that all must be restored, or else a war. I then refused the single lot and told them in plain & clear terms that all the land—with the springs of water, with the sea beach belonging thereto—which they had unjustly taken, must be restored. One thing I would grant, that what food they had in store they might take away, not any to remain in any part of the Princess's land, and that the trees should remain as they was, not a bread fruit or coco nutt that was on the trees should be broken. If they consented one and all, it was all I wanted. If not, the war would momently commence. The Drum stood before me, ready to the alarm. My father's tribe on the mountain side [was] waiting the result of our meeting. They then proceeded with the ceremony to give up the whole.

I then sent a coco nutt Bunch with a white flag—this denoted peace. A second flag followed. This invited the Chieftain. A third flag with ten Knots on it—this invited some of the principal men to come down to bear whitness that the land taken from the King's Sister was restored by general consent and the Ceremony performed according to the custom of the tribes. As soon as they came down, some hogs was brought to make a feast. The ceremony was finished and the people shouted with
one voice, saying: "We return the Land we have taken and have no further claim."

The dancing drums beat a retreat. The Hogs was taken away alive by my fathers party and every one prepared to remove their store of food. I gave them three days to remove every thing belonging to them of the land. Every thing being adjusted in an amicable manner, we returnd to the Beach. Every countenance was cheerfull, and the family returnd me their greatfull thanks for haveing recoverd the land without blood shed, which they acknowledged they never could have done.41

The tribe now lulls in slumber, nothing to disturb them for several years, except thier war with their avowd enemy. And now they draw in another tribe to war against the King. I used every means I could think of to persuade them against a war so unjust and cruel. Cato was a man slow to anger, was humane and liberal in time of need to his tribe and allways shewd the greatest affection to his Wife & family, but he was no warrier, nor had he the least Idea of forming his men to advantage in time of war. Things wearing such a gloomy aspect, my time hangs heavy, my nights restless.

However, I passt away the time till the latter end of Feby 1806. One morns I heard a gun fire. I ran to the beach and set out in my canoe and pulld out of the bay. I saw a ship standing off shore. I landed on a small Isle, from which place I used to make signals to ships with smokes; For all ships touching at Towatta would see my instructions of signals to be observd by Ships bound to Tio foie. I made my signal of three smokes, first in a line & then in a triangle. My signals was observd from the ship. She wore round and run in shore and hoisted the union Jack and fired a gun, a signal for a pilot.

I launchd off from the Isle and was soon on board. She proved to be the Lucy, Privateer of London, Capt Abe Ferguson. This Ship also belonged to Mr Bennett, Wapp dock. We haveing a fine breeze, was in a short time at an anchor. [We] furld sails and cleard decks. Capt F. informd me that his ships crew was much in want of refreshment. I went on shore and got a large Hog roasted.

That evn I mentiond to Capt F my wish to leave the Island. He then persuaded me to take my passage with him to New

41 Robarts's role in this dispute is discussed in the Introduction.
South Wales. As Pictures and toys are made to allure children, I listened to a number of fine stories that he and one of his officers told me, saying it would be the best thing I could do, and that he would recommend me to the Govr, and that I should be made a free settler and receive £150 as a bounty and be allowed four or five men to clear the land that I should [have] given me by Government. And another of his Officers affirmed that breadfruit was in perfection in New South Wales. This fine story was related in such a plausible manner that I believed it.

I went on shore and sent the Hog and plenty of other food on board. When the Hog was brought on board and the food with it, he was surprised as I said nothing to him what I went for. However, I got the Carving Knife and a small axe, and I soon cut up the Hog. The hind quarter I gave for the Cabin and the rest I cut up & gave to the Ships crew with plenty of Baked bread fruit, plantains, etc. After I had done supper, I went on shore and informed my wife of what I had heard. She was well pleased.

Next morn, I returned on board. The boats was got ready to fetch wood and water, which was done in one day. The Capt came on shore and asked me to take a walk with him. I left one of my relations to take care of the people. The Old Queen sent for me to go to her. We went. The Capt was surprized when he saw the whale boat in the house. The next he saw some of the crew. He asked me concerning them. I informed him as far as I knew. We took leave of the Queen, and from thence we went to my house and then returned on board. In the evening I caught several of my hogs and sent them on board with a great quantity of coco nuts and plantains of my own planting. Ah, Little did I think that I was launching myself into a sea of trouble and misfortunes!

Next morning the Capt desired me to get all my luggage on board, for he should sail that evening. I momentarily went and brought my wife on board. No one thought as she passed them that it was the last sight of her. She went on Board in high spirits. As soon as I had put her on board, I returned with the long boat and twelve men under arms in case of rescuing my daughter. We got to my house and cleared away. At once a number of hogs got in the bush. I had not time to catch them.

When the people saw my cottage was left empty, and that my daughter was guarded with her nurse, they got hold of me
and begd me not to leave them. They wept bitterly. I stood for
a moment and viewd the cottage I had built with my own
hands, the spot I had spent so many happy days on, and now
I was leaving it with the greatest regret. Judge, my coureous
reader, what was my feelings. My mind was on the rack to think
of what would occur after my departure—death & carnage. My
limbs draged heavy. As I left my once happy cottage, I turnd
to take the last look, the dolefull farewell. A torrent of tears
flowd from my eyes. We reachd the Beach. The Ladies of the
Royal family was at the Old Queen House. I went there with
my daughter to take my leave. They all in turns took her in
their arms and wept sorely over her. The boat was ready. I
took my leave of my dearest adopted relations with the greatest
weight of sorrow. My heart, which some time before was like
that of a lion, was now melted with the most tender feelings.
I could only bid them a silent farewell.

As the boat rowd away, my much lovd friends waved a Kind
adieu. We reachd the ship with my daughter and nurse. Cato
and several of the family was on board, and when they saw
my daughter, her nurse and my luggage, they was thunder
struck. One lookd at the other speechless, for they did not think
I would ever leave them. They wept sorely, asking me would
I ever return. I told them perhaps it might be so. I could not
promise. If I did, it would be some years before I could return,
as I intended to reach my native land first. Here was a very
affecting scene, the father parting with the daughter, the
Brothers with the sister. I returnd them my ever gratefull
thanks for all past favours. I did not leave them with anger, but
lamented to say that their proceedings towards each other
forced me with the greatest regreet to leave them, at least for
a few years.

The anchor was up to the bows. The Topsails was shivering.
The ship wore, or veerd round, and away we saild. My friends
went into their canoes. Ah, What did I feel! My fair reader may
better surmise than I can describe. A thousand tender Ideas
rusht in my mind at once. They wept and waved a Kind fare­
well from the rocks. My wife stood by me and viewd them till
naked eye could not discern them. I lookd with my spy glass. I
could see several of them sitting and bemoaning the departure
of an unfortunate stranger whorne they held so dear to them.

My wife looks again towards the shore and points with her
finger, looking me in the face with love and tenderness beam-
ing in her bright eyes, [and] says: “Theres the land that gave me breath. Theres my friends and relations. I forsake them all for your sake.” I felt the weight of her language, but could make no reply. I claspt her to my bosom. She burst into tears. I askt her for why did she weep. She answerd, because I see you are unhappy. I answerd her with a smile, that the present trouble would blow away with the wind.

I did not wish her to to Know my real thoughts. I could not but regret that but the day before I was a great man, and now look at myself—the outcast of fortune, an unfortunate stranger going to a strange land without money and without friends. Had I been conquerd by the enemies of the country I made my home, it would not hurt me: it would have only been the fortune of war. But to think that my relations should be the cause of this unfortunate event after all my trouble and the dangers I had run thro, and [after I] had become the terror of their enemies—they could sleep with their doors open—and now I was become a poor man, with a pregnant wife and a daughter, seeking a resting place for our sojourning feet—these thoughts stung me to the very heart. I did not repine altogether at my own lott, but for my dear wife & children, now being reduced from royalty to poverty, as I had nothing to depend on for their support but what providence might be pleasd to put in my way. This hung heavy on my mind. However I consold myself with the hopes of something turning up in my favour; for, if I seemd down cast, it would make my wife uneasy, as it was my sole study to make her as happy and comfort­able as I could in her delicate condition. Thanks be to god, she was more cheerfull than might be expected.

We was well accomodated. The prize master, a native of Den­mark, gave up his cabin & cott for my wife & child. I slept on deck on account of some low flat Islands we had to run thro, which I had a shure information of, but Capt F. knew nothing of them, as they was not laid down in any of his charts, as I inspected his charts minutely.42

The third day after our departure From New ka heava at 12 O’Clock, I askd Capt F. to grant me a sight of his Journal to pair the Course & Distance the Ship had run. I had a sketch of the Islands with me that I had copied from a map drawn by

42 There are two small islands either side of the entrance to Taiohae bay, Mataou and Motounoui (Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, 1843: 175).
a gentleman that had been thro those Isles some years before. On pairing the course & distance, I found we had to run 144 miles. The Ship was then going 11½ & 12 knots (or miles) an hour. At 10 PM I went to the mast head to look out for the land, and Just at 12, when the watch was calld, I clearly saw the Fires on the Islands and calld out “Land Ho”. Capt F. soon was up at the mast head with me and was very glad. He says to me: “Mr Bennett may thank you for the safety of his ship this night; for I Knew nothing of these Isles.” We run thro and was clear of them in the forenoon of the next day.
We haveing a strong breeze, and the *Lucy* a fast sailor, we arrivd at *Oteheita* on the sixth day after our departure from *Tio foie*. At this place I found twelve Missonaries. A number of natives came on board both of men and of the fair sex. Each of these picks out a friend among the ships crew. They will bring on board plenty of bread fruit and some small pigs ready baked, ripe plantains, &c, in return, they expect Tobacco, powder, shot, flints and cloths, axes, Knives, razors, scissors, looking glass, etc.

1 Davies (1961: 83-4) says: ‘March 1st [1806] The *Lucy* of London, Capt. Ferguson arrived She was a privateer, and had been on a cruize off the coast of New Spain, and touched at Tahiti on her way to Port Jackson. . . . Capt. Ferguson had called at the Marquesas on his way to Tahiti, and had left a party of men there on account of their mutinous behaviour (at the island of Nughiva) and also brought from there a man of the name of Roberts who had formerly belonged to the whaler that took Mr Crook home and had resided ever since that time on Nughiva, but being often in danger of his life he was brought to Tahiti.’

In the unpublished ‘Journal of the missionaries’ proceedings’, John Davie, John Youl and others added that Robarts had with him ‘the woman he lived with, and a fine child he had by her, and also another elderly woman that accompanied them’ (‘Journal of the missionaries’ proceedings’, 10 March 1806).

Robarts actually found thirteen missionaries in Tahiti, but one, William Shelley, left on the *Lucy* on 9 March. Dr Niel Gunson, Australian National University, provided the following list: arrived by the *Duff*, Rev. John Jefferson, Rev. John Eyre and Mrs Eyre, Henry Bicknell, William Henry and Mrs Henry, Henry Nott; arrived by the *Royal Admiral*, Rev. James Elder, Rev. John Youl, John Davies, James Hayward, William Scott, Samuel Tessier, Charles Wilson, William Shell[e]y (by the *Duff*, but joined the Tahitian mission in 1802). William Caw, one of the missionaries, was living apart from the missionary community.
Oteheita is a much larger Island than any of the Marquesa Isles, but not so healthy. The ague is very prevalent. Dropsy and ulcers in the neck, hump Backs are very numerous. In short these people are loaded with disorders. The veneral is also among them very bad. There is also a number of Hermaphrodites. I saw one that was very handsome and well made, of a fine delicate shape. When the being was pointed out to me to be of that sex, I could not believe it, as those I had seen before had masculine feature and breasts like a man, only they wore the Dress of women. The language is something different to that at the Marqueas Isles, but I could converse with them.

A Mr Youl, one of the Mission, came on board one day. He conversed with me some time. He had learnt that I was going to Port Jackson. I told him the flattering story I had heard from Capt F. and some of his officers. He then plainly told me, if I went to New south wales, except I had property or money, that I should starve with my family. This unwelcome but true information overwhelmed me with grief. I was undertermined what to do. I was at once reduced to poverty and misery, my wife far gone in her pregnancy of the second child. She, poor woman, was well pleased with the pleasing view and seeming kindness of the natives of Oteheita and begged me to stop there until she was delivered of her second child. I consented and went on shore to ask permission of the King to stop on the Island. He granted it. Next morning I waited on him again and stopped to breakfast. He asked me a number of questions. I could clearly see—for the Mirror now shewed to my view—that so far I had made a change for the worst.

Capt F., when I supplied him with hogs and refreshment at

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2 John Youl, 1773–1827, had attempted to reach Tahiti on the second voyage of the Duff, but had been captured by the French. He finally arrived at Tahiti in the Royal Admiral, 1801. After six years of work he left for Sydney in May 1807. He later worked as the first Church of England chaplain at Port Dalrymple in Tasmania (ADB II: 632–3). See also O'Reilly and Teissier, 1962: 493.

3 Robarts had 'requested a passage to Port Jackson, but on seeing this place and hearing more of Port Jackson, he altered his mind, and desired that himself and family might be left here' ('Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 8 March 1806, 11 August 1806).

4 Pomare II had been 'king' since the death of his father in September 1803, but had lived at Moorea. He had returned to Tahiti only a few months previous to Robarts's arrival in January 1806 (O'Reilly and Teissier, 1962: 363–6).
Tio foie, he promised in the presence of his officers that he would pay me for the above part in cloth and part in Dollars. I was content. It past on untill the morn6 they was to sail. He slept on shore and stopt untill the last moment. The Anchor was a stay peak. The Boat went on shore to fetch him off. I put my wife, child & nurse with my luggage into the Boat. We landed and mett Capt. F. on the beach with a Mr Shirley, his wife & child, going passengers to Port Jackson.5 I could plainly see Capt. F. wanted to shune me. At lenght, he pauses and says: “O, ah, Robarts! If you will go on board with me, I will give you some cloth. I went on board with him, but he took care to make himself busy with some of the Missionaries till the last moment. He wrote me a recommendation and sent it to me. The Ship was under sail. I was obliged to go on shore empty handed or leave my family behind me. Thus I got rewarded by this mean wretch. This is what the saylors calls “paying their debts with the fore top sail”. So I was paid.

When I got on shore, I was surprizd at the rude behaviour of the male natives. A Black man, a native of America who had been ship wrecd not far from this place, came and invited my family to his house.6 We followed him. It consisted of two rooms. He gave me one to live in. In a short time after, he brought me a fine young pig roasted and some bread fruit. I askd him who it came from. He informd me he gave it. I was so overcome with this poor mans hospitality I could make him no answer. I gave myself over to sorrow.

For some time I regretted leaving New ka heava. However, by degrees I began to be cheerfull in the midst of adversity and lookd forward for better times. Mr Youl was Kind enough to put my chest into his room. He proved a good friend to me. Next I askd permission of Pomaurea, the King, to let me cutt some useless trees down for fire wood to boil salt. He granted it. I borrowd an axe from one of the Missionaries and began to work, and in a few days got wood enough cutt to boil 100lb

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5 William Shelley (Shelly), 1774–1815, had been left by the Duff at Tonga but escaped from there after the death of three missionaries in 1799 and had been to Sydney. He rejoined the Tahitian mission in 1801 with his wife Elizabeth Bean (ADB II: 438–9). ‘March 9th [1806], Mr Shelley and family took leave of the miss, and embarked on board the Lucy for N.S. Wales’ (Davies, 1961: 83).

6 The negro was John Aitken. He had not been shipwrecked but left the Harrington on 7 July 1804 (Journal of the missionaries’ proceedings*, 7 July, 8 October and 29 December 1804).
of salt to cure pork. My being Jack of all trades, I now turn Tailor. Mr Youl employd me to make him some trowsers, for which he paid me with a good hog. This I salted, but had nothing to put it in. I then made a chest to keep my pork in. Afterwards I made upwards of 100 weight of salt for Mr Eyre. For this I got a large hog and a pair of scissors.

And early in the morn of July 25, 1806, my wife brought forth a second daughter, a fine child. Several female neighbours came, but I would not admit any into my apartment until all was over and the child's navel secured. By this time day began to dawn. I opened the door and let them in to see my wife. In a short time they retired, and in the forenoon they returned with presents of eatables for my wife, for which I thanked them. The women would come from all parts of the Island to visit us. The men being rude and use bad language, I never admitted them.

Mr Youl gave me an old canoe. This enabled me to go on to a reef of rocks in the night time to gather shell fish & small crabs for my family's subsistence. Sometimes, when the moon shone bright and no one near me, I would sit down to view the Beautiful scene of a calm night. The sea appeared like a sheet of silver. Sometimes I implored the assistance of providence. Sometimes I would sing. Other times I mourned my indigent state. The shrieking of the sea birds and the surge of the sea added to the melancholy scene. No idea can paint the pangs of distress, but those who have experienced it in various shapes. I always appeared cheerful before my wife—the face may smile when the heart bleeds. In the day time I would go and gather bread fruit and coco nuts. By this means my time was taking up and helped to dispel the gloom from my mind.

Some few months after, a ship arrived. I went in my canoe along side, but was not permitted to go on board on account the ship had stopped here before in her way to China from Peru, and had been robbed by some convicts that had escaped from Botany.

7 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings' quotes a letter to John Youl of 16 May 1806: 'Edward Robarts, Thomas McDonald presents their respectful compliments to the revd society of missionaries, would thank them for the use of the salt boiler and utensils when Mr. Nott has done, if not immediately made use of by the Society'. They were not given the boiler till 2 June.

8 John Eyre, 1768–1854, schoolmaster and blockmaker who had arrived at Tahiti in the Duff and stayed there until 1809 (ADB I: 365).

8 'Augst 4th [1806]. The Taber of Providence, Capt. Sowle, came in, she was now on her way home from China' (Davies, 1961: 86).
Bay.\textsuperscript{10} They had been employd to assist in working on board. In consequence of this event I was counted among the Black sheep.

However, this unpleasing circumstance did not prevent me from a second attempt. I returnd on shore and wrote a letter to the Capt, and next day went again along side the ship And gave the letter to one of the sailors. He took it to the Cabin. In a short time the servant came and informd me that I must go to the Cabin. I went. Mr Eyre was in the Cabin. The Capt then reads the letter and now & then looks at me. He askd me several questions, to which I gave him satisfactory answers. He said something to Mr Eyre relating to me and then said he would see me on shore. I returnd to my family, and in a short time he came to my appartment and set down and conversed with me a long time. At times a tear escaped his eyes. He made a very polite appology for my not being admitted the first time I came, and begd I would make free and come on board at any time. He took leave. Evn\$ drew near.

Next day I dined on Board. We was four in number, the Capt & his two mates and me. The second mate was his brother. He desired him to make me welcome at any time that I might come. I returnd him many thanks for the honor and was sorry it was not in my power to assist him, as the missionaries was on board before I came the first time, and they procurd whatever he wanted for the use of the Ship. After dinner the Officers returnd to the duty of the Ship. The Capt. and me spent the afternoon in very agreeable conversation. Towards even\$, he gave me some wearing apparel and one fine large axe, for which I returnd him thanks and went on shore. The next day he visited me again and brought with him two dozen of scissors, one dozen of table Knives and about two hundred fish hooks, for which my poor wife thanks with her tears. This unrivald Kindness hurt me much, as it was out of my power to be of any service to him in return. I also got a Bundle of tobacco and a few scissors from a young man on Board. The Armourer came to live on shore. He had before engaged with the Capt to go to Canton and was now returnd haveing fullfild his agreement. He

\textsuperscript{10}The \textit{Taber} had called at Tahiti on 11 November 1805 ('Journal of the missionaries' proceedings'). There is no reference in the missionary journal to the episode of convicts, but some quarrel had occurred and an Englishman was left at Tahiti.

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had formerly left a Whaler, Capt. Crsto Solé, on Ship Taber of Providence, North America, [when he] took his departure for the Coast of Peru.11

It has escaped my memory untill now. About two months back, the Britanica of London touchd at the South side of the Island. The boat was sent on shore, and two boys ran away from the boat, and it was several days after that I saw them. One was english, the other a sweed. The english boy went with Capt Sole. The sweed was a youth of about 17 years old. He was a harmless, good naturd creature. I took him to live with me. The ship he left had been at Nooka heava, but could get no refreshment. The war was very hot at Tio foie. Three unfortunate victims was hanging on the Barracads of the pass on the ridge of the Mountain, but I could not learn from him which tribe was in possession of the pass, but I am apt to think the three victims was of my Brothers in laws tribe. I was grievd very much to hear this unwellcome news. What could I do if I had remaind with them? They would not take my advice. Ceertainly, I could have gone and livd in another Isle, but then I should be out of the track of ships and could render them no assistance. And in case of haveing gone to live on another Isle, and after the war was over return to Tio foie, what would my friends say? They would upbraid me of ingratitude & cowardice, of which I never was guilty of in my life.12

Must now return [to] the Armourer who came to live in the house I was in. A few days after, a few words arose between my Benefactor, the American Black, and the Armourer. Now I found out that part of the house belongd to him before he

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11 The armourer's name was James Savage. Davies (1961: 231) said he had left the Harrington. Jefferson in the 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 1805–6, 2 November 1805, said he had left the Myrtle. The 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 10 August 1806, said he was 'formerly on the Harrington and went from this in the Tabor in Canton'.

12 The Britania, 296 tons, 10 guns, 17 men, Captain Amiel Hussey, was on her way to Port Jackson from California (Sydney Gazette, 22 June 1806). She had called at Taiarabu, Tahiti on 9 May 1806. The captain strangely did not know there were any Europeans at Tahiti. They had called at the Marquesas, as Robarts says, and had taken on board the seven men left there by the Lucy. The missionaries were satisfied that the two boys left by the Britania, Prentis and the Swede, had been left by accident when the Britania's cable parted ('Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 9 and 13 May 1806).
went to Canton, and he was speaking in a manner that touched my feelings, for the room I lived in was the one he used to live in. The American says: "Take my room, and I can sleep anywhere." He said: "No, I want my own room." In the evening, I went to a natives house at a pleasant spot near the beach. I agreed with him for a part of his house, and in the morning I removed without saying a word to any one.13

I now was more retired than I was before. I got cocoanut branches. My wife & the nurse made mats to screen one side of the house for a sleeping room. When I was gone, the armorer was much at a loss. The natives used to rob him. In a short time after, he came to a spot near to me to build a house. He came to me and asked me to make the wall plates and ports. I agreed and set to work cutting barren breadfruit trees down. The house was to have three rooms and a loft for a workshop to clean fire arms in. I worked hard every day until I got the frame of the House done. He was employed making small axes and knives for the missionaries to barter with the natives for any thing they wanted, and he used to clean & repair fire arms for the King & other natives. From them he used to get hogs for payment. By this means the pot was kept boiling. I got the frame up, and he got natives to thatch the house. A man that had swum away from the Lucy, being a

13 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 15 September 1806:

Yesterday morning the Marquesan woman [Robarts's wife] went from her habitation some distance inland and made some attempt to hang herself. When discovered by those who went in search of her, it was found that she had collected some bark of the Purau for the purpose and had tied it to a tree. She said her pity for her young infant was the only cause that prevented her from putting into execution the hasty resolution which originated from some words that passed between the husband and her about his chastising their eldest child.

Robarts tells us that it is common at the Marquesas for the women to poison or hang themselves after they have been quarrelling and fearful of this while he was at service yesterday morning had directed those about her not to let her go away by herself during his absence. It is but fair to add that the natives say that Robarts frequently beats his wife and otherwise treats her very indifferently which may be the cause of his fears that she would make some attempt of this nature.

The armorer and three other Europeans went last week to a new house they have erected at Hite-mahana. Also Robarts is building a house near the same spot for himself and family.

Through all this period, and as long as there are journals to record it, Robarts is mentioned as being at one or other or both services of a Sunday at the mission compound, often in the company of other seamen. Indeed, apart from the missionaries and their wives, he and another seaman were usually the only congregation.
country man of his, came and lived with him. I never went near
them.¹⁴

For some time after the house was finished he had made an
attempt to make spirits, but could make none worth drinking.
They came to me one day and pressd me to come and live in
the house I had built, as there was a spare room. At first I
made some objection, as being too troublesome to him in a
small house. At last the two got me to consent. I removd. He
gave me the center room, as over the endroom was the work­
shop and the way to the loft was out of my room. Now his
property was safe. When we was away, my family and my
faithfull dog Neptune took care of the house. In all these
Islands their is a valuable root which grows in shape like a
parsnip, but very large. Some are more than fifty pounds
weight. I went to a place about four miles distant to get a
quantity of this root for the purpose of Distilling spirits. Its
called by the natives Tee.¹⁵ When baked in the ground, its very
sweet and from it comes a very good treacle or Molasses. It
being cutt up in slices and then pounded and laid in soak in
hot water for twenty four hours, then wrung or pressd to get
the Juice out, then coverd over close with a Blanket, and in a
few days it foments and turns so sour as to Draw water from
the eyes when smelld at. It is then ready for Distilling.

The Armourer and me was in partnership. I made the spirit
day & night, our still being very small and of curious invention.
The Bottom was an old Iron pot broke in three pieces. A hoop
was fixt round the neck of the pot, and the three legs braced
together with iron hooks, but still our pot leakd so as to
extinguish the fire. I then thought that rust would stop the
leak. Accordingly, I chopped some cloth fine and put it with
water into the pot. For some days the rust grew fast in the pot,
and by this means the leek was stopt. On the pot was fixt a
small Kegg of about four gallons. I took the two heads out
and securd the Kegg on the pot. The Armourer had a sheet of
copper. This was cutt in shape of a sugar loaf and solderd

¹⁴ The Lucy had left three men by their own desire, Robarts, Ramsay
(described as a 'young man') and another. Ramsay left in the Taber on
10 August 1806. The 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 2 March
1806, refers to three men who ran away from the Lucy and were caught
and plundered by the Tahitians. Robarts is probably referring to the third
of the first group.

¹⁵ Ti (Cordyline terminalis). There are about thirteen varieties of ti at
Tahiti (Brown, 1931: 142).
together and fitted on the top of the Kegg, and on that was placed a small copper head. I haveing a quantity of musket balls, I melted them and made a long narrow tip. And now my war spear was cutt to form the lead into a pipe to make a worm for the still. This I got done and solderd and bent it in a half turn, which, with a copper pipe, led into the cooler, which was made out of Bread fruit plank in a square shape.

About this time a Capt Edwards arrived in a small sloop from Port Jackson with stores for the Missonaries and to take Back salt pork. He lost a native of Oteheita over board in a dark night comeing round New Zealand. The man was asleep in the square sail. The wind came round to west blowing hard, but a fine wind to run to Oetheita. The sail was hoisted. He fell in the water and was drownend. Capt Edwards informd me that, if he got safe to Pt Jackson, he should come back for another cargo of salt pork and advised me to make what liquor I could against his return, and he would give me a passage to Pt Jackson with my family, as he said that he could get a lott of land ready cleard for twenty Gallons of rum. Liquor at that time was four Dollars a Bottle at P Jackson. The lott of clear land & what I should have from government would render me comfortable. In a few days he saild with a full cargo of pork.17

With the pleasing Idea of the produce of my liquor, I workd day & night. The still was Kept constant running. One thing

16 Captain Edwards arrived in the sloop Hawkesbury from Port Jackson on 26 November 1806 and stayed until 29 December. The Hawkesbury was only thirty feet long and of twenty tons burden and had arrived at Tahiti dangerously out of trim. Hence, no doubt, Edwards's condition—'if he got safe to Pt Jackson'. It was Houpea, or Tom, the Tahitian, who was drownend. The 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 25 November, says he was washed overboard while asleep on the deck in a gale off New Zealand after having refused to go below. Crook had sent a letter by the Hawkesbury to tell the missionaries that 'he thought it was not the will of God he should go to Tahiti at least in the present state of the mission' (Davies, 1961: 98).

17 Rum had for some years been in great demand in the convict colony and had become the only currency which carried sufficient incentive for the convicts. At this very time it was one of Governor Bligh's chief administrative problems and there were strict regulations against its illicit importation. In a report to London in February 1807 he said that the market price of eight or nine shillings a gallon would be officially lifted to twenty shillings, but that its real value was enhanced to three to five, and even eight, pounds. See Ellis (1955: 46, 62-4, 153-4 and 286) for the story of the rum traffic.
I beg leave to observe, that, if the King had not been taught to pray in the course of ten years, he had learnt to drink spirits to excess, as liquor had been made by certain persons some time before. But, I suppose, they seeing the error made no more, as they had got a good quantity made; for Mr Shirley took about a forty gallon cask full. I drank some of it on board the Lucy, and it was real good liquor. Some few days after I began to make liquor, the King sent to me for rum. I sent him about a pint. This was tipt of and more sent for. The man came with the bottle. I sent him away empty. He returned with a note by the King in a polite style. I then sent some more, and every morning about three O'Clock the Bottle was sent for the morning draught. 18

18 There is a gap in the unpublished journals preserved in the London Missionary Society archives from 29 December 1806 to 21 August 1807. The published journals in the Transactions of the Missionary Society cover this period very skimpily. Davies (1961: 250-1) described the rum making at Tahiti in this way:

In Feb 1807 an European of the name of Roberts (a resident formerly at the Marquesas) made an application to the miss. for a pot for the purpose of distilling a small quantity of Spirits from the Ti root. This was refused, and he was dissuaded from making the attempt for fear of bad consequences. In March of the same year Capt. Campbell and Mr Shelley wrote to the Society for the use of a house in the back of their premises (formerly belonging to Mr. S[helley]) for the purpose of distilling some spirits for the use of men on board as they could procure none in the Colony, promising it should be kept a secret from the natives, and that they should have none of the Spirits when made. On this condition the use of the house was granted. The miss. before this time, not having supplies from England nor the Colony, and being out of Tea and Sugar, and as a substitute sometimes made a sort of coffee from the Maize or Indian Corn and to sweeten it used the expressed juice of the Ti root, and some times distilled a small quantity of it, but it was kept a secret from the natives, as also what Capt C[ampbell] and Mr S[helley] made. But there were at that time many Sandwich islanders at Tahiti who mentioned to the king that intoxicating liquor was made at their islands from the Ti root, and that they knew how to make it if they had vessels for the purpose.

However nothing of it was made neither by them nor the natives till one James Savage, the armourer formerly of the ship Harrington, got some materials and made a sort of still, from which he distilled some quantity of spirits which he several times disposed of to the natives, by which means they got drunk several times; and being one day spoken to by one of the miss. on the impropriety of his proceedings, he got very angry, and went immediately and shipped himself aboard a vessel then in the harbour, and sold his still, and what belonged to it to the king for four hogs. After this the king got one of the Sandwich islanders to set to work to make spirits for him. And this was the very first beginning among the natives, for it does not appear, that the armourer taught them to make spirits (for he wanted to keep it a secret in his own hand) nor any white man whatever. After this Pumaia (for that was
At length I refused to give any more, as I receivd no acknowledge­ment for my labour. Their was great quantities of fish and a number of roasted Hogs with plenty of other food came to the King every four or five days, and he would send several whole hogs & large quantities of fish to the sacred twelve, but none came to the door of the unfortunate exile. I sent him word in plain terms that in consequence of my not receiving the least assistance from him I would give no more rum. He came himself one afternoon and askt me if I was angry. I answerd no, but, with a smile, patting my hand on my belly, told him that I and my family was hungry. I further told him that when I was in power in that Ladys Country, pointing to my wife, neither sick nor poor of another country that came under my protection ever wanted for anything, except a fair wind to waft them to their different Isles. And I was sorry to say that I and my family had frequently wanted under the shadow of his protection. He stood silent. I then told my wife to get some rum out. She took out about a pint. He tipt it of like the children in St James Park drinking new milk from the cow in a morn. He departed, and in a short time a Joint of roast pork and some fish came.

Next his mother & step father use to come and coax my wife to give them liquor. I cant tell for how long. My distill-house was close at the Back of the Dwelling house, and one day I heard some people talking with my wife, and my nose told me there was pork a frying. I went to the window to see what was going. The Old Queen & her consort was seated, and my wife had orderd some salt pork to be fryd for them. My wife askd me for some rum. I gave them a bottle full, warm from the Still. I stood to see how the Old Lady could carry her cups. They tipt the Bottle of between them and walkd away as steady as could be. I told the Old Lady in a cool manner that I did not make liquor to give away. I was makeing it to go to another country for the welfare of my family. This put an end to the Old Queens visits.

The Armourer workd at his work. I made liquor. My wife

the man's name) and other Sandwich islanders, made large quantities both at Tahiti and Eimeo, generally a very miserable stuff, and this greatly increased after the war in 1808. . . .

19 'Queen' Itia, and probably her second husband Tenani'a or Otihe, Chief of Huahine (Davies, 1961: xxxviii, 73, 138). The missionaries suspected that the chief cause of the Queen's later death was liquor.
was house keeper. Every one was employed, and in a short time I made about seven gallons of good rum. We were on equal share; the first was mine, as I purchased the Teeroot. I never drank any of the liquor any more than putting my finger to taste the strength. For three reasons: first, the Armourer was fond of liquor—If I took one glass, he would want two; Next, I well knew that new spirits was hurtful to drink; and thirdly, I considered that I was making the liquor for my family's future well.

The rainy season set in, and I had to go frequently in the night time to fetch water to fill up the cooler the liquor run through. And getting wet, I caught cold. A stoppage in my bowels took place, and I declare that for sixteen days and nights I never slept. I could take no food as I had no passage. I lived on thin gruel. I expected each night was my last. The Missionaries came to pray by me at my own request. Mr. Eyre promised in case of my death that I should be interred in their garden. This was my particular desire. He also said he would take care of my wife and two daughters. As Mrs. Eyre was advanced in her eighty years of age, my wife would be company for her. I was grown very weak, but was collected. At length I asked for a gastrointestinal pipe. The Armourer got the instrument from the missionaries. It was used several times a day for several days, till one afternoon after the pipe had been used a loud explosion followed with the discharge of a hard round substance. I thanked God for my delivery, and from that time I began to recover. I think the cause of this stoppage was, the liquor which I only tasted with my finger, was run through a copper pipe before it reached the lead worm, and the upper part of the still was copper not tined.

All this time the distilling was at a stand and about eighty gallons of wash spoiled. During my sickness the Brigg, *Lady Harrington*, Capt Campbell, arrived from Port Jackson on her way to the *Pheagee* Isles for sandalwood. The Armourer went on board. He knew Capt Campbell. Their being no liquor on board the Brigg, he offered to lend the liquor I had

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20 John Eyre married a wife twenty-five years his senior before he left England. Elizabeth Eyre was sixty-six years old at this time.
21 Gastrointestinal pipe, or a syringe for clearing the bowels.
22 On 14 March 1807, the *Harrington*, Captain Campbell, arrived from Port Jackson. Mr. Shelley returned on the *Harrington* to finish the small vessel he had been constructing (Davies, 1961: 95).
made. He came home and informed me of it and said that Capt C. was going to have liquor made for the use of the Brigg and that I should be paid in good rum again. I let him take it on these terms. The Officers from the Brigg came to see me. I was very ill, could not sit up. Mrs Youl was very kind to me, but that good man Mr Eyre never omitted sending me tea in a morning and soup at noon. Mr & Mrs Hendry came twice to see me. At length, thanks be to God, I recovered after a severe illness of seven weeks. I was extremely weak. The first place I visited after my recovery was Missionary house in a Sunday. I gathered strength by degrees.

By some means, the Armourer and Mr Youl had some words, which caused the former to take his passage on board the Harrington. He privately sold the house, distill and utensils to the King for a sum of dollars and some hogs. After the departure of the Harrington the King came to me and informed me that he had purchased the house & works, every thing just as they stood. I was surprized. I told him that half the works was mine. I might as well whistle to the wind as tell him about half. He insisted all was his. I let it be so for a while. In a few days he sent a man with some tea root to make liquor. I gave the still the head ache, so that when they came to make rum it was only water. This put the King in a rage. He did not know what to do. I staid quiet in my room. It diverted me to hear the King & his subjects holding a council over the distilled water. The King came to me and told me the still was sick: it only made water. I answered: "You have let the Doctor go away in the Harrington." He then says: "I will find tea root and sent wood and a man to carry water, and I will send you plenty of pork, fish and other food, if you will make rum for me. Half shall be yours." I thanked his Majesty for his generous offers, and, to get clear of him, I told him that makeing rum was the cause of my late illness, and that I would make no more. He then asked me for some rum to drink. I gave him his draught, a pint. He tipped it off like so much water. He went away.

In the morning no one was near. I went into the Distilling house and broke the still down, and in the night I gave the

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23 William Henry, 1770–1859, a carpenter and joiner who had gone to Tahiti in the Duff, left for Sydney in 1798. He returned to Tahiti the following year and remained until 1810. He later spent more than thirty years with the mission. His wife was Sarah Maben (ADB: 251-3).
alarm of thieves round the house. Some people came to see what the matter. I told them I heard a noise behind the house. They took a light to look. They went and found the unfortunate still was broke down. The news reached the King that some thieves came [to] steal the Still. Thus I got clear of Pomauea, and the wreck of the still was taken away, but they could never make any more rum. When he was intoxicated, he was guilty of Beastly tricks. I forbear to soil my paper any further on the subject.

Just at this time, a war broke out. One Saturday evening the King, with a strong party, went away in their canoes, and that night they murdered a man & his wife while asleep, and next day, being Sunday, these poor victims was brought in a canoe and landed near to the Missionaries house. Their bodies was mangled in a shocking manner. On Monday, the Bodies was taken to their Dieties Moria.24

Every day brought some news of the Carnage committed by this Pagan Brute. No one [was] left near me, except a few women and children, my living on the beach on the spot that the canoes in war time land at. They come in the night time and murder every one they catch. The Missionaries was on their guard also. I could not sleep in the night. My dog and me Kept watch under a shady tree on the Beach while my family slept. In the day time I made a path for them to escape by to the mountain in case of any alarm. I never let any one know of it.

One evening, news came that the enemy would be round that night. The neighbouring women & children fled. I went and asked the Missionaries to lend me a musket with some powder and shot. They refused me. I told them that one musket in my hand was worth more than twelve in theirs, for the enemy would land on the spot I took post at, and an alarm from me would give them time to fly to their boat they had ready to get

24 Trouble began on 23 May 1807, when Pomare II attacked Atehuru unexpectedly. This was the beginning of the troubles that were finally to force the missionaries to retire to Huahine or Port Jackson, on 10 November 1808. Davies (1961: 90-8) described the slaughter and the alarm of the missionaries. On 25 May five bodies were brought to the marae at Tairarabu, but a week later Elder and Wilson went to Pomare’s camp and found him standing among about thirty dead waiting to be taken to the marae. They estimated the total number of dead as about a hundred (London Missionary Society, Transactions, III: 284-5).
away to the other Isle. They said: "Come here and Join us." I answerd, I was in more danger with them than I was on the Beach. I was not afraid to Keep the Beach with my dog. He would not Bark in the night. When he see anything, he would paw with his foot and take hold of me with his teeth. He was a fine strong creature. The middle of his back was about two feet four inches high from the ground. He was of a mastiff, or between a mastiff and a Newfoundland Breed. He would start birds out of the brush wood and catch them flying.

Just in the heat of this cruel carnage, one morn at day break, I espied thro the fog a large Ship close into the Beach, I hastend on board in my canoe and found the ship was on the reef of rocks. It was nearly calm. The Capt was much alarmd, for if a breeze sprung up, the ship would never have got off the rocks. The Capt askd me if I could take charge of the ship. I answerd, yes. He then gave me charge. I momently orclerd the Boats and spars to be hove out and made a raft in a short time. In the mean time, [I] put the Stream anchor and cable into the long boat and carried it out and hove taught. The guns was soon over board on the raft, and some casks of water was started. The Ship was afloat. We then hove up the anchor and got the boat a head and towd the Ship farther out and made sail, haveing light winds. It was far in the afternoon when we got safe to an anchor.

This Ship was calld the Genl Wellesly, Capt Dd. Dalrimple, fast from Pl Jackson, haveing several families on board going to Pulo Penang. There was two ladies passengers in the Cabin. They was going to India to make their fortunes.25

Capt. D. was very desirous of seeing the King. The King was then on the other side the Island busy engaged stopping the mouth of a rivulet with dead Bodies that he had caused to be murdred. A Mr Elder, who had been of the Missonary party, but was disgraced and turnd out—he was honourd with a white sheet and made to stand behind the chappie door for being partial to other mens wives—he came on Board and being a

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25 *General Wellesley*, 400 tons, 14 guns, 25 men, built in Calcutta, had arrived at Port Jackson on 13 February 1807 with 224 tons of much-needed wheat, which Captain David Dalrymple had sold at a handsome profit (*HRNSW* VI: 259). The *General Wellesley* had left Port Jackson in early June (*Sydney Gazette*, 7 June 1807) and arrived at Tahiti on 17 June 1807 (Davies, 1961: 99).
Countryman of Capt D. became very intimate and persuaded the Capt to visit the King.26

I had been on shore after refreshment for the Ships crew. When I came on board, the day was far spent. The Boat was got ready and the crew armd with pistols and twelve of the Best muskets put in the Boat. I askd where the Boat was going. Being informd, I anwerd, you will not bring them muskets and pistols back, for I could see very plain the plan in motion. It was nothing more then to get Capt D to go armd in this manner to make a great show. The King would fall in love with the muskets, etc., and thus Mr E. would get great applause from the King for being the means of so handsome a lott of fire arms being brought to him, as every thing brought to the Kings place in this manner is deemd a present. I dont mention this out of Prejudice, as I wish to sail as near to the land of sincerity as I can and am always on the watch for that baneful rock Deceit.

However, Capt D set out, and they could get no further than opposite my house. The Boat was hauld up to my door, and they traveld over land to where the King was. In a day or two after, I went to see how my family was. I was surprizd to find the Boat at my door and left in care of my wife. I cutt some branches of trees and coverd the Boat up from the sun. In a few days after, Capt D returnd without musket, Pistol or cuttlass. I dryly said to Mr E.: “You have made a good hand of the muskets, & a few more trips like this will be of great advantage to Capt D.” He changed colour, but made no reply.27

26 James Elder, 1772–1836, builder, stonemason and teacher, had come to Tahiti in the Royal Admiral on 10 July 1801. Robarts's peculiar piece of gossip about the white sheets and Elder's partiality for other men's wives is not substantiated in the public unpublished journals, although he was relieved of his church privileges in October 1806 because he had struck a Tahitian. He subsequently purged himself. The voluminous correspondence concerning this is collected in the 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings' as the 'Journal of Proceedings between the Society of Missionaries at Tahiti and Dr. James Elder, October 17th 1806 and ending December 22nd 1806'. Some time before he had asked the missionaries permission to marry a Tahitian woman, but had been refused ('Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 16 March 1806). He spent his later years after 1811 in Sydney where he was baker, grocer and bookseller (ADB 1: 352–3).

27 There is nothing in the journals available concerning this visit of Dalrymple to Pomare.
The next day several canoes came from the King. They brought a present of a few branches of plantains, some bread fruit and coco nuts in each canoe, with a few, 6 or 7 in number, of small hogs. This was the return for twelve musket, twelve brace of Pistols, besides cutlasses, powder and shot. Capt D was in want of a great number of large Hogs to carry to some Isle he intended to call at.

The Island being in an uproar, I took the Opportunity of asking the favour of a passage to any British port the ship might touch at. Capt D. momently granted my request. Next morn⁶, I took the long boat for my family and luggage, Hogs, etc. In a few days we departed and steerd for the Lagoon Isles in search of pearls and shells.²⁸ We got some few, but the natives are so shy you cannot get them to form any correspondence. The Weather [is] very squally and [there is] no anchorage all round these Isles for large Vessels. Two natives was caught and brought on board. Mr E. pretended to talk with these people, but Capt D., perceiving the two parties could not understand each other, he sent for my royal Bride to converse with these people. I came also. Capt D. says to me: “If you will be quiet, I will catch my mouse in this trap.” A pearl was brought. My wife took it in her hand and askd these natives if there was any like it to be got. They said, yes. I then askd them several questions relating to their Isle, to which they answerd very satisfactory. Capt D. clearly perceivd that both my wife and me could converse with these men [and] blankly told Mr E. that he was a deceiver. This subject dropt, we cruized among the Isles near a month, but could get no pearls.

Our boat was on shore one day. The people hauld the boat over the Beach into the Lagoon, as all these Isles are low, flat land with salt water in the center. The land is very narrow. A boat may be launchd over into these ponds or Lagoons. In any part of them the water is shallow, with plenty of large, black pearl oysters and star fish. Both are very good eating.

Our people was out of the Boat walking in the water. A number of natives made a sudden attempt to cutt our people of from gaining the Boat. The Ship was close to the shore, a pistol shot distance. Our people cryd out they would be

²⁸ 27 June 1807. Davies (1961: 99) writes: ‘The General Wellesley sailed for the Paumotus with Mr Elder on board. He went at the request of the Capt. and by consent of the miss. to act as an interpreter &c and the ship was to return to Tahiti after visiting some of those low islands.’
Capt. D. was much alarmed. I called out to our people not to make for the boat, but make haste to a sandy point of land near them. I loaded one of our forecastle guns with grape shot and fired in the midst of the natives. I advised Capt. D. to send the pinnace to get the boat and recover the people. A Mr Randal, a good shot said he would go, if I would, to recover the people. Other brave Jail birds refused to go. We had a number of China men on board. I asked them to go. They consented, but Capt. D. would not let me go. He desired me to go to my gun again. I went and loaded again with grape shot. When the boat got near the shore, the natives made a second attempt. I made a signal to the man at the helm to heave the ship in the wind so as to shiver the sails. By this means I could get a good aim at the natives. I fired a second time. I could see them tumble over each other. Them that could get away ran making a horrid howling. Our small boat was got, and the other boat went to the people on the point. Another party of natives was coming round at the back of the point. The gunner told one of the people to load the gun again. He put the cartridge in without spungeing the gun. It took fire, and his arm was blowd of close to the shoulder. Our boats returnnd. This is what we gained by pearl hunting. Capt. D. ordered the boats to be got on board and bore away.

Davies (1961: 100) says:
At the request of the miss, Mr Elder had kept a journal of the voyage. Capt. Dalrymple was in quest of pearls in which [he] had but indifferent success. He went in search of Arutua island where the Margaret Capt. Buyers had been wrecked, but could not find it at first, but after visiting other islands particularly Rai'avo (which they supposed had been by mistake called Oanaa or Prince of Wales' island) where they got some natives to guide them to Arutua. They visited Taaroa and Taapoto, where there were many inhabitants, 300 or 400 on Taaroa they thought Cook had mistaken the names, and given Tiookia and Oura for those two islands.

The people of Taaroa were at first shy, but when Mr Elder ventured to go ashore among them, they soon stripped him of his jacket, but while they were disputing who should have it, he took the opportunity of getting into the boat they stripped also the Tahitian boy that was with him, but afterwards let him go. Those people then appeared very savage, and very little could be understood of their language.

Much later, on 10 November 1813, Elder made a sworn statement before the Reverend Samuel Marsden. It is printed in HRNZ 1: 422-3:

in the year 1807 the ship General Wellesley, Captain Dalrymple, touched at Otaheita, in which island this deponent was then resident, when Capt. Dalrymple requested deponent to go with him as interpreter in a cruise to the Palaezaers and others islands, to ascertain what quantity of beech le mar and pearl shells could be obtained. To this requisition deponent
In a few days we arrived at Oteheieta. We stopped a few days. The poor man that had his arm blown of died. He had been some time on the Island. He had escaped from transportation. I was very sorry for the loss of him, as he was a good seaman and a quiet good tempered man. There was two more run away convicts on board not worth the water they drank. They went on shore again. Every thing being ready, we departed on a speculating voyage, but found nothing to our advantage until we reached New Zealand.\footnote{They returned on 3 August 1807 and sailed about 19 August (Davies, 1961: 100–1).}

One thing I have omitted to mention, that some months before Capt. D. arrived, one morning at sun rise, I espied to the Eastward a number of canoes coming down under sail. I asked some people what canoes they were. They answered me that the canoes were strangers. They could not tell from whence. I walked along the beach. The canoes drew near, but a few Oteheitians was on the beach. The canoes landed with about 40 or 50 men, women & some children. Their trifle of baggage was taken possession of by the Oteheitians and led to their different houses. Their trifle of baggage was taken possession of by the Oteheitians and led to their different houses. Their canoes fell to the King. These objects of misery would ramble from house to house, and one woman, gave his consent, and went with Capn. Dalrymple accordingly. Was six weeks among the islands, and minutely explored nine of them, and was finally leaving them and coming past the end of one of them, called the Prince of Wales's Island, about sunset, with a light breeze and the vessel under sail; four or five hundred of the natives, composed of men, women, and children, came down on the beach to look at the ship as she passed; the captain, wantonly, barbarously, and without the least provocation whatever (as we had no communication with this island or the natives), fired five or six large guns amongst them, laden with grape shot. The deponent remonstrated with the captain before he fired the gun, and endeavoured to persuade him from such a wanton act of cruelty and inhumanity, but he paid no attention to his remonstrance, but observed it was necessary to strike terror into the minds of these natives, and to convince them what power we possessed. Perhaps he would have fired more guns than the number already stated had not one of his sailors, while loading a gun which had not been spunged, had his arm blown off near the shoulder, which occasioned his death. The captain showed no inclination to cease firing till the sailor had lost his arm. Some months after some of the natives visited Otaheita, and informed the deponent that several of the natives were killed and several wounded at the time Captain Dalrymple fired so wantonly on them. Sharp (1960: 102–3) identifies Prince of Wales Island as Manihi, a Tuamotuan island near Takaroa and Takapoto. Elder's account indicates that what he calls Prince of Wales Island is probably Raroia.

A convict, John Hoare, is noted as having escaped in the General Wellesley (HRA, I, VI: 543).
more conversant than the rest, used to come to see my wife. I used to give her food when she came.\(^1\)

By this means I learnt from her that the Isle she came from had been beset by the natives of another Isle in the night time. It being moon light, and they always keep watch and have their canoes ready to escape, by this means they had been drove of their Isle and run before the wind to any land they could meet with. This is the practice of those Isles to hunt each other in the night. The men and women go together in the canoes. Their weapons are clubs & stones. When they land, the two parties engage in close quarters, and the Killd and those wounded so bad that they cant escape falls a victim to the conquerers. When the fight is over, the victims is tore up and shard out. When I was among these Isles, I used to see fires in several parts of the Isles late in the night.

This woman also stated to me that they eat their own dead. Human flesh and fish is their chief subsistance. There is only one Isle that has bread fruit growing on, the rest only coco nuts and some roots. I also learnt from this woman that several canoes had landed on these Isles and all the people devourd, except one woman who was very handsome. She was saved and was then living. I asked her did she never hear the name of the Isle this woman came from. She answered yes from \textit{Roo ah bo}. This is meant \textit{Woo ah bo}—these people sounds \textit{R} for \textit{W}. I could not help shedding tears as she related to me this circumstance. I had formerly known several respectable chieftains that, as I have before mentioned, had left the Marquesas Isles to search for a land of content. Alas they left content behind them. At these Isles all the unhappy people that reach them fell victims to the worst of Cannibals.\(^2\)

We touched at one small Isle on our Way to New Zealand.\(^3\)

\(^1\) This was 29 November 1806. The canoes were from Kaukura (called 'Au 'ura in Tahitian) in the north-west Tuamotus. They had been attacked by the people of Anaa, according to Davies (1961: 94). The 'Journal of the missionaries' proceedings', 29-30 November, says there were four canoes, and about eighty men, women and children from Mataeeva [Matahiva], near Matea [Mahatea], that they had been driven off by the people of Pura and that there were several other canoes soon after. Tahiti, being downwind to the trades, frequently received these travellers from the Tuamotus (Dening, 1962: 110, 117).

\(^2\) \textit{Woo-ah-boo} = Ua Pou. The possibility of Tuamotuan islands being known to the Marquesans is mentioned in Dening (1962: 109).

\(^3\) Possibly Maria or Hull Island.
There we found Bread fruit & coco nuts, but no inhabitants. Our people was sent on shore to scearch for water. None was found that could be drank. A glass Bottle & a Pick axe was found, which must have been left by some Vessel that had been there in search of water. Had we found water, a boat and six men would have been left to procure Shark fins and Bich de mar, which meets with a good market in China. We departed and run on for New Zealand. We Arrived at the Bay of Islands and come to anchor here. We found a ship Belonging to P[...]. Jackson. She was callld the Santan[a, Capt Moody, in the Whale trade.34

Much have been said in Calcutta, Penang, Mallaca & London concearning a man of the name of Bruce, of whom I believe no true account has ever been given. I shall now give my reader a true and particular account of this Bruce.35 I beg leave to remark that this is not the adventures of Robinson Cruso or P. Quaril, which was Dreamt of in Grub Street and

34 Santa Anna, Captain William Moody, was a Spanish prize captured by the Port au Prince (Sydney Gazette, 26 October, 23 November 1806) and was fitted out by Simeon Lord and Co. in Port Jackson. She left there in July 1807 on a sealing voyage (Sydney Gazette, 12 July 1807). Moody took with him from the Bay of Islands Duaterra, a relative of Te Pahi, about whom see Sydney Gazette, 11 December 1823, letter of S. Marsden.

35 In the Mitchell Library, Sydney, there is a manuscript autobiography of George Bruce, dictated at the Royal Greenwich Hospital, London, possibly in 1817 (Bruce MS.). This stark, barely legible, barely literate manuscript, filled with many pages of piety and prayer, is summarised below, since he crossed Robarts’s path. Bruce was born in London, one of thirteen children, and began his criminal activities at the age of eleven. He worked as a pickpocket in London streets and was caught many times, only to be released because of his size, until he was caught in the act of breaking a window and stealing two handkerchiefs. He said he was sentenced to death, but was sent to the hulks at Newgate in 1791 and from there to Port Jackson on the Royal Admiral. He was employed at Toongabbie as a water carrier for the convicts clearing the trees and as an insect catcher for the doctor of the hospital, until—by his own account—he was pardoned by Lieutenant-Governor Grose and joined the Cumberland for five years on its voyages to Norfolk and Port Phillip. He became a police officer, but was caught making spirits and given hard labour. After a mêlée between Irish and English convicts he was sentenced to two hundred lashes but escaped into the bush, where he met a gang of three men who stole sheep, pigs and geese from the settlements. They were discovered, but he again escaped and hid on the outskirts of the settlement and was accused, unjustly he says, of robbery and murder. He claimed another pardon by the Governor who ‘treated him like a son’ and went to New Zealand on the Lady Nelson. He had lived among the Maori at the Bay of Islands from March 1806.
printed the corner of Long lane, West Smithfield. This is what I have seen, heard and gone thro', and written with my own hand.

Shall now proceed. Several canoes came on board full of men and women. The men was clothd with matts, neatly made of raw hemp. Under their matts they carry a stone weapon. The part to hold by is round. The upper part is oval. The edges is sharp, the breadth about four inches, and in length eleven or twelve inches—a most deadly weapon in a sudden attack, as the unsuspecting navigator would never have a thought of such weapons being under their cloths. The women and girls get below among the sailors, and then the men get below. Others are on deck.

One fellow came to my wife and behaved in a rude manner and took hold of her. I took hold of him to turn him away. His eyes glanced fire at me. He was takeing his weopen out. I momentarily Knocked him down and took the weopon from him. This was the first I had seen. It was near being a dear sight to me. The fellow then pretended to beg pardon and wanted his stone again, Which I refused doing untill I had informd Capt D. of the affair.

I went on deck and informd Capt D. of what had happened. I shewd him the stone and represented to him the danger of admiting the natives to come on board in such numbers. At times I have seen three times the number of natives on board at one time to the number of the ships crew, each native with his stone weapon. A ships crew might be murdered in two minutes. I further observd that these people was a treacherous class and not to be trusted. It would be best to clear the ship of the natives and never admit any on Board untill they would turn their matts inside out, and in that case to let a few come on board, and then there would be no danger. "I wish," says Capt

His face had been tattooed and he had taken a wife. His manuscript gives a short account of the Maori customs he had observed and lists ten ships which he had helped at the Bay of Islands. The last was the General Wellesley (McNab, 1914: 113-14).

The Hermit: or, The Unparalled Suffering and Surprising Adventures of Mr Philip Quarll, An Englishman. Who was lately discovered by Mr. Dorrington, a Bristol Merchant, upon an uninhabited Island in the South-Sea where he has lived above fifty years, without any human assistance, still continues to reside and will not come away—London, 1727. This eighteenth-century fantasy is attributed to Peter Longueville, and even then was considered a suitable book for children.
D., "they was all out of the ship." I answerd: "Fire a musket down the Hatchway, and you will be clear of them in a moment." A musket was brought and the powder horn. At the sight of the musket, the natives on deck Jumpt over board. The musket was fired down the hatchway, and in an instant those below sprung on deck and Jumpt over board. "Now," sayd he, "I am Capt of the Ship. I appoint you Capt of the deck, for I see you can deal with these Kind of people best."

And from that time I never admited only those that brought fish & potatoes to sell. Besides, the vermin that breeds in their mattes are so numerous that they fall from them as large as a barley corn and run about the decks. I sometimes would have a match made between two to run over a sheet of lead warmd. I recollect, when that Great and good man Sr Cha* Fox was liveing, that he and other great men would sport their hundreds of guinneas with galloping the maggots they found in their fruit or nutts in Sr James Street. And I, at New Zealand, could sport my hundreds of cokells and mussels with a louse race.

In a few days after our arrival, the before-mentioned man whose name is Bruce came on board. His face being tattowd all over, he might pass for a native. All the people on board that came from Pt Jackson Knew him. Capt D. asked him if he could procure any quantity of spars that would make masts for a ship. He said, yes, he could get the ship loaded. He askd the Capt if he had any iron to make axes. [He was] informd that there was plenty of iron and a forge to make them. Mr Randall, a respectable man, but [who] formerly had been an unfortu­nate, and a young man by name Hillman made the Axes.37 The Forge was got up and next day several axes was made and given to Bruce.

He went up a small river in a canoe and in two or three days returnd for the Boat to tow down the spars. Capt D. orderd him food and liquor to be sent from his table, and more axes was given him. He went in the Boat up the river and sent down some fine spars. Capt D. was well pleasd, and from that time two Boats was employd towing down spars untill the ship was

37 Probably Thomas Randall, blacksmith, of 9 Bridge Street, Sydney. He placed a series of advertisements in the Sydney Gazette, 1803–6, for smith's works. He announced his intention of leaving the colony on 15 March 1807. His home was for sale on 12 April and it was noted in the Sydney Gazette, 9 August, that Reuben Usher was in his premises. The General Wellesley left on 7 June 1807.
loaded. I must confess that Bruce behaved himself well, for he seldom came down to the Ship, but remained up the river with the natives, cutting, clearing and dragging the spars into the water ready for the Boats. The ships crew had no trouble, only to fetch the spars and get them on Board. Bruce most certainly deserved the greatest praise for procuring the spars, for without him we alone could never have got a cargo. Something would have happened between the Ships crew and the natives, as we had our plain proof of their treachery.

One day the carpenter was sent with the boat to a small Island close to the ship, a musket shot distance, to cut a spar to make a mizen top mast for the ship. I was on the poop with the spy glass watching the boat and people. They got the spar cut & cleared and was getting it towards the water edge, when I espied a great number of natives running Down a hill towards our people, and two large canoes came round a point of land paddling as fast as they could. They set up the war whoope. I called out to Capt D. that the boat & people would be cut off. Mr Randall and Capt D. run on the poop with two musket which was kept firing, while I loaded a six pounder with one double head and grape shot. Capt D. says: “Don’t hurt them.” “No,” I answered, “but I will break their canoe.”

The natives was very near our boat. I fired at the headmost canoe. The double head shot struck the canoe nearly the middle. The other canoe ran away, and the natives on the hill ran back. I loaded with grape and fired a second time to scour the hill. The grape made the dust fly among them. It could see them tumble, but they never acknowledged that any of them was Kild. This was evident: if the grape had not been fired, they would have murdered our people. A French Ship had been there some time before and had sent two boats to the very same spot, and the whole of the two boats crew was murdered and carried away by the natives.38 Bruce came down in a day or two after he had heard of the fray. He said those in the canoe was paid for their trouble, and those on the hill also felt the warmth of the grape. Nothing more occurred. They brought fish & potatoes as before. They never molested our boats bringing down spars.

During our stay here, a whaler came in and the Capt came

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38 The French ship was the Mascarin, which visited the Bay of Islands in 1772. Two boats’ crews, the commander and twenty-six others were killed (McNab, 1914: 59–74).
on board and produced a warrent signed by Govn'r Blyth to apprehend Bruce: If taken alive, to be convey'd to P't Jackson; if taken dead, his head was to be taken to Govn'r Blyth. I was called for this Capt to look at me. He, in a rough manner, demanded my name. I told him my name was Robarts the World round. He then says: "Is not your name Bruce?" I then told him to be careful of what he was about, to view me well in person and height and read the descriptions of Bruce which he had in his hand. He says: "Your a Keen Blade. I shall take you to P't Jackson." I laughed and told him it was not worth his trouble to meddle with me. He replies: "Did you not run from Botany Bay?" I cooley said, if he would go on shore with me, I would give an answer to his most cruel and impertinent question. Capt D. says: "Come, you have nothing to do with that man. Him and his family are under my protection and will not be playd with."

I went away, but was soon called back. This Bouncing Gent then said he was sorry for his mistake. I calmly said: "You should be cautious who you wound. Two men may meet before two mountains." Capt D. then asked me if Bruce was up the river. I said: "Yes, he went last night." I did not know that he return'd in the night, nor had I seen him that morn, but he heard all that past on deck. He beg'd of my wife to let him hide himself under the planks on which my bed was made. She got up and let him go under. No one but her knew that he was there. She and the children set on the Bed again. Had the ship have been search'd, they could not have found him.

The Capt. return'd on board his own ship. I went below. My wife smiled at me and got up and out came Bruce to my great surprize. I asked him when did he come. He said a heavy squall of rain came on just after he left the ship, [and this] was the reason he return'd. I told him he had better quit the ship presently. As there was canoes along side, I told him not to go on deck to be seen, but to go thro the hold to the stern port hole and I would send a canoe to him and [to] make the best of his way up the river and send down the spars, and I would

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Two whalers which were at the Bay of Islands while the General Wellesley was there were the Venus, Captain Birbeck, and the Inspector (McNab, 1914: 113). It is likely that there would have been a warrant for Bruce, but it is doubtful whether it would have been as dramatic as Robarts describes. Ironically Bruce was to meet up with the Governor when Bligh was in less happy circumstances, on the Porpoise in Hobart on his forced return to England (Bruce MS.: 104).

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let him know when the Whaler was gone. He went thro the
hold. I sent the canoe to him, and he had not got far before
the Capt returnd and said he was informd that Bruce was then
in the ship.

Capt D. sent for me and askd me again for Bruce. I told him
that I saw Bruce leave the ship last night. I was walking the
deck when he went in the canoe. I could take my oath that
Bruce was not in the ship. The Capt then stated that Bruce
was transported for life, and that he, by orders of the Govn'r
Blyth, was put on board a brig belonging to his Majesty Bound
to New Zealand, and that he had escaped from her at N Zea­
land and also stood charged with being Instrumental to the
takeing another Brig and all the crew murderd. But this last
was only a surmise, as there was no evidence. As to his runing
away, that I Know to be true, But I could not think of being
the means of his being apprehended, as he trusted his life in
the hands of my wife and two daughters. A few days later, the
Whaler put to sea, nor ever returnd during our stay. Thus
Bruce escaped, for, if the People on Board that had been his
old neighbours had Known at the time the enquiry was made
that he was on board, they would have sold him for the sake of
the reward.

Some time after, Mr Randal got some liquor from Capt
Moody. Mr R made merry. I was cald. I went to his table. Mrs
R was much intoxacated. To me she was good temperd. Capt D.
came below. Mr R invited Capt D. to drink a glass of grog. As
Mr R was then a respectable man and no one but me there,
Capt D. came to the table, and we all took some grog. Mrs R
began to abuse Capt D. in a very shamefull manner. He said
nothing, but laught at her. He went on deck. She continued her
abuse for several hours. At last Capt D. orderd the people to
put her in to the hold. Mr R said no man should haul his wife
about. Capt D., being hasty, Jumpt below with a sword in his
hand and orderd the lower deck hatches to be opend for the
purpose of putting Mrs R below into the hold. He then orderd
his crew to put her below. Mr R endeavoured to Keep them off,
said he would put her below himself. Capt D. ran him thro
the thigh. The Blood spouted out very fast. Capt D. was a little
frighted; he was a little tipsy.

I went to Mr R to look at the wound and found it was a large
cutt. I took my Jesuits drops and some lint and dressd the
wound. The squall did not end here. Mrs R began again.
Capt. D always drank over free after dinner. He got into a violent passion and ordered Mrs R. to be put into the Boat momently. She was brought up and put into the Boat. Next was their chest, etc. Mr R took his forge down. I said to him: "Let the forge stand; it was only a squall; the worst was over". The women all begged pardon for Mrs R. He would not hear them, but told them to go below. I set on one of the guns near where Capt D. stood. I was a silent spectator. Capt D. then says to me: "What do you think of the squall?" "O, Sir," says I "it was only a puff of wind. The height of it is over, and the rain clears (meaning the tears of the women) up. We shall have fine weather in the evening." Capt D. began to laugh. I then got near to him and beg of him not to distress a good man on account of a foul mouthed woman. He then said: "Robarts, I respect you, and, on your account, I forgive all thats past." He then went to his Cabin. Mrs R was got up out of the boat and the chests, etc. The forge was secured, and every thing past over.40

During our stay here, Bruce has often talked of a gold mine at the North Cape. Now, as Capt D. was on a gold finding voyage, this was the very thing wanted. Our Ship being loaded with spars, we took our departure towards the North Cape. In two days we came to anchor between a small Island and the main land. In the morning Capt D. and Bruce went into the harbour, which is land locked, as you can't see the entrance until you turn a point of land. In this harbour it is said the Kings Brig was cut off.41 In the afternoon, the Boat returned. Bruce brought with him a good looking but dark young Lady with him. Bruce wanted the Capt to go with him in the boat to the north cape, but Capt D. did not choose to trust himself far from the Ship. Next morning we made sail, and having a fine breeze we ran all day and night, and next day our boat went on shore and found Bruces gold mine to be nothing more than a loom or marle bank intermixed with sparkling particles, which on being tryd in a crucible formed only a dross.

40 'Jane Waters, otherwise Randall' was advertised in the Sydney Gazette, 12 April 1807, as leaving on the General Wellesley. So also were Samuel Porter, Mr Owen Bunker, Sarah Clifford (otherwise Dunn), John Jack [Growey?].

41 It is not certain to which ship Robarts is referring. The Venus, after its capture by convicts, was taken at New Zealand and all killed. The Trial and Brothers were attacked. The Parramatta was blown ashore and all killed in 1808 (McNab, 1914: 111-14, 115, 191-4).
Being thus disappointed, we steerd back for the place we anchord at, which place Bruce desired he might be landed at. The wind was against us and began to blow [so] that from one reef in the topsails we close reeft and at times handed the topsails. Our sails was all very bad and patched all over with rice bags. The lower rigging [was] not trust worthy, the ties & sheets all rotten. We beat about for several days, but could not fetch the land on either tack. The small boat was given to Bruce with a fowling piece and several good axes and other iron work, which was a handsome present in that part of the globe. Three natives of Otaheita also agreed to go on shore with him to live. He might have got safe on shore that day. The sea did not break, the wind being off the land. As he got nearer, the water was smoother. The ship could not reach any anchorage. He was afraid, saying the boat would upset. As he had behaved well in getting the cargo, Capt D. was willing to try three or four days longer in hopes the gale might brake. However, it blew harder. Our topsails all split to ribbons and some of our fore shrouds was stranded (broken). Our ship labord hard. We was in great danger. In this deploreable situation we was obligated to bear away before the wind to save our ship from becoming a greater wreck than she was.

Thus Bruce and his lady, about whome so many stories have been told in different places, left New Zealand. He was fed from the Capt's table every day, untill one day he began to use abuse-full language, threatening what he would do when he got to any British port. Capt D. took it all in good part for some time, till at lenght he was unbearable. Capt D. then ordered him to be sent to the forecastle, but no duty was required of him. He was no seaman.

Our provissions began to run short. We steerd for the Phee-gees Isles. We arrivd abrest of one of these Isles. Two canoes in shore waved to us. Capt D. askd me if I would venture in the

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42 George Bruce (MS.: 83–4) gives the following account of this part of the voyage: 'I completed [the General Wellesley] with a valuable cargo after been done Captn D earnestly requested that I go with him to the North Cape and he promised me at the same time that he would not take me from the Island let the Weather be ever so bad. I went with him and satisfied him in his ideas he then put to sea in order to land me in the place I come from; that night we received a very heavy storm which prevented him next morning he endeavoured to gain the Island, but the storm, still lasting, it was impossible. I was then obligated to take my passage with him to India.'
boat and go to the canoes and see if I could understand their language and entice them to the ship. I went in the boat with four men and pulled in shore. As I drew near, a great number of natives came on the beach and was getting more canoes ready to launch. I could not understand their language. Some words was the same as those of the Marqueases, but I am apt to think not the same meaning. The two canoes convinced me what more would do. They endeavoured to get one on each [side] of me, but this I avoided. I could make no hand of them by fair means. I took the boats bow rope and made it fast in the stern and then hove a piece of iron into one of the canoes, and, while they was strugling for the iron, I made fast one of the canoes to the boats stern and towed them to the Ship. I informed the Capt that I could not understand their language.

Bruce came and said that he understood them and began to speak some broken New Zealand words to them. "O, Sir," says he, "I understand them perfectly." "Well," says the Capt, "you are the most proper person to go on shore and see if you can find any sandall wood. If you do, I will reward you handsomely when I reach India." Accordingly, he dressd himself cap a pee, armd with a sword, and went on shore in the boat. The Capt gave the natives some presents.

Next morns the boat was sent for Bruce. He came to the beach, stripd of his New Zealand robes, with the loss of his sword. When he came on board, he told the Capt that he could not find any sandall wood, but he had seen a white man on shore, but was not permitted to go to talk with him. This man Capt very desireous of seeing this white man at all risks. According, the boat was mand and armd. They landed and scarchd for the white man, but none to be found. The boat retournd to the Ship. Capt D. [was] still very uneasy. The ship was then run in within a gun shot of the Beach and came to anchor. Several canoes came on board. Capt D. says to me "What shall be done to get this white man?" I answerd: "Put two of the natives in Irons. Peradventure that may bring the exile free."

Two natives was put in Irons two days. At lenght one made sighns that he would go on shore and return. This, we thought, was to fetch the white man. The one left on board proved to be a Chief. He smiled when his consort was liberated and sent on shore. Next morns at day break, It being my watch on Deck, I saw a canoe coming from the shore. I viewed it with the spy
glass and saw what it was. I informed Capt D. that there was a present coming from the shore. "What is it?" I replied: "You will soon see." He jumped out of bed and came on deck. He looked and said: "O, It's a parcel of country cloth." I said nothing, till the canoe came along side. He looked into the canoe and saw a dead man which they was going to hand on deck with a bundle of cloth as a ransom for the man detain'd on board. Capt D., struck with horror at the sight, liberated the man detain'd momentarily and weighed the anchor and put to sea.

This horrid action every one blamed Bruce for. First, he falsely affirmed he understood the language, and, secondly, he says he saw a white man on shore, which I believe to be false also; for, if any such person had been there, he certainly would [have] had some conversations with Bruce.43

We run along more of these Isles. A young man, an Englishman that we got at New Zealand, requested to be put on shore. Capt D. gave him a large axe, and he went in the boat on shore. One native volunteered to go on board the ship, and about twelve years after I was informed in Calcutta that the above mentioned young man was well and lived with the Chief of the place he landed at.44 We run to another Isle. A canoe came on board. We got one native, but for not understanding the language we could not get any account of sandal wood, although there was plenty at these Isles.45 These people brought no kind of food in their canoes.

I have omitted to mention that we touch'd at New Ireland. We were carried about with the current for several days between New Ireland and New Guinea. Capt D. tried all he could to

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43 It was not impossible that Bruce was correct. The schooner *Argo* had been wrecked in the Lau Group in 1800 and some of the *Argo* crew had stayed on (Maude, 1968: 143).

44 Dalrymple in the *General Wellesley* returned to Fiji in October 1808, sailing from Penang (where Robarts was to leave him) in a journey around Australia of nine months. William Lockerby says that the first and second mate and about sixty of the crew died on this trip (Lockerby, 1925: 39). The *Sydney Gazette*, 27 November 1808, said that the *General Wellesley* had lost twenty men. It added that among the Europeans causing trouble in Fiji was one who had formerly belonged to the *General Wellesley* and was known only by the name 'Peter'. The editors of Lockerby's journal do not believe that this could have been Peter Dillon, and certainly it could not have been if Robarts's information about his remaining twelve years is true (Lockerby, 1925: 192).

45 In fact the Fijian sandalwood had been cut out by 1816 (Shineberg, 1967: 7).
get to New Guinea, but could not for currents and Whirl pools, which are surprizing. I never saw the like before in any part, nor can I conceive the reason.46

There are no such Currents to be found among the West India or Bahama Isles. In the Gulf of Florida the current is very strong. I recollect one voyage. I was in the Ritson of Liverpool, Capt J. Fairclough, on a voyage to Jamaica. On our passage home, we came thro the Gulf of Florida and in a calm, by observation, in twenty four hours the Ship had been carried 144 miles, by the difference of Lattd Obsvd each day.

Capt D. wanted to get to New Guinea to get the guns out of a Large Ship that was wreckd there a year or two before.47 The boat was sent on shore at New Ireland. I was one of the party. I went in search of food for my family. When we got on shore, my party scatterd. I was left alone in a wood. Some natives came peeping. I saw no females. I made my way over to another beach. I met some natives with some yams and arrow root. This I purchasd, and by degrees I got my load. In the afternoon I observd something among the natives I did not like, as by their motions and gestures, as I could see, there was treachery going on. As my party came up to me, I told them my suspicions and advised each to cut a club and Keep all together. It was agreed on. Each took a part of my load. I went on first with my club. We took thro the wood and got round to the place we landed at and went on Board.

When we came along side, there was two large Kind of boats full of men along side the ship. Capt D. askd me what I thought of them. I said: “Send a good ropes end down to make each Boat fast, and one man to each to prevent the natives from letting their boat adrift.” This was done. I Jumpt on Board one of them to search what they had. I found Bows and arrows, spears, Battle axes, and several other weapons of war. This plainly shewd their intent was to take the ship, if oppertunity had servd. Capt D. said he did not like their appearance, but would not meddle with them, first on account of the boat being

46 From Robarts's account it is not clear whether the General Wellesley visited New Ireland before or after visiting Fiji. This makes the identification of the islands he sees pure guesswork: neither Great Britain, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division (1949–9) nor Cheyne (1859) gives any indication what or where these currents and whirlpools could be.

47 Dalrymple had brought the news from Penang that the Sydney, Captain Forest, had been lost off the coast of New Guinea but the crew had been saved (Sydney Gazette, 15 February 1807).
on shore. The small arms and pikes was all ready for them had they made an attempt to board the ship. It seemd to me, if they had attempted to board the ship while we was on shore, that we should all have been murderd. Our ropes was loosed from their boats and one of our main deck guns fired over them. They all Jumped over board and swam for the shore, leaving their boats behind. The boats was let a drift. They swam to their boats and paddled on shore.

We departed hence. The Log Slate on which are wrote the remarks and each days Latté and Longé was Kept out of sight from any one, in consequence of which I am unable to give any account of the Latté and Longé of each place we came to in our way. We past a round Island which taperd upwards like a sugar loaf, and out of the top Isued a very great fire and thick black smoke. In the night time the fire was seen to belch out in a terrible manner, as tho gun powder was hove into it in large quantitis.48 We had calmer and light winds for several days.

At day break one morns we espied two low flat Islands coverd with coco nutt trees, whence a number of canoes came.49 When they came along side the ship, I lookd into their canoes. I saw two flying fish in one of them. I run below to my wife to get a bitt of Iron to purchase the fish. While I was below, One of [the] european women [was] leaning thro the port hole. The natives made an attempt to drag her into the canoe. Other canoes went under the stern. Mr Randall was on the poop. He lookd over the stern and saw the natives was busy stringing their bows. He run to the cabin and got Two muskets. He gave one to Hillman. While the muskets was being got, the canoes had formed a half moon circle and was shooting showers of arrows on Board. The main sail was stuck full of arrows. I heard the bustle and ran on deck. When I found the natives was getting up the gangway, I took a gun [and] handspike and took my post at the port hole next to the gangway ready to receive them. Mr Randall and Hillman Killd two the first fire. One of the Pheegee natives shot another thro the Back with an arrow.

This made them sheer of. I could not help laughing to see a native in one canoe paddling with one hand and holding a

48 There are a number of volcanoes on the north coast of New Britain. One of them, Lolobau, is an island (Great Britain, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, 1943–5, IV: 47).
49 Unidentified islands.
paddle to his back to keep off the shot. His comrades lay dead in the canoe. Not a boarding pike at hand, or cartridge filled with powder, not a wad made for the great guns—this was through the neglect of the rascal, a mongrel Italian gunner. If Mr Randall had not seen them stringing their bows, they certainly would have got on Board. Not that they could have taken the Ship, but there would have been more blood shed. We had a bad ships crew, Viz, China men, manilla men & mongrel Portugues. Out of about eighty males there was not ten that would stand to fight. Some even run below when the arrows was flying like rain on board.

In the evening two boat went on shore armed. On the approach of the Boats the natives ran away. They waded to the other Isle. I was at the mast head looking out to see how the Boats fared. The people on these two small Islands was not very numerous. Our two boats well manned could have killed the whole of them. The boats returned and brought on board some coco nutts. It was calm all night. In the morning I asked Capt D. to give me the two boats manned and armed to go on shore and destroy their canoes and houses, and I would kill all I could catch. Mr Randall, Hillman and others volunteered to join me. As I could see that their canoes all landed in one place, the conquest would only attend with a little fatigue, as they would all run to the other Isle. Their canoes & houses being first burnt, their would be no escapeing. All would be caught. Capt D. says: "Suppose your killed." "If I am," I replied, "I die in doing the Navigating World the greatest piece of service I could ever do." For what a horrid thing it would have been, if they had taken the ship! Of course, we should all have been killed. Perhaps they might spare the young women that came from N Holland. In the act of cutting off such tribes, I cannot charge my mind of injustice or cruelty. Harmless natives I would always protect, but treacherous tribes I would cut them off.

There is one circumstance, the most horrid I ever heard of. It happen some years ago. A respectable man whose name I have forgot, he lived in and sailed out of Calcutta many years in command of a ship. He had accumulated a numerous circle of friends who lament his untimely and most cruel death. In the course of his labourious industry, he had gained a comfortable competency and was on his return to England in a large ship. I believe the ship was his own. He had some passengers on board. He went to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand. On going
into the bay, a number of natives went on Board, and, fatal to say, that they were permitted to go on deck. The Capt and his crew were of their guard and busy with the ship. I don't think they had let go the anchor. At any event, if the anchor was down, the sails were not furled. The ship [was] in confusion at the time of coming to anchor. The crew was at their different parts of the ship, four or five in one place, more or less in other parts of the ship, [several] being thus situated on deck, and several of the crew were aloft, going to furled the sails.

The same villain, who I before mentioned took hold of my wife when I was at New Zealand, is the very man, according to accounts that I have received from Pt Jackson, that was the Ringleader of this horrid carnage. As I before mentioned, the Capt & crew being of their guard, this Villain took this opportunity. The unfortunate Capt was the first that fell a victim to their bloody hands. They took him and cut off the calves of his legs and beat him in the face with them. O, my courteous reader, what must be his pain? What must be his feelings in this severe moment to be sensible to see himself cut piece by piece alive? The crew in a few minutes lay murderd on the Deck. There was one woman they did not kill. She was some time after taken by some Ships crew who went on shore armed in search of her. Several natives were shot in the fray.

Thus the unfortunate Ship Boyd was cut off. The Ringleaders name is Tee pah hee. He lives on a small Island on the Staboard side (A sea term for the right hand side), as you go into the bay of Islands. This Villain was several years ago carried to Pt Jackson and was kindly received and sent back. Carpenters was sent with him to build him a wooden house. It stands on the top of a round hill pleasantly situated.

50 The Boyd, Captain John Thompson, owned by George Brown, was cut off at Whangaroa late in 1809 and all on board massacred except a boy, a woman and two children. She was then burnt to the water edge (Sydney Gazette, 21 April 1810). See also McNab (1914: 125–37); (HRNSW VII: 259–60, 331–3).

51 Te Pahi visited Sydney in December 1805, 17 July 1808 (Sydney Gazette, 1 December 1805, 17 July 1808). Marsden described his earlier visit with his five brothers (Sydney Gazette, 11 December 1823). He had visited King and was treated kindly, and stock was sent back with him from Norfolk Island. Te Pahi returned to New Zealand on 25 February 1806 in the Lady Nelson (Sydney Gazette, 2 March 1806; HRNSW VI: 2–8). George Bruce returned with Te Pahi and married his daughter. Te Pahi’s role in the massacre of the Boyd is debated (HRNSW VI: 8, VII: 260; McNab, 1914: 109, 113, 138, 146–7).
ships have been cut off at Different Islands in these seas. At Tonka ta boo several years back, a ship was cut off with a large quantity of Dollars on Board. The Crew [was] all Killd.\textsuperscript{52}

But how do these accidents happen? The natives are allowed to come in numbers on Board the ship, Double in number to the crew. Some get between decks. The fire arms [are left] dirty, unfitt for moment use, a rusty lock, no flint, or any powder and shot at hand, the Key of the arm chest lost, and the like neglect. And many fool hardy sailors will say: “O, these fellows could not take a ship.” But how often does it happen, to their sorrow, thro entire neglect! Indeed, I am surprized that Capts and Officers and even the Sailors are not on their guard after hearing of so many accidents. The Wellesly would most ashured been cutt off only for the timely method I took to Keep the natives out of the ship.

If it had continued calm, Capt D. would have given the Boats to go on shore to chastise these daring villans. A breeze springing up, we pursued our course. In a few days more we came to two more Islands of a pleasant, fertill appearance.\textsuperscript{53} Several canoes came of. They brought some coconuts and a few yams. I bought one small yam and some bits of coco nutt. The yam being ready roasted I was very glad. I took it and shared it out to my family, who was very hungry. I weted my morsel with silent tears. I view my dear Partner in life with my two daughters eating their bit. They little Knew my thoughts.

After we left these Islands we had calms for ten or twelve days at a time. We was now on short allowance of rice. The heavens supply us with plenty of rain with which we filld our water casks, or we should have perished for want of water. For my own part, I felt the want of food more than any one on board, I being four in family, but had rice for only three and that so small a quantity that one of my children could have eat it at once. We was for above ten weeks on a gill of rice for us four per day. I used to boil my rice thin and feed my family first; and what they would leave was my share. But this had

\textsuperscript{52} Robarts possibly has two stories confused. The American ship, \textit{Eliza}, Captain Correy, was wrecked off the island of Nairai between Tonga and Fiji in June 1808. She was carrying silver dollars, but some 15,000 dollars were recovered from the Nairians and the crew escaped (Lockerby, 1925: lxv–lxvii). The \textit{Port au Prince} was captured at Ha’apai in December 1806 (Maude, 1968: 142).

\textsuperscript{53} Unidentified islands.
nearly have proved fatal to me. I was so weakened with this scanty subsistence that I could not stand at the helm and could scarcely crawl to the mast head, and, when I got there, I used to make myself fast to look out for land. Oft did I view the horizon around me with a watery eye, the sea smooth as oil, the canvas hung supine. I sighed, but scorned complaining. I never repined my fate. Thanks be to God, I bore it with patience. I trusted to providence for relief.

At length we drew near the Pellew Islands, at which place our Capt meand to stop. But very fortunate, we got a fine staggering breeze, which carried us to the Island of Toolo, situated in the China seas. One morn\(^5\) as I was going to the mast head, Capt D. says: "Look well out and if you see the land you shall have a double allowance of rice." Liquor there was none to give for first seeing the land. I reached the mast head and made myself fast and looked round me with a wistfull eye. At length I descried the land. C.D. askd me how it appeared. I described the form of it. He says: "Come down." I went down and went to the cabin door for the rice. Capt D. lookt at me. My eyes was sunk in my head. My bones shewd thro the skin. I was a compleat living skeleton. He sighd and said: "Poor fellow, a puff of wind would blow him away." I thanked him for the rice and went and boil'd it and fed my family.

I then went on Deck to get ready for bending the cable and clear away the anchors. Capt D. took notice that I was at work alone. He then said: "Robarts, my good man, I will remember you from the first to the last." "What, Sir," replied I, "lay down and die when the land is in sight?" Thro shame some of the crew began to move. I then got the hatches of to haul the cables up and bend them. As we drew near the land, the crew began to be alive again, for before they was like so many condemned criminals. They let their hearts down. This only made the burden the heavier. A fishing boat came along side. I was in the boat in a moment and bought a fine fish. I cleand and dressd my fish, but I took care that my family did not eat too much at

\(^{54}\) Palau Islands.

\(^{55}\) What Robarts calls Toolo, Bruce refers to as Sulo, and unless both refer to Tolly Island on the south side of the Singapore Straits, the General Wellesley seems to have called at Sooloo (Sulu) Island south of the Philippines. The main island of the archipelago was the residence of the local Rajah and its market plentiful, although both Purdy (Stevens, 1816, II: 608) and Horsburgh (1809, II: 314) warn small ships against the treachery of the natives.
one time. After being in a starving state so long, it would be dangerous.

We came to anchor some short distance from the harbour where the Rajah lived. We had a shower of rain, which made the sails so heavy we could scarcely furl them. In a few days we removd to the harbour where the Rajah lived. Here we got fowls, yams, fish, rice, eggs and sago. I bought upwards of two dozen of good fowls and a quantity of yams and rice, which served my family untill we reachd Mallaca, at which place we stopt several days.

One Even Capt D. calld me to go on shore with him. Bruce and his consort and a girl, a native of Oteheita, was calld also. We got in the boat and went on shore. Bruce was dressd in his New Zealand robes. On our landing we was surrounded by a mixt croud of Malays, Chinees, moors & black Portugues. Bruce led the Van. I followd, haveing the two Ladies in tow. We arrived at the Tavern. The house was so crouded with an Impertinent rabble there was no stiring. I was forced to use a cane. I got in the house and in an instant the house was cleard. I then shut the door.

In a short time some decent looking men came to the door. I admitted them in. One of them was Kind enough to take Bruce to his house and gave him some decent cloathing. In a short time Bruce returnd decently dressd. He informed me that he meand to stop at Mallaca and so took his leave. We all slept on shore that night. In the Morn we returnd on Board with the Capt. On the way to the boat he askd for Bruce. I answerd that he was absent. No more was said. We now leave Bruce for a while to the turn of fortune.

Bruce (MS.: 84-7) left the following account of the voyage of the General Wellesley from New Zealand to Malacca:

As soon as I found I was driven from the Island [New Zealand] by bad weather I endeavoured to console my Consort of her Grief which was useless for some Days the Captain used us with every kindness till we came to an Island 3000 miles distant from New Zealand where he proposed to me to remain to procure him a second Cargo of Sandalwood and to stay there till he returned to which proposal I refused; from this moment he took most bitter censure against me and in a few days afterwards turned me and my wife out of the cabin told us we must seek an abode for ourselves among the Lascars of which the ships company consisted. I had no bed for the bed that I and my wife had belonged to Captain D. my laying was on the timber with which I loaded her in this miserable condition we existed till we came to Malacca. The voyage was prodigiously long (we was on the voyage from N. Zealand to Malacca 9 months). The provisions all being exhausted necessity compelled us to eat the vermin the Capt. showing the example. The vermin being en-
tirely dispersed a silent motion in the ship was made to devour one another there being a great many Englishmen on board as passengers they secretly and firmly joined together to devour the black people but the providential God prevented it by sending us a gale of wind at 8 o’clock the same night the horrid act was to be committed at 12 which carried us to an Island called Sulo in three days the wind being fair cheered every soul that they felt not hunger I have say with truth that me and my consort during a long famine in this Ship felt but very little of it for we was generally in good while the rest was in torture and pain. The ship being supplied at Sulo with every necessary she wanted I then went to Malacca in her Mr Cummings on board who was a Gentleman passenger he went on Shore and reported my case to the Governor and all the ill-treatment I had received from Capt. D. the Governor immediately sent for me it being late in the Evening when I landed and the Governor was then gone on a party of Pleasure with the officers of Malacca so that I could not see him that night when the captain went on board and heard the governor had sent for me on shore he ordered the people to way the Anchor and get the ship underway he then went to Penang carrying my consort with him for she was aboard.

Bruce followed the General Wellesley to Penang, where with some difficulty he got his wife back and went with her to Calcutta. Then, with a letter from Lord Minto, obtained with patronage from John Leyden (see Chapter 7, note 16), they tried to return to New Zealand. The fact that Bruce had a Maori wife evidently interested some Sydney merchants, among them Simeon Lord, who were about to establish a settlement in the Bay of Islands; see S. Marsden’s report in Bonwick Transcripts (49: 299). Bruce’s wife, ‘Mary’, died in Sydney (Sydney Gazette, 3 March 1810) and then the merchants lost interest in him, and in any case the news of the Boyd destroyed plans for a settlement. Bruce took to sailing again on the Porpoise and Kangaroo and returned to London. His vicissitudes in London were many as he tried unsuccessfully to find employment and to return to New Zealand. A variety of returned residents of New South Wales gave him assistance until his death at the Royal Hospital, Greenwich. Somewhere there is a portrait of him done in Sydney. Arnold (Letters, 1810) records the epitaph of his wife from a Sydney churchyard cemetery:

Sacred to the Memory of Mary Bruce, Princess of New Zealand who Departed this Life Feb 27 1810, Aged 18 years
Good Christian all that see this tomb
What I am come to is your doom.
These words is true that I do say
The secret that is between this soul and me
No mortal soul that in this life
Will ever know the secret between me and my wife
Altho she, is gone, and I am here,
Never till our souls, before the Lord does appear,
When we are there, both great and small
God will discover our secrets all.
In two or three days we saild for the Island of Penang, at which place we arrived in a few days. I stopt on Board, having sixteen dollars due to me among the crew for goods I had sold them on credit to buy them food at Toolo. One morn two Gentlemen came on board to visit Capt D. In a short time I was sent for with my family to go into the cabin for these Gentlemen to see my family. We went. Capt D. introduced me to the Gentlemen, who receivd me in a very polite manner. They admired my royal consort very much. After a number of questions and enquireys, to which I gave them satisfactory answers, Capt D. asked them had they any employment they could help me to. They paused a little. Capt D. says: “I wish to see him settled. He is a good man.” “You shall see him provided for,” answered P. Hobson, Esqr. The other, Ge° Seaton, Esqr said that he would send some cloth on Board for my family. I paid my obedience and retired.¹

¹Most of the people mentioned by Robarts during his stay at Penang belonged to the party of the new Governor, Philip Dundas, who had arrived in September 1805. This was the beginning of Thomas Stamford Raffles’s Asian career. C. E. Wurtzburg gives the best account of life at Penang at this time. James Philip Hobson was accountant and auditor to the Governor (Wurtzburg, 1954: 31). G. Seaton does not seem to have been part of the establishment. At this time there were not above 120 Europeans in the community at Penang; Stubbs-Brown (1963: Appendix IIc) lists a Joseph Seaton, Master Shipwright and Purveyor of Timber, as present in Penang, February 1809.
Thus I commenced to raise my friends on the Beach of Penang. Having an opening before me, I patiently waited the turn of fortune. I was in good spirits. My mind was calm, I thank my God for having thus provided for me. Next day about noon I was sent for to go on shore and was conducted to Mr Hobson's house, where I and my family was received in a manner I shall never forget by that good Lady Mrs Hobson, who momently retired into her room with my wife and children and dressed them in decent clothing she had got so quickly made.

In a short time, Mr Hobson and three other Gentlemen arrived. The table was laid and covered with the dainties of Penang. Then Mr Hobson addressed me, saying: "Come, Mr Robarts, draw to the Table. You are our Country man and our Brother, and as long as you merit you shall have our friendship." I could not make any reply. My heart was filled with gratitude. A tear rushed from my eyes. I was overcome to think that but a short time back I was starving for want of food, and now to see such a plentiful table before me. Thanks be to God for having thus provided for me in my distress. After dinner Mr Hobson desired me to come on shore the next day. I took leave and returned on Board.

Next day I went to Mr Hobson's house. My family did not return on board the ship any more. Dinner was served up. There was some Gentlemen at table I had not seen before. After dinner the conversation turned on various subjects. It then was consulted as to an apartment for my family. There being no convenient place in Mr H.s house, a friend of his then present offered his service. W. Robinson Esq., then conducted us to his house and gave me a very comfortable apartment neatly furnished and gave orders for our daily food. Had I been in equal rank of life with them, I could not be treated better, for which, the absent, I shall ever remember with gratitude.

I had been but a few days in my new habitation, when one morning Messrs Hobson and Robinson, accompanied by T. D. Thompson Esq., Pay master & Store Keeper, came to visit my family. After some conversation, Mr Hobson informed me that Mr Thompson wished to employ me. I very gladly accepted the offer and returned thanks to my Benefactors for their Kindness. Indeed Mr Hobson was that Kind of man scarcely to be mett

with. Any thing I could say would fall short of his worth. Next
day I removd to my Gent’s house. I had a very comfortable
apartment to live in.³

This was in March 1808. On the 17th, Mr Thompson gave me
the keys of the house store rooms, with orders to prepare for the
accommodating [of] a large party to dine. I got every thing
ready out of the Store, And after breakfast I went into the cook
room for the first time. Mr Thompson haveing previous given
me the sole charge of his house and property and [having
instructed me] to pay every attention to his much respected
Lady, who was then pregnant, the first thing I put a stop to
[was] smoaking tobacco in the time of cooking, as I obserd
the cook toasting bread with one hand and smokeing with the
other.

Every thing was got ready. Dinner was sent to table at 7
O’Clock. The Hon Coln Maccallister, Govrn⁴ several Naval
Caps, Milts Officers and gentlemen of the Civil service, Mmad
Raffles⁵ & Mmad Hobson graced the festive board. After dinner
in rotation Tea and Coffee was served up, and about ten
O’Clock the Merry Dance led off. Afterwards several songs was
sung: “The Boyne water” was sung by Mmad Raffles in high stile:

³ Quintin Dick Thompson had married Raffles’s sister, Mary Anne, six months
after her arrival at Penang in 1805. By 1808 they had had two children
(Wurtzburg, 1954: 41). Thompson was at this time sub-Warehouse Keeper
(Stubbs-Brown, 1963: 43).

⁴ Macalister had been appointed Acting Governor, 16 October 1807, after
Dundas had left Penang and died. The colony had been sharply divided.
Pearson, after Dundas’s retirement, had claimed seniority and acted as
Governor till October. Raffles was on the side of Macalister and the Captain
Phillips mentioned by Robarts was on Pearson’s side (Wurtzburg, 1954: 53).

⁵ Olivia Marianne Fancourt (née Devenish), born 1771, had married Raffles
on 14 March 1805, just before coming to Penang. Her first husband had
died in India. She was ten years older than Raffles. Lord Minto de-
scribed her in 1771: ‘Mrs Raffles is the great lady, with dark eyes,
lively manner, accomplished and clever . . . I have heard that she
was one of the beauties to whom Anacreontic Moore addressed many
of his amatory elegies.’ A later description of her at Penang in 1808 was
less flattering: ‘This [Penang] was one of poor Sir Stamford Raffles’ pet
spots; and here I recollect right well his coming on board, with a rather
everly lady, dressed rather fantastically, a good and clever creature, and
one already celebrated in song—“Rosa”—[presumably Nona of Moore] of
a certain little bard. Ye Gods! Well, anything but “Rosa”!’ Her reputation
as the inspiration for Moore was widespread in India, but probably wrong
"The Banks of the Dee", on the German Flute by Capt Phillips and sung to by Mrs Thompson. The sweetness of her voice would melt a heart of adamant. Well might the Poet say 'music has charms to soothe the ravaged breast'. The evening was spent in the most agreeable and pleasant manner.

On April 1st, Mr Thompson gave me the Charge and Keys of the Rice and other provision Godowns (Store houses) belonging to the Hon Company. I had not been long in this employment when my salary was doubled. Fortune seemed to smile. I was happy. My Gentleman was very good to me. His Lady was a mild good creature. She was young and very handsome, not the least pride about her and remarkable neat in her dress, which added, if possible, to her beauty. After some months, my lady brought forth a fine Daughter. My Gentleman desired that I would stay as much at home as I could. There was a European nurse to attend, but she never made any little thing that was wanted, but always called the cook to do it. When my lady was ill, she could not eat anything the cook made. One day she fancied stewed oysters. I hunted the town over. At last I found some, and opened them, cleaned and stewed them myself. I gave them to the nurse. My Lady ate them and asked for more. She asked the nurse if she stewed the oysters. She said no, but they were done by an English hand. My Lady then knew that I had stewed them, and from that time I dressed everything she ate during her illness.

I became her favorite soon after I came in her service, as I always studied to please her. Mr T. used to go to rest at nine at night, but it would be later before she retired. She would frequent play on and sing to her Piana Forte, which of a still night was delightful entertainment. There was something in my Lady's gentle kind manner that claimed my respect and esteem.

My time past away between public duty and the house arrangements. At length it pleased providence to bless me with a

*Captain William Edward Phillips, born 1769, had been in India since 1787. He was Acting Governor when Dundas's party arrived in 1805, but had had to suffer a reduction in position to Collector of Customs and Land Revenue (Wurtzburg, 1954: 31).

7 This was about 2 June 1808. Olivia Raffles wrote to Dr John Leyden, 3 August 1808: 'Mary Ann has a beautiful little girl two months old yesterday and has been living on the Hill for the last month'. The little girl's name was Charlotte (Wurtzburg, 1954: 65).
third daughter on Jan’ 4, 1809. Every thing was safe over. When my lady was in her dressing room, she heard the child cry. On equirey she found that my consort had brought forth a fine daughter. She chided me for not calling her to assist me. I replied: “Why should I, Madam, disturbe your repose? I had a young woman, a native of Oteheita, to assist me.” However, Dr Anderson was sent for. He came and lookd at the navel. He said it was as well done as if he had cutt & securd it himself. After breakfast my Lady, Mrs Raffles and Mrs Scott came to see the child. I took up my keys and set of out of the way. Mrs R. and my lady used to come every morn to see my wife and child.

Every thing seemd to be in a state of lasting happiness, untill the latter end of June. Mr Thompson took ill and died after a short time of three days. Thus was the flower of May cropy in his Bloom at about the age of 25 years, leaveing his Dear Mary Ann with three Lovely Babes to bemoan the loss of an affectionate husband, a tender father and a scincear friend. These was the accomplishments of this much loved and respected young Gentleman.

The loss of him overwhelm’d me with grief. I could not conduct my duty. I became low spirited. I hove up my situation and retired to the house of the Hon T. S. Raffles, Esq, brother to my lady. Here I past my time, the family liveing on a pleasant hill calld Mount Olivia, and near to it is another small hill calld Mount St Mary. These two pleasant spots are named after their amiable owners. On each is built a handsome bungalow. This, at present, is the happiest spot in Penang, oweing to the worthy inhabitants resideing there.

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8 Robarts never mentions the name of any of his children, except his second daughter Ellen.
9 Dr Anderson had been appointed Assistant Surgeon at Penang in 1808 (Stubbs-Brown, 1963: 49).
10 There was no Scott in the official establishment of Penang, but there was a James Scott, merchant (Wurtzburg, 1954: 44). A William Scott, son of ‘one of the principal settlers in Prince of Wales’ Island’ (i.e. Penang) joined the General Wellesley and went back with her as supercargo. He took command of the ship when Dalrymple died at Fiji (Lockerby, 1925: 59–60).
11 On 1 July 1809, Thompson died and left two sons and Charlotte (Wurtzburg, 1954: 82, 86–7).
12 The Raffleses and the Thomspsons were living at this time on these two adjoining hills, Mount Olivia and Mount St Mary, but in January 1809 the Raffleses were having a new bungalow built on the north beach of Penang (Wurtzburg, 1954: 65–6).
I went one day to pay my respects to my lady, not having seen her for several months. I arrived early in the morning. After breakfast she came to speak with me. Ah, what did I feel when I saw her here! She looked pale and dejected. My heart bled for her and her lovely babes. A torrent rushed from my eyes as I talked with her. I retired to give vent to my grief, for I loved her, as I loved my only sister. I never felt the loss of my own father so severe as I did the loss of this Gentleman.

I passed my time in the affairs of the family until January 1810 when I took ill with a stoppage in my bowels, but, thanks be to God, with the daily attendance of Dr Anderson, I recovered my health again. This gentleman had several times attended my family. I cannot speak too well of him.

My poor wife was continually pressing to go to Bengal. Just at this time, the *Silenus*, American ship, which had been taken from the French and brought to Penang, was in port. Her cargo, which was pepper, had been landed and now was to be reshipped and sent to Bengal. The Capt wanted a person to weigh 500 tons of pepper. A Gentleman, a friend of mine, being acquainted with the Capt., mentioned me to him. Accordingly, I went on board and spoke to the Capt. He asked me what I would charge. I answered, a cabin passage for myself and family. Live stock and Pigs I had, with other necessaries, that would serve me to Calcutta.

The bargain was made, and next morning I commenced weighing the cargo, and in a few days the whole was completed. The sails were bent and everything ready. On the day the ship was to sail, I settled my accounts with Sir T. Raffles, but in my hurry I forgot to ask for a certificate of my conduct. I had just time to get my family on board and then fetch an European Lady and her children. The ship was under sail. We got on board. The boat was hoisted in. I took a distant and silent farewell of my much respected Ladies Mrs Thompson and Mrs Raffles.

Thus I took my leave of Penang with the deepest regret, and in three weeks we arrived at Calcutta, March 17th, 1810. I went on shore and took lodgings at the Navy Tavern, near the Bankshall, for a few days, until I could get a house for my family. I took a house N 11 Mango Lane. My wife was...
pleased with Calcutta at first. On Apr 17th, she was deliverd of her fourth child, a fine boy, which god pleased to take at the age of eight days old. I am sorry to find as yet that I have made a change for the worst by leaveing Penang.¹⁴

Haveing been ten months in the Capital of British India in want of employment, one day, as I was going thro Tank square, Sr T. R. pased me in a palankeen.¹⁵ He lookd at me, but, it rain­ing very hard, I did not stop, as a great man is easy found, when no one Knows a poor one. Some few days after, I found out where Sr T. R. lived. When I came to the house, the first I saw was a malay boy that was formerly servant to Mrs Thompson. On seeing me the Boy ran up stairs to inform Sr T. R. that I was below. He run half way down stairs to meet me. He receivd me with that friendly manner, as tho I was his equal. He conducted me to the room where the Immortal Dr Leydon was sitting and introduced me to him. He had made every enquirrey for me, but could not find me out. My being a stranger, I made no acquaintance with men of my own rank. As I observ’d before, a Great man every one Knows, but a poor man sitts in his corner unnoticed.¹⁶

addresses in Calcutta. Mango Lane became Hare Street which after two blocks ends at the river. In Simms’s map, on the corner of Hare Street and the Strand, which ran along the river, and opposite the Bankshall Ghat, is marked a Sailors’ Home. Presumably this, or an earlier structure, was Robarts’s Navy Tavern. Most of the places which Robarts mentions are in this area of Calcutta City.

¹⁴ The birth and death of this son are not mentioned in the East India Register and Directory of this date, nor was Robarts himself listed among the European inhabitants until 1816. Sandeman and Seton Karr (1864-9, IV: 122) give an Ordinance of 4 December 1812, requiring all British subjects to report themselves to the Magistrates of Calcutta at the police office within a month. The earliest mention of Robarts is in the Calcutta Annual Register 1815 (Appendix, 73), as a police constable.

¹⁵ Raffles had gone to Calcutta from Penang in June 1810 hoping to get an appointm ent in Malacca. His knowledge of Java interested Lord Minto more and he was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States, to collect information. Raffles spent most of his time in Calcutta with Leyden, who introduced him to the intellectual circles. He left Calcutta in the last week of October (Wurtzburg, 1954: 88, 100, 104-10). Robarts’s ten months seems to be inaccurate.

¹⁶ John Casper Leyden, born 1775 at Denholm, Scotland, had studied Hebrew, Arabic, theology and medicine at Edinburgh University. He ‘con­founded the doctors of Edinburgh by the portentous mass of his acquisi­tion in almost every department of learning’. He was clergyman, doctor, poet even before he sailed for India in 1803 to act as assistant surgeon and naturalist. Ill-health drove him to Penang in 1805. There he struck up an
After some conversation, Sr T. R. asked me how I employed my time. I answered, looking for employment and writing my Narrative of what I had gone through since I left London. "What," says he, "you have turned Author?" I replied: "Any thing to raise the wind for an honest morsel." He laughed. "What," says Dr L., "raise the wind?" "Yes, Sir," replied I, "I have been lying becalmed these ten months, and, if a breeze does not spring up, my unfortunate bark will founder on the rock of adversity." "Well," says Dr L., "let me see your narrative and then I shall be a better Judge of your abilities." Sr T. R. eagerly enquired about my family and wished to see them. A Day was appointed.

I took my leave and returned to my family. I told my wife of what had past. The day arrived. We went to Dr L.'s house. Some Persian writers being up stairs, I waited until they were gone. We was then sent for. We went up stairs. On entering the room, Sr T. R. met my wife. Our past happy situation at Penang recalled to her mind. She burst into tears and leaned on his shoulder. He supported her kindly and conducted her to a chair. I felt the weight of the Interview. A tear of affection started. I thought of them at Penang. My wife recovered. She eagerly asked about Mrs T and Mrs R, and in broken accents said: "I shall see them no more." Sr T. R. was touched at this last expression. Dr L. helped my wife to a glass of wine.

Sr T. R. then said to Dr L.: "You will do me a personal Kindness in helping Robarts to some employment. He held a weighty charge at Penang. You may trust him with gold untold." "Well," replied Dr L., "I will see what I can do for him." Dr L. then desired me to come every day to write my narrative. A room was appointed for me to write in. Sr T. R. being come on public duty he was mostly at Government house. He desired me to see him before his departure, but the pressure of

intense friendship with Raffles and his wife. Leyden had returned to Calcutta in February 1806 and his presentation of his studies in the Indo-Persian and Indo-Chinese languages started him on his career as orientalist in residence for Lord Minto, who gave him his patronage in numerous ways. At the time Robarts came to him he was either Commissioner of the Court of Requests of Calcutta, or Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint (see Morton, 1819). Bruce had gone to Calcutta in June 1810, at the same time as Robarts was conversing with 'Squire Leyden'. Bruce's main memory of Leyden was his interest in Freemasonry and he said of him: 'No man on earth was able to instruct another with wisdom more than this man' (Bruce, MS.: 119).
his duty debard me that happiness. He embarked. I did not see him to take leave and send my respects and well wishes to my ever much respected Ladies.

After his departure I went every day to write to Dr Leydons house. He allowd me forty rupees pr month to live on, and, Just as I closed my narrative this far, January 30th, 1811, Dr Leyden receivd orders to accompany Lord Minto on the expedition to Java.17

At the very same Juncture, I heard of a vacancy in the Lower Orphan School at Howrah. I applyd for it. Dr L. gave me a letter of recommendation to the then Major Imlach.18 The next day Dr L. requested that I would accompany him to the Bankshall ghaut. He had previous recommended me personally to Dr Hare19 and had mentioned me to C. M. Ricketts Esqr.20 He gave a letter to each of them. I accompanyd him to the Ghaut. In the way he calld to take Leave of Dr Hare and then embarked on board a vessel waiting for him. He took leave of me. I could make no reply. I stood rivetted to the spot, looking as long as I could see him. I should have gone with him to Java, But my wife was far gone with the fifth child.

17 Minto had been Governor-General of India from July 1807. Through the latter part of 1810 he had been laying plans to attack the Dutch in Java. He had kept secret his plan to attend the expedition personally, and had left Calcutta with Leyden on 11 March 1811 (Wurtzburg, 1954: 90 ff., 131–2).

18 Henry Imlach, 1760–1830, Military Auditor-General, Bengal, attached to the General Staff. He was a major at this time and Deputy Governor of the Military Orphan School at Howrah (East India Register and Directory, 1813: 23, 115). He became a lieutenant-colonel on 1 May 1813 and finally Colonel of the 54th Native Infantry (Hodson, 1927–47, II: 388–9). The Lower Orphan School at Howrah was across the river from the Bankshall Ghat.

19 Dr James Hare, Assistant Surgeon at this time and listed in the Calcutta Annual Register, 1815 (33, 151, Appendix, 76) as surgeon to the Governor-General and on the Committee of Papers for the Asiatic Society. Hodson (1927–47, II: 388–9) lists him as the father of Steuart Hare, 1809–78, and married to Harriet, the daughter of William Jackson. William Hickey (1913–25, IV: 269) says he was the nephew of the famous Dr James Hare and had arrived in Calcutta in 1801 to work with his uncle until the latter's departure in February 1803, when he took over his clientele. He had married Harriet Jackson shortly before this. He is listed as having returned on 6 June 1827 in the East India Register and Directory, 1828: xxxiv.

20 Charles Milner Ricketts, Secretary to Government in the Public Department, Calcutta, a Director of the Bengal Bank (East India Register and Directory, 1813: 1, 5) and a member of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta Annual Register, 1815: Appendix, 77).
I went home and took the letters to Major Imlach. He desired me to bring a specimen of my hand writing. This was Saturday evn$, and on monday morn$ I waited on Major Imlach with a few lines, which he approved of, and I was sent over the Howrah school on tryal for one month. In the course of this time, I had some hints that there was a person applying to the Head School master for the situation. I was doubtfull of his report of my abilities. At the months end I was put in the Junior school, but to prevent any foul play I informd Dr Hare, who was pleased to give me a line from him to the Major, on which account I was fully appointed to the Junior school.21

At this time fell the Easter Holidays, which happend in March 1811. At which time my wife brought forth her fifth child, a fine Boy, and, as soon as she was well enough, I removed with my family over the river into the house allowd me. Numbers of people died in the neighbourhood. My family was frequently unwell.22

I left the school in the October following and came over to Calcutta, and just at this time there was a vacancy in the Police Office. I went to Dr Hare beging the favor of a line from him to C. F. Martyn, Esqr., but he did not wish that I should go in that occupation.23 But as he was on the point of going to England, I observd to him that half a loaf was better than no bread at all. He then wrote me two Letters. One was to Mr Fergusson.24 I deliverd the Letter to Mr Martyn. In a few days after, I was sworn in a Peace Officer of Calcutta.25

Every thing past on untill June, 1813. My wife took Ill and she departed this Life, July 19th, 1813. I happend about 6 O'Clock in the morn$. My hearing her throat rattle, I went to her. She said: "Pray to god for me. I am a dying." My courteous reader may better conceive than I can relate what I felt in this severe moment of tryal. Her dying words gave a consola-

21 The headmaster of the Lower Orphan School at this time was a Mr James Draper (Calcutta Annual Register, 1815: 166).
22 'On April 1st, 1811, Mrs Robarts, of a son' (East India Register and Directory, 1813: 444).
23 Charles Fuller Martyn, listed as Barrister of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Bengal, 7 March 1807, but not practising (Calcutta Annual Register, 1815: Appendix, 71).
24 Probably Robert Cutler Fergusson, also a Barrister of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Bengal (ibid.).
25 An Edward Roberts is listed as Constable in the Police Establishment in the town of Calcutta with ten others under the Head Constable, H. T. Lenham (Calcutta Annual Register, 1815: Appendix, 73, xii).
tion to my wounded heart to hear she was scenceible there was a god to save her departing soul.28

This fatal event nearly deprived me of my scences. My rest was broke. At times I was in a deranged state. The day time past with the hurly burly of the Office. In the even®, when I came home, every thing wore a gloom around me. My poor children that used to wellcome my even® return with their smiles now set pensive in one corner, bemoaning the Loss of their much Loved mother. I grieved for my Dear partner bitterly. She had forsaken her country, friends and relations and took her lott with me, which will ever endear her memory to me.

It is now ten years since she died, and I have not ceased to lament her untimely departure at the age of about 28 years. Her Beauty was admired by all that saw her. Dr Lyke, when he came to see her, stood silent for the moment and then expressed his surprize.27 He was candid enough to tell me that her time was short. I often thought that my servant woman had procurd some native medicine for her which did not agree with her. It was allways denyd when ever I mentioned it to my wife. Eight years escaped before my Daughters told me that for some time before she died, when I was abscent every day on my duty, that she would go into her chamber and weep, and, when the time drew near for my return, she would wash her face and be chearfull, strictly chargeing the children not to tell me. She had often expressd a desire to return to her native Island. I consoled her and laid a petition before Lord Minto for a passage to New Holland, and from thence I could get to the Marqueas Islands. I receivd no answer till after her death, but, alass, the grant came too late.

In the Novr® following, I hove up my situation and retired to my situation that I had procurd some time before as overseer of the H. E. Botanical Garden, Below Calcutta.28 Dr Hare

26 Calcutta Morning Post, Friday, 30 July 1813, in the death notices: 'On the 19th instant, Ena O De Atah, wife of Mr. Roberts, the deceased was a native of the Friendly Islands'.
27 George Lycke, Surgeon, is listed as a European inhabitant of Calcutta (East India Register and Directory, 1813: 142).
28 Hamilton (1828: 317): 'The Botanic Garden is beautifully situated on the west bank of the river and gives the name of Garden Reach to a bend of the Hooghly'. Inspection of published papers did not reveal any confirmation of Robarts's job at the Gardens, but Nathaniel Wallich, who may have been curator at this time, and certainly was a little later, was a friend of Raffles (Wurtzburg, 1954: 468).
was Gone to the upper Provinces with the Earl of Moira.29 My Eldest Daughter was Ill of the Spleen for upwards of three years. She took steel powder during that time from Dr McWhiritr, whose skill is well known in Calcutta.30 The disorder grew very large. My other two daughters afterwards caught the sleen. My youngest daughter Died Decr 19th, 1814 of the above cruel disorder at the age of 5 years & some months.31 The loss of the child grieved me much, for she would always take care of a part of anything she got for me. In her mornig rambles she would gather almonds, and when she had broke them the whole Kernels was saved for me. The broken ones was shared with her Brother and sisters. This shewed in her young mind a care for the father. When I would go to Calcutta, which was once a week, she would watch my return to be the first to run to welcome me home. This tender attention from a child so young must certainly win the affection of a parent.

Finding myself thus surrounded with misfortunes, and finding that nothing but a change of climate would save my two Daughters, I made up my mind to go, if possible, to Pt Jackson. His Lordship did not return from the upper provinces until the Latter end of 1815.32 When one mornig a Gentleman that knew me and was a friend to me came on a visit to the H E B Garden, I mentioned my intention of trying his Ls ships goodness for a passage to Pt Jackson. He advised me not to trouble the Earle. There was a friend of mine that would assist me in getting a passage, and he made no doubt but that Gentleman had Intrest enough with His Ls ship to procure a letter from His Lordship to the Govnr. of New Holland. I thanked him for this information.

Some time after, I went to the House of the above Gentleman, and after some conversation he desired me to enquire if any Ship was then going to Pt Jackson. I found on enquirey that the Ship Frederick, belonging to Mr Burton, was daily expected...
from Penang, and that she would be immediately loaded and sent to Pt Jackson. In a few days after the ship arrived, I applyd to Mr B for a passage finding my own food. The demand was 500 rupees. I went and informd my friend. He then ordered his Dewan to pay me 800 rupees on his account, for which unparalleled Bountious gift I returnd him my ever grateful thanks. The next day I receive the above amount and Paid Mr B. 500 for my passage with my four children to Pt Jackson. His Ld ships Letter was given me the day before.

I returnd to the gardens and sent for two Boats to convey my goods & chattles to Calcutta. At Dawn of day I secure all my stock, except a few Pidgeons. My stock consisted of 21 Geese, 38 Ducks, 36 fowls 3 Hogs salted, 2 sheep, 2 Goats, 1 flitch of Bacon of my own cureing. I had a busy days work. In the Evens, I got to Calcutta and put my property on Board the ship. Everything being in an uproar on board, I took my family on shore for a day or two untill the ship would drop down the river. I purchased what I thought I should want. Also I bought fifty gallons of Rum. A drop of this was treason to drink; it was for payment for building a house and clearing of land as far as it would go.

The unfortunate I more—[transported] for forgery—went in this Ship. In a few days we cleared the River and stood down the bay with a light Breeze, when Mr Chew left us. I went below to get some sea cloths out to put on. The chest they was in had once been a Military medicine chest. When I open the chest, I was surprizd to find that about one foot deep of cloth, fine & course, was gone. I exclaimed: “I am robbd.” I said not a word more, but informd the Capt, who said Keep quiet for a few days until the ship was put to rights, and then he would have a general seach. But he never gave orders to that effect.

We pursued our voyage with fine weather. We crosst the
Equator. There was several on Board who had not crossd the line before. My two sons was in the number. The Capt appointed me to perform the Part of the Watery God, (Neptune). My sons was first brought up and, in rotation, the rest. The day closed as is customary on crossing the line. I spent the afternoon with the Capt and his wife and a Mr Campbell, a cabin passenger, and afterwards I spent several afternoons in the cabin.

When we had run about half our passage, the weather began to very bad. One morns a heavy sea struck the ship in the fore chains, which hove my four children out of bed at once. My youngest son, then about 15 months old, was several minutes under water. Below, the sea pourd bodily down the hatch way. The ship lay on her beam ends. The bulwark was stove in on both sides. I had a goose washd over board and got in again thro the port hole without help. Some of the Capt geese was drownd in the Long Boat, and his servant took my live geese and put the Drownded ones in their place. My geese was all white ones: the Capts was black & white. When I mentiond the circumstance, the Capt was displeasd, saying, did I mean to say that his servants had exchanged the geese. I dryly said: "How come your dead geese in my coop? And who put my geese in the long boat? Here is my three geese—holding them up." "They are of my own rearing, and those that would robb my children of this stock would robb a church yard." He said no more, but orderd his servant to watch that I did not take my geese out of the boat. The truth is, this Capt's servant had exchanged the geese for fear of being floggd for the geese being drownd. The Chief Officer allso Knew the geese to be mine, for he had seen my geese in the coop all white and live a few minutes before, and now there was three dead, black and white. But this was not the first time my stock had been stole. However, I was bullyd out of my geese. I had only one gander left. I had no rescourse but to take the Drownded geese and scald them and salt them lightly. A quarter of salt goose servd for a dinner for me and my four children. Here was no butchers shop to run too, but eat a bit and save a bit.

At lenght we reachd Van Deamans Land. We got within the land and let go the anchor. In the morn the wind blowd very hard with a heavy swell. The Capt was frightend out of his wits.

88 This Mr Campbell is unidentified.
The ship rolld very heavy, and the sea run over our decks. I told the Capt, if he did not give orders to cutt the cable the ship would founder. I had got the axe ready. A heavy sea was coming over us. I call'd out: "Cutt away the cable". I run to the helm to give the ship a sheer. The cable was momentely cutt, and the top sails lost and sett. We run farther in under a small Island and came to anchor. In the afternoon, the Pilot came on board, and next day we got up to Hobart Town and moor'd the ship.39

The Capt & his wife went on shore to live during our stay here, which was one month. At the Landing place was three run away convicts hung in Iron frames, but on the arrivall of some more ships the Govnr. order'd them to be removed in the night time.40 On June 4th 1816, a royal salute was fired on shore at the Govnr. house. It was return'd from the Ships, and in the even' we got under sail and drop'd down the harbour. It became salm. We let go the anchor.41

About 10 PM, a breeze sprung up. I was on Deck and got the Capstern mand and began to heave in the cable. I call'd to the Capt. and told him there was a golden wind. "Well, gett under weigh and make sail," he said. I did so. The unfortunate I Moore took the helm. There was no Chief Officer doing duty.

39 The Frederick arrived at Hobart on Thursday, 9 May 1816 (Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter, 11 May 1816).

40 The Lieutenant-Governor of Tasmania was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Davey: 'As the Bodies of the Felons that were Gibbeted on Hunter's Island, were close to the place where the Wharf is erected, and became Objects of Disgust, especially to the Female sex, they have been removed (by Command of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor) to a Point of Land near Queenborough, which in future will be the Place of Execution' (Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter, 8 June 1816).

41 "Tuesday last the 4th of June, being the Anniversary Birth-Day of our august and gracious Sovereign, was observed with the accustomed and appropriate Ceremonies. At Sunrise the Royal Standard was hoisted at the Battery; at 8 o'Clock the American brig Ontario fired a Royal Salute; at 12 o'Clock the troops paraded at Government House, and fired three Vollies; and the Battery the usual Salute of 21 guns, which was return'd by the ships Lady Elliott and Frederick. At One o'Clock his Honour the Lieutenant Governor received the Compliments of the Civil and Military Officers, and the Gentlemen of the Colony, in Honour of the Day. At Six o'Clock in the evening, a sumptuous and splendid Dinner was given at Government House, at which were present, the Officers Civil and Military, the Commanders of the different Ships in the Harbour, and the Gentlemen of Hobart Town, and its Neighbourhood: hilarity and loyalty pervaded every Breast, and the hours passed with the utmost conviviality" (Hobart Town Gazette, 8 June 1816).
He was broke the day we got to Hobart Town, and the second mate was a youth just from the Durram Tollah school. He had been only one voyage to Penang before. It could not be supposed that he knew anything of working a ship.

We got all sail set. The Capt came on deck and brought out the chart, in which a dangerous shoal was marked down. We had about twenty miles to run to pass it. The moon shone extremely bright. I advised the Capt to crowd all the sail we could, for, if the wind should change, we should be in danger of losing the ship. I hinted that it was a cold night. The Capt understood me and called his servant to bring the Bottle on Deck. I took a glass of grog and begged one for Poor More. Although unfortunate, he was a brother sailor. I set off to the mast head to look out for the shoal. The Capt said: “Let one of the Lascars go up.” I answered: “No, I can’t trust them”. We having a spanking wind, we were up with the shoal in about three hours and cleared it in safety. I then came down and went to sleep with content.

We had a fine wind all the way, until we run the length of Sydney heads. We overshot the harbours mouth and the wind changed. We were blown off for 17 days and lost one Lascar over board. At length we got a fair wind and reached Port Jackson. The Ship Lady Elliott came in at the same time we came to anchor.42

Sydney Cove is a very snug but small harbour. A pistol shot would reach across. The town is part of it, built on a soft stone rock, one house above another, so that when you stand at the door of a house you can look down the chimney of the house below. There is some Brick houses, but a great number are built of plank. The streets are very bad in wet weather.

A few days after my arrival, I went to the Governor’s house and delivered my letter, which the Earl of Moira had been pleased to give me, accompanied with one written by my own hand. I was desired to come at an appointed day. The time came. I waited on His Excellency Lt. McQuarrie, Esq. I waited a few minutes in the hall. The parlour door opened and his Excellency called me into the parlour. I stepped in with a low bow to His Excellency. I was dressed in genteel suit of mourning.

42 ‘Sunday June 23, 1816, This forenoon anchored in Sydney Cove the ship Frederick, Cap. Williams and ship Lady Elliott, Capt. Abbott, both originally from Bengal but last from the Derwent’ (Macquarie, Diary, 23 June 1816).
He viewd me with the eye of a hawke. At lenght he broke silence by saying that it was more in his Lordships power to help me than was in his. I replied: “No, your Excell'y, His Lordship truly can put me in a situation, but when I die my childrens Kitchen fire will be extinguished. But, on the other hand, the land which the Crown grants to men of good Character and your Excellency's kind assistance will render me and my children Independent of servill bread.” “Have you brought plenty of money with you?” I answerd: “No. If I had plenty of money, I would not have come to Sydney.” “O,” returnd he, “this country is only fitt for theives and Rich men. You had better return to Bengal; for I am only authorized to grant you one man for six months to assist you to clear the land granted you. I have hundreds of spies on my conduct, who are ready to do me any injury they can.” I stood silent at this rhetoric. My language had not warmth enough to thaw the frozen springs of humanity. He concluded by saying that he would write to His L.'d ship on the subject.48

Lachlan Macquarie had been Governor of New South Wales since 28 December 1809, following Bligh's tumultuous term. There is no reference to Robarts in Macquarie's papers, but one might surmise several reasons for his abruptness with Robarts and for his 'hawk eye'. Just a short time before Robarts's arrival, 18 March 1816, Macquarie had written to Bathurst, Secretary of State, complaining at having to support free settlers arriving without any authority from the government: ‘I therefore take the Liberty of strongly recommending that Instructions should forthwith be given by His Majesty's Government to the Commissioners of the Customs (more particularly at all the Out Ports) never to permit any Person whatever, Whether Male or Female, to embark or Sail in any private Trading Ships or Vessels bound for this Colony, Unless they produce properly Authenticated Passports from your Lordship's Office, Authorizing them to Come to this Colony, and Specifying in what Capacity' (HRA, IX: 58). By 1816 Macquarie's land policy had become very little beyond a grant of land and some assistance of convict labour. Bathurst in his turn was writing to Macquarie at this time urging him to spend less and telling him that any free settler sent out was being 'uniformly cautioned against expecting any encouragement beyond a Grant of Land and Some Assistance of Convict Labour' (ibid., 150-1). Macquarie had further reason for bleakly receiving someone with a letter of recommendation from the Governor-General of India. Just two years before, he had written a strong memorial to the Under-Secretary of State attacking the proposal to allow George Bruce to return to the colony. He believed the Bengal government had been rather easily duped by Bruce's posture as a New Zealander and had some hard things to say about Bruce's character (HRNZ I: 322-3). He was unlikely to read Robarts's story with much sympathy.
I retired, as may be suppos'd, with a heart full of grief to find myself thus cruelly disappointed, and having run thro all that I had excepting a few dollars that I had left of my Penang money. On my return to the ship, I met the Capt. He asked me what luck I had got. I informed him and went on board. Several days after, I was in the greatest perplexity of mind.

Sometimes I thought of returning to the Marquesas Isles, as there was an American Brig in the Harbour that was going up among those Isles, and the American Capt would have been glad to have me. But I considered that I had nothing to take with me as a present to give among my numerous relations, and, another great obstacle, there was several convicts that had run from vessels that belonged to P. Jackson that had been there after sandalwood. When I was there, I never heard by any ship that sandalwood was of such value. If I had known, I could have made a large fortune, for, of course, I would have the trade in my own hand. Capt Campbell went to Newkava heava and introduced fire arms with powder & shot to exchange for sandalwood, and by this means he got a cargo. I would have gone in the American Brig only on account of my children.

44 This was the Ontario, Captain N. Dorr, from Boston. The Ontario had followed the Frederick from Hobart with 27 tons of sandalwood aboard (Sydney Gazette, 27 July 1816).

45 W. Campbell had visited the Marquesas twice in the Governor Macquarie (December 1814 and September-October 1815—Sydney Gazette, 25 February and 4 November 1815). Robarts had indeed missed out on the sandalwood trade. Captain Rogers on the America seems to have been the first to trade for sandalwood in the Marquesas in 1810. He took away 260 tons of wood, and more on a second visit. Within seven years some 1,800 tons of sandalwood had been taken out of the Marquesas and only scraps were left. The Bordelais, Resource, Captain Cornelius Sowie, the Flying Fish, Briton Arrow, Captain Campbell, King George, Queen Charlotte, Greenwich, Endeavour, Matilda and Seringapatam all visited the islands in the years 1810 to 1815 (Sydney Gazette, 25 February, 4 and 8 November, 16 December 1815; Rocquefeuil, 1823: 41-54). Robarts was over-sanguine about his prospects of making a fortune and he remained. Even apart from the disastrous visit of David Porter to Nukuhiwa with his fleet of captured British ships through the years 1813-14, the influx of beachcombers and deserters (just beginning as Robarts left) had increased greatly. Porter discovered several white men who had been there some time; one of them, Wilson, had been there many years (Porter, 1822, II: 20). Rocquefeuil (1823: 41, 53-4) in 1813 discovered Ross, who had been there several years to look after the sandalwood trade, and there were two other English sailors with him. Peter Swack deserted from the Gamble and a boy of fourteen years from the Briton (Shillibeer, 1817: 75-6). They were the beginning of a long line of beachcombers at Nukuhiwa, Herman Melville among them.
as It would be very improper for me to take them there after they had been thus far instructed in the Christian Knowledge. And after my Death they would be left to their benighted relations. This prevented my going, or else I would have gone to get hold of a villan that was at Tio foie, who had been the means of seven men being Killd. There was an American Privateer that had been there, and by some means a quarrel happen'd between the crew and the natives. The result was that some of the ships guns was landed and mounted on a small hill that I formerly had clear'd for a place of defence in time of war. However, the natives annoy'd them so much in the night time that they evacuated the hill and took their blustering guns back to the ship. They was beat off with spears and stones slung in the night time.

In the course of their stay seven men run away, and after the ship was gone the natives brought these seven unfortunate men to this Villan I before mention'd. His name I have forgot. The natives asked him what they should do with them. He answer'd; "They are in your hands. You may use your pleasure." They was never heard of after.

This information I believe to be true. A young woman, a relation of my late wifes, gave me the account in so clear a manner that I have not the least doubt of its truth. She came to Pt Jackson in the Brig of Capt Campbell and was going back to Tio foie, which, if she arrived safe, would give my friends an account of me and my family.

Had I have gone to Tio foie, I would have shot this unnatural Brute. He was worse than the natives, for the Americans began the Quarrel. For had the natives have Kill'd these seven unfortunate men when they first run away from the ship, it was no more than what might be expected, but on the other hand they was fed and brought to this Villan who gave them up to be slaughter'd in cool blood. If he had taken them into his house, they natives would never have a thought of hurting them.46

46 It is difficult to know what incident Robarts is referring to. He seems to have a garbled account of David Porter's visit confused with other incidents. Roquefeuil (1823: 43) refers to an American boat's crew cut off and eaten in 1815 at Vaitahu. Niles' Weekly Register, 18 October 1817, refers to the brig Mary which apparently about this time lost some of its crew and took some Marquesans back to France (United States, W.P.A. of Massachusetts, 1940, 'Marquesas'). Captain Fowler had been cut off at Ua Pou in August 1813 and the ship lost, but no one was killed (Sydney Gazette, 4, 8 November 1815).
I beg leave to refer back to the affair that happened at St Cristianna where an American ships crew built a large Boat. A quarrel arose between them and the natives of that place, and this, in the main, the Americans was the cause of. However, the natives was beat and drove over the rocks. Three was Killd near the Beach. I have gone over the spot many times since. Well, after this, the natives came and was friendly again. They helped the crew to launch the Boat they had built, which they never could have done of themselves.47

This plainly shews that these people Are of an open, forgiving temper. They bear no malice, nor seek revenge towards white people, altho they are frequently injured without a cause. Nor would they have hurt the seven unfortunate victims, if they had not been taught by that Horrid Villan. This horrid act is well Known in Parts of N America. And if the Capt of the American Brig that I mentiond was goint to Tio foie gets hold of him, he will not be spared. The crew declard they would tare him asunder alive, which I hope that God will enable them to do.

One morn8 the Capt. came on Board, and in the course of conversation my return to Calcutta was introduced. He said that he would give me and my children a Passage, but he had no provisions to spare. I replied that the fifty gallons of rum that I had on board would purchase food enough for the passage. This being settled, my mind was a little easy. The cargo was all dischargd and stones taken in for Ballast. Wood & water was compleated, and the Ship got ready for sea.

The Capts wife did not mean to return in the ship to Calcutta, but, on her hearing that a Mrs Compton was going in the ship, she packed up What she wanted and came on board that even8—to the no small surprise of her husband, who askd her for why did she come. She replied with a: "O, my Dear, I cannot let you leave me." Ah, Jelousy, that baneful peace breaker, stood at her door. The above Mrs Compton was a good figure and had her share of beauty. A short time after her arrival in Calcutta, she made her appearance at the Old China Bazar Theatre, where she gaind considerable applause, but unfortunately the drops of Brandy she used to take on going on the stage soon closd her sparkling black eyes.

47 Josiah Roberts is the American Robarts is referring to but Roberts (in his 1795 article on the discovery of the Marquesas) makes no reference to the incident.
There was eleven male and two female passengers came on Board. Some of them hid away. Mrs C. sought protection among my children, she being a free woman but being in debt a small trifle and had not the means to pay. I hid her away until the ship was out of the harbour. One of my daughters kept watch for the search boat that always searches the ships for run convicts and debtors. When the search boat came, Mrs C was much afraid of being found. The Constable was coming down below. I took thought and clapt her into my cot and got in myself, tied my head up and covered myself up with four or five blankets and drew up my knees in the middle, which hindered any one from seeing the other side of the cot. When the Constable came to me, one of the crew told him that I was very ill and must not be disturbed. Every place was searched, but my cot and the pump well—one free man was hid there.

When the search boat was gone on shore, I let Mrs C out of my cot. The man in the well crept out, and those in the staysails was set at liberty. I could not help laughing to think how the cunning ones was witted. The anchor was hove up, and in a short time we was out of the harbour. We run along the coast of New Holland, which is clustered with a great number of small Islands as far as can be seen from the mast head. These Islands are pleasantly dispersed. A ship can sail among them. They are from five or six miles distant from each other to twenty miles. Some of these Isles have good timber on them, fit for yards & top masts for a ship. We got a new set of yards and top masts from one of these Isles. Cockatoos are in great numbers in these Isles. The sea abounds with sperm whale and Turtle.

45 The Sydney Gazette, 6 and 20 July 1816, listed twelve intending passengers on the Frederick, eleven male and one female: Mr and Mrs Cunningham, Charles Griffin, B. Donnelly, Henry Byrnes, James Kirton (alias Winckfeld), John Cheers, Thomas Wright, John Wood, James Perkins, John Charlton, Thomas Henry Byron. Mrs Compton is not listed. Perhaps she wanted a less advertised passage, although it was announced in the Sydney Gazette, 27 April 1816, that Catherine Compton was to leave the colony. The Sydney Gazette, 26 March 1814, had published a caution against giving credit to the same lady.

46 Macquarie wrote to Earl Bathurst, 16 May 1818: 'it is . . . hardly possible to find these Runaways, when the Sailors are in league with them and Con- nive at their Concealment on board, few Ships leaving this Port without Carrying off some Convicts of both Sexes in the same way' (HRA IX: 793, also HRNZ I: 525, 561).

50 The Frederick left Sydney Cove on 1 August 1816 but did not actually clear the Heads until 5 August (Macquarie, Diary, 1 August 1816).
We came to anchor every even under one of these Isles and made sail at Day light. We could not run in the night, on account of the numerous shoals that are intermingled among these Isles.

One morn, I was on the forecastle and looking a head. I espied a shoal a short distance from the Ship. I calld to the man, a European, at the mast head to be guardfull of shoal water. He answerd, there was no shoal; it was colord water. The Capt also said it was a shaddow. I replied: “Take care that shade dont make your heart ach.” I went below with my childrens breakfast.

I was helping them, when I felt the ship running on the rocks. I Jumpt on deck and let go the Braces to heave the main yard aback. “Whats the matter?” says the Capt. “Your shade is under the ships bottom,” said I, and then run forward to look ahead. The water was yet shaler a head. The Capt was a tolerable navigator, but navigation without seamanship in time of danger is of no use. Only for the exercions of the passengers the ship would never have been got of. We worked hard the whole day to no effect.

In the evens a breeze sprung up. As I had surveyd from the mast head the shoals around us in the day time, I Knew where the deep water lay. I proposed twisting her of with the Sails. The Capt said that will not do. I urged again to try it. However, the breeze freshend. We trimd the sails without any more parley and sallied the ship by all hands running from one side to the other. After she began to have a rolling motion, she with a sudden Jirk run of the shoal into deep water and came to anchor at 8 PM.

The next morn we got under weigh and made sail. Some days after, we came to anchor sooner then usual on account that the next Island was far of. We could not reach it by day light. The Capt went on shore to walk about and gatherd some shell fish. While he was on shore, I washd out my rum cask with hot water for the purpose of putting my bread in the cask. When I had taken the water out, the cook came and askd me for some grog. I gave him a wine glass full. He had been to the Capts servant, and he gave him some neat rum, but then I did not Know it.

In the evens the Capt returnd and brought some oysters & other shell fish on board. He calld for the cook to dress them. An artfull boy that was near told him that I had made the cook
drunk. The Capt was intoxicated at the time. I was below giving my children their bread and coffee. He called to me in an unusual manner. I did not answer him the first time. He called again. I went up the Lower cabin Ladder. He was on deck. He began to abuse me in an unbearable manner and says: "You Old, B... ar, how dare you make my cook drunk!" I answered that I only gave him a wine glass of the washings of my rum cask. I further said, so I used no bad language to him, I did not conceive why he should abuse me for nothing. I was in the act of stepping on deck of the Ladder when he struck [me] in the mouth and Knockd out two of my teeth. I fell down the ladder. He followd me and beat and Kickt me. My children came crying round me.

I was senseless. I Knew nothing of what pased after I fell untill my children told me. His wife came below and asked him if he was not ashamed to use me in that manner. I was carried to my cott. Next morn's I could not get on deck without assistance. I spit blood for many days after. Some few days after, he spoke to me. I did not answer him. He had brought four convicts sons from Sydney. These boys were taught to listen to the conversation of the Europeans and then carry their Gazette into the Cabin. My motions was closely watchd, but I was aware of them. I never held any conversation with the Other passengers.

About a fortnight after we got of the shoal, one morn's I was looking a head for shoal water of the forecastle. A person was standing by me who had been formerly Capt of a ship out of Liverpool. The sun at the moment was clouded. When I espied a shoal, I asked him what he thought of it. He said he thought it was a shade of a cloud. I said, no; for I could clearly see the swell of water was higher in that spot then in any part around us. I called to the same man that was at the mast head when we ran on the other shoale to look well a head and see if the colourd water alterd any. He said it was only the scum of whales. The Capt lookd and said it was not a shoal. We drew near, and we having a strong breeze with all the sail we could croud, I called out to heave the main yard aback and take in the studding sails. The ship was on the shoal, and in two or three minutes the ship was fast on the rock.

Here was no waiting for orders. The Capt. stood crying. There was five men and myself. I advised to get the Boats out and all the new spars over board. This was done with one
consent. Next, we got a spar on each side secured to shoar the ship up, in case on the ebb tide she might fall on her beam ends—to fall on one side—and then there would be no hopes of saving the ship. Next, we began to have the Ballast over board. The Capt’s wife and another woman worked with us. We worked hard until the afternoon to no purpose. Then our fresh water was let out of the casks, except two punchions which contained about 120 Gallons each. This was pumped out. The ship began to beat on the rocks, and plank of her bottom floated along side. I then proposed for the last shift to get the stream anchor into the Long boat and put the cable through the cabin window. This was done in a little time. The Lascars was of very little help, for in time of danger they are frightened. Some hid themselves away in the sails. We hove on the cable all the strain we could. We then got the gun tackles to the capstern bars for a greater purchase—all to no effect.

The Capt was the first that packed up to leave the ship. Others took the example. For my own part, I never left the deck, but would at times cheer my children up and tell them not to be frightened, all would be well. They also had taken the example to pack up some of our best apparel with my watch and a small quantity of plate. They had secured two Blankets to make bags to put our bread in. I advised the Carpenter to secure his tools and what useful iron work he could get, in case the ship should founder in the night time.

Pheobus was retreating to her western seat. I was very faint, having eaten no food the whole day and spit a deal of blood. Every effort was tried. Every nerve was strained. A strong breeze sprung up. The sea began to swell, and the ship [was] beating very hard on the Rocks. I sounded all round and found the water was deeper. As the ship was fast, of course I concluded it was flood tide. The night was dark. I drove all the Lascars I could find to the Capstern. “Now, shipmates,” I said, “One thing is clear. If the ship does not part or be got off this night, she will never be got off, and tomorrow we must break up the poop and bulwarks for plank to lengthen the Long boat to carry all hands to the Island of Timor”—for the Boats, as they now was, would not carry above one half the souls on Board. “Come, cheer up and try her again.”

We hove again at the Capstern, and in about an hour I felt the ship move. I called out: “She floats. Clap the Topsails on her, and twist her off.” The sail was set in a short [time]. A
strong breeze blowing, the cable was like a bar of Iron. I found the cable bound her down, on Account of its leading thro the Poop cabin window so high above the water. The fore sail and main sail was set. I felt her drag, and without saying a word I cut the cable. She heeld over a little and in a moment started of into deep water.

I thankd god for this diliverence from death. The thoughts of my four children buoyd up my spirits. I was undaunted, cool and deliberate throughout the whole. We cleard away and let go the anchor, furld the sails and sett the watch. I went below to my children. They clung round me and askd me if the ship was safe. A thousand tender Ideas rushd in my mind. I lamented to see myself thus the foot ball of fortune after so many dangers I had gone thro and the various scenes of life I had past. But grieveing is a folly. I took up my pipe of tobacco to puff reflections away and began to sing 'The neglected tar'.

It now being about 10 PM (ten at night), I took some bread and water to eat, and then went to rest. At day light we got the anchor up and made sail. It was now found out that all the rudder pintles, except the top one, was broke. The rudder was temporary securd, and in this manner we steerd for the Island of Timor. This shoal is situated between the North end of New Holland and another Island. The passage may be about twenty five miles broad. In the night, we could see large fires, which I suppose was those of some Cannibals feasts, on each side.

We past by Booby Island. It is a small Barren spot, about sixty miles distance from the shoal. On this Barren rock several persons that have been ship wrecked in coming thro Dorris straights have saved their lives and have been taken off by Vessels passing by. I am informd there is a small Hollow place on this rock which contains water, but very brackish. On this and raw fish several persons have lived for some time, untill it please god to send them releif. Had we have landed here to lenghten the Long Boat, it would have gone hard with my children. I viewed the dreary spot with a painfull eye. I thankd God that had thus spared us from so severe a tryall.

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81 The shoal north of Cape York may be an extension of the Great Barrier Reef.
82 Booby Island is a small rocky islet about a third of a mile in diameter in Torres Strait. Phillip King (1827, I: 377–8, 385; II: 307), visiting there in 1820, described the cairns of stones left by visiting ships, as well as the wreck of the Frederick.

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Some time after, the Capt., happeing some spoiled rum, orderd
his servant to sell it for ready cash. One young man, a passen­
ger, took two gallons. All the passengers lived on the starboard
side, me and my family on the Larboard side, the tween
Decks. In the even they invited me to spend the even with
them. I made excuse that water was very scarce, but excuse
would not do. Go I must. We spent the even very comfortable,
only the rum was bad. It had been put into a salt provision
cask.

About ten O'Clock, we broke up. The ship Carp came over
with me. His cott hung by the main mast. His chest was made
fast to the mast. My cott & couch was in the side of the ship. M* Compton and her spouse had their bed on the deck on the same
side. He was quite tipsy, and she was merry. The Carp and me
was sitting on his chest. I had a little good rum in my Cott. I
mixt it for him and me. We was talking together, when
Compton calld out that some body was makeing free with his
wife. I Jokeing said: “What are you about that you dont Keep
your coast clear of Privateers?” Down Jumpt the Capt. with a
lanthorn in his hand and hastily ask where the Carp was. He
answerd: “I am here, Sir.” The Capt turnd round with the
lantern & saw us both sitting on the chest. “Where was you
Just now?” said the Capt. I then said that the Carp and me
had been sitting on the chest ever scince the light was out.

One word made more. The Capt struck the Carp. He returnd
the blow smartly. The Capt calld for assistance. Down came a
number of Lascars to take hold of him. He Knocked some of
them Down. At lenght his foot slipt; down he fell. He was then
over powerd by their numbers and put in irons and stapled to
the Deck. Compton was also put in irons. Next day he was
let out; the Carp remaind.

Nothing more occurd untill we reached Timor, which was
about one month from the time we left the Shoal. We arrived
safe at Timor. They was at war with the malays. Great numbers
of Boats full of men came daily from the other Islands a few
miles distance bearing the English Flag. We unhung our rudder
and got it repaird in a very bad manner by a China man. We
filld all the water casks.68

68 Two descriptions of Timor and its Dutch capital of Kupang at this time
are available in Freycinet (1827–39, I: 488 ff.) and King (1827, I: 126–40).
The British had taken Kupang in 1810 when they took all Dutch posses­
sions during their war with France but it had been returned to the Dutch
One morn the Capt and two passengers that messd in the cabin was going on shore. My bread had been stolen by some of the Lascars, and my rice grew short. I was in want of provisions. I askd the Capt to give me a passage on shore. I took with me two Broad cloth Jackets, some Pieces of muslin, etc., to Sell to raise a few dollars to buy food. On going on shore the Capt spoke very friendly to me; for I had for a long time Kept myself distant from him. I did not deem him worthy my notice: First, he was a coward in time of danger; Next, he had been guilty of several means, dirty tricks at Van Demans Land. I purchased a quantity of Potatoes in bags. It [was] raining at the time. My potatoes was put down with his potatoes. After some days, his servant was orderd to pick the Large ones out, and the small ones was sent to me. I was calld to take my potatoes, which on looking at I found was not the potatoes that I bought. I calmly told him, as he had taken the Large potatoes, he might take the small ones too. My children would not starve for want of them.

Also, [there were] the few gallons of rum which I Kept for my use, as he took it in his cabin to take care of. That was changed. I allowd myself two wine Glasses of rum pr day, but one sunday, finding myself so imposed on, I demanded the Keg under pretence to see what quantity was left. When I got hold of the Keg, I told my daughter in her native tongue to bring me my hand axe. She brought it. I momently broke the head of the Keg and upset the rum about the deck. "Now change that. I can live without liquor," I said and hove the Keg over board.

We must now return to the boat. We landed. I went to several respectable houses, being the most likely to sell my goods at. One house I sold some balls of sope at. This article sold at a high price, about 300 pr cent. Next, not Knowing, I went to the Govn30 house. He is a young man of Dutch decent. He behaved in a very polite manner. He bought one of my Jackets. It was blue, lined with silk. On this I barely got the Prime cost. I was going away, but he pressd me to sit a
while as the sun was very hot. He called for some cherutes and a
decanter of some old Batavia Arrack. He himself brought a
cotton match with fire. He was full of enquires. In way of
conversation, he found that I had been employed by Sr T S
Raffles. He then said that he had been at Batavia and spoke in
terms of respect of Sr T S R and said, if I would stop at Timor,
he would give me a good situation. I thanked him for his
generous offer, but as Timor was very unhealthy and the water
very bad, it would be dangerous for my children. During our
conversation the Capt & his two messmates came to the door.
They saw me and past by.

I then begd leave to depart, as I had to buy my sea stock of
food. I took my leave thanking him for his unexpected Kind­
ness. I went and bought two matt Bags of rice, some yams and
sliced arrow root dried, some dried Buffalow beef. I got my
things carried to the Boat and waited until the Capt came.
When he came to the boat, he said that I should not put my
provisions in his boat, and ordered the people to shove off. I
could not get either boat or canoe to go with me on Board.

I left my things on the Beach and returnnd to Govn's house and
informd the Govn of what had happend. He said the Capt had
been there and spoke very unfavourable of me to him. “But
never mind him. I see he is a Bad man, not worth notice.” He
then sent a malay soldier with me to get a canoe, there being
none to be had for hire. In a short time a canoe was got. I put
my things in and went on board the ship. One of the crew was
assisting me to get my rice up. The Capt orderd him not to help
me. However, with the help of the canoe man I got all on
Board.

He then began to use bad language to me, untill I could not
bear any longer. I then told him that he was a mean, shabby
fellow, a fine weather Bully and in time of danger run into the
cabin to cry. I went below. In the morn's early, his chief mate
which he got at Pt Jackson, a respectable old man, came to
me and informd me that the Capt had orderd him to get every
thing belonging to me put into the Long boat and to land me
and my children on the Beach.

I receivd this unpleasing mandate with a smile and went on
deck to the Cabin door. I askd the Capt for what reason did he
give orders to put me and my family on shore. Had I at any
time behaved unbecoming of a man? Was I not the first by day
or night, wet or dry, cold or hot, at takeing in sail or makeing

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sail, and when in danger, was I not in every part of the ship, using every means I could think of for the Preservation of the ship and our Lives? He changed color and said he was certain that I had spoke unfavorable concerning him on shore. I told him it was false, but what he pleased to say of me the day before to the Govn'r he was disposed for. And as to putting me and my children on shore, it was more than he dare do, and, if he did, I most likely would be in Calcutta as soon, if not before, him. I left him to his own determination.

After breakfast he gave orders to heave the anchor up. I went on deck as usual and lent a hand to set the sails. A fine breeze sprung up. Thus we Departed from Timor. Nothing more was said to me. The next morn I was informed that the Capt's wife was at the head of my being put on shore, as she was fearful that I should go to law with her husband for beating me and Knocking out my two teeth. But putting me on shore would not prevent my going to law. It was the very thing that would have urged me to it.

We had a deal of light winds. We was near ten weeks on our passage to Calcutta. Rice began to run short. For the Lascars there was two Bags of paddy which I bought in Calcutta for my stock. This was taken from me to give the Lascars. Our water was extremely bad. There was good water on board, but that was kept for Cabins use. My rice began to run short. At length, thanks be to God, we arrived at Laugor. I had only three days rice left when we let go the anchor. Several Boats came off with Break, milk, eggs & some good water. Four annas was given for a Keg of water. I was into the first boat that came and bought some bread, milk & eggs for my poor children. We reached Calcutta in a few days. I had half a pigs head left when we reached town.

Thus far have I given my courteous reader an authentick account of my truly unfortunate trip to New Holland. I went on shore to look for a Bungalow to Live in. Two days after, I removed my family on shore. I was returned to Calcutta with thirty odd rupees. I stopt several days in my place of abode. I went no where except to the Bazaar.

At length, one Saturday morn, I went to my much respected Benefactor who received me with the greatest Kindness. He took me by the hand and in the most soothing manner bid me not be

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66 The Frederick arrived at Calcutta on 1 December 1816 (Government Gazette, Calcutta, 5 December 1816).
uneasy, but come to him on the Monday. I returnd home in tolerable good spirits. I was taken very unwell. I was not able to go out untill Teusday morn when, to my regret, I was informd that my friend left town on Monday about noon on his way to embark for Europe.

This unfortunate event threw me into a melancholy state for several days. My poor children was scenceible of our indigent situation. Their cloths was worn thread bare, and I had not the means to replace them. I was drove allmost to despair. People that Knew me in better days now pased me unnoted. One consolation I had: if I was poor, I was clear of debt. I could see a number of persons who cutt a great dash with other peoples money and in a short time was hurried to Jail, while I, in my humble state, flutterd the wings of Liberty. A gentleman a friend of mine gave me a letter to Dr Bryce, who askd me several questions to which I gave him satisfactory answers.

He had the goodness to give me an order for thirty two rupees. The same gentleman gave me another Letter to Mr Corittend. I waited on Mr C with the letter. He sent for me. I went to him. He receivd me in a very Kind manner. He desired me to write out a statement of my present situation and take it to St Johns Vestry on an appointed day, and that he would lay it before the Committee. I thankd him.

I was now putt to a painfull task—for the first time in my life in any country to solicit assistance from Public charity. I returnd to my family, and on the appointed day I went with my petition to the Vestry, and in a short time I was calld to go before the Committee. I went in and paid my Obedience to the Committee. All was silent. I stood like a criminal waiting for his sentence. My petition was handed round the Table untill it came to the Revd Dr Sheppard. When he had read it, his

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56 This was presumably Dr James Hare. He is listed in the Government Gazette, Calcutta, 19 December 1816, as among the passengers of the Asia to Europe.

57 This seems to be David Bryce (1790–1828), who had arrived in India in 1809 and had reached the rank of lieutenant. He was Assistant Professor at the College of Fort William in 1818, but later retired to a merchant's career in Calcutta (Hodson, 1927-47, I: 241). There was, however, in Calcutta at a little later date a Reverend Dr Bryce (Das Gupta, 1959: 167).

58 There is no Mr Corittend mentioned in the published civil and military lists at this time. There was a George Cruttenden, merchant and financier, who was Sidesman for the Select Vestry of St Johns (Calcutta Annual Register, 1815: Appendix, 80). It was to the firm of Cruttenden that Bryce returned on leaving the army.
Reverance was pleased to grant me thirty-two rupees per month, for three months. I returned the Committee thanks for the well-timed aid.59

I returned to my place of abode. My flock came round me, joy sparkling in their eyes to see the wellcome relief. Each day was employed in search for employment, but month after month nothing turned up in my favour. In June, 1817, I was taken very ill and unable to leave my room. In July, the day came for my attendance at the Vestry. I was unable to go, and it rained very hard. In a few days after, I went to the Vestry Clerk. He informed me that I was struck off from the Vestry.

I waited on the Revd Dr Sheppard and informed him of my misfortune. I cannot forget the tender-hearted Miss S. who was looking over her father's shoulder and read my note. I heard her say: "O, what a pity! Pray give the poor man something." His Revn gave me an order for sixteen rupees, for which I thanked him for. This lasted until some time in August. I was almost at my wits end what to do. My trifle was exhausted down to four annas; for while I had a rupee I never asked help from no one, in hopes before That it was expensed I might get some employment.

One morning I was considering which way to bend my steps. I thought on W B B, Esqr.60 He was at that time Chief Sec to Govt. I said to myself: "Nothing venture, nothing have." I snatched up my pen wrote a few lines and waited on Mr B. In a few minutes the servant came with a note. I took it and came away rather doubtful of my success. When I opened it, to my most agreeable surprise I found it was an order on Colvin & Co for one hundred rupees.61 I thanked my God and uttered a blessing for my Worthy Benefactor for his bounteous gift. I received the amount and returned to my family. Every day I

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59 Reverend Henry Shepherd, Junior Chaplain at the Cathedral of St John, and member of the Select Vestry (ibid., Appendix, 80).
60 William Butterworth Bayley, 1782-1860, had been in India since 1799, had come under the patronage of Wellesley and had risen quickly through the civil ranks of the company. In 1819 he was made Chief Secretary to the Indian government and after his return to England rose to be chairman of the company (DNB I: 1366). His brilliance at languages and interest in Indian society probably would have made him a member of the Leyden-Raffles-Hare circle. James Hare's son Stuart had the middle name Bayley.
61 Colvins, Bazett and Co. had been an agency house in Calcutta since 1790 and fell with the rest of the agency houses in 1833 (Tripathi, 1956: 11-13, 238).
scearchd for employment without success. This money served
my family upwards of six months.
When the last rupee was broke into, I was forced to try my
luck again. I went to a gentleman that Knew me. He had great
power under Gov4. I sent my humble Letter upstairs to him.
He came down stairs, and in a stern manner said: "What! You
have given the D1. so much trouble, and now you come upon
me?" I did not ask for his money, altho I was in want. I only
solicited a line from him, which, if he had given, would that
day have put me into Bread for Life, as there was a vacancy in
the Customs house. He desird me to write the outlines of my
various turns in Life from 1797. I did so and waited on him
with it, but the vacancy was filld at the Custom House. In a
day or two after, he gave me a letter to the Police Dept5, but
there was no vacancy. I never troubled the above Gentleman
any more.62
Some short time after, I went to a gentlemans house with my
Petition. This gentleman had a fore Knowledge of me, but I
did not Know it. He came down and askd me if I was the
person that was married to a Lady of the Marquesas. I answerd:
"Yes." He then said: "Why, your Petition is not signed." I
replied in a respectfull manner that I was not a common beggar.
It was real want for the present support of a large family that
cused me to make this painfull applycation. He then orderd
me four rupees.
Some time after, I heard that Capt Phipps at Barrackpore
wanted an Overseer for the Building of the Insane Hospital at
Balleegunge.63 This was in the latter end of March. I set out
one morn6 on foot about gun fire and reachd Capt Phipps
house by 8 O'Clock. I sent in my note of applycation. In a short
time he came to me and askd me if any Gentleman in Calcutta
Knew me. I answerd, yes, there was several, but I had vouchers
with me of actual service. I gave them to him. One of them was
from the pay Office and store Keeper, the Later Q. D. Thomp­
son, Esqf., at Penang. This voucher was Signed by Mr Phipps,

62 Robarts seems to have had a chequered career as police constable. He is
listed in the East Indian Register and Directory as a constable in 1816, 1818,
63 Pownoll Phipps, 1780-1858, at this time a captain, soon to be a major,
superintendent of civil and military buildings in the Lower Provinces,
1816-1822 (Hodson, 1927-47, III: 524). Barrackpore was a military canton­
ment about fifteen miles above Calcutta (Hamilton, 1828, I: 318). Bally-
gunge was a suburb of Calcutta to the south-east (Thornton, 1858).
the Acting store Keeper. This gentleman was brother of Capt Phipps. He also made some enquiry about me in Calcutta. Breakfast was on table. He went in. My breakfast was sent to me from his table. After breakfast he desired me to come another day. I left his house at 10 and reachd my place of abode Just as the Clock struck two. The day was very hot. I had got four pice to buy coco nut water, which is a cool refreshment to be had in several places between Calcutta and Barrackpore.64

In a day or two after I went again and coverd the ground in three hours and a quarter, 16½ miles distance. I mention particularly the time of my walking to Barrackpore for this reason. An account of the Noted Powells excursions had fell into my hand, by which I found that his walk from London to York was at the rate of five miles per hour. First, I beg leave to observe the difference between Powell and me. Powell was a tall, raw boned man, long limbd and well fed. With that delicious food, which, I observed, the loss of is lamented by a Subaltern in India to a Brother Officer, Calcutta Journal, March 15, 1821:—

A good Beef steak and sparkling Beer
Then should you chance my cot to pass,
Bright ale shall sparkle in my glass,
Fillo by some blooming rural lass,
While we partake—
And prove that nothing can surpass
A good beef steak.65

My being an unfortunate of low statue, and my humble board could only boast of a little curry and rice, [I] did not think that I could cope with the noted Powell at the age of 49 years and 6 months.

After Breakfast, Capt Phipps informd me that he had a most excellent account for me from a Gentleman that Knew me. I replyd: “I feel myself greatly obliged to that Gentleman unmanned.” “O, Mr Robarts, I found you are well Known in Calcutta,” he replied. I returnd that I hoped that I should never forfeit their good opinion of me. I then agreed with Capt

64 Two large pice or twelve small pice were listed as equivalent to one anna at this time (Calcutta Annual Register, 1815: Appendix, 99).
65 The poem is printed on page 172 of the Calcutta Journal, 15 March 1821, under the title 'Beef Steaks'. Powell's exploits did not come to notice in the journals of the time.
Phipps for forty rupees a month for the first six months, until I had seen the weight of charge I was to hold. But in consequence of Lt. Capt. Patton, who was to have the building of the Insane Hospital, being absent, I was not put on pay.66

In a short time after, I was sent up the river to sink a sand pitt to collect sand for the Building. I was at this work two months. When the rains set in, I cleared my sheds and sand off and returned to Calcutta. The Insane Hospital work was stopped by orders of Govt. My hopes of employment was all vanquished.

I wandered about like a lost sheep from morning to evening in search of employment. I was drove to the greatest distress. At times I had not a piu to buy a little rice to give my family. As for myself, I could spend the whole day at some Acquaintances house, or other every day, but then I was not comfortable absent from my family when they was in want. I went one day with my youngest son to Sr Ge°. Martindale, who received me in a very polite Kind manner and asked me a number of Questions, to which I gave satisfactory answer. He then went into his room and brought out his hand full of rupees. Six he put in my son's hand, and the remainder he gave me, for which I returned him my ever grateful thanks. I retired with a mixture of joy and sorrow.67 I stopped under a tree distant from the house to give vent to the anguish I felt. I counted my new fortune: it amounted to fifty six rupees. I returned home to my family. I paid what house rent was due and filled my Jar with rice. This supply lasted more than three months.

Some time after, Sr T S Raffles arrived. I went to pay my respects to him. I asked to go to Bencoolen with him, but on account of the Vessel he went in being small there was no room for my family. He gave me fifty rupees and said that after his arrival at Bencoolen he would see what he could do for me.68

There were two brothers Patton, John Wogen and Robert, in the army lists at this time. The first was a lieutenant and the second a lieutenant-colonel (Hodson, 1927–47, III: 480–2).

Sir Gabriel Martindall (or Martindale), 1756?–1831, had been in Bengal since 1772, had risen from ensign to major-general at this time and had enjoyed several military successes in India (DNB XII: 1192).

Raffles had returned to England in 1816, where he had to clear himself of charges against his administration. He returned directly to the East Indies, where he had taken up the governorship at Benculun, on 22 March 1818. In September 1818 he visited Calcutta in an attempt to win over Hastings to a more aggressive policy in Sumatra and to persuade him of the necessity
Time dragged on heavy. Xmas 1818 was come. I and my family spent the day at a friends house. The Officers of a Ship belonging to that once happy Port, Liverpool, made up the party. We spent the day very agreeable. I mention L'pool being once a happy place. I formerly saild out of L'pool, and there I first sighed for a heart that loved me true, but cruel war put a stop to my promised happiness. The Lady that I paid my addresses to was the Daughter of a respectable farmer in Cheshire.

Xmas being over, the new year ensued. January past on, untill Saturday the 30th inst., when Between 6 & 7 O'Clock in the Evening a fire broke out at the Back of the Compound I lived in, when in a short time our houses was in flames. My children ran away at the sight of the fire, taking with them a favourite goat and a pupy. At the onset I got hurt in getting out my chest out of the room. Next, in beating down one of the roofs, a beam fell. It struck me on the loins. And at the time a fire engine and some English Sailors came to my assistance, which put a total stop to the fire in that direction. But to the west of me the fire was raging in a dreadful manner. Four persons was burnt and several hogs, goats, etc. About 2 O'Clock in the morning the fire was got under. I went to look for my children. In the lanes I saw a number of China men and others hurrying away the goods and property they had stolen. I found my children all safe and returned back to my habitation. My writing table was thrown into a deep drain. I lost several valuable papers. My beds was burnt, my trifle of furniture broke, my children's clothes was stolen with part of mine. I laid me down to rest. Being very much fatigued, I fell into a sound sleep.69

69 Calcutta Journal, 9 February 1819: ‘On Saturday the 30th of January a fire broke out to the Eastward of the Taretta Bazaar, which consumed the whole of the houses between the Bazaar, Chattawall Gully and Chunan Gully. The flames spread with astonishing rapidity, and presented a truly grand and awful spectacle. The woodwork of several pukka built houses was also burnt. One house was almost surrounded by the fire before the inhabitants could effect their escape which was done with much difficulty. Some large godowns in the Taretta Bazaar, full of wine and spirits, were, at one time considered in great danger. We are informed that several lives have been lost. Two bodies were taken out of the ruins on Sunday, and a native woman is stated to have lost the children. Too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Hogg for his exertion and promptitude on this unfor-
In the morn I was not able to get up of the humble matt I was laid on. Several days I was confined to my matt. I could not sit up to write to any one in my deep distress. At this time several persons that did not live near where the fire was applyd to the Vestry and to Gentlemens houses for assistance, stateing they had lost all they had by the fire.

I was at a loss which way to turn. I had no other hope in view and, with reluctance, I drew up a short statement of my misfortune and waited on W. B. B— Esqre. And as before he sent me an order for one hundred rupees. I askd no more assistance from anyone, for I had solicited help from several great men, but Charity was not at home. I envyd not their store, nor their greatness, but I pityd their want of Humanity. I returnd to my family, I lookd round me to view the remnants the fire had left. I return’d god thanks that in my distress he had sent me this timely relief. I lent my landlady twenty rupees, as it was only paying house rent in advance.

This was in February 1819. Early in March Lšt Capt Patton sent for me on a Saturday. Next mornš I waited on him. He informd me that he had got a situation for me. He then gave me a letter to Capt Dawes, Barrack Master of Fort William.70 I returnd him many thanks for his Kindness, and in a quarter of an hour I arrivd at Capt Dawes Quarters and delivered my letter. He then informd me that the situation was at Moorshedabad, and the Gentleman who was to employ me lived at Berhampore. I agreed to go for fifty rupees pr month to begin with. The next day he wrote to Berhampore. The answer returnd, and on March the 19št I received 150 rupees in advance, and on the Twenty second I left Calcutta.

On my way to Berhampore, seven days after my departure, my youngest son took ill. In two days more I arrivd at Berhampore. I waited on Colšt Parlby, Engineer at that station.71 He receivd me in a very polite manner. I informd him of sons

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70 Robert John Dawes, 1783-1821, was at this time a captain and about to be made a major. He had been appointed Barrack Master at Fort William in 1819 (Hodson, 1927-47, II: 30).
71 James Templer Parlby, 1762-1826, was at this time a lieutenant-colonel in the Engineers. He had been put in charge of the embankments and palace buildings at Murshidebad in 1819 (Hodson, 1927-47, III: 461).
Illnesses. In the even* I took my son to the Hospital Doctor. He lookd at the child and said it was the small Pox and advised me not to leave Berhampore untill it took its turn. Alass, it took a woefull turn on April 7th, 1819, at about midnight. He Died without a struggle at the age of four years and six months. The next day in the Even* he returnd to his mother Earth, and on the 9th of Apr I made my way for Moorshedabad.72

On the next day I landed and got my Furniture—such as the fire had spared—into a house Belonging to the Nawaub on the Bank of the river. This house had been procurd for my residence before I left Calcutta. The work which I had to take charge of was close at hand. I rested two or three days to recover myself. I then went to look at my new Employment. The people was clearing away the ruins of the late Munnee Begums appartments, which consisted of a square of 175 feet each way. This square is called Begum Poorah. Next is Gaen Poorah with a partition wall and a door to go in and out of Begum Poorah. This door is Kept by a guard of seapoys (native soldiers) to prevent any of the female slaves from escapeing, of which the Begum Keeps 2 or 300 to attend her. This square contains only one Building of 122 feet long. It is for an Hospital for the sick females belonging to the Present Doolin Begum. Eastward is another square which contains also one Building, which is to be the Begums treasury and Pay Office. This is calld the Chaundnee Mhal.73

In 1821, my eldest son was taken ill with the spleen. I procurd every assistance, both native and European, but to no use. And in Decr, 1822, a small pimple came on the side of his tongue about the 23rd inst. The sore began to spread. On the 25th the tongue was much swelld. I wrote twice that day to Berhampore. No return arriveing. In the even* of the 26th I took a conveyance and went to the Doctors house 8 miles distance. He was absent and had left no orders for any medicine for my son. I returnd almost in a deranged state. My dear

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72 There is no record of Robarts's son's death in the newspapers but the Calcutta Journal of this time makes frequent mention of smallpox and cholera in all parts of India.
73 Murshidabad, a town and a district, about a hundred and twenty miles north of Calcutta. The city was the last Mohammedan capital of Bengal. The reigning Nawab at this time was Seid Zin Ud Deen Ali Khan. Hamilton (1828, II: 243-4) described it as the meanest capital in Hindustan. In 1819 all that remained of the palace built by Aliverdi Khan in the middle of the eighteenth century was a marble terrace.
child lingerd untill Decr 30, 1822. At about 8 O'Clock in the morn\textsuperscript{8} he died without a motion. In the course of the day, after five days application, a bottle of medicine arrived. Thus I lost my son thro a woeful neglect at the age of 12 Years & months 9.

This loss of my only son was a severe blow. I caught the fever and was Ill upwards of three months. On Feb\textsuperscript{9} 25, following, another of my family Died aged 2 years & 6 months. Being so many years traind up to misfortunes, I viewd the desolateing hand of Death with a calm sorrow, and in July following, about the 22\textsuperscript{4}, my eldest Daughter was taken ill, and on the 26\textsuperscript{th} in the Morn\textsuperscript{8} about 8 O'Clock she died. About 3 PM the Doctor came, also too late. Thus I lost my first born in the Bloom of Beauty at the Age of 20 years 1 month and 29 days.\textsuperscript{74}

I now only have one Daughter left born of my royal bride to sooth my sorrows as I advance towards my grave. She is a fine girl in her 19\textsuperscript{th} year, and, I hope, will be a comfort to me in my later end. The Building I have in hand will be finishd in about two months, after which, Please God to spare me, I mean to return to Calcutta. Having been so unfortunate in having lost so many of My family, I fly from a place that has cost me dear, else I loose the only child I have.

I must now beg my courteous readers excuse. [I] have led them over hills and mountains, thro valleys and over seas of misfortunes. I now must return to give them an account of the manners and customs of my Marquesas friends.

\textsuperscript{74} There is no published record of the deaths of these children of Robarts.
The following pages contains a description of the Marqueasas Isles with the manner and customs of their Inhabitants, the Isles being eight in number. Two of them are uninhabited. The Inhabitants of the other six are all one race of people with same manners & customs. I beg leave to observe that one general description will ascertain the whole, But I observe Volney, in his Queries, wishes to ascerttain the extent of any Country described.¹ I shall endeavour to answer him so far as my slender abilities are capable of. The names of the different Isles as follows:—

This is the Southermost. *Pha ta heava* is about 40 Miles round, Mountainious and well Inhabited.

Uninhabited S.E. *Mo ta ney* is about 14 Miles round and High land.

S.E. *Towatta* is about 30 Miles round, Mountainious and well Inhabited.

Easterly. *Ohea va o ah* is about 70 Miles round D° D°. D°.

N.N.W. *Woo ah hunga* is about 30 Miles round, D° D° D°.

¹ Comte de Constantin François Chasseboeuf Volney, 1757–1820, was a French savant and political philosopher, famous for his descriptions of Egypt, Syria and the United States. Robarts's reference is unidentified.
N.W.  *New ka heava* is about 60 Miles round, D°_D°_D°.

W.S.W.  *Woa'ah'bo* is about 40 Miles round, D°_D°_D°.

Uninhabited North  *E yow* cannot ascertain High Land, said by the natives to be rocky with plenty of fish.

The Marqueasas Isles are in Latt. 9.58, South, Situated in the Pacific Ocean. They are eight in number and lay straggling from each other. As to limits, I suppose to say from the southernmost Isle, which is call'd by the natives *Pha'ia'hea'va*, down to *E Yow*, which is the Northermost Isle, the distance I calculate to be about 260 or 70 miles.²

As to Climate, I can say, from the experience of upwards of ten years, that it is the most healthy Part I was ever at in the whole course of my life. Tho I have been several times in the different parts of the Globe, yet I never found any place to compare to these Isles, not even that healthy spot Barmouth in Wales, which is near to the place that gave me breath. In the first place, I observed no sickness among the natives. The air at all times, excepting when it rains, is clear, free from fogs or heavy clouds. In the night there is a light dew falls, but not dangerous, as the night dews are in many parts of the globe, particularly on the Coast of Africa and in the west India Islands. But their fatal effects are not felt at these Isles.³

The prevailing Winds at these Isles are generally From about

² The Marquesas number ten, not eight. They stretch 230 miles north to south, and are found between 7° 50' and 10° 35' S. and 138° 25' and 140° 50' W.

They are:
- Fatuhiva, 9 miles long and 4 broad, 30 square miles, 3,670 feet high;
- Mohotane, or Motane, 5 miles long, 1 ½ miles broad, 6 square miles, 1,700 feet high;
- Tahuata, 9 miles long, 5 miles broad, 20 square miles, 3,280 feet high;
- Hiva Oa, 25 miles long, 8 miles broad, 125 square miles, 4,130 feet high;
- Fatuhuku, 1 ½ miles long, ½ mile broad, ¾ square mile, 1,180 feet high;
- Ua Huka, 9 miles long, 5 miles broad, 30 square miles, 2,802 feet high;
- Nukuhiwa, 16 miles long, 12 miles broad, 130 square miles, 4,040 feet high;
- Uu Pou, 9 miles long, 8 miles broad, 40 square miles, 4,040 feet high;
- Eiao, 8 miles long, 4 miles broad, 20 square miles, 2,000 feet high;
- Hatutu, 5 miles long, 2 miles broad, 7 square miles, 1,380 feet high.

³ There has been no detailed study of the meteorology of the Marquesas through a long period. The most striking element is the large variation in rainfall, which at times brings about extreme aridity at low levels (Adamson, 1986: 16–19).
ESE to ENE, steady breezes all day [until] towards the Evn, when the wind gradually dies away and becomes serene. But I have frequently observed in the course of the night the wind to blow of the Land, but it does not extend far in the Offing. [I observed this] as I have been going over in the night time from one Isle to another, but I never had a land wind to run me more than five or six miles from the land, when I then caught the sea breeze to carry me over a distance of 40 miles or upwards. If I reached the opposite shore before day break, I was sure either of a land wind or a calm. I never observed the sea breeze to blow in shore all night.

As to the qualities of the winds, the sea breezes are dry and refreshing, not inclined to scorching or scalding, as I have felt in several other parts of the globe. The night winds have likewise their good qualifications. They are cool and comfortable. You may repose in the open air out of the shade of the moon without the least danger of catching cold or stiffness in the limbs—a thing so subject in other countries I have been in.4

In Feb & March, the rainy season begins. The rains fall here very heavy between Feb & Aug. I have seen it Rain very hard for three days without ceasing. When this happens, the torrents of rain which come from the mountains sweeps large trees of different descriptions away into the sea. One thing I must observe. In all countries that I have been in where I had a communication with the shore, I observed people of all classes was glad to get shelter when it rained, but it is quite reverse with these people. For those that are in their houses when a shower comes on, male & female, will just put a small bandage on and set out for the sea side, where great number come. They pass some time away in swimming in the sea and then bathe in fresh water. They then take to the woods and everyone gathers their bundle of fire wood and so returns home. I have been traveling over land when it has rained the whole day, but I did not feel it cold, altho I had no clothing on, only a bandage round my waist, the branches of the bushes brushing my limbs and sides as I walked.5

4 Crook, 'Account': 110; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 103. From April to October the trade winds blow east and south-east; from November to March, east and north-east (Adamson, 1936: 20).

5 Between cycles of wet and dry years residents in the Marquesas recognise a rainy season from May to September and a dry season from October to April, but this is irregular in both time and precipitation (Adamson, 1936: 17). Thunder and lightning are reputed to be rare.
I never caught cold nor had any cough or Phlegm on my stomach or, what is common, a discharge from the nose or gum in the corner of the eyes during my residence among these Isles. Which make me say from experience what no man before me could pretend to ascertain, my being the only European that ever stoped any length of time on those Islands.

Having made some remarks on the rains, must now return to make some further observations on the winds. After Aug't., the weather is clear, and the wind sometimes flies round as far as N by E and North, blowing a fresh gale, but I never knew it to blow from that Quarter more than one day. In Novr and Dec', the wind will suddenly fly round as far as W.N.W., and from that will veer to W by South. These winds will sometimes last for four or five days. On the approaching of these winds the Sea becomes smooth and a small black cloud appears in the Horizon in either of the above mentioned points of the compass. Sometimes the winds only blow for a few hours and then die away (see page [149] & [150]) But when these winds continue for a day & night, it gives an opportunity for the Inhabitants of the leeward Isles to visit their neighbours of the windward ones, as their canoes can't sail without a free wind. Sometimes these westerly winds are narrow. One Isle will have them and the other not, and sometimes they will blow direct between New ka hea va & Woo ah bo—these two Bears N & South from each other—and neither Isle recives the breeze.

I have frequently heard thunders on these Isles, but very distant, Just a rumbling. I can't learn from any one that any damage either to trees or mankind was ever done by Lightning on any of these Isles, or that there ever was an Earthquake. If there had, it certainly would have been handed from age to age to the time present. One thing I must observe. During my stay at Oteheita I was out one day in a thunder storm with a very heavy rain. A clap of thunder broke over my head. I couched to the ground with fear. The next day I heard that the top of a coco nut tree had broke off by the Lightning. I saw the tree sometime afterwards.

Now the Distance from New ka hea va to Oteheita is 6 or 700 miles, situated in the same track of winds as the Marqueasas Isles are, but does not enjoy the Blessings those Isles have, Viz., that of health. The fever & Ague is very frequent among the Oteheitians. Hump backs are very numerous, vens in the neck, and a Kind of Evil or ulcers comes in the necks of male &
female. I do not recollect seeing one deformed Person on any of the Marqueasas.6

Tides. The tides at these Isles do not rise to any great height. The common tides do not rise more than two feet, but on the spring tides they rise a few inches more. As to climate, I could not observe any change in, except when the sun was vertical it was something hotter, or when it rained it was cooler. One thing I could observe was that the Bread fruit was later some seasons than others.7

King Cato and many others have informed me that the sea has many times in ages back to the time present suddenly risen four or five feet above its common surface and come rolling in a heavy wave among the grass & bushes. [It] would remain a short time and as suddenly retire, leaving among the grass & bushes a good quantity of fish, particularly the star fish, whose body is a round substance like a Ball with six tails or legs full of pores or suckors. [There is] a large starfish whose body is about the size of a pint basin and his legs of about 2 foot long. When a man dives among the rocks to catch them, if they happen to cling with their suckors on a man's back or breast, inclosing his arms within their hold, they are so strong as to Drown a man. They have no bone and are very sweet eating. Their substance is something like Indian Rubber.8 These sudden overflowing of the seas happens once in 20 or 30 years. This, I think, is very singular, as I never heard of the sea rising in so sudden a manner in any other part of the globe.9

These Isles have been covered with the sea in ages back, as there are furrows and steps now plain to be seen cut by the laving & rippling of the sea. There are numbers of caves on the sides of the mountains perfectly dry. I have slept in some of them. There is also the same marks in them. The decrease of the water is very plain from the tops of the mountains down into

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* Early commentators are in agreement with Robarts over the healthiness of the Marquesans (Crook, 'Account': 46-8; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 108; Fleurieu, 1801, I: 97–8; Bennett, 1840, I: 318–19; Thomson, 'The Marquesas Islands': cxxciii). There is some debate over the time at which leprosy (kovi) arrived (Tautain, 1898: 305). See Handy (1923: 264) for Marquesan diseases.

* Tidal ranges of between two and four feet with spring tides of five feet are registered (Chubb, 1930: 54–5).

* Robarts must be referring to the octopus (jeke).

* Tidal waves were recorded in the Marquesas in 1902, 1922, 1946 (Adamson, 1956: 21).

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the valleys. I have found sea shells on the tops of the mountains.\textsuperscript{10}

There is in a valley Belonging to my Brother in law on a rising ground a flatt rock. On this stands a large stone of 70 or 80 feet round of a globular shape of about 15 foot high. On that stands another stone of about 10 feet round. These stones are separate and might be removed from of the flat rock, as I have closely ascertained them to be separate stones. Now the question is: how came these stones one on the top of one another in an open clear space, not near the base of the Mountain so that they might have fell there?\textsuperscript{11}

I think they must have either been rolld there by the water, or else they have grown there, and the sea has cutt away the earth which formd the Valley, for it appears by the marks on the rocks and the caves and passages which I have crept into and surveyd with more then common curiosity that the sea has been very rough. And it is plain to me that these valleys have been formd by the motion of the sea, and the eddies and whirlpools have formd the caves, crescents and passages thro the solid rock which I have gone thro. There are numbers of curious rocks and Promontarys among these Isles.

When I used to go on these rescearches, I always went alone, not wishing to have any one with me to withdraw my attention from my object in view. I found the want of Pencil and paper in my rambles, which sometimes would be several days. I took food with me. Water was plenty, running in streams down the mountain sides. At night I made my bed on the shelf of a rock or in some cave, and sometimes not far from me a skeleton has been laying at rest, which I suppose was the remains of some poor creature, who in the time of famine had been in search of roots to eat and there Breathd its last.\textsuperscript{12} This would draw to my mind a number of serious reflections. I would say to myself: “Mortal man, what are you? Where is now your power? Alas, a sett of dry Bones.” No answer. The rocks would echo to my complaints. In the morn\textsuperscript{13} I would pursue my researches, some-

\textsuperscript{10} Robarts's arguments were basically those of a later geologist, Chubb (1938: 15, 68), who claimed that the islands had been raised and mentioned the presence of shells on a plateau on Hiva Oa. Adamson (1936: 23-5) disputed Chubb's thesis and argued that the shells were brought to the higher levels by the Marquesans. The islands are pliocene volcanic, probably much older than Tahiti.

\textsuperscript{11} These rocks are unidentified.

\textsuperscript{12} More probably they were put there for burial.
times in deep ravines and dark recesses, and towards even I would get a spot among the rocks to sleep. When my food run short, I would return among the inhabitants. They would wonder where I came from over rocks & promontaries some times very dangerous to descend. I would stop a few days and set out again. I have sometimes been away 30 or 40 days from my home.

I shall now Endeavour to describe the Soil, etc., Natural Products. The Marqueasas Isles are all of them Mountainous, gradually rising from the beach in ridges, forming extensive valleys between. The sides of the hills are coverd with reeds and trees of several Kinds. Some of these Isles when you are on the top of the mountain are very narrow, not broader than a common coach road. You look on each side of you. There is a valleys inhabited, which affords a pleasing prospect to the eye, in the time the Bread fruit is on the trees, to behold a country with its Inhabitants who are fed by the hand of nature. Some of the other Isles are more extencive over, Particularly those of New ka heava and Oheā'va'o'ah. These are several miles across, very unregular; for you mostly walk on ridges of hills, which forms a great number of Vallies, uninhabited exepting by the featherd creation. The soil is good all over the tops of the mountains, of a marie Kind. From these Vallies there flows a great number of springs of water, which makes its way thro tracks & passages formd by Nature and falls over the rocks into the Vallies below, which forms a brook and runs into the sea. There is no rivers or lakes among these Isles.¹³

I have made every scearch for Volcanoes, but can't get any information on any exepting on the Isle of Woo'ah'bo, and this was by meer chance. I took a walk one morn along the rocks by the sea side, when my attention was taken with the appearance of a Kind of dross or lava of several yards broad along the rocks. I viewd it more closely and traced its vent into the sea. I then searched among the bushes above me on the side of the hill. I fancied that I could trace the mark of the track by which this lava had formerly made its passage down into the sea. I followd the track till I came to the top, where I found a large round ragged rock open like the mouth of a well on the

¹³ There are three rivers more than five miles long: at Tahauku on Hiva Oa, and at Taipivai and Hakaui on Nukuhiva. Small lakes or ponds sometimes form in the Tovii on Nukuhiwa (Adamson, 1936: 14–15; Brown, 1931: 18–19).
side next the lava that I had traced from the sea below. There is still a quantity of lava in the mouth of the hole which joins the lava that leads down into the water, and I am perfectly satisfied that this was once a large Volcanoe, as it appears the discharge of lava has been considerable, as the track left from the mouth into the sea is from 3 to 5 inches thick. I could not get any satisfactory account from the Inhabitants to ascertain how many years or ages back since this Volcanoe has been extinguished. It must have been a long time, or some of the Old men would have had some account of it from their forefathers.14

The quality of the soil next the sea is rocky, and in some places it is hard clay ground, in other loose stones and slate mixed with a sandy soil. The parts Inhabited is for the most part of a marle or Loom Kind with large stones, some as big as a coach, others larger. The sides of the Hills which form the valleys is generally fertile, good soil covered with reeds & trees, which is burnt out when the ground is wanted to be cleared.

As to metals or Ore, I make no doubt but there is some, as I have observed in several parts of New ka heava, where the water trickles gently down the rocks, a Kind of rust exactly like that of Iron.15

In other places, I have found springs of water of a pleasant, tartish taste, something like the Taste of Vitoral and water. I had a fine spring of this water on my wives plantation where I lived, but, my ground being enclosed, the water was not free to the publick. The inhabitants going & coming from the sea side of a hot day would come and ask leave for the water to drink, it being fine cool drinking of a hot day. The spring flows from under a large stone shaded with plaintains of my own planting and runs into a tarra Plantation that I had cleared with a deal of labour. This is the most Peculiar Kind of water I ever drank. Its very clear and cool, and when a cup is dipped in to take water up, it sparkles and hisses like good Cider when you draw the cork of a bottle of cider. I used this water about seven years and found it the most healthy and pleasant water I ever drank. Crowthers Well, Basinghall & Aldgate Pumps gave fine water, also a small spring which flows from under. The east

14 Little is known of the geology of Uapou, which is briefly discussed by Adamson (1936: 60–3). Chubb (1938: 16) says there is no record of volcanic activity in the Marquesas.

15 There is no evidence of metals.
side of Sf Andrews Church into a stone Bason of about one foot wide which is fixd in the curb pavement in Shoe Lane, London. This water which flows from under the Sacred Building is also fine water. But, as I observd before, I never found any water in the four Quarters of the Globe to compare to the afore mentioned water at Tio foie.16

Vegetables, trees, bird, fish, etc. The yam & sweet potatoe is here found in the mountains. They grow wild: none are planted.17 There is other roots which are eaten in times of scarcity.18 They are very poor food and bitter. Here is also a root, something like a parsnip to look at when young. The stem grows up straight, five or six foot high. The leaves are of a dark green of a long oval shape, resembling the leaves that tea chests are lined with. The root grows very large. Some will weigh 50 or 60 pounds, and when baked are very sweet. I have made some excellent rum from this root.19

The Bread fruit tree is the most principal, its fruit being the main subsistance of the Inhabitants of all these Isles.20 Its body makes very good canoes. Coco nut trees are plenty. The nuts are the largest and sweetest of any I ever found in any Part of the globe.21 Plantains & tarra root is tolerable plenty.22 Here is also a kind of apple, very red and full of Juice, sweet & pleasant to eat, something like the rose apples in Bengal, but far preferable.23 A Kind of Almonds is here also.24 The body of the tree makes very fine canoes, which last many Years. There is another fine lofty tree calld Te' man' nu.25 The leaves are of an oval form, bright green color. This tree makes fine canoes, some 55 or 60 feet long. Four men could sit on each seat. I had two war canoes when fitted together ready to go on an expedition would carry 140 warriors with the sail set in a good

16 I could discover no description of these springs other than that of Robarts.
17 There are some four varieties of yam and five of sweet potato in the Marquesas (Brown, 1931: 156–7; 1935: 238–9).
18 Possibly the bitter yam, hoi.
19 Ti. There are at least six varieties and these are as important for their leaves as their roots. The leaves were used in the making of ma and in wrapping and cooking food (Brown, 1931: 141–6).
21 Ehi. Not less than fifty varieties (Brown, 1931: 121 ff.).
22 Meika. Not less than seventy-five varieties (Brown, 1931: 158–61).
23 Ata and kehika inana, species of Eugenia (Brown, 1935: 201–2).
24 Possibly the maii (terminalia) (Brown, 1935: 195).
25 Tamanu (Calophyllum) and toa (Casuarina) (Brown, 1935: 15–16, 183).
breeze. The *Te'man'nu* is a hard wood and very durable. The *To'ah* grows just like the fir or Pine, its leaves & bud (or fruit) the same, the body round, strait and lofty. When full grown [it] is very hard, like Iron wood or Lignavita. Of this wood the natives make their Implements of war.

There is another large tree grows here calld the *Hu'tu*. It is a fine shade of a hot day. It bears a Kind of large nut, in form nearly four square & flatt on the top. I found this of great service to me. My daughter haveing a very severe breaking out on her head, I took the Kernel of the above nut and pounded it and applied it to the part affected. In a few days the skin was clear and clean without any mark or the least detriment to the growth of the hair.

The Sandall tree grows in great plenty on the mountains of *New'ka'hea'va*. I lament to say that when I lived there I did not Know the value of sandall wood, but scince I left *New ka hea va* I have Known Sandall Wood to sell for half a crown pr pound at Canton in China. This wood is very high scented, is an excellent perfume. It is much used in the East Indies by people of rank.

Had I been so fortunate as to have Known the value of this wood when I was there, I might now be liveing in splendor. But I believe I was born to be unfortunate. Thanks be to god, I have yet a loaf of bread to share with my family. Riches does not alwayes procure happiness. Altho riches would never put me out of my Lattitude, its circulation should be my amusement to alleviate the pangs of real distress. This Brings to my mind Sr G. Martindale, (see page 233) whose goodness I shall ever remember with gratitude.

Here are many Trees which Perfumes the woods with their sweet flowers. There is a tree which bears a nut exactly like a wallnutt. Ther Kernels are used in liew of candles. They are strung on fine twigs of different lenghts. The smoke of this nut, when confined, makes a fine soot or powder, which the natives

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26 *Toa* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). The hard, blackish heart of the ironwood tree was used for making spears and tapa beaters. The name also signified bravery and was given to the leading warrior, the tree being his emblem (Brown, 1935: 15–16).

27 *Hu'tu* (*Barringtonia*). Also used as a narcotic in fishing (Brown, 1935: 203).


29 *Ena* (*Turmeric*), *ha'a* (*Pandanus*), *eka puhi* (*Ginger*), *hehe* (*Alyxia*), among many.
use as ink in tatooing their bodies. It leaves a fine blue
impression in the skin.30

Here is a tree callld the E'ver, or Ea'ver.31 It is pleasing to the
eye. When cutt, [it] is of a deadly smell. It bears a fruit, to look
at Just like our Greengages in England, but the Kernel is
destruction to eat.

I have been informd there is in the water on the tops of
the Mountains a Kind of Eel, or snake, with a large head. I
think it is the Bull head or Logger head snake. It gets upon
the Banches of trees which droops and covers the runs of water,
and there lies in ambush till some unfortunate little fellow of
the feather'd creation falls a victim to his voracious appetite.32

Rats are very numerous. Here are two sorts. The rats which
live on the Hills and feed on grass, seed & flowers are very good
grild, equal to snipe or sparrow. The other rat [which] lives
among the houses is not so good. My fair reader may think I
romance, but I assure him. In time of fish being scarce, I
have often gone with a party in an afternoon a hunting the
Mountain rat.33

Great numbers of sea fowl inhabit the rocks of these Isles,
Viz., the Sea Gull, Piteral, Curlue & tropic birds, commonly
callld by seafaring people the Boatswain bird owing to his
tail, when flying, resembling a marling spike, (An Iron tool
in shape of a carrot, used to Join rope together on board of
ship). There are two sorts: the one, his tail is of a fine red:
the other is white.34

There is several Kind of small Birds.35 There is also a
Brown Dove, and on the Mountains there is game to be got,
the sise of a good pidgeon.36 There is also a green Dove whose
mourning I have often stopt in the woods to hear.37 Mor'n39
and even, I used to have the company of a fine stout bird,

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31 Eva (Ceodes) (Brown, 1935: 74–5).
32 The only known land snake in Polynesia is one species (Engyrus bibroni)
found on Samoa and Tonga (Adamson, 1939: 64).
33 Kioe enata, native rats. Later Marquesans told of two or three types, but
these have not been identified (Adamson, 1939: 67).
34 See Murphy et al. (1924–30).
35 There are fifteen species of land birds known in the Marquesas, thirteen
of them endemic (Adamson, 1939: 64).
36 The game is probably the rail (Porzanoidea tabuensis) and the brown
dove the ground dove (Gallicolumba rubescens) (Adamson, 1939: 64–5).
37 Probably the green fruit-eating pigeon (Ptilopus dupetithouarsi) (Adam-
son, 1939: 65).
something like a thrush, his voice strong and clear. He would warble out his *Twe Jug Jug* so sweetly he could not fail in rendering his company agreeable. He seemed to soothe the sorrows of the unfortunate.  

There is no native animals of any kind, except rats. There is cats, but they are English breed, from three cats which was left by the Ship *Duff* that first landed the Missionaries on the Island. In the south sea there has been native hogs, but I saw none at the Marquesas Isles. I saw one at *Otheita*. Their fore and hind quarters are close to each other. There is little or no loin to these hogs.

They have flies, spiders, butterflies, grasshoppers, scorpions, santapees, a few mosquitoes, and swarms of small gnats—on *Neu'ka'hea'va*, and *Woo'ah'bo*, only. They bite very severe and fill the skin with lumps as big as peas. A stranger that comes from the other Isles is glad to get back to his native place. Lizards are here also.

The Sea affords a tolerable good stock of fish. There is but few turtle among these Isles. Conger Eels are said to be very large. The Sun Fish are plenty in their season. Fine Mullet frequents these Isles in great schools. The Dolphin, Boneeto, Albecute, Carvaley, and Sharks are plenty. The flying fish are caught with hand nets in the night time by torch light. They are delicate, sweet eating. The largest I ever saw was one the flew one night on board a Brigg that I belong to going from Liverpool to New York in America. This flying fish was about the size of a common mackrel, color the same.

The natives of the Marquesas Isles are a race of people of a healthy constitution. Their height in general is from five feet four or five inches to six feet. In their wars they are brave. They are of an open, free temper. Their Hospitality is un-

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38 Reed Warbler (*Conopederas caffra*) (Adamson, 1939: 65).
39 Porter (1822, II: 130) gives a legend of a cat supposedly introduced into the Marquesas forty years before 1813. Bones of dogs have also been excavated from the earliest sites on Nukuiva (Suggs, 1961a: 195) but had become extinct before the arrival of the Europeans. Crook said that cats abounded at Tahuata; Wilson had left two (Crook, *Account*: 120–1).
40 Hogs are described in Crook, *Account*: 58–9; Fleurieu, 1801, I: 90.
41 Crook (*Account*: 120) noted also that mosquitoes were to be found on Nukuiva, but not on the windward group. For lizards see Schmidt and Necker (1933).
42 The fish of the Marquesas are described in Fowler (1932: 25) and Handy (1928: 164 ff.) gives culturally relevant information on fish.
equaled. There are several shades of complexion, some are Brown, some of Copper color, and some are very fair—in fact, next to Europeans, particularly the females of rank that do not expose themselves to the heat or rays of the sun. Some have an agreeable Flush or florid bloom on the cheeks, and some young ladies I have seen so delicate that their veins of a fine Pale blue shewd thro the skin. There is a great number of handsome females on these Isles.43

These people are some meager, others lusty, full bodyd, and some in a medium between the whole, light, active and well limb’d. Their countenance is in general pleasing, their hair long. Some is of a Sandy color, some Black, and some of a fine aubourn brown, but black is the prevailing color.44

The men are tattoo’d from the crown of the head down to the heel and toe. The operation is very painfull. They have no particular characters or form of any thing, but just what their fancy prompts them to. It is very neat and curious. The females are tattoo’d on the lips, ears, shoulders, elbows, hands & feet, and on the small of the Back. None but females of rank are tattoo’d on the feet.45

Both sex are excellent swimmers from their infancy. I have Known them to be swiming about for nearly the whole day, and when they landed was firm and unwearied.46

43 Missionaries and explorers alike were students of the Marquesan female form, which for the most part has been elegantly described: Fleurieu, 1801, I: 108; Porter, 1822, II: 86; Wilson, 1799: 129–30; Armstrong, 1838: 9–10; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 111–15.

44 Social distinction has also been stressed: Crook, ‘Account’: 12, 27–8, 118; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 112.

45 See Handy, 1922: 1; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 117–23; Crook, ‘Account’: 24–6; Porter, 1822, II: 124. The most important tattooing was that of the chief’s eldest son, which was done with ceremonial feasting and initiated an important relationship with young men of the same age group, who shared in the chief’s wealth and were tattooed at the same time.

46 Probably one of Polynesia’s cultural contributions to Europe was delight in ocean swimming. Early visitors were constantly astonished at their skill and enjoyment, e.g. Langsdorff (1813–14: 169–70) writes: ‘The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive, at least for Europeans to conceive, how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coco-nut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they
Their food consists of a pudding or thick batter made of Bread fruit, with which they eat fish roasted or raw fish souced in salt water. I must here intrude on my Readers time on the subject of eating raw fish. When I first came to live among these people, I did not like to see them eat raw fish—altho when at sea, in bad weather when no fire could be made, I have eat salt beef and Pork raw with my biscuit, but this was not choice. They would give me the soucd fish to eat, but when I was about to roast it they would take it away. I took it in good part. I would very seldom let anger cover my brow. Silence and absences I found to be better than to be angry or pevish for trifles; for if anything displeasd me, I used to depart and pay a visit to some other friends house, and in a few days they would be in search for me. By these gentle means I allways securd the affections of my friends.

I had been about six months among these people when the Chieftain at Towatta invited me to go with him in search of turtle. We would row or paddle all day and in the evenings would sleep on the rocks. In the day time we used to get plenty of fish from the fishermen, but was not allowd during the time of searching for turtle to go among females. One evening, as I was at supper with the Chief in a cave, our cheerfull fire was burning to roast bread fruit. The first course was set before us. He gave me a small bit of raw Boneeto. I shook my head at it. He prest me to try it. It put it in my mouth and I eat it. I hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from high steep rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step round to get to the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau, who has been mentioned before as such a particularly tall fine-made man, though he had never till now been on board an European ship, has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. He had actually gone up one day with the intention of throwing himself from the topmost gallery, but Captain Krusenstern called him back, and would not permit it. It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.'

"Turtle (honu) was strictly tapu for the chiefly class (Crook, 'Account': 55)."
found it pleasant and relishing, being souced in salt water. And from that time I eat raw fish in preferance to broiled, this making good the old saying that what is one mans meat is anothers poison. For I once thought that I never could eat raw fish.48

They eat pork only at their festivals. [They have] Plantains, coco nuts and a sweet meat made of sweet bread fruit and coco nut milk bak'd in plantain leaves in the ground.49 This is an excellent repast. In time of plenty, they eat a deal and often.50

Their drink is water. The High rank of men have a root which is first chewd and then water put in according to the number of persons to drink. It is then workd up and straind and handed round to which they [add] fish, sweetmeat and roasted bread fruit, untill they begin to be intoxicated. They then lay down to sleep. It has not the effect, as spirits have, to enliveen a man. It makes you stupid and inclined to sleep. But it is soon over. It is very good after a hot days Journey.

The men of rank frequently form parties of five or six. They retire to their altars, and drink this mixture three or four times a day for about twenty days. Their skin then begins to crack all over them. They are become so weak that they cannot walk without support. They then leave of by degrees and begin to eat their food regular and recover their strenghth.

I have been told that two men on the Island of Woo'ah'hunga found a large root of this Kind on the top of the mountain, and, like two Bacchus's by a pipe of wine, they staid by this root for some months and drank so much that one of them died. The other lived to relate the story.51

Occupations Are but few, Viz., A Carpenter or canoe builder, a drum maker, a fan maker, a hair worker, a maker of orna-

48 Certain of the Marquesan foods, such as popoi kao'e, were ideally accom­panied by skate (faufaua) and shark (peata) eaten raw (Fanning, 1924: 100; Crook, 'Account': 57; Handy, 1923: 196).

49 See note 87.

50 James Cook and the Forsters were distressed at Marquesan eating habits: 'I once saw them make a Batter of fruit and roots deluted with Water, in a Vessel that was loaded with dirt and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty' (Cook, 1961: 375; Forster, 1777, II: 27). For description of meals see Krusenstern, 1813: 161–2; Wilson, 1799: 145; Fleurieu, 1801, I: 114.

51 This was kava (Piper methysticum) (Brown, 1935: 17–19; Porter, 1822, II: 56; Handy, 1923: 202–3).
ments, a tattooer, a surgeon, fisherman.\textsuperscript{52} The fishermen are mostly a set of people that have little or no land. They live in huts on or near the beach. They support their families by fishing which they exchange for food and cloth.\textsuperscript{63} The rest of the Inhabitants lives up the different vallies, every one on his own lott of land. [There are] others who have lost their lands in quarrels; for the weakest is shure to loose. These people live on the land of the great men to watch the Bread fruit, Coco nut, Plantain and cloth trees, and are allways ready to Join their Patron in case of a quarrel with any other party.\textsuperscript{54}

Their Accidental Maladies. In the first place, a man or wife, a son or daughter may Quarrel. And the Devil, ever attentive to evil, raises their anger to such a degree, away they run head long and committ self murder, some by hanging, some by climbing to the top of a coco nut tree, and then Jumps down and are dashed to pieces. Others will go into the bush and gather some of the Ever fruit. They take the Kernels and eat perhaps four or five of them. The women and girls make choice of this method, and when they are determined to do the Job effectuay, as soon as they have eaten the poison, they will go and put themselves in the way of some man or other. He, not Knowing what she had done, embraces the offer'd prize. She is

\textsuperscript{52} The \textit{tuhuna}, or specialists in trades, were a remarkable feature of Marquesan culture. Besides \textit{tuhuna tekai vaka} (canoe builder), \textit{a'aka pahu} (drum maker), \textit{a'aka tahi'i} (fan maker), \textit{titi ouoho} (hair worker), \textit{pu taiana} (ornament worker) and \textit{patu tiki} (tattooist) there were many others who performed their skills in return for payment in food and clothing (Crook, 'Account': 4; Porter, 1822, II: 121; Stewart, 1833: 175-80; Handy, 1923: 149 ff.).

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Tuhuna ava-ika} (fishermen) were one of the most distinct social groups whose activities were surrounded by more than ordinarily important \textit{tapu}. They were a key element in the distribution of economic wealth in the tribe and were closely associated with the chief (Crook, 'Account': 4, 245-6; Krusenstern, 1813: 163; Thomson, 'The Marquesas Islands': cxxiii; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 172; Fleurieu, 1801, I: 121-2; Gracia, 1843: 70-3).

\textsuperscript{54} Although later anthropologists such as Handy (1923: 37-8) argued that there were no social classes in the Marquesas, it seems clear both from Robarts and from Crook that beyond the distinction of \textit{tapu} and common people, which was secondarily social, there were clear distinctions based on wealth and birth. These distinctions might not be easily recognisable to Europeans who tended to measure distinctions in their own ways, by difference in clothing and external wealth and deference. In terms of real economic and social power the \textit{mata-ei-nana} (common people) and the \textit{vai-noa} (dependants) were distinct and inferior to the social groups surrounding the chiefs and priests.
then past all cure, goes home. The deadly poison soon operates, and her friends finds too late the dreadful effects of their Quarrel. For in a few hours the unfortunate fair dies in the strongest convulsions imaginable. Thus terminates her untimely fate. 

Now there is a second Kind of accidental Maladie. This is done mostly by old men, who lives mostly at the Mori, or other altars. The people in general are much afraid of these men. I have informed several people of it, but they could not credit it, but I have every reason to believe it, having been an eye witness. Viz. These men will watch an opportunity and get a fish bone or part of any food you have been eating, or any bandage or turban you have worn, or your urine or the [sic] water that runs of your body after bathing. When they have procured either of these, they then go into some secret place and make a fire and burn what they have got with some dry leaves of a tree. They take stinging nettles and pound them and mix with the ashes of what they have burnt. There is something else that they mix that I am not acquainted with. It is then made up into seven parts and bound up very secure. One part they bury under the fire on their altar.

Their is a ceremony which they rehearse during the time all this is doing. They abstain from food and women until their object is taken ill. As I have observed, that they bury one part under their fire on their altar. The others is buried in secret places until they operate, which will be about a month. The craftsmen takes very little food all this time. They are mere skeletons. Every Chieftain has more or less of these people about him.

When their person is taken ill, enquiry is made among these people, and when they find out the man a present is given. They will then gentle raise one part so as to admit the air to it. The person taken ill will be instantly relieved. They then will cover it close down again. When the person in a day or two will be taken ill again, another present is given. But none of them will acknowledge that they have done any thing of the Kind. When they get a good present, they in general take the whole out of the ground and heave it away. But when they are resolved to Kill a person, they take a Billit of wood that will not swim. They slit it at one end and put the small parcel in

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* Crook ('Account': 48-9, 229) describes suicides.

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and heave it into the sea in deep water, and then there is no recovery. The person will lay three or four days in the greatest agony and then dies. This I have seen and know to be true. It sometimes happens that whole families have been cleared off from their land of inheritance.\textsuperscript{56}

As to habitual maladies, I could not perceive any particular one, for those who died a natural death was mostly of old age, or leprosy, or a woman to die in child bed, or starved to death, in time of famine.

Morals, etc. The natives of the Marqueasas Isles are one race of people and, as it were, one family. Their manners and customs, their open courteous behaviour and their unequaled hospitality is the same, which give me reason to say. They are a good kind of people. They are fond of strangers. They will receive you into their families and name you after some of the family. This is your protection. But it is best for a stranger to travel. By this means, his adopted relations becomes numerous, and then no one can hurt you. Every door is open to receive you, and in time of famine they will share the smallest morsel of food. I speak from experience.

They are a lively, active people, brave in their wars, and very talkative in their meetings. They are guilty of pilfering. But I beg leave to ask where will you find a race of honest men? At any event, they are not so bad as the sweepings of the Goals that are sent to New Holland. They will steal a pig, some bread fruit, or a few cloths plants, but they will not add murder to their theft. I should be happy to see polished nations as little inclined to theft as these people.\textsuperscript{57}

Agriculture. Is very little, as their chief food is Bread fruit. They plant tarra, carpee and several sorts of plantain.\textsuperscript{58} They grow cloth shrubs, which sooner will run about twenty foot high. The bark is taken off to make cloth. The cloth made from these plants is very white. It is beat out on a flat log or smooth stone with a round stick with lines cut round it. When they have beat enough bark to make a cloth, they trim the pieces and lay

\textsuperscript{56} The \textit{tuhuna nati kaha}, male and female, practised sorcery and divining. Like the search for human sacrifice, the magical catching of victims was seen in a fishing metaphor. The \textit{mounu} (bait) described by Robarts was used to catch the spirit of the victim. See also Crook, \textquote{Account}: 48, 178–9; Krusenstern, 1813: 173–4; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 155–6.
\textsuperscript{57} Crook (\textquote{Account}: 98, 158) gives examples of less gentle treatment of thieves.
\textsuperscript{58} Krusenstern, 1813: 164; Stewart, 1833: 148, 158.
them by for the next day and then beat again on the third day. They Join the pieces edge to edge and beat them gently together and lay the work by. On the fourth day they beat the cloth from side to side, until the Joinings are not seen. The cloth is become one Piece. A large cloth of ten or twelve feet square will take several days to make. The long 20 foot shrubs are beat out for bandages for the Chieftains and those of 10 feet long to make turbans for the Ladies & light bandages for the males. The smaller plants works up for cloth.59

They plant Tumerick, and among the chiefs they have a deal of the root they use in lieu of spirits. The tee plant is also grown by them. There is also a chesnut tree that grows here. The chesnuts are good when baked or roasted. I have many times made a good meal of them and a draught of clear water from the spring in times of want, which would cause a sigh to escape for the Cottage I had left behind me.60

As to the number of Inhabitants, a large Valley will send up to fight 1000 men, other vallies in proportion.61 I have gone up to a general fight, and when my tribe and our Allies came together I had upwards of 4000 men, which, when the enemy saw our strenght, they would not come forward. I sent them word I would meet them with 1000 men at the second pass. They came forward. I advanced with a part of my own tribe and a chosen party from our allies, who was men that I Knew to be brave men and would not give way while I would stand with them, as I had tryd them before when the enemy was three to my one. I now took it in my head to change the moode of

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59 Ute, white bark cloth was made from the paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) and special red cloth was made for chiefs from young banyan (aoa) and called hiapo (Crook, 'Account': 17; Krusenstern, 1813: 156, 164–5; Porter, 1822, II: 125–6).

60 The ihi or chestnut (Inocarpus edulis) was eaten roasted or made into a piahi, which was a baked dish of chestnut (popoi) and coconut water.

61 Early population figures are notoriously difficult to estimate accurately in the Pacific. Tautain (1898: 298–318, 418–38) and Clavel (1884: 490–500) analyse the disastrous drop in population in the Marquesas from about 25,000 in 1838 to a little over 4,000 in 1900. By Crook’s estimate there were about 25,000 fighting men through all the islands in 1798. This must mean a population of well over 50,000. He believed that there were at least 20,000 people on Nukuhiva. Langsdorff (105–6) thought his own estimate of 18,000 conservative. It seems likely that between 1800 and 1887, the date of the first census, the population of the Marquesas fell from over 50,000 to 5,245. Krusenstern, Langsdorff and Crook all support Robarts’s description of the numbers of warriors likely to be engaged in wars.
fighting from the stone slingers going in front. I advanced with spear men, which they did not expect. I kept them in play until their slingers had expended the stones out of their belts. I gave the signal for the war whoop and charged them with spears in hand.

Their warriors gave way and great numbers was killed and wounded. I followed them hard until they had left their women behind. When I came up to the women, I stuck my spear in the ground with my turban hung to it, as no one would pass my spear with my turban hung to it. I told the poor women not to be frightened. Not one of them should be hurt. They set down. My men I kept back and told them it was unbecoming a brave man to hurt a woman. With reluctance they obeyed. As this battle was on account of a challenge sent in a most insolent manner from the enemy, [it was] only on account of the fair sex being in the way [that the enemy were spared]. [Otherwise] I would not have spared a man of them.

Having intruded so much on my reader's time, must now return. As to servants or labourers, a great man that has plenty of provisions can have plenty of servants, for their food is all the pay they look for. The men about the house fetches wood, water, etc., gets bread fruit and coco nuts from the trees and cooks the food. Others lives on different parts of the estate to take care the trees are not broken or the fruit stolen, a failing they are very guilty of. As to necessaries, they barter with food of different sorts for fish. They give cloth also in exchange for fish.62

62 Crook ('Account': 84-6) described the life of those who owned property: Persons who live upon the spontaneous produce of their grounds, which is made ready for their food by servants, can of course have little stated employment. The men, associating little with the women, rise with the day, and go to the Tabu house, with those of their own class, to drink kavva; after which they eat something, and sometimes take a short nap. They generally go, from thence, to the sea side; and amuse themselves by swimming in the surf. If fish are procured in but a small quantity, the master of the family eats them in the tabu house, and the rest shift as they can; but if he has many, he sends them home by a servant. Conversing, arguing, and telling stories; and frequent eating, without a regular meal; with occasionally lying down, serve to pass the day. Their last meal is often made by the light of candle nuts, stuck upon a cocoanut fibre; which is held in a person's hand, and inclined, for the fire to catch from one of the nuts to the next below it, three being thus usually kept alight at once.

If a stone pavement is to be raised, a canoe to be made, tarro to be planted, or any other kind of work to be performed by a number of men, hands may always be procured by feasting them before hand, and
As I have already remarked, the natives lives in valleys [and] must endeavour to give some reason for confining themselves to narrow limits. The case is this. There are two parties, the one is the offspring of the Eldest Brother, the other of the Younger. And, according to their traditional account of centuries back, when these two Brothers was living, the Eldest Brother proposed the operation of circumcision. It was first performd on the Younger by the Elder Brother. Afterwards, the Younger Brother performd the operation on his Elder Brother. In course of time, the two Brothers Quarreld. The younger then slanderd his Brother on account of him performing the act of circumcision on him his younger Brother, it being a disgrace to him being the first born. And from that time they commenced war against each other, which has been carried on ever since for several centuries back.  

All prisoners are sacrificed on their Moria and altars. If taken alive, they are either put to death on the spot or conducted alive [to the altars] and sometimes cruelly tortured. I was one day on the Royal alter, where I used to eat. Most of my relations was there and several favorite warriors. The conversation turnd on battles and exploits of times back. I sat silent. My Brother in law was telling of a man that belonged to our party. As he was going alone over the mountains to the other side the Isle, [it happened] that he fell in with an ambushment of the enemy. He was surrounded in a moment. One of them took hold of him and says to him: "Dont you remember at such a time and place you caught my relation? I have now got you." He instantly scoopd out his eyes and bitt off his toes and fingers and then made him walk to their Valley, distant from the spot three or four miles, and there he was sacrificed. So in this manner they Keep the fire burning between them. I have shudder with horror at times to hear some of these Kind of stories.

I have often been amazed with these people, to experience telling what they must do in return; and for a short time they will be active, and industrious. This however, only relates to such Work as they have been used to perform; as they are averse to do anything out of their usual way; whatever pains may be taken, to instruct them how to proceed.

83 This legend is unidentified, but presumably concerns Nuku and Pepane. See Handy, 1923: 25.
their hospitality and see their Kindness one among another, and yet in their wars they have no mercy. If a grown girl or young child is taken, Beauty or the tears of an infant has no effect on them. What would have been the event at the Battle I related in the last page, had I not been with them? When I overtook the poor deserted women, they had no power to run away, but stood trembling, expecting every moment to be torn to pieces. There was several fine, handsome, young ladies, daughters of Chieftains among them, whom I knew personally, but, when I assured them they should not be hurt, they soon was composed. I laid my mantle across the path and went and sat a while with them and sent them away and bid them Remember me, and gave the signal for a general retreat.

On account of their wars, there is not a fourth part of New ka heava Inhabited. My Brother in law, the King of New'ka'heava, related this to me and declares this was the cause of the first Quarrel, and this they hand down from age to age to keep the spark of hatred alive. They rehearse it in their ceremonies on their Morias. I have observed fire glance in their eyes during these Ceremonies.

There is one thing to be observed among these people, that every one does as he chuses on his own ground, having no real common law among them. I have often been surpriz'd that they don't commit outrages oftener than they do, for I am apt to think was either of the Polished Nations at their own will and nothing to curb them more than what these people have, there would be no living. For, when two families Quarrel among these people, and they draw a spear, there is always more or less neighbours will endeavour to compose them, and if they fight and none killed or severely wounded, they will set down with as much composure, as if nothing had happened. They will eat and drink and part good friends.64

I beg leave to remind my Impartial reader that these people is man in his native state, situated on Islands in the middle of the sea, far distant from any Polished people, excepting the few ships that touch there. They are very fond and tender over their children, but as there is no restraint by Parent among their children, they ramble about among their neighbours and frequently sleep from home. A mother never chides a daughter

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64 Instances of quarrels are given (Crook, 'Account': 3, 95–6, 201–2).

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for sleeping from home. It is not thought a crime. The loss of
Virginity is no hindrance in getting a husband, if a girl of
rank.65

The Ladies of rank frequently makes their own matts, which
is very fine. Others makes cloth Turbans & Bandages. The poor
people, sometimes the husband or wife, cooks the food.66

In the fall of the leaf, men, women and children gather the
Bread fruit leaves, which fall from the trees. The stems are
about the Lenght and sise of ones Middle finger. They smooth
the leaves and pile them up and put a weight on them untill
next day. And they they run a small rod thro the stems of the
leaves which, being put close, one leaf laps over another. They
are about eight inches wide and 14 or 15 inches long. When the
rod is closely fitted, they are 10 or 12 feet long, which makes a
very good substitute for a plank. With these they mostly cover
in their houses, which makes a very comfortable habitation.67

They have also a tree of the Palmira Kind. It grows round
and strait. Its leaves are very Large, in shape of a fan. They
grow exactly out of the center of the top of the tree—under is
branches of a round fruit, about the sise of a musket ball, and
when full grown are hard and Black. With these leaves they
also cover the houses. They are very durable, I have seen
houses that the same covering had been on for upwards of ten
years, and then in good repair.68

The old men frequently nurses the children, and at inter­
vals makes line out of the thread of old coco nut husk neatly
platted. This they make of different sorts—some for working of
fans, spears, war spades, Battle axes, etc., fastening their houses
and sewing or laceing their canoes.69

The young men are frequently employd haveing their bodies
tatood. Others are singing. Thus they pass away their time. In
the afternoons, they frequently assemble at their play grounds.
Some is talking, some sings, others dances till dusk. Then they

86 Marquesan sexual morality is discussed in Fleurieu, 1801, I: 108–11;
Krusenstern, 1813: 115–16, 132–3; Lisiansky, 1814: 67; Langsdorff, 1813–14:
95; Porter, 1822, II: 10, 13. Handy (1923: 39 ff.) describes the freedom of the
adolescent ka’ioi. See also Suggs, 1966.
89 Pandanus (ha’a) (Brown, 1931: 33–5). Its use was supplanted by the coco­
ut tree leaves in later years.
90 See Linton (1923: 377–80) and Handy (1923: 147) for detailed descriptions
of the use of sennit.
retire to their homes, and parties of young ladies will make their meetings at the different houses of rank to sing which often lasts till day dawn. Thus they pass away their nights.70

Commerce. Her limits are very narrow in this part of the Globe, as they have nothing more on one Isle then the other, excepting on New'ka'heava they make a perfume of tumerick, which is made in perfection only by a particular set of men at peculiar springs of water. When the time comes for makeing this perfume, they build their huttys by the spring and do not go among females untill all is done. When the tumerick is brought to the spring, food is also sent with it for the workmen. It is hove on a platt form made of reeds. Water is hove on, and then some boys get and trample it with their feet. This takes of the dirt, skins and roots. It is afterwards grated very fine and then hove into a trough made of coco nut tree dug up by the roots and hollowd out and made smooth. It is here washd through many waters, untill the heart is separated from the outside. It is then poured out to settle. Early in the morn they make a large fire and make a parcel of stones hot. The Tumerick is then pourd into a mould, in shape like a hat block. At one end is a hole in sise of a cork hole. The other end is open. The small hole is to drain of the water. The hot stones is put into a hole in the ground. The mould is placed in the middle with leaves round it to prent burning and then coverd close round with the dregs of Tumerick to Keep in the heat. In the course of two hours it is ready. The mould is then taken out of the ground, and the loaf of perfume is turnd out on to a clean cloth. It is exposed to the sun for several days. It then becomes firm.71

And in the month of Nov & Dec, they watch the westerly winds, which, as soon as they blow, their canoes being ready fitted out, they set out on a visit to their neighbours of the windward Isles. This perfume is so precious among the windward Isles that they will part with anything to purchase it, Viz., Fine large canoes, live hogs, stone adzes, Large Calibashes with carved wooden covers, neat wooden bowls, chests made out of one solid piece of timber neatly carved, spears, war spades, cloth, Large Bandages. This perfume is very agreeable in smell and, when mixt with coco nutt oil which is very sweet on these

70 Crook ('Account': 86-7) also mentions tops, kites, sham battles, juggling, stilt-walking, swinging, skipping and string figures.
71 Crook ('Account': 220) also describes this process in detail.
Isles, they rub it on their body and bandages at their festival times, and the Ladies that can procure as much as will color their cloth over or half over. It is a great luxury, but it soon fades after a few times wearing. Its colour is of an orange red. This is the whole of their commerce.

There is no rivers, only brooks of water which run into the sea. But in the Dry season the water does not reach the beach in some places.

I will endeavour to describe the Harbours that are safe for ships to anchor in. *Viz. Towatta* has only one harbour for ships to ride in. The bay is call’d *Wiae’to’hoo*. At this place Capt. Cook stopt at in his voyage round the World in HM Ship *Resolution*. He named the Bay after the ship he commanded. This harbour is on the west side of the Isle, rather troublesome for strangers to get in on account of the sudden & heavy gusts of wind, which blow from between two rocks on the ridge of the high land. I remember that Capt Brinell had from America a new suit of sails split to ribbons with one of these gusts and was obliged to run for *New’ka’hea’va*, where I anchord his ship. During Capt Cook’s stay at *Wiae to hoo*, a native stole a large spike and Jumpt over board with it, and as he was swimming on shore a loaded musket was fired after him, and he was wounded. But he Kept fast the nail and reached the shore. This unfortunate man paid dear for the nail. He shortly died of his wound. I have had the nail in my hand since.

The next Isle is *Ohea’va’o’ah*. Their is a good safe passage of about three miles wide between these two Islands. At this Isle there is only one harbour for the reception of Shipping. It is on the North side. It is a very fine harbour, but no ship ever touchd there. This bay is call’d *An’ner’tee’tap’per*. I live here some time before I saild for *New’ka’hea’va*.

Next is *Woo’ah’hung’a*—no harbour for shipping. Next is *New’ka’hea’va*. Here are two harbours. The first harbour is call’d *Ho mae*. But is not advisable for Ships to touch at. In the first place, your anchorage is so far out from the beach, that your men is wearied in pulling to and fro. Next is, you cannot see your boat from the Ship when she is landed, on account of a long point of land. A boat might be cutt off unknown to the Ship. There is no surf on the Beach, The water is smooth being land locked.

72 Crook, 'Account': 265–6.
73 Hooumi, best described in Stewart (1833: 216 ff.).
When a boat lands, all hands jump out and seldom or ever keeps together. The boat is left to the mercy of the Indians, and European sailors are very apt to commit trespasses that these people don't like, frequently taking things from the natives and make no return, which is a bad pattern, particularly in these parts of the Globe. They are well aware of the advantage they have with a single boat. Was a boat's crew on their guard and a fray arose with the natives, they might fight their way to the boat and get away clear, but this is very seldom the case. I have been in boats landing in different parts of the world among hostile people, who would come in numbers and take hold of the boat to drag her up among the Bushes, and, out of eight or ten muskets and several pistols, not one would fire. Providence saved us, thanks be to God, to spare me till this day to relate the same.

A boat should never be sent on shore at such places out of the sight of the ship and reach of the ship's guns. It would be highly recommendable for a ship touching at these places, where they are unacquainted with the people they have to deal with, to load one of the great guns when your boat or boats go on shore and have cartridge and grape shot ready when wanted. And a gun fired without shot, when the boat is on shore, puts a terror on the natives. And, above all things, I recommend to avoid any quarrels and not to be allured distant from the boat by young women. Remember the fall of Adam, who was deceived by a woman.

Thirdly, at this place, your water is deep, and in a few days your anchor gets such hold in the ground you most likely will have to cut your cable. The London of London, Capt Gardner, left his anchor here in the year 1797.

The next Harbour is Tio foie about three leagues to leeward. Here is a fine commodious large bay with good anchorage. At the entrance of this Bay is 30 fathoms and decreases gradually as you run in and anchor in 5 fathoms or less water. Here are four Valleys which forms the Bay. Here your Boat is under the inspection of your spy glass. You see with your own eyes the motions both of the Natives and your own people. The water and wood is on the beach.

There is another Harbour about four miles to leeward, but, on account of some sunken rocks and the narrowness of the

*January 1799. Crook ('Account': 279–80) says the London called at Ho'oumi but did not anchor.
entrance with the eddy or whirling winds from off the High land which projects into the sea, it would be dangerous for a stranger to attempt to go in. This place is called Zha'cou'va. Yet this harbour has its good Qualifications. When you get in on the right hand or Starboard side, is an inlet about a pistol shot across and a musket shot to the beach. Here is the most convenient place to repair a ships bottom I ever saw. First place, the spot is secure by high land all round from any wind. Next is, the water has no more motion then the new river at Islington, and there is holes in the rocks both above and under water that you might make fast, without danger, your purchase blocks to and heave your ship of any Burthen Keel out of water. You have 5 & 6 fathoms water, right up & down, as you stand on the rocks. There is no projecting rocks under water. The shore is bold. This information may be depend on, as I have surveyd the place with particular attention, and during my residence among these people, the comfort, safety and welfare of the weary Navigator was ever my study and most ardent wish.

Further, I beg leave to observe that there is a beach & a fine Level place where a ship might unload, and by building some sheds a cargo might be Kept Dry. The place forms a half moon. On the top, in the center on the Ridge, is a Level spot, where a gun might with ease be placed, and this spot commands the road over land to this place on one side. On the other you have the sea. A ship might repair here with ease & safety, as their is no Inhabitants near. They reside in the main Valley round a point in another Bay, of which the Queens Brother is the Chieftain. This valley contains a long range of promontaries. It runs about three miles inland. It has two Beautiful water falls—one in particular, which falls from the top of the mountain in a fine steady stream of about six foot wide into a large Bason worn out of the rock by the fall of the water. The place below forms a Crescent. On each side are natural shelves and also small caves in the rocks where the living have placed their dead, Among small trees which must have sprung from seed carryd there by birds, which form a romantic and solitary scene.

Government. Viz. As [said before], all the Marqueasas Isles are formed by nature into Deep Vallies, which is the residence of the natives, and [thus] their are several chiefts in a tribe.

Robarts's description of Hakaui and recommendations follow closely those of Krusenstern (1813: 130).
But on *Neiv'ka'hea'va Cato New'ay* is the most powerfull Chief­tain. Yet there is no real King—to say he is absolute King of the Island. Altho his tribe and allies acknowledge him their Prince, and when he sends for a hog or two, it is sent as an acknowledgment to his rank. They have no absolute law, but one. That is, if male or female curses in their manner the Bread fruit, or their Deceased Prophet, no Intreaties, no presents or offerings can save them, nothing but flight. And sometimes the Parties thus offending cant procure a canoe to go over to another Isle. Another tribe will not secret them when they hear of it.

There was two women put to death at the Place I lived at, charged with haveing cursed the Bread fruit. The one was an old woman. The other was a very handsome young woman of a respectable family. The old woman was strangled by her own son. As the unfortunate victim lay on her matt in the house a cord was put round her neck. Her son was behind the house. He had one end of the cord in his hand, and when the signal was given he pulld the cord and strangled his own mother, and then exclaimed: "There you have murderd my mother with my own hand. Now dont say the trees are barren an account of my mothers cureseing." The famine was then very severe.

The morn came that the Young woman was to die. Nothing but bitter cries was heard all over the valley. The drum beat the dreadfull summons at the Grand Moria. The prophets and their attendants walkd in rank with a coco nutt branch carried before them, and themselves dressd up with caps made of coco nutt branches and their backs coverd with the same. In their way they was Joind by a great number of the Inhabitants who followd them to the house of this unfortunate young woman. When they arrived, they drew up before the door and made their Horrid demand by setting up a shout, with a long preamble that I could never learn the true scence of, being a Kind of gibberage. The Fair Victim came out; nothing could avail in her behalf. Death was the cry. Her brother was one of the

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76 See Introduction. Government in the Marquesas had been described by Fleurieu, 1801, I: 132-4; Krusenstern, 1813: 165-6; Langsdorff, 1813-14: 130-2; Porter, 1822, II: 33-4; Thomson, 'The Marquesas Islands': cxxxiii. Most of these accounts categorise government in purely European terms and do not allow for culturally diverse ways of expressing political power.

77 Why Robarts singles these curses out as the only action punished by an 'absolute law' is not clear. Delmas (1927: 131) and Handy (1923: 140, 279) give a variety of curses practised.
Prophets that came. He put the cord round his sisters neck and strangled her himself and wept over her. They then put the body on the coco nutt branch and bound it up and shoulderd away their unfortunate and truly pityable prize to the Grand Moria, where the Body was laid in state, and their numerous cerimonies [were] rehearsed for several days. No fire was allowed to be made for seven days. No women or children was to be seen. I did not go to see this unpleasant sight on account that I was acquainted with this young woman and her husband & Father.

This is the only absolute law. They have a number of customs, but nothing to touch a persons life by general consent but this. Their King, or Chieftains, has no power to form any law of himself. Their laws and customs are made by the Prophets & others who live at the Grand Moria. And the words made use of, which they hold so henious a crime, is only a smutty word—a part of either sexs. If made use of to anything—excepting the Bread fruit or their deceasd prophet—it is no notice taken of.

No Chieftain can force a tribute from any one excepting those on his own private estate, unless they chuse to give it. When a Chieftain is mild and generous among his subjects, he gains the love and esteem of his people and in time of plenty Keeps his Altar well supplyd with food, fish and, at times, a large Hog roasted. This is open to the petty Chiefs and warriors. By this means he secures their attachment, but if he is selfish and pressing on his people, they frequently revolt against him and, in the end, him and his family are drove from their Inheritance.

The result is they then get a double or large single canoe fitted out and leave the land that gave them breath to seek for other land which their prophets pretends to prophecy of. But this, I am afraid is all a delusion, for their canoes cant hold long at sea. Besides, their being crampt up in a canoe, [they] would be unable to keep their canoe free of water night and day for many days. They may reach the Lagoon Isles, which I

78 Handy's note (1923: 273) from a Nukuhivan informant, that for a man to possess the power of sorcery, nati kaha, he must kill his father, mother or sister, is the only information that might throw light on these incidents.

79 Handy, 1923: 279.

80 See Introduction.
have before mentioned in Page [161]. Here they would be instantly torn up alive. And, if in case they do not touch at these Isles, there is no Land either to the north or south so as they could reach with their canoes. Of course, they have perished at sea. Truly, when their canoes began to be in a bad state and their strength exhausted, their spirits cast down, the Parent and Husband looks at his wife and children with streaming eyes. They cling together, and in a few minutes their out of pain.

But, my fair reader, what a direful death to die. Perhaps thirty or forty persons, all of one family cramp up in a large canoe out of sight of land—what must be their feelings at such a moment of trial. And as they are thus huddled together, the Sharks gets hold of them. They are torn to pieces and thus seperated, never to meet again. None but those who has been in a similar situation can paint to their Ideas the horrors of the scene, [such] As I have mentioned in Page [121] [concerning] my return from Woe'ah'bo. But had I given up to fear, I am ceartain that night would have terminated my untimely end. But, thanks be to god that spared me untill now to relate the same.

It is to [be] observed that [in the case of] A man being possesed of land, and [who] has several children, the eldest son and daughter gets the greatest share of land, and the others in proportion. When a man has a small lot of land, the children gets a few trees, to one a few, to another [a few].

As their is no regular form of Government, cannot pretend to describe one. Only I beg Leave to remark that these and other benighted tribes and nations are in general vulgarly calld savages by polishd Nations. But, my courteous reader, first enquire has these people of the Marqueasas Isles any correspondence with polishd people. Have they any Education, or the Least patterns of common humanity, or refinement of feelings, except what they may see among a Ships crew? And then few of them are permitted to go on Board, and its a chance if one

81 The first-born *tama tapu*, male or female, always inherited property and names in theory, but adoption of the first-born males of other families meant that inheritance was mostly through the male, and distribution of property among favourites while the owner was alive often limited the first-born's inheritance (Crook, 'Account': 4, 227; Handy, 1923: 76; Gracia, 1843: 103).
ship in a year touches at these Isles, and many hundreds of them never see a ship in their life time. So it may be said they could learn nothing from a ships crew.

In return, I will inform my gentle reader, that these people have no correspondence with any other race of men but of their own class. They are seperated from the rest of mankind at least 2000 Miles distance. Cape Blanco, on the Coast Peru, is the nearest land to them where any polishd race of men are. They have no Education, or any Pattern of humanity, or refinement of feelings. As I have remarkd in some Pages back, here is man in his native state.

But let me ask my Impartial reader a fair question. Which of the two is the greatest Savage, the man who has Every Education given him, or the poor untaught Indian who has none? Here is no Police Office, no Court of Requests. But turn ourselves and take a view of Hicks Hall, which stands at the Bottom of Clerkenwell Green, London & of the Publick Office in the Borough Southwark. Next is the office in Worship Street, Finsbury Square, and the one in Hatton Garden. Peep into Bow street and stop at Tothill Fields. The above mentiond offices you will see daily crowded with the wretches of both sex, whose countenances and crimes are of the darkest hue. Here is a large field to reflect in and view the out casts of Europe, acting some their tragic and some their Comic Parts. Here you see the Queen, the Jilt, the Nun of easy virtue, the Beau, the Lounger and sometimes the simple Farmer in search of their watches or cash that the fair nuns of the Strand, Parliament Street, or the Hundreds of Drury have deprivd them of the night before. Haveing thus painted with a favourable brush a few characters on the stage of Europe, must now leave my courteous reader to his own private thoughts, and I trust that he will Join with me in Lamenting the situation of those Benighted, but Hospitable race of mankind which Inhabit the several groupes of Isles in the South Seas.

Haveing thus intruded on my readers time, will proceed to inform my reader with the manners and customs of the Marquesas Isles [and] with the manner of preserving their food, etc., with other remarks on different subjects.

In the first place, Women Is held unclean. They must not come near the Morias, nor walk over the place where the food is cookd, nor eat of food which has been beat by the hand of a man, except the woman is of the Blood Royal. She then may
eat food prepared by a man of low rank. But no woman of inferior cast is allowed to eat any food from her hand, or sit near her so as to touch her garment.82

Water is never thrown out of any vessel in the foot road. It is hove on one side and stones placed for a mark so every native knows it. Nothing is said to stranger from a ship in these cases. The Turban of the head must not be trodden on, or the cloth worn over the shoulders must not be sit on. The bandage from the waist must not be put over the turban or cloth or over any hair. When a man shaves another head, they both take of their bandages and goes on the family Moria and shaves, hideing the hair carefully under a stone. A man must not lift the matt that a woman sits or sleeps on, or carry the cloth worn as a petticoat. If he does, and it is Known, no man will eat or sit near him. They have a great many more unnecessary customs which they say is to Keep them free of Leprosy. They also affirm that if a child should by accident be touchd or bedaubd with the mothers monthly terms that in a short time the child would become a Leper.83

Their Marriages are some what singular. A Chief or other great man haveing a son, perhaps not more then two or three years of age, now another great man has a daughter, and most likely pregnant. Word is sent to the Ladys Parents a few days before hand to inform them of the intended union. If they give consent, it always puts every one in motion in that Neighbourhood for several days, some preparing cloths, some food and others gathering flowers and sandall wood.

At length the days come. The Young Gentleman sets out with several attendants. Whey they have arrivd near the house of the Lady, Her friends give the signal by the Beat of a Drum. They are ushered in with shouts of Joy. The Young Lover is then seated by the side of his bride on the cloth of his mother in Law. This is the greatest respect they can shew, as the Cloth or turban is held, as it were, Sacred. The Moria Drum is then brought with several of the Prophets & their retinue, who being seated the drum beats, and the Prophets party begins to sing

82 *Hava-i-te-toto*, the uncleanness of women, completed complex behaviour rules. Many more *tapu* on women are given (Stewart, 1833: 150 ff.; Roquefeuil, 1823: 55, 60; Armstrong, 1838: 13; Crook, ‘Account’: 9-12; Samoan Reporter 22 (1861): 2-3).

83 *Tapu* system is described as above and also in Lesson, 1880-4, I: 62-8; Thomson, ‘The Marquesas Islands’: cxxi; Handy, 1923: 257 ff.
their cerimonies [in] a dialect peculiar to themselves, which continues for several hours. A good Hog is roasted, and fish is brought for the Guests with every thing suitable. Plenty of food is brought from the Ladys several relations. The Drums Beat up at the Play ground. The Inhabitants assemble. The merry dance leads off and continues untill sun sett. In the even the House is crouded, and they sing the whole night.

In a day or two the father of the Bride groom visits the young Couple, followd by a number of attendants, every one bearing a present. This visit causes another feast which continues for several days. On the even before his departure he gives notice of His wish to remove his daughter in law to her husbands estate. This being complyd with, they set out early the next day. Being just Arrived at her new habitation, every mark of esteem and respect is shewed to her. The merry day begins, and great plenty of food is provided for the different ranks of Ladies that comes to welcome her to their part of the country. The day is past over with all mirth and festivity. The evening is come.

I must now beg leave to get on the other side of the story—every one according to the custom of their Country, and these people to theirs. The merry song and dance is Kept up with spirit untill an early hour, when they all retire to rest. Then a young man who is appointed as a companion and a substitute for the young Bridegroom retires under the cloth of the Bride, and it is soon seen how she approves of him, as he has to act as a servant to her. He eats out of the same bowl with her, and if she dont at times give him a part of the bit of food in her hand that she is going to eat, its a shure token that she dislikes him, and he may do all he can to please her, but she will never grant him any favour. However, she is not at a loss. If she is handsome and good temperd she can have her choice of servant husbands. In this liberty these people differ from any other class of people that I ever met with. One man may have several women, but for one woman to have several men I think is a pill hard to digest. However, in course of time, the lady very provable brings forth a fine boy or girl. Never mind who is the real father. The young Husbands Parents makes as much of the Child as tho it was their own grand child. And, as soon as [it is] born, the land for the childs inheritance is pointed out. This I deem one good rule, for in this case children whose parents have land gets provided for from their birth.

I have Known it frequently the case, when a young woman,
of rank or not, has been pregnant, and a young man of another family not married, [that he] has been sent by his mother to this lady with a present. He takes it in the evening. When he arrives at the house, he gives the present, informing the Lady of the request of his friends, and if his relations are numerous, he is gladly receiv'd, and without any further ceremony he sleep with the Lady that night, and from that time he is acknowledged to be the father of the child. In the morning he departs and perhaps never goes any more. His mother Keeps sending food and gifts frequently untill the child is born. She is then ready and, as soon as the child is born, she sets of with her new grand child to her own house. A nurse is ready to take care of the child. The lady is at liberty to marry who she pleases. Now this is a very strong tie between families on account of the child. It is a great help to peace and good friendship and binds several families into one and, in case of a Quarrell in the same tribe, families thus united all Keep on one side and protects one another from being disinherited, as is very often the case thro a powerfull, churlish neighbour. It is a custom For a woman to have two husbands. So in this case one is at home when the other is absent.84

Having described their marriages, Shall now describe their harvest and method of preserving their food. As I have in some pages back observ'd, that the Bread fruit is their chief food. Now the grand gathering of Bread fruit is in Feb' and March, and the next is in or about June. The third, which is scanty, is in Sept' & October. When they have a plentyfull season, the branches break with the weight of fruit. Most of the Branches have 2, 3 & 4 Bread fruit to each stem, and, if the weather is over hot, a great number of the fruit drops of before they are ripe. I have seen trees with 400 or more ripe Bread fruit on—a fine sight, to behold the goodness of god thus to feed mankind without labour.

They gather the fruit with a long pole forked at one end, to which is fix'd a small net to prevent the fruit from being bruised. They have also a Hoop with a net run on it with a line over

84 Crook, 'Account': 15, 170: 'Sometimes a young Woman is contracted to a boy, or even an infant, as her future husband. In these cases, she takes pekkeyos in succession, as often as she pleases; but all the children she bears, are considered as belonging to her husband, and inherit either property or dignity from him, as if they were, or possibly might be, his own.'

See Introduction for discussion of Marquesan marriage and also Langsdorff, 1813–14: 152–3; Delmas, 1927: 100–2; Tautain, 1895: 640–51.
some limb of the tree. When full, the net is lowered down and
the fruit is conveyed to the side of the pitt for its reception,
where they have wigwams built to sleep in during the harvest.
They break off the stalks of the fruit and scrape off the rough
skin with a sea shell ground at one end to get an edge to cutt.
These shells are the same as are brought to England and are
used to adorn mantle Pieces. They are brown and dark spotted.
They work night & day until the scraping is done. The Bread
fruit is hove in heaps in a place made for the purpose lined
with cocoa nutt branches and covered over very clean and care-
full, and the heat of the fruit turns them soft in one night when
covered up in the above manner.

Next day every one is employed taking out the cones which
are of a long oval shape. In this state the fruit is very sweet, and
a fine syrup discharges, which would make good vinegar. They
have another square place of about two feet, well lined with
branches. Into this they heave the fruit as it is cleand from the
Core. When all is done, it is well covered up so that no dirt can
go in. Stones is then put on all to press it, and in a few days
it becomes firm of a fine yellow color. In the mean time, the
store pitt is cleand out. The soil being of a marle or loom Kind,
the sides of the pitt is smooth and hard and is trimd with large
pearl oyster shells, which cutts the earth smooth, and even the
large store pitts are 25 or 30 feet deep and about 12 feet square.

Now the tee leaf becomes very usefull, as they have no leaf
that will answer the purpose so well. These leaves are pind
together about three thick with Bamboo pins. Their length
and shape are exactly like the lining that the tea chests are lined
with when they arrive from China. The bottom of the Pitt is
laid with these leaves, and one length of upright leaves is
placed all round. A man washes himself clean and goes into the
Pitt. The provissions [are] hove into the Pitt, and the man
below treads it down, placing the lining leaves as he rises
till all is finished. He then covers all down close with plenty of
leaves and then puts about a foot thick of clay on the leaves
and sprinkles water on it and then treads the clay down close
all round. And then stones is hove in over all, and then water
is tracked in gutters, and the Pitt is filld with water, and let lay
Perhaps for two years. Then it is open to inspect into the
leaves. If they begin to fade, new leaves are put in, and the old
ones taken away, and more provission hove in if they have any
to spare from the common stock, for the large pitts are Kept
against a scarce time, as is frequent the case in these Isles.

This food will keep good for forty years in the ground with repairing the lineing and at times putting some fresh food on the top. The juice is sour as vinegar and in a manner tans the leaves, which makes them last so long. I have eat some of this old store at one of my fathers house. It was black as turf that I have seen burnt in Wales and Ireland, but not sour like food of 2 or 3 years old. It was mellow with age. I enquired how many years old this food was. My Grand father answered that it was gathered some years before my father was born, who was then about 30 years of age, and, had there been much in the Pitt, it would have been good for some years to come, but it was soon done, for the famine was very sharp. It lasted for 3 years.

My being an eye witness of this dearth enables me to give a true account of it. Certainly there is nothing impossible to god, but I thought it very singular that in the same valley is some places the trees would bear a good crop, and in others the trees was burnt up with the sun. In this case some had a little to eat for a short time when others was starving with hunger. On the Island of Woo'ah'bo I observd in several places, one tree would be withered down to the ground and all the rest was loaded with fruit round it. I visited this Isle twice during

The principal breadfruit season in January is called mei nui. 'At this season, before the breadfruit is ripe, they gather it, by climbing the trees, and by hooking off the fruit, separately and carefully, into a hoop net, to prevent it from being burst, or bruised, which would render it less fit for preservation. They tie together two pieces of long Grass, at the middle; and at each of the four ends, form a sliding knot; which they draw home, round so many breadfruit. Their term for a knot, which is pona, hence comes to signify that number, by which they always count the breadfruit, in order to ascertain what quantity they have in store; reckoning so many ponas to one Ou, ten Ous to one Manne, ten mannes to one Tinne, which means, at different Islands, from 40 to 80 thousand. They hang the ponas of fruit upon a pole, to be carried from the place where it is gathered; the load being on the middle of the pole, if carried by two men; or both ends of it, if by one man; who in this manner will support an astonishing weight. Pits having been dug in the Ground, either within or near their habitations, of a circumference and depth proportioned to the magnitude of the Stock, the fruit is stored in them and counted as it is deposited. It is on this occasion that they have occasion for their higher numbers; some of the chiefs collecting several mannes of breadfruit, and a tinne having even been known to be gathered at once. It is but a few of the Islanders who are capable of reckoning the highest Sums; but some have ideas perfectly clear, of numbers still higher than those already given, reckoning ten tinnes to a Tuheva, and ten tuhevas to one pohho; which amounts to, from four to eight Millions' (Crook: 'Account': 61–2).
the famine, as I always made it my object to gain the favour and friendship of the great men and to shew a distant courtesey among the lower class of people. For I well Knew a poor man had but little for himself, when the great men had to spare. For in time of hunger, if a poor man offered me food to eat, I would take it and thank them, but I returned it again. A tear of gratitude has often rushed from my eyes to see the hospitality of this poor benighted race of men to an unfortunate stranger. When I was travelling, I would enquire the name of the next Chief, that when any one asked me where I was going my answer was to Chief so & so, and ten to one but he was informed of my coming before I reached his territories, and some repast was shure to be ready for me on my arrival.

Now this Isle was Just beginning to feel the smart of famine when I left it. The poor people was dying fast for want of food. Myself sometimes felt the pains of hunger, but, thanks be to god, I never repined at my lot. I bore it with fortitude and looked forward With the pleasing hope of surmounting the heavy storm that threatened.

I returned to New'ka'hea'va, where the famine was very severe. For in the next house above my brother in laws house there lived a respectable old Lady—she was a prophetess—with her daughters and grand daughters, twelve in number. The whole died. The old Lady lived to see the days of plenty. I was going past the house one day. It stood on a hill above the other houses. I smelt something very bad. I guess what it was and had it been one or two I might have turned Sexton. But when I looked into the house, I was struck at so miserable a sight with such an overflow of grief to see two young women dying for hunger. Several lay dead in a putrid state, and the two that was alive was too far gone for human relief to be of any use. I withdrew to windward of the house and set myself down on the ground and was lost some time in reflection. At length I got up and sent home, but I could not forget the awful sight I had seen.

There died, according to calculation, between 2 and 300 persons in about one year in the Valley I lived in. At length it pleased god to send relief, for on Woo ah bo the famine had ravaged so much that whole valleys was deprived of their inhabitation, and the trees brought forth such a plentyfull crops that they was breaking with their load, and them that was able used to go over to fetch food. Others would stay there and
gather where they could. No one dare say a word, as I had
Brought that Isle dependant to my tribe. Canoes was going at
all oppertunities. By this means numbers of families was saved
from starving (Hunger, my fair reader, is a sharp thorn).

The Husband in time of famine leaves his wife & family
to forage for himself. I have been on the beach when a double
canoe loaded with food has landed. Some poor women, whose
husband was absent on the other Isle getting plenty, came to
ask for a little food to save the lives of some small children. It
was refused. Now this load belong to one family. I hove my
spear into the food of one canoe. They loosend the other canoe
from it for fear I should take the other allso. They could not
touch the food my spear was in. I then order the canoe to be
unloaded and put the food before me on the Beach. I then
shared it out among those that I Knew was in most want.

My Brother in Law, hearing what I had done, came to be an
eye witness. He stood silent untill all was nearly done. He then
says to me: “Where is your share?” I answerd, god would send
me mine. He then said: “You have done more this day then my
Fore fathers ever did in their lives.” I replyd: “I hope I have
not done wrong.” He said no, but the manner I took the food in
and divideing it as I did would be rememberd for ages to come.
I thankd him for The compliment.

In time of severe hunger I have cutt the body of a plantain
tree up and baked it and then pounded it to get out the sub­
stance, which, after being washd and straind thro many waters,
is still very bitter & cold on the stomach. I have often thought
of the Prodigal son when I have been eating it. Then I would
console myselfe with that heartfelt satisfaction to think that in
my Obscureity, buryd from the world, I could still, with the
help of God, be of use to society and help the weary Navigator
loaded with disease when medicines faild.

[There was] one man in particular on Board the Lucy of
London. When I boarded this Ship, as [it] was my general rule
to enquire what sick men there was on board and what was
their complaint, the Surgeon of the Ship stared at me. How­
ever, he conducted me below to a patient of his. I lookt at the
man and found that he was very bad with the black scurvy.
His legs was black and gathering ulcers, but none was running.
I persuaded the Surgeon to send the man on shore. He
momently complyed. The man was too far gone to be taken out
of his hammock. I instantly had the hammock lowerd down
and got the poor fellow on deck. He wept bitterly. I soothed his sorrow by telling him that I had seen men as bad as he was recover in a short time. I got him carefully lowered down into the Boat and then returned to my duty as Pilot. We, having a fine breeze, was soon at an anchor.

As soon as the ship was safe, I went on shore with my patient. The Old Queen's house was on the beach. There I had a separate apartment that I used to sleep in at times when I used to spend a night with the Queen and the Ladies of the Royal family. In this apartment I put my patient. I then got some sweat earth and held it to his nose to smell to. They brought him food from the ship, but I put it out of the way telling him not to refuse any thing that might be given or done for him.

I then sent people to gather herbs and a gourd that grows there that I had used before. Others went for wood to heat stones in the fire, having no kind of vessel to make water hot on the fire. However, in a short time the herbs & gourd was brought. I got them pounded and put into a trough with water and then put in the hot stones. I then washed and fomented the man and had a bed ready made of fresh earth covered with grass and over laid with sweet leaves from a peculiar tree. On this I laid him and gave him a warm posset and covered him up and charged him by no means to uncover himself until morning. I told him he would feel much pain in the night, but that was a good sign. As the grass and fresh earth would draw the scurvy, the operation, of course, would be severe. One thing I knew, That it would either kill or cure, as I had made use of the same method in Africa and at Jamaica & St Domingo when I was in the slave trade.

Even being come, I returned on board but left some old women belonging to the house to take care of him. The Old Queen order her sleeping matt to be brought to the door of the apartment, and she slept there to see that every care was taken until I returned in the morning. At day dawn I returned on shore. I brought some shovels from the ship for the purpose of cutting a trench for the second operation. When I came to the house, I was surprized to see the man was sitting outside the house. Now when the man left the ship he was in a state not moveable. I ask him how he found himself. He said till after midnight he was in the greatest agony, but in the morning he found himself able to turn on the bed and, with a little help, had got out to where he was. He thanked me with tears. I told
him to return his thanks to God, and that I had done no more then what my God had in his mercy put in my power to do, for which I returnd my morns & even thanks to our Great Creator.

I now set out with some people to the other side of the Bay to carry the man to a place that was supposed had never been cultivated. This I term virgin earth. We arrived at the spot. I tryd the ground and found it to be a fine, rich, Black soil, amazing strong. I soon got a trench dug and gentle placed my patient in a sitting posture and quickly coverd him up to the heart with the earth. I sat by him to watch the operation, it being dangerous. And by degrees I buryd him up to the chin. In a few minutes he fainted. I cleard the earth from his heart, Keeping the other parts coverd. He recoverd in a few minutes. I then closed the earth to the heart again. He fainted again. I gave vent to the heart as before, and in the course of 2 hours I took him out of the ground, and I had the blessing to see him walk back to the Queens house without help.

Young coco nutt water was his drink. It is a fine, gentle purge. A wild sallad that I used to eat myself I got plenty of and gave him to eat with mashed Bread fruit. In fact, in three days, which was the time the ship stopd, the man returnd on Board to his duty. His being a good seaman, I appointed him to the Helm to steer the Ship clear of Pilots water. I beg leave to observe that I dont relate this or any other occurrence mentiond within this book as a boast of my abilities, wishing to gain praise. It is not due to me. My slender Parts are not worth notice, But is a memorial of the goodness of god in the greatest danger thus to place a remedy in the middle of the Great South sea, when medicine faild to save the life of a fellow creature. Altho we let many grand proofs of the supream goodness pass unnoticed, but when we look back on the trackless path we have traveld, we are Too apt, as it were, to hug ourselves and say, “I was very lucky: it was not my lot,” forgetting our Creator, who is our hope and guide thro the Dreary vale of Life. However, I will not detain my reader with perhaps too tedious a detail.

As I have described the manner of preserveing their food, must also describe the manner of makeing it ready for use. Now, when the Mah—for that is the native name of the Bread fruit after it is preserved in the Pitt and becomes one body, like so much clay, butter or cheese—when [the Mah is] new [it] is of a pleasant tart taste, and as it grows older is more sour. It is
good food with fish or Pork, but without either it is not savory to a stranger.  

When they prepare Mah for use when taken out of the ground, if new, [it] is something like whet meal. It is then kneaded and worked with water to a proper temper. It is then put up in leaves and made up in shape of long bricks from three pound to thirty pound weight. It is then baked in the ground in a very clean manner in a shallow pit. When it is baked enough, it is taken out to cool and then beaten on a shallow trough, mixing it with water till it becomes to the state of slack dough. It is then put into a calabash and sometimes mixed with coco nutt milke, which makes it very good.

This is their principle food. They in general make enough for several days in time of plenty, and when they have any ripe bread fruit on the trees, they roast some in a morn and beat them into a dough and pour the milk of old coco nuts over it and eat it with raw fish soured in salt water. Persons who never see or heard of raw fish being eaten may think this an odd dish, but I assure my reader that I have found it to be a most excellent Dish, and it is one of their greatest Luxuries. At other times they roast the Bread fruit and mash it in cold water and eat sea weed soured in salt water when there is no fish to be got. This is a comfortable meal, far better than Potatoes and milk, which is often used in poor families in England, Wales & Ireland.

They have another dish which in general is used as a dessert at feasts and great mens houses. They collect the finest Bread fruit they have and break of the stalks and then drives a bit of stick into the fruit and then packs with grass about a dozen of fruit into the Bark of a tree, then covers it with another, stopping each end with a coco nutt shell to keep out the rats. Being bound up [it] forms a narrow trunk, It is then put by for three days and when open is turned soft and very sweet. They then scrape a quantity of old coco nuts and work out the milk as thick as cream. They get the center leaf of a plantain tree, which is about two feet wide and four or five long. It is scorched over a slow fire, which renders the leaf like silk. Into this they put five or six fruit and pours over a quantity of the

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86 Ma was never eaten plain, it was mixed with water and baked to form popoi ma and then mixed with fresh breadfruit to form popoi mei or mixed with taro or banana (Handy, 1923: 190-1).
87 Ka'aku (Gracia, 1843: 142; Handy, 1923: 191-2).
88 Mei omi (Handy, 1923: 191); and for seaweed as food, ibid.: 196.
milk. It is then tied up in double Leaves and carefully put into
the Bakeing Pitt, where it stays six or eight hours. When done,
it is taken out and hung up to cool. It is sweet and luscious.89

They also have plantains made ripe by burying them in the
ground three days when they are full grown. They have two
more Kinds of food. One is sweet Bread fruit. The other is the
Arrow root, [with] which, Being baked and beat to a dough,
coco nut milk is boild with hot stones, Untill it breaks into a
curd.90 This is also a very good food. It may be compared to a
rich batter pudding.

Haveing described the different Kinds of food, must now
describe their Kitchen furniture, which consists of a stone in
the shape of a hand bell. With this they beat the food on a
shallow trough. They have a bamboo or calibash to fetch water,
some wooden bowls and chests well and neatly made out of one
solid piece of timber. Into these they put the food in common.
Their food is put into Calibashes coverd with neat carved
wooden covers made to fit close.91

Their ovens or bakeing pits are of different sizes as wanted.
None are more than two feet deep. They place a quantity of
wood in the pit and covers it over with stones and then procures
fire by rubbing two sticks together. In a short time they
get fire. The oven is set fire to and in half an hour the stones
are red hot. The oven is cleard and part of the stones is put
in the bottom and leaves on them to prevent the food from
burning. The food is put in and close coverd with leaves. Over
all, earth is put on and close coverd down, so that no steam
escapes. When done the earth is carefully removd and the leaves
taken off, and the food is served up in a very clean manner.92

Haveing given my readers a close description of these people
with their manners and customs, I shall now make a few
remarks on their Religion. First, they believe there is one
invisible supream being, and they believe in Inspiration. And
when their prophets dies, they pay a very great adoreation to
the departed soul, which, they say, is gone to a place of happi-
ness below. They have no Idea that when a person dies that

89 Possibly a variety of makiko or feikai mei (Handy, 1923: 192–3).
90 Pia tahi oho au (Handy, 1923: 200).
91 The Marquesans had a variety of utensils: chest (tifa), tongs (kokemei),
bounding boards (hoana), pounders (ke'a tuki popoi), stone bowls (ipu
ke'a), kava containers (tehaha), gourds (hue), graters (feke), bamboo knives
(kohe) (Linton, 1923: 355–66; Langsdorff, 1813–14: 175; Porter, 1822, II:
121; Stewart, 1833: 147; Crook, 'Account': 80–1).
92 See Handy, 1923: 64, 190.

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the soul either goes to heaven above or to hell below. They believe nothing about there being a place of torment for the wicked.98

I have spent a deal of time on the subject of religion with them, but I lament to say that my weak efforts made no impression on them. They would listen to hear me describe the Creation of the world and the Garden of Eden, when Adam was alone, and how Eve was made by God from the Rib of Adam, the Death of Abel, and the world drowned, Lott's wife being turned into a pillar of salt, the Burning of Sodom & Gomorrah, the Birth of Christ, his miracles, the Crucifixion, and his ascending to heaven, and the taking up to Elijah to heaven. All this they would hear with admiration but thought no more of it than a tale or a fabulous story.

But I am happy to say that at length I was convinced that there was one soul from among them that believed there was a god to save her. That was my wife, who a few minutes before she departed said to me: "Pray to God for me." My Courteous reader may better conceive than I can related what a consolation it was to my wounded heart, in the moment of an everlasting separation, to hear from her dying lips that she believed there was a god to receive her departing soul. And I trust and hope she reaped the reward of her belief.

I beg leave to introduce the following lines as something suitable:

To the Last words of my much Lamented Royal Bride
whose memory will be ever Dear to me.

Pensive I lay, when she whom earth conceals
As if still Living to my eyes appears,
And pitying Heaven her Angel form reveals
To say—"Unhappy Edward" dry your Tears.
Ah! Why, sad Lover*, thus before your time
In grief and sadness should your life decay,
And like a blighted flower, your manly prime
In vain and hopeless sorrow fade away?
Ah! Yield not thus to culpable despair,
But raise thine eyes to heaven—and think I wait the There.

* Husband, fifth line.

98 Krusenstern (1813: 172) complained that Robarts did not have much insight into Marquesan religion. Robarts's description hardly does justice to Marquesan cosmology and the complex hierarchy of deities; see Delmas, 1927; Handy, 1823: 244 ff.; Tautain, 1896a: 543–52.
Haveing thus given my courteous readers a full account of the
various scenes of life I have gone thro, from the time I saild
from Blackwall in the year 1797 untill the present period, As
I have mentiond in Page [236], [I suffered] the Death of three
of my family in the space of seven months. But hard is my fate.
I lament to say that after a short Illness it pleasd God to call
my second partner in Life to I trust a happier state, Decr 16th,
1823. By this untimely event two Deaths took place in one.
She was in the seventh month of her pregnancy. I was very Ill
at the time, not able to get of my bed, and no Surgeon within
eight miles of the Place I livd at. If I had not been Ill, I would
have endeavourd to save the child by opening the Body myself,
a severe task, but desperate cases must have desperate remedies.
I hope my reader will excuse me for the observation:—

    Another May new birds and flowers shall bring
    Ah! why has happiness—no second spring.¹

I am now left once more forlorn, like the Ship wreckd Tar
who, standing on a distant rock washd with the unhospitable
waves, [is] waiting the approach of some friendly Bark to
convey him to Port Consolation. My Days pass on with the
attendance to my Duty, which I hope will be finished in the
course of another month. My Nights are Dreary and Lonesome.
I have no one but my only Daughter left out of two wives and

¹Charlotte Smith, *Elegaic sonnets and other poems*, London, 1871:
Sonnet II.
seven children. And if nothing turns out to my satisfaction for my Daughter, I hope to realize 4 or 500 £ sterling, please god to spare me, by the close of 1825, and then return to my Dear native land. For while I have health, if I am poor, I shall never starve. There is many ways of turning an honest penny in London, whos goods and Bads I well Know.

My Impartial reader will excuse the uncorrectness of this small work, but matters are stated as they occurrd, and, as this is the first of my slender Abilities I ever offerd to publick notice, I trust that the various turns of life I have gone thro, accompanyd with many severe missfortunes, may in some degree Court the Patronage of the Generous Public for the wellfare of my only Daughter, Ellen Robarts, who I trust, should we reach England, will be found worthy the Patronage of an Indulegent Nobility and Gentry.

The following pages contains a Vocabulary of the Marqueasas Language. The leading lines are wrote in English and in a line is wrote [the words] in the Indian tongue. I beg leave to remark that the words in the Indian tongue are not expressed as they are spelt, as there is a particular sound or accent on every letter, which renders it tedious for a stranger to learn the Language without a promptor. It was near two years before I could converse fluently with these poeple. As there was no one to teach me a word, I learnt by listening to their conversation, and when I had got hold of a few words, I used to write them on the face of a rock by the side of a run of water that I used to Bathe in Morns & Evens.

As I had no paper to Keep a Journal, I found myself much at a loss. This Narrative was wrote at sundry times from recollection. I first commenced it in the year 1810 under the Patronage of that morning star of Literature, the Immortal Dr I. Leydon. And at the time the Expedition went to Java, Dr Leyden accompanyd Ld Minto to Batavia. He took my narrative with him, and after his arrival he in a short time took severely Ill and Died. On Java sands there lies the Bard who told how Nelson Bled.

By this unfortunate event it was several months before my small work was recoverd. The first part came to the hand of Mr Mctier, and several months after, the remainder came to the hand of C. M. Ricketts, Esqr. Haveing recoverd my MSS, my Present Patron requested that I would write it over again, and he would sent it home to London, as the out lines of it he had.
taken home to England with him. Before, but on his arrival
was obliged to return to India with the then Earle of Moira.
[Then there was] my trip to New Holland, and, a few days
after my return, my friend saild for England. And my being out
of employment and low spirited [caused] my pen [to] lie dor­
mant, untill I arrivd at this Place, the City of Moorshedabad.
Here M Ricketts, Esq'r. Put my pen in motion. He took sick
and went to the Cape. My pen stopt, untill I was informd by
Dr Smith that my Patron was returnd to Bengal.

This wellcome news cheerd me up in the height of miss­
fortunes. I began again to have so far got forward, that by
writing a few lines of a morn§ I hope to make a close in a few
days. And as the work I have in hand will be finishd in a few
days, and then a survey will take place, and then my accounts
will be closed, and I hope, please God to spare me and my
Daughter, to Depart for Calcutta in the middle of next month
—March 1824.

And then, if nothing turns up to my wish, I intend going up
the River to purchase timber to sell again, as that will at least
return 50 pr cent clear of all expences, [by] which [in] four
trips in two years or seasons [I] will realize a small trifle against
a rainy day. And then I shall be able to Judge what to do in
the Even§ of Life, as I have had a long and singular career of an
enterprizeing and unfortuneate Life up to the Age of 53 years.
And I thank my God that I am now as active as when I was 20
years of age. But I am not so strong. I hope I have not intruded
too Long on my readers time.

I now beg leave to Introduce a Vocabalry of the Marqueasas
Language as under written.
Vocabulary of the Marqueasas Language

The invisible God
Soul
Life
Demon or Ghost
Mankind
Heaven or Sky
Light
Meteor or falling star
Sun shine
Moon light
Full moon
Close of the moon
Change of the moon
The milky way

Sun rise
Rain Bow
Summer
Rainy Season
Winter
Autumn
Earth
Earth Quake
Continent, Land
Island

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Promontary  Ea O pa tah
Face of the earth  Tee hoo, a phin new
Mountain  Moun ah
Hill  Tu a heive
Plain  Ea mo en a tu
Valley  Kar wiae
Clay mud  O ney tee ter, ebbo cou
Stone  Ea car
Chalk  Proo e w,
Sand  Eoney
Gravel  Ge ge car
Quick sand  Eoney cou
Road highway  Ea new'a'o'ah
Water  Wiae
Rain  Ewoo'ah
Spring fountain  E wiae, poonah
River  E wiae new a
Rivulet  E wiae tahkey
Bubble froth  Boo'a'boor
Bank of a Stream  Tou tha wiae, tahkey
Fresh Lake  Eo te wiae
Salt Lake  Eo to tie
Sea  Tie
Ocean  Tu'mo on'ah
Flood Tide  E tie pee mie
Ebb tide  E tie hae ka
Whirl Pool  E tie; e wiae cou vee
Shore  U tah
Sun  O mah tee
Sun set  O ma tee, wo topas
Moon  Ma am ma
Star  Fettoe
Day break or dawn  Ou ah dare
Night  Bo (or) Boe
Morning  Oye oye teen
Fire  Ack hey
Wind  Ma ta ny (at Towatta)
          Ma ta gu (at Newka heava)
Lightning  Thoo vier
Thunder  Pha too tee
Fog  Cokhu
Smoke  Ou ack huy
Dew  De how  De how
Winter Match eye ke Match eye ke
Winds Eye Ma tah, Mata ny Ma tah, Mata ny
A wood Ea Pakar te tah Ea Pakar te tah
A house De foie, Ea foie De foie, Ea foie
Wood to burn Vea hea yea Vea hea yea
Speech Language Ea, Decow Ea, Decow
Name of any thing Hing’o’ah Hing’o’ah
A Man Ea, Ea’na’ter Ea, Ea’na’ter
A Woman Ea, Viene Ea, Viene
Grand Parents Too boo na Too boo na
A Father or my father Too mo’tu’a Too mo’tu’a
A Mother Ea, Cuie Ea, Cuie
Husband Va’ah’na Va’ah’na
Infant Tom’a hoe Tom’a hoe
Child Do’e’ke Do’e’ke
Child that can walk (male) Ma’haie Ma’haie
A Brother Ea, Tee’na mie Ea, Tee’na mie
A Sister Ea, Tu vi’ene Ea, Tu vi’ene
Elder brother or sister Tu, a’ha nah Tu, a’ha nah
An Old Woman Puk’er fieu Puk’er fieu
An Old Man Koue Koue
A Chief Ea, Aree ke Ea, Aree ke
A Prophet or Priest Ea Dow ah Ea Dow ah
A Boy Ea Tom a’o ah Ea Tom a’o ah
Virgin the explanation to be excus’d, In the Indian manner Ea Viene, va ma’tee, tha Va’ahna
Lad Ma haie’neu a Ma haie’neu a
Widow Ea Viene, va ma’tee, tha Va’ahna
Widower Ea Va’ah na, va ma’tee tha, Vi’ene Vi’ene
Unmarried a female Ea, vi’ene, ah, corey. Va’ah, na Ea, vi’ene, ah, corey. Va’ah, na
Hermaphrodite Ea, Meh ho’e Ea, Meh ho’e
Dwarf Ea, Ca’na ter e tee, too poe tu Ea, Ca’na ter e tee, too poe tu
Infancy Ea Tom a hoe, a corey, ca’ha Ea Tom a hoe, a corey, ca’ha
Maturity Ena ter, mo tu’a Ena ter, mo tu’a
Death Ma’tee, moe, Ma’tee, Zha vie Ma’tee, moe, Ma’tee, Zha vie
Male Animal To’a or Hae, go To’a or Hae, go
Female Ditto Uch, a, or Co’e vee Uch, a, or Co’e vee
Race tribe or nation Ma tie, en na Ma tie, en na
Family Ancestry Mo, Tu, boo na Mo, Tu, boo na
Relationship Ea Ma tah pee Zhea Ea Ma tah pee Zhea
Descendants

Son male child
Daughter female child
Grand child male or female
Younger Brother or sister
Brother or sister in Law
Aunt, fathers Sister
Heir
Heritage of ours from time unknown

Wifes Portion of Land
Adopted child
Orphan
A stranger
Genealogy as to trace it
Body
Flesh
Bone
A vein
Skin
A Hair
Lock of Hair
Marrow
Brain
Skull
Head
Face
Fore head
Eye
Eye brow
Eye lash
Pupil of the Eye
Tear
Ear
Ear Wax
Nose
Cheek
Lip
Gum
Upper Jaw
Lower Jaw

Ea, Ma tah, na tha Tie Tu boo na
Tom'a o ah
Tou Mo ee
Mo boo na
Tai ner
Do get ey
E Tu vi ene, na, Too, mo'tu'a
Ma ta, newa
Ea Phin'new, Na ma ti, ma yow, ore
Ea Phin new, Na too Vi e ne
Ea Tom, a ho boo
Ea Tom pee Zhea co rey
Ea Mun'na'hee
Ea Mata na hee
Ea Mata tee tow
Teen u
Gee go gee go
Hei've
Uve, uve
Kee
Ea manga O woch'o
Ea ma ca vee, O woch'o
Hu, ver'o
Eo'o
Ebu, Obo'goe
O bo'goe
Ma ta, co tore
Oie
Ma ta
Tu ke, Ma ta
Hu'u, Ma ta
Bu co gu, Ma'ta
Wiae, Ma'ta
Poe uing
Tet tu ay
Ea sheu
Pap pai ing
Nu tu
Tiea, Ne shou
Co vie, una
Co vie, yow

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Part</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>Ne shou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>Ay uve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin</td>
<td>Ho wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beard</td>
<td>U me, u me (cu me, cu me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>Cutiatchie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back of the neck</td>
<td>Hun, O car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat or gullet</td>
<td>Mu nu nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder</td>
<td>Po fe fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder blade</td>
<td>Hei ve, ta fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>Bo oe too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosom female</td>
<td>E u u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast male</td>
<td>U moum’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>Wiae E u u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nipple</td>
<td>Ma ta E u u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side</td>
<td>How Kow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back bone</td>
<td>Bo ca cah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collar bone</td>
<td>He i ve, Da ger, da ger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waist</td>
<td>Co e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td>Obu, or Co boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navel</td>
<td>Pee to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hip</td>
<td>Tee pee, tee pee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttock</td>
<td>Ho pa, Ho pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigh</td>
<td>Pu phor, ho pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groin</td>
<td>Co'shang'or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penis</td>
<td>U rea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testicle</td>
<td>Co ma e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee</td>
<td>Mu oue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rib, ribs, loins</td>
<td>Wa ker, Wa ker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pud, muliebre</td>
<td>To ee, Co mae, To ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>Wai, wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee pan</td>
<td>Eboo, Mu'oue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg bone</td>
<td>Heive, Wai, wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankle</td>
<td>Boo, wai, wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>Tabu, wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toe, toes</td>
<td>Manga, manga wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heel</td>
<td>Tu ke wai wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sole</td>
<td>To hu wai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>E mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper part of the Arm</td>
<td>Pu phor, e mah, u ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm pit</td>
<td>OO a co'ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elbow</td>
<td>Tu ke, e mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrist</td>
<td>Boo, e mah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palm</td>
<td>To hu, e mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right hand</td>
<td>E mah, o co</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left hand</td>
<td>E mah, oie, oie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Back of the hand</td>
<td>Ea tu, a i mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fist</td>
<td>E mah tu ter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finger</td>
<td>Manga E mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore finger</td>
<td>Manga, a mu er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nail</td>
<td>Ma ti u gue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knuckles</td>
<td>Boo mang’a, e mah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit of the Collar</td>
<td>OO a, Da ger, da ger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lungs</td>
<td>Ar tee Boo a boooer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breath</td>
<td>Ma ner vah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scalp</td>
<td>Hee Och o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guts</td>
<td>Co’e, co’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liver</td>
<td>Ar’tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bladder</td>
<td>Tu me ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Womb</td>
<td>Ma, ete de co’bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humor, serum</td>
<td>Peow, tu’pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>To te.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slime</td>
<td>E mea, wiae O a par a’ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phlegm</td>
<td>Ma mie shar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snot</td>
<td>Co pa E sheu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urine</td>
<td>Me me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrails</td>
<td>Ar tee, Co to ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dung</td>
<td>Tu tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saliva</td>
<td>Un oo, van’oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweat</td>
<td>Hee tah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>Hou bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey hair</td>
<td>O woch’o, hee’na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldness</td>
<td>He pe ge u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blindness</td>
<td>Ma to boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squinting</td>
<td>Ma ta, ca ve de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deafness</td>
<td>Poe uing, Pu du ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stammering</td>
<td>Pa ta tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>Pote oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugliness</td>
<td>Ma ta po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slender, genteel</td>
<td>Teen u, me taie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpulence</td>
<td>Bo e, to par</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leanness</td>
<td>Mo ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallness</td>
<td>Pop por mow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortness</td>
<td>Po po tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hump back’d</td>
<td>Tu a boo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lameness
Sleep
Dream
Waking
Soundness
Touch
Taste
Smell
Hearing
Looking
Hardness
Softness
Form
White
Black
Light blue
Yellow
Red
Tummerick
Shade
Shadow
Odour
Stink
Noise
Silence
Shout, to call aloud
Hubbub
Crying weeping
Lamenting, sadness
Speech
Speaker
Talk
Name
Wrinkle
Hunger
Thirst
Sickness Disease
Death
Good state of health
Numbness
Drowsiness
Madness

Tee pe, coku
Ea moie
Ea Zha vie ke
Oa, cau
Oco
Tu tu gee
Argu thame a Kai
Ogee, Ho nay
Ogo
De ouch'ey
Pha oove
Pa hue
Hu ru, Teen u
Ta ver, ta ver
Ca ca
Ma ku ee fe tee
To gar, to gar
Pu gee gee
Erigah
Wach'e mow
Ea ter
No a, no ah
Pe oue
Tah ou
Tu'e, tu'e
Vee vou, o'co
Co fe yo
Wae wae
Ewae, me di gue
Peow
Eana ter, hai, De cow
De, cow
Hingo'ah
Cime mo
E'oge, O
Pucker Tha, waie
Ma tee, ho pee
Ma tee, moe
Me tai'tha Oboo
Mo, mo
Mo, mo, cah'moe
Co, air

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Madman
Pain
Itching
Bruise
Fracture of skull or bone
Wound or hole in the flesh
Pimple
The healing of a wound
Hard skin
Boil
A spreading sore
Scar
Polypus
Leprosy
Freckle
Mole, wart
Bloody flux
Fainting
Piles
Asthma
Bloody cough
Looseness
Costiveness
Cough
Indigestion
Sore Throat
Tooth Ach
Head Ach
Belly Ach
Palsy of the Side
Stone
Venereal*

Fever
Worms
Ring worm
A Medicine
Purge
A Plaister
Blood letting

Pah, Ah
Mem mie
Pu ever
Po, ho'e
Eboo, (skull) po hor, Haiva (bone, po hor)
Pu, ta, yote tha gugo
Pu gu
Wo'oah, Tha'pu'ta
Kee, pha, oove
To, pu'gu
Emii, vu'boo
Ma mah Ke
Eshew, pa a, ney
Mo, ho'e
Too, no, no
Hi, to key, Aper, Tow
Pee aye, to, to
Me'na'va, eiu
Co boo, ge ge, to'par
E Kia, ma, O'to
E ha, boo, to to
Se'a'pee, aye
Tutie, mang a, e'yu
E ha'boo
Tu, tu, tu pu
Mu nu nu, Mi mu
Nishow, ma nu, a'nu
Obogoe, tuck owe
Co boo, me'mie
E Kow'Kow, u u u
E mi one, fau tu
No nea

*(The Venereal is not frequent unless caught from some ships crew. They have nothing of the kind themselves)*

Fever
Worms
Ring worm
A Medicine
Purge
A Plaister
Blood letting

E Kee, Vear Vear
E, ca'e, u
Pu na
Ea, Pha'e'nu
Tee, sha ke
Ea ra pou
Tee, pu ta, toto
Cure
Ginger
Salt
Turmeric
Sow
Pig
Lizard
Rat
Tusk of boar
Hoof
Bird
Chick or young bird
A Cock or hen
Pigeon or Dove
Bill
Feather
Cockscomb
Egg
Fish
Scale
Gills
Fin
Black fin
Belly fin
Side fin
Tail fin
Eeel in fresh water
Conger eel
Porpoise
Whale
Tortoise, Turtle
Crab
Shrimp
Oyster
Pearl Oyster
Earth worm
Spider
Ant
Louse of the hair
Louse of the body
A necklace of beads
Ear ring

Po, hoo ve
Engah booe
Pu he, cow tu
Eng’ah
Co’e, ve Puork
Pu, nu a, Puork
Mo coe
Kee Ouee
Ne, shou, Puork
Ta bu, wai Puork
Ma nu
epu, nu, a ma nu
Ea Mo’ah
Too Ty’aye
Nu tu
E hu hu
Apa, a pe, Moah
Ma mie
Ei n’a
Esu, na’hie
Co’miah
Eta
Eta, tu’a
Eta, Co boo
Maca cah
Ma ca cah
Go aye
Poo phey Patta
To’rah
Po’u’e
E Ho no
Ki’ta’gu
Cou va
Tee uve
Eoo ch’e
To ka To ka
Pu na va va
Eo’ot, ter
Ku Tu, Obogoe
Ku Tu, Cachoo
Ea Haii, Be bu
Boe, He uing

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food victuals</th>
<th>Ea mia, a Kai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drink</td>
<td>Ea mea, Enu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luncheon</td>
<td>Ea, boo boo, Fauphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Feast</td>
<td>Ea, Mou, Tookh er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baked meat</td>
<td>Ea puork tow yote tha Una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greens eatable of sort</td>
<td>Botah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>Puhe coutie (Not used by the Indians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweetmeats</td>
<td>Emea, ma’ne’ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritous Liquors</td>
<td>E’ava, Ecor va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Knife</td>
<td>Ea, Goch, hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish</td>
<td>Ca e bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tray</td>
<td>Owong a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Yam Yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>Ea Foie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A stone house</td>
<td>Ea foir car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Ea’ta kee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wall</td>
<td>Ea Par car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roof</td>
<td>Ei He ver foie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pillar</td>
<td>Botu tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cook</td>
<td>Ca, Ta’hu ackhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Barber</td>
<td>Ea voi, eu me, eu me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cave</td>
<td>Ea an nah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rind husk</td>
<td>E Kee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kernel</td>
<td>Pugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone or seed</td>
<td>Ca ea nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaf</td>
<td>Eou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flower</td>
<td>Boo er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose gay</td>
<td>Poo na hae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa nut</td>
<td>Aith’hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantain</td>
<td>Mea ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam</td>
<td>Boo’ou’phey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cane</td>
<td>Toe ma’ne’ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamboo</td>
<td>Goch’hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Cucumber</td>
<td>Car te u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadfruit</td>
<td>Maie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fern</td>
<td>Eou manga, mang’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmeric</td>
<td>Eng’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodbine</td>
<td>Pe ma tah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste land</td>
<td>Phinnew, a’Tack’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertil ground</td>
<td>Phinnew, tu’pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jungle wild</td>
<td>Pakar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A field
A fisherman
Surgeon
Beggar
Ropemaker
Axe
Fish hook
Net
Champion
Standard, flag
Watch guard
Spy, scout
War
Peace
Attack
Victory
Defeat
Skirmish
Ambush
Retreat
Poisoner
Spear
Sling
A stone for sling
Drum
Drummer
A Fort
Surrender
Combat
Knowledge
Ingenuity
Memory
Forgetfulness
Thought, to think
Belief
Doust
Mistake
Care frugal
Stupidity, folly
Ability
Choice, Desire
Consent

E par'u Phinnew
E'avah ei ka
Too toe'ho'e
Bo pe, mo'co
Ea, ne'nu, Tow'ra
To'ku
Mattow'hea'eike
U beng ah
To'ah
A per
Tee a ke
A man, To air
Tou a
Wa, tu a, Tha'tou'a
Ea Fa ru
Wa, heng'a
Fa tu boo
Macah, macah, mit tha he ke
Epie, pu na ca
He ke
Hea ang'er
Par'gaive
Mac'ka
Ke var
Pou hu
Ea par, Tow'a
Keng'a, new'a
Naw'hu
Ha e, de cou
Too, ung'a, o, co
Ea, coe coe, ma'cou
Tu, phor
Ma cou
E mea, tu a tah
E mea, tu, ko, a
Ea Da, ger
Ca naie, ma'u
E Kick, ene
Ea mea, Kee'ta
Ea mea, mugi mugi
Wa ou
Advice
Denial
Approval
Disapproval
Weakness
Disappointment
Pain
Poverty
(?)-ness
Misery
Happiness
Fear
Pity
Kindness
Inhumanity
Jealousy
Backbitering
Anger
Enmity
Love
Friendship, a friend
Good will
Ill nature
Honour respect
Disrespect, scorn
Honesty
Dishonesty
Selfishness
Niggardliness
Covetousness
Extravagance
Contentment
Patience
Harshness of temper
Truth
Falseness
Grand deceit
A lie
Dissimulation
Hypocrisy
Treason
Tyranny

No'na'ku
A co rey oui
Mug'i mugi
A co rey mugi
Ea, ho'pu
Oe, hor'hoie
Hu'ke, hu ke
Me, mie
E coe'coc, wae
Bo'pu
Co'ah, co, ah
E ha, ma'tow
Ow'ch'a
Vie'aye
Eco'i'coi, fou'four
Tow'mar'co
Di cou, ma'tha, tu
Pri'kay
Zha'pee, a, pi'u
Ea, he'ne, now
Ea, hoe, a'pu
Eco'e co'e, metail'e
Eco'e, co'e, e nu'e nu
Ea'ow, ow
Ma'ta, cov'e, mata corey
Ea, e ma, gu go, corey
Com'mu, com'mu
Ki'keen
Emang'a, eyu
Co'pe, co'pu
Tu, tu
Ea, co'e co'e, vu
Te, tie, ma'u
Pre'Key, boo
Tu'a, toh'u
Tu'va ter
T'a'po ro
Tee, Ko'e
Mo'te, mo'te
Zha, ma'tu, ma'tu
De cou, pu' pu'ne'
Ea, Tu'hu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pride</th>
<th>Ki Ki, yea</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humility</td>
<td>Ma, vii'pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modesty</td>
<td>At, a, no'ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impudence</td>
<td>Va, vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distrust</td>
<td>Ea, bu'Keen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courage</td>
<td>Co'e, co'e To'ah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cowardice</td>
<td>Ho'pu, hoii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modestier</td>
<td>Ea, mea, ma'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prodigality</td>
<td>Ca'va, Ki Ki, yea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folly</td>
<td>Kick, ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diligence</td>
<td>Weck'er, Keen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negligence</td>
<td>Cou, phay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gluttony</td>
<td>Co, boo, par</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Religious feast</td>
<td>Ea, Mow, ta'boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lust</td>
<td>Mag'go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarrelsome</td>
<td>Ki, co'vau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fame</td>
<td>E, Ogo, new'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shame</td>
<td>Kack ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wonder</td>
<td>Ma, houe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fault, a crime</td>
<td>Ea, mea'hea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgiveness</td>
<td>Wa, oi Ki, wa, tee, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispute</td>
<td>Te, to, toch'ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintence</td>
<td>Ea, Hoi ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumult</td>
<td>Bo, Ker'Keen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Ma'tio, moe, hu pu u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thief</td>
<td>E' Com'mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whore</td>
<td>Tee, to'e, U rea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Viene, fau'ru'boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimp</td>
<td>Cae, Viene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td>Toe, Ko'e, boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunkenness</td>
<td>Co'na, Cor'ver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>E, Ta boo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaint</td>
<td>Zha, wa'e, wa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason, Argument</td>
<td>E, De cou, to e, to'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confession</td>
<td>Wo, ha, Kee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision</td>
<td>Wo, O'Tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoner</td>
<td>Hea, ang'ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>Wa, hae, tha dicow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share, to Divide</td>
<td>Ea, mea'tuch'ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, Prince</td>
<td>Aree'ke, neu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen, Princess</td>
<td>Viene, Aree'ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heir Apparent</td>
<td>Mo Aree ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commander in Chief</th>
<th>Ea, hoe, na'tha Aree'ke, ca'va</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Tow'ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great and small</td>
<td>Ea, bu'ga, e'na'ter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of the same race</td>
<td>Mea 'new'a, oneae'te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man of family</td>
<td>No, tat'to, nae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Ena ter, hai pei Zha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigner</td>
<td>No, dea nae Phinnew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>E, Mun'ha'hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worship</td>
<td>He'ne'Ker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrifice</td>
<td>Phoi eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial ground</td>
<td>A mou, yo, tha'Atu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Toomb</td>
<td>Ea Mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial</td>
<td>Ea Foir, wa'K'er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shroud</td>
<td>Ho'ga'too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpse</td>
<td>Ea, Ca hou, tu'pap'pa'ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A span</td>
<td>Tu'pap'pa'gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fathom</td>
<td>Ea, Tci'po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty fathoms</td>
<td>Ea Moue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball, or Play Dancing</td>
<td>Decou, moue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Coe'ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse</td>
<td>Pu'na, de cou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poet</td>
<td>Fei'te, pu'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tale</td>
<td>E, Pha'tu oo'ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Decou, A'tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>You, nae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>A bah'bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarity</td>
<td>E, mea', a'go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissimilarity</td>
<td>Ma'yen'na, Tha'hu'rul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The form of anything</td>
<td>Hu'rul, cae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth</td>
<td>Pa'en'na, Tha'hu'rul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenght</td>
<td>Tha, Bo'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>Oah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Day</td>
<td>Ba'ha, Tha'gaue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Bo tach ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Bo, fei tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Ma am ma, va tu ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td>Maie'new'a, va'tow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noon</td>
<td>Bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning</td>
<td>Wo'ever, Tha'au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening</td>
<td>Oye'Oye, teen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tortoise, Turtle</td>
<td>Akh'ee, Akh'ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cair, O'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cock</td>
<td>Mo'ah, Va'ha'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hen</td>
<td>Mo'ah, Viene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>Mo, Pu'nu, a, Mo'ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first of ye month</td>
<td>Tha, Bo, a'mure, Tha, ma'am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second</td>
<td>Ea, Bo, oo'ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Third</td>
<td>Ea, Bo, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fifteenth day</td>
<td>Ea Bo, un'a'hoo, ma, e'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sixteenth day</td>
<td>Ea Bo, un'a'hoo, ma, O'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The seventeenth day</td>
<td>Ea Bo, un'a'hoo, ma, fu'tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The eighteenth day</td>
<td>Ea Bo, un'a'hoo, ma'vow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Thirtieth day</td>
<td>Ea Bo'de'cou, ma, un'a'hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>E tach'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>E oo a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>E, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>E, Fau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Ea, e'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>E, O'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>E Fe'i'ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>Ea Vow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>E, e'va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>Un, a'hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>Un, a'hoo, Ma'tach'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>Un, a'hoo, Ma'oo'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>Un, a'hou, Ma'to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteen</td>
<td>Un, a hoo, Ma'fau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>Un, a hoo, Ma'e'ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixteen</td>
<td>Un, a'hoo, Ma, O'no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeen</td>
<td>Un'a'hoo, Ma'fei'tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteen</td>
<td>Un'a hoo Ma'a'vow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>Un'a'hoo, Ma'a'va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>E, Decou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty</td>
<td>De'cou', ma, un'a'hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forty</td>
<td>Ea, Tach'e, to'fau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifty</td>
<td>To, fau, ma'un'a'hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixty</td>
<td>To fau, mit, tha Decou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventy</td>
<td>To'fau, mit' Tha Decou, ma'-un'a'hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighty</td>
<td>Ea, oo'a, to'fau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninety</td>
<td>Ea, oo'a, to'fau, ma, un'a'hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Hundred</td>
<td>Ea, oo'a, to fau mit tha decou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Hundred</td>
<td>Ea, e'ma, to'fau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

298
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Woffly Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three hundred</td>
<td>Ea, Fee’tu’to’fau, mit Tha’-Decou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four hundred</td>
<td>Ea, Tach’e, Oue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five hundred</td>
<td>Ea, Tach’e, Oue, a’oo’a’to’fau’mit’Tha’Decou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A thousand</td>
<td>Ea, OO’a’Oue, a’em’a’to’fau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten thousand</td>
<td>Ea, OOa, Ma’nu, A’e’ma’oue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Hundred Thousand</td>
<td>Ea, OOa, Tee’ne, A’e’ma, Ma’nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Quarter</td>
<td>Ea, Co, Toch’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Half</td>
<td>Ea, Va’han’ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Quarters</td>
<td>Ea, Va’han’ga, mit ’Tha, Co toch’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One and a Quarter</td>
<td>Ea, Tach’e, mit Tha Co, toche’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One and a half</td>
<td>Ea, Tach’e, mit, Tha Va’han’ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two and a half</td>
<td>Ea, OO’a, mit’Tha’Va’han’ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please to Observe that 40 is the highest leading number Viz. Ten times forty makes Oue, ten Oues makes one Ma’nu, ten Ma’nus makes one tee’na Ten Tee’nas makes one Pu’nee, ten Pu’nees makes a Tuth’e’pauve. They, at this loose count, as the word Tuth’e pauve signifies numberless.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>Woffly Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remainder</td>
<td>Ea, Toe, ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The whole</td>
<td>Co Tore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Part</td>
<td>Ea, tach’e, O’na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>U’e my, u’e a’tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer</td>
<td>A Peou my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disputation</td>
<td>Tee, to, toch’ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground of arguement</td>
<td>Tha, tu’mu De’cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition, state</td>
<td>Ph, ha, Tha, hu’rul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of Place</td>
<td>Co, vish’ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection, heap</td>
<td>Ea, Boo’ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay</td>
<td>Bo’e, O’ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting, to meet</td>
<td>Tu, tu’gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearness</td>
<td>Ea, mea ta ter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion</td>
<td>Ta, hoo’ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest, to sit or sleep</td>
<td>Ea, no ho, Ea’moe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining a Party</td>
<td>Ea, Pee ing, E na’ter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echo</td>
<td>Ta, gee, ha’cou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouldiness</td>
<td>Ou, ha’Ker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slime</td>
<td>E mea wiae, par’a’Ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>Ea’Decou, ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If a Chieftain at the grand gathering of Breadfruit gets one Tu'ne of Breadfruit from his trees and one Ma'nu of Coco nuts full grown for keeping the year round he is deemed by his tribe as a Great man, as their riches consists in the produce of their hands, the Breadfruit is preserved for the general good in case of famine.

Cold
Lukewarm
Coldish
Wet
Dry
Fresh as a plant
Withered

Ma, viley
Ma'ha'na, ma'u
An'oo, hair
Cu, tow
Va va
E'mea, hoe, ma'tu'tah
Puker, va va
Fresh as meat
Salt
Brackish
Sweet
Milky tasted, fattish
Acid, sour
Bitter
Bitterish
Raw, unripe
Sharp tasted, spicy
Pleasant Tasted

Water tasted
Ripe
Rotten ripe
Rammish
Stinking
Fishy scented
Fresh smelling as a leaf
Scented like dry fish
Scented as spoiild food
Urine Scented
Noisome scented
Light
Dark
Bright
Obscure
Glittering
Dazzling
Opaque, Dark
Dappled, Piebald
Faded in Colour
Tawny, a Brown man
Sea Green
Streeked, striped
Spotted, Mottled
Pale
Silent
Quiet
Noisy
Shrill
Loud

E mea'hoe, ma'puork'tae
'Tie, tie yah, Pu he cow tie
'Tie'tie'yah
Ma ne nee
Mo, mo, nah
Eter'eter
Cor ver, cor'ver
Cor'ver, mah'u
Ea, mea, pu'gu
Ea, mea'ca'cah, ma'ha'na
Ea, mea, me t'aii, yote'tha'fauphor
Ma, wiae, yote'tha'fauphor
Ea, mea Oco
Ea, mea' Par
Ha'go, ha'go
Peoue
Tu'pu'a, uka
Ka'Ka', ma'tu'tah
Ka'Ka, ma'e iika'va'va
Tu'fee'a, ma'Kai' pae, fou'fou
Tu'fu'a, mem'e
Ea, mea'car'ibu'ibu
Ta'ha'ca, ha can
Pro, ta'gu
Hee'nu, co'oper'oper
Ea me, mo'ku
Bo'ril e, ril e
Tar'me'a'me'a
Mow, mow ta gu, ta'gu
Hae, haie
Ea mea, oi'oi
Tu pou
Tie, Ka, Ka
Vou, hae, hac'kee
Po'te, po'te
Co ta'ver
Mu tu
Ao'ey, tah'oue
Ea, mea tu'e tu'e
Par, Ca'ha, ca'ha
Bo'ker'Keen

301
Slender sounding
Strong
Soft
Hoarse
Resounding
Hard
Soft
Rough
Slippery, smooth
Supple flexible
Stiff
Tough
Smooth, calm
Still, calm
Thick
Thin set, few
Thick close set
Thwart cross wise
Slanting
Proportionable
Straight
Crooked
Sharp
Blurt
Liquid, thin
Thin as cloth or plank
Fine
Coarse
Rotten
Swollen
Tame as fowl or animal
Wild
Old, broken as cloths
New of any thing
Old as a man
Young
Ugly
Beautiful
Fair as weather
Clean
Dirty
Blind

Ta'gee, ma'e'u
Ta gee, ma'e'u
Pae, hu
Moch'a
Ta, gee, ha'coue
Pha, oove
Pae, hu
Ta, tah
Per'a'mu
Pae hu, ear'vi'vi
Pah, eak'a, cak'a
O'e
Ma, nee'nu
Hog'ga'to, ma'nee'nu
Mar to toe, Fau'bu'tu
Fa'tah, fa'tah
Me'ne, me'ne
Parga, Ker
Par, ha'Ke
U teen, pap, pa'hu
To e, to'e
He per, he'per
Nes'e, nes'e
Tu, mu'e
Pie'pie, yah
Pu a hu a hu
Ake, a'ke pa
Mah to toe
Pae, pae'nw'e'a
Hu'hu'ah
Ea'mea'vee
Ea'mea, a tah
Par, ma'to, mo'to
Ea'mea'ho
En'a ter, Houe
En'a ter, ho
Fou'fou, ma'tah'pa
E'pote'oo'a'tu'tu
E'ahgu'mai'u
E'mea, eb'bo, co'rey
Neker'neker'pa
Ma'tah, bo

302
Lame
Bald
Short sighted, purblind
Squinting
Stammering
Crump foot or hand
Loss of a limb
Flat nosed
Sharp nosed
Corpulent
Slender
Lean
Gaping
Strong
Weak
Feeble, as from a hurt
Faint feeble
Restless, from sickness
Living
Dead
Concave
Convex
Prone
Awry
Cracked
Damp
Slippery
Deep
Shallow
Unfathomable
Boild
Fried
Roasted
Grilled, Broild
Near
Far Distant
Right
Left
Even
Like, a like
Equal in size, length etc.
Much more

Tee'pee, coke
Ho, pe'gee, u
E'ma'tah, ha'na, bo
E ma'tah, ca'v'e'du
Pah, tah, tu
Ea Harpey
Ea, Pu'phor, eiyu
Ea, Eshou, 'pa'hau
Ea, Eshou, ne'she, ne'she
Bo'e, to'par
Car, vie'vie
Mo, cah
Oie, c'kah
Oco, Pah re
Ho'pu
Ho'pu a mah tu
A'o'ey, ca'her, ca'her
Hu'e, a'tu, hu'e'my
Poo'ho'vey, no'ho'a
Wa, mah'tu, new'a
Boo'a, va'vow
Emea, co'ha'na, ve'boo
Emea, ha'na', boo
He, per
Po, hor
Cu, tow
Emea, par, ha'Ku
Ho, ho, no
Pa, pa'gue
A, corey, ta'ke
Tu nu, wiae
Tu ni, ca'e'bu
Tu'n, Tow'tow
Tu'n, par'tak'er
Ha'ta'tah
E'va'hu, O'ah
Ea, Emah, O'co
Oie'Oie
To'e, to'e
A tach'e, a'oo'rul
Utun, pa'pa'hu
New'e, a'tu
Less wanting       Ao’e, a’ver
Compleat           Wa, têe’a
Empty              Gu’go, co’rey
Full               E mea, Pu
Dear               Par’e
Cheap              Ao’e, Par’e
Wide               Fau’tair
Narrow             Fau bee te
Stout              Ka, ker, Ku
Firm               Mow Phinnew
Unsteady, Giddy    Ao’e, to’e, to’e, mie
Lasting, Durable   Ea, mea, a’corey’pa
Fading             Ea, mea, pa’wa’ve
Slow as to walk    Car’to, ma’e’u
Quick              Bo, bo’ny, Zhoe
Active             Cob’o, a’tu, co’o, mie
Indolent           Ha, Decou
Violent, strong    Ea’mea, o, co qu, o’co
Ancient, old       Ea’mea, tu’hu’tu
Difficult          A corey, gaue
Easy               Ea, mea, A vi, nou
First              A, mure
Last               Mu’e, o’ah
Gliding            Emee, wa’ha’ka
Sprained           To’hoo, ve
Naked              Ca’hu, co’rey
Cloathed           Mit, thë, ca’hu
Hungry             E, O’gu
Thirsty            E, Pucker, wiae
Famished           Mah’tee, neu’a, th’Ogu
Good               Me’taie
Bad                Hick’ene
Fit                Ea’mea’hae
Unfit              A’o’e’hae
Usefull            E’mea’hae, Tha’hang’ga
Useless            A corey’mea’gaue’Tha’mea’ na
Former             Ea, mea, a’mure
Present            Yow nae
Future             A, ba’bo
Repeated           Ea, mea’ha’cowe
Friendly, conformable E co’e co’e, vie’aye
Hostile, contrary  Ma’ro’re, Pre Kay

304
Stupid, Clownish
Rude, filthy speech
Wise, sound minded
Acute
Blockish, foolish
Mad, crazy
Brave
Cowardly
Glad
Sad
Angry
Patient
Jealousy
Suspicious
Passionate
Savage, fierce
Everlasting
Pure, Innocent
Dissembling
Perfidious
Longing, as in absence
Slow of intellect
Hasty rash
Mean Pimping
Noble, Grand
Ignorant
Temperate
Sportive, wanton
Careless, negligent
Dissolute
Diligent
Neat, handsome
Pleasing to the senses
Evanescent
Grand
Majestic
Manifest, public
Secret, concealed
Weary
Deadly
De'cou, fow'fow
Hae'Decou, me'taie
A've. a've
Co, air
Pah, air
E, To'ah
Ho'pu
Co'a, co'a
Pae, hau
Pre, Kay
Te, tu, ma'u
Tow, mar'co
Mar'cou'boo
E, pre'Kay, hoie
E, Ti'hie
Ca'an, na'too
E mea, me'ta'i, vie'aye
Ki'de'cow, mo'tu
Tee, Ko'ay, boo
Tuti, tu'ti, me'digu
E'Pu, du'e
E'pre'Kay, wah'vu
E co'e, co'e, no'ow
E co'e, co'e, new'a
Aco'rey, mea'Ku'tu
E mea'mac'u, ma'wiac'pu
Mugi, mug'i, pekitu'o
Ha'decou a'o'e, car'nair
Moung'a, co'rey
Ea, ema hang'a, car'nair, tau
me
Emea, me'eun a how
Emea, me'taie, yoti'tha, co'e,
co'e
E mea'eiyu, a'co'rey, Ku'tair
E mea, hog'a, na', new'a
Pap'por'mou'ma', A ca'ru'ku
Ogo, new'a
Pu'pu'nu
Ho pae
Ma mea wa mah tu
A'co ru Kee te tha De cow
Moderate
Terrified
Able, versed, learned
True
False
Anxious, Dubious
Profuse, prodigal
Content, satisfied
Powerfull
Rich
Poor
Proud, Boastful
Greedy, covetous
Satiated, as with food
Malenchohy
Interrupting
Born
Discreet
Rusty
Anxious
Ashamed
Glorified, honoured
Proclaimd
Following
Associated
Drawn to drag
Chosen as by vote
Loveing, enamoured
Loved, beloved
Become, to fit
Can, be able
Will, want, wish
Shall, Do
Done, finished
May, as to give leave
To move, change place
To take up, to liff
To bring
To strew, scatter
To Blow
To spread
To copulate

E mea'mae'u
Co e tar, Ha'mah'tow
Ea'too'hung a, hae'decou
Tu'a, Toth'oo
Tu'ko'aye
A corey, eiyu, too'ma 'nar'vah
Emea, tu'tu, De'de, boo
Me'taie, tha'coe'co e
E, e'na ter, O'io, hae'de'cow
Ti'ti, new a
Bo'pee, ti ti co'rey
Ca'va, ca'va' Ki Ki yea
Co'bu, pah, co'pe, ca'pu
Mah'o, nah
Me'di'que
Hai'a, pou'pou
Pha'now
Eco'a, co'e, mai'cow, one'tau
Tu'ti, ou'rey
To tak Kee
Ha'Kine
Eow'ow phi phi, new a
Wa, par tha, O'go
En'a, ma'mu'e
Pee a too, Pee my
Ah, to'e, my
Wa'to, na, tha, ma'tu'en'na
Wa, e'ne, now, ya'mea
Omea, Va', e'ne'now', ya'mea
E'a, mea'haie
Ea, mea, gaue, a'vi'nore
Ea, mea', tu'mugi, mugi
Ea, Ha'nue
Wa o tee, wa poue
Wa ou, wa'tu'a
E Ovish'e
Ha', pi
Hoio, my
Tu, tu
A, pu' fee
Ho'ha'ah
Tee'to, toe, 'ea
To dash, break
To swim
To dive
To rise up
To Knolle, as fire
To consume, burn
To lead
To hit
To nod, slumber
To float on a river
To press close, ahut
To braid, Plait
To spin
To arrange, place
To coil, roll over
To awake, wake
To sleep
To lie, lay down
To sit
To lie, to rest one selfe
To rinse, wash
To split
To move further
To wisper
To put, place
To place, put in
To make, do
To cast out, Leave away
To finish
To read
To part, share
To turn, return
To loose, lost
To pay, to return again
To get, have
To find, hit on
To meet
To love, be in love
To heave, weigh up
To give
To mix
To search

Pel'er, ree, Po hor
E Kow
Ea'OOGge'oo
E, mou'my
Ha cou, Tha, ack'heey
Tut'tu'tha, ack'heey
A'to, ma the e ma
Pa'pak'Kee
Eya, mo'e
Anga, no'Tha'wiae
Tee'sher'boo
Ne'no, ne'no
E'mea, hu'u
Ta, pau'per
Boo'par
Co'hau
E'a moe, Ma'ta'cow
E'a moe
Ea, no'ho
Ea, moe, mo'mo
Ta, tah, Tha'wiae
Wa, wack'ee
Di'a'tu
De'cou, co'hu'mu
Zha, to'e to'e
Tu'gu, yo'to, ma'e'u
Ea, mea, hang'e'my
Did'e, e, wa'hoo
Wa, o tey, wa pou
Ea'mea, tee'tow
Tuch, er
Hoo, a mie
Ea, mea eiyu
Atu'gu, a'par, 'Tha, pu'tah
Ha, gau'e'mie
Gaue, to'e, to'e, Tha'mea
Too'tu, gu
E ne, now
To'e, to'e, too'qui u'na
Ea mea too'qui'nore
Car'fu'u
E me, E'me'she
To tear
A tear from the eye
To shine, glitter
To part from sever
To nip, pinch
To cut
To cutt off
To come
To go, depart
To walk
To run
To leap
To row
To tie, make fast
To live
To die, nearly dead
To Dig
To itch
To drop, fall untimely as fruit
To rub
To slack, as the tide
To promise
To infect, seise
To coax, flatter
To kill
To Hunt, catch
To walk, stir about
To flea, skin
To castrate
To speak, say
To reap, cut grain
To rap, tap
To Dip
To pull up
To skim
To shave
To Kiss
To compleat, fulfil
To crow as a Cock
To threaten
To murmur, mutter

Hoi, hoi
Ea, wiae, ma'tah
Bo'r'il'e, ri'l'e
Wa, wach'e
Pu, na'ku
Co, cote
Co'co te boo
Bu'my, ta'my
Ea tack a
Ta, Tha, wair
Too'hu'tee
a Tu
E ho'ee
Ta mow, hu mu
Po, hoo vey, no'ho'ah
I ya, mah tu
Ca'e. ca'e
Ea pu ever
Pare, cou'o'e
O O'qu'e
E tie (sea), ha'cou, E wiae'
(River) ha'cou
Ea'tu'gu, Fau'phor
E mea wa oue, E mah'tu
De'cou'ha'cou, mo tu, mo tu
Cu'cu' mu, mah'tu
Ta ti, Po'po'ke
Tee tach ah
E, eshe, 'Tha'ku
Tai'ha, Tha, comae
Decou, peou
E mea, co'co'tu
Pou, pou
OO, que'e
Ta'ke, ta Ke
Ca bu, ca bu
Evou
E ho gee
Ea, mea, wa'otey, wa'tu'ah
O, ay
E, Decou, hau'cor'hie
Mu, mu, yote'Tha, Fau'phor

308
To embrace  To, ma'Tha, cutiatchie
To hear E, O'go
To follow Ta' ti, mu'e
To tread on Tee, cakh'ee, mit'Tha'wai
To stutter Pah'tah'tu
To Laught Kah, ter
To Howl Ou'ou
To Hang, as a man hang Car, vow
To yawn Oi'e'kah
To Knead Ho, na'ku
To Box, strike Pah pah kee
To swallow, as food Ma tach'e
To swallow, as water Enu, boo
To tremble, as with fear OO, OO, ha'mah'tou, Co'u'ter
To shiver with cold OO, OO, mah'ril'ie
To roll Hu'e, hu'e
To bore Tee pu tah, Ho, Ho
To pull, drag Ea'to'ee'my
To feel, touch Fau'hor
To gape Ha'ga, ma'ma., Tha, Fau'phor
To fall Wa, to'par
To dry Zha, mo, va va
To wet Zha eu tou
To carve, cutt up Par'hay
To suck E o'mo
To site, straddle on the horse No'ho'bou
To scrape Tu, vae
To grind, sharpen Ca tah
To plaister a wall Da aim hu
To wash over Ho ro'e, pi'pi'yah
To pass away Ea, mea'ciyu
To arrive, as man, woman Ua pu tah my
To attack E fah ru, fow'bou
To fold Bo cou
To flutter, fly O, nah
To crown, adorn ye head Ea tap pe, no'Tha, O'bo'goer
To command, order Ha, ga, pah'hu
To sigh Mee'de'gue
To lean, incline Och a
To go up, as a river Hoe'una, Tha'waie
To go down Ha ka yow
To ascend A fu, te, u'una, Pe ke u, na
To descend
To stay, stop
To winnow, fan
To fasten together
To try, attempt
To slacken, loosen
To lose, to cast loose
To bind, mast fast
To carry on the shoulder
To stroke, rub
To caulk
To quench, as fire
To wear, dress
To beat, bang, to strike
To turn the head
To climb
To refrain from
To renounce, not do
To faint, swoon
To break, snap in two
To carry on the back
To blow on instrument
To cutt, trim the hair
To lead by the hand
To pull, pluck
To Unlade, put on show
To lade a boat or ship
To varnish
To lean upon
To skim, ladle out
To kick forward
To kick backward
To grub as a hog
To grumble
To press down
To slap with the palm
To yell, scream
To shout, call a loud
To take, seize
To catch
To ward, fend of

Ha‘ka, you
Eb‘bo, Oi‘hie
Wa, Ta‘hu
Hu‘mu, boo‘par
Eah‘go
Hog‘a‘pah
Wet‘ti‘, va‘tu
Ea hu mu
A‘mo, boo
Ho‘ro‘e, U gu‘e
Par tu a
Be‘zhow, Tha wiae
Tap‘pu
ta tah, mo‘to, mo‘to
Cov‘e, Tha, O‘bo‘goe
Pe‘ke
Ou‘hie, no‘ho, nore
Wa, phu‘hu
Wa, iyi, the, me ‘nar‘vah
Fa, phau‘tu
Tow, tu
Ha‘ta‘gu Tha‘boo
Co, co‘te, Tha‘Owoch‘o
To e, mah, Tha‘e ma
Hu‘tu, hu‘tu
A hoi, hoi, Tha ti, ti u tah
A hoi, hoi, Tha‘, ti‘ti‘, no Tha
waker
Dar, aim‘oo, hee‘nu, co‘op‘per
Och‘a, no Tha‘mea
Tu‘ta, pu
Tu, takh‘u ah‘mure
Tu, cakh‘ee, ma‘, mu‘e
Hoo‘e, hoo‘e, Tha, eb‘bo
Ki, co, vau
Ha‘ma yow
Mah tah Ku, mit, Tha, e mah
Ea, wae, Par, ea‘ha, ea‘ha
Tu, tah‘per
Fa roo, boo
Po, po ke
U, tu
To strike
To smite, as with a sword
To stomp with the foot
To return
To turn around, face about
To whirl
To squeeze
To Knead
To moisten
To lay table
To entertain
To proclaim
To err, stray
To salute, reverence
To stay, dwell
To forbear
To forbid, hinder
To be patient
To receive
To do, do it, anything
To stoop, bend
To Leak
To write
To watch, oversee
To grieve, weep
To boil, gently stir
To cook victuals
To trickle down, leak
To spit
To Boil, as water
To understand
To err, transgress
To aim at
To Dream
To ask
To appear
To break bargain
To bargain
To deny
To excite, awake

E, Tah, Ta tah
Ce, co te, mit Tha’goch, u
Tu, cakh u, mit, Tha’wai
Hoo a my
Hoo, a, my, Tha oue, hoo a, my, tha, matu
Cov’e, cov’e
Ho, me, ho, me
Ho ce, na’ku
Zha, cu’tow
Pha’tar, ear’nair
Hog’a, mow, A tu que, Tha mea Kai
Wa par, Tha’o’go
Hu, cau’kah
De, yow, Tha, pah’vare, ya, o’e
No’ho, in nae
Oi hie, ha’co’tu
Ow’wa’mea
No, ho, ma’vie, Tha co’e, co’e
Ea, mea, to’my
Ha’ha’no, my, Tha’mea
Och’a yow
Wa’tah’hu
Ea, mea, patt’too
Tee, a Kee
Me, di gu wae
Tu’nu, mae’u
Ea, tu’nu, Tha mea a Kai
Wa, tah’hu, yow
Tu’phor’un’u’wan’u
Tu’nu’, ma’wiae
Wa Kee te
Ha’e, ha’e
Zha’to’e, to’e
Ea, Zha, vie ke
Ea, Peou, a’tu
Zha, Ke’tu
E, Decow, wa, mote’u
Decow, hag’a, mou
Ma’ca’corey
Hoe’aue, Avou my
To smart
To Call
To choose, as you like
To complyment
To pretend, feign
To assuage, console
To Enquire
To rob, plunder
To pare, peel a skin
To break a thing brittle
To snap, as a rope
To prune, clear weeds
To snatch, pull
To tie up, bundle
To change
To blow the nose
To mock, jeer
To smile
To play, sport
To follow, attend
To entangle
To launch
To drive, as a nail
To set down, stay with us
To flie, as flying
To see, look
To perceive
To stick to, as wax, pitch
To quit, leave
To stifle, smother, choke
To throw, heave, as a ball
To lick
To chew
To eat
To drink
To enter, go inside, go into
To die, nearly dead
To mend, as in behaviour
To men, as cloaths
To cross a river

Mem my
Vee'vow
Ato, Tha, mea, mug'gi, mug'gi
Hog a mou, Zha, mea'mea
Mo tee, mo tee
Ha'mou, dou'me, wiae mah tah
U'e, u'e
Com'mu, fa'va
Eshe, Tha Ku
Fa'te Car'va'hu, va'hee
Ma'to, que
Tu'tah, va'vae
Hu go boo
Hu'mu, boo par
Ea'mea, cac, too'qu'a
Ha, cartey, Tha Eshew
Co'na'nu
Ma, tah, Ka'ter, Ka'ter
Ha cou ta hu tu
Ta'ti, Ho'pay
Co, hee
OO, vie
Par, tee'a
No, ho, A no'ho, ma, ta'te
O mah
De, ockh, ee
Ea'mea, Ke'tair
Ea, mea, pe pu
Tu'gu'a, wa, eiyu
Cu'cu'me
Com, mu'e
Tap'pe, tap'pe
Mam'ah
Ea, Kai
Ea, e'nu
OO, yote, to
Iya, ma'tu
En'a, me taie, ti'ya, hu'rul
Ea, ea'hu, tu'e tu'e
Ea, tach a, den'a, ca'ca', Tha wa
To search
To but with horns
To come before
To bite
To creep
To snore
To growl, as a beast
To spear from beneath
To vomit
To dance
To sing
To measure
To weigh
To push, shove
To stop, halt
To tuck up, make short
To stumble
To shove
To ebb, as the sea tide
To strain, draw tight
To pull
To cleave, split
To chop, as wood
To spring forth, sally
To stab, pierce
To spring, rise above
To blossom, sprout
To shoot up
To help lift up
To lie over, to lean as tree
To stuff into a hole
To pour out
To besiege
To ravish
To go to ruin
To pine after, fret
To spoil
To destroy, cutt trees down
To address, name
To hide, conceal
To lay up in store
To sprinkle

E'me, E'me ci a
Berry, co'tu
Ta'my, ma', Tha'ow
Ca, caukh, oo
Car'to', mah'u
Wa, tag'gee, Tha'e'show
Hoie
Vauve, ma'ou
Car'eb, ba, eb'bu
Ea, hog'ah
Ea, OO, tah
Ago'a'go
Tou, tou
Patoon, ho'me, a'tu
E'bo, Oi hie
Na'ne, na'ne
Tu Kee
Ho'me
Ea, tie, Ha ka
To'e, O'co
To'e
Wa, wach, ey
Vea, hea, yea, Co, te, co'te
Too'hu'tee'boo, ma, yo'to
Par'tee, ah
Too hu tee, u'nah
Booah, wa'pu'gu
E'a'mea, tu'pu, wa'ho'e
A to'my, ha pi, Tha mea'na
Wa, och'a Tha, tu'mu
Par'tee'a, Tha, pu'tah
Ha, e'gee, e'wa'hoo
Tu'oe'ku
Ea, Viene, tee'to'e boo
Iya, no'vo, fow'fow
Me'di gu, E, wae, mah, o'to
Wa, pa'pa
Par, tack er, cote, co'te
Hing, no'ah, ve'vevow
Tah, pu'ney
E'a'mea, a'vi, ha'tu'pu
Be'zhow
To continue, stay
To mimic
To accuse, charge
To divorce, turn away
To betroth
To sharpen, whet
To whistle
To swear, vow to the deity
To increase as cattle
To mark, goods, lands etc
To ask
To Know
To buy, cheapen
To aim
To empty
To draw up water or anything
To sink as in water
To warn, give notice
To fall, as a tree
To scorch, singe
To point out
To acknowledge
To teach, inform
To excite, inform by shove
To defeat
To annul, abolish
To pardon
To object, dispute
To permit, suffer
To number
To sell, barter
To Marry
To collect, gather
To succeed, to supply the place of
To deserve
Desire, wish
To despise
To remember

No'ho, a na too
Hi'ne, hi'ne
Ha, ca, tee'u
Ea, vie ne, u yu, mae Tha, va'ha'na
Ea, vi'ene, tu'e, a, no'ho, Tha va' hana
Cah, tah
Mah'poo
Atoo'hee, yo th'a, Atu
Tu'pu, phan'a, phan'now
Ha'ca'tu
Ea peou a tu
Wa'kee'tee
Ea'hu'a, no'tha, mea'nae
Zha, to'e to'e
Ha'pow, Tha, mea, ma yo'to
Ha pu, my, Tha'wiae
Ea, mea', cow', yote, Tha wiae
No'na'kee, a mure
Wa heng'a, Tha, tu'mu, E mea, heng'a
Vear, Tha ack'hee
Ha, Kee'tu
Ha tu'Ker
Ea, ha'goo
Ea, tou, ha'Kinc
Wa'fau'tu'boo
Ea, mea, wa, corey, wa eiyu
Wa, corey, thah'ah, u', u'ya
Par, ga'ker
Vie, aye, tha, tu gu a eiyu
Tu, tou
Ho'go
Ea, loi'eng, Ho'no'ner
Co'co, hu
Wa, gaue, thah'ho'tun, o, mea, to ou
Gaue, na, too'hanga, mi'taie
Muggi, mugg'i
Zha, pu'a, pe'u
Ma mar, cou
To long for, as in pregnancy: Ea, mea, cutiatchie
To spy, reconneit: A mar, to rair
An acquaintance: Ea, hoe ah
To think: Ma cou
To consider: Ea, e me, yote'tha, co'e, co'e
To fight, oppose: Naw hu, Tha, tow'a
Other: Tu'tach'e
This same: Oyen nae
That same: Oyen'nah
How many: Ea phi'a
So many, as many: Pacin'a Tha newa
To who: Yo mea
From who: Ma, mea
For who: Na, mea
By who: Ya, mea
With who: Yo, oi, Tha, mea
A long with: Mith, den'nae
Above, over, on the top: Mou, oo'nah
Under, beneath: Ma, ou
On: U, nah
In, within: Yo'to, Ma'o'to
Out, without: Ea, wa'hoo, Ma, wa'hoo
Between: Wa, veng'ah
Among: Wa, veng ah, a'to
Near: Ha, ta'ter
Far: O'ah
Around: Vu'boo
Behind, coming after: Ma, Tha, tu, Ma mu e
Before, gone before: Ma, Tha ow, Wa, eiyu, a'muri
Opposite to: Den'a, Ka'Ka
Beside, hard by: Ta'ter, a'Ker
Touching, close to: Tu'ke, a'tu, tu'ke, my
Through, from side to side: Pa Ker, den'a, Ka'Ka
All along: Pa'en'a, e, co'o'ah
In the presence of, before: Ma, Tha'ou, o, mea
Beyond: Heave, a'tu
Towards, near: Ha, ta, ter
Over, from side to side: Ma'den'a, ca'ea, mit'den a'ca ca
Instead of, in place of: Oyen na, mea'par, pu'ata
Against, on their side: Wa'cæ'mea, ma'ah to
Here: In nea
There
Yonder
Where
Every where
Before, formerly
After
Till, until they come
Now
Today
Yesterday
Two days hence
Three days hence
Four days hence
Two days ago
Daily
Not yet
At first, primarily
Already, just now
When
When, then
Ever, at any time
Immediately
Sometimes, seldom
In days of yore, grandfathers time
Lately
Once
Day and night
All night
Unawares
Yes
Verily, indeed true
No, not
Certainly not
Certainly
Don't by any means
No, dont
More, still more
At Lenght
As, like, quite similar
In like manner, as
As great as

In'nah
Ea’Ko
Ezhair
h, nea, in, na, co tou
A mure, tu’hu’too
Mu e, ma’, mu’e
E bo, ya, pu, tah, my ah, to
You’nae
Woo, a’ha’nay
In, e narkh’ee
Eoo, a, bo, et, ta, e
Eto, bo, et, o, e
E, Fau, bo, et, o, e
In, e, nackh’u’ah too
Ma’dayi’bo, A corey, oo’hu
E’bo, e’bo
A mure, an’a’my
Yo, dow, en’ae, yo tak’to’nae
Ah, phair
Ah, phair, a’bo’hu’a
Ma’, da’ye’bo
My’yow’nae
Emea, tu’tach’e
Tha, tu, tu, boo, nah

E, nea, yo tah to nae
E tach e
Ma, Tha, aw, ma Tha bo
Ea, bo, co tore
Ma’cow’corey
Eah
Ea mea, tu a toth u
Ca, co’rey
Atu’Ker’co rey
Atu’Ker
Ow, ma’ah’ha
Ow’wa
Mou, to, tach’e’my
Tha, O’ah
Ma yen na, Tha’hu’rul
Ma’mea’Tha’hu’rul
Ma Tha, New’a, O’mea
In what manner Paha, Tha, hu'rul
As according to Ma, Tha, mea
In this manner Pa, in, nea, Tha, hu'rul
Possibly Ea, na, hu
Again Ha cou
Besides Mit, den, na
There, then Ye, an, ni shew
How then, how Ha, pa'hea, den, na
Perhaps, perchance E mea, da'ger, hu, ea'cau
Further Di a tu, e co, o'ah
Ho, halloo, to call to Ha, ho, ah, a mea a
Oh, Alas Me, 'Deow, ou'ware
Ah, what a pity Tha, puck, ie che
Away, off, go Ha haye, ah'tach'a
Please god to give Na, Tha, 'a, tu ah, tu gue, ah
A Leaf of a tree Eow
A piece of a cloth Ea, par'u, ea, hu
A mat Ea moe, ing
A cannon Ea, pu, phe, ea, tu
A musket Ea, pu phe, a'mo
A Spear Ea, par, ga uer
A needle Ea Tah, tu e, tu e
A fruit Ea pu'gu, a Kai
A platter E'a, ca e, bu
A pot, Kettle Ea hoo'vey
An egg Ea ma, mie
A star Fetto
A bullet Ea, Ke ver, pu'phe
An eye Ea, Ma'tah
A boil Ea, to, pu'gu
A dagger Ea, goch e, par'tu'a
An arrow Ea tah, par, ah
A hoe Ea cae phinnew
A tooth Ea, ne shew
A hatchet, axe, adz Ea to, key, to ku
A paddle Ea, ho, e, miriri
An oar Ea, ho, e na, Tha, a'tu'ah
A chissel Ea, to ku, pa, tu, a
A plank Ea, pop'per, boo
A mast Ea, tu'ah
A sail Ea, caw
An anchor Ea Phat, too, dow
A rope of any kind
A cable
A slab of stone
A net to catch fish
A hand net on a hoop
Do not prevaricate

Ea, tow rah, Phat'too, dow
Ea, tow rah
Ea, Car, par row hu, row hu
Ea, U, beng ah, OO beng ah
Ea, Toe, e mah
Ow, ah, tu, to, to, hu, Ki co vaw

The following are lessons of three, four and five lines each and each lesson is separated by a line.

At present there remains nothing at all
Yow'na, ah corey, mea, a'vie

We are dying of laughing
Wa, ma'tu, ma to, The', Kah'ter

The feather of the arrow was red with blood
Tha'hu, no'tha'tah, pan ah, wa'gu'gu, mit, tha'to'to

Is this woman married or unmarried
Ha Tha, vaha ne, Den na Vie'ne

She is married and this is her husband
Wa, no, ho, o yen nae, tha, va ha na

What is all this redness here
Ha Tha, mea, newa, gu gu, my in may

His Kris lies covered with his blood
Tha goch e, o, mea, da, moe, eue mit, ti yea, to to

There is one man, two women, and four children
En'a, a tach e, ene ter, a oo ah, vi e ne, a fau do e ke

I saw yesterday two hogs in the forest, three tropic birds flying in the air, and three porpoises swimming in the sea.
Wa, ke, te, ou, in, e'nach, ey, a oo a, Puork, yoti, tha tee tah,
a to, to auck'ey, o nah, natha, Ahghy a to, to rah, Kow yoti
Tha tie.

Today I have been beaten by somebody, but tomorrow he will get a beating from me.
Cob'bo, ne'onea, pa hu, my, yow, Eb'bo, Oye'Oye, a pa'hu ou,
yi, yea.

318
I am returning to the country of Neas and shall carry with me my brothers Daughter, my sisters son with a she colt, A Bull calf, a bitch whelp and three game Cock chickens.

There is a country where there is a sea in which there is an Island in which there is a mountain on which there is a fort in which there is a Palace where there is a Jewel of brilliant lustre.

Then that Angel ascended to the Firmament and Rajah Secander returned to his Army.

Enter then all of you into the Sect of Rajah Secander

It behoves your Highness then to enter into the House which is empty along with Your Humble Serv*.

Then those people journeyed on through that plain for the space of two days.

Undoubtedly there is a Prince to supply my place in the Government of Alwan

If you can catch a snake by the hand of another person, it is unnecessary to employ your own.
Expend both body and soul for the sake of wealth
Ea'Pow, Tha, o pharna, mit'tha, co'ioi, Na, tha, e'ne'now, ti'ti

Is this fruit for eating
Ea, mea, a'Kai, den'na'e

The book which you have taken do you wish to carry home with you. Do you understand its contents
Tha'mea, eiyu, ya, o, e, mug'gi, Mug'gi, Tha ea'va, wa'ke'te, o e, Tha, de cow, yo to

Is that man not come. Where does he live. Don't you know the place. Will you accompany me
A, co'rey, pu'ta, my, der'a, e'na'ter Ezhare, Tha, no'ho, a, corey, o e Ke'te, am'my, ta'to

What is that mans name? What is he doing? Whence is he come? What does he say? Why is he angry? What is his fault? And what is the cause of his acting so?
Owy, tha, hing'o'ah, den'a, e'na'ter Ha'ti'ye'a, ha'ng'a, ma Zhare my Pa'hay, tiye'a, decow, Ena, a'ha ti ye'a, pre'Kay, e, da'ger, Tha, he'her, ha'tha, too'mu, A'den, na, hang'a

What are we thinking about here and how have we arranged matters here, and what is to be the consequences of such regulations? It is probable things will not succeed to our wish. What sort of attention do the great men here pay to matters? There is no appearance that they will be well disposed to favour us. Very well, then. Let me try and ask them.
Ha ta'to, ma'cow, my'en nac, Ha, pa'hay, Tha, ca'nair, Tha, hang'a, My, en'nac, pa'hay, ow, nac, den'a i ne'ker me taie, ou'nac, tha mea rae, mit, tha, co'e, co'e, o ta'to Pa'hay, tha, hog'a'mow, tha, pop por He'ea'ru'ke, den na, hang'a, ha, co'rey Pa'hu, ou'nac, yo'ta'to, Eb, year, Peou Atu, co'rey Tha co'rey

That which you wish, take it. Come away to my house. Don't be vexed. I will give it you. What are you pondering in your mind? Tell it me, for I am pleased with your talk.
Tha'mea, O'ea, mug'gi, mug'gi, a to Am'my'dow, yo' Tha'fore, o, ou, ow wa Ee, Tow'wa'tu'gu. Tha, mea ya, o'ea Ma'Cow, O'ea, Tha, a'ha, a'peow' my wa, e'ne now, ow to'decow.

320
These things I have in great quantity. There is in a certain house a son of mine with whom I have deposited these effects. Tha, mea'nea, new'a, new'a, yo'ow Tha'a'vie, en'a, Tha foie, yu'tha, No'ho, too tom, yi yea, tha, a'vie tha'titi nea

The business which is over, do not meddle with it any more, for it is finished Tha, hang'a, nea, wa'eiyu, ow'ah, to, a'tu, mu'e, my'en'nea, wa'o'tey

You who are going there stay for me for I am waiting for a companion O'co'to, tha'mea, eiyu nea, oi'hie, yu, ya, pu'ta, my'ow, a'ti ti, ow, too'ho'a

The conversation is over to day. Enough Wa, pow'tha, decow, der'a, der'a'aw. Et'oo'ae.
Finis

Moorshedabad      May 3d

1824
This Narrative is given to the Care of James Hare, Esq., M.D. by me, Edward Robarts, the writer and true owner of the Acct of the Marqueas Isles, Calcutta, July 14th, 1824.
Sir, I beg leave to state to you the outlines of my narrative, viz. In November 1797, I sailed from London, bound round Cape Horn; stopped at Spithead till early in January, 1798, at which period and in three weeks we reached the island of St Jago; stopped a few days, and proceeded to Rio de Janeiro, at which place we stopped about twelve to fourteen days; we then proceeded on our voyage towards Cape Horn, which we doubled some time in June, 1798. We were near six months at the Gallapagos islands, when we took our departure along the coast of California, in company with two ships, the Butterworth and Liberty, both of London. In the latitude of 17° N we experienced a very heavy gale at midnight; the Liberty was never seen after, the Butterworth lost her main-mast. In consequence of this unlooked for misfortune, we made for the Marqueza isles, situated in 9° 58′ S, latitude, and about 158° N longitude. Through some occurrences, I became an inhabitant at St Christiana; here I passed a few months in speculation, but my slender education debarred me from many useful points to society; at length I took my departure with a friend in his double canoe, bound to Nukahiwa, a distance of about thirty-five leagues. At this isle I had my different turns of fortune; my friend the king was very partial to me, and I did everything that was just to merit his favour. I headed his warriors for four
years. At length he gave me his own sister, Ena-o-ae-a-ta, to be my bride, as a small token of his esteem; I have ever since thought it a great one. At length I took my leave in February, 1806, on board the Lucy, of London, bound for Port Jackson. In six days we arrived at Otaheita. Here I found twelve missionaries: my wife being pregnant with her second child, I stopped at this place, March 8th 1806. I remained here about eighteen months, at which time arrived Captain Dalrymple; I went on board of him as pilot; I took his ship among the Ladrone isles, and in one month we returned to Otaheita, got our wood, water, etc and departed for the Pheacus isles, and from there for New Zealand, at which place we got a cargo of spars, and took our departure for Penang, at which place we arrived in March, 1808. I staid at this place twenty-three months; my employer being dead, I took my passage in February 1810 for Bengal; we arrived March 17, 1810.

This, good sir, is the outline of my voyages and travels, if this should answer your desire.

Sir, I remain yours, etc, etc.

E. Roberts.
Appendix II  The Families of Marquesan Chiefs

Crook's 'Account of the Marquesas Islands' provides us with genealogical information about five living generations of Keattonnue's family at Taiohae, Nukuhiva, and more limited information about the family of 'Teinae', chief of Vaitahu, Tahuata (see genealogical tables below). This information is of major importance in any historical reconstruction of Marquesan society, for it provides in some detail evidence of how marriage rules, inheritance rules and social structure existed 'on the ground'.

In 1798, representatives of five generations of Keattonnue's family were living on Nukuhiva. The oldest was Keattonnue's maternal grandmother, Diddehehaeke, and the youngest was Keattonnue's granddaughter by his eldest daughter. Nearly sixty consanguineal and affinal relatives are identified by name. This specificity, however, is limited in its usefulness. The peculiar orthography of different writers who might be expected to add snippets of information to Crook's account, as well as the Marquesan practice of changing names, makes identification difficult.

The second ascending generation of Keattonnue's line was made up of two families who between them controlled all the valleys of Taiohae. His father's side owned Pakiu and Havau valleys and his mother's side owned Hoata and Meau. Keattonnue's grandmother, Diddehehaeke, had at least eleven children. Nine of them are given by Crook as her children by Moanna. Moanna on his death was revered as the atua of the whole
island, but we have no way of knowing whether this was previous to or consequent on Keattonnue's own pre-eminence. Keattonnue owed this pre-eminence to the marriage of his father and mother, by which he inherited the chiefly power of all the valleys at Taiohae. His grandfather, Buakahhu, was also worshipped as *atua*, but in an inferior way to Moanna.

Keattonnue's father, Temouteie, was lost at sea. After his death, his wife, Butahaie, lived with his youngest brother, Buakahhu. Without specifying genitors, Crook says that Butahaie had seventeen children of whom Keattonnue was the eldest. In 1804, Krusenstern described the 'King's uncle' and 'stepfather', i.e. Buakkahhu, as an old man of seventy-five, with a very brilliant eye and determined character. He had been one of the greatest warriors of his day. Langsdorff, referring to him as the father of Keattonnue, said he was a man of great medical knowledge. Two others of Keattonnue's father's brothers were alive in 1798. Tamouhau was 'principal inhabitant' of Havau and Kokke had a son named for his grandfather.

The most important person in Keattonnue's family was his mother, Butahaie. She was not the first-born of her father. She had at least one elder brother, Moatetahhe. She had inherited her father's property, according to Crook, because she was his favourite and because at the time of his death she had a numerous, grown-up family, who supported her claims. Her eldest brother, 'in much contempt' (there is some suggestion that he was mentally defective) lived as *pekio* to Keattonnue's youngest brother, presumably Butahaie's son. Of the rest of her brothers, only one was socially important. He was priest and *haka-iki* of Hoata, but subordinate to Keattonnue. He was also named Moanna for his father. Of the others three were dead. Hakoaia had committed suicide after quarrelling with his wife; Tuatatapappa had been lost at sea; Pahhe died of the disease called 'mohave'. Another was still alive, but crippled by 'mokeyo'. Some unidentified sisters of Butahaie were married to men belonging to the Hapa and Taipi tribes, who were traditional enemies of the Tei'i.

A number of characteristics should be noted about the two ascending generations of Keattonnue's family. Both of his grandfathers were worshipped as *atua*. Among his father's and mother's brothers at least two were considered subordinate chiefs in the four valley system of Taiohae. One was also a priest. Keattonnue did not inherit his property and title
through strict primogeniture, but by adjustments of this rule to the realities of political power. Through the marriage of his mother's sisters, he was contracted into families belonging to valleys hostile to Taiohae.

The list of Keattonnue's siblings is long. There were at least ten male and seven female children in Butahaie's family. The husbands of only four of the women are identified. One of these, 'Another Sister', was married to Buahaha, who was not of the tapu class and had not much property. They lived on land belonging to Keattonnue's pekio, Paienue. Two others, Taheibu and Teheya Viane married two brothers, Pahouaheta and his younger brother. These two brothers were associated in some way with the principal fisherman of the valley. This was Tahieinue, Keattonnue's younger brother. Pahouaheta was an elderly man of remarkable stature and strength. He was related to one of the chiefs of Aakapa, a valley closely allied to Taiohae. It seemed to be a ceremonial centre for the Tei'i. One of Pahouaheta's sons was married to Teabu, the daughter of the chief of the Taioa. He was reputed to be very wealthy. A daughter was married to Keattonnue's second son, Tahaonoake, and a second son was named for Temouteie, Keattonnue's father. A fourth sister was married to Touwo, one of the principal men of the mattatoetoe class, which Crook said was a section of the common or non-tapu class, which owned property. Men in this group were connected with the respectable families and were identified as a group by special tattooing about their eyes. Another sister of Keattonnue was married to the chief of the Devvatone (?) at Ho'oumi. These were enemies of the Tei'i.

Among Keattonnue's brothers, Tiohea was dead, killed by the Daedalus, Tahieinue was principal fisherman, and his twin brother, Bukkoteitei, was married to a woman called Moutukakahete, whose mother was Taheyakio. Their eldest son was married to Keattonnue's second daughter Tayakiohho. Keattonnue's youngest brother was Tamati. Tamati was his mother's favourite and was endowed with more land for his private use than Keattonnue himself. This land was in Uauka valley. He was the leader of the mattatoetoe.

The marriages of the rest of Keattonnue's siblings are not identified, nor are their occupations, but Crook says of them all that they had large families.

Keattonnue himself was the best known chief in the Marquesas. There seemed substantial agreement among early visi-
tors that he possessed no distinguishing mark of his chieftainship. He was 'corpulent and unwieldy', 'rustic in appearance' and was said by Crook to have good sense and to take pleasure in the ceremonies of the priests, of whom he was one. At this time he was about forty to fifty years old. He was married to Teheyatioa, who was the daughter of Katomo, a chief of the Taioa. Her pekio was Paienue, a member of the tapu class, who owned large properties. Paienue was also toa for the Tei'i.

The outstanding point to note about Keattonnue's generation is its apparent lack of political and social eminence. Apart from the chiefship, Buakkahhu, Butahaie and Pauuvebu—Keattonnue's father's brother, mother and mother's brother respectively—seemed to possess the positions of power, and for that matter seemed to have made all the important marriage alliances with other valleys. The chief characteristic of Keattonnue's generation is their alliance in marriage with property, within and without the tapu class. His children would re-align themselves with politically important families.

Keattonnue had two groups of children, one by women other than his wife and the other by his wife. Of his two sons by other women, Teiebo was adopted by his own pekio, Paienue, as heir. Keattonnue fathered Teiebo through Uuhwei, his own wife's sister and wife of a chief of the Taioa, Poutinne. The other son, Moanna, and a daughter, Teheyatioa, named for his wife, lived with his family. His first-born child by his wife was a daughter, Tahhatabbu Fettutinne, who befriended Robarts. She was married to Mouwateie, the son of the chief of the Hapa, Tahedeiyo. Crook counted her as one of the few women of 'propriety'. She had no pekio. Her daughter was a favourite of her grandmother, Butahaie, and special tapu surrounded her as she lived in a special house and was nursed by a man servant. She was possibly the woman Piteenee of Porter's time and Paetini of Gracia's. Gracia said she was Queen of the valley, mother and wife to all the important people of Nukuhiva. Keattonnue's second daughter, Tayakiohho, was married to the eldest son of Keattonnue's younger brother, Bukkoteitei.

The marriage of Keattonnue's eldest son, Duetowa, illustrates dramatically how the Marquesan social system actually worked as distinct from its rules. Duetowa was a boy of twelve or thirteen years. He was married to a middle-aged woman called Henateiane Taiohono Tutuake. She was the daughter of one of Butahaie's daughters who was married to a chief of Ho'oumi.
(How that could be is not clear, considering her age. Whether she is to be counted as Keattonnue's sister's daughter is not certain.) She was said to have had forty different pekio. Her first-born son, who in 1798 was fifteen months old, and presumably born after her marriage with Duetowa, but not as a result of it, was called Pakouteie. Pakouteie was one of Keattonnue's names and this infant was the heir to Keattonnue's chieftainship, and was owed all the reverences and obligations of tama haka-iki, the chief's first-born. Thus, apparently, one whole generation was being bypassed in the inheritance of the chief's power and the difficulty of having a female first-born circumvented. We have no way of knowing how events turned out, or how Pakouteie grew up in relation to Paetini, Keattonnue's first-born granddaughter. Clearly, in 1798, the social metaphor of the rights of the first born was still being kept, but being adjusted to the needs of social reality.

Keattonnue's second son, Tahonoake or Mohho, was a boy of ten years. He was married to his father's sister's daughter Teiatua-Nuguheva. She was the daughter of Taheibu and Pahoutahau, discussed above.

Thus, Keattonnue's two sons were married to their father's sister's daughter and one of his daughters was married to her father's brother's son. This clashes a little with the information of later anthropologists. By later accounts there was an important relationship in the Marquesas between pahupahu and i'amutu. Pahupahu was a kin category which included father's sisters and brothers-in-law and mother's brothers and sisters-in-laws. I'amutu were brother's children, sister's children, husband's sister's children, wife's brother's children. The most approved marriage was with the child of one's pahupahu, i.e. with father's sister's child and mother's brother's child. Marriage with father's brother's and mother's sister's child was forbidden. Two of Keattonnue's children's marriages fall into the approved class and the third into the forbidden.

The general impression one gets from the five generations of Keattonnue's family is that of an inverted pyramid. The oldest generation was dispersed and outward looking in its marriages, not only between the valleys of Taiohae, but with the other valleys of Nukuhiva, friend and enemy alike. There seems to be a clear process of amalgamation of power and property, so that once the unification of the four valleys of Taiohae was achieved in the person of Keattonnue, the main thrust of marriages is
within the line, towards the preservation of inherited property and power more narrowly. The single most important relationship of family groups would appear to be between Keattonnue and Pahoutahau. We can only guess why this would be so. One factor would be Pahoutahau's prominence in the fishing industry of the valley. One would be tempted to say that Keattonnue's strength lay in the property wealth of his pekio and in the control of the fishing resources held by his younger brother and Pahoutahau, as well as his own inheritance. Perhaps in this way we are observing the process by which one line becomes socially significant, or the establishment of a ramage system.

The transmission of names is interesting. Grandchildren tended to be named for their grandparents, rarely children for their parents. But there seems to be no direct relationship between the importance of the name and the social importance of the person who received it. Moanna was a most important name. It recurs as the name of a chief in the 1820s. Moanna's son Pauvevebu, as priest, shared the name. It reappears as the name of Keattonnue's son 'out of wedlock'. No one among Keattonnue's children is named for his father Temouteie, but the second son of Keattonnue's sister Taheibu is called Temouteie Tapeiha. The second name was also that of his mother's brother, Keattonnue. Buakkahhu had a son by the same name, but it is only his grandson by his fourth son, Kokke, who is named for him.

Crook's account of Teinae's family at Vaitahu, Tahuata, is less useful than that of Keattonnue's. Although he gives more than sixty names, these names are mostly long lists of the members of Teinae's first ascending generation without specification of their marriages or social role. Mavebbu was Teinae's paternal grandfather. He had three sons and two daughters. Honu, or Pepetoeya, his first-born, was Teinae's father. Honu and his brothers Pahouhonu and Taueveatua had twelve, ten and eleven children respectively. Each of them was outlived by his wife. Taueveatua was categorised as an atua while he was still alive. At his death his widow went to live with the pekio of Tuppeane, Honou's wife.

Teinae was not Honou's first-born child, although he was the first-born male. Three sisters were born before him. By 1798, Teinae had married three times. His first wife was Muattouwa. She was Teinae's father's brother's wife's brother's daughter.
She bore him three children before he dismissed her as wife. He then successively married two daughters of Taouwaho, a chief of the tribe of Tepai at Hiva Oa. The first, Hueane, bore him a daughter before she died. She was either killed by Teinae or committed suicide. Her sister Tepaihena bore him a son, Teiofamouwebbu (or Aieo). None of his first-born children was male except the last, and none of the males is singled out by Crook as Teinae's heir. His son, Pahevi, by his first wife was married to the eight-year-old daughter of a Pikina chief on Hiva Oa. A boy named Peiteitei lived with Teinae and was nursed by Teinae's second wife. He was one of a set of twins of a couple at Hapatoni. Whether or not he was adopted as Teinae's first born is not clear. There is some close relationship between Teinae and this couple, because another of their sons was married to the daughter of Teinae's sister, Naohho, who lived at Hanateio. Teinae made a special trip to Hanateio at the birth of this daughter's first child, Tuhuaiu. Crook says that Teinae and his younger brother Buta and the first-born son of Pahouhonu, Unneuwa, rendered themselves common by a special anointing. Then Teinae and two others prostrated themselves while the woman sat on their heads (a most tapu place) and woman and men were covered by a cloth while the child was born. We can only presume that this boy was of considerable importance, but why it should have been his sister's daughter and at Hanateio, a valley usually at war with Vaitahu, we have no way of knowing.

The information we have about Teinae's network of marriage alliances is piecemeal, but it is of some interest. Apart from his sister's marriage to a chief of a generally hostile valley, there was another sister, Tahiebuohho, who was married to the son of Tianu, the priest at Vaitahu. His younger brother Buakka was married to Fetteatabu of the valley of Haniap on Hiva Oa. Nafeu, the first-born daughter of his father's brother Pahouhonu was married to Patoetoe, who was the chief priest at Vaitahu.

Teinae's family tree projects a different image to Keattonnue's. There is no clear prominence of the first born, and the marriage alliances, when we know them, look towards the hostile groups both at Tahuata and more importantly at Hiva Oa. Crook's account of Tahuata suggests that it suffered from far more turmoil than Nukuhiva. He attributed this to Teinae's bloodthirsty nature which led him to frequent excursions
against Hiva Oa. There was no amalgamation of property or political power at Vaitahu which might lead to the formation of a tighter line of succession. The dominant reality was the continuous wars and alignment and re-alignment of valley groups. Teinae's female relations in these circumstances were resources for alliance, and their leaving Vaitahu for different valleys and islands was more conducive to the formation of political alliances than to the construction of strong social stock.
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