

VOYAGE OF
H.M.S. 'PANDORA'

DESPATCHED TO ARREST THE MUTINEERS OF
THE 'BOUNTY' IN THE SOUTH SEAS, 1790-91

BEING THE NARRATIVES OF

CAPTAIN EDWARD EDWARDS, R.N.
THE COMMANDER

AND

GEORGE HAMILTON
THE SURGEON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

BASIL THOMSON

LONDON

FRANCIS EDWARDS

83 HIGH STREET, MARYLEBONE

1915

I was very desirous to get into communication with these people, as I thought we might possibly get some useful information relative to the buoy we had seen at the Duke of York's island, or about the *Bounty* had she touched at either of these islands, or at any others in their neighbourhood. With that view I left in and about the houses hatchets, knives, glasses and a variety of things that I thought would be useful or pleasing to them, and also to show them that we were disposed to be friendly to them, and by that means I hoped they would become less shy, and that our intercourse with them would be brought about; and I stood round the northernmost island to visit other parts of the island, and on the 14th in the morning Lt. Corner was sent on shore with the tender, yawl and canoe, and he landed to the eastward of the northernmost island and marched round to the north-east extremity of the islands: he perceived marks of bare feet of the natives in different parts, but more particularly about the cocoanut trees, most of which were stripped of their fruit, but not a single person or canoe could be found. He embarked again at that part of the isles with great difficulty by the assistance of cork jackets and rope and the canoe. I supposed that the natives had left the island and I bore away to join the tender that had been sent to search for a channel into the lagoon near the northernmost isle; and after joining her I went once more towards the place we had first examined, and seeing no natives or any signs of them there I gave up the search.

On the 15th stood to the southward for Navigators' islands. I called the island the Duke of Clarence's Island. It lies in Latitude $9^{\circ} 9' 30''$ and Longitude $171^{\circ} 30' 46''$.¹ From the abundance of cocoanut trees both on this and the Duke of York's island, in the trunks of which holes

¹ The actual position is $9^{\circ} 5' S$. Latitude and $171^{\circ} 38' W$. Longitude.

were cut transversely to catch and preserve water, and as no other water was seen by us we supposed it was the only means they had of procuring that useful and necessary article. On the 18th in the forenoon we saw a very high island and as I supposed it to be a new discovery I called it Chatham island,¹ and standing in for it, I perceived a Bay towards the N.E. end and I made a tack to endeavour to look into it. Perceiving that I could not accomplish my intentions before night I bore away and ran along the shore and sent the tender to reconnoitre, and found, opposite to a sandy beach where there was an Indian town, she got 25 fathoms about a quarter of a mile from the reef, which runs off the place and carries soundings of sand regularly in to 5 fathoms.

In the morning a boat was sent to ground in an opening in the reef before the town, in which 3 fathoms of water was found, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms within it. This harbour is situated on the North side near the middle, but rather nearest to the West end.² We were told that there was a river there, and another or two between it and the South end. We then ran round the West to the S.W. end of the island and in the bay there 25 fathoms of water was found, the bottom rather foul and bad landing for a ship's boat. The natives said there was another, but the boat being called on board by signal she did not dare to examine into the truth of their report. We found here a native of the Friendly Islands, who called himself Fenow, and a relation of the chief of that name of Tongataboo.³ Fenow said he had seen Captain Cook and English ships at the

¹ Savaii in the Samoa Group. If not the 'Beauman' Islands seen by Roggwein in 1721, they were discovered by Bougainville in 1768 and visited by La Pérouse in 1787. Freycinet also visited them before Edwards.

² Mata-atua Harbour. There is no river there except after heavy rain.

³ He had a finger cut off in mourning for Finau Ulukalala, who must have died in 1790.

Friendly Islands, and that the natives of this island had never seen a ship before they saw the *Pandora*. The island is more than 30 miles long. A high mountain [4000 feet] extends almost from one extremity to the other, which tapers down gradually at the ends and sides to the sea where it generally terminates in perpendicular cliffs of moderate height, except in a few places where there is a white beach of coral sand. The natives called the island Otewhy; ¹ latitude of Northernmost point 13° 27' 48" S. Longitude 172° 32' 13" W. South Point Latitude 13° 46' 18" S., Longitude 172° 18' 20" W., and East point in Latitude 13° 32' 20" S. and Longitude 172° 2' W.

On the 21st we saw another island ² about 4 leagues to the Eastward of this, and there are two small islands between them, a small one in the middle and four off its East end, three of which are of considerable height. There is a greater variety of mountains and valleys in this than in Chatham's and it is exceedingly well wooded, and the trees of enormous size grow upon the very summits of the mountains with spreading heads resembling the oak. The same sort of trees were also seen in the same situation at Chatham, but not in so great abundance. This island is near forty miles long and of considerable breadth. The natives called it Oattooah.³ Their canoes (although not so well finished), language and some of their customs much resemble those of the Friendly Islands, but they have some peculiar to themselves—that of dyeing their skins yellow and which is a mark of distinction amongst them is one of them.⁴ The Latitude of the West point is 13° 52'

¹ La Pérouse and Kotzebue call it Pola.

² Upolu on which is Apia, the present capital of Samoa.

³ Upolu is the native name, but it has been called Ojalava, Oahitooha, Ojatava, and Opoloo by different navigators, who may have taken the names of villages or districts to mean the whole island. The population exceeded 20,000 at the beginning of last century.

⁴ Turmeric powder, never a mark of distinction, was besmeared over

25" S. and Longitude 171° 49' 13" W. and the S.E. part in Latitude 14° 3' 30" S. and Longitude 171° 12' 50" W. As this island by our account was considerably to the Westward of the Navigators' islands, we at first supposed it to be a new discovery, but in visiting the other of the Navigators' islands discovered by Mons. Bougainville and running down again upon this we had reason to suppose that the S.E. end of Oattooah had been seen by him at a distance, and that it was the last island of the group that he saw.¹

Between five and six o'clock of the evening of the 22nd June lost sight of our tender in a thick shower of rain. Some thought that they saw her light again at eight o'clock, but in the morning she was not to be seen. We cruised about for her in sight of the island on the 23rd and 24th and as I could not find the tender near the place where she was first lost, I thought it better to make the best of my way to Annanooka, the place appointed as a last rendezvous and to endeavour to get there before her, lest her small force should be a temptation to the natives to attack her, and accordingly we stood to the Southward.² When we were to the Eastward of Oattooah we saw another island bearing from us about E.S.E. eight leagues. We afterwards knew that this was one of the Navigators' islands seen by Mons. Bougainville. On the morning of the 28th we saw the Happy [Haapai] islands, and before noon a group of islands to the Eastward

nursing mothers, chief women at the feasts connected with puberty, and persons concerned in certain other ceremonies.

¹ Bougainville sighted Upolu on May 5th, 1760. A thick fog which came on that afternoon, and lasted all the following day, prevented him from approaching it, and from seeing Savaii, which he would have seen on May 7th in clear weather. La Pérouse coasted along its southern shore on December 17th, 1789. Unfortunately, smarting from the massacre of de Langie and his boat's crew at Tutuila, he was in no mood for communicating with the natives, and he did not anchor.

² See p. 12.

of Annamooka. We passed round to the Southward of these islands and ran down between little Annamooka and the Fallafagee isles and on the 29th anchored in Annamooka Road.

Whilst we were watering the ship, &c. I sent Lt. Hayward to the Happy [Haapai] Islands in a double canoe, which I hired of Tooboo a chief of these islands for the purpose of examining them and to make inquiries after the *Bounty* and the tender, but no intelligence could be got of either of these vessels at these two islands, nor at either of the Happy islands, and having completed our water and got a plentiful supply of yams and a few hogs, we sailed from thence on the 10th July. The natives were very daring in their thefts, but some of the articles stolen were recovered again by the chiefs, yet many of them were entirely lost, and as I did not think it proper to carry things to extremities on that occasion for fear that too much rigour might operate to the disadvantage of the tender should she arrive at the island in our absence, which I told them I expected she would do, and that I intended to return with the ship in about 20 days, and I left a letter of instructions for the tender with Moukakahlah, a resident chief, which he promised to deliver. He is not the superior chief, but we found him most useful to us and I thought him the most worthy of trust.

Whilst we were at Annamooka, Fattahfahe [Fatafeh]¹ the chief of all the islands, and who generally resides at

¹ Fatafeh is the hereditary title of one of the spiritual chiefs of Tonga. He had no executive authority, but his wealth, derived from his lands and the offerings to which he was entitled, gave him considerable influence. The complicated hierarchy of spiritual chiefs in Tonga was a continual puzzle to Cook. Fatafeh at this time was an ornamental personage, inferior in dignity to the Tui Tonga, and in power to Tukuahohu, who wielded the authority of his father Mumui, the Tui Kanakubolu. The Toobou (Tubou) mentioned here was the deputy of the tyrant Tukuahohu, who, eight years later, was to pay the penalty of his crimes in the Revolution of 1799. Hamilton mentions that the tradition of Tasman's visit in 1642 was still preserved.

Tongataboo or Amsterdam Island, came to visit us, as did also a great number of the chiefs from the adjacent islands and to all of whom I gave presents and also to such of their friends and attendances that were introduced for the purpose of receiving favours. A person called Toobou was the principal person in authority at Annamooka when we arrived there. I learned that he belonged to Tongataboo, and had little property on the island he governed, and I supposed that he was a deputy or minister of Fattahfahe who is generally acknowledged to be the superior chief of all the islands known under the names of the Friendly, Happy, and also of many other islands unknown to us. Fattahfahe and Toobou were on board the *Pandora* when she got under way, attended by two large double sailing canoes, the largest of which had upwards of 40 persons on board. I suppose that they came on board to take leave and in expectation of getting some additional farewell presents, in which they were not disappointed.

I knew that Fattahfahe was shortly going to make a tour of the Happy Islands, and as I perceived that he was exceedingly well pleased with what I had given him, and with his situation and accommodation on board the ship, I invited him to come with us to Tofoa [Tofoa] and Kaho [Kao], two islands I was then steering for and that I intended to visit, as I thought he would be useful by procuring us a favourable landing at Tofoa, the island whose inhabitants had behaved so treacherously to Lt. Bligh when he put in there for refreshments in the *Bounty's* launch. Before the sun set we got within a small distance of the island, but it was too late for our boats to go on shore, and the canoes were sent to the islands to announce the arrival of these great chiefs; their coming in the ship I made no doubt would increase their consequence, and probably also the

tribute they might think proper to impose on their subjects.

The next morning Lt. Corner, attended by the two chiefs, was sent on shore at Tofoa to search and to make the necessary inquiries after the *Bounty* and our tender, &c. and then to cross the channel which is about three or four miles over, and to do the same at Kaho, and when I saw the boat put off from Tofoa and stand over for the other island I bore away with the ship and ran through the channel between the two islands. At four in the afternoon Lt. Corner, Fattahfahe and Toobou, returned on board without success in their search and inquiries. The two chiefs were put on board their canoes, and they made sail for the Happy Islands.¹

I now intended to have visited Tongataboo and the other of the Friendly Islands, but, as the wind was Southerly and unfavourable for the purpose, I took the resolution once more to visit Oattooah, and also the Navigators' Islands in search of the *Bounty* and our tender and to endeavour to fall in to the eastward of those

¹ Among the people who boarded the ship from Tofoa Lieut. Hayward recognized some of those who attacked Bligh's boat four days after the mutiny, and murdered Quartermaster Norton, but solicitude for the crew of the tender, which might call there, prevented Edwards from punishing them as they deserved. No doubt, both at Tofoa and Namuka, the natives would have attempted to take the ship had they thought success possible as, we now know, they had planned to capture Cook's ships, and as they actually did capture the privateer *Port-au-Prince* in 1806 at Haapai. In 1808 William Mariner, one of the survivors of that ill-fated ship, who has left behind him the best account of a native race that exists probably in any language, was led by the strange native account of Norton's murder, to visit his grave. The natives asserted that Norton was killed by a carpenter for the sake of an axe which he was carrying; that his body was stripped and dragged some distance inland to a *Matæe* where it lay exposed for three days before burial; and that the grass had never since grown upon the track of the body nor upon its resting-place on the *Matæe*. Mariner found a bare track leading inland from the beach and terminating in a bare patch, lying transversely, about the length and breadth of a man. It did not appear to be a beaten path, nor were there people enough in the neighbourhood to make such a path. Probably it was an old track, long disused and forgotten, for by such natural causes is man's belief in the supernatural fed.

islands. On the morning of the 12th we discovered a cluster of islands bearing from us W. by S. to N.W. by N., but as the wind was favourable for us to proceed I did not think it proper to lose time in examining them now, but intended to do it on my return to the Friendly Islands.¹

On the 14th, in the forenoon, we saw three islands, which we supposed to be the three first islands seen by Mons. Bougainville and part of the cluster called by him "Navigators' Islands," the largest of these islands the natives called Toomahnuah.² We passed them at a convenient distance and several canoes came towards the ship, and it was with great difficulty that we prevailed on them to come alongside, and still greater difficulty to get them into the ship. They brought very few things in their canoes except cocoanuts, which I bought, and then gave them a few things as presents before they left the ship, and after making the necessary inquiries as far as our limited knowledge of the language would permit us, I proceeded to the Westward and before daylight on the morning of the 15th we saw another island. We ran down on the North side of it and brought to occasionally to find and take on board canoes.

We found the same shyness amongst the natives here as at the last islands, but a few presents being given to them they at last ventured on board. The island is called by them Ootooillah.³ It is at least 5 leagues long; we supposed it to be another of the islands seen by Mons. Bougainville. We got soundings in 53 fathoms

¹ The Vavau Group, called by the natives Haafuluhao, which then as now, owed spiritual allegiance to Tonga.

² Manua, the most Easterly of the Samoa Group, called Opoun by La Pérouse.

³ Tutuila, discovered by Roggwein in 1721, visited by Bougainville 4th May, 1768, and by La Pérouse 10th December, 1787. On the day before his murder by the natives, Comte de Langle, La Pérouse's second in command, discovered Pangopango harbour while on a walk through the island, but neither Bougainville nor La Pérouse seems to have dis-

water, and the depth decreased as we stood in shore, and there is probable anchorage on this side of the island sheltered from the prevailing winds, but we did not see the reef mentioned by Mons. Bougainville to run two leagues from the West end.

After making inquiries after the *Bounty* and tender and making presents to our visitors, we steered to the Westward, inclining to the North and before night saw Oattooa, bearing W.N.W. The South East end of this island was also probably seen by Mons. Bougainville, but by his description he could only have had a distant and a very imperfect view of the island. On the 16th we ran down on the South side of it, almost to the West end, and had frequent communication with the natives, but could get no information relative either to the *Bounty* or our tender. We saw a few of the natives with blue, mulberry and other coloured beads about their necks, and we understood that they got them from Cook at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands. Having finished my business here, I stood to the Southward with the intention of visiting the group of islands we had discovered on our way hither, and we got sight of them again in the afternoon of the 18th.¹

On the 19th, in the morning we ran down on the North side until we came to an opening through which we could see the sea on the opposite side, and a kind of sound is formed by some islands to the North East and some islands of considerable size to the South West, and in the intermediate space there are several small islands and

cerned the masked fissure in the cliff which forms its entrance. Edwards must have had a copy of Bougainville on board, but no record of La Pérouse's visit four years before, or he would have shown greater caution in communicating with the natives. That he had heard something of La Pérouse's voyage, and had some ground for suspicion is shown by Hamilton. A detailed account of de Langle's murder is to be found in "La Pérouse's Voyage," vol. ii.

¹ Vavau.

rocks. On the larboard hand of the North entrance there is a shoal, on which the sea appears to break although there is from ten to twelve fathoms of water upon it. In the other part of the entrance there is forty fathoms of water or more. Our boat had only time to examine the entrance and the larboard side of the sound, in which there are interior bays where about 30 fathoms of water is to be found within a cables length of the shore. The branches of the sound on the starboard side, and which are yet unexamined, appear to promise better anchorage than was found on the opposite shore, and should it turn out so, it will be by far the safest and best anchorage hitherto known amongst the Friendly Islands.¹

The natives told us there was good water at several places within the sound, and there is plenty of wood. Several of the inferior chiefs were on board us, amongst whom were one of Fattafafe's and one of Toobou's family, but the principal chief of the island was not on board, but we supposed he was coming at the time we made sail.² They brought on board yams, cocoanuts, some bread fruit, and a few hogs and fowls, and would have supplied us with more hogs had it been convenient for us to have made a longer stay with them, and which

¹ He might have added "in the Pacific," for it is a magnificent landlocked harbour, a little narrow for sailing ships to beat out of in a southerly wind, but excellent for steamships.

² This was Finau Ulukalala, one of the most notable men in Tongan history. He had just succeeded his elder brother, the Finau (Feenow) of Captain Cook's visit in 1777. On April 21st, 1799, he conspired against Tukuaho, the temporal sovereign of Tonga and assassinated him, plunging Tonga into a civil anarchy which lasted twenty years. He was Mairner's patron and protector until his death in 1809. "The great master of Greek drama," says a writer in the "Quarterly Review," "could have desired no better elements than are to be found in the history of this remarkable man; his remorseless ambition and his natural affections—his contempt for the fables and ceremonies of his country when in prosperity—his patient submission to them when in distress—his strong intellects—his evil deeds—and the death which was believed to be inflicted on him in vengeance by the over-ruling divinities whom he defied."

yauls, covered by the tender. Some huts being discovered by the ship, a signal was immediately made for the party on shore to be on their guard, and to advance with caution. Soon after their arrival on shore, a ship's wooden buoy was discovered. On searching the huts, nets of different sizes were found hanging in them, and a variety of fishing utensils. Stages and wharfs were likewise discovered in different parts of the creek, which led us to imagine it was only an island resorted to in the fishing season by some neighbouring nation. The skeleton of a very large fish, supposed to be a whale, was found near the beach; and a place of venerable aspect, formed entirely by the hand of Nature, and resembling a Druidical temple, commanded their attention. The falling of a very large old tree, formed an arch, through which the interior part of the temple was seen, which heightened the perspective, and gave a romantic solemn dignity to the scene. At the extreme end of the temple, three altars were placed, the centre one higher than the other two, on which some white shells were piled in regular order.¹

After traversing the island, they returned to the huts, and hung up a few knives, looking-glasses, and some little articles of European manufacture, that the natives, on their return, might know the island had been visited.

On the 12th, we discovered another island, which was named the Duke of Clarence's island. In running along the land, we saw several canoes crossing the lagoons. The tender's signal was made, to cover the boats in landing, and Lieuts. Corner and Hayward sent to reconnoitre the beach, to discover a landing-place. In this duty they came pretty near some of the natives in their canoes, who made signs of peace to them; but, either from fear or business,

¹ This suggests the Fijian *Nauga*, or 'bed of the ancestors,' a cult introduced by native castaways many generations ago. These castaways may have been Polynesian.

avoided having any intercourse with us. Morais, or burying-places, were likewise found here, which indicated it to be a principal residence. Here they find some old cocoa trees hollowed longitudinally, as tanks or reservoirs for the rain water.

On the 18th, we discovered an island of more considerable extent than any island that has hitherto been discovered in the south; and as there were many collateral circumstances which might hereafter promise it to be a discovery of national importance, in honour of the first lord of the admiralty, it was called Chatham's Island. It is beautifully diversified with hills and dales, of twice the extent of Otaheite, and a hardy warlike race of people. The natives described a large river to us, which dis-embogued itself into a spacious bay, that promises excellent anchorage.¹ Here we learned the death of Fenow, king of Anamooka, from one of his family of the same name, who had a finger cut off in mourning for him. After trading a whole day with the natives, who seemed fair and honourable in their dealings, we examined it without success, and proceeded on our voyage.

On the 21st we discovered a very considerable island, of about forty miles long. It was named by the natives Otutuelah. Capt. Edwards gave no name to it; but should posterity derive the advantages from it which it at present promises, I presume it may hereafter be called Edwards's island.²

It is well wooded with immense large trees, whose foliage spreads like the oak; and there is a deal of shrubbery on it, bearing a yellow flower. The natives are remarkably handsome. Some of them had their skins tinged with yellow, as a mark of distinction, which at first led us to imagine they were diseased. Neither sex wear any

¹ Savaii in the Samoa group. See p. 49 *ante*.

² It is known by its native name, Tutuila.

clothing but a girdle of leaves round their middle, stained with different colours. The women adorn their hair with chaplets of sweet-smelling flowers and bracelets, and necklaces of flowers round their wrists and neck.

On their first coming on board, they trembled for fear. They were perfectly ignorant of fire-arms, never having seen a European ship before. They made many gestures of submission, and were struck with wonder and surprise at every thing they saw. Amongst other things, they brought us some most remarkable fine puddings, which abounded with aromatic spiceries, that excelled in taste and flavour the most delicate seed-cake. As we have never hitherto known of spices or aromatics being in the South Seas, it is certainly a matter worthy the investigation of some future circumnavigators. We traded with them the whole day, and got many curiosities. Birds and fowls, of the most splendid plumage, were brought on board, some resembling the peacock, and a great variety of the parrot kind.

One woman amongst many others came on board. She was six feet high, of exquisite beauty, and exact symmetry, being naked, and unconscious of her being so, added a lustre to her charms; for, in the words of the poet, "She needed not the foreign ornaments of dress; careless of beauty, she was beauty's self."

Many mouths were watering for her; but Capt. Edwards, with great humanity and prudence, had given previous orders, that no woman should be permitted to go below, as our health had not quite recovered the shock it received at Otaheite; and the lady was obliged to be contented with viewing the great cabin, where she was shewn the wonders of the Lord on the face of the mighty deep. Before evening, the women went all on shore, and the men began to be troublesome and pilfering. The third lieutenant had a new coat stole out of his cabin; and they

were making off with every bit of iron they could lay hands on.

It now came on to blow fresh, and we were obliged to make off from the land. Those who were engaged in trade on board were so anxious, that we had got almost out of sight of their canoes before they perceived the ship's motion, when they all jumped into the water like a flock of wild geese; but one fellow, more earnest than the rest, hung by the rudder chains for a mile or two, thinking to detain her.

This evening, at five o'clock, we unfortunately parted company, and lost sight of our tender. False fires were burnt, and great guns and small arms were fired without success, as it came on thick blowing weather.

We cruised for her all the 23rd and 24th, near where we parted company, which was off a piece of remarkable high land. What was most unfortunate, water and provisions were then on deck for her, which were intended to have been put on board of her in the morning. She had the day before received orders, in case of separation, to rendezvous at Anamooka, and to wait there for us. A small cag of salt, and another of nails and iron-ware, were likewise put on board of her, to traffic with the Indians, and the latitudes and longitudes of the places we would touch at, in our intended rout. She had a boarding netting fixed, to prevent her being boarded, and several seven-barrelled pieces and blunderbusses put on board of her.

As we proceeded to the eastward, we saw another island, which we knew to be one of the navigator's isles, discovered by Mons. Bougainville. On the 28th, in the morning, saw the Happai Islands, discovered by Capt. Cook, and before noon, the group of islands to the eastward of Anamooka, and sailed down between Little Anamooka and the Falafagee Island.

the other side. A sound is formed here by some islands to the south east and north west, and interior bays, which promises better anchorage than any other place in the Friendly Isles. The natives told us there were excellent watering-places in several different parts within the sound. The country is well wooded. Several of the inferior chiefs were on board, one of the Tatafee, and one of the Toobou family; but the principal chief was not on board. We supposed he was coming off just as we sailed.¹ The natives in general were very fair and honourable in their dealings. They were more inoffensive and better behaved than any we had seen for some time. They have frequent intercourse with Anamooka, and their religion, customs, and language, are the same.

A number of beautiful paroquets were brought off by the natives, all remarkable for the richness and variety of their plumage.

The group of islands was called Howe's Islands, but were particularly distinguished by the names of Barrington's, Sawyer's, Hotham's, and Jarvis's Islands. The sound itself was called Curtis's Sound. Under the general denomination of Howe's Islands, were included several islands to the south east, to which we gave no particular name, and two more islands to the westward, called Bickerton's Islands, including two small islands near the above. There seems to be a tolerable landing-place on the north-west side of Gardner's Island. All this part of the island has a most barren aspect. There were evident marks of volcanic eruptions having happened. The very singular appearance which this part of the island presented, I cannot omit mentioning; it bore the figure of a piece of flat table-land, without the slightest eminence or indentation, and smoke was issuing from the edges, round its whole circumference.

¹ Finau Uhukalala.
R

CHAP. III.

VOYAGE FROM ANAMOOKA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF THE *PANDORA*.

THE wind not permitting us to visit Tongataboo, we proceeded to Catooa and Navigator's Isles, the loss of our tender having prevented us from doing it before, and endeavoured to fall in with the easternmost of these islands.

On the morning of the 12th of July, we discovered a cluster of islands in the N.W. quarter; but the wind being favourable for us, left examining of them till our return to the Friendly Isles.¹ On the 14th, in the forenoon, saw three isles, supposed to be the cluster of isles called by Bougainville Navigator's Isles. The largest the natives called Tumatuah.² We passed them at a little distance, and found much intreaty necessary to bring them on board.

On the 15th, we saw another island, which proved to be Otutuelah,³ which has been already described. Here we found some of the French navigator's cloathing and buttons; and there is little doubt but they have murdered them.⁴

On the 18th, saw the group of islands we discovered on our way here; and on the 19th, ran down the north side till we came to an opening, where we saw the sea on

¹ Vavau.

² Manua.

³ Tutuila.

⁴ De Langlé's boat had been cut off on 10 Dec. 1787.

that a Dutchman bound from Timor to Batavia, after beating about for twelve months, found himself exactly where he first started from.

On the 21st, we got through Alice, and saw three prow-vessels, who are a very daring set of pirates that infest those seas. On the 22nd, saw the islands of Kangajunk and Ulk, and run through the channel that is between them. Next day we saw the island of Madura.

On the 26th, saw the island of Java; and on the 30th, anchored at Samarang.

Immediately on our coming to anchor, we were agreeably surprised to find our tender here which we had so long given up for lost. Never was social affection more eminently portrayed than in the meeting of these poor fellows; and from excess of joy, and a recital of their mutual sufferings, from pestilence, famine, and shipwreck, a flood of tears filled every man's breast.

They informed us, the night they parted company with us, the savages attacked them in a regular and powerful body in their canoes; and their never having seen a European ship before, nor being able to conceive any idea of fire-arms, made the conflict last longer than it otherwise would; for, seeing no missile weapon made use of, when their companions were killed, they did not suspect any thing to be the matter with them, as they tumbled into the water. Our seven-barrelled pieces made great havoc amongst them. One fellow had agility enough to spring over their boarding-netting, and was levelling a blow with his war-club at Mr. Oliver, the commanding-officer, who had the good fortune to shoot him.

On not finding the ship next day, they gave up all further hopes of her, and steered for Anamooka, the rendezvous Captain Edwards had appointed. Their distress for want of water, if possible, surpassed that of our own, and had so strong an effect on one of the young

gentlemen, that the day following he became delirious, and continued so for some months after it.

They at last made the island of Tofoa, near to Anamooka, which they mistook for it. After trading with the natives for provisions and water, they made an attempt to take the vessel from them, which they always will to a small vessel, when alone; but they were soon overpowered with the fire arms. They were, however, obliged to be much on their guard afterwards, at those islands which were inhabited.

After much diversity of distress, and similar encounters, they at last made the reef that runs between New Guinea and New Holland, where the *Pandora* met her unhappy fate; and after traversing from shore to shore, without finding an opening, this intrepid young seaman boldly gave it the stem, and beat over the reef. The alternative was dreadful, as famine presented them on the one hand, and shipwreck on the other. Soon after they had passed Endeavour Straits, they fell in with a small Dutch vessel, who shewed them every tenderness that the nature of their distress required.

They were soon landed at a small Dutch settlement; but the governor having a description of the *Bounty's* pirates from our court, and their vessel being built of foreign timber, served to confirm them in their suspicions; and as no officer in the British navy bears a commission or warrant under the rank of lieutenant, where, by seal of office, their person or quality may be identified, they had only their bare *ipse dixit* to depend on. They, however, behaved to them with great precaution and humanity. Although they kept a strict guard over them, nothing was withheld to render their situation agreeable; and they were sent, under a proper escort, to this place.

This settlement is reckoned next to Batavia, and is so lucrative, that the governor is changed every five years.