

THE VOYAGE OF  
GEORGE VANCOUVER,  
1791–1795,  
VOLUME II

W. Kaye Lamb



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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# The Voyage of George Vancouver, 1791–1795

Volume 2

Edited by  
W. KAYE LAMB

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THE VOYAGE OF GEORGE VANCOUVER, 1791-1795

VOLUME II

SECOND SERIES  
NO. 164

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Plate 20. Zachary Mudge.

A Voyage of Discovery  
to the  
North Pacific Ocean  
and Round the World  
1791–1795

With an Introduction and Appendices

VOLUME II

EDITED BY  
W. KAYE LAMB

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## CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
<i>A voyage of discovery . . . round the world,</i> January 1792—December 1792	443

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

† Indicates engravings reproduced from a set of the 1798 edition of *A Voyage of Discovery* in the British Library (1889 R 42), by permission of the Library. Original captions, where retained, are indicated by quotation marks.

### PLATES

20. Zachary (or Zachariah) Mudge  
From a photograph of the portrait by John Opie, courtesy of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia *frontispiece* vol. II
21. 'View of a Boat Encampment, Pugets Sound'  
Sketch by John Sykes. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. 1963.  
2. 1112 PIC *facing page 516*
22. 'View of Observatory Point, Port Quadra [now Discovery Bay], Straits de Fuca'  
Sketch by John Sykes. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. 1963.  
2. 1119 PIC *between pages 516 and 517*
- †23. 'Four remarkable supported Poles, in Port Townshend, Gulph of Georgia'  
Sketch by John Sykes engraved by James Heath  
*between pages 516 and 517*
- †24. 'Mount Rainier, from the South part of Admiralty Inlet'  
Sketch by John Sykes engraved by John Landseer *facing page 517*
25. Dionisio Alcalá Galiano  
From the portrait in the Museo Naval, Madrid *facing page 596*
26. Cayetano Valdés  
From the portrait in the Museo Naval, Madrid *facing page 597*



## SKETCH MAPS

*All base maps by Michael E. Leek*

<i>Figure</i>	<i>page</i>
1. Puget Sound to Birch Bay	542
2. Birch Bay to Cape Mudge	577
3. Seymour Narrows to Queen Charlotte Strait	607
4. Calvert Island to Poison Cove, including Fitz Hugh Sound, Burke Channel and Dean Channel	646

## BOOK THE SECOND.

VISIT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS; PROCEED TO SURVEY THE  
COAST OF NEW ALBION; PASS THROUGH AN INLAND  
NAVIGATION; TRANSACTIONS AT NOOTKA; ARRIVE AT  
PORT ST. FRANCISCO.

### CHAPTER I.

*Passage to the Sandwich Islands—Arrive off Owhyhee—Visit from Tianna and other Chiefs—Leave Towereroo at Owhyhee—Proceed to Leeward—Anchor in Whytete Bay in Waohoo—Arrival at Attowai.*

OUR friends having quitted us soon after noon on Tuesday the 24th, we directed our course to the northward, and notwithstanding we had now been nearly ten months absent from England, it was not until the present moment that our voyage could be considered as commenced; having now for the first time pointed our vessels' heads towards the grand object of the expedition. I cannot help mentioning that I felt, on this occasion, very considerable regret for the little progress we had hitherto made. It was now within a few days of the time I had calculated, agreeably to the arrangements in England, that we should be quitting the Sandwich islands which were yet at the remote distance of nearly eight hundred leagues. One satisfactory reflection however was, that we had not been retarded by any mispent time, or inexcusable delays; and that although a month had been devoted to the examination of the south-west part of New Holland, that period was, without doubt, not unprofitably employed. Adverse winds, and the indifferent sailing of the vessels had principally operated to prevent our being further advanced.

A light eastwardly breeze brought us in the afternoon within sight of Titeroa,<sup>1</sup> and at sun-set that island bore by compass from N. by W. to N. by E.; Otaheite S.E. to S.; and Morea S.S.W. to S.W. Our progress was so slow that, at noon on Wednesday the 25th, we observed in latitude 17° 1',

<sup>1</sup> Tetiaroa.

Morea bearing by compass from S. 24 W. to S. 8 W.; Otaheite from S. 11 E. to S. 41 E. and Titeroa from N. 85 E. to N. 45 E. about three or four miles distant. Some of the inhabitants visited us from this island, and brought a few fowls, fish, and cocoa nuts to barter.<sup>1</sup> The weather falling calm, and the ship drifting fast in with the land, we were employed until sun set in towing her from it. At this time a light breeze springing up from the south the boats were taken on board, and all sail made to the northward; but so tardily did we proceed that, on Friday the 27th, in the morning, Otaheite and Morea were still in sight astern. We continued moving at this gentle rate until Wednesday the 1st of February, at which time we had reached only the latitude of 13° 54', longitude 209° 53'. The wind had been variable, though chiefly from the eastern quarter, with tolerably fair weather. From this period our progress was somewhat accelerated. We were daily visited by numerous birds, which inhabit the low half drowned islands of this ocean, varying in their kinds as well as numbers, until Wednesday the 8th, when, in latitude 4° 36', and longitude 209° 15', they appeared to have intirely deserted us.<sup>2</sup> During this last week the weather had been clear, though very sultry, with a moderate breeze between the E.N.E. and N.N.E. The dead reckoning had hitherto varied about half a degree only to the westward of the chronometer; but as we now advanced, we found a very strong westwardly current,<sup>3</sup> which affected us so much, that when we reached the equator, which was about noon on Sunday, the 12th, our longitude by account was 210° 35', although by the chronometer we were then in 207° 38' only.<sup>4</sup> This afternoon, Wednesday the 15th, a few birds were again seen about the ship; the winds and weather continued nearly the same, attended with a heavy northwardly swell, which continued to be very unpleasant, and generally from the N.E. After crossing the line, the current seemed to set to the north-westward, until in latitude 4° 54' north,\* longitude by the chronometer 204° 4', by the dead reckoning, 209° 22', which proved, that since we had entered the northern hemisphere, we had been set, in the course of three days, 81' to the westward, and 50' to the north. From this point the current ceased to set to the westward, but continued its northern

<sup>1</sup> 'The Chief of the Island whose name was *Modoc* came off with a trifling present – he was a relative of Otoo's – to whom this Island is subject.' – Bell, 24 January.

<sup>2</sup> Sharks offered the crew some sport and amusement: 'we could always kill what numbers of Sharks we pleased. All sailors have a natural antipathy to this Fish and often Hook them for no other purpose than to practice torments and cruelties on them.' – Manby, letters, 11 February.

<sup>3</sup> The South Equatorial Current. Mudge estimated that the current was 'Setting to the Westward at 50 Miles in 24 Hours.' – 13 February.

<sup>4</sup> 'If the Winds had admitted of our fetching Christmas Island Capt. Vancouver intended to have stopt a day for the purpose of catching Turtle but unfortunately we were now fully fifty Leagues to Leeward of it.' – Manby, 11 February. Vancouver was with Cook in December 1777 when the island was discovered. The first landing was made on Christmas Day.

\* The latitude is hereafter to be considered as north latitude until it shall be otherwise indicated.

direction, inclining a little to the east, at the rate of four to five leagues per day. Several birds, which had been our constant attendants since the 12th, became very scarce after this evening. The trade wind between N.E. and E.N.E. blew a fresh gale. The weather in general was cloudy, with squalls, accompanied with a very heavy sea from the eastward.

The sky, on the morning of Thursday the 16th, being tolerably clear, I was enabled to obtain six sets of distances of ( a ☉, the mean result of which gave the longitude  $204^{\circ} 5' 53''$ , the chronometer shewed  $204^{\circ} 6' 15''$ ; latitude  $6^{\circ} 14'$ . Very few birds were now to be seen; but in the morning one or two turtles were observed. The wind prevailing to the northward of N.E., rendered our reaching the Sandwich islands, without being first led a considerable distance beyond them, a very doubtful circumstance. This induced me to take advantage of the current, which still continued to set to the northward; and by standing to the eastward or northward as the wind veered, on Thursday the 23d we reached the latitude of  $12^{\circ} 18'$ , the longitude by the chronometer  $203^{\circ} 16'$ , and by the dead reckoning  $207^{\circ} 42'$ . The wind now blew a moderate breeze mostly from the eastward; which permitted us to make a course a little to the eastward of north.

On Sunday the 26th, the mean result of six sets of distances ( a ☉ gave the longitude at noon  $203^{\circ} 48'$ , the chronometer  $203^{\circ} 40'$ , by the dead reckoning  $208^{\circ} 23'$ , the latitude  $15^{\circ} 25'$ .

The wind, which was light, continued between the east and N.E. attended with a hollow rolling swell from the N.W. On Wednesday the 29th, in latitude  $17^{\circ} 22'$ , longitude  $203^{\circ} 30'$ , after a few hours calm, towards sun-set a breeze sprang up from the N.W. We now stood to the N.N.E.; which course, by day-light on Thursday the 1st of March, brought us in sight of Owhyhee,<sup>1</sup> bearing by compass from north to N. by E. about twenty-four leagues distant.

The order for prohibiting general trade with the Indians was again read to the ship's company. A particular attention to such regulations with persons circumstanced as we were, was not only of material importance, but was absolutely indispensable.

As the day advanced, which was delightfully pleasant, the wind gradually veered round to the north-eastward, which enabled us shortly after noon to steer for the south point of Owhyhee,<sup>2</sup> then bearing by compass N. 8 W. 14 leagues distant. Our latitude was now  $18^{\circ} 9'$ , longitude per dead reckoning  $209^{\circ} 33'$ ; by the chronometer  $204^{\circ} 19'$ , which latter is to be received as the true longitude, notwithstanding the difference of  $5^{\circ} 14'$ ; for so much had we been affected by western or lee currents, in performing this very long and tedious passage. About midnight, we passed to the westward of the south point of Owhyhee; and in the hope of procuring some provisions and refreshments, as we sailed past the west coast of this island we kept close in shore.

<sup>1</sup> The old spelling of Hawaii, the name of the largest island in the Sandwich (now the Hawaiian) Islands.

<sup>2</sup> Ka Lae (South Cape) in lat.  $18^{\circ} 55' N$ , long.  $155^{\circ} 41' W$  ( $204^{\circ} 19' E$ ).

In the morning of Friday the 2d, with a light breeze from the land, at the distance of about three miles, we stood along shore to the northward. Several canoes came off with a supply of pigs,<sup>1</sup> and vegetables; amongst the latter were some very excellent water melons:<sup>2</sup> the natives, however, demanded a very exorbitant return for these refreshments, and seemed very indifferent about trading, or having any other communication with us.<sup>3</sup> At noon on Saturday the 3d, with very pleasant weather and light breezes, generally from off the land, Karakakooa<sup>4</sup> bore north about five miles distant; and we had now the satisfaction of finding our chronometer, allowing the Otaheitean rate, to agree within a few seconds of its longitude as settled by Captain Cook. The Portsmouth rate made it  $1^{\circ} 18'$  to the eastward. On board the Chatham, Mr. Arnold's chronometer erred  $24'$  to the westward, according to its rate of going as settled at Otaheite.

The steep precipice which forms the north side of Karakakooa bay, renders its too remarkable to be easily mistaken, especially as the interior country rises thence more abruptly than from the coast to the north or south of the bay; which, although presenting both wood-land and cultivated country above the barren rocky shores where the habitations of the natives are chiefly situated, is, nevertheless, in a great degree destitute of the diversity of prospect which might have been expected here, and which is also the general character of all this side of the island.

Several canoes having stood to sea after us in the morning, we now brought to, for the purpose of trading with them; and were soon honored with a visit from *Tianna*,<sup>5</sup> the person mentioned in Mr. Meare's voyage. He was received in a manner agreeable to the distinguished character he had been represented to support, and which, from his grateful inquiries after his patron, he appeared to deserve. This complimentary conversation he seemed desirous of speedily putting an end to, being very anxious to acquaint us that, since his return from

<sup>1</sup> Pigs, dogs and fowl were brought to the Hawaiian Islands by the Polynesians when they migrated to them.

<sup>2</sup> Menzies noted that he had seen no melons when he visited Hawaii in 1787-88. - 2 March. Bell states that he was told that they had been planted first by Captain William Douglas of the *Iphigenia*, a trader that visited Kealakekua Bay in December 1788. - 3 March.

<sup>3</sup> Bell correctly suspected that this reluctance to trade was an attempt to force Vancouver to sell arms and ammunition: 'the Masters of the different Merchant Ships... have given the Natives Fire Arms and Ammunition in Barter for refreshments, and I have reason to suppose that the seeming scarcity was nothing more than a political scheme to endeavour to force us to offer the like articles for a larger & better supply.' - 2 March.

<sup>4</sup> Kealakekua Bay, where Cook was killed in a clash with the natives in February 1779. It is 40 miles N of Ka Lae.

<sup>5</sup> The name is now spelled Kaiana. Hawaiian was still an unwritten language in Vancouver's time; it was 'firmed in writing' by a committee of missionaries in 1826. 'They found difficulty in distinguishing between *l* and *r*, *k* and *t*, *w* and *v*, and, by vote, chose *l*, *k*, and *w* to represent these sounds.' - Dorothy Barrère, *Hawaii Aboriginal Culture* (Honolulu, 1962), p. 11. Hence the disappearance of *r*, *t* and *v* from the modern spelling of Hawaiian names.

China, he had resided on this island,<sup>1</sup> where many severe conflicts had taken place; in which he had taken part with *Tamaahmaah*,<sup>2</sup> against *Teamawheere*,<sup>3</sup> who, it seemed, had, since the death of *Tereeoboo*,<sup>4</sup> shared the government with *Tamaahmaah*. In one of these battles *Tianna* having shot *Teamawheere*, a complete victory was gained, and these two chiefs agreed to divide the island between them. *Tamaahmaah* becoming the sovereign over the three northern, and *Tianna* of the three southern districts.<sup>5</sup>

Understanding that I purposed going directly to the Leeward islands, *Tianna* requested he might be permitted to accompany us, and, with his wives and retinue, to sleep on board; with which request I thought proper to comply. From the character given of this chief,\* I was not a little surprized to find him totally ignorant of our language, and unable to pronounce a single word articulately; but by our knowledge of his speech<sup>6</sup> we soon understood, that, since the preceding autumn, not any vessel had arrived; that about that time three of four American brigs, and one, in which was Mr. Colnett, belonging

<sup>1</sup> Kaiana, ambitious, restless and warlike, had been taken to China by Meares in the *Nootka* in 1787 and returned to Hawaii in December 1788, by way of the Northwest Coast, in the *Iphigenia*, another ship owned by Meares and his associates. Meares published a portrait of him in his *Voyages* that suggests his 'Herculean appearance' and he described him as 'a prince of the island of Atooi [Kauai], a chief of illustrious birth and high rank.' – John Meares, *Voyages... from China to the North West Coast of America* (London, 1790), p. 4. Meares assumed he was a prince of Kauai because it was there that he had joined the *Nootka*, but he was in fact a nephew of Kalaniopuu, king (or chief) of Hawaii at the time of Cook's visit. Dissatisfied with prospects in Hawaii, he threw in his lot with Kahekili, who controlled Maui, and took a prominent part in Kahekili's invasion of Oahu in 1783. Again dissatisfied, he broke with Kahekili and went to Kauai, where he was soon at loggerheads with Kaeo, Kahekili's half-brother, who ruled over much of the island. The voyage to China thus offered him both escape and adventure. On his return he settled in his native island of Hawaii and became a supporter of Kamehameha.

<sup>2</sup> Kamehameha, the warrior chief under whom the Sandwich Islands were eventually brought under one control.

<sup>3</sup> Also spelled Teewaroh; in modern Hawaiian, Kiwalao.

<sup>4</sup> Now spelled Kalaniopuu.

<sup>5</sup> This is very much Kaiana's version of events. Accounts are conflicting, but in summary the story appears to be as follows: Kalaniopuu, Chief of Hawaii, died in 1782, having made only two provisions for the succession: he named his son Kiwalao as his successor, but knowing that he was a weak character, he entrusted the war god to his warrior nephew, Kamehameha. A troubled decade followed, as dissatisfaction and ambition were rife amongst the chiefs who had not been recognized in the will. Eventually rival factions assembled around Kiwalao and Kamehameha. In a battle that followed, Kiwalao was killed (though Kaiana's claim that it was he who killed him is suspect) and Kamehameha gained control of much of the island of Hawaii. Kaiana exercised considerable authority under Kamehameha, but he was neither equal to him in status nor independent of him, as his statement to Vancouver implied.

\* See Meares's *Voyage*. [pp. 4–9].

<sup>6</sup> The Hawaiian language, which shares about 85 per cent. of its basic vocabulary with Tahitian. Manby notes that 'the little English' Kaiana 'had learnt was intirely forgot, except the Name of Wine, which he instantly asked for on coming on board.' – letters, 3 March.

to Macao,<sup>1</sup> had visited the islands; and, that it was not possible for any vessels to touch at the other islands, without himself and the people of Owhyhee being informed of their arrival. This intelligence made me despair of meeting the storeship;<sup>2</sup> and the hope which I had so long indulged, as a compensation for the tardy progress which circumstances had hitherto compelled us to make, now seemed intirely to vanish.

*Tianna* viewed every transaction on board with attentive admiration, whilst our numbers seemed to create in his mind a degree of surprize he was unable to subdue. In the course of the evening he held frequent conversations with *Towereroo*, and during the night he was several times on deck, endeavouring to ascertain the number of men on duty in the different parts of the ship.<sup>3</sup>

The retinue of *Tianna* on this occasion was to consist of a considerable number; part were to attend him on board the *Discovery*, and the remainder was to proceed in the *Chatham*. His residence was a little to the north of *Karakakooa*; and as it was proposed his suite should be taken on board the next afternoon, we kept off that station. A messenger, apparently of some consequence, was dispatched to the shore with directions for this purpose the preceding evening; in the forenoon of Sunday the 4th, however, several consultations took place with those about him, which finally ended in his declining to accompany us to *Attowai*.<sup>4</sup> The conversation he had held with *Towereroo* had induced him to believe that the services of this lad might be of great importance to him; and as he promised *Towereroo* a very handsome establishment of house, land, and other advantages, I thought it adviseable to fix him with *Tianna* for the present, that, on my return in the winter, I might be enabled to form some judgment of his treatment. *Morotoi*,<sup>5</sup> the native island of *Towereroo*, was in a state of great confusion, in consequence of its being the general rendezvous of *Titeere* and *Taio*, the sovereigns of *Woahoo* and *Attowai*,<sup>6</sup> who were then meditating a war against this island. This was

<sup>1</sup> Colnett and his ship, the *Argonaut*, had been seized at Nootka by the Spaniards in July 1789 and taken to Mexico. They were released a year later, and after visiting Nootka Sound Colnett sailed for China by way of Hawaii. He was at the islands from 27 March to 18 April 1791.

<sup>2</sup> Vancouver had hoped to find the storeship *Daedalus* awaiting him. She did not arrive until 9 May, after his departure.

<sup>3</sup> Vancouver was suspicious of *Kaiana*'s motives, and with good reason. He was undoubtedly gauging the possibility of seizing one or both of Vancouver's ships and gaining possession of their guns, arms and ammunition. Vancouver's remarks are paralleled in an entry in the journal of Joseph Ingraham, commander of the trading ship *Hope*. *Kaiana* had spent the night of 23 May 1791 on board: 'During the night it was observed by the officers and seamen that *Tiana* slept but little, frequently going on deck. He called me twice to have the ship run nearer shore, but each time I gave orders to the contrary. He likewise enquired of *Opye* [*Opai*] the number of men, guns, and quantity of powder on board, etc., which it seems *Opye* exaggerated.' — M. K. Kaplanoff (ed.), *Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine 'Hope'*... (Barre, Mass., 1971), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Kauai.

<sup>5</sup> Molokai.

<sup>6</sup> *Kahekili*, chief of *Maui*, who also controlled *Oahu* (*Woahoo*), and his half-brother *Kaao*, who, under his overlordship, controlled much of *Kauai*.

an additional reason for consenting to the arrangement. *Towereroo*, though exceedingly anxious to accept *Tianna's* offer, seemed to entertain great doubts as to the future safety of himself and his property; to the last moment he had his choice of remaining on board, or departing with *Tianna*; and, notwithstanding he did not hesitate to prefer the latter, yet he earnestly requested the few clothes he had left, and the articles I had given him, since our leaving Otaheite, might be taken care of on board, until our return; and he would take with him a very small assortment of the different articles of traffic only, to supply his present necessities.<sup>1</sup>

As *Tianna* had several goats, I did not present him with any of these animals, but made him very happy by giving him some vine and orange plants, some almonds, and an assortment of garden seeds, to all of which he promised the most particular care and attention. After receiving some acceptable valuables in return for ten small hogs, he took his leave of us with *Towereroo* about five in the afternoon; and though he affected to be pretty well satisfied with his reception, and flattered with being saluted with four guns on his departure, yet it was very evident he was extremely disappointed and chagrined in not having been able to procure any fire arms or ammunition; which were anxiously solicited, not only by himself but by all his countrymen, and by us as uniformly refused.<sup>2</sup>

To the care of *Towereroo* I intrusted a letter, addressed to the officer commanding the vessel charged with stores and provisions for our service,<sup>3</sup> acquainting him with our departure from Owhyhee, and of my intention to call at the Leeward islands to recruit our water, after which, we should proceed immediately to the coast of America: and I directed him to follow us thither without loss of time, agreeably to the arrangements I had previously made with the Secretary of State's office.

As we stood along shore with a light breeze, we were in the evening greatly surprized on being hailed from a large canoe, which was meeting us, in broken English, demanding who we were, and to what country we belonged, and very civilly requesting to be admitted on board. This being granted, the

<sup>1</sup> Some were highly critical of Vancouver's treatment of *Towereroo*. Manby states that when the proposal to leave him with *Kaiana* was made, he 'with joy agreed to the plan, no doubt happy in the idea of parting with a set of Men who had treated him with the utmost barbarity by tearing him from the object of his affections at Otaheite.' - letters, 3 March. 'Poor fellow I pity'd him when I thought how much happier he wou'd have been had he been suffered to remain at Otaheite which he wish'd so much for, - . . . he seem'd low spirited & dejected.' He was 'put ashore like a Convict to his place of transportation.' - Bell, March.

<sup>2</sup> 'It was but too evident. . . that the attention of *Tianna* & his followers were wholly directed to warlike preparations, for nothing was now held in greater estimation or more eagerly sought after than fire arms & powder by those very people who but a few years back shudder'd at the report of a musquet, but which they could now handle with a degree of ease & dexterity that equalld the most expert veteran.' - Menzies, 3 March. Menzies had visited the islands in the *Prince of Wales* in 1787-8.

<sup>3</sup> Neither this letter nor a copy is known to have survived.

speaker proved to be a young man named *Tarehooa*, a native of Attowai,<sup>1</sup> who had accompanied a Mr. John Ingram commanding an American ship laden with furs, from North West America, bound to Boston in New England by the way of China. *Tarehooa* had been with Mr. Ingram in North America about seven months, and had returned in a brig with him some months before.<sup>2</sup>

His present master, he informed me, was a chief named *Kahowmotoo*;<sup>3</sup> of great importance, and nearly equal in consequence with *Tianna*; and who like him had been very instrumental in gaining for *Tamaahmaah* the sovereignty of the whole island. We were instantly made known to this chief, who presented me with a letter written in Spanish, dated 'Sloop Princess Royal, March 28, 1791,' (probably the same vessel that was captured at Nootka) attended by an English translation of the same date, and both signed 'Emanuel Kimper';<sup>4</sup> recommending in the strongest terms *Tamaahmaah*, *Tianna*, and this chief *Kahowmotoo*, for their having, on all occasions, shewn Mr. Kimper and his people every mark of friendly attention and hospitality. *Kahowmotoo* presented me with three fine hogs, for which in return he received ample compensation; but, like *Tianna*, was much mortified that it had not been made in arms or ammunition. He requested to sleep on board, and that his canoe might be taken in tow, in both of which he was indulged. Much conversation took place in the evening. He confirmed the account given by *Tianna* of the non-arrival of any vessels for some months past, and the wars which had taken place; but it was excessively difficult to reconcile the story he told of *Tianna*, with that which *Tianna* had related of himself. *Tianna*'s achievements he readily admitted, and candidly allowed him great merit for his military exploits; but denied his having equal power with *Tamaahmaah*; saying, there was but one *aree de hoi* over all Owwhyhee, and he was *Tamaahmaah*; and that if *Tianna* was an *aree de hoi*,<sup>5</sup> so also must he be, and other chiefs of equal consequence with *Tianna* and himself.

<sup>1</sup> Kalehua, a native of Kauai.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Ingraham was mate of the Boston trader *Columbia*. She arrived at the Sandwich Islands from the Northwest Coast late in August 1789 and left on 17 September for Boston, where she arrived on 9 August 1790. Kalehua, whom Ingraham knew as Opye (Opai), was only six weeks in America, not seven months, as Ingraham was given command of the brigantine *Hope*, which sailed from Boston for the Northwest Coast on 16 September. She arrived at Hawaii on 20 May 1791. There Opye left the ship, having been with Ingraham twenty months.

<sup>3</sup> Keeaumoku.

<sup>4</sup> The *Princess Royal* was, as Vancouver surmised, the ship seized at Nootka; the Spaniards were taking her to Macao, where she was to be handed back to her owners. She was commanded by Manuel Quimper, who had been instructed to visit the Sandwich Islands and establish friendly relations with the natives. Colnett believed the Spaniards intended to establish a settlement there. Colnett in the *Argonaut* met up with Quimper in the *Princess Royal* in Kailua Bay, and a near clash occurred, as Colnett at one time had it in mind 'to retake the Vessel by force of arms, which the Ship's Crew Joyfully agreed to.' — F. W. Howay (ed.), *The Journal of Captain James Colnett* (Toronto, 1940), pp. 213–19.

<sup>5</sup> This is not a Hawaiian expression; Vancouver was repeating the term he had heard in Tahiti. The correct expression would be alii-nui, meaning a great or principal chief, the head of an aupuni, a term meaning both kingdom and government.

This instance will serve to illustrate how very difficult it is, according to our comprehension of their language, to obtain matter of fact from these people; and that nothing short of indefatigable labour can obtain the truth, and correct information, from man in so early a state of civilization.

The next morning we were abreast of the south point of Toca-yah-ha bay,<sup>1</sup> near which is *Kahowmotoo's* residence. It was a great pleasure to observe the avidity with which all the chiefs who had visited the ship sought after the vegetable productions we had brought; which, if attended to, will in future add to their present abundant production. *Kahowmotoo* was very anxious to obtain every acquisition of this sort, and was made very happy by receiving some fine orange plants, and a packet of different garden seeds; and likewise a goat and kid. With these valuables he appeared to be highly delighted, and promised to give them his greatest care and attention.

*Tareehooa*, who preferred the name of Jack, had been with Mr. Ingram in the capacity of a servant; but was now promoted to the office of interpreter in the service of this chief, which he by no means badly executed. Jack was extremely solicitous to remain on board, and to accompany us on our voyage. As he appeared to be a very shrewd active fellow, and there was a probability of his being made useful, I accepted of his services on Monday the 5th, to which the chief consented, though with a mixture of regret, and a friendly regard for Jack's future advantage and success. After being saluted with four guns, a compliment which *Tianna* had received, and taking a very affectionate leave of his interpreter, *Kahowmotoo* departed with the most friendly assurance, that whenever we should think proper to visit his district, we should be abundantly supplied with refreshments.

A light breeze, chiefly from the south, advanced us slowly towards the north point of Owwhyhee, until the trade wind at E.N.E. no longer intercepted by the high mountains which compose the island, met us; when we directed our course towards Woahoo.<sup>2</sup> Early in the morning of Tuesday the 6th, being well in with the island of Tahoorowa,<sup>3</sup> the Chatham's signal was made to denote our situation in bearing up along the south side of that island; but as neither this nor some previous signals had been acknowledged, I concluded the Chatham had remained becalmed under the high land of Owwhyhee; whilst we had benefited by a very fine gale, owing to our being a little further advanced; and Woahoo being our next appointed rendezvous, a long separation could not be apprehended. The trade wind blew strong from the N.E. until we were under the lee of Ranai,<sup>4</sup> when light and variable winds succeeded. At noon Tahoorowa by compass bore S. 88 E.; the S.W. part of Mowee<sup>5</sup> N. 79 E.; the east part of Ranai N. 60 E.; south point N. 20 E.; north west point N. 18 W.; and the western part of Morotoi indistinctly seen,

<sup>1</sup> Kawaihae Bay, on the N side of the W coast of Hawaii.

<sup>2</sup> Oahu, now much the most populous island in the group, on which Honolulu is situated.

<sup>3</sup> Kahoolawe, an island off the SW corner of Maui.

<sup>4</sup> Lanai.

<sup>5</sup> Maui.

bore N.N.W. In this situation the latitude was observed to be  $20^{\circ} 41'$ , longitude by the chronometer  $203^{\circ} 2'$ . The south point of Ranai being the nearest land, was about four miles distant, and was placed by our observations  $1'$  south, and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to the west of the situation assigned to it by Captain King. In the afternoon some few of the natives visited us from Ranai, merely, I believe, to satisfy their curiosity, as they brought with them scarcely any thing for barter. Indeed, the dreary and desolate appearance of their island, seemed a sufficient apology for their coming empty handed. The apparent sterility of the country, and a few scattered miserable habitations which we were able with our glasses to discern, indicated the part of it now presented to our view to be very thinly inhabited, and incapable of affording any of its productions to strangers. During the afternoon we proceeded to the north along the west side of Ranai; and, towards sun-set again met the trade wind, which about midnight brought us in sight of Woahoo, bearing by compass west six or seven miles distant. We plied until day light of Wednesday the 7th, when we directed our course along the south side of that island, whose eastern shores bear a similar desolate appearance to those of Ranai, and are principally composed of barren rocks and high precipices, which fall perpendicularly into the sea. We did not pass at a greater distance than a league, yet verdure or cultivation was not any where to be seen. From its east point the north east side of Woahoo takes a direction N.  $35^{\circ}$  W. off which are scattered some detached islets and rocks; the northernmost of these which we saw, is a low flat rock, lying from the east point N.  $22^{\circ}$  W. three or four leagues distant; and near the shore was a hill whose summit bears the appearance of a volcanic crater.<sup>1</sup> The land to the north of the east point seemed much indented, but whether capable of affording any shelter or not, we were too far off to discern. On the south east part of this island are two remarkable promontories, which lie from each other S.  $81^{\circ}$  W. and N.  $81^{\circ}$  E. about seven miles asunder; the first or easternmost of these is formed of barren rocky cliffs, rising so suddenly from the sea,<sup>2</sup> that to all appearance vessels might brush their sides in passing them; whence the land falls a little back, and forms a shallow bay in a northern direction,<sup>3</sup> where the different colours in the water indicated a rocky bottom; on the beach the surf broke very violently, behind which a lagoon extended some distance to the northward. Should the bottom be found good, vessels might ride in this bay tolerably well protected against the general trade wind; but as our place of rendezvous was round the second promontory, we did not examine it in a more particular manner. Continuing our course about nine we hauled round the reef which lies about a quarter of a mile from that point, and had soundings from 22 to 10 fathoms; in which latter depth of water we anchored about ten o'clock, the bottom sand and pieces of small coral. This promontory, which is the south point of the island, has also on its top the appearance of a crater,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Koko Crater, a sharp cone 1204 feet high.

<sup>2</sup> Koko Head.

<sup>3</sup> Maunalua Bay.

<sup>4</sup> Diamond Head, an extinct volcano. The crater, now occupied by a military installation, may be seen clearly from the air.

formed by volcanic eruptions; this bore by compass N. 82 E.; the outward part of the reef S. 81 E.; the westernmost part of the land in sight N. 82 W. a break in the reef, which extends at irregular distances along the shore, N. 20 W.; a low sandy point, near the west end of a large Indian village N. 7 W.; and the middle of the village (where, the natives informed us, we might land in perfect safety with our boats) N.N.E. about two miles distant. We examined a considerable space around the ship, and found in shore the same description of bottom, though the coral which principally composed it was of so soft a nature, as to cause little apprehension for the safety of our cables. The depth of water within us gradually decreased to six fathoms, and without, to the distance of nearly a mile, as gradually increased to 25 and 30 fathoms, where the bottom was found to be a fine grey sand.

As our quarter deck required caulking, the carpenters were immediately employed on this business. Some few of the natives visited us from the shore, who brought in their canoes a very sparing supply of refreshments, amongst which, the musk and water melons made no inconsiderable part, and were very excellent of their kinds.<sup>1</sup> The situation occupied by us in this bay, which the natives call Whyteete,<sup>2</sup> seemed nearly as eligible as most of the anchoring places these islands are generally found to afford. The inhabitants were excessively orderly and docile, although there was not a chief or any person of distinction amongst them to enforce their good behaviour; neither man nor woman attempted to come on board, without first obtaining permission; and when this was refused, they remained perfectly quiet in their canoes alongside.

The information obtained at Owhyhee, that *Titeere* and *Taio*, with most of the principal chiefs and warriors of this island, and those to leeward, were on a hostile expedition at Morotoi and Mowee, was here confirmed; but differed as to the immediate cause of their absence, which was now represented to be for the purpose of repelling an invasion likely to take place from Owhyhee, by *Tamaahmaah*, *Kohowmotoo*, and *Tianna*. This, in a great measure, seemed to account for the small number of inhabitants who visited us, the wretched condition of their canoes, and the scanty supply of their country's produce which they brought to market. On the shores, the villages appeared numerous, large, and in good repair; and the surrounding country pleasingly

<sup>1</sup> Vancouver does not mention two other items of trade: salt and pearls. As the ships had expended all their salt at Tahiti, a new supply was most welcome. The *Chatham* was offered 'a large quantity of excellent Salt, this Salt was brought off in small neat Bundles of about 15 & 20 lbs Wt. - two of which were purchased for a Small Knife or half a dozen Small nails, and in the course of a few hours we fill'd Seven Barrels with this commodity.' Later Bell adds that they 'purchased a large quantity of excellent Salt fish which was well cured, and wou'd no doubt keep very well. . . ' - Bell, 8 and 12 March. Beaglehole states that 'The Hawaiians, alone among Polynesians, produced salt from sea-water by means of properly-constructed salt pans.' - Cook, *Journals*, III, 276n. Cook secured some salt at Niihau in 1778. In his account of his next visit to the islands, Vancouver describes how the salt was harvested. 'They also brought some Pearls to dispose of, but they were for the most part small badly shap'd & ill colord, so consequently of little value.' - Menzies, 8 March.

<sup>2</sup> Waikiki.

interspersed with deep, though not extensive valleys; which, with the plains near the sea-side, presented a high degree of cultivation and fertility. The apparent docility of these people, who have been represented by former visitors as the most daring and unmanageable of any who belong to the Sandwich islands, might probably, be attributed in a great measure to the absence of their fighting men, and to our manifest superiority in numbers, regularity in point of order, and military government; which seemed to make a wonderful impression on all who were permitted to come on board, and who, to a man, appeared very much afraid of fire-arms. This was evinced, on our mounting guard to post the centinels round the ship. On this occasion they all hastily paddled towards the shore, and it was not without much persuasion that they were induced to return.<sup>1</sup>

It appeared very singular, that the war of which we had heard so much, was not yet begun; and *Kahowmotoo*, who had frequently mentioned the subject, said they were not to begin the combat until after the expiration of fifteen months. If this information be correct, designs so long premeditated, or preparations delayed so long from being carried into execution, were hard to account for. *Taio* and *Titeere* had now been several months from their respective governments.<sup>2</sup>

Our new ship-mate Jack became very useful; he took upon him to represent us in the most formidable point of view to all his countrymen; magnifying our powers, and augmenting our numbers, and proclaiming that we were not traders, such as they had been accustomed to see; but that we were belonging to King George, and were all mighty warriors. This being his constant discourse, it is not to be wondered that his countrymen became much intimidated; and as this could be productive of no ill consequences, we permitted Jack to proceed in his encomiums, and unanimously agreed it would not be his fault if we were not in high repute amongst the islanders.

After caulking the decks I purposed to execute such trivial repairs, at this place, as might be found necessary to the rigging, &c. &c. provided that water, for which I was alone solicitous, could be procured; as the abundant and excellent refreshments we had obtained at Otaheite, and the high state of health which we had enjoyed since our leaving Dusky bay, rendered supplies of any other nature a secondary consideration.

For this purpose, attended by two armed boats, and a guard of seven marines, I landed, accompanied by Mr. Mudge, Mr. Whidbey, and Mr. Menzies. Our boats remained perfectly quiet on the beach, having passed to the shore between some rocks, which completely protected it from the surf. The natives, who were present, received us in a very orderly manner. Two

<sup>1</sup> The relatively large, well armed and well disciplined crews of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* offered a sharp contrast to those of the trading ships with which the islanders were familiar. To attempt to seize them would obviously be a hazardous undertaking.

<sup>2</sup> The anticipated war did not in fact break out in earnest until after the death of Kahekili, chief of Maui, in July 1794. This was after Vancouver's third and last visit to the islands.

bustling men with large sticks, kept the few spectators at a respectful distance: to these I made some presents; and, on inquiring for water, they directed us to some stagnant brackish ponds near the beach. This being rejected, we were given to understand that good water was to be had in abundance at some distance, to which they readily undertook to conduct us: and as they all appeared friendly and pacific, the boats were left in charge of Mr. Swaine and Mr. Manby; and we proceeded, with our guard, in search of the promised supply. Our guides led us to the northward through the village, to an exceedingly well-made causeway, about twelve feet broad, with a ditch on each side.

This opened to our view a spacious plain, which, in the immediate vicinity of the village, had the appearance of the open common fields in England; but, on advancing, the major part appeared divided into fields of irregular shape and figure, which were separated from each other by low stone walls, and were in a very high state of cultivation. These several portions of land were planted with the eddo or *taro* root,<sup>1</sup> in different stages of inundation; none being perfectly dry, and some from three to six or seven inches under water. The causeway led us near a mile from the beach, at the end of which was the water we were in quest of. It was a rivulet five or six feet wide, and about two or three feet deep, well banked up, and nearly motionless; some small rills only, finding a passage through the dams that checked the sluggish stream, by which a constant supply was afforded to the *taro* plantations. The water was excellent, but the road was too rough and hard for rolling our casks such a distance, without exposing them to great damage. This induced me to make our guides understand, that, if the inhabitants would collect, and carry this water on board in gourds, they should be well rewarded for their trouble. The offer was instantly communicated to their neighbours about us, who immediately replied, we should have an ample supply the next day. At the termination of the causeway, the paths of communication with the different fields or plantations were on these narrow stone walls; very rugged, and where one person only could pass at a time. The gentleness and civility of the natives tempted us to extend our walk through the plantations, which we found very pleasant. A fine refreshing breeze prevailed, and the Indians kept at a sufficient distance to prevent their company being incommodious. In this excursion we found the land in a high state of cultivation, mostly under immediate crops of *taro*; and abounding with a variety of wild fowl, chiefly of the duck kind, some of which our sportsmen shot, and they were very fine eating. The sides of the hills, which were at some distance, seemed rocky and barren; the intermediate vallies, which were all inhabited, produced some large trees, and made a pleasing appearance. The plains, however, if we may judge from the labour bestowed on their cultivation, seem to afford the principal proportion of the different vegetable productions on which the inhabitants depend for

<sup>1</sup> Kalo, the most widely cultivated food plant. Poi, the staple food of the islanders, was made from its tubers.

their subsistence. The soil, though tolerably rich, and producing rather a luxuriant abundance, differs very materially from that of Matavai, or the other parts of Otaheite. At Woahoo, Nature seems only to have acted a common part in her dispensations of vegetable food for the service of man; and to have almost confined them to the *taro* plant,<sup>1</sup> the raising of which is attended with much care, ingenuity, and manual labour. In the several parts of its culture, the inhabitants, whether planting, weeding, or gathering, must, during the whole of these operations, be up to their middle in mud, and exposed to the rays of a vertical sun: whereas, on the plains of Otaheite, the surface teems, as it were, spontaneously with the most abundant produce of esculent vegetables, without the help of industry to sow, plant, or rear them, or the assistance of the aqueducts which these people construct with great labour and ingenuity to insure them a crop. There, the continued groves of the lofty and umbrageous bread fruit, apple, palm, and other trees, afford a delightful cool retreat to those favored islanders; here the inhabitants know not the luxury of such retirement. Nor did it appear in the vegetable kingdom alone that Nature here had been less<sup>2</sup> favorable; the human species, though without doubt originally of the same nation, differ excessively; and it would seem that the comparative benevolence of the Otaheiteans and these people was about equal to the natural fertility of the soil on which they respectively lived. It may however appear rather uncharitable to form any decided opinion on so short an acquaintance; yet first impressions will ever have their influence on visiting different countries under circumstances similar, or nearly so. On such occasions it is scarcely possible to avoid comparisons, in which one must necessarily suffer. On our landing at Otaheite, the effusions of friendship and hospitality were evident in the countenances of every one we met. Each endeavoured to anticipate our wants or our wishes by the most fascinating attention, and by sedulously striving to be first in performing any little service we required; inviting us to take refreshments at every house we approached, and manifesting a degree of kindness that would justly be extolled amongst the most polished nations. At Woahoo we were regarded with an unwelcome austerity, and our wants treated by the generality with a negligent indifference. In the course of our walk they exhibited no assiduity to please, nor did they appear apprehensive lest offence should be given; no refreshments were offered, nor had we invitation to any of their houses. Their general behaviour was distantly civil, apparently directed by a desire to establish a peaceable intercourse with strangers, from whom there was a prospect of deriving many valuable acquisitions, which would be unattainable by any other mode of conduct; as they must have been convinced immediately on our landing, that

<sup>1</sup> Menzies' account differs. He states that the plantation 'was nearly level & very extensive & laid out with great neatness into little fields planted with Taro Yams Sweet Potatoes & the Cloth plant [wauke].' - 7 March.

<sup>2</sup> 'more' in the first edition, a mistake one would have expected to find noted in the errata.

we were too powerful to be conquered, and too much upon our guard to suffer the least indignity by surprize.<sup>1</sup> I must, however, do justice to the hospitality of our two guides, who on our reaching the shore took upon them the office of constables; and who had also each caused a hog and a quantity of vegetables to be prepared for our entertainment. On our return this repast was ready, and we were much intreated by them to partake of it; but as it was now past sun set, we were under the necessity of declining their civility; on which they very obligingly put our intended supper into the boats. I presented each of our guides with an acceptable acknowledgment, and earnestly renewing my request of a supply from the brook, which they promised should be complied with the next day, we returned on board.

Towards midnight the Chatham arrived, and anchored a little to the westward of the Discovery. I soon learned from Mr. Broughton that as I had suspected, his vessel had been becalmed the evening we parted until near one the next morning, when they stood towards Mowee; but on his not being able to see the Discovery at day light, he steered to the north-west along the southern side of that island, and found an eligible anchoring place off its western part, with soundings regular and good;<sup>2</sup> and as the natives brought

<sup>1</sup> Johnstone, who had been with Colnett in the *Prince of Wales* in 1787-8, when she wintered in the Sandwich Islands, noted a marked difference in the attitude of the natives. Whereas on the first visit 'we found the Natives behave so very audacious and apparently hostile, their conduct was now the reverse for they were docile and orderly trading fairly, without once seeking to visit on board after being denied. I do not conceive that this amicable change had arisen from any change of disposition, but from the great superiority which they must have observed in the Ships and the regulations in their government, for with us it was an order and positive followed, not to admit any native whatever, except the chiefs within the Ship or out of their Canoes, and since those orders had been followed, not the smallest theft had happened nor had their once been the slightest interruption to the most perfect harmony that subsisted through all our dealings.' - 8 March. Johnstone was in the *Chatham*; isolation from the shore was not so complete in the *Discovery*, which was longer at Waikiki: 'whoever might be inclined to censure the conduct of the ladies for with-holding their company from us on the preceeding day, had now no cause to complain for they came off in large groups not only in the Canoes but on swimming boards with no other intention than that of tendering their persons to any one that would choose to have them, & those who were unsuccessful in their aim went away chiding us for our want of gallantry.' - Menzies, 8 March.

<sup>2</sup> This was the Lahaina anchorage, in later years much frequented by whalers. Bell describes their approach to it and their brief visit to the bay: 'as we got towards the Western Extreme of Mowee we were crowded with Canoes - and being about half way between it and Ranai [Lanai], we had Canoes not only from these two, but from all the other Islands - I reckoned at one time upwards of a hundred & twenty round us - each of which upon an average contained 5 people. - they brought with them a large supply of Roots, some fish, Wood & fresh Water, and a very considerable quantity of good Water Melons, and a few Musk Melons - but did not bring off a Single Pig, - the People behaved very quietly and dealt very fairly with us.' Two chiefs came on board who 'told us there were plenty of Hogs on Shore and wanted us much to go into a Bay under the Western Extreme of Mowee, - towards Noon we got a fresh trade Wind with which we made a Stretch into this Bay. We found it to be much more pleasantly situated than any Bay we had yet seen; and though not very deep, had the appearance of being tolerably well shelter'd from the

off a considerable quantity of water, he had great reason to believe that article could there be readily procured.

The few natives in our immediate neighbourhood, though they conducted themselves in a very civil and submissive manner, yet brought us so little water in the course of the next day, Tuesday the 8th, that I was induced to give up the idea of obtaining a supply by their means,<sup>1</sup> and to proceed immediately to Attowai; where I was assured we should have that necessary article completely within our own reach and power. After employing the forenoon in setting up our rigging, and in other useful occupations, we weighed anchor, and steered to the westward.

Anxious to communicate the intelligence of our progress to the officer commanding the storeship, (this being one of the appointed rendezvous) I entrusted a letter to one of the natives, a very active sensible fellow, who promised to take great care of it, and to deliver it on the vessel's arrival in this bay; and for the faithful discharge of this trust, he was assured of receiving a very handsome present, to which I promised him an addition on my return.

Whyteete bay is formed, by the land falling a little back round the south point of Woahoo; and although open above half the compass in the southern quarters, it is unquestionably the most eligible anchoring place in the island. We found the latitude of the ship's station by four good meridional altitudes to be  $21^{\circ} 16', 47''$ ; its longitude by the chronometer  $202^{\circ} 9' 37''$ ; and the variation of the compass to be  $7^{\circ} 50'$  eastwardly. Mr. Arnold's chronometer on board the Chatham gave the longitude  $201^{\circ} 45' 30''$ , allowing the rate as settled at Otaheite; our chronometer by the Portsmouth rate, shewed the longitude to be  $203^{\circ} 29' 50''$ ; but  $202^{\circ} 9' 37''$  is to be received as its true longitude.<sup>2</sup>

A fine breeze between five and six brought us round the south-west part of Woahoo, which lies from the south point N. 82 W. five leagues distant.<sup>3</sup> This point is low flat land, with a reef round it, extending about a quarter of a mile from the shore. The reef and low land continue some distance to the eastward towards Whyteete bay, and form, between the south and south-west points, a large open shallow bay,<sup>4</sup> with high land rising very irregularly at some distance from the beach; which, towards the south-west

prevailing Winds: – the Country about the Bay had a very charming appearance... After satisfying our Curiosity in looking at this place & getting no Hogs off, we hoave away between the Islands of Morotai [Molokai] & Ranai, for Woahoo.' – 7 March 1792. A year later the *Chatham* made a longer stay in the anchorage, this time in company with the *Discovery*.

<sup>1</sup> There was more than slow delivery to complain of; the natives 'attempted many impositions on us – by filling the Empty Calabashes with salt water. the buyers sometimes paid the Nails without tasting, which gave them an opportunity to exult in their roguery as the Cheat would sneak off laughing at the Joke.' – Manby, letters, March 8.

<sup>2</sup> Honolulu Harbor Entrance Light is in lat.  $21^{\circ} 17' 9''$  N, long.  $157^{\circ} 52' 3''$  W ( $202^{\circ} 07' 57''$  E). The Waikiki anchorage is about 3 miles to the E.

<sup>3</sup> Barbers Point, 17 miles W of Diamond Head. Mamala Bay.

point, appeared to be broken in two places,<sup>1</sup> and to form lagoons that seemed capable of receiving boats and small craft. One of the natives, who was accompanying us to Attowai, informed me, that all along the shore off these openings the bottom was rocky, and would cut our cables. This, with some other circumstances, induced me to believe, that there was not any where in this spacious bay such good anchorage as at our last station.

At eight in the evening, the west point of Woahoo bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. three leagues distant. The Chatham being under the land becalmed, we soon lost sight of her. We continued our course under all sail, and to our great surprize came within sight of Attowai, by half past four the next morning, Friday the 9th. The east end,<sup>2</sup> by compass, bore N. by W. at a trifling distance, having gained almost six leagues in the night's run from land to land, more than the log ascertained; which I concluded must have been effected by a very strong north-west-current.

At day-break, we bore away along the south side of Attowai for Whymea bay,<sup>3</sup> where about nine o'clock we anchored, and moored a cable each way; the depth of water was 24 fathoms, with a bottom of dark grey sand and mud. The east point of the bay bearing, by compass, S. 67 E. the west point N. 70 W.; and the river N. 31 E. about two miles distant.

<sup>1</sup> Keehi Lagoon and the entrance to Pearl Harbor.

<sup>2</sup> Makahuena Point, the SE point of Kauai.

<sup>3</sup> Waimea Bay, where Cook, the discoverer of the Sandwich Islands, made his first landing in January 1778.

## CHAPTER II.

*Transactions at Attowai—The Prince and Regent visit the Ships—Fidelity of the Natives—Observations on the Change in the several Governments of the Sandwich Islands—Commercial Pursuits of the Americans.*

By the time we had anchored, several of the natives visited us in the same submissive and orderly manner as at Woahoo, and appeared better provided. Towards noon of Friday the 9th, the Chatham arrived; but the wind shifting about prevented her coming to anchor until sun-set, when she moored a little to the westward of the station we had taken.

Our boats, guard, &c. being in readiness, about one o'clock we proceeded to the shore. Mr. Menzies accompanied me in the yawl, and Mr. Puget followed with the cutter and launch. The surf was not so high as to prevent our landing with ease and safety; and we were received by the few natives present, with nearly the same sort of distant civility which we experienced at Woahoo.

A man, named *Rehooa*,<sup>1</sup> immediately undertook to preserve good order, and understanding we purposed to remain some days, caused two excellent houses to be *tabooed* for our service; one for the officers, the other for the working people, and for the guard, consisting of a serjeant and six marines. Stakes were driven into the ground from the river to the houses, and thence across the beach, giving us an allotment of as much space as we could possibly have occasion for; within which few encroachments were attempted.<sup>2</sup> This business was executed by two men, whose authority the people present seemed to acknowledge and respect, although they did not appear to us to be chiefs of any particular consequence. I made them some very acceptable presents; and a trade for provisions and fuel was soon established. Certain of the natives, who had permission to come within our lines, were employed in filling and rolling our water-casks to and from the boats; for which service they seemed highly gratified by the reward of a few beads or small nails.

Having no reason to be apprehensive of any interruption to the harmony

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Lehua in modern Hawaiian.

<sup>2</sup> The restrictions were not universally popular: 'The party on shore complained much that the Taboo on the part they occupied was so strict as to deprive them of the society of the ladies, for no inducement could get any of them to enter either of the houses or come within the lines.' — Menzies, 10 March.

and good understanding that seemed to exist, and the afternoon being invitingly pleasant, with Mr. Menzies, our new ship-mate Jack, and *Rehooa*, I proceeded along the river-side and found the low country which stretches from the foot of the mountains towards the sea, occupied principally with the *taro* plant, cultivated much in the same manner as at Woahoo; interspersed with a few sugar canes of luxuriant growth, and some sweet potatoes. The latter are planted on dry ground, the former on the borders and partitions of the *taro* grounds, which here, as well as at Woahoo, would be infinitely more commodious were they a little broader, being at present scarcely of sufficient width to walk upon. This inconvenience may possibly arise from a principle of œconomy, and the scarcity of naturally good land. The sides of the hills extending from these plantations to the commencement of the forest, a space comprehending at least one half of the island, appeared to produce nothing but a coarse spiry grass from an argillaceous soil, which had the appearance of having undergone the action of fire, and much resembled that called the red dirt in Jamaica, and there considered little better than a *caput mortuum*.<sup>1</sup> Most of the cultivated lands being considerably above the level of the river, made it very difficult to account for their being so uniformly well watered. The sides of the hills afforded no running streams; and admitting there had been a collection of water on their tops, they were all so extremely perforated, that there was little chance of water finding any passage to the *taro* plantations. These perforations, which were numerous, were visible at the termination of the mountains, in perpendicular cliffs abruptly descending to the cultivated land; and had the appearance of being the effect of volcanic eruptions, though I should suppose of very ancient date. As we proceeded, our attention was arrested by an object that greatly excited our admiration, and at once put an end to all conjecture on the means to which the natives resorted for the watering of their plantations. A lofty perpendicular cliff now presented itself, which, by rising immediately from the river, would effectually have stopped our further progress into the country, had it not been for an exceedingly well constructed wall of stones and clay about twenty-four feet high, raised from the bottom by the side of the cliff, which not only served as a pass into the country, but also as an aqueduct, to convey the water brought thither by great labour from a considerable distance; the place where the river descends from the mountains affording the planters an abundant stream, for the purpose to which it is so advantageously applied. This wall, which did no less credit to the mind of the projector than to the skill of the builder,<sup>2</sup> terminated the extent of our walk; from whence we returned through the

<sup>1</sup> A worthless residue.

<sup>2</sup> It was built 'in so neat & artful a manner as would do no discredit to more scientific builders.' — Menzies, 9 March. A stretch of wall about 200 feet long still exists. Known as the Menehune Ditch, Hawaiian legend maintains that it was built by the Menehunes, a race of incredibly strong and active little people who are said to have inhabited Kauai before the coming of the Polynesians. The same origin is ascribed to the much larger 900-foot wall that cuts off a bend in the Huleia Stream and forms Alekoko Fish Pond, also on Kauai.

plantations, whose highly improved state impressed us with a very favorable opinion of the industry and ingenuity of the inhabitants.

On our arrival at the beach, I had the comfort of finding all things in perfectly good order. As the trading and working party were extremely well lodged, it was reasonable to believe that our business would not only be much facilitated, but that a more plentiful supply of refreshments would, probably, be procured, by allowing them to remain on shore.<sup>1</sup> This induced me to leave Mr. Puget in charge of the party, and I returned on board perfectly satisfied with the safety of their situation.

Like our treatment at Woahoo, our reception here was not of that hearty, friendly nature, I had been accustomed to experience from our southern friends. The eagerness, nay even avidity, with which the men here assisted in the prostitution of the women; and the readiness of the whole sex, without any exception, to surrender their persons without the least importunity, could not fail, at the moment, to incur our censure and dislike; and, on reflection, our disgust and aversion. I have read much, and seen something in my several visits to this ocean, of the obscenity attributed to the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society islands; but no indecency that ever came under my observation, could be compared with the excessive wantonness presented in this excursion. Had this levity, now so offensively conspicuous, been exhibited in my former visits to these islands, its impressions could not have been effaced, and it must have been recollected at this time with all the abhorrence which it would at first have naturally created; but as no remembrance of such behaviour occurred, I was induced to consider this licentiousness as a perfectly new acquirement, taught, perhaps, by the different civilized voluptuaries, who, for some years past, have been their constant visitors.

At Woahoo, and also on our arrival here, we were given to understand that there were Englishmen resident on this island.

One of them, a young man about seventeen years of age, whose name was Rowbottom, on Saturday the 10th came on board in a large double canoe, who said he was of Derbyshire, that he had sailed from England about five years since in an Indiaman to China, which ship he had quitted in order to engage with some of the vessels in the fur trade between North-West America and China; and that he had ever since been thus employed in the American service. He informed me, that himself, John Williams a Welchman, and James Coleman an Irishman, had been left at Onehow,<sup>2</sup> in order that they might

<sup>1</sup> Items given in trade included 'pieces of Iron Nails Knives Beads looking Glasses & Scissars, the last article was in great estimation particularly among the Women for cutting their hair, with which they were very particular.' - Menzies, 10 March. In addition to the usual refreshments, the natives offered 'what surprized us much - Cabbage. This last vegetable was planted here by Captain Cook, and they seem to have taken some care of it, for during our stay we got sufficient every day to supply the Officers Mess and boil in the Ship's Company's Soup, but they have not much of it, for as they Boil none of their food, they cannot use it themselves.' - Bell, 10 March.

<sup>2</sup> Niihau, which is about 19 miles W of Kauai.

return to this island for the purpose of collecting sandal-wood, and pearls, for their master John Kendrick, an American, commanding the brig *Lady Washington*,<sup>1</sup> in whose service they still remained at the wages of eight dollars per month. The *Lady Washington* had quitted these islands the preceding October, bound to New England,<sup>2</sup> with a cargo of furs to dispose of in her way thither at China; she was immediately to return from Boston, and having spent the next winter in North-West America, was, in the autumn of the ensuing year, to call for these men at Attowai, and take in a cargo of sandal-wood for the Indian market, with such pearls as they might have collected.

With Rowbottom came two chiefs, the one named *No-ma-tee-he-tee*,<sup>3</sup> the other *Too*;<sup>4</sup> both of whom he said would be useful at Attowai and Onehow. On making these chiefs each a present, with which they were greatly pleased, they said they were directed by the king, or rather the prince *Ta-moo-eree*,<sup>5</sup> (who is a boy, and the eldest son of *Taio* the sovereign of this and the neighbouring islands) to say, that *Enemoh*,<sup>6</sup> the regent in *Taio*'s absence, and *Tamooree*, would be with us in a day or two; giving me to understand that *Enemoh* was the principal acting officer. A messenger was immediately dispatched to request of his highness, that, as my stay would be very short, he would do me the favor to lose no time in giving us the honor of his company; and, as a pledge of our friendly disposition, I sent him a large axe as a present.

Our young countryman said it was highly important to have the strictest

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick commanded the first trading expedition to sail from New England to the Northwest Coast. It consisted of the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, usually referred to as the *Columbia*, and the sloop *Lady Washington*; Vancouver was to encounter both vessels several times. They left Boston on 30 September 1787, but Kendrick was subject to spells of inactivity, and they did not reach Nootka Sound until September 1788. The following summer Kendrick exchanged commands with Gray and embarked upon a somewhat erratic trading career in the *Lady Washington*. This was his second attempt to trade in sandalwood. Late in 1789 he had left three men in the islands to collect a cargo. According to Ingraham, two of them soon tired of the assignment and joined a ship bound for China; the third man was reported to be in Oahu. Rowbottom told Menzies that he and his companions 'were almost starvd & very ill treated by the Natives for some time after they landed', but the chiefs came to realize the advantage of having someone in their service who had a good knowledge of English and of trading practices; 'they now livd with the young King & his Guardian on very good terms & were no ways tird of their situation.' - 10 March. But the sandalwood project was again falling by the wayside; Bell gained the impression that the men 'had not made much progress in the business they were employ'd in, nor did they seem to think it wou'd answer.' - 10 March.

<sup>2</sup> Kendrick did not return to Boston; he spent a year in China and returned to the Northwest Coast in 1793.

<sup>3</sup> Laamaikahiki.

<sup>4</sup> Ku, a friendly and obliging chief: 'the principal business here [Kauai] was entrusted to *Too* the same Chief which Mr. Meers named Friday, whose authority over the Natives & obliging disposition we on many occasions found extremely usefull.' - Menzies, 14 March. Meares made grateful acknowledgement to his help in his *Voyages*, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> Vancouver's spelling of the names varies; Kaumualii in modern Hawaiian.

<sup>6</sup> Also spelled Enemoo and Enomoo.

watch over the behaviour of these people; for although he conceived our force was too great for them to attempt any thing hostile with the least prospect of success, yet he could not determine how far their ambitious views might lead them, as, since their success in taking a schooner at Owhyhee,<sup>1</sup> they had become so elated, that they had attempted to take a brig at Mowee.

The schooner belonged to a Mr. Metcalf, an American trader, who having been successful in the fur trade, equipped and entrusted her to the command of his son, who sailed with eight men from Macao, in order to prosecute that branch of commerce. This vessel was captured at Owhyhee; but as Rowbottom's narrative of the facts was afterwards found erroneous, the particulars of the enterprize, from better authority, will be given in a future chapter.

*Nomatehetee* and *Too*, with other natives present, confirmed the intelligence of this atrocious act, and, at the same time, highly reprobated the inhuman murder of the crew, who were all put to death excepting one man.<sup>2</sup> *Tianna* was accused by them of having projected this wicked scheme, and of having perpetrated the horrible massacre; but they positively denied that *Taio*, who had been suspected of meditating the capture of the brig at Mowee, had any knowledge of that business; saying, that it was intirely the act of the people of Mowee. On becoming acquainted with these daring and ambitious designs, I inquired what reception *Tianna* would have experienced had he accompanied us from Owhyhee? Every one present seemed to be astonished at his entertaining such an idea, and agreed that he would have been put to death the instant he had landed, as they all considered him as their most inveterate enemy. These reports, and the observations that were made by the natives in consequence of their being related to me, gave me great reason to apprehend that *Tianna's* intentions of accompanying us hither, which on reflection he had thought proper to decline, were not dictated by motives of the most friendly and disinterested nature.<sup>3</sup>

These unwelcome tidings being concluded, Mr. Broughton attended me on shore with the two chiefs and the young Englishman, who was extremely serviceable to us as an interpreter; and pointed out to the natives our friendly intentions towards them, and the manner in which they should conduct themselves, not only to insure our good opinion, but to obtain the advantages that would eventually result to themselves from our visit. On landing, I understood from Mr. Puget that every thing was, and had been, conducted with the greatest propriety and good order by all parties. Trade for provisions, wood, &c. was going on very briskly, and our supply of water was equal to our wishes.

<sup>1</sup> The schooner was the *Fair American*, purchased at Macao by Captain Simon Metcalf of the American brig *Eleanora*, and commanded by his son, Thomas Metcalfe.

<sup>2</sup> In February 1793, as he records later, Vancouver met Isaac Davis, the sole survivor of the attack on the *Fair American*, who described the massacre to him.

<sup>3</sup> Vancouver was right to be on his guard when dealing with Kaiana, but Kameeiamoku (Tamaahmotoo), chief of the district of Kohala (Koarra) in the N extremity of the island of Hawaii, was the prime instigator of the attack on the *Fair American*.

Matters thus pleasantly circumstanced, we embarked with Mr. Menzies and Mr. Whidbey, who had accompanied us on shore in a double canoe to examine the river, which, at the distance of about half a league from the entrance, divides into two branches, one stretching towards the E.N.E.; the other, seemingly the furthest navigable, took a northerly direction,<sup>1</sup> in which however we were not able to advance more than five hundred yards beyond the wall we had visited the preceding evening. Here we landed, and considered ourselves about three miles from the sea-side, to which we now returned by a path somewhat nearer the foot of the mountains than before, through a similar country; and were on this occasion, more pestered and disgusted, if possible, with the obscene importunities of the women, than on our former excursion.

*Nomateehetee* returned with us to dinner; *Too* remains with *Rehooa* to assist our party on shore. The next morning, Sunday the 11th, *Nomateehetee* produced a list of certificates from four different commanders of trading vessels who had lately visited these islands. The first, dated in April 1791, signed by J. Colnett of the *Argonaut*, recommended this chief to the notice of future visitors; but the others signed by J. Ingram<sup>2</sup> of the *Hope*, Thomas Barnet of the *Gustavus*,<sup>3</sup> and John Kendrick of the *Lady Washington*, the two former without dates, the latter dated 27th of October, 1791, all direct that the greatest circumspection should be observed in the intercourse of strangers with these islanders, notwithstanding the good opinion entertained of their fidelity, or the recommendation given, by Mr. Colnett. I told *Nomateehetee* the paper spoke much in his praise and favor, and desired that he would not omit shewing it to the commander of the next and every other vessel that might arrive at Attowai, which he promised to do, and requested it might remain on board until our departure.

The caulkers having finished the quarter deck of the *Discovery*, they were sent on board the *Chatham* to execute a similar service.

Another of the party left by the *Lady Washington* now made his appearance, which did not speak much in his favor. This man's name was Coleman, and Rowbottom had said he was of Ireland, which the man himself positively denied, and declared he was an American, born at New York. He had in most respects adopted the customs of the natives, particularly in dress, or rather in nakedness; for, excepting the *maro*,<sup>4</sup> which he wore with much less decency than the generality of the inhabitants, he was perfectly naked, and the colour of his skin was little whiter than the fairest of these people. I asked him what he had done with his former clothes; to which he answered with a sneer, that 'they were hanging up in a house for the admiration of

<sup>1</sup> The main river is the Waimea, leading to the spectacular Waimea Canyon; the tributary (here referred to as the E.N.E. branch) is the Makaweli River.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Ingraham.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Barnett, in command of the *Gustavus III*, formerly the *Mercury*. A journal by John Bartlett, printed in *The Sea, The Ship, and The Sailor* (Salem, Mass., 1925), gives an account of the voyage.

<sup>4</sup> A loin cloth.

the natives;’ and seemed greatly to exult in having degenerated into a savage way of life. He acquainted me, that he was charged with a message from the prince, to ask what stay I intended to make, and to inquire if we were friendly and peaceably disposed. I desired he would inform the prince, that we should depart the instant a supply of water was obtained; that I was very desirous of having an interview both with him and *Enemoh*, but that I could not be detained for this purpose; and that, as a further pledge of the favorable disposition we bore towards him and his people, I desired he would present to the prince a piece of scarlet cloth in my name. With this embassy he immediately set off, after assuring me that the prince and regent, with many other chiefs, would pay us their respects by noon the next day.

The afternoon being delightfully pleasant, I made a small excursion to the westward along the beach; and on returning, observed the hills to the eastward of the river to be on fire from a considerable height, in particular directions, down towards the water’s edge. I was by no means pleased with this appearance, well knowing that fires are generally resorted to by these and other rude nations as the signal for collecting the distant inhabitants, when an enterprize or scheme is meditated to be carried into effect.

I desired Rowbottom to attend to the conversation of the Indians who were near; but he collected nothing from them in our walk that could give rise to suspicion. On joining the shore party, I asked *Nomateehetee* and some other chiefs, what was the cause of this extensive conflagration. Some replied, it was to announce the arrival of the prince, the regent, and other great chiefs in this neighbourhood on the morrow; whilst others contended it was for no other purpose than that of burning the weeds. This disagreement in opinion concerning the cause of so unusual an appearance, was far from being satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> The surf ran very high, and other circumstances concurred to render the embarkation of our working party very inconvenient;<sup>2</sup> in addition

<sup>1</sup> The fires greatly alarmed Vancouver, who, Menzies records, ‘supposed that it might be a signal for commencing hostilities on the part of the Inhabitants, & so firm was he in this opinion that on our joining the party he could not help expressing his mind to the surrounding multitude with such menacing threats that they became alarmed in their turn by a general desertion from our Encampment, excepting the chiefs... who still remained with us & to do them justice used every means in their power to convince him to the contrary, saying that the fire had been kindled to burn down the old shrivelld grass & low vegetables & for no other purpose whatever, which I believe was literally the case, as I recollected well that the same fields were burnt down in the same manner when I was here a few years ago’. – Menzies, March 11. Bell had seen similar fires a few days before, as the *Chatham* was sailing along the coast of Maui: ‘as we passed Tahoorowa [Kahloolawe], we observed large fires made on the side of the Hills running in different directions that had the effect of a grand illumination, and was either intended as a compliment to us, or for the purpose of clearing away the ground for a new Crop of the grass used by the natives for covering their Houses with.’ – March 6. No doubt the latter suggestion was made by Johnstone, who had been with Menzies on his previous voyage.

<sup>2</sup> The embarkation was more than ‘very inconvenient’ and very nearly resulted in tragedy: ‘When we were afterwards going on board it was necessary to send into the village for two of the affrighted natives to carry us in one of their Canoes through the surf to