

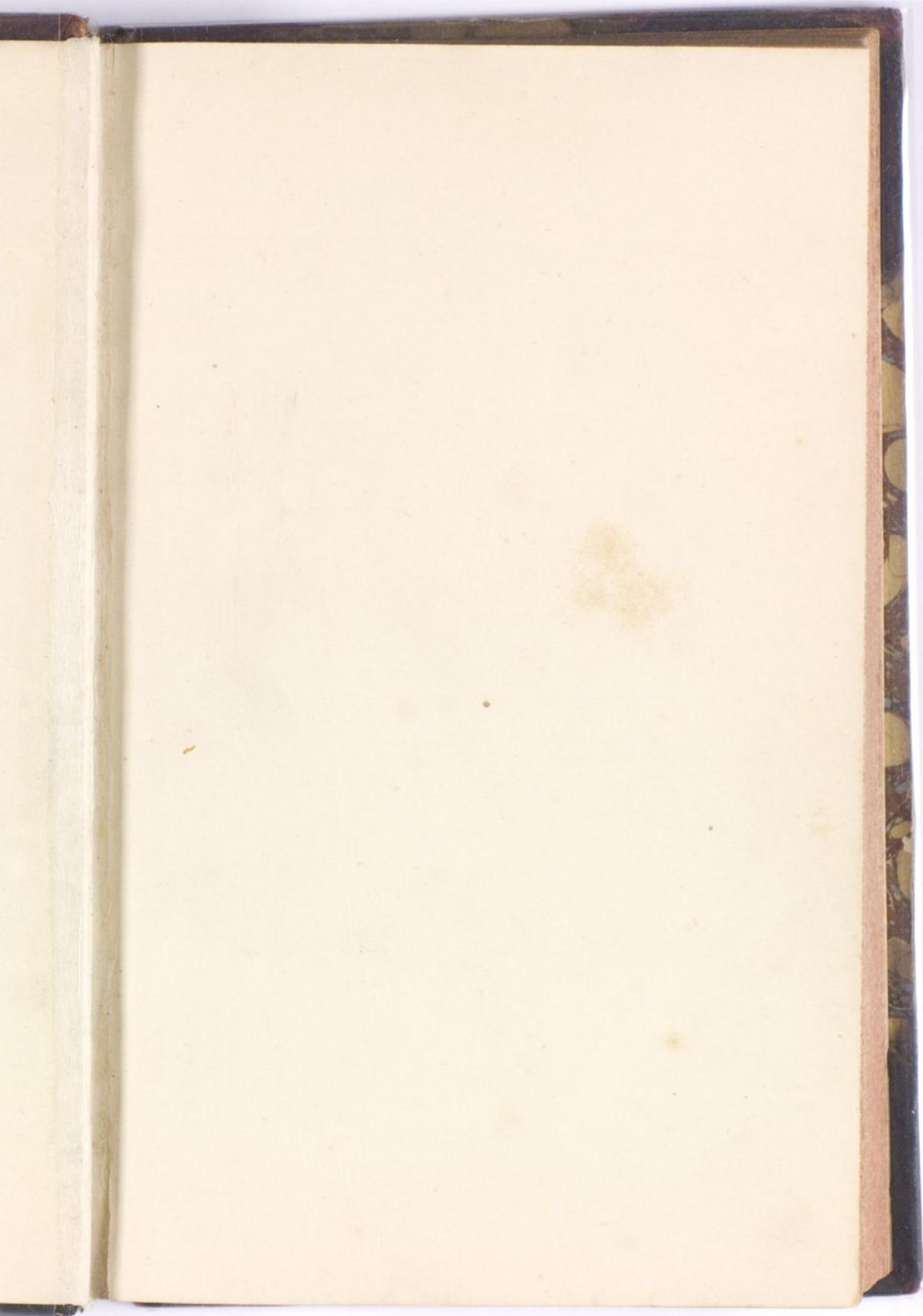
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AN
AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE
OF
FOUR YEARS RESIDENCE
AT
TONGATABOO,

One of the Friendly Islands,

By GEO. V—

Who together with 28 other Missionaries was sent thither
by the London Society in the Ship Duff, under
Captain Wilson in 1796, and survived them
all; and lived as one of the Natives
for two Years.

WITH AN APPENDIX BY AN EMINENT WRITER,

By the Rev. S. PIGGOTT, A. M.

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT LORD GALWAY,
AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF
ST. JAMES' CHURCH, LATCHFORD, WARRINGTON.

"The goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance." Rom. ii. 4,

Pictures such as these deserve the consideration of those who delight to
declaim against the restraints of civilized society, and to panegyryze the
licentious freedom of savage nations.

Christian Observer, for 1810.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED BY LONGMAN AND CO. PATERNOSTER-RROW;
SEELEY, 169, FLEET-STREET; AND HATCHARD,
190, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

1815.

Price, Six Shillings.

2968

The narratives of Staed's captivity among the Tupinambas, and Drury's in Madagascar, are scarcely more interesting. It would probably not have appeared at all, had it not been for the Clergyman's assistance, and the public are certainly much indebted to him. In a second edition, probably the editor may increase the value of a work for which we readily acknowledge ourselves obliged to him.

Quarterly Review, for May, 1810.

This is a volume which we have read with much pleasure, and from which we have derived some information. He tells something that has not been told before, and therefore he is read with interest.

Universal Magazine, for Sept. 1810.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

WARRINGTON:

PRINTED BY J. AND J. HADDOCK,
HORSE-MARKET.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE REV. THOMAS SCOTT,

Rector of

ASTON SANDFORD, BUCKS.

WHOSE labours, for twenty years, have produced a commentary on the Holy Scriptures, the most condensed and practically useful that has appeared in any age or nation;—whose exertions in the pulpit and the press have been so serviceable to the great cause of evangelizing the heathen world, and whose latter days are devoted to the education of young men of piety as Missionaries upon the plan recommended in the following pages, the Composer of this Volume, who is under personal obligations to him as a Writer, a Preacher, and a Friend, without his permission, respectfully dedicates this work as a small testimony of his high esteem and gratitude.

Dec. 1, 1809.

THE WRITER.

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PREFACE.

THE whole of what is related in the following pages, the Composer firmly believes to be true. Every circumstance was taken down in short hand, from the mouth of the Author, and afterwards repeatedly revised in concurrence with him.

The writer has not to his knowledge exaggerated nor disguised any circumstance, much less mingled with the Narrative any conjectural or fictitious event.*

These communications were not imparted with the design of publication, but the Author consented to their appearing in print, with the hope that his example, while it dishonours himself, might serve to caution and benefit others.

The composer trusts, therefore, that in order to avoid circumlocution, and to render the Narrative more interesting, he may be permitted to use the first person instead of the third. By letting the Author relate his own life, while the writer only arranges his thoughts, and clothes them with language, the varying sentiments, sensations, and motives,

* When the composer had almost written the Narrative, and not till then, he consulted the Missionary voyage, and he was not a little pleased to find, that it amply attested the principal events related, as having taken place within the period to which that work extends. Since then he has received a farther confirmation of the veracity of the Author, and the accuracy of his statements, from an account which perfectly coincides with the Narrative of the circumstances under which the Author was rescued off the Vavou islands, and taken on board the Royal Admiral, from an officer then on board that vessel, who since then has revised the whole work with him.

that actuated him in every changing circumstance, and event, will be more exactly delineated.

Having said this of the Author, the composer begs leave to state of himself, that his principal design in this Narrative is, to promote the conversion of the heathen, and to give to missionary labours, the best direction by an impartial and genuine display of their present miserable and degraded state.

Gratitude also compels him to subjoin his public acknowledgments, to several friends of distinction in the Senate, and in the Church, for the advice and assistance, by which they have much improved the work, and encouraged the writer, after more than a year's hesitation, to venture to lay it before a candid publick.

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OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

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In the appendix are given the names of the authors of the several volumes of the History of England, and the names of the several volumes of the History of England, and the names of the several volumes of the History of England.

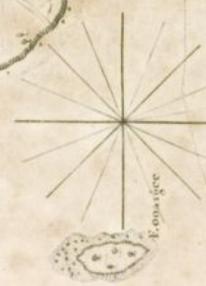
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AN
AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

The Author introduces himself to the Reader by an account of his life, till his appointment in the Duff.

I was born in an obscure village in one of the midland counties of this kingdom. My Father was able to give me a common education, but being afterwards reduced in his circumstances, I was under the necessity of going to service. Wishing to improve my situation, I engaged myself to a tradesman, in a populous town, in the neighbourhood. In learning his business, I was as diligent as the rest of my fellow labourers; but I had not the fear of God in my heart: I was addicted to swearing and cursing, a vice, by which, through a false supposition of the consequence and independence which it gives, high as well as low life is disgraced, and contaminated. I have often since wondered at the divine forbearance which spared

one who so trifled with the sacred name of his Maker. At length, after long neglecting the duties of the Sabbath, I was induced by a pious acquaintance, to attend a place of worship. I accompanied him for some time, like many others, I fear, from custom or for the sake of amusement. My conduct in the week was unaltered, my habit of swearing not forsaken. What I heard on the Sunday, however, was the means, at length, of exciting fears of a future reckoning, remorse of conscience, and resolutions of amendment. I could not commit sin with the same degree of ease, as formerly. I began to perceive its evil and the danger to which it exposed me. I looked back on my past life with shame, and forward to futurity with terror; and was glad to hear that I might obtain forgiveness, through the Son of God who died for transgression. A funeral sermon, some time after, so alarmed me with the apprehension of death and judgment, that I resolved to forsake every evil way, to live in the fear of God, to obey his precepts, and to seek eternal happiness. By the grace of God, I persevered in this resolution, till in about a year, as my views of the importance of religion expanded, I reflected with compassion on the distressing state of those who never heard of the gospel of pardon and peace through a Redeemer; and thought of removing to America; hoping that I might have the opportunity of following my trade among the American In-

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dians, and might teach them, in the familiarity of conversation, those blessed truths of the gospel, which I had learned to value. At this time, I heard of the design of sending Missionaries to the Islands of the South Sea. It excited a lively interest in my mind. I felt a desire to go; but not judging myself qualified for the important work of preaching the gospel to the heathen; when I heard that a vessel was to be fitted out for the conveyance of Missionaries, I offered to assist in it, to forward the work. But the Directors of the London Mission, after examining my religious principles, and my motives for accompanying the Missionaries, wished me to become one of their number. I consented, and was set apart with the rest, for this important undertaking, in the solemn manner which the public witnessed.

CHAPTER II.

VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO ST. JAGO.

*He embarks in the Duff.—Arrival off Portsmouth.
—Visited by Dr. Haweis and others.—The Duff
arrives off Falmouth.—Sets sail from England.
—Sensations upon losing sight of his native land.
—Admires the ocean.—Sees Teneriffe.—Arrives
at St. Jago.—Description of it.*

WE were appointed to go on board at Blackwall. I and one of my companions arrived too late; and the *Duff* was dropped down to Gravesend. A boat, however, soon conveyed us to the ship, and we went on board in the evening. As the vessel was in a confused state, we helped the seamen to put the beds and hammocks in order.

On Wednesday evening we went on shore, and heard a sermon from Dr. Hunter, that much encouraged us to go forward in the great and glorious cause, in which we had embarked.

The next day, August 10th, 1796, we weighed anchor; and taking advantage of the wind and tide, arrived at Spithead in the morning of the 16th.

In our passage, a vessel hailed us, to caution us against a French lugger that had been seen at no great distance. The convoy having sailed, when

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the Duff reached Portsmouth, we were obliged to remain there five weeks. During this time, we were visited by many kind friends, who brought us acceptable presents, and much animated and strengthened us for the important work, for which we had been set apart. Gratitude here compels me to mention the paternal conduct of Dr. Haweis towards us. He visited us to the last, and shed many tears of cordial friendship and tender anxiety for us, at parting, and did not leave us till, like St. Paul, at his farewell, he had "accompanied us to the ship, and kneeled down and prayed with us all," and "commended us to God, and to the word of his grace, which," if properly implored, would have "kept us from falling"; and which, I trust, notwithstanding all our lamented imperfections, will, at length, be effectual, "to give us an inheritance among them that are sanctified, through faith which is in Jesus."

Whilst here, I received several letters from my friends, entreating me to return, but I maintained my resolution to persevere.

The vessel sailed from Portsmouth on Friday the 23d of September, 1796. We were most of us strangers to each other, but we soon felt an unity of heart, and we all appeared to possess a spirit and temper suited to the great business for which we had offered ourselves.

On Sunday the 25th of September, the ship came off Falmouth, and we sent a packet of farewell letters

on shore. We then proceeded with the convoy, and soon lost sight of our native land. This was a trying moment to most of us. We all conceived it was the final farewell to our country, and expected to end our days in a distant clime. Anxious to see the last glimpse of our natal shores, many of us climbed the shrouds, and shed tears, as the white cliffs sank from our view, in the distant ocean that bounded the Horizon. A thousand affecting considerations rushed upon my mind, and for a time greatly depressed me. I reflected that I was for ever leaving all my friends and connexions, and relinquishing all the comforts and conveniences of civilized life and Christian Society. I looked forward to the unknown events of my future days as probably clouded with troubles and difficulties, and perhaps terminating in a violent death. Few, I think, were strangers to similar emotions. But we encouraged each other; and amid tears of doubt and hope, sang the Hymn that often cheered us in our voyage, and "were not a little comforted."

JESU, at thy command
I launch into the deep;
And leave my native land,
Where sin lulls all asleep.
For Thee I fain would all resign,
And sail to heav'n with Thee and Thine.
What though the seas are broad,
What though the waves are strong,

What though tempestuous winds
Distress me all along;
Yet what are seas or stormy wind
Compar'd to CHRIST, the sinner's friend?

CHRIST is my pilot wise,
My compass is his word!
My soul each storm defies,
While I have such a LORD.
I trust his faithfulness and pow'r
To save me in the trying hour.

Though rocks and quicksands deep
Through all my passage lie;
Yet CHRIST shall safely keep
And guide me with his eye.
How can I sink with such a prop,
That bears the world and all things up?

By faith I see the land,
The heav'n of endless rest;
My soul thy wings expand,
And fly to JESU'S breast!
Oh may I reach the heav'nly shore,
Where winds and seas distress no more;

Whene'er becalm'd I lie,
And all my storms subside;
Then to my succour fly,
And keep me near thy side.
For more the treach'rous calm I dread,
Than tempests bursting o'er my head.

Come heav'nly Wind, and blow
A prosperous gale of grace,
To waft from all below
To heav'n my destin'd place.
Then in full sail my port I'll find,
And leave the world and sin behind.

We had on board twenty-nine Missionaries, (one having left the vessel at Portsmouth) six women, and three children, nineteen seamen, three officers, and Captain Wilson, who had the charge of the vessel. He was an excellent pious man, and behaved towards us with the greatest affability and kindness, throughout the voyage. In every plan for general good, he paid us the respect of calling us together, to acquaint us with his design and explain the reasons of it. His heart was as much in the glorious work, for which we had embarked, as our's probably was. He was anxious therefore to forward us in the completion of it, and to prevent all delay.

The Duff was a fast-sailing vessel; and judging that we were sufficiently out of danger, to proceed without the convoy, and unwilling to lose time, after a few days, he signified to us his intention to sail forward, without waiting for it.

About two o'clock therefore on Wednesday afternoon, we made a signal for leaving the Convoy. The signal was returned, and we sailed forward.

In a short time, we were in the expansive waters, where nothing but the azure firmament and the green ocean bounded our sight.

Again our tender feelings respecting all that we had left, returned: and our narrow views, which hitherto had never expanded to a conception of so vast an object, were raised to admire the wonders of that Almighty power, which formed the mighty

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deep, and poured forth its waters. We spent some time in admiring the glory and greatness of the Parent of good, thus displayed in this astonishing part of his creation. Nothing occurred for three weeks, except, that after a fair voyage, we saw some islands, and had the prospect of Teneriff at the distance of many leagues, raising its lofty Peak towards the sky.

At the expiration of this period, about the 6th of October, the vessel arrived off the Island of St. Jago, one of the Cape De Verd Islands, then in the possession of the Genoese. Here we descried a vessel, but she soon altered her course, and steered off, as though panick-struck, in a contrary direction.

We anchored off St. Jago, till the next evening. Most of us, for exercise, and to indulge curiosity, went on shore: and putting on a sea-faring dress, we assisted the seamen in rolling the water casks along the beach, in order to be replenished with fresh water. We obtained also a large quantity of oranges, by the barter of some old waistcoats, &c. of little value.

The dress of the inhabitants consisted of a jacket and trowsers, reaching to the middle of the leg, very loose.

We were much grieved to observe the gross superstitions, with which popery had enslaved the minds of the inhabitants. A cross and beads hung from the necks of all from the highest to the lowest. We met with one European, who could speak Eng-

lish, and he mentioned many places in England, where, he said, he had been. Taking us for sailors, by our dress, he attempted to divert us by the profane language and abandoned conversation too usual among seamen. But finding it did not please, he soon left us.

We amused ourselves, during the day, in observing the town and neighbourhood. The town was a mean place : but at the entrance, there was a decayed gateway, near which, was a guard-house. A few soldiers with old muskets and rusty bayonets, were pacing about ; but there was no appearance of order or regularity. The fortifications might formerly have been strong ; but now they seemed in ruins, and incapable of affording defence to the town.

The inhabitants were civil, but indicated suspicion. We were indeed curious beyond what was prudent, considering the number in company.

When the captain had made a handsome present to the governor ; and a sufficient supply of water had been conveyed to the ship, the signal was given, and we embarked : and at six o'clock, the wind proving favourable, we set sail and pursued our voyage ; contemplating, in tranquil delight, the good providence that still favoured us.

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CHAPTER III.

VOYAGE TO RIO DE JANEIRO, AND BY THE WAY
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They are alarmed by a strange sail.—Pass the Tropics.—Arrive at Rio de Janeiro.—Superstition of its inhabitants.—Treatment of slaves.—Observations on the slave-trade.—On the benefit of Missions and the future conversion of the Africans.—They leave Rio de Janeiro.—A violent gale.—Sail by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.—A tremendous gale described.—Impressions made by it.

IN the course of three days it was nearly a calm. We soon descried a ship at a distance. Just as her hull became visible, she fired a gun, as a signal to bring us to.

At that instant, a small air-port fell into the water, and we were obliged to tack about to pick it up: but finding that we could not escape the vessel, we altered our course again to meet her, thinking it best not to exasperate the stranger by an attempt to get away, but to trust the event with providence. The third officer, however, examined her through his glass, and soon calmed our fears, by informing us that she was the Jack Park, of Liverpool,

a Guineaman. It was night before we met. She had all her ports up, her guns pointed, and her matches lighted ready for action, a custom general in war time upon approaching a strange ship, in order to strike the more terrific appearance, as well as to be in a state of preparation. As soon as she came round, she hailed us, and inquired whence we came, with whom we came out, what ship was our convoy, the Captain's name, whither we were bound, &c. &c. To these inquiries we gave satisfactory answers. They informed us in return that our's was the twenty-second ship they had hailed in their voyage, and that all had proved friends. They seemed much disappointed: for though bound for the coast of Guinea, they were fitted out to cruise for a prize. This was on the 19th of October. Next morning, we saw them standing off for the coast of Africa, and we steered off for South America.

We had now entered the tropic of Cancer, and passing the equator and the tropic of Capricorn, under a vertical sun, the weather was very hot and sultry. We saw the coast of Brazil, though far distant from it; but fell in with a large sand-bank, on which we had fifty, thirty, and sometimes only twenty fathoms water.

In this situation, we were troubled with cross winds, so that for two days, we were obliged to be continually sounding. In that time, the wind became favourable; and meeting with no obstruction, we

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were carried rapidly forward by a fine breeze, and soon discovered Cape Frio, the land generally first seen in an approach from the north to Rio de Janeiro. We stood for the port all that day, and ran in close towards the land; but it becoming a very rainy, squally night, we stood off again. The next morning, about the 12th of November, we steered for the harbour, and a fair wind wafting on the vessel, at 12 o'clock, we ran down the passage into it.

As the *Duff* was entering the port, we discovered a flag-staff waving on a high hill, with French colours. We were alarmed at this, but in a few minutes, these colours, put up, we supposed, for a decoy to hostile vessels, were taken down, and Portuguese colours raised in their stead.

A pilot-boat from the custom-house, with the usual officers, soon appeared coming out to meet us, and took the management of the vessel. As they piloted us down, we passed a battery, capable of defending the place against any ordinary attack.

On Saturday the *Duff* entered the harbour, which was bounded on each side with lofty hills, and we soon lost sight of the ocean. Being completely *land-locked*, or secured from the effects of a stormy sea, we dropped anchor, and went on shore. We met with only one person who could speak the English language; but with him we had the most occasion to communicate, as he kept a coffee-house: his name was *Fellippe*, well known to most navigators

who touch there, as the Linguist. Here a plentiful supply of pork, beef, and other necessary articles was procured; as this was the last port, at which we should have the opportunity of putting in, till the Duff reached the place of our destination.

The next day being Sunday, we all returned on board to unite in divine worship agreeably to the established regulations of the ship. Many Portuguese attended; who, though they did not understand us through an ignorance of the English language, yet conducted themselves with order and reverence.

Next morning, as our wants had been made known to the interpreter, he sent us fowls, pork, beef, and a supply of every other requisite provision, and many of us went on shore, each day, till the Sunday following; amusing ourselves with observing the place, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants. The country around, as far as we had opportunity to see it, appeared delightful; but we were restrained from making excursions into it, by a guard, which was placed over us, as soon as we disembarked, and according to the established police of Rio de Janeiro, respecting foreigners, attended us on all occasions. By this regulation strangers are prevented from approaching their rich mines.

In our rambles about the town, we saw many nuns, who, through the lattices of the nunnery, appeared to request some presents. The papal su-

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perstitutions of Rio de Janeiro, are not inferior to those of Spain and Portugal. All the inhabitants seemed equally blinded with the same delusion of error. Images were erected in every street, and all who passed them, whatever burdens they were carrying on their shoulders, bended the knee to these idols of stone. One day walking along the street, at the time St. Mary's clock struck six, we observed that every person passing by, immediately knelt down twice upon one knee. Whether they did this only at this hour, or every time the clock reminded them of the flight of time, we did not ascertain. The superstition of Rio de Janeiro extends even to the children. We saw several boys come down to the river to bathe, of the age of eight or ten; and before they plunged into the water, they knelt down, and dipped their hands, and crossed their breasts. It would be well if these superstitious practices, which, I fear are too much depended upon, by the generality, as a species of charm to secure them from danger, always tended to raise the minds of these pretended devotees, to the Author of all, in prayer for his protection, and gratitude for his mercies. But we had too evident a proof that religion was known by most of them, only in ceremony and show. A charge which I wish could not be applied to so many, who profess that pure and reformed religion established in our favoured Isle.

The Romish worship, with all its parade, had not taught the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, humanity towards their fellow-creatures. Whilst here, we saw a ship come in, laden with a cargo of naked sprightly negro boys and girls. They were placed on a little island within the harbour near the town, where, ignorant of their cruel destination, they appeared cheerful and playful, while the grown-up negroes of both sexes, exposed there for sale, like cattle, in a state of nature, subject to all the brutal examination and handling of the purchasers, looked on each other and the merry group sporting around, with emotions of sorrow, indignation, and despondency.

One day as we were walking, we observed a poor old negro, dragging along his worn-out limbs, and groaning under a heavy load. His back seemed almost broken: he could scarcely crawl along: at length he called out for help, and sank under his burden. We pitied him, and said to the interpreter, "What a sad spectacle is this, poor man, let us go and help him:" but he replied with the most unfeeling taunt, and a profane oath, "He is not worth two-pence." The expression filled us with horror, and made a deep impression on our minds, so that we could not help thinking of it, and the horrid nature of the slave-trade, for a long time after.

Whence could arise I thought the vile and absurd sentiment, that the sable dye of the tropical

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negro is a mark of the continued anger of his Maker, but from the perverseness of human nature, which always readily inclines us to believe that which we wish to be true? We had occasion to remark, in going to and from the equator, that the heat of the sun, assisted by the ambient air, has a powerful tendency to change the colour of the skin: and when we arrived at Otaheite, we found that the Otaheitan women, on these accounts, immured themselves in cool recesses, during three or four months in the year, in order to preserve their fair complexion.*

* Surely then posterity must be astonished to hear, that rational beings and men called christians, were once so blinded and depraved, as to attempt to prove that the colour of the tropical nations is the outward sign of inward degradation, and that it dooms them for the sin of Ham, Gen. ix. 22. to be for ever the servants of their more fortunate brethren, to languish in ignorance and oppression.

To surmise that an African sky can deprive those under its influence of the rights of humanity, is a mental infatuation so gross, and an insult to the Author of nature so great, that it can only be equalled by the desperate wickedness and cruelty of acting upon it. Every thinking man, as well as every christian, must be sensible that negroes are entitled, equally with others of our species, to the just application of that unerring precept, "Do to others, as you would they should do unto you." It not only is the opinion of all reflecting men, but facts, facts of too great notoriety to be controverted, prove that if they were favoured with the advantages of culture, education, and climate, they would equal Europeans in their mental endowments, if not, in time, resemble them in their colour.

The superstitious inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro had not learned from the popish religion to practice integrity in their dealings with others. In our purchases, they cheated us, and imposed upon us shamefully. As we could not speak the Portuguese language, we were obliged to lay down our money, and suffer them to take of it sufficient to pay themselves. They were sure to take, what we considered, a most exorbitant price. Whilst we were on shore, the military had a field-day, and passed through the different evolutions of an engagement.

Thanks to God for that enlightened wisdom, which, roused to reflection, by the Christian Senator who first proposed the abolition of the Slave Trade, at length determined the parliament of Britain, to forbid her subjects any longer to persevere in a traffic so palpably unjust, inhuman, and oppressive.

Let us hope that the period is not far distant, when the christian philanthropy, which has excited a body of christians to send Missionaries to Africa and the East, may be crowned with success in dispensing the civilizing and sanctifying blessings of the gospel of peace, among the plundered and oppressed sons of Africa.

It becomes the duty of every christian to forward all attempts, in this way, to make some national compensation for national guilt, and to render a small satisfaction to the deeply injured inhabitants of Africa, for the oppressions and devastations occasioned by our unjust commerce in their blood. Perhaps for such important ends as these, to introduce that prosperous state of the Church, when "the Gentiles shall be brought in," and Africa stretch out her hands unto God," providence lately inclined the British Parliament to emancipate a third part of the world from a slavish chain.

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This was intended, we supposed, to make a parade of the power and strength of the place.

Before we left the shores of South America, considering that our money would be of no use at Otaheite, where, a few useful commodities from Europe are of more value than thousands of gold and silver, we took the opportunity of laying it out in private stores of sugar, tea, &c. &c. In this however we offended our good Captain, as he considered it rather a reflection on himself; implying that he did not afford us every reasonable supply, according to the order which he had received. But we assured him our only motive was to employ the superfluous money in our possession, in order to save that of the Society. The Captain was satisfied with the explanation, and a perfect good understanding succeeded.

The expence of the vessel at Rio de Janeiro for anchorage, watering, &c. &c. was very great. On Sunday, the morning appointed for our departure, the ship being under weigh, a pilot ferried us on board. We left this place with compassion for the ignorance and superstition of the inhabitants. "This is a scene of almost as great darkness," said we to each other, "as that to which we are going. A religion so antichristian and idolatrous as this, leads men almost as far astray as pagan idolatry."

By noon we had steered beyond the battery, when, having room to tack, notwithstanding the wind was against us, we got clear of the harbour

by the evening. The vessel then sailed forward, unobstructed by cross winds, at no great distance from the American coast ; as it was the intention of the Captain to go round Cape Horn. Nothing occurred till we reached the latitude of forty-five degrees, south, not far distant from the coast of Patagonia, and St. George's Bay : when the wind changed, and blowing right against us, increased from a light breeze, to a complete gale. We were obliged in consequence to take in the sails, and strike the top-gallant masts in order that the vessel might strain as little as possible. At this time, the live stock on board, consisting of a cow and many pigs, which were placed in the main deck, were much injured by change of climate and the reeling of the ship ; which, tossed about by the waves, occasioned their driving against the sides of the inclosures. The cow, at last fell down, and her weight preserved her from driving, but not till she was so much injured, that it was thought best to kill her. For the sake of the friend who had presented us with the cow, and of the tribute of milk with which she daily supplied us, we were very sorry to do this. We were obliged also to kill several of the other stock, to prevent the continuance of their misery, as well as for our own supply. The fowls, which were on the quarter deck, which was four steps higher than the main body of the ship, in coops, fixed to the vessel, were not injured. In this storm, we

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were tossed backwards and forwards for five days, losing ground all the time. The sea ran, at times, tremendously high; but through the kindness of an ever-watchful providence, we received no injury.

At this time, the Captain called us together, and informed us of his intention to change his course. "Had we been nearer Cape Horn," he said, "or had the season been milder, he should have been willing to make the attempt of going round it: but as the gales were already so heavy, he thought it his duty not to hazard the ship, the cargo, and the lives entrusted to his care, by encountering the unavoidable fatigues and dangers of going so far to the south, but to bear away and go by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in an eastern direction, for Otaheite. We readily acquiesced in his judgment: and the wind becoming favourable, the vessel sailed forward, for seven weeks, without any obstruction, at the rate of no less than 180 and 200 miles in twenty-four hours, and sometimes it ran 250 knots, or miles, in that time. Some cross winds then met us, and when we came near the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, we were overtaken by the most tremendous gale of wind, which we had yet experienced. The mountainous waves which it raised, followed the ship, stove in the cabin windows, and burst into the after part of the vessel. But dead lights were placed at hand, (i. e. shutters ready made to fit in,) which the carpenter, the in-

stant the sea that broke the windows, had retired, fixed in, before the next sea arrived. As the storm increased, we struck the top-gallant yards and masts, and furled all the sails, except the fore and main top sail. The wind continued abaft of us, so that we were driven before the storm. In the course of the day, it rose to a violent gale, which formed the ocean into complete seas. These mountainous billows rolled so regularly, in succession after each other, that in the gulph betwixt each wave, the water was as smooth as in a river. In this state, we were driven by billow after billow now sinking into the gulph, and anon rising to the topmost ridge of the waves, for some days. We saw indeed "the wonders" of the Lord "in the deep": we heard "the stormy wind arise," and it soon "lifted up the waves" of the sea. We seemed to "be carried up to the Heaven above," and now again to go down to Hell beneath." "The souls of some began to melt away for fear." Several of the women on board, were very ill; especially Mrs. Eyre, who was not much less than sixty years of age.

Notwithstanding the terrors of the gale, we were ignorant of our danger. When it had ceased, the Captain informed us of it. The ship, when raised by the different billows that followed her, was for a moment balanced in the centre on every wave. If therefore the Duff had not been very strong, she would have been broken to pieces; because in sur-

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mounting the lofty waves, the whole weight of the vessel and cargo rested, although but for a moment, on her centre. Again, when we sunk into the deep channel betwixt sea and sea, the swell was so high, that though the sails were very lofty, we were completely becalmed, as the wind could not reach us; and then, as the ship was raised by the following wave, the wind was so violent as almost to carry away the masts. We were driven along by this tremendous gale four days; yet He, to whom "the mariners cry in their trouble, and he delivers them out of their distress," graciously preserved us from receiving any injury.* We united in a song of praise to Him who "treadeth the waves of the sea," and at its formation bounded it by the command, "Hitherto shalt thou go and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

* The composer showed the above description of the gale, to a naval officer, who was just arrived from the East Indies. He said it was just and accurate, that his ship had frequently been tossed by similar gales in which the same circumstances occurred during a long stormy voyage: but he acknowledged he was not aware of any danger from the weight of the vessel resting on its centre, as it was crossing the ridgy waves: but the author explains the nature of this danger so satisfactorily, that it appears to the writer, highly reasonable, especially as the captain was a gentleman of so good judgment. Mr. P. who was an officer in the Royal Admiral, under Captain Wilson, and who has benefited this work by his revision, fully confirms this account by the attestation of his own experience.

By the calm which was now spread over the before tumultuous ocean, our thoughts were raised to admire the power of the Creator, who "holdeth the winds in his fist," and who, when incarnate for our sakes, stilled the tempest by his rebuke, saying, "Peace, be still." We were led also, more attentively than before, to contemplate the sea, that wonder of wonders, occupying nearly three fourths of our planet, which, notwithstanding all its terrible appearances and effects, is, by the channel of connexion betwixt distant regions which it affords, and by the moisture which it constantly supplies to the thirsty earth, the prime benefactor of man. We admired the wisdom of that beneficent power which said "Let the waters be gathered together to one place," and we contemplated his goodness equally diffused through this with every other part of his creation, and filling the universe.

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CHAPTER IV.

VOYAGE FROM OFF NEW HOLLAND TO OTAHEITE.

They arrive off New Holland.—Observe an eclipse of the Sun.—Value of astronomy.—Higher value of religion.—A whale discovered close to the ship.—They steer towards the Equator for the Trade-winds.—Use of Geography—See an Island.—Reach Toobouai—Description of it.—Account of Captain Bligh, and his mutineering crew.—A most awful storm of thunder and lightning.—Discover Otaheite.

IN a short time after this, we arrived opposite the southern point of New Holland. And having observed in our almanacks, that there would be an eclipse of the sun, which, a reference to this year will show, was to be invisible, except at the extremity of New Holland, we watched for it, and had the satisfaction of witnessing the truth of the calculation. We beheld one fourth of the sun eclipsed. Though most of us were ignorant of astronomy and natural philosophy, yet we had a spirit of inquiry, which frequently led us into long conversations, when things of a novel, wondrous, or providential nature arrested our attention. These speculations much contributed to alleviate the tediousness of the voyage. Indeed as we were all united in the same

religious principles and views, the interchange of publick, social, and private prayer, and reading, meditation, conversation, and writing, rendered the voyage very pleasant and interesting. By our successful observation of the eclipse, we were led to admire the powers of the human mind, which, by the aid of science, can investigate the laws of the Heavens, pursue the planets through all their revolutions, and calculate to a moment, years before, the exact period when one planet will shade another, and the particular spot where the obscurity should fall.

Though we should have liked to be possessed of this kind of knowledge, yet we comforted ourselves with the thought that a higher object prevented us from acquiring it, viz. the endeavour to teach men to rise above the stars upon the wings of divine faith, to the Sun of righteousness, and to secure an inheritance in that blessed world, which his presence for ever illuminates. And we attempted by this faith, which realizes things invisible, and brings near the distant objects of hope, to look forward to a period, when, emancipated from the body, our (at present) uninformed minds would be expanded, intuitively to grasp the illimitable creation,*

“—————mark the speed of light,
Scan the wide world, and number every star.”

* Perhaps in an instant the most uninformed mind when

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By this time we arrived in a latitude in which we saw many whales. We heard them, during the night, blowing up the water with a thundering noise, as they rose to the surface for air. One day the ship sailing with a light breeze, four knots an hour, most of the seamen below deck, and the Captain at dinner, a whale rose up very near the ship. The vessel almost touched it, as it glided by. The scales seemed very hard, like slates upon the roof of a house; and it extended almost the length of the ship. It was very fortunate, or rather providential, that the whale did not rise nor sink under us, as it might very much have injured, if not have destroyed, the vessel. It lay still till we had passed, and were at some hundred yards distance. It then blew again with a tremendous noise, spouting up the water to the height of ten yards, or more: and then went down by raising its tail perpendicularly several yards above the water.

When arrived at the latitude of 51 degrees, south, we stood forward in a northern direction, in order to gain the latitude of the trade-winds. We had ran thus far to the south, to avoid the trade-winds, which at that season blew, from east to west, di-

it leaves the body, may be possessed of the faculty by which
Franklin could

“grasp the lightning’s fiery wing”

and *Herchel*

“yield the lyre of Heav’n another string.”

Campbell’s Pleasures of Hope.

rectly against us. But now we had proceeded to a longitude, beyond the Society Islands, we shifted our course in order to return to a latitude within their influence, that they might waft us to Otaheite and onwards from thence to the Friendly Islands.

At this time, the Captain cheered us with the information, that if the wind came more a head, he would turn the ship about, and in the morning we should see an Island. Many of us were surprised, that after running three or four months through the trackless deep, he should know there was an Island near, and we were desirous of becoming acquainted with the Mariner's compass, and the terrestrial sphere with its degrees of longitude and latitude, in order to be possessed of the index to such exact, useful, and amusing knowledge. Were young people aware of the importance of elementary knowledge, in the languages, arts and sciences, and the ease with which it might be acquired, by an industrious employment of their leisure hours, they would not neglect an advantage, so ornamental and serviceable to the varying events and situations of their future life.

As the wind got more a head, we tacked about, towards midnight, and stood close to the wind, that is, we opposed the vessel to it so much as just to allow us to go forwards.

About six o'clock, next morning, a sailor, who was in the main top, cried "land!" It was not long before many of us were on deck, and had the

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pleasure of delighting our eyes with the prospect of an object, to which they had, for so long a time, been strangers. The Captain gave orders for the vessel to keep close to the wind, and stand up for the Island. We endeavoured to do this till nine, but were still far off. The Captain was desirous of approaching it, to try whether the natives would come on board. At length we stood near it, but could not get close up, on account of the reef. We discovered none of the natives, but were pleased with the prospect of its beautiful hills and vales, adorned with cocoa-nut and palm-trees.

It was the Island Toobouai. We stood near Bloody Bay, so called from the slaughter there made, by the mutineering crew of Captain Bligh. The sailors of the *Bounty* frigate having formed a mutiny against their commander, sent him adrift in the long boat, and steered the *Bounty* to this island. Here they attempted, without permission of the natives, to seize the cocoa-nuts; and began felling the trees, that they might gather them the more easily. The natives attacked them, while committing this outrage; but as they were ignorant of fire arms, they fought at great disadvantage, and numbers were slain, while the mutineers, with little loss, retreated to the ship.

At the close of the 3d or 4th day, after we had left this island, came on a most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning. The afternoon was dark-

ened with the silent presages of the approaching tempest. The atmosphere was obscured with a dusky redness. Not a breath of wind was felt. The ocean presented a smooth mirror, which reflected the terrific face of the sky. A solemn awe impressed our minds. We fixed the conductors to the top gallant mast-head, and let them down into the water. Afterwards we judged it safest to strike the top gallant yards and masts, and fixed the conducting chains to the lower masts. We took in all the sails, expecting every minute the winds to rise and the billows to swell. The lightnings gleamed at a distance, and soon flashed around us; when they seemed to shoot devouring fire. At every clap of thunder the whole ship trembled. The electric fluid appeared to have in it a power and destructive fury, which we never witnessed in our northern regions. This solemn stillness, except as it was tremendously broken by the cracking noise of the forked lightning and the stunning busts of the thunder, continued till midnight. We were overpowered with fear: and felt a solemn expectation, as though awaiting our dissolution. The sea at length became tumultuous, and threatned to roll its billows over us: we were therefore all sent below, and the hatches put down, to prevent the ill effects of the sea breaking over the ship. Here every instant the vivid flashes of the lightning darted through the chinks of the vessel, and claps of thunder displaced

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every moveable article, and shook the whole ship.

By morning the storm ceased, the atmosphere was clear, and the wind fair: we stood forwards nearly in a direction for Otaheite; and ten days after we had left the Island of Toobouai, we had the happiness to discover the shores of our destination.

The third Officer, Mr. James Falkner, first descried the summits of Otaheite, from the quarter gallery window. With joy we heard the welcome news, and were all soon on deck, to delight our eyes with the long-desired prospect of it. A cloud soon intervening, overshadowed the Island, and rendered it too obscure to be seen till noon: then we fixed our eyes on it with universal joy. With a light breeze, the ship sailed forward, at the rate of four or five knots an hour, till the evening, when we had a fair prospect of the Island. The Captain judging it prudent to stand off during the night, lest a wind should rise and drive us upon the shoals, we gently ebbed off till morning.

It was the sabbath morn, and remarkably pleasant, with a fair wind and serene sky. Our hearts ascended in fervent gratitude to Heaven, that the day of rest, dawned with the prospect of "the Haven where we would be," and "the resting place," on which we had fixed our hopes. We united in singing the praises of that gracious God, who had preserved us from all the perils of the deep; and prayed that "his" kind "hand" would still "be

upon us for good." Meanwhile a fair breeze wafted us on towards the Island, and we discovered numbers of the natives approaching us in canoes.

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CHAPTER V.

OCCURRENCES AT OTAHEITE AND EIMEO.

The Duff anchors in Matavai Bay.—Arrival of the natives.—Missionaries land.—Procession with the King and Queen.—A habitation given them.—Excursion up the country.—Description of it and of the inhabitants.—Cocoa-nut and plantain tree described.—Voyage to Eimeo.—Taloo Harbour.—Occurrences.—Return to Otaheite.—Departure from it.

WE entered a strait, in breadth about seventeen miles, which separated Otaheite from the Island of Eimeo. Here numbers of canoes met us, and hailed us by calling out, "*Mi ty, mi ty*," i. e. good, agreeable, intimating their pleasure at our arrival. Their meaning was intelligible to us from a small Dictionary, with which we had made ourselves acquainted during the voyage, obtained from the mutineers under Captain Bligh, before mentioned. Some of them having been taken prisoners, they were placed in confinement for their offence, just before the *Duff* left the British shores. A kind friend visited them in prison, and procured it for us.

The canoes made for the ship, without hesitation, and the natives, laying hold of the ropes, climbed up the sides into the vessel. In three hours, there were one hundred of them on board: while the ship's company, including Mates, Cabin-boy, and Sailors, consisted only of twenty-two. Some of the Missionaries, therefore, were put on guard.

After we had run through the passage which separated the Islands, we attempted to steer round to the Harbour, but the wind blowing against us, we were prevented from approaching it. We stood round, therefore, and tacked, and beat up, but were yet a great way off. We continued beating up all that night and the next morning, till 12 o'clock on Monday, when we securely anchored in Matavai Bay. The natives on board, both men and women, then jumped into the sea, and swam to shore. They were expert swimmers, and as they had little encumbrance from cloathing, they readily plunged into the water and darted along its surface. The men had no other covering but the maro, a kind of belt, made of the inward bark of a plant, called yabbo, by the Friendly Islanders, five or six inches in breadth, crossed, and bound round the loins. The women, however, were more decently clothed with a loose thin garment fastened above the bosom, and hanging down below the knee.

After we had come to anchor in Matavai Bay, and the vessel was placed in a state of security, the

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Captain ordered the boat to be lowered down, and taking two or three of the seamen and Missionaries with him, made for the shore. Numbers of the natives came running along the beach to meet them, and as the boat approached, ran into the sea, and drew it as far as they could, and then took their new visitors on their shoulders, and carried them on shore.

Among the company awaiting their landing, was Otoo, the King of Otaheite, and Tetua, the Queen, though little distinguished from the rest, except as they were carried on the shoulders of young men selected for the purpose. The Queen held a small stick in her hand, which served as a sceptre to direct them to turn, to hasten, or to slacken their pace. The strangers were welcomed to the Island with every demonstration of joy, and conducted along in a numerous procession, till they arrived at a spacious habitation, nearly one hundred feet long, and forty broad, supported in the centre by wooden pillars, eighteen feet high, thatched with entwined leaves of the plantain tree, and sheltered on the sides by screens of bamboo.

The Captain presented the Queen with a gaudy London dress, which seemed much to gratify her vanity. The King was presented with an European suit; but he was far better pleased with some iron tools that were given to him afterwards. The Captain returned to the ship, much delighted with the kind and civil reception he had met with.

The next day, a boat was sent to the shore for fresh provisions. But there was no occasion to do this afterwards, our new friends coming to us every day, with their canoes laden with cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and roasted pigs. Our visitors multiplied very fast. Each of them desired one of us to be his Tayo, or Friend, which is a sacred temporary engagement, customary in all the South-sea Islands, made and ratified by an exchange of names betwixt the parties. The person who chose me as his Tayo, wished me, in testimony, to exchange names with him : and I retained his name as long as the agreement lasted. The Tayo supplies his friend with cocoa-nuts, and every kind of food and refreshment, as long as he continues there, and he expects, in return, some small presents of nails, beads, &c. and at parting a gift of a hatchet, or any other useful article of hardware, with which he thinks himself richly repaid for all his attentions. Indeed the smallest present from us was received by the natives, as of immense value.

During our abode here, which was about ten days, we all went on shore ; and preparations were made for the settlement of those, who had fixed on this, as the scene of their future labours. Application was made, for this purpose, to an old man, called Manne Manne, the Grandfather of the reigning King, whose name was Otoo. Otoo was young, about seventeen, but as it is the custom at Otaheite

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for the first-born to be considered the head of the family, as soon as he comes into the world, he was the nominal King, and his father, whose name was Pomarre, performed all the offices of state, as his Prime Minister. Old Manne Manne, however, appeared to have the chief power and control, as the High Priest of the Island, although, his appearance was very mean. To him the Captain applied for the grant of a piece of ground and a habitation, informing him by a Swede, whom we found on the Island, that acted as our interpreter, that our intention was to settle among them, to instruct them in all that was useful and good. Manne Manne joyfully acceded to the request, and by a ceremony of surrender, gave us possession of the large house, mentioned above, and a tract of ground, adjoining to it, sufficiently extensive for the plentiful production of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts.

Those of us who designed to proceed to the Friendly Islands, amused ourselves with travelling up the country, and observing the natives. On one occasion, a little party made an excursion till noon, when we arrived at the foot of a considerable mountain; but after several attempts found ourselves too weary to reach its summit.

On the way, we saw a beautiful river, which, falling down a precipice of about forty yards, meandered in a clear stream along the higher part of the Island, whence we had a fine view of the

extensive plains below. In our progress, we discovered an opening in the mountain, which much excited our curiosity, as it seemed to have been excavated by the stream itself in the wasting lapse of years. The shortness of time, as well as our weariness, prevented us from pursuing its course, along the ridgy sides of the deep channel; in which, the still glassy current, seemed to enjoy repose, after ages of motion had smoothed its bed.

We now thought it time to return. The scenery of land, wood, and water was beautiful. The shady branches of the pine and cocoa-nut screened us, in our way, from the rays of the sun; and we frequently met with groups of the natives, reclining near cooling fountains, or sporting under the spreading foliage of the beautiful trees, that sheltered their habitations. Had we not known that Eden was become desolate through the sin of the primeval pair, the abundant fertility that beautified this Island, and blessed its inhabitants with ease and plenty, might have led us to call this a second paradise, planted in the watery waste. Indeed we met with many of the natives, who were shaded only with that covering, which the original pair entwined round their loins, when sin first disgraced the image of the Deity, and conscious guilt impressed them with the sense of shame. They behaved towards us with great civility and kindness, and readily climbed the lofty cocoa-trees, to gather for us, the refreshing

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nuts which hung clustering among the branches that crowned their tops.

The cocoa-tree is invaluable to the natives: itself almost superseding the need of labour. Its fruits abound in every season. As in the orange-tree, the blossom, the green apple, and the full ripe nut adorn it, at the same time, throughout the year. The trunk of this tree grows up, in a round branchless stem, of the circumference of two or three feet.

Its branches are all at the top, from fifteen to seventeen in number, and from fifteen to eighteen feet in length. It annually shoots forth new branches at the top, when the old ones die and drop off. The nut when full grown, is from the size of an Ostrich egg, to that of a child's head about seven years old. It is filled with milk extremely nutritious, and of a most pleasant flavour: and just before the milk begins to coagulate into a kernel, the quantity, in some nuts, is as much as a full quart.

This fruit was peculiarly grateful and refreshing to us, in our weary excursion. I drank two or three draughts out of one cocoa-nut, before I had emptied it. Some were given us, that contained a kernel, which had absorbed half the milk. These were both meat and drink to us. Those which contained a complete kernel, and little milk, were not so grateful; as the kernel was hard, and the milk not so palatable.

The plantains which they gave us, proved a delicious desert after our hearty meal of cocoa-nuts. This fruit is as long as the husk of the garden bean, but thinner: when it becomes ripe, they strip off the husk, and eat the whole of it, as we do a ripe pear; which indeed, in colour and substance, it every much resembles. It grows upon a stalk, of nearly a yard in length, which rises from the top of the tree; and as the fruit increases in bulk, it bends with the weight. When the clusters of fruit are gathered, the tree bears no more; but from the roots rise up, every year, several young stalks, one of which annually produces fruit; and to give it room, the old stalk is cut down, or decays of itself. It does not bear till it rises to the height of eight or ten feet.

As we pursued our excursion, we observed the summits of the mountains, in general, to appear craggy and barren; but the mountain which we ascended, was fertile, and abounded with plantain trees; the fruits of which the inhabitants of the inland parts, carry to the sea-shore, and barter for fish and other productions of the ocean.

Wearied with our journey, we returned, late in the evening, to the ship, but much pleased with our excursion, and delighted with the hope that our brethren would be made the instruments of diffusing, through this beautiful island, that inestimable blessing, which alone seemed wanting to render the

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happiness of the natives complete; viz. "the glorious gospel of the blessed God,"—that fountain of purity, righteousness, and felicity.

It was determined, in order to form some judgment of the treatment, which the Missionaries were likely to receive from the Otaheitans, to take leave of the Island, but with an intention to return, in a few days. Accordingly we weighed anchor, and steered our course to the Island of Eimeo, which is about seventeen miles to the west of Point Venus, the most northern extreme of Otaheite.

In our passage thither, a large grampus was seen, which the mariners called a young whale. It spouted at a little distance from us, and then sank from our sight. We soon entered the beautiful harbour of Taloo, in about 17 degrees, 29 minutes, south latitude, 145 degrees, 50 minutes, west longitude. In steering into this romantic harbour, we very nearly ran upon some rocks. The ship would have struck upon one, had not one of the sailors in the boat, who was towing the ship a-head, struck his oar against it, and warned us of our danger, just in time for them, by great exertion and dexterity, to tow us off without injury.

Taloo is one of the most beautiful and convenient harbours in the world. The lofty mountains, rising almost from the water's brink, completely sheltered the ship from the reach of storms. The harbour

runs so far up a deep, fine river, that the billows of the ocean are spent, before they reach it.

Whilst sailing down the harbour, the natives appeared flocking down from the mountains to meet us. But the truth of Captain Cook's account was soon perceived, that they were far behind the Otaheitans in civilization, refinement, and government. It was necessary, in consequence, to be still more on our guard, than at Otaheite, to preserve our articles from the rapacious and pilfering hands of the natives. They were very anxious to obtain some tools, but neither showed us hospitality nor made us presents. One day, when a party of us went in the boat a fishing, they jeered and ridiculed us, and at last, when obliged to return without any success, they set up a shout of derision. The Captain, therefore, was not very desirous of intercourse with them. They came, however, in canoes, round the ship, or swam to it, and played round us for part of the day in the water, in the hope of being taken on board. Many women were among them, and some perfectly naked, whose gambols in the water were as indecorous as their appearance. But the piety of the Captain and crew steeled their hearts against the influence of these Barbarian Syrens and they were obliged to return without success, perhaps for the first time in their addresses to European seamen.

One day as the Captain was at dinner with the cabin-window open, one of the natives climbed up

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the ship, and stole thence a Bible. Upon hearing a plunge in the water, the Captain rose up, and saw the culprit swimming away with it, when hastening upon deck, he sent out two boats after him, but when they nearly reached him, he dived like a duck, and eluded their pursuit. One of the boats, at length took him, and brought the affrighted prisoner aboard: and he was tied with outstretched arms to the mizen shrouds, as an example to his countrymen, who fearfully looked on, at a considerable distance. Not wishing however to injure him, the Captain, as soon as he perceived his arms to swell, ordered him to be untied; upon which he gladly leaped into the sea, and swam towards the canoes; which, the natives took courage to row forwards to meet him, upon seeing him escape so easily.

Having sprung into a canoe and got to shore, a crowd busily gathered round him, to inquire, no doubt, how he liked this new kind of punishment; and we soon found that it was too lenient to frighten the rest.

That very night, an officer upon the watch, hearing a motion in the water, discovered a thief softly swimming to the ship. Laying hold of some iron-work that fastened the rigging, he raised himself up and stood on a flat board, from which he would soon have leaped into the vessel; but at that instant, a sailor met him; upon which, he threw himself back into the sea, and endeavoured to make off. The

chief officer, however, presented him with a little light shot, with which his piece was charged; which, whether he carried back in his body, or not, is uncertain, but we thought it proper not to hazard ourselves on shore, for fear of being exposed to their revenge.

The day before, a party of us were obliged to hasten our departure from the island, through suspicion of some ill design. This party I accompanied, at nine in the morning, up the beautiful river, to some distance; where we began to wash our linen. We had not been long here, ere we discovered some of the natives with weapons, others skulking behind the bushes; and at length, they sounded their conches,—a spiral sea-shell, the hollow of which, gradually enlarges from a small aperture to a large orifice, like a speaking trumpet, but in form resembling the shell of a snail. Presently, they appeared in a body, hastening towards us. Upon this we speedily gathered our linen, and made the best of our way back to the ship; which we safely reached by about noon.

On the fourth day, weighing anchor, we left this inhospitable Island, and returned to visit our friends in Otaheite. On Sunday, at noon, re-entering Matavai Bay, we fired a gun as a signal of our return, and as an invitation to the Missionaries to come off to the ship, as it was not intended for us again to go on shore. They soon appeared on the beach

with many of the natives, with whom they came to us in canoes. The account they gave us of their treatment on the island, was very pleasing and satisfactory. They had met with every kind of respect and attention from the Chiefs, and had been supplied by the natives with such an abundance of provision, that they were in want of nothing.

We congratulated them on the good Providence that appeared to attend them, and united our praises to Heaven, for this pleasing prospect of future success and happiness. At the same time, the rest of us, who were about to depart for the Friendly Islands, and the Marquesas, were encouraged to hope for a similar favourable reception, in the destined scenes of our labours.

We recommended each other to the grace and protection of our Lord and Saviour, and took an affectionate farewell, expecting never to see each other more, till we met to give an account of our labours, before the tribunal of Him in whose service we had enlisted.

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGE FROM OTAHEITE TO TONGATABOO.

Leave Otaheite.—Reach Palmerstone Island.—Difficulties in landing.—Description of it.—Pass Savage Island, and Middleburg, or Eooa.—Enter the Bay of Tongataboo.—Visited by two Europeans.—Their Character.—Reflection.

ON Sunday afternoon, we set sail for Tongataboo, distant from Otaheite, about one thousand, four hundred miles. And now, the trade-winds, to avoid which, we had been obliged to sail beyond the longitude of Tongataboo; and to go first to Otaheite, as before mentioned, pleasantly wafted us forward, while we amused ourselves, in admiring the beautiful shores of Otaheite, Ulitea, and other isles, which form the group of the Society Islands; but want of time prevented our visiting them.

The morning of the sixth day discovered to us an Island, which, the Captain, from the longitude, knew to be Palmerstone Island, the name by which Captain Cook distinguished it for its productions, when he discovered it. Determining to avail ourselves of the opportunity of supplying the vessel

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with the cocoa-nuts, with which we knew that it abounded, we stood for it; but the wind blowing with some force, the Captain thought it proper to steer round to the leeward side of it, i. e. to that side whence the wind blew from the shore, that no risk might be incurred of driving on the rocks or shoals. Having, therefore, put out the boat, Mr. William Wilson, the chief officer, Mr. Faulkner, the third, myself and several seamen jumped into it, and rowed off. The vessel then laid to, i. e. it was so balanced with the sails to the wind, as to remain stationary, in order to wait for us; there being no anchorage on account of the rocks. We then rowed forward towards the Island, through a considerable swell. We were now alarmed by a number of sharks, which swam round the boat, and followed us. One approached so near, that Mr. Faulkner pierced its nose with a boat-hook. If the sea had upset the boat at this time, we should all have been devoured by them. It was a long time, before we could discover a place for landing. At last we cast out the grappling iron, to prevent the boat from driving upon the reef, but unfortunately one of its hooks broke, and we were drifted. At this time, the sea became calm, and we discovered a rock just above water, from which we conceived we might ford to the shore. I and two others jumped overboard and swam to it, forgetting the risk we ran from the sharks so lately seen; but we received no injury. From

the rocks, we soon reached the sandy beach, which was distant only a quarter of a mile. As it was ebb-tide, the sea soon went down, and discovered to those in the boat, a narrow channel of some depth, through the reef, within which they secured the boat, whilst we advanced up the country. We found not an inhabitant on it. It is most probable, it was never the residence of man; as Captain Cook found it entirely desolate. In productions, however, it is very fertile, and in its scenery beautiful and romantic. It was covered with cocoa-trees; nuts lay in heaps under the trees, deposited there for years, by the fruitful seasons.

An Otaheitan boy and man, that had come with us, rendered us great service, as they were very expert in climbing the lofty cocoa-trees. I climbed one myself, but unfortunately loosing my hold, I dropped down into a soft heap of decayed coconuts, that lay under the tree, where I was almost buried.

The abundance of fruits which we found on the Island, induced more of the men to come to us from the ship, in another boat.

They had to row from a considerable distance, as the ship was prevented by the rocks from approaching the Island, since, in case they had anchored, the cable would have been in danger of breaking among the rocks which were scattered about, or of being so entangled amongst them, as to oblige them to

cut it. We all exerted ourselves in climbing to gather the cocoa-nuts from the trees, as we preferred these, on account of the milk, to those that were fallen, which were filled with kernel. We strung the nuts together, by running a string through a hole perforated through the husk, without piercing through the shell to the kernel; the strength and adhesion of which, were sufficient to sustain a considerable weight. At length, tired with climbing, we sent to the ship for an axe, to cut down these lofty trees, to gather the fruits the more easily. This was done without remorse, as we knew there were no inhabitants to feel the loss of them, and the Island abounded with them. We carried a large quantity to the shore, and returned to the ship, with our boats laden with the grateful supply. This pleasant Island would support many inhabitants in ease and plenty, with only the fruits of its soil, and the fishery of its shores. But brutes, as well as the rational race, were such strangers here, that the sea-fowls on the beach were so tame, that they did not attempt to fly away when we approached them; they only opened their bills. We collected many of them, and brought them to the ship. They resembled the seagull, but were of larger size. They were unpleasant eating, and the taste somewhat resembled that of fish; their smell also was very offensive: they all soon died a natural death, for we did not kill them for food.

We found, upon our return, that our friends in the vessel had not been idle, in our absence, they had actively amused themselves in fishing, and during the day, had caught seven sharks.

Proceeding forwards about four days, at noon, we came in sight of Savage Island, so called by Captain Cook, on account of the barbarous appearance and behaviour of the natives. Having little wind, we did not come near it till night; but, through the dark, we discovered many of the natives with lights in their hands, fishing. These lights, as I afterwards found, when I came to Tongataboo, are a kind of torch, which they call Tomais, made from the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, which, every year, grows up with the young stem, as it rises from the old stock; and as the new stem increases, it separates from it, like the husk from the fruit.

These bark leaves, (if I may so term them) are of an aromatic unctuous nature, and rising from the tree, to the length of two or three feet, very well serve, when bound together, to supply the place of a torch. The inhabitants of the Southern Islands carry them by night, to the sea; as the light proves an excellent decoy to attract the fish, which they then easily catch with a small net.

As soon as we discovered the lights, the Captain ordered the ship-bell to be rung; immediately the lights vanished; but in a quarter of an hour they again appeared. If it had been day, we should

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have attempted an intercourse with the natives, but the Captain, unwilling to lose a whole night, in waiting for the day, stood forward in his course for the Friendly Islands. As we passed along the glimmering shores, the Island seemed to extend to the distance of fifteen or eighteen miles.

In about five days, we discovered one of the Friendly Islands, named by the Dutch, who discovered it, Middleburg, but known to the inhabitants by the name of Eooa. We kept Eooa on our larboard side, or left hand, in order to fall down on Tongataboo, which, we knew, lay to the right.

The mountains of Eooa, which we discerned, were at a considerable distance; so that we ran the whole day, before we reached the confines of the Friendly Islands; and finding we were not likely to make the harbour till it was dark, we stood off, till day-light. The wind blew briskly as the morning dawned, and the Captain crowded sail to take advantage of it, in order, if possible, to steer down the channel, by day-light, into the bay of Tongataboo. This name is properly two words, Tonga-Taboo, signifying Sacred Island, the reason of which will appear, when we come to shew, that the Priest of this Island, Duatonga, was revered and resorted to by all the surrounding Islands.

As we were entering the channel, a canoe approached us with two persons in it, natives of Eooa, we supposed, through desire of European articles;

but Tongataboo being our object, we stood down the channel in full sail, without attending to them.

About ten, the vessel passed an Island, and as it drew nearer Tongataboo, we discerned the natives flocking down to the beach. The channel was deep and commodious: it narrowed as we advanced up it, and at length, terminated in a small winding turn, round a point of land, which we doubled with difficulty.

From a small Island that lay near, we were cheered by the natives. In a quarter of an hour, the ship was through the channel, and in an hour after, dropped down into a convenient place for anchorage.

Before we could well come to an anchor, the ship was surrounded by the natives, who flocked to us from every adjacent Island. The place, before which we anchored, was called Noogollefa: it was near an Island, named Bonghy-moddoo; on which former navigators pitched their tents, as a convenient spot, on account of its separation from the main Island, to preserve themselves from being too much incommoded by the natives.

We had not been long at anchor, before we were pleasingly surprised by a visit from two Europeans, named Benjamin Ambler, and John Conelly. The former said, he was a native of London, the latter, an Irishman, said, he was born at Cork. They stated, that they left an American vessel, that came here, preferring to take up their abode at Tongataboo. But

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we soon found that we had greater reason to regret their presence here, than to rejoice at it. They soon shewed themselves to be base and wicked characters; and whatever they pretended, as the occasion of settling here, it is most likely that they were transported for some misdemeanor, and gladly secreted themselves in this Island, where they could indulge, without restraint, in those habits of idleness and profligacy, to which they had been addicted. Bad as they were, however, we thought it prudent to engage their influence with the chiefs in our favour, and applied to them, especially to Ambler (who was the most fluent in the language), to inform the Chief of the Island, that we were come on a peaceful and benevolent design.

Engaged by handsome presents, Ambler and his companion went to the Chief, and impressed him with a favourable opinion of us; and returned in the course of the next day, with an invitation to us to enter the Island, and a promise of a settlement in it. They came, in a large canoe, with many natives of both sexes. The dress and carriage of the two Europeans, were like theirs: they seemed to imitate them in every thing, and much to exceed them in wickedness. Thinking we were as bad as themselves, they swore with the fluency of abandoned seamen, and probably to give us an idea of the impure freedoms, in which they indulged without control, in Tongataboo, they treated the women with

brutish indecorum and cruelty, and told us that one of them had three wives, and the other four. They were soon, however, awed into a more reserved behaviour, by our discountenance and reproof; and before long, became our bitterest enemies.

So true is it, that man, left to himself without the restraints of law and civilized life, will, unless the grace of God prevent, soon degenerate into a savage, through the corrupt tendency of his nature to yield to the influence of bad example. And it should excite us to gratitude and obedience, that we live in a land, where the periodical return of a solemn sabbath and the constant recurrence of the means of grace, operate to preserve us from so heathenish an apostasy.

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CHAPTER VII.

OCCURRENCES AT TONGATABOO, TILL THE
DUFF'S RETURN.

*Visited by the Principal Chief.—Missionaries land.
—Departure of the Duff, and their sensations
on that occasion.—The effect of a Cuckoo-clock on
the natives.—Death of Moomooe.—Horrid fune-
ral rites.—Election of a new Chief.—Ill con-
duct of the three Europeans.—Separation of the
Missionaries.—Return of the Duff.*

THE venerable Moomooe, the principal Chief, or Dugonagaboola of the Island, soon arrived himself, and confirmed the message which Ambler had brought. Our interview with him and the rest of the natives, gave us a very pleasing impression of their disposition and manners.

He made us a friendly offer of a habitation and land, at Aheefo, seventeen miles distant from the place of anchorage, near the residence of Toogahowe, a principal Chief; that we might be under his protection. This Toogahowe was the son of Moomooe, and Nephew of Feenou Toogahowe, who was the friend of Captain Cook, and reigned

over Fooa, when that celebrated Navigator landed on this Island. By a course of warlike exploits, in which his power over the other chiefs was confirmed, he became the Dugonagaboola, or principal chief of Tongataboo. The extensive district of Aheefo, consisting of the western part of the Island, was immediately under his government, as the Leige Lord; but the two other districts, into which the Island was divided, of Ardeo, and Ahogge, were also subject to his control; and Futtafaihe, the Chief of the former, and Vaharlo, the Chief of the latter, acknowledged him as their superior.

In order to take a speedy possession of the abode, which Moomooe had generously presented to us, I and four or five of the Missionaries entered the canoes, soon after they arrived; and taking with us a stock of useful articles, set off for Aheefo. Many of the natives were in the canoes, who paddled us back, behaved very kindly towards us, and plentifully supplied us with cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, &c.

It was dark before we reached the place of our destination. The natives went for some persons to assist in conveying our articles to the habitation designed for us; and we had to wait from ten till twelve, before they returned. Our situation, during this time, was by no means pleasant; as we were only five in number, and were therefore afraid that the natives, through desire of our Articles, might be

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tempted to attack us. Their voices also were constantly heard near us. But through awe of their chiefs, and fear of our firearms, of which they had some knowledge, they were restrained from robbing us. We guarded our little baggage, till the last of the goods were removed; and then accompanied the porters a mile and a half, to the appointed settlement, which the two Europeans had obtained for us. It was a comfortable dwelling, in a little field, inclosed with reeds neatly interwoven, and fastened to green stakes driven into the ground, which had shot forth suckers and branches, that now were entwined into a verdant fence.

By the sixth day, after the ship had come to an anchor, we had conveyed on shore, the principal part of the articles which were then needed, and had met with such a favourable reception from the natives, that already there appeared to us a good prospect of prosperity and peace. The Captain, in the mean time, received and paid visits to the chiefs, carried on a friendly intercourse with the natives, and obtained every requisite confirmation of their friendly dispositions towards us. Finding, therefore, he had little time to spare, as he was bound to China, from whence he was authorised, by the East-India Company, to bring back a cargo of teas, in company with the fleet, he weighed anchor for the Marquesas; whither William Crook and John Harris still retained their determination to proceed,

agreeable to the choice they had made before our arrival at Otaheite. After steering round the reef, he waited for us to come off, to inform him still further, of the treatment we met with. But at this time there came on a tremendous gale, which did not allow us to venture to the ship, and obliged the Captain to push off from the shores; whence, the mountainous billows soon tossed the vessel along the ocean, till we lost sight of her. We watched her labouring amid the waves, till she sank in the horizon, from our view. A sigh of sadness then arose, and some tears of regret fell from our eyes, whilst we looked round upon this Island, far distant from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where we should pass, and end our days. "This," we said, to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will moulder to dust. This we must now look upon as our country, and our grave." But there were ten of us in company, all social and friendly, all attached to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this time, united in love and zeal for our divine Master, and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel to the friendly, but heathen inhabitants around us.

Our painful sensations were soon allayed with these considerations, and we turned to our habitation, endeavouring to address our minds to the grand concern on which we came; cheered with the hope that when the ship visited us, in its return

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from the Marquesas, according to orders given before she left England, we should, through the favour of Heaven, have it in our power to present to the Captain a bright and cheering prospect of future usefulness and success. We consecrated our habitation, as soon as the natives retired, (two excepted, who stayed with us as our guard,) with hymns and praises to our God for all his providential mercies, and our favourable settlement in the Island: and then imploring his continued blessing and protection, committed ourselves to rest, much wearied with the fatigues of the day. A sound and pleasing slumber soon relieved, and refreshed us all: from which we were not roused, till the arrival of numerous visitors, who came to pay us their respects, and indulge their curiosity, awoke us. They all appeared persons of rank, as none came without considerable presents of bales of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of ripe plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. They seemed to consider it a great honour to be permitted to enter our habitation; and were anxious to receive any presents from us.

Placed under the protection of a powerful chief, no one offered to molest us; but all appeared to vie in paying us honour and attention. So many presents were at length made us, of beautiful bales of cloth and mats, that we had not room to deposit them all. The cloth was by no means so contemptible as some Europeans may imagine. It was ad-

mirable,—made as is shown in another part of this work, out of the inner bark of trees, moulded, battered, and spread into a fine stout cloth, which, fringed with white, forms a very becoming and elegant dress. The mats were very curiously wrought with a tasty intertexture of different coloured threads: some mats were so closely knitted together, that when laid on the floor, they were a sure defence from insects, as they were impenetrable to them: and the insects crept under them, in the same manner as under a floor-cloth, or a board.

In return, we made the natives as many presents as our stock of articles afforded; but especially to the old chief, who was our protector. We always conducted ourselves towards our visitors with the utmost cheerfulness; and in every thing that appeared to excite their curiosity, we were most assiduous to gratify them with information. We soon fixed up a cuckoo-clock. This was viewed with great surprise, before it was put in motion. Presently, we set it a going; when, out came the cuckoo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, “cuckoo cuckoo.” They were filled with amazement, and for a time could not take their eyes off; till at last, they looked at each other with dumb surprise, and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to us, in perfect astonishment. The news of this surprising phenomenon, soon spread all over the Island. They reported we had got Accouclair, i. e. “wood

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that speaks." Every one who saw it, went and told his neighbour "Nago* mamattai accoulair." i. e. I saw the wood speak." The numerous visitors that it attracted to our habitation, wholly employed us from early in the morning till late in the evening. We were obliged therefore to rise at a very early hour, to unite in our morning devotions before they came to interrupt us. Our visitors, at length, so multiplied, that we were obliged to refuse admittance to many. Every chief came with a large train of attendants; but as they were habited like the rest, we were obliged to behave with attention to all, lest we should, perchance, not distinguish a chief, and so give offence.

Amongst our visitors was Duatonga, or Futtafaihe, who, next to Dugonagaboola, was the most powerful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho, a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother lost the sovereignty.

Toogahowe, or Dugonagaboola, who was a great

*Nago is a kind of affix in their language, used very frequently at the beginning of sentences, like now, so, well, &c. in our tongue, in conversation.

warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we had several, we were glad of this opportunity of gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver as we.

Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief, died. His disorder and danger excited great concern through the Island, and one of his own sons was slain, through a delusive hope that his health and strength would be communicated to his dying Father.

But it is beyond the power of description, to paint the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

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were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidal form, round which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strengthened his power with the chiefs by making them his companions and friends. No sooner therefore were they met, in publick assembly, than one stepped forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "Do bou Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma too-lou." i. e. Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we will do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected, as none dare to oppose him.

Futtafaihe had entertained the hope of regaining, by the vote of this general assembly, the family authority, which his Mother had lost: but as Toogahowe was elected the Dugonagaboola, by the voice of the chiefs, he thought it best quietly to acquiesce in their decision.

We soon became intimate with many of the chiefs; and in separate parties, often joined them in distant excursions, and were treated with the best of every thing which the Island afforded.

From our own countrymen, we met with our greatest troubles, at this time. No sooner had the ship left the shores, than the two Europeans before mentioned, joined by a third, named Morgan, whom we likewise met with on the Island, began to disturb and harrass us.

Our conduct, so different from their abandoned habits, excited their enmity: and their eagerness for our articles, soon compelled them to show it. Out of kindness to them, as our countrymen, how-

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ever unworthy in themselves, we had given them various commodities to a considerable amount ; till their applications to us became intolerable. We were obliged to refuse them ; and then they shewed themselves in their true character. They demanded the goods, as their right ! and one day, forcibly entered our habitation, and attempted to seize them. We then stood upon our defence, and repelled force with force. One of them ran up to Kelso, and struck him, the other also made an attempt on one of us ; but overpowering them with numbers we soon drove them off the ground : they left us however with dreadful imprecations and threats, that they would inflame the natives against us, and that not one of us should be left alive by morning. Could they have influenced the natives, I have no doubt they would have murdered us all. They attempted it with all their might, but a gracious, vigilant Providence frustrated their evil designs. Indeed, their bad conduct had rendered them too unpopular, to have much sway with the natives ; and at length, it provoked them to inflict upon them that death, in which they wished to have involved us.

Their conduct and menaces, however, alarmed us ; and for this reason, and on account of the small progress which we had made in the knowledge of the language, by living together, separate from the natives, we came to a determination to part, and to take up our abode, in little parties, with different

chiefs: with some of whom, all of us were become intimately acquainted, from our many visits and excursions among them.

Upon this point, a deputation was sent to consult our old chief Toogahowe, who was now Dugonagaboola, under whose protection we lived, who was of chief authority in the Island. The plan receiving his approbation, we took leave of each other. Two went to live with Vahargee, at Ardeo, one with Moolee, in the district of Ahogge; an inferior chief, but an industrious man, and possessed of a considerable tract of fertile land. I went alone to live with one Mulkaamair, the first chief in the Island, next to Dugonagaboola. Two went to live with Duatonga, at Mooa, and three remained at Aheefo.

Two or three months had now elapsed since the ship left us. During my stay with Mulkaamair previous to the ship's return, I went once to visit the brethren. This I found of considerable use to revive and strengthen my religious principles, and to fortify me against those temptations with which I was daily surrounded, and enticed. It would have been well, had I more frequently assembled with them.

Every means of grace was now of great importance. I was going, the second time, to pay them a visit, for which purpose I set off in a small canoe for Aheefo, to wash my clothes. But, just as I was

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leaving Mooa, and coming down the channel by Noogoo, I discovered a ship in full sail, at a distance. I concluded it to be the Duff, and immediately stood forward to meet her, and followed her to the place of anchorage. The Captain was rejoiced to see me. I immediately dispatched a messenger to the rest of the brethren, to hasten them to the vessel. It was not long before several were on board; but some, from their distance, did not arrive till the next day. Our meeting was joyful indeed. The Captain was pleased with the relation which we gave him of our treatment amongst the natives; but our account of Ambler and Conelly determined him to take them, if possible, and carry them prisoners to England, to answer for their illegal attempts on their own countrymen, at a bar where distance from the seat of justice, would be found no excuse for the transgression of her laws, and the lapse of time would not be allowed to diminish its enormity.

CHAPTER VIII.

OCCURRENCES BEFORE AND AFTER THE FINAL
DEPARTURE OF THE DUFF.

Account of affairs at Otaheite.—Conelly seized.—Division of the stores in the Duff:—Attempt to take Ambler.—Two providential escapes of the Author from instant death.—The Missionaries take leave of the Captain.—Prejudices against them;—Removed.—The Author apprises the Reader of his future blameable conduct, and laments it.

THE Captain informed us he had left the Missionaries all well, and in a prosperous state, at Otaheite, but that there were some dissensions amongst themselves. Mr. Gillham the Surgeon, offended by their usage of him, had returned with the Captain. He expected they would have excused him from any laborious employment, that he might have leisure for medical pursuits; but they first wished him to take his turn as cook: with this he complied; but they, at last, voted him in perpetual cook; which was an indignity to which he would not submit. John Harris, who had accompanied Crook

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to the Marquesa's, was so terrified and disgusted by the indecent behaviour of the natives towards him, that instead of staying to civilize and improve them with the light of christianity, he deserted his post and fled to the sea shore, where he was taken up by the vessel; leaving poor young Crook to attempt, alone, the arduous work of evangelizing these benighted heathens. Crook, however, whom they afterwards saw, did not wish to return with him to Otaheite, but with apostolic firmness determined to remain, though by himself.

As the Captain had given orders to seize the Europeans, who had showed us all the ill usage in their power, and had attempted our destruction, we proceeded to the habitation of Conelly, and seized him, and brought him prisoner to the Duff. But Ambler and Morgan hearing of our intention, made their escape, and eluded our search.

We now proceeded to a division of the property, which the Missionary Society had sent in the vessel. Their liberality much exceeded our expectation. We found abundance of hardware, wickerwork, metal, earthenware, prints for thin trowsers, jackets, &c. and books. We conveyed our respective portion of each article to our different residences, which much ingratiated us with our chiefs, who considered all as their own, because we were their inmates. I presented all my stock to my chief, but with a royal generosity, he refused to ac-

cept of any thing; telling me he did not want my property, but me.

One day, Ambler and Morgan, who had heard of our endeavour to take them, entered my habitation, armed, with an evident design of revenging themselves by murdering me. I expected that instant to be speared. But providentially there was a chief with me, who they knew had a great regard for me: they departed therefore without molesting me. I learned whither they had retired, and immediately went to the vessel; and Mr. Faulkner the third officer, myself and some others proceeded directly, well armed, to their retreat. We had searched several spots without success, till night came on. At length I advanced from the field by myself, before the rest, up a narrow lane; and meeting with some of the natives, I inquired of them if they had seen Ambler. They replied by seizing me, and held me immoveable by my arms behind. I could easily have shot one of them with a pistol, which I held ready loaded in my hand; but knowing that my own death would have instantly followed, I forbore to touch the trigger. They dragged me forward, along the lane, and threw me on my back. Whilst two or three held me, another raised his club to strike me on the head. I despaired of escape, and expected the suspended club would finish my life. But, that instant, the moon emerged from under a cloud; and shining full in my face, as I lay

upon my back, discovered who I was. The natives immediately dropped their clubs, awed by reverence for the chief, with whom I resided, as they well knew I was a great favourite with him.

Just then Mr. Faulkner and his party, alarmed by my outcries, came up, and fired upon my assailants, but missed them. They fled, but followed us afterwards for some time, as we retired to the boat. I did not enter the boat with them, but returned to my chief. I was surprised, when I arrived at his habitation, to find the doors of the inclosure secured: and was obliged to stay some time in the publick road. At length, roused by fear of pursuers, I succeeded in forcing the entrance. I was more alarmed, when I entered, to perceive the natives all under arms. As I approached, they pointed their spears at me. I inquired for the old chief: they sent for him, but told me in the mean time that they were informed by Ambler and Morgan, that it was our intention to kill them, and seize the Island.

These men had succeeded in exciting the indignation of the natives against us by this malignant calumny. They took every step to lessen us in their esteem, and to exalt themselves. They gave it out, that they were persons of the greatest consequence, that one was the king's son, the other a duke, or great chief; but that we were only of the lower class, and servants to them in our own country.

By this time, old Mulkaamair arrived, and received me with as much joy as ever. I convinced him that we intended them no injury, but every thing that was good; and that it was only the two turbulent Europeans that we wished to take. I informed him too of our danger, and the loss of my pistol, which was wrested from my hands when I was seized. He promised I should have it again, and sent for it. Having used every means to take the Europeans, without effect, we gained over the chiefs to our side, and agreed that they should continue on the Island.

The Captain, finding he must not delay his return, made preparations to depart. We wrote many letters to our friends in England, which when the Captain had received, he affectionately bade us farewell; assuring us that he thought himself bound, as far as it lay in his power, to see that the solemn engagement, by which the directors of the mission had pledged themselves to us, should be accomplished; which was, that "sooner than neglect us, they would suffer every evil and inconvenience themselves." We took an affectionate leave of our beloved and pious Captain. I felt more affected at parting with him than I ever did before. When we returned to the shore we retired to our respective dwellings; and, as we had much property, endeavoured still more to engage and confirm the friendship of our chiefs, by making them large and frequent presents. Indeed this was necessary to our safety.

Ambler also and Morgan, though they never were reconciled to us, yet came to us in a mild manner, and were glad to pretend a reconciliation with us, in order to get some of our articles. We enriched them with presents of considerable value; for trifling articles amount to great possessions in Tongataboo; yet they did not desist from their endeavours to prejudice the natives against us, by every possible unjust insinuation. But the Chiefs would not listen to them. Some of them, however, became suspicious of us; and in an assembly gave it as their opinion that we should not be suffered to remain there. But Mulkaamair, my friend and chief, made them the following answer. "If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more?" This satisfied the objectors; and we gradually increased in the esteem of the natives. Old Mulkaamair was, indeed, an unalterable friend to us all; when he saw any of us coming to his habitation, he would lift up his hands and clap them with joy, and take us by the hand, and say, "Noofou ge lala, ge tou tellanooa," i. e. "Sit down, let us have some

talk with you ;” and then he would make us sit by him, and treat us in the most hospitable and generous manner, as long as we chose to stay.

We thought it safest to have no correspondence with Ambler and Morgan; and, indeed, there was soon no need to court their favour, or fear their displeasure; for they speedily lost the esteem of the natives. Whatever pretensions they made of being dukes or princes, the natives had sense enough to conclude, that if they were really men of rank, they would have received presents from their country, as well as ourselves. But, as they had none to bestow, they were treated with little respect; and at length, their bad conduct obliged the natives to put them to death. Ambler, at the breaking out of a civil war, which will be related in its place, had spoken very disrespectfully of a neighbouring chief: for which, and for his endeavours to excite disturbances in the Island, the natives killed him. Morgan came to the Vavou Islands, just before I went to take possession of one of them, and here, for the brutal violation of a chief's daughter, he was put to death.

I had now taken up my residence with Mulka-amair, without any companion to admonish, correct, or assist me. The temptations of my situation, uniting with my natural depravity, now no longer restrained by the presence of others, but fostered by all around, gradually corrupted my soul, and overcame me.

Here, therefore, I am approaching a period of my life, in which I little regarded the pure heavenly design on which I set out, and disgraced my character as a christian. The remembrance of this has caused me bitter remorse, and often fills me, still, with deep contrition, shame, and self abhorrence. But I trust, by the grace of God, I have now truly repented. I hope in the mercy of God through that gracious Redeemer who "came to seek and save the lost," and "call sinners to repentance." I am cheered by the belief that "he is able to save all that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them;" and I endeavour, by the aids of his blessed Spirit, which, I daily need, and therefore daily implore, to walk again in the paths of righteousness.

From the period that I returned to live with Mulkaamair; when the ship left the Island, and I bid adieu to my companions, I had little or no connexion with them. The remainder of this Narrative will, therefore, relate principally to myself, and the circumstances in the Island, in which I took a part, until my merciful escape from it. In this, I shall not disguise my conduct, but declare every thing with that scrupulous attention to truth, without exaggeration or palliation, to which I have endeavoured, uniformly, to adhere, in all that I have related. If the circumstances that perverted me from the paths of righteousness and purity, and the

unhappy influence which they had on my mind, should serve as a caution to future missionaries, or deter any from those omissions of duty, and those indulgences of depraved inclination, which lead to declension and destruction, the narration of my disgrace will not be useless nor unprofitable.

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CHAPTER IX.

A DAY AND NIGHT AT TONGATABOO.

Mulkaamair's house.—His family.—Bed-time.—Night.—Breakfasting on Kava.—Subjection of the lower classes.—Day as passed by the chiefs.—Evening's amusements.—Dances.—Dress and ornaments.—Musick and songs.—Superiority of the lower classes in Britain.

THE house of Mulkaamair, with whom I resided, was very spacious; its length was fifty feet. It was of an oval form. One large and lofty post was fixed in the centre; and round it, in an oval circle, were placed less posts, at equal distances, which formed the sides of the habitation. Upon these posts layers were fixed, to which rafters were fastened, that extended to the pillar in the middle, and united the whole building with it. The inside of the roof was ornamented with warm beautiful matting, which was sheltered on the outside with a skilful intertexture of the branches of the plantain tree. In rainy weather, screens of matting, called Takkabou, made of branches of the cocoa-nut-tree, were fastened to the side posts, which almost reached the

eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space, separated from the rest by inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse. When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

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I have been delighted, for hours, in listening to these nocturnal confabulations, and often very much surprised and improved, by the shrewdness of their observations, and the good sense of their reasonings. When they were all lain down, the chief would say, "Tou tellanoa." "Let us have some conversation." Another would answer, Tou Tellanoa gee aha, i. e. "what shall we talk about." A third would reply, "Tou Tellanoa ge papa langee." "Let us talk of the men of the sky." They called us "the men of the sky," because, observing that the sky appeared to touch the ocean, in the distant horizon, and knowing that we came from an immense distance, they concluded that we must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo.

I have heard them for hours talking of us, our articles, dress, and customs, and entertaining each other with conjectures respecting the distance of the country, whence we came, the nature of it, its productions, &c. &c.

Their patriarchal mode of life, in which the younger and inferior part always surround the chief, as the father of one large family, is calculated much to refine and improve their mental faculties, and to polish their language and behaviour.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and

distinct from those of the lower and laborious classes, as the man of letters, or the polished courtier differs from the clown. The lower orders used terms of a much meaner and coarser import: the higher orders were so much refined, as often, for amusement, to take off the vulgar by imitating their expressions and pronunciations. The family of Duatonga, if they spoke to any of the domestics, or visitors, would always be answered, "Ahee," "Yes Sire", but most others were answered with, "Cohou", Yes Sir; this latter term, if pronounced as it is spelt, would be a polite reply, but if spoken as if it was spelt Cohaa, it would be very vulgar, and signify our broad expression "What", and if spoken to a chief, the man would be struck down for his rudeness.

Their nocturnal conversations would continue till ten or eleven in the evening, till they all fell asleep. Their conversation and comparisons were sometimes so very droll and ludicrous, that I occasionally burst out into a fit of laughter which would make them say "Coe Kata gee aha Balo" What are you laughing at Balo? "Mannogge abai eyette ge mou touloo." "He is making game of us I suppose". They called me by the name of Balo.

If one chanced, during the night, to awake, he would renew the conversation with some neighbour that might happen to rouse, and then they would call to each other till they all awaked, and enjoy another hour's chat.

As soon as the morning dawned, they arose; and then took place the important ceremony of drinking Kava, and eating yams, &c. which formed their breakfast; in which as much order and exactness were observed, as in the forming and exercising a regiment of soldiers. The Kava is a root planted principally for the use of the chiefs: and too scarce for the lower orders.

It is made into a spirit of an intoxicating nature. The top and branches of this plant are thrown away. The root alone is used, and this is of a soft nature, that may be beaten to pieces. The root is first scraped with a shell, and rubbed clean with the rough husk of the cocoa-nut, and then divided among the company to be prepared for making the liquor.

A large circle is formed by the whole company, all sitting in the same posture, with their legs crossed. The chief sits at the head of it. On each side of him are stationed the tackhangers, or ministers of the chief, to superintend the preparation of the Kava. The Kava is then brought before the chief. The person who is to mix it, by order of the Tackhangers, then splits the root into small pieces with a flat piece of wood, or whale bone, which they procure from the bodies of dead whales that are sometimes thrown upon the coast. The pieces of Kava root thus split, are then distributed amongst the circle, who hand them to the young people a-

mong them who have clean teeth, fit to chew it. Each person has a leaf by him, on which he lays his portion of masticated Kava root. When it is all chewed, a large bowl with three legs is handed round, and they empty their leaves, containing the prepared Kava root, into it. The bowl is then placed within the circle opposite the chief; and on each side of it are seated two young men, with plantain leaves, to keep off the flies. The person who has the management of the bowl having received the different portions of masticated root, turns it on one side to show it to the tackhangers, and with his face towards the chief, calls out to the tackhangers, "Gooch Kava anama." "All the Kava is chewed."

If the tackhangers judge that there is sufficient for the company, they say "Baloo," "mix it." Then one of the persons holding the fans of plantain branches, pours water out of cocoa-nut shells, which stand near them in readiness, while the other keeps off the flies. As he pours, the tackhanger notes and regulates the quantity, and at length calls out "Moua," i. e. "stop."

The root, thus chewed, and mixed with water, is then squeezed by handfuls held up for the tackhangers to judge of the strength of the liquor, as it falls into the dish: if it appears sufficiently strong, a strainer is brought, made of the inner bark of a tree, which, when scraped thin and fine, and well

washed, is laid out to dry, and becomes very white and clean. With this, they strain the liquor from the masticated Kava root. When they have repeated the straining three or four times, and perfectly cleansed it, the person who sits by the bowl calls out "Tooma Kava," the "Kava is clean." During this time the company, who are sitting in silence, are not idle: they form dishes in a curious and skilful manner of plantain leaves. As soon as the Kava is ready, appointed persons rise from the circle with their plantain dishes, and approach the bowl. The man who mixed it then takes up a large strainer full, and another holds his dish underneath, over the great bowl, till it is filled. The former then calls out, "Kava go aga." "Whose is this Kava?" The tackhanger replies, "Havee ge Dabou." "Take it to Dabou," or to any other person whose name was mentioned. In this way, the name of every one of the company is repeated, before he is served. The person whose name is pronounced, then claps his hands, and the waiter, by this signal informed which it is, takes the Kava to him. The persons serving it out to the company, conduct themselves in the most becoming and orderly manner, arranging their apparel with the greatest neatness, walking with grace, and presenting it with ceremonious politeness. If a man were to conduct himself with the least disorder or disrespect, the chief would order him to be struck down. When they present

the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of whom are considered sacred, they must sit down cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their hands.

During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomagee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily employed in an out house built for the purpose, in baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava; and during their meal talk with each other, as they please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava, they always drink it in companies in this festive manner; in which they often spend the two or three first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure, however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistence, or to resort to the chief, and beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household; and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

dived down to take his place. I have seen one person carry a stone of considerable weight ten or twelve yards in this game, through the buoyant aid of the water.

But they take particular delight in another amusement in the water, called Furneefoo. They go down to the flat shore, at high water, when the swell rolls with great force to the land, and plunge in and swim some yards into the sea, then pushing themselves on the top of the swell, they ride in, close to the shore. It is astonishing to see with what dexterity they will steer themselves on the wave, one hand being stretched out, as the prow before, and the other guiding them like a rudder behind: and though they are riding in upon the swelling billow, with a frightful rapidity, that makes you apprehend they will be dashed and killed upon the shore, they will, with surprising agility, turn themselves suddenly, on one side, and darting back through the next wave, swim out to sea, till another swell waft them on towards shore; when, if inclined to land, they will again turn themselves on one side, and, awaiting the wave's return, dart through the reflux surge, and reach the shore in safety. Several hours are often spent at one time, in this sport, in which the women are as skilful as the men. I never attempted this diversion myself, as the trial might have been fatal.

But in another amusement, in which the chiefs

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often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed, the servants are sent to strew it in places near the road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills the most, in the same number of shots, wins the game.

They are a very active people, yet they often spend whole days, when they have no particular employment, in luxurious indolence. These days they generally close in dancing and singing; of which they are peculiarly fond.

The chief will send round the district, and collect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree.

These dances are very beautiful. Young women of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness, their necks and shoulders encircled with wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

gether like beads, their graceful limbs covered only with a thin drapery, and in some cases, only shaded with an entwined garland of gee-leaves.

Their dances are very much diversified, and performed with admirable grace and uniformity, by companies of eighty or a hundred, who all move together with the greatest exactness. I never saw soldiers go through their evolutions with more prompt regularity than these companies time the diversified motions that compose their dances.

They seem in their element, when dancing: such is the ease, pleasure, grace and activity which they exhibit, in every intricate part of this favourite amusement.

Their musick is not so pleasing. The principal instrument is a kind of drum, formed out of a log of wood, hollowed through with a long small aperture, and laid lengthways upon two pieces of wood. This is beaten whilst eight or ten bamboos, of different lengths, with pieces of wood fastened and bound to the end of them, are struck against the barrel, and produce a sound according to the length of the stick. Of these drums they have two or three; which, with the bamboos and the singing, make a little rough concert. Their songs are beautiful and melodious; partaking more of a lively than a plaintive air, but rather monotonous. These dances are often performed in particular spots where there are large trees. To these places the young

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people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance.

So fond are they of this amusement that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy: in which I have seen the women so eager that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion.

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the Badoo, or Kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is however sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening.

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all,

their little stock is not secured to them by that inviolable right of private property, and personal safety, which, in our unequalled land of liberty and law, renders the poorest peasant as secure and independent as the senate that guards, or the Sovereign that rules it.

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CHAPTER X.

THE AUTHOR'S DECLENSION.

*Bad influence of heathen customs.—Progress of it.
—He joins in their amusements and dress of the
natives.—His marriage.—Ill effects of it.*

ACCUSTOMED to these scenes of pleasure, luxury, and amusement, unrestrained by the presence of my companions, unassisted by any publick means of grace, having singly to stem the torrent of iniquity, it was not long before I felt the pernicious influence of general example. This however was much owing to my own negligence of private duties, and my yielding to the corrupt inclinations of my sinful nature. Indeed, when I look back, I perceive that the unsubdued propensities of my heart, which began to operate before I came to reside with Mulkaamair, were not duly resisted. Instead of praying for grace to withstand and mortify them, I began to indulge in foolish imaginations, and to neglect the needful exercises of private prayer, reading the bible, and meditation. These first steps out of

the path of duty, which are generally taken by most backsliders, soon led me into still farther aberrations from the right way. I began to dislike the means of grace, I never visited the brethren, found delight in the company, manners and amusements of the natives; and soon took too large a part in them. As the religious impressions of my mind were weakened, the corrupt dispositions of my heart gathered strength. Yet, at times, my conscience troubled me with loud accusations of inconsistency; which forced me to pray. At length, however, I became so hardened as to despise my convictions; and totally absented myself from those appointed periodical meetings of the brethren, which might have revived them. My regard for them daily diminished, and I left off visiting them.

My evil inclinations, now unchecked by law, and by the reverential sense of the Divine Being, gradually gained the dominion. As my sense of the turpitude and guilt of sin was weakened, the vices of the natives appeared less odious and criminal. After a time, I was induced to yield to their allurements, to imitate their manners, and to join them in their sins.

Modesty, by degrees, lost with me its moralizing charm; and it was not long ere I disincumbered myself of my European garment, and contented myself with the native dress. The dress of the chiefs principally consisted of a piece of cloth,

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several yards in extent, wrapped round the body, and fastened by a peculiar kind of knot, below the bosom, whence it hung down loose, below the knee. This dress, by being tied close with a belt, was sufficiently long to throw the upper part over the shoulders. But however this was done at other times, it was always thrown off the shoulders whenever a chief came in sight. The women were not excused from this humiliating token of submission, as long as they were in the presence of a chief. A person who should neglect this would be instantly struck to the ground, as guilty of the greatest disrespect.

This full dress however was too costly for the generality to procure, nor do the chiefs always wear it. The general dress is the Jiggee. This is made of the Gee leaves, which spring up from a large root and are very broad and strong. These are shredded fine; and being thickly entwined in a belt of the same kind, and fastened round the waist, they hang down to the mid-thigh like a full fringe. On festive occasions this is a very common dress with the women as well as the men, especially in their publick dances, when the only addition to this dress are encircling strings of flowers. There are none but can obtain the Jiggee-dress.

The inferior classes, however, often wear only the maro, which is a belt about four or five inches broad, crossed and fastened round the waist. And indeed

when they are employed in fishing or any other active business, or when they go to war, this covering generally composes the whole of their dress.

At this time Shelly, one of my former companions, came to see me ; he was struck with grief and surprise at my appearance ; and seriously reproved me for it. My conscience seconded his reproofs. I acknowledged my error, but excused myself by a variety of empty pretexts ; such as the warmth of the climate, the general custom of the natives ; its convenience in a country, where, when clothes were wet, it was difficult to dry them again, and when worn out, impossible to renew them. Shelly heard my excuses with pity, but did not see into the long train of evils connected with this violation of propriety : nor knew that my conscience, while I spoke, condemned the excuses with which I had softened his severity. In truth, the various temptations to which, till now, I had been an entire stranger, were too pleasing to the inclinations and suitable to the taste of a young man of twenty-five.

Unhappily, as the companion of the chiefs, I was constantly exposed to temptation, being present at every alluring scene.

He that indulges an evil imagination with amusements that tend to pollute the heart, will soon be seduced into criminality. No wonder, then, that the voluptuous attractions of several objects, thus

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It was not long after I had begun to imitate the dress and manners of the natives, and join their amusements, before Mulkaamair, the chief with whom I lodged, persuaded me to take a wife, a near relation of his. My conscience loudly cautioned me, not to be guilty of the sin of cohabiting with a woman without the sanction of marriage, and of taking a wife who was a heathen, and perfectly destitute of every mental, as well as religious endowment; who would most probably lead me still farther from the right way. But all these reasonings my evil inclinations soon taught me to refute or silence. "Mulkaamair was my chief friend, and regarded me with parental affection. I should gratify, honour, and in some measure, repay him for his kindnesses, by taking a relation of his for my wife; and thus also strengthen my interests with the rest of the natives, by forming an alliance with them." Pleased with these considerations, I consented. He sent for her: she agreed, and came, modestly dressed in her best apparel, at the head of a number of women; one of whom took her by the hand, and, leading her to me, seated her by my side. She was a handsome girl of the age of eighteen. Mulkaamair entertained the large company assembled on the occasion, with a plenteous feast, and they danced and sung till a late hour.

My marriage, which for a time rendered me very happy, threw down every barrier of restraint, which hitherto conscience had opposed to my inclinations, and opened the door to every indulgence. I lament to say, that I now entered, with the utmost eagerness, into every pleasure and entertainment of the natives; and endeavoured to forget that I was once called a christian, and had left a christian land to evangelize the heathen. Into such excesses is man ready to run when once he has violated his conscience, and given way to temptation.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE FAILURE OF THE MISSION CONSIDERED,
AND REFLECTIONS ON MISSIONS
IN GENERAL.

Hints to Missionary Societies.—Propriety of sending married men as Missionaries.—Obstacles at Tongataboo from ignorance of the language, and the confined nature of it, from want of civilization, law, and protection.—The aid of Missions from civilization and law considered, as to Africa and the East Indies.—The gospel a grand means of civilization.—The frustration of their plans at Tongataboo.—Reflections on the benevolence of the London Mission, and the means to promote the future conversion of the South-Sea Islanders.

THIS was the melancholy close of my conduct as a Missionary. In looking back on this lamentable frustration of the endeavours of the religious world, as far as it regarded me, I see that the guilt of it all attaches to myself; but my case may possibly serve to suggest to the conductors of every Mission some useful hints. It may show the expediency of sending married men chiefly as Missionaries, or else of

not sending them to such tremendously alluring scenes. Speaking according to human judgment, I might have been preserved from this desertion of the cause for which I was sent to the South-Sea Islands, if, in a family of my own, I had been guarded from those temptations that paved the way to it.

Several of the Missionaries who settled at Otaheite were married men. These, secured in the bosom of their families from temptation, have uniformly adorned their christian character, and their society has contributed to guard the single men from corruption; yet some of these, when separated from them, were overcome by the powerful temptations surrounding them, and betrayed into inconsistencies.

Indeed, what could be expected from young untried men, sent to such a place,—a place where temptation allured in every shape, and on every hand? Some tried veterans should have been sent to such scenes of general corruption, who, by the grace of God, long exercised, might have continued faithful amidst universal depravity. Under the kind and vigilant superintendence of some of these, younger Missionaries might have been sent forth. But a new society, it will be replied, had no veterans to send. Did not this very circumstance then, it may be asked again, render the South-Sea Islands unsuitable as the places to which the attention of a new society should have been first directed? While fields, so

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much more promising remained, the few Missionaries that could be found might have first been sent to these ; hence, after a time, approved veterans might have been spared to go, and preach the gospel of purity in scenes so corrupt.

Considering all these obstacles, it must be a great satisfaction to the promoters of the South-Sea Mission, to be assured from one who has to condemn himself, and who remained at Tongataboo after all the brethren left it, that no other of the Missionaries whom he accompanied thither, acted unbecoming their sacred character. Living in companies, in a habitation of their own, or residing with a brother Missionary, in the *Fallee*, or mansion of a chief, they were a mutual help to each other against the influence of temptation ; whilst the subject of this narrative, standing alone, proved too weak to stem the strong torrent of surrounding corruption.

Nevertheless, the great purpose of our Mission, the conversion of the natives, would, I am persuaded, have been far more successfully attained, had we settled there with families of our own.

It was very clear to us, soon after we landed in the island, that before we had introduced among our neighbours some of the arts of civilization, we should have little opportunity of instructing them in the knowledge of divine truth.

Our first resolution was to learn the native tongue, and meanwhile to take care, on every occasion, to

show that mildness and humanity, that benevolence and attention to their interests and wants, which might impress them with favourable ideas of our character and religion. We also availed ourselves of every suitable opportunity to perform our daily worship, to sing and pray, when they were present. We endeavoured to impress them with sacred ideas of our sabbath, and invited them to attend our religious services; but informed them we were restrained from shewing them our goods, and from doing any work on that day, because it was "taboo," or sacred; during which time we were "tabooed," or prohibited from all kinds of business.

They behaved with decorum and sobriety while the ordained Ministers among us preached. But so firmly rooted were their superstitious prejudices, so contracted their notions of abstract and spiritual truths, and so confined in expressions the native language, that their attention was attracted by nothing but our singing.

From this circumstance, we took occasion to make them comprehend that we sang hymns and praises to the Deity, because of his great mercy and goodness, and because of his compassion in suffering and dying for us, to deliver us from the greatest misery in the world beyond death, and to bring us to a state of the greatest happiness. We so far succeeded as to excite their curiosity, by informing them we had come so far over the sea, to tell them

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of Him, that they might love and fear him, and attain to his region of happiness. But we found it impossible to interest them in such a manner, as to produce any good effect, till we became familiar in the native tongue.

Whilst making these necessary preparations for their future instruction, we met with the great obstacle of personal danger. Unprotected by the arm of power, in a country where there was no civilization to allay, nor law to restrain the ferment of sudden prejudice; we were obliged to separate for our safety, and to become dependents in the families of different chiefs; where, disjoined from the rest, we could with little success attempt to be general instructors.

Here therefore another suggestion may, possibly, be of use to every institution for evangelizing the heathen. Send them to countries where law represses violence, and secures men's persons and property from other dangers, except "persecution for righteousness sake." No authentic record remains that even the Apostles went into a situation like that of these islands. They might indeed go where there were no restraints of law; but we nowhere read of it. They were in no peculiar danger but from persecutors; we read indeed that St. Paul was "in perils of robbers," but to suffer from depredators, and to need "carnal" defence from them, is peculiar to these missions.

Unprotected by the guardianship of law, Missionaries, without the extraordinary nay miraculous interposition of divine providence, cannot, humanly speaking, meet with much success.

The United Brethren, commonly called the Moravians, have indeed with astonishing success sent Missionaries into three fourths of the habitable globe. But generally, I believe, where they have been most successful, their missionaries have been married men, or they have been protected by the influence of civilization, or the restraints of law.

We must acknowledge, indeed, that the divine aid and blessing may prosper the gospel wherever it is sent, in spite of the opposition of the secular arm, or the obstacles of the savage life; but perhaps the great success with which the Missions in the eastern countries have been crowned, may be attributed, under God, to this circumstance, that the Hindoos, though themselves extremely uncivilized, yet are restrained by law and police. And, under the auspices of the African Society, who knows how much the christian labours of the Missionaries may prosper in that quarter of the globe through the collateral aid of commerce, civilization, and legislation?

Whilst however we plead the importance of civilization, as an auxiliary to the promotion of christianity, care must be used not to misapply the argument that we must first civilize the heathen before we evangelize them. It has been attempted to apply

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this argument to the East Indies, by those who feel no compassion for the wretched state of the superstitious Hindoos. It has also been urged that bad political consequences might be apprehended from the diffusion of christian knowledge. But these surmises have no proper foundation. For, in the first place, the Hindoos are, by all allowed, sufficiently civilized to understand the truths of christianity, when proposed to them ; and in the next place, there is in India a government to protect those who labour to instruct them. To wait therefore till the heathen attain that state of civilization, which some would prescribe, resembles that blind wisdom which proposed to civilize the Africans before it ceased to enslave them. Or rather it is the expression, in a different form, of that courtly refusal, " We will consider on it. "

But if we delay sending the gospel to the heathen till they are civilized, we may wait till that awful crisis, when nations will no more exist, to entreat, " Come over and help us. "

The truth however is, that the gospel in itself is a grand if not the most effectual means to polish and refine the ruder part of our species. For what is the parent of civilization and order, but sound knowledge and good principle. And what so interesting to the human mind, as the way to be happy here and hereafter ? What therefore will so enkindle the love of knowledge as christianity ; and what

like this heavenly science will so effectually implant a principle of submission to government, of obedience to laws, and of active benevolence to all around? Fear may, indeed, ensure a peaceable subordination, so long as power can enforce it: but without christian principle, no nation, as civilization extends, will quietly acquiesce in subjection to a foreign dominion, unless that dominion be strengthened with force which increases upon an equal scale with civilization. Upon these grounds, the East India Company, instead of dreading any political evils from the promulgation of christianity among the native Hindoos, should, in every possible way, encourage and promote the diffusion of our holy religion among them, as the surest method of securing their allegiance. Indeed, reason herself suggests that the mild spirit of the Gospel of Jesus, instead of exciting the jealousy of the votaries of Aurungzeeb, and prompting them to a revenge like that at Vellore, would ere long dispose them to evince their gratitude to the benevolent Britons, who were the instruments of delivering them from the horrors of such cruel and bloody superstitions, by a long fidelity in their allegiance to them.

In places, however, where there is no established government, if the arts of civilization were judiciously sent, in the fostering bosom of Missionary families, instead of merely in the hands of single individuals, the conversion of the Heathen might, at

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the same time advance and accompany their improvement in all that is useful to life, and beneficial to good government.

But, situated as we were in Tongataboo, our plans for benefiting and evangelizing the natives were broken, before we could act upon them; and as soon as the war burst forth, were completely frustrated and destroyed. Though none but the subject of this narrative, were drawn aside from the great object of converting the heathen, yet they found no sufficiently favourable opportunities to bring their wishes into effect; and in the confusion and alarm that prevailed, when the war surprised them, they had no power for any thing but to provide for their own security. Some of them fled to Lego, the southern side of the Island, and hid themselves in rocks: when a temporary cessation of arms took place, they returned to their districts; whence, when alarmed by a renewal of the war, they fled to the sea-shore, and concealed themselves again in caverns, till the war ceased: they then returned to their habitations till the arrival of a ship, which carried them off. Others who continued at their abode, as will be related in its place, were slain, on the first day of battle, by the enemy when passing their habitation in pursuit of the party which I had joined.

It is probable, had not these disturbances taken place, the Missionaries, when they had attained a

knowledge of the language, and an intimacy with the natives, might have met with considerable success. Indeed I was once much inclined to suppose that their prevailing notions respecting a Deity, and the immortality of the soul, (with which I afterwards became acquainted) had already prepared the minds of the natives for the reception of evangelical truth. But as fact evinces, that "the carnal mind," in every place, "is enmity against God," so it would probably have been found that their idolatrous notions, although mixed with some that were true, rather tended to prejudice than prepare the mind for the pure and spiritual doctrines of the gospel. Yet, had the Missionaries been spared, to use the proper means of instruction, the grace of God, it is likely, might have blessed the publication of divine truth among them, as the "word of salvation."

But, as the benevolent endeavours of the Missionary society and its friends were, by this formidable concurrence of obstacles, unhappily frustrated, the glad tidings of salvation through a Redeemer, were only brought to the Friendly Islands; but not published. They were visited by the gospel, but it remained too short a time to be known. When the period will arrive for this part of the "Gentile" world to "be brought in," divine wisdom only knows. Reason seems to dictate that we should first endeavour the conversion of the heathen in those parts of the world where there is civil govern-

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ment, before we attempt places inhabited by out-laws. Besides, Asia and Africa are more central situations to plant the tree of life: as there it may spread its branches to the healing of nations around. Whereas, divine truth, however successfully established in the South-Sea Islands, would be confined within the bosom of the ocean. Should providence, as civilization extends, and the gospel spreads in the African and American Continent, open a way for a Mission to the South-Sea Islands, preceded or accompanied with the arts of civil life, which may, in time, instruct the natives to establish a government, sufficiently powerful to redress grievances, and to ensure protection, then may we hope that the gospel will entrench itself there, beyond the power of expulsion.

Meanwhile the great head of the church must approve of the well-meant design of honouring and glorifying him, though it has failed of completion. The grateful attention of pious Mary met with the commendation "She hath done what she could." The Friends of this apostolic plan may, at a future period, in the more successful endeavours of those who shall hereafter pursue their pious designs, hear the approving voice with which David was honoured, when he planned the erection of that temple which his successor built, "Thou hast well done, that it was in thine heart to build me an house."

Should the experiment which has been made, prove beneficial to guide the directors, of this, or any other Misson, in their noble plans for the conversion of the heathen,—should it guard them from steps either injudicious or injurious, and direct to such as may, under the divine blessing, ensure success, it will not have been undertaken in vain. It may also be found to have cleared away many obstacles, yea, may be regarded as the first stone of a foundation, on which the edifice of evangelical truth and righteousness may be erected in these regions, in future years.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE AUTHOR'S PROSPERITY AT TONGA.

The Brethren reprove him.—Propose to marry him.—He purchases an estate.—Description of his Abbee, or farm of Omotaanee.—His prosperity.—Conduct.—Reflections.

IN a short time, my former companions, hearing of my conduct, came to remonstrate with me and reprove me. I received them with coldness. They represented to me, in a strong manner, the iniquity of my conduct, and urged me to look forward to the awful account which I must give of my apostacy at the bar of God. I felt the force of their reproof, and was much alarmed at the enormity of my conduct. The serious impression, however, was but of short duration. I would not consent to desert my wife.

My countrymen, at length, in hopes of reclaiming me to the paths of morality, if not of piety, judged it best to marry me to the woman with whom I cohabited. I consented; and on a day appointed, we both went to Aheefo, where we first settled, and where four of the brethren still resided, to receive from their hands, all that matrimonial sanction of our union, which they could give.

We arrived there in the afternoon, and were kindly received by the brethren, and hospitably entertained: they agreed to marry us in the morning. They endeavoured, in a manner perhaps too austere, to impress my wife with a sense of the nature and importance of the matrimonial covenant---that it was a solemn engagement for life, to be faithful to her husband, and that nothing but my death could release her from the bond. When she understood this, she would not consent. They refused therefore to marry us, as such a marriage would be invalid in their native country, by whose laws they were determined to abide; and persuading me it was unlawful to live with her, they obtained my consent to quit her. But they could not prevail upon me to continue with them, as I had not resolution to leave Mulkaamair, to whom I was now particularly attached. I returned to my old chief; but conducted my wife back to her father, with whom I left her.

Whilst living with Mulkaamair, I was accustomed to make frequent excursions, sometimes for several days. A favourite daughter of my chief, who had been married, but upon being dismissed by her husband, had returned to live with her father, used often to accompany me, as we were particularly intimate. One day, in company with several others, we met in our excursion, a party who had been fishing. Presuming upon our sanction and autho-

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city as the friends and inmates of Mulkaamair, some of our people began, according to custom, to take some of their fish, as the tribute due to the chief; but they resented the aggression, and marked out one man as an object for their vengeance. They furiously attacked him with their clubs, and knocked him down, and soon laid his head open. Some of his brains were scattered on the ground, and on a tree against which he fell. They did not attack the rest of us, nor offer me any injury, as they said "Moolee (or the stranger) has done nothing." Having killed, as they thought, the unfortunate object of their revenge, they hastened away; my party then took up the wounded and almost lifeless man, and bound the parts together: it appeared to me a hopeless case, but so wonderfully does the fine climate of the South-Sea Islands, and the temperance and activity of the natives, conduce to promote and recruit the health of the human frame, that this apparently dead man was able, in a short time, to walk on with us. Upon our return, Mulkaamair sent out a party to attack them, and they fled: but a distant relation of Doogonagaboola having received some injury, the affair threatened to bring on a war; but it was at length amicably adjusted.

Not much time elapsed, before my resolution failed respecting deserting my wife, whom according to the ceremonial rites of Tonga, I thought I had

regularly espoused ; and at my request, Mulkaamair sent for her again.

My chief gave us a habitation near his own. Here I brought all I had, and gave her equal possessions with myself. We lived here together, for some time, in much comfort. I daily advanced in the knowledge of the language, and such prospects of success now opened upon me, that I determined to finish my days in Tongataboo.

Ambition of distinction and the desire of wealth now began to excite me to exertion. I employed my thoughts in devising plans to provide a comfortable settlement in the Island, and became very desirous of a portion of land to myself, that by my own industry, I might render myself independent. At this time a neighbouring chief wished to dispose of a tract of land ; my chief, Mulkaamair, purchased the estate for me, with a spade, an ax, a small native canoe, and a couple of knives. This was the whole price given for the purchase of the abbee, or farm of Omataanee. It contained about fifteen acres, and was separated from the estate of Mulkaamair by a lagoon or arm of the sea, a quarter of a mile across. This I crossed the next day, to enjoy the new delight, never before experienced, of viewing an estate of my own. With what joy did I contemplate its little pendent groves of cocoa and plantain trees, and its smooth lawns, diversified by little habitations, which contained the peaceful

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natives, who now became my subjects and labourers to cultivate my fields for their own subsistence and mine! I visited them, and informed them I wished that they would remain with me: but they were timid, and appeared unwilling to stay, on account of the ill usage which other natives had met with from the Europeans, before mentioned, whom they served. I encouraged them by kind words and behaviour, and at length prevailed upon them to continue with me.

It may appear surprising that an estate so small as fifteen acres should contain the cottages of labourers: but it should be considered that Tongataboo was throughout cultivated like a garden, and that the cocoa-nut and plantain trees, upon a small extent of ground, were sufficient to support many inhabitants.

My little domain was bounded, on one side, by the channel, before mentioned, which was a quarter of a mile across, and separated it from Mooa, my former residence. I received supplies of provisions from Mulkaamair, and set about the cultivation of my little territory with all possible diligence: planted cocoa, and plantain trees with the assistance of my tenants, and hoped, ere long, to eat of the produce of my own industry.

Omataanee was not far from a fallée, or mansion of Dugonagaboola, the principal chief, at which he occasionally resided. Betwixt him and Mulkaamair, there always subsisted a jealousy; for

which the reader of the former pages can easily account, from their having been rivals for power.

It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "fadongyeer," i. e. to dig, plant, and labour for Dugonagaboola. Sometimes five hundred of these tributary labourers were at work, at the same time, on his estate. That no offence might be given, I applied to him to excuse my services. He laughed heartily at the idea of my thinking to fadongyeer for him, as he considered me, he said, a chief like himself.

My labourers finding they had only my estate to attend to, were much gratified, found their work easy, and performed it with cheerfulness. Choosing a pleasant spot, at one corner of my abbee, I built myself a fallce, or habitation, and made a plantation round it, of plantain, bread-fruit, and cocoa trees. From my fallce, I made a sandy gravel walk, six feet in breadth, and about two hundred yards in length, through the abbee to the high road, which ran along one end of it : and planted it on each side with sugar canes.

In about half a year, my plantation began to flourish, and was the object of general admiration, and obtained for me much respect and attention. The young men, as they passed, would ask, "Whose abbee is this?" Others would reply, "Tongatta pappa langee," "It belongs to the man from the sky," or "Moola." "it is the stranger's." As I

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walked through my plantations, or in the neighbourhood, the people would say, "Oyewa, pappalangee gohou," "well see, the man from the sky is coming."

The freedom from taxation, or fadongyeer, granted to my abbee, its increasing beauty, and fertility, and the ease which my tenants enjoyed, attracted numbers to it; so that, though I made additions to it, by the permission of the chiefs, as will be afterwards mentioned, I soon had as many labourers as I needed, and was obliged to refuse several, who were desirous of living with me.

Having brought my abbee into good cultivation, and constructed a comfortable fallée or habitation, I fetched my wife to reside with me, whom, during this time, I often went to visit. We lived very comfortably together, but had no children.

As my prosperity and consequence, however, advanced, my depravity gathered strength, and I began more generally to adopt the corrupt customs of the natives, and, like them, increased the number of my wives.

It might show the extent of depravity, to which man may go, however convinced he may be of the difference between good and evil, where human laws do not bridle his corrupt affections, and the grace of God does not restrain them, were I more minutely to detail the lengths of iniquity, into which general custom and "an evil heart" by degrees

seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

For the same reason, though it might serve to show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects generous, humane and friendly; and might evince their need of that glorious light of christianity, which modern illuminati would extinguish, as darkening the light of simple nature, (which, notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances, and the tumultuous excursions of young men through the country during the night.* If, notwithstanding the light of divine truth, and the regulations of a police, in christian countries, so many harlots fill the streets of every populous town, it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures are known, should abound in the polluting groves of Tonga.

Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable practises of the Arreoyes at Otaheite, they hold in detestation. They are never guilty of murdering their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous offspring, to which they are very much attach-

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ed: nor is adultery, on the part of the wife, publicly allowed here. The severest punishment might be inflicted on the offender, if discovered, by the husband. But in Tonga, as in this nominal christian kingdom, that is often secretly perpetrated, which is publicly condemned. Great abuses, however, are openly committed: of many of which, I lament to say, that I have often been an eyewitness; yea, joined in the practice of some of them.

Let every youth beware of the alluring attractions of sensual objects. When a mind that has been impressed with pious sentiments, once begins to listen to the voice of appetite, and to venture on indulgence, who knows how the spirit of God, when his convictions have been repeatedly checked and resisted, may, at length, be provoked to withdraw them, and to leave the man to "go on frowardly in the way of his heart," till he "commit all iniquity with greediness."*

The illustrious example of the wisest King of Israel proves, that passion is not weakened by indulgence, that the desires of man are never satisfied, that our safety from the dominion of "youthful lusts," is only in our "flight" from them, that to make the tempter flee, we must "resist him sted-

* An Heathen could say,
Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
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fast in the faith, "aided and rooted in such a divine faith, as realizes, and embodies before the mind, the unseen prospects of a christian's hope, brings near the distant objects of futurity, and makes them the operative motives of human conduct.

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CHAPTER XIII.

CUSTOMS OF THE NATIVES, AND THE
AUTHOR'S PROSPERITY.

His visit at Ardeo.—Improvements in fishing.—Hospitality.—Excursion to Arbai.—Marriage of a chief.—Condition of females.—Courtship and marriage of a chief at Tonga.—Returns to Tonga.—Flourishing state of his abbee.—His tranquillity and employments.—Ideas of the Natives respecting the soul.—Their deities.—The Author's conduct.—Secret unhappiness.—External prosperity.

HAPPENING to meet some of the Missionaries, and finding they had some work to perform at their habitation, I offered my assistance, and went to Ardeo ; where I helped to plaister their house with a composition of lime, made of burnt coral, mixed up with the fibres of the cocoa-nut, instead of hair. It looked very neat, when finished. Its situation also was very pleasant. It was inclosed with a beautiful garden, which, in some parts was planted with rows of pines, that now flourished luxuriantly ; in others with cotton seeds, from which young trees had shot up, and promised to be very produc-

tive. Some already began to bear: I saw one quite laden with cotton. The three Missionaries residing here, had made a great progress in the language. Bowel, whose abilities were superior to those of Harper or Gaulton, was arranging it in the form of a grammar, and composing a journal, with the intention of sending them to Europe; but this, the sudden war, and their untimely end prevented.

They appeared very happy and united, settled in safety, under the protection of Vahargee, a chief who lived near them.

They faithfully remonstrated with me respecting my conduct, but whatever impression I felt at the time, passed off when I left them. By this time, I had arrived at considerable power and dignity in the Island; and with the assistance of my workmen, built a small canoe, which would carry eight or ten men.

My acquaintance with the chiefs much increased; and as I had received every kind of attention from them, I prepared to return their kindnesses; and laid in provisions to entertain them. I bought a stock of pigs, and took great care to increase them; that there might always be in readiness a sufficient number to kill for the use of my friends, as occasion might require. I grew also some kava-root.

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I wished to have my little abbee as complete as possible ; and therefore gave my workman all the encouragement in my power ; joined them in their labours, and fared the same as they did.

In the course of nine or ten months we began to gather the fruits of our labours. We had plentiful crops of plantains and tarros. The tarro is a root resembling a carrot, which puts forth many shoots, that strike downwards for six or eight inches, by which the root is distended like the turnip till it measures twelve inches in circumference: the top of it, like that of the pine, will grow again when set. The roots soon spread over a large space, and when scraped and baked, are very pleasant and nutritious. Having a good supply of vegetable food, I was desirous of varying and improving it with fish: and therefore set upon contriving some expeditious mode of catching them, and at length improved upon the method of fishing at Tonga, by pursuing it upon a larger scale.

For this purpose, with the assistance of a number of men, I stripped off the inner bark of trees ; and, splitting it into fibres, twisted them into a large "moya" or rope, which when drawn out extended a full mile. Procuring then a large quantity of the branches of the cocoa-nut tree, and stripping of the peel, together with the leaves, we wrapped it round the rope, in such a manner that the leaves formed a fringe round it. This they called "Ooloa" or a fishing rope.

We then put parts of the Ooloa into several canoes, and rowing together to a considerable distance from shore, two divisions of canoes were formed, and each division took opposite ends of a piece of rope; and separating rowed off in different directions, lengthening the Ooloa as we receded from each other, with other parts of the rope in the canoes, till we came to the full extent of it; when both divisions turned round, and rowed towards the shore, in an inclining direction, till they met, when the Ooloa encircled a large space of water. Upon approaching the reef, a number of men got out of the canoes, and pulled the rope together towards the shore; and gradually drew it up in order to lessen the circle. The fish did not offer to jump over or dive under, but swam round the circle, as to avoid the rope, which tuffed with leaves, as before mentioned, swept the water with a rustling noise. As they approached the shore, and the circle became more contracted, the men ran the nets round the Ooloa, or rope, and at length, the circle was so diminished, that the fish were forced into the bags of the surrounding nets, where they were secured, till the tide went down. The fibres of the cocoa-nut are so strong as to be capable of sustaining an immense weight. The nets therefore were unbroken when the tide went down; although they had inclosed a number of large fishes, sufficiently great to fill, by this one draft, a canoe that would contain eighty

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men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, where a person has much, for numbers to flock to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, and eating, and a stranger passed, he would come and sit himself down by me, without ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce season, numbers resorted to me for my yams; and it would have been a transgression of the laws of hospitality to have refused them, as long as they lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our fish, therefore, in a short time. Yet I had sufficient left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to take an ample quantity home.

I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; but the weather, after a time, rotted them, and as my abbee now produced me an abundant variety of good and pleasant food, I never made another Ooloa.

My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and I generally made one of their party, both on business and recreation.

The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as

his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe, which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined the natives in all their amusements. The chief, whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person, whom he wished I would do him the honour to marry, that he might be related to me. She was a fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugonagaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai. To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

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The bride, a fine woman of twenty three years of age, came soon after, at the head of three hundred women, who followed her in procession. Her dress was modest and elegant. A thin vest, neatly crimped, of a dark colour, which shewed her complexion to advantage, was fastened under her arms, and hung down to her waist, where it was bound close, by a skirt, riched with flowery ornaments of matting.

She walked at the distance of two or three paces before them ; her carriage was graceful and majestic, yet modest, her eyes cast down with that diffident coyness and decorous timidity, which, notwithstanding the audacity of the age, so often heightens the charms of the daughters of Britain.

As she entered the green before the fallee, or habitation, where the guests were all seated in comely rank and order, a female advanced from the company and taking her respectfully by the hand conducted her to her husband, and gracefully seated her by his side. The attendants then retired from her, and seated themselves in order with the guests, leaving the bride and bridegroom in a little space by themselves. The provisions were then plentifully distributed. After the repast, the bridegroom rose, advanced to the shore, and went on board the canoe. The three hundred women that attended her rose up after him, conducted the bride, in a procession to the shore, and four of them handed

her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the side of her husband. She then took leave of them. I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four attendants remained with her till the canoe was rowing off. They had been with her from her birth till this moment; when they resigned their charge to four others, who were to be the same guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus carefully to keep the daughters of the principal chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one or two of these attendants, night and day. The young women indeed pride themselves much upon their virginity, which they call *taihenee*: and as the token and ornament of that state, their hair is suffered to remain uncut till their marriage. Whether this distinction which is here properly considered the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because her honor then becomes inseparable from that of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that they have only one word to express both husband and wife, viz. "*Oanna*," as though the union was so intimate that even language could not refer to the one without including the other.

As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga,

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that though the husband might severely punish an offender, if discovered, yet they are frequently guilty of it in secret. The principal chiefs, therefore, have their wives guarded by elderly women, and O, that the influence of bad example may never make a Briton regret the want of such a precaution in his own land.

Before I leave this subject, I will venture an anachronism, by relating the process of a courtship at Tonga, as I witnessed it upon my return, till it closed in the marriage of the parties.

A chief had conceived an affection for the daughter of a neighbouring chief, in Tongataboo. His intention was made known to the parents by a present of provisions, which was brought while I was with them, by a messenger, who at the same time communicated his master's wishes to marry their daughter. The parents received the proposal with indifference, as though not desirous of an alliance with them. The agent urged his suit, but could not prevail upon them to accept of the present. This was an indication of not consenting to the match; and the man returned with his present. The next day, he came with an address still more urgent, and a present of provision more abundant. This was also rejected. On the third application, however, the parents yielded to the solicitations of this petty envoy, and accepted of his present; which was the sign of their consent. They then commu-

nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tongataboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there, where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life, seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed by laws human and divine, is justly considered an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be destroyed by the least contamination.

Preparations were then made for the nuptials. The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious procession described above, only in the latter part of the day. Almost the whole district was collected together to celebrate the marriage, and partook plenteously of the provisions collected for the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant women took the modest bride, who was seated by the side of her husband, by the hand, and gracefully conducted her in procession through the range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments and dances.

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These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy : which terminated only with the dawn.

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period for our return ; and a number of canoes assembled to accompany us.

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga, in the evening ; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

I was charmed on my return, with the flourishing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallée ; and now their fruits hung in clus-

ters amongst the branches ; some as large as a boy's head, full grown, and exuding a gum ; others turned yellow, through ripeness, and the gum dried up. These fruits, when cut into four parts, and baked like potatoes in the fire, in a kind of oven, formed a good substitute for bread, while the ripe cocoa-nuts supplied me with both meat and drink of a delicious flavour, and the plantains furnished me with a refreshing desert after dinner. The oven which they use, is a hole dug in the ground, the sides obliquely sloped. In this they kindle a fire, on which they place some stones : as soon as these are red hot, they draw the burnt sticks from under them, and, spreading the stones, place their provisions on them. They then lay some sticks prepared for the purpose across the hole to keep it hollow, and cover them with plantain and other broad and long leaves ; on which they heap grass and sods, to confine the heat. In this manner their provisions are cooked in the course of half an hour. I have seen a pig of the weight of fourteen or sixteen stone sufficiently baked in one of these ovens, in the space of four hours.

The rows of sugar canes which I had planted on each side the path, leading to the high road, had shot up to the height of eight or ten feet ; and now they embowered and entwined themselves so as to form a shady walk. I had improved upon the method of planting them, usual with the natives.

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They cut the stalk of a cane into two or three pieces, and planted them nearly upright in the ground ; these shot forth stems at the lower knots, but decayed at the top. I planted them lengthways, in furrows, and thus succeeded in obtaining suckers from every knot.

By this expedient, my plantation of canes so increased after a time, that I had abundance for my own use, and for presents to my friends. My little farm was a garden throughout. Many came to offer themselves for workmen, as my land was free from the "fadongyeer," or tax on labour, and my labourers met with kind treatment. I willingly received them, as I took much pleasure in agriculture ; and the chiefs perceiving my industry and success, and entertaining a friendship for me, gave me permission to cultivate lots of land adjoining to my own ; and, ere long, I purchased some fields bordering upon my abbee, so that at last, it comprised fifty acres ; and my own household sometimes contained no less than thirty persons. So great was the fertility of my abbee, that I had yams, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, in such abundance, that even in the *hungry season*, or time of scarcity, after making liberal presents to my neighbours, and feasting my own family with daily plenty, the fruits were left to drop off the trees. I mention this circumstance, also, to show the honesty of the natives, and their regard for strangers. Though they thought

it rather a commendable dexterity, than a crime, to rob European articles, because so rare and valuable, yet they would not plunder the plantation of another, especially that of a stranger. Many of the natives around who were pressed with want, came to beg the fruits of my estate. The abbee was robbed however but once, and that was by one man of the lowest order. He was detected by some other natives, who with great dexterity, discovered that he was the person who had stolen some pines and plantains from my abbee, by bringing the fruits to the trees, from which they had been robbed, and fitting them to the branches where they had been broken off. So great is their severity against a plunderer of the plantations, that they would have put him to death, had not I interposed: but they would not be satisfied without tying him up and flogging him.

The umbrageous walk, which my thick-set hedge of canes soon formed, was the admiration of all who saw it. It was my pleasure to trim my little shrubbery, and keep it clean and neat: and its delicious fruits and cooling shade, amply repaid me for my trouble. When wearied with labour, in my fields, I found great refreshment in walking or reclining in my embowering harbour of canes, and sucking the juicy sugar they contained. I used to break off a cane at the root, snap it into two or three parts, and, stripping down the cane, suck the pith which was saturated with the sweet juice.

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The cane when grown to perfection was as thick as four fingers; but the chiefs were so fond of it, that they would not refrain from eating it till it arrived at maturity. It was a common amusement with them, to chew it for hours together.

I much enjoyed my embowering walk of canes. I wish I could say, that while I sat under its shadow with great delight, and its "fruit was sweet to my taste," I had meditated with a grateful heart on Him, of whom these words imply, that his favour refreshes the wearied soul, and his "word is sweeter than the precious cane."

While I enjoyed, under the shade of my fruitful trees, a pleasant tranquillity, in the simplicity of nature, had I endeavoured to direct the minds of the natives, who visited me, or my own household, to the glorious parent of good, and to his blessed Son, the restorer of eden's lost bliss, my present reflections would fill me with delight instead of shame. But alas, I now needed instruction and reproof myself! I had so much imbibed the spirit of the natives, and joined their practises, that I never attempted to teach and improve them; or else, in a household of twenty, and sometimes of thirty people, who lived in my habitation, as my attendants and workmen, I might have done much good. But I thought of nothing but employing them for my service, in the labours of the day, or for my amusement in the diversions of the evening.

Yet there were times, when ideas were thrown out, by the natives, respecting the immortality of the soul, which much surprised and abashed me. One day, I recollect, they were conversing about a person that was lately dead : they said to each other, "he goes to the island through the sky," an expression by which they denoted a place very far off, as beyond the horizon, where the sky appeared to touch the earth. Wishing to know their sentiments upon this subject, I pretended ignorance and disbelief. "How can he be, said I, in that place, when he is dead, and his body is here? Did you not bury him some *moons* ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one endeavouring to make me understand what he meant, took hold of my hand, and squeezing it, said, "Goomaogge hen, mooe hekai maogge." This will die, but the life that is within you will never die," with his other hand pointing to my heart.

This sentiment expressed on such an occasion so unexpectedly, with such animation and by a young man with whom I was particularly intimate, deeply impressed me. No circumstance more affected my mind during the whole of my continuance in the South-Sea Islands. Such a conviction of the immortality of the soul, expressed by a simple untutored heathen, defies, thought I, all the arguments of presumptuous philosophers, and infidel libertines.

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I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing further from them. Whatever notions they might have, I conceived the poverty of their language prevented their explaining them upon points so abstract.

And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue, and harden the heart against attempting to do any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and powerfully impel us to depart still farther from God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

Afterwards however in conversation with some of the chiefs I discovered that they had more precise ideas on a subject of which the commonalty had only confused and indistinct notions. They supposed that their souls immediately after the death of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure, under the protection and favour of the god Flig-golayo, who had supreme power over all other Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts of all that would molest or injury them. In-

to this region, however, they believed none were admitted but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class, therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed their gratitude to him, when they gathered them, by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate God, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain, or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer, the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake? They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they supposed, supported the island on his shoulders. An instance of this occurred not many months after we had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we

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inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, who supported it upon his shoulders, was become weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition: but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa or particular spirit attending him; and when any thing wonderful excited their attention respecting us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo odooa fogee!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they

suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies if he is angry, and when irreconcilable, occasions the death of the person. It is to render him propitious that the relations so often wound themselves, and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the language, I extended my acquaintance, and was the companion of the chiefs in most of their expeditions and excursions. They much respected me, and esteemed me as a very entertaining companion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of language, amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events; and understand their remarks and tales in answer. I had it now in my power also to entertain large parties in return, and had learned to join in their amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs by timing my presents, and presenting them in the most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair. When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which I would cut twenty branches and send them as a present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

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manner of doing it rendered the present doubly valuable, and no present could be more acceptable and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plantains more than all other fruits.

Though he was pleased with the presents sent him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and send it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

er, whilst I had only to beckon assent, without any expression of obligation or thanks. When they had departed, the servants would set it before me, and I ordered it to be dressed for the household. When it was ready, perhaps several persons in the neighbourhood would come in to partake of it, as was generally the custom at Tonga.

But amid all these interchanges of ease and indulgence, employment, and amusement, I could not prevent the intrusion of uneasy reflections. I enjoyed no true peace and happiness, my dereliction of all religion often so pained my conscience as to render me a burden to myself. So true is the declaration of the inspired oracles, "There is no peace to the wicked.*"

Whilst proceeding in this career, however, I daily advanced in wealth and dignity. Ere long I purchased more land contiguous to Omotaanee, till my little abbee became a considerable estate. I engaged more labourers to cultivate my fields, and

men, to revenge the churlishness and insults of her husband Nabal, shows that the manners of the South-Sea Islanders are very similar to those of the ancients. Falling at his feet, she said,—“And now this blessing which thine handmaid hath brought my lord, let it even be given unto the young men that follow my Lord. 1 Sam. 25. xxvii.

* Even an heathen could say, “Nec securā quies, sōntes, similisque sopori Detinet innocui estote, numen adest.”

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was very industrious in planting, dressing and cleaning them. I increased in favour with the chiefs, who esteemed me as a man of diligence and skill; and in time, I should, it is probable, have become as wealthy as many of the chiefs; as my land was very productive, and freed from the fadangyeer, or tax on labour, described above, which was a great burden to every other estate.

But now an event took place, which swept away all my prospects of greatness;—but was eventually the means of my merciful restoration to my country, and what was much more, to my God.

CHAPTER XIV.

WAR AT TONGA AND THE FATE OF THE
MISSIONARIES.

Offering of the first fruits.—Reverence paid to the Priest of the Island.—Conspiracy.—Dugonagaboola slain by Loogolala.—Engagement at Ahogge.—Arrival at the abode of the Missionaries.—Alarmed by the enemy.—Engagement during the whole day.—Mulkaamair slain.—Pursued by the enemy to Ardeo.—All the Brethren there killed.—Enemy routed at the seashore.—Humanity to an old Chief.

THREE years had now elapsed since my settlement in the island, and my prosperity had arrived at its height, when a conspiracy was formed among the natives. It was the time of making the yearly offering to Duatonga, which was called natche. He was the high priest of the island, and on this occasion was superior to every one, even to Dugonagaboola himself, as he was descended from the family, who were thought originally to have come from the sky.

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Duatonga, as the priest of all the islands, and their mediator to converse with the Deity, and insure them plenty, was greatly revered throughout the island, and supported in splendour and dignity by the contributions of the different districts, as well as by the productions of his own ample estate. So that like the ancient priests of Egypt, he was a prince as well as priest: and he received greater homage than even the principal chief, or Dugonagaboola himself. If he was journeying, no native dared to walk or stand while he remained in sight; every one—man, woman, or child, instantly uncovered to the stomach and sat down, and crossed his hands and legs, and remained in this posture till he had passed by.

The period of the annual oblation being arrived, all the chiefs from the Arbai Navou, and all the other neighbouring isles, as well as the chiefs of Tonga, assembled together at mooa in the fallee or mansion of Duatonga, to present him with their first ripe yams and other first fruits of their fields; a custom, which, however remote the island, seems derived from original tradition, as it resembled the offerings of Abel and Noah, and the other Patriarchs, and which were perpetuated in the Mosaic dispensation. On this occasion, Duatonga personated the Deity of their fields, who they supposed caused them to be fruitful. They paid him the homage due to him whom he represented. With the fruits

in their hands, the chiefs, arrayed in various dresses, which distinguished the districts over which they presided, reverently approached him in regular rotation, in a slow, solemn pace, with a kind of monotonous song, and upon their bended knees, presented the first productions of their abbees. They then rose up and passed off in the same order, and with the same solemnity.

When the ceremony of offering the first fruits of their fields is completed, they usually have a dance, and often fight with branches of the cocoa-trees, before they return to their respective districts. In appearance they all did so on this occasion; but a plot had been formed for assassinating Dugonagaboola and making Mulkaamair supreme chief. This was planned by one Loogolala, a chief of Tongataboo, who had attached to himself a number of enterprising young men, through whose assistance he was much advancing in wealth and power. Mulkaamair was his distant relation. To make their design more secret, his two canoes which were large and filled with his fellow conspirators, set off as though they were going away, but waited off the reef, at Ahogge, till evening; when they returned, by land, to Mooa; where Dugonagaboola continued that night, as well as Mulkaamair and his party. As soon as they arrived, they proceeded to station an armed watch in every road leading to and from the residence of Dugonagaboola; that none might

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be allowed to pass or re-pass to excite any alarm. Having placed every thing in a state of preparation, a chosen band proceeded in search of the spot where Dugonagaboola slept. They found all his attendants asleep, but were afraid to slay any one, lest they should mistake the person of the chief and give the alarm. At length he was betrayed by the perfumed oil on his head. This oil is scented with wood brought from the Feejee islands, not far distant from Tonga. The wood is rubbed or scraped into a kind of saw-dust, with a rough fish-skin; with this the oil is mixed, and strained, and then it possesses a strong perfume. This is used only by the principal chief. Discovering him by this distinction, they murdered him, and seven or eight of his attendants. This gave the alarm, and the rest fled; but as every road was beset, many of them were killed also. The conspirators then proceeded down to the water, and seizing as many canoes as they needed, broke all the rest, to secure themselves from being pursued during the night.

By the next morning, the alarm was spread through great part of the Island, and multitudes flocked to Mulkaamair with the particular friends of Dugonagaboola, to inquire into the cause of the outrage, and to rouse him to revenge the death of the chief, on Loogolala. The people of Ahefo, which was the particular district of Dugonagaboola, warmly took up the cause of their chief; and hasti-

ly repaired to Mulkaamair, to fight for it, under his standard.

Loogolala, mean while, with his forces, continued at Ahogge, to prepare for battle in the place of the greatest hostility. The enemy, from Aheefo, dared not follow him by sea, on account of the inferiority of their fleet in number and skill. They hastened therefore by land, and met him, just as he had disembarked with his men. Loogolala and his party, all young and unfatigued, and elated with the spirit of enterprise, attacked them with a vigour which they could not withstand. They fled, and Loogolala returned to the canoes, and sailed off for Arbai, to strengthen his cause by an addition of troops.

In three days he returned with ten sail of canoes, and a considerable number of men, many of whom expected that they had come to fight for the cause of Dugonagaboola, who had formed an alliance with them by marriage, not long before, as described above. By this time all the districts were in arms, and thousands were ranged under the standard of Mulkaamair; but to the astonishment of all, a coalition was formed between Mulkaamair and Loogolala, to fight for their own cause, against that of the murdered Dugonagaboola.

The friends of Dugonagaboola instantly deserted, and fled to Aheefo. Meanwhile, Mulkaamair was joined by the three districts of Ahogge, Moola, and Ardeo.

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Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugonagaboola had been assassinated. They were arrayed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some with only the maro, with black faces and disfigured limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied together, rising from the crown of the head, like a soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteemed their warfare mere child's play. It was determined to proceed against the district of Aheefo, which was small in comparison of the rest; and to make an attack upon it at the same time, both by land and sea, with all our forces. The next morning therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal army, of which I was one, marched forward about seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardéo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

*The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

now the objects whom I shunned. They were on our side, and there the chief halted and took some refreshment. I saw them, but as they were in their European dress, and I had only the maro round my loins, I was ashamed to face them. Conscience, at this time, smote me for my apostacy, and whispered " Battle and danger are at hand and you may be slain : what account can you give before the bar of God ; repent and join your companions again, seek the pardon which you need, and return to the way of holiness which you have forsaken." Had I yielded to these suggestions, I might have stayed behind with them ; as the natives forced none to battle at Tonga. But I was desirous of accompanying the warriors. I burned for the fight, and pressed forwards to the first ranks. As we were a great multitude, and far superior in numbers to the enemy, we thought ourselves sure of victory. We proceeded, with my old chief Mulkaamair in the centre ; but with no order, nor under any command of inferior officers. At length Mulkaamair halted to encamp for the night. A division went forwards to meet the enemy. For fear I should not witness the battle, I marched forward with them, till night came on, when I entered a hut, while many lay under the trees and slept. As soon as the morning dawned, we were alarmed by a cry of " Kotow gohow " " the enemy is upon

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us." We rose, and in truth, part of the enemy had arrived, and had passed us; and another body was hastening to attack us. The former division might have murdered us all; but they wished to push forwards, and penetrate through the ranks to Mulkaamair, in order, to extinguish the war by slaying him who had occasioned it. For this purpose, they had silently stolen by in a single file, in which each man took hold of the maro of him that preceded him, and trod in his steps. We had scarcely got out of the hut, when I saw the enemy at no great distance, in a large straggling body, hastening towards us and exclaiming "tow, tow," "war, war," Tow has several correspondent significations,—as an armed body of men, and war, which is the case with many of their words, which, derived from simple roots serve to express all the objects to which these primitive words apply.*

Immediately as I saw the enemy, I hastened forward to the first ranks, to see how they acted. A person who knew me, ran after me, and pulled me back by my maro, saying "Hoe ge hen" "come here, you do not know your danger." I retired, and

* In the derivation of words from simple radicals, the remarkable similarity subsisting between this, and all simple languages, and the Hebrew, that original language of man, might supply matter for much amusing speculation.

discovered that there were many of the enemy with bows and arrows, with which they might have pierced me, if I had continued where I was. Still, curiosity overcame fear, and I pressed forward again, to join those in the front. Just then I saw Mulkaamair's son before me, engaged in fight with a stout man: I was running to his assistance, but, that instant, he struck off the head of his antagonist with a scythe that I had formerly given him, which he had made into an immense sword, by driving the blade into the handle which he had shortened into a hilt. Instead of standing upon his defence against the enemy, who were coming on in a determined manner, as resolved to conquer or die, he stuck the point of his sword into the head of the man he had killed, and ran back in triumph. Though far superior to them in number, my heart began to fail me for our party, when I noticed the irregular manner in which they engaged the enemy. These advanced, while we already began to draw back. Several of our chiefs fell, and the rest began to give way. The enemy then made a grand push; but as we were so numerous the fugitives only fell back upon the rear, which still kept their ground and prevented their flight. Unable to resist or escape, the front ranks fell. It was with difficulty I pressed through to the rear, where I took to my heels with all the speed that fear administered, and did

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not look behind till I had run a full quarter of a mile. We were all thrown into a a panick, and confusion ; we lost the power of resistance, and numbers were slaughtered. I fell into a hole and sprained my leg. I was terribly alarmed, and thought I must have fallen a sacrifice to the enemy. But I exerted all my force, and limped forwards as fast as possible. The pain and weakness of my leg, however, was such an obstruction, that my spirits sank within me, and I began almost to despair. I heard the enemy not far behind me, and expected the spear, the club or the boggebogge, every moment, to strike my back. The boggee bogge was an instrument of war somewhat like a sword, but round at the top, made of very hard wood with two edges but very thick in the middle to give it weight and strength.

The fear of these tremendous weapons roused me to exert all my strength, and to keep out of their reach. I took care in future battles, not to spring forward to the first ranks, and to run away in time. I found their wars were too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity—that their instruments wielded with such strength and dexterity, were an overmatch for me, and that such an undisciplined volunteer as I was, would soon be speared. At length, we made a stand, and the enemy halted. Many came up with us, and fell back into the rear, wounded. Among them was a respectable chief of Ar-

deo. He had received three or four wounds in the head, before he would retreat. Some, like this chief, were very courageous and fearless of death: others were timid and cautious.

After we had faced about, our spirits a little revived, and we slowly retreated back, till we repassed the road, in which Mulkaamair had pitched his tents. But the object of the enemy was thus unfortunately accomplished: for, leaving a few to keep us employed, the rest hastened down the road, to reinforce their companions, who had been engaging Mulkaamair. While we continued fighting, with loss of little ground, but many men, this division kept pouring in their forces, to increase the main body; which so alarmed the party of Mulkaamair, that their spirits sank, and they took to flight in great disorder. Old Mulkaamair was carried on the shoulders of his attendants, on a "Fatta," i. e. two rails tied together and covered with matting. He saw his danger, and endeavoured in every possible way, to rally his forces;—but in vain. At length, the enemy made a grand push, and reached his guards and attendants. These, to the number of eighteen or twenty, were resolved to conquer with him, or to die. They fought with such bravery, that for a time they made the enemy retire; but at last, they all fell, overpowered with numbers. Amongst them were two sons of Mulkaamair, two wives and several relations. They soon seized Mulkaamair, but

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stood over him, in hesitation what to do, till one of the main body that were pursuing his party, came up and said, "kill him;" and, as is commonly the effect of a sudden command in a mob, come from whom it may, they at once followed the advice, and put him to death.

They then continued to pursue Mulkaamair's army till they came to Ardeo, where Mulkaamair had halted to take refreshment. When they approached their habitation, the brethren came out to look at them, not expecting that they, who had taken no part in the war, would be molested. But amongst the enemy, arrived one, who had formerly requested some presents of the brethren, and had been refused: this opportunity he barbarously improved, to revenge himself, and directly running to attack them, others readily joined him. They knocked down Harper and Bowel, and an European who was with them, and immediately murdered them. James Gaulton fled; but looking back, and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in hopes of saving them, or through grief, or despair; and immediately shared their cruel fate.

My soul was overwhelmed with pity and sorrow, when I heard this sad account from those who had been eyewitnesses to it. Poor young Gaulton! he was very anxious, before the Duff sailed from England, to accompany us: and as an assistant to the Cook was wanting, he offered to undertake the ser-

vice. When we came to the Friendly-Islands, the Captain and the Missionaries, having conceived a high esteem for him, on account of his uniform piety and good conduct, consulted together, and elected him one of our number. He always resided with the brethren, whom he loved as his own soul; and so pleasant had his life been with them, that even "in death" he chose not to be "divided" from them.

The enemy proceeded, when they had murdered the Missionaries, to plunder their habitation. Many articles had been concealed and buried by them, but they searched and found all. They now returned from the pursuit, to rejoin their companions, whom they had left to keep us engaged, while they attacked Mulkaamair. We had routed this force, and pursued them along the road, till to our astonishment, we found numbers of our friends dead on the field of battle; and amongst the rest, we started back with horror to see, weltering in his blood, our beloved chief Mulkaamair, with his attendants! To behold my old and chief friend dead, was a shock that almost deprived me of strength and reason. I gave up all for lost, and was ready almost to lay myself down by his side, and die with him. I cannot describe my sensations at that time: I was all wildness and confusion.

I recollect, however, that looking about in the agony of despair, I saw a young woman with her thigh broken, and leaning her wounded head on a

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dying man, that sat by her. She stretched out her hand to me, as imploring my help, and groaned with pain. I was stepping towards her to assist her, but at that instant, the enemy appeared, returning from the pursuit, with those whom we had lately discomfited. We all took to flight; but in our way, we met with a division headed by Loogolala, coming by another road from Ardeo, where they had arrived by sea. Instead of facing about, we continued our flight to the sea-shore. This was a manoeuvre of Loogolala, who all the while, laughed, and encouraged us. It was low water, and the sea had left a very extensive beach. We ran along towards the water, pretending to make for our canoes for safety. The enemy pursued us, carrying their chief on a Fatta, i. e. two rails covered with matting.

We then made a stand, and faced about and hastened to attack them. They fled with precipitation, and threw down the old man together with the Fatta, and left him. Taking him prisoner, we found he was a relation of one of our chiefs, who, that he might not seem partial to an enemy, desired they would kill him; but his attendants insisted, that out of respect to himself, his life should be spared. They called therefore to his sons to come and fetch him: and retiring back a little, they suffered them to carry him safely off, without molestation, with a forbearing humanity, that would have reflected honour on the most civilized nation.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUANCE AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

They renew the war.—Victorious.—Treatment of prisoners and of the dead.—Surprised and routed.—Flee to Attatai.—Ravages.—Barbarity of the children.—Return to Tonga.—Conquer.—Treatment of the captive chiefs.—Of the commonalty.—Tonga submits to Loogolala.—Also Arbai and Vavou.—A triumphant feast.

THE first day's battle, which had began with alarm, and had been marked, in its progress, with so much blood, having closed in a manner so agreeable, we retired, as it was evening, to our canoes, and slept in them during the night. Our forces were all assembled here; next morning we discovered that the enemy, in great numbers, had stationed themselves at a place near the shore, called Bungbye, waiting our landing, when they intended to surprise us by a violent and sudden attack; as they had guarded every road leading from the beach to prevent discovery. We were aware of their intention, and the principal chief ordered an attack upon them

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in three divisions from three different points. The battle was obstinate and bloody—at length they fled; leaving behind them several old chiefs who fell a sacrifice to our rage.

In the field of battle, was a large Fiatooka. In this, numbers had taken refuge, supposing that, as it was the burying-place of Dugonagaboola, the sanctity of the place would secure them from violence. Our party however made an attack upon the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds, they pierced him with their spears. They judged it best, therefore, to set fire to it: but the sanctity of the place deterred them. They applied to me: I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze. Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter: the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and fought desperately till they were all killed. A few young women amongst them came out, and begged hard for their lives. They made these "boboolers," prisoners, and they became the property of those who first took them.

After the victory, I made inquiries respecting my countrymen; and with heart-rending grief, learned the melancholy slaughter of those at Ardeo. I was informed also that the rest, who lived with other

chiefs, had escaped to the sea-shore ; where, it was supposed, they had concealed themselves among the rocks.

After the engagement, our victorious troops took the bodies of their slain enemies, dragged them to the sea-shore, and after inflicting every brutal insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them : thinking it a just revenge on their enemies to devour them. In the midst of their savage repast, they were surprised by the appearance of the enemy : but they were so voraciously hungry, that their own safety did not avail to make them stand on their defence in time to resist them. The enemy therefore threw us into confusion. We fled to the canoes with precipitation ; some of which were nearly sunk by numbers. Many did not reach them ere they had put off from shore, and fell a sacrifice to the foe. One canoe filled with men and women was stranded. The chief of it determined to defend it to the last ; and menaced, and defied the enemy. But one of them stole behind the canoe, and with his boggebogge knocked him down like a bullock ; and taking possession of the canoe, all that were in it were massacred.

We made all the sail we could to Attatai. The wind blew against us, but, by midnight, we succeeded in reaching it, after much difficulty. The confusion and slaughter that took place at our embarking, had much reduced our party. The next

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morning it blew a storm, which, for three days confined us prisoners on the island, to the great distress of its inhabitants.

For the morning after we landed, we formed different parties to traverse the island, and discovered many of the natives who, because they were of the party of the Ahefans, to which district they belonged, had secreted themselves. Poor creatures, they might well flee, for as soon as they were found they were slain.

As the party which I had joined, consisting of five or six, were walking along, we discerned the print of a man's foot in the sandy beach, near the water, which, from the recent fall of the tide, we knew must have been lately made; and therefore concluded that some one must be near us. We diligently searched, and at length discovered two persons hidden amongst the thick brambles that grew out of the side of the rock. We invited them to surrender themselves "boboolers," or prisoners. They came over to us, conscious that they could not escape. But the poor men seemed suspicious of some ill intention against them. My party pretended to lead them off as their servants to their canoes. But perceiving some among us raising their clubs to strike them, they took to flight. One of them, as he ran away, caught hold of me, to ward off a blow that was aimed at him, but being unfortunately on the brink of a precipice, we both rolled down it to-

gether. My party quickly followed us, and killed him there. The other they overtook, and knocked him down, but did not kill him; and some boys amongst us, went, and barbarously amused themselves in beating him. We found many women and children; but none were spared. So dreadful is war in a nation, where the fierceness of degenerate nature is not restrained by the the humanizing influence of civilization; and where ignorant and corrupt man has not been taught mercy, by Christianity.

After three days the gale ceased, and the canoes were fitted out to return to Mooa, that part of Tonga whence we had sailed to Aheefo, before we were driven from the island. We reached it by the close of day.

Here a counsel was held on the means of a second attack. Many of the Aheefans, we understood, had retired to a district called Mafanga, which was considered as a sanctuary or country of refuge, to those who fled there. After staying some time at Mooa, to arrange and prepare our plan of attack, we set out with the fleet for Aheefo. The enemy had a force assembled to oppose us; but it was much diminished by the numbers who had fled for refuge to Mafanga. A great part of our men landed, unobstructed by the enemy,—an engagement ensued. We saw them, from the canoes, fight, pursue, flee, and kill. Our troops were too much extended, and seemed in danger of being routed.

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At length the enemy gave way, and fled beyond Aheefo; where some retired to secret places, and others to Mafanga for refuge. This was a solemn spectacle to me. The thought that had I been on shore, I might have sunk into eternity in a moment, with all my unpardoned guilt upon my head, excited some concern, and awakened a few transient sensations of gratitude to Heaven.

Having gained a complete victory, Loogolala gave orders to sail for Mafanga, and to take the refugees, but to do them no injury. Eight or nine of the chiefs, whom he took prisoners, he put into a canoe, and ordered them to be taken, with a small supply of provisions, to a small distant island, at Arbai, where they had no means of escape. The lower orders were disarmed, and sent to their respective districts, to await the order of Loogolala. The whole island now submitted to him, and he appointed many of his friends governours of the different districts. He then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their governours. From thence he proceeded to another group of islands, named Vavou, and sometimes called by the natives Afoolouou. They made no resistance, but readily yielded to his power. The principal island on which he landed, was almost covered with hogs. Loogolala had "tabooed," that is, laid an embargo upon them at this island, at the commencement of the campaign, intending, if victori-

ous to return hither, to celebrate his success in a plenteous and lengthened festival. Provisions therefore were plentifully accumulated, by the time he arrived. Four hundred baked hogs were brought to the spot, and round a stake driven into the ground were piled ten or twelve fat hogs of the weight of eighteen or twenty stone. The banquet was prepared and conducted with much form and ceremony.

Loogolala and his chiefs sat in all the dignity of savage pride, giving out their domineering commands, and drove the natives about like so many dogs. Here they stayed for a month or six weeks, eating and drinking, feasting and dancing, and making excursions of pleasure to the surrounding islands, where they were entertained in the same manner. After exhausting the provisions of these islands, they returned to the Arbai isles, where they continued some time, that Tongataboo might recruit its losses and accumulate provisions against their return. Whilst going from place to place, on these triumphant excursions of pleasure, I was frequently exposed to the reflections and sarcasms of the young people, especially in the hour of bathing, which generally recurred three times every day, for being destitute of that cuticle vesture, which modesty has taught the South-Sea islanders to throw around them as an excellent imitation and substitute for garments; I mean the Tadoo. On these occasions, they would raise a shout of merriment and call me by opprobri-

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ous epithets, such as Ouchedair, &c. I was at length determined no longer to be singular and the object of ridicule. While at Vavou therefore I consented to be tatoood. But the pain was so great, that I could not endure to go on with the operation, till I came to reside at Arbai, and superintended Loogolala's brother's estate (as will be related in its place). Then I summoned up resolution to have the tatooring finished by a professed operator in the neighbourhood. It was performed only every third day, the pain being so exhausting, and the large tumours which immediately follow not subsiding before that time. When it was completed I was very much admired by the natives, as the European skin displays the blue colour, and the ornaments of the tatooring to very great advantage: I looked indeed very gay in this new fancy covering.

The tatooring is used as much for the sake of decorum as ornament, and it certainly bears so admirable a resemblance to a close dress that it might in some circumstances be taken for it. When I arrived in America, a case of this kind occurred with respect to myself while at New-York. I had engaged myself to a vessel which was going to India, and having fatigued myself during the day in assisting in the lading of her, I went on shore in the evening and stopped and plunged into the water to refresh myself with bathing. Some people not far off, who saw me enter the water, supposing that I was

swimming in trowsers, came near to look at me. I remained in the water till they had walked away, but a boy about fifteen stayed till I came out: he looked at me with great surprise, as though he could not believe his senses, and upon coming nearer, exclaimed, "I thought you had got some clothes on. Others upon hearing him began to approach, and had I not put on my clothes, their curiosity also, it is probable, would have discovered equal cause for surprise.

I recollect there was a chief at Tonga who could not endure the pain of tatooing, but so impressed he appeared with the absolute necessity of it, as a decent covering, that he never was seen without his garment: but the rest of the natives had no delicacy in that respect on account of the seeming vail which the tatoo spreads over them.

Amongst the tribes of the Friendly Islands, the advantage of being a chief is, a life of ease and indulgence, and the subserviency of all the inferior orders to his will and pleasure. While the chief revels in plenty, the lower classes are often pining for want: and after all the exactions that are made from them, they are treated by those who have the superiority, with harshness, contempt, and brutality, as though they existed merely for the purpose of drudging for their support and luxury.

Yet, amid the loud demands that have been made in these times of disorganization, for equality and re-

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form, it has been urgently pleaded that the grand remedy against the abuses of power and the oppressions to which poverty is subject, is to dissolve civilized government and establishments, and to reduce man to the lawless condition of the unfettered savage; as though the corrupt nature of man would not in all situations, from that of an European despot to an Indian chief, this narration proves, seize dominion whenever within reach, and abuse power when not under control.

CHAPTER XVI.

He finds his wife at Arbai.—An account of her escape in the war.—He goes to Tonga.—Learns the fate of the other Missionaries.—Rebellion at Tonga.—Horrid effects of it.—Loogolala defeated by the rebels.—Takes revenge on them by too-tang.—His stratagems and their success.—The Author's prosperity.—Distress.—Made governor of a district.—Appointed Chief of an Island.

RETURNING with Loogolala to Arbai, I lived in harmony and ease with the young woman whom I had espoused at the age of fourteen, at my visit to Arbai, as before related. Although no mention was made of her in the relation of the war, that the history might not be interrupted; yet for the information of some of my readers who may be desirous of knowing what became of my wives during the war, I will subjoin some account of this young woman. At the time that the war broke out, I had no wife. When therefore the brother of Mulkaamair, whose daughter the betrothed damsel was, came with Loogolala to Tongataboo, to assist Mul-

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kaamair at the beginning of the war, he brought the virgin with him to Mooa, and presented her to me, and I conducted her to my Abbee. We returned the next morning to Mooa, to see her father, before his departure with Loogolala for Aheefo. The same day I sent her up an arm of the sea to Ardeo, with some of my people, in my canoe, while I marched thither, as before related, among the troops, on foot, that followed Mulkaamair. The war commenced beyond Ardeo, as already detailed, the next morning; when, our party being defeated, they returned in the canoe down the same arm of the sea to Mooa; and not aware that Loogolala, with his division, was successful in another quarter, they conceived that the whole army was defeated; and fled away, in company with other canoes, to Arbai. Here my young bride remained, till victory declaring in our favour, and Tongataboo being subdued, I came with her father, to whom I attached myself after the death of his brother Mulkaamair, my old friend, to Arbai, and took up my abode with her at his fallée.

During this interval, the Aheefans, stung with shame and rage, took courage to rebel; and sent this message to Loogolala, "that as they had always been their own masters, they would rather die than be subject to him as slaves."

At this time, I had gone to Tongataboo, with two or three more, as provisions were scarce at Arbai, to obtain a supply, to bring back with us in

the canoe. Anxious for the rest of the brethren, who escaped the slaughter which their companions at Ardeo met with, and who had fled and concealed themselves, as it was supposed in rocks on the sea-shore, I made particular inquiries respecting them.

I learned, that at the time the war broke out, Shelly, Kelso, Wilkinson, and Buchanan lived together, or near each other, at Aheefo, under the protection of Dugonagaboola. I heard also that Cooper, who took up his residence with Moola, an inferior chief, at Ahogge, had fled to them for protection. For one day being left alone in his apartment, the natives broke in, and plundered him of every thing, and threatened to kill him. He begged hard that they would spare his life, but told them they were welcome to take all his property.

When Dugonagaboola, under whose protection they all lived, was killed in the treacherous manner which has been related, (in the thirteenth chapter) they were all taken under the care of Komavai, who was a deputy chief under Dugonagaboola. He was always a kind friend to us, and we were all much attached to him. But as soon as two parties were formed, and their friends, the Aheefans, marched to fight Loogolala and his party, then they fled to the back part of the island. This they could easily do, without molestation, as the island, in some places, was not above six, in others only four, and even two

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miles in breadth ; while, in length, it was upwards of twenty-six miles. I cannot, however, from my own knowledge, ascertain its proper extent, having been often much deceived respecting the relative distance of places, through the pain and fatigue of travelling barefoot: the natives never using any protection for the feet, in the form of bandage or sandal, and my own shoes being soon worn out, or stolen by the natives, who, though they knew not the use of them, yet as belonging to us they conceived they must be valuable.

I recollect travelling a whole day in company with Harper and Futtafaihe, to see Duatonga at Mooa, but walking barefoot, I was so fatigued and pained that I thought it must be at least thirty miles, but, upon inquiry, I found it to be only seventeen.

When the war terminated with the subjection of the Aheefans, by the party of Loogolala, and we had retired to Arbai, the five brethren returned to Aheefo, and put themselves again under the protection of Komavai, with whom I understood they now resided.

I had some intention of visiting them, but I understood that an European vessel was off the island. I immediately hastened to the beach and went on board. It was an English ship with a spanish prize in her possession : she had put in here for provisions, by the persuasion of John Harris, who was on board. He had settled at Otaheite after he had

returned thither, in the first voyage, from the Marquesa's, whither he had accompanied William Crook. The vessel having touched at Otaheite, he went on board in order to return to England. He remonstrated with me on my unbecoming appearance in the native dress. I felt conviction of the truth and justice of his remarks; and promised to return again to the ship to have some more conversation with him; but I never saw him more. Mr. Harris having sent word to the brethren they came on board the vessel that very evening; and the next morning I heard with extreme distress that the ship had sailed: whilst I, disjoined from them, was left behind as a just punishment of my dereliction of them and their cause. I now appeared to myself to be deserted for ever. My powers of mind were scarcely able to support me. But I endeavoured to summon up all my fortitude to meet my unavoidable lot, and to reconcile my mind to the prospect of settling as a native, and spending my future days at Tongataboo.

Just as the rebellion began, I arrived in a canoe, with several of the friends of Loogolala, with the intention to carry back provisions from Tonga to Arbai. We had not proceeded far from Mooa, the place where we landed, ere we met affrighted fugitives almost out of breath, who told us that the Aheefans were burning every thing they could, and killing all whom they met. We saw at a distance

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the smoke ascending from the burning falees, or cottages, that were scattered about the country, and discerned clouds of dust rising as from the feet of running multitudes. I, who had already been in their wars, and had known what it was to tremble at the apprehension of a club, a boggebogge, or a spear at my back, was terribly alarmed. We hastened back to our canoe, and pushed off to sea to a considerable distance, as soon as possible. After a time the trembling fugitives pursued by the enemy came to the beach; they knew not where to run, nor what to do: many ran into the sea and were drowned—numbers were killed. Multitudes ran along the shore, and were pursued to Ahogge, one end of the island; whither great numbers were also driven by another party of the Aheefans, who had swept the island in their dreadful progress: here hemmed in by the sea, in front and flank, and their retreat cut off behind, where the island, being very narrow like an isthmus, was occupied by the enemy, the wretched party of Loogolala that had remained on the island after his departure were cruelly massacred.

We rowed off to a little island, and remained there till the arrival of Loogolala, who as soon as he heard of this rebellion, sailed off with a number of canoes for Tongataboo, and landed all his forces. We joined his fleet, and disembarked at the eastern end of the island, in the district of Ahogge, in order

to obtain provisions. Here we were grieved to observe the ravages which the enemy had made. Spectacles too shocking for humanity to contemplate, soon sickened my sight, and sunk my spirits. I beheld, with shaking horror, large stacks of human bodies, piled up, by being laid transversely upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the victory.

Proceeding a little farther, a horrid spectacle almost froze my blood. It was a woman in a sitting posture, with folded arms holding a child to her breast as in the act of suckling it. Upon approaching them, I found both the mother and child cold and stiff with death. The enemy had killed them while in this posture, and indulged their savage revenge in amusing themselves with placing the dead bodies in this affecting attitude. Having obtained provisions, we sailed for Aheefo, and leaving our canoes in the care of a few, we disembarked, and were joined on shore by the district of Mafanga. I followed them at a little distance, but near enough to observe them, as they marched against the enemy who had fled to Aheefo, where they found them prepared to receive them. They had enclosed themselves with a fence formed of reeds and stakes, from which there were only two outlets.

Loogolala could not attack the fence, because of men stationed behind it, on the watch, who the instant an assault was made, would have speared the assailants through the enclosure : he made there-

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fore a grand push at the entrance. The enemy stood immoveable, as determined to keep their ground. A bloody battle ensued. Only a few of our troops could engage them. The enemy, therefore, at length, made us give way; and pouring out of the enclosure, chased us to the beach, where we took to our canoes with all possible dispatch, and made for Arbai. Here Loogolala formed the resolution to improve every opportunity of making a descent on Tonga, to "tootang," i. e. secretly to massacre and plunder, and then return.

An opportunity offered too soon. In a clear day, and with a good breeze, we sailed from Arbai at noon; and arrived at Tonga as soon as it was dark. The followers of Loogolala were all well acquainted with the country; every harler, or road, was familiar to them. Loogolala therefore had only to form his plan, that canoes should convey troops to take possession of particular harlers, or roads, as far up the country as a certain limit in the district of Aheefo, and every man at once knew his post, and the part he was to act. These were ordered to march down the roads towards Ardeo—in profound silence, to await the enemy who should flee towards Ardeo. As soon as they were supposed to reach the appointed posts, the main army entered the different roads, at the extremity of Aheefo, leading to the district of Ardeo, where their comrades awaited the arrival of the affrighted

natives, who fleeing from the sound of death and suspecting no danger before them, fell at once in their flight into the hands of their enemies, who immediately slew them in silence, and waited in ambush till the arrival of more men.

By staying behind again, in the canoes, I was happily delivered from sharing the guilty execution and the danger of this horrible plan, through which, ere the sun rose to display the extent of mischief and devastation, hundreds were massacred. Thus suddenly surprised, the enemy could not give the alarm, and collect their forces together to resist us. Whilst the other districts beyond the appointed limit in Aheefo caught the alarm, and assembled to relieve their friends, we were rapidly pursuing them on the roads leading to our canoes, and before they could attack us, we were all safely on board.

In our return however to Arbai, we were in great danger of being cast away. Though the wind blew unfavourably, we were obliged to sail off to avoid being pursued by the enemy. There were in the canoe in which I sailed off two hundred and fifty souls. During the night the wind veered, and the sea became so very rough, that we were all apprehensive that the canoe could not weather it. But as the morning dawned we discovered land; and providence favouring our attempt, we soon reached it; it proved one of the Arbai islands.

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The horrible revenge by tootang was taken more than once, while I was with them. When they found that they were not sufficiently powerful to make a descent to fight them, they would go in a cowardly manner and cut down a field of plantains or cocoa-nuts. By acts of revenge, like these, the enemy were at length reduced to a state of starvation. Our numbers at Arbai were also so great, that we were often in extreme distress for provisions.

My father-in-law, Mulkaamair's brother, having a considerable family of his own, I left him, during this time of scarcity, and went to live with a relation of Futtafaihe, or Duatonga. I wished also to work myself into a state of independence again; and he soon put me in the way to it, by giving me the superintendence of a tract of land. Finding that I had such methods of cultivation, and gave such encouragement to the labourers that the estate was soon brought into a fertile condition, he placed me over an island in Arbai. Besides the greater improvements which he thought I should make, there was another reason why he made me the superintendent of it: because I was moolee or a stranger, and such were the national ideas of the duty of hospitality and forbearance towards strangers, that this very consideration would preserve the younger chiefs, as well as the other natives, from plundering the fruits. But as the event proved,

there were no superabundant fruits to plunder. The number of us was too great for the productions of the island.

I had reserved, however, a field of plantains for myself, and having my hut placed in the middle, that I might the more effectually guard them, I preserved them till they were nearly ripe. But so pressing were the calls of hunger, that I was subject to several depredations, notwithstanding my character as "moolee," or stranger; and one morning, upon opening my hut-door, I perceived that had I been awakened to defend my plantation from some thieves who had robbed it during the night, I should have been murdered. The traces of human feet and spears on each side the hut, plainly showed that two men had taken their station there with spears ready couched to pierce me as soon as I should come out.

The scarcity of provisions was at length so great, that we were obliged to eat the roots of the plantain tree for our subsistence, and to drink the milk of the cocoa-nut, when very unripe. Hunger provoked me to drink such a quantity, that I was for a time swelled as though I had the dropsy. When pining with hunger, I endeavoured to refresh myself with sleep. But upon awaking, I was scarcely able to rise, from weakness. Many were in this deplorable state, and numbers died through want. At length I repaired to Loogolala, as well as others, for food.

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His brother was at that time in want of some assistance in his district, to prevent the people from plundering the fruits, before they were ripe. He appointed me superintendent of his district under him, and I managed it with great care and success for some time.

Before long, however, this brother of Loogolala, feeling umbrage at not possessing larger power, and finding provisions scarce at Arbai, determined to revolt against Loogolala, and to take possession of the Vavou islands. Having made known his intentions to some neighbouring chiefs, and to the young men in his district, most of them joined him : and he set off for Vavou, leaving me in charge of his district.

My chief deserting Loogolala, the supreme chief, I was at a loss what to do. Knowing my life was in danger, I repaired to Loogolala, and put myself under his protection. I resided with him some time. Becoming intimate with him and taking an active part in his concerns, he at length appointed me chief of one of the islands of Vavou ; where, as provisions were scarce at Arbai, he sent me with a number of men to bring it into a state of cultivation.

The idea of having an island of my own much delighted me ; and I set off for my little dominion with the greatest joy, already anticipating the happiness I should find in being freed from the many inconveniences of dependence, as a resident with a chief ;

and doubted not, but I should soon bring the island into a cultivated and fertile condition. Already in imagination I saw the shady trees of my little Abbee Omotaana, again flourish. Already fancy painted to my view rows of sweet canes, embowering new walks of refreshment, and pleasure. Already my busy imagination had erected a fallow or habitation upon a larger scale, planted round with bread-fruit and cocoa-trees, forming for me again the abode of plenty and peace.

But I was not aware of the dangerous post which I had accepted. The chief, whose district I had left, viz. the brother of Loogolala, resided at the Vavou islands; and if I had entered upon my government, I should soon have fallen a victim to his revenge. But a gracious providence was pleased, by a peculiar concurrence of favourable circumstances, to preserve me to see again my native land, and what is far more, to look back on my past ways with repentance, and to attend the long-neglected means of grace with gratitude and pleasure.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE AUTHOR'S ESCAPE FROM THE
SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS.

Sets off for Vavou.—His new government.—Hears of a ship.—Sensations produced by it.—Contrivances to reach it.—Dangers in the attempt.—Providential escape to the ship.—Reflections.—The benefits of civilized life and British privileges.

I HASTENED into the canoe with my new subjects, and a good breeze soon wafted us out of sight of the Arbai islands. It was dark before we came off the Vavou islands. At this time the wind fell; and it was midnight before we reached the shore. As we approached the island, under what the sailors call "the lee," or sheltered side of it, the moon was above the horizon, and by its light we saw a man getting out of his canoe as though returning from fishing. Being hungry I jumped out of my canoe upon the beach, and ran after him, calling out as I approached, "mi a heker mago," i. e.

“give me some fish.” Notwithstanding I spoke the language fluently, yet discerning a difference of tone and accent, he turned round and said, “Koe vacca, pappa langee goo he hen,—ahoo tolou.” “There is a ship of your’s here, and it has been here these three days.” Thinking he was only diverting my attention from his fish, of which my hunger made me very desirous to get some, I replied, “don’t tell me, I say, give me some fish.” But he assured me that there was a very large ship there. This intelligence excited great agitation in my mind: however I had the prudence to conceal it as much as possible; and appeared to take no notice of the information. Various plans rushed into my mind: sometimes I thought of taking a small canoe, and making my escape to the ship. But well knowing that if met by any of the natives I should be killed, I waited till morning, hoping to prevail on the chief who brought me from Arbai to Vavou, to go to the ship to trade. I told him, I doubted not, but I could get him some iron tools if he would go immediately. At this time another canoe arrived at the island on which we were, from Neua, or the Hoorn islands, not under the government of Vavou, but belonging to a separate nation, who spoke a different language. The natives in it had been some time at Vavou. They informed us that the brother of Loogolala had formed a party against him, and gave me to understand that the chief intended to re-

venge himself on me for leaving his district at Arbai, of which he had left me superintendent. Sensible therefore that death would be my inevitable lot, if he could get me into his hands, I used every argument to induce them to go to the ship.

At length they consented, but as we approached had the unhappiness to see her under weigh; and was terribly afraid she would sail without me. As the wind however blew only a light breeze, the ship was some time in getting round, and the canoe could go faster than she was then able to do. I persuaded them to let me steer; and we soon came up with her, when the natives refused to let me be any longer at the helm, for fear I should run the canoe against the ship.

When we came near, I called out "How do you do countrymen." But the sailors only laughed at me, as they supposed, from my dress, that I was a native who had picked up some European phrases.

The ship was now just beginning to sail; and the only opportunity of getting out of the hands of these savages was likely to be lost for ever. What should I do? I attempted to call out who I was, but I had been so long unaccustomed to my native tongue, that I perpetually mixed the language of these islands with it: which rendered all I said so unintelligible, as to increase the ridicule and unbelief of the sailors. I jumped overboard, knowing I could easily swim to the ship; when a chief who

was near, said, "get into my canoe, I will take you to the ship." But no sooner had I entered it, than he turned with me towards the shore. My situation then was almost desperate. I cried out as loudly as I could, partly in the native and partly in the English tongue: but the ship's company paid no attention. What could I do? I lifted up my eyes to heaven in despair!

Providence at length pitied my distress. "The Lord will not cast off for ever, for the spirits would fail before him."* The good captain coming on deck, my anxiety and exclamations caught his attention: he said, that must certainly be an European; and immediately ordered out a boat for me, manned with eight persons. I saw the boat coming; but the natives rowed away from it, tantalizing me, and jeering, "such a chief," said they, "wants to see you. You must visit Loogolala's brother before you leave us." At length a young man at the head of the boat beckoned to me to plunge in. I watched my opportunity, and dived deep into the water, in a direction contrary to that in which the canoe was sailing, and kept myself underneath, that they might not strike me with their paddles. Mean-

* *Miseris cælestia numina parant,
Nec semper læsos, nec sine fine premunt.*

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while, the boat came up with me, and the sailors pulled me in. The boat then attempted to run the canoes down ; but knowing the consequence, that we should all have been murdered, as they were much superior to us in numbers, and we had no fire-arms, I called out to them to desist, telling them our danger : but here, again, I had actually so forgotten my own tongue, that I spoke in that of the natives. The natives understanding therefore what I said, were emboldened, and instead of continuing their flight turned about and began to pursue us. If they had known that we were without fire-arms, it is probable they might have overtaken and murdered us all. We made all the haste we could to the ship, which, through the kindness of a merciful providence, we safely reached. Secure upon deck, I had the satisfaction to behold my late savage companions, from whom I had been delivered, by this concurrence of circumstances too singular to be called merely casual making for that shore, on which, had I set my feet, the cruel revenge of a barbarian would soon have made it my grave. I often shudder at the thought of the peril in which my life and soul were at this alarming crisis, when a delay of a few minutes might have for ever cut off my return to the tranquil delights of civilized life, the soothing pleasures of a peaceful sabbath, and the supporting consolations of religion.

Had it not been for the arrival of this ship, and my sudden escape to it, it is most probable I should at this moment have been lifting up mine eyes in a world of dark despair; as at this time I was "living without God in the world, and sinning against the light and knowledge of his blessed gospel," and the convictions of my own conscience.

After such a signal deliverance, I would not be backward to acknowledge the gracious providence which attended one so unworthy. I feel it my duty to retrace the steps of it, so kindly displayed in my behalf, with admiring gratitude.

I shrink not from the declaration of my errors, however it may disgrace me in the eyes of some, if by the confession of them, I may vindicate religion from the reproach which my conduct may have occasioned. But I trust I have to praise the Father of mercies, and the Son of his love, that by his blessed spirit, he has made me penitent for the evil of my past ways and doings; and by his grace, I now endeavour, under many infirmities and interruptions, to live to his praise and glory.—Here I cannot but make one reflection on the error of that revolutionizing philosophy which would make the world happy, by bursting the bonds of society and government, and reducing man to the state of a wandering savage. The joy which I felt upon being restored to the comforts of civilized life, a well-ordered government and the holy duties and services of revealed

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religion, compared with that state of precarious subsistence, uncertain safety, corrupt conduct and savage violence to which the unfettered inhabitants of lawless islands are subject, is to me a demonstration from experience, that such Utopian felicity never existed, except in the imaginations of discontented and infidel philosophers. We want nothing but an experience of the contrary to make us prize the advantages of British law and British privileges. In times so momentous and changing as these, may we learn to improve them to the glory of Him, who hath by these blessings made our land "a praise and an excellence throughout the earth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

VOYAGE FROM VAVOU TO CHINA, AND
TO AMERICA.

The vessel.—Captain.—Passengers.—State of the Author's mind.—Pass the isle of Rotumah.—Ladronne isles.—Enter the Bay of Macao.—River Ta.—Floating habitations.—State of the Chinese poor.—Arrives at Canton.—Sails from China in an American vessel.—Pass the straits of Sunda.—Cape of Good Hope.—St. Helena.—meet Danish vessels.—Pass Martinico.—Dominica.—Anchor at St. Domingo.—Occurrences.—Arrival at New York.—Receives pay.—Voyage back to St. Domingo.—Returns to America.

HERE I might end my narrative ; but I shall add another Chapter or two respecting our voyage to China—from thence to America, and from America to England, to my present situation : as perhaps some readers may wish for information in these respects.

The young man who steered the friendly boat which rescued me from destruction, was no other

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than William Smith, who was our companion in the voyage to Otaheite. The ship, on board which I had been so kindly taken, was an East-Indiaman, called the Royal Admiral, and had received a commission from the very Missionary Society which sent out the Duff. That vessel I learned had been captured in her second voyage off the coast of South-America by the Buonaparte French Privateer. The Missionary Society had engaged the Royal Admiral to convey twelve Missionaries to Otaheite.

To my joyful surprise I found that William Wilson, Esq. who had been chief officer in the Duff, under his uncle, was the captain of the vessel. When arrived at New Holland the captain found Mr. Smith at Port Jackson, who, having acted inconsistently, had gone thither from Otaheite : but being a young man of good ability, he engaged him as purser to the vessel, that situation having lately become vacant.

The ship was now on her voyage to China, from Otaheite, where she had been and landed her Missionaries. They had called at the Friendly islands merely to obtain provisions, of which however they were dissatisfied through the ravages made by the late desolating wars. The captain had seen the Missionaries, who had made their escape thence ; from whom he had heard what occurred, and that I was the only one left ; and he took it for granted that, in such a turbulent state of affairs, I had long since been killed.

There were two others in the ship who had gone out as Missionaries, viz. Mr. Reed and Mr. Broomhall. Mr. Reed had gone out in the Royal Admiral to Otaheite, but on account of some disagreement between him and the other Missionaries he concluded to leave the island, and was on his passage to join Dr. Vanderkemp, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Mr. Broomhall had acted inconsistently at Otaheite: he had married a native, and had joined in the practices of the island: and as the principal cause of infidelity is a bad life, he was now an advocate of the sentiments of those who deny the truth of revelation, and attempted to disseminate his evil opinions on board. Being in quest of a situation, when the vessel arrived in china, he remained there.

As soon as I came on board, the good captain sent for me into the cabin, and treated me with the greatest humanity and kindness. I explained to him the cause of my anxiety to leave these islands; he pitied my misfortunes, and ordered me the best supplies which the ship could afford. I dined several times with him and was comfortably accommodated on board, as I messed with the fourth officer and a midshipman, and slept in his cabin.

But my mind was not at ease, contrasting my own destitute situation with that of those around me, and ashamed of my exposed appearance among

those who were more decently clothed, (for I was still in want of many articles of dress) I began to reflect on my past strange life and conduct, and to look forward with shame and anxiety to a return to my native country. Young Broomhall at length had the kindness to give me some of his clothes, but I was very scantily covered till our arrival in China. The thought of my adverse circumstances, and my return, in such a condition to a civilized country, so painfully depressed my spirits, that I wished to stay behind on some island.

We arrived in a week off the Hoorne islands, viz. August 31st, 1801. These islands were first discovered by Schoutan and Le Maine, in 1618, since which no navigator I believe has recorded any account of them, and the natives gave us to understand that they had never seen a ship before.

The captain anchored off the Hoorne islands for three days, with the design of procuring provisions. It was night when we arrived near the island; but before we had been long at anchor, some of the natives came on board, and amongst them a native of the Friendly islands, who had fled from thence on account of the war. He knew me: I told him that it was our wish to procure provisions, and he engaged to use all his influence with the natives to bring whatever we needed. The captain upon my informing him this made him a handsome present, and the next day, according to promise, a consider-

able supply of provisions was brought to the ship.

To collect provisions the more readily, the captain, myself, and two or three more went in the pinnace in the afternoon on shore. But perceiving where we landed no prospect of success, some of us walked along the shore while the boat kept up with us as near the reef as possible, till we came to a passage into which the boat could enter, near enough to the shore for those in it to receive the stores on board. Whilst we were bartering for supplies, I observed behind a large house, several natives armed. Upon my approaching them, round the end of the house, they endeavoured to secret their weapons, and to put themselves in a careless unconcerned posture. Knowing so well the general practices of the Friendly islanders, I was suspicious of some evil design, and my apprehensions were soon confirmed by perceiving others also approaching them with arms. I immediately communicated my fears to the captain, and assured him, that, from what I knew of the habits and treachery of the South-Sea islanders, our lives were in danger. At this time, my friend from the Friendly islands approached us; and coming near me, he watched his opportunity, unobserved by the natives, and gave me the wink, and nodded towards the place where they were assembling: and anxious for my safety, he gave me a friendly push, as much as to say, "get into the boat as fast as possible." Upon this we all took the

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alarm and hastened to the beach; they then all approached us with their arms, but apparently in a careless undesigning manner, but which my experience taught me was the more dangerous: we ran therefore into the sea, nearly up to the knees, and got into the boat and rowed off: but ere we had reached it, one approached us in a threatening manner, and I thought he would have actually begun the assault. Though not successful in our attempts to obtain provisions, we hastened to the ship, and resolved no more to hazard ourselves on shore to procure them, but to wait till they were brought to us in canoes. The next day a canoe came to us with provisions, in which was "the true friend in need," the friendly islander, and taking me aside privately, he said, "Yesterday you would all have been killed for the sake of getting what was about you." I informed the captain how great a benefactor he had been to us, and he rewarded him with a handsome present.

In a few days, we arrived off the isle of Rotumah, situated about thirteen degrees south latitude, where the *Duff* had touched in her voyage from Otaheite to China, and had met with friendly treatment from the natives.

They came off to us a great way at sea, and climbed on board without hesitation. They appeared of an amicable disposition; and in their dress and manners, much resembled the inhabitants

of the Freindly islands. It was a beautiful spot, and the captain would have liked to touch at it, but time did not permit. The natives followed us to a considerable distance from shore, and some of them climbed up the sides of the ship, and stole some bunches of plantains.

Nothing material occurred till we arrived at the Ladrone islands. We passed between the islands Tinian and Saypan. They were destitute of human inhabitants, but well stocked with kine and fowls. More than a thousand head of cattle appeared in beautiful variety, bespotting the hills, and poultry in abundance in their wild state were flying about among them.

An officer on board made the following observations, which he has permitted me to insert in his own words.

“ N. B. On the twenty-ninth of September, 1801, “ at half-past five, A. M. steered between the islands “ of Tinian and Saypan, and observed immense “ numbers of cattle upon each island. At noon “ the extremes of Tinian bore south sixty-four de- “ grees, east and south forty-seven degrees east, dis- “ tance off about thirteen miles. I make the above “ extremes to be in longitude one hundred and “ forty-six degrees thirty-two minutes, east, by a “ good observation of the eclipse of the moon, con- “ tinued by the chronometer since the twenty-third “ instant. Variations of the compass six degrees east.”

I was much inclined to stop at one of these islands, where I might end my days as a hermit, and in unbroken retirement repent of the past, and prepare for a future eternity, in a situation, alike secured from the reproof and scorn, as well as the snares of mankind.

Such was the proud repentance with which I then entertained my fancy, and so far distant was I at this period, from that broken spirit and contrite heart, which David possessed, when he repented; and bemoaning the disgrace which his conduct had brought on religion, published his own shame to his children, subjects, the whole world, and all generations, in order to remove the scandal and offence.

But knowing that the season was far advanced,—that the captain was in haste,—and that the ship was running very fast beyond the island, I had not courage to make my desire known, and to request him to stop the vessel; or else, perhaps, he might have complied with my wish. Happy was it for me that this was prevented: for it is probable, in that case, I should never more have been cheered with the comforts of civilized life, and the blessings of social worship, but have been the companion of brutes, and sunk by degrees into an ignorance like their's, instead of rising on the wings of faith, to a world, where repose will no longer be allied with sloth, nor peace with self-indulgence.

At length, we arrived near the shores of China, and entered the Bay of Macao, into which falls the river Ta, up which we sailed to Whampoo, a place where Indiamen anchor, about fourteen miles from Canton.

Running up the bay with a fair breeze, the ship shortly came to an anchor off the island of Mocou, in the possession of the Portuguese. Here came on a tremendous gale, which lasted for three or four days, in which we were in danger of being driven on the reefs and shipwrecked. After this we fell in, as we supposed, with an enemy, and prepared to engage her; she took no notice, but continued under sail. In a few minutes she fired a gun and hoisted Portuguese colours; which satisfied us, as we were in alliance with Portugal, and we permitted her to proceed. At length, she got upon the shallows, out of our reach, and then pointed all her guns in derision, and showed Spanish colours.

We found to our mortification that she was a Spanish vessel laden with dollars; and our sailors were exasperated to think that they were diverted, by this cowardly deception of the enemy, from seizing so rich a prize, when in their power.

As we advanced up the river Ta, we viewed with curiosity the numerous fishing-floats, on which thousands are destined to earn their bread, without scarcely setting their feet on land. The rivers of China may be said indeed to be peopled, they are so covered with floating habitations.

As the vessel sailed up the river, multitudes of the poor Chinese women came to beg the washing of the sailors' linen. Wretched creatures! most of the poor in England live in an enviable condition, when their lot is compared with the slavish exertions which these poor people are obliged to make in a country so populous, to earn a scanty subsistence of rice. Upon our arrival at Whampoo, we found the English China fleet there, and sixteen or eighteen American vessels.

Our ship, according to the usual custom, when brought to anchor, underwent a thorough examination and repair. The rigging was stripped off, and, being refitted, was replaced: the ship's hold was cleared out, and every part prepared for the reception of the cargo on board. The teas being properly stowed, and the stores all laid in, preparations were made, and orders issued, for the fleet to be ready at the appointed signal to set sail for England.

Reflecting on my wretched condition, with few clothes and without money, I was unwilling to return, in so sad a plight, to my own country. I determined therefore to leave the English vessel, and to work my passage on board an American. For this purpose, I began daily to apply myself to learn the duties of a sailor, to repair the rigging, climb the masts, &c.

In the space of six weeks I heard of an American vessel that wanted hands ; and applied to the captain of it. I referred him to captain Wilson, and he in a friendly manner bore such testimony to my character as induced the captain to enter me on board his ship as a seaman.

I took leave of captain Wilson and my friends in his ship, and went on board the American. At first I found myself much at a loss, but rousing up a determined spirit, I attempted every thing. In about a fortnight we sailed : and after being at sea a few weeks, I found myself so much improved, as to be master of working a ship in the common way.

In the course of three weeks we passed the straits of Sunda ; and stayed there a day to procure supplies. In pursuing our course for America, we were troubled with the scurvy ; and applied to the captain to put in at the Cape of Good Hope, to refresh ; but he refused telling us he was not accustomed to stop there, but at St. Helena, where he promised that he would touch.

Many became in a short time, very ill ; but through divine mercy I escaped, and having now been accustomed to hardships and being possessed of a resolute disposition, I did not regard the difficulties of a sea-faring life ; though our labour was necessarily very great, on account of the many who were laid aside by sickness.

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At this period, we descried a vessel; and as it was time of war, I began to fear that if it was an Englishman, I should be pressed. I begged the captain therefore, to have the goodness to shield me, if possible, after so many misfortunes, from falling into this. He felt a concern for me, and promised if there were any danger, to conceal me and several other Englishmen in the magazine-room, where none are permitted to enter; and to put us down in the books as dead. He was just going to do so; but we had the satisfaction to discover that it was a Danish vessel bound for the isle of France. As they were not far off, they hailed us to inquire the longitude, in order to learn whether their reckoning agreed with ours.

When we came off St. Helena, the captain pretended to make for the island; but we knew enough of navigation to perceive that nothing was farther from his thoughts. We showed some dissatisfaction; but he reconciled us to the measure, and steered forwards with all possible sail for the West Indies.

Our provisions soon began to be scanty; and what remained was only dry salted meat, on which, invalids as we were, we had already lived too long a time.

Fortunately, when within a degree and a half of the equinoctial line, in south latitude, we discovered a sail, and made a signal to bring her to. She an-

swered, and took in sail. Upon coming up with her, we found that she also was a Danish vessel bound for the Rio de la plata.

Our captain knew how to beg ; and immediately began to supplicate some fresh provisions ; pleading that many of his men were ill with the scurvy, and in a poor destitute condition ; promising to give them some of his goods in exchange.

Four of the men were therefore put into the boat, dressed only in flannel shirts, check trowsers and paper caps ; and with beards that had not been touched by a razor during four months before. Our appearance excited a little mirth among the Danes, but awakened also their compassion. They gave us a large quantity of potatoes, and some beef : and sent the captain a cask of gin, and some bottles of the same liquor for ourselves.

Our captain, in return, sent the Dane a little tea and sugar. But what gave me far greater joy, the Dane informed us that peace was concluded between England and France ; which relieved me from all fear respecting being pressed.

We returned on board, highly delighted with our potatoes and beef ; and had a delicious feast indeed, compared with the hard and unpleasant fare of salt pork, to which we had been so long confined : and regaled ourselves also over our refreshing banquet, with the bottles of gin which the Danish Captain had given us.

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After this we worked the ship with greater alacrity and steered forward. In about a fortnight's time, or rather more, we passed the islands of Martinico, and Dominica ; and we thought the captain would have put in at one of these, as they belonged to the English, but he went forwards to Guadaloupe, an island in the possession of the French. This we found in the hands of the Blacks, who had just expelled their masters. We came to anchor, and our stay completely answered the wishes of the captain ; as there was no custom-house, and the Blacks, just risen from the rank of slaves to that of rulers and citizens, were very desirous to add to their newly-acquired dignity the conveniences and decorations of apparel. He had therefore a great call for his parasols and nankeens, for which, they readily gave him the exorbitant price that he took care to demand for them.

We waited at so good a market three or four days ; when we weighed anchor for New-York, which, in a few weeks after, we reached.

In our voyage thither we met with an English frigate, and the captain exchanged a visit with the commander.

When we approached New-York, we met a vessel coming out, and the captain with his usual skill in begging put on a bold face, and again obtained us a good dinner of fresh provisions and potatoes.

In sailing up the river, the ship nearly ran aground, and several guns were fired before a pilot came off to assist us. At length we came to an anchor on Sunday afternoon.

We were employed three or four days in landing and storing the cargo in the warehouses. The Captain then sent us to his merchant to receive our wages. He gave us a check on the banker, to whom we proceeded; and to my joy I soon found in my hands the sum of ninety-four dollars, the first money of my own which I had seen for some years.

But it was of little service to me; for after having procured myself some clothes, I spent it with my companions, as lavishly as I had gained it laboriously.

In a short time, we engaged ourselves to another vessel, which was going to St. Domingo.

Upon our arrival there, we found the French lying before it. They had made several attacks upon the Blacks, but were not successful. We saw Cape Francois in ashes, and its beautiful gardens all lying waste. About thirty, or forty sail of merchantmen lay off the island, but great numbers of the crew were carried off by the bloody-flux, occasioned by too freely indulging in the use of the delicious fruits of the island.

In five weeks, we returned back to America. Upon our arrival before New-York, we were ordered to perform quarantine at a little distance.

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This is always required there in the summer season, of every vessel before it approaches the city, for fear of infection. Whilst stationed here, we saw on shore, at the hospital, numbers of Blacks brought thither by three French Frigates that were still lying there from Guadaloupe, which had been reduced to submission, by the French, about three weeks after we left it. These prisoners of war they offered to sale at New-York ; but the magistrates refused to purchase them, determined never to brand their characters with the guilty mark of countenancing the infamous traffic of human flesh. They then requested the Americans to accept them as a present, but this also these virtuous people resolutely declined.

They then carried them off to sea, where general report, which seemed well-founded, caused it to be commonly believed, that they were all barbarously drowned.

The policy of that Atheistico-papal power which now treads under foot the prostrate continent, has been so remarkably displayed in other parts of the world in expeditiously ridding itself of those who were too formidable and troublesome, that this cruelty is not incredible.

Returned to America, I entertained the idea of making a voyage to the East-Indies : but a merciful providence ordered my course a different way : the wisdom and goodness of which I have since found abundant cause to admire.

“The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.”

He who teacheth “the stork in the Heavens to know her appointed time,” over-rules “the ways of the children of men,” and “fixes the bounds of our habitation.”

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CHAPTER XIX.

RETURN TO ENGLAND.

Voyage to London.—He visits his Friends.—His mind unsettled.—calmed by religion.—He is fixed in a responsible situation.—Lessons taught him by experience.

ONE of my comrades proposing to take a voyage to London, a desire of seeing again my native country, prompted me to accompany him. We embarked, and after having been tossed about by several heavy gales, we were overtaken by one in which I had a narrow escape from a watery grave. After being completely wet through with the rain and spray, I went below, and stripped, and put on dry clothes, and returned on deck. Just then, a wave burst over the ship, and swept away all the sailing on one side, and very nearly carried away seven or eight of us; had the ship rolled, we should all, inevitably, have gone overboard; and had not I fixed my fingers in the crevices of the planks of the

quarter deck (called by sailors the caulking) I should have been overpowered by the overwhelming wave. These caulking were so sunk that they admitted my fingers to take such hold as kept me from sliding across the deck when swept by the wave : had the sea returned and swept back again, I fear I should not have retained my hold.

It stove a hole in the quarter gallery, through which poured the water with great rapidity. But though the vessel was considerably damaged during the voyage, she brought us safe to London in fifty-two days, where we landed in the month of October, 1802.

On my return to my native christian shores, however, a heathenish fraud was the first occurrence that befel me.

I had purchased at New-York, four gallons of Brandy, it being much cheaper there than in London, to serve me on my voyage to England and back again to America ; as it was my intention to return thither. The weather being rainy I had opened a bottle which the first mate knew, and being desirous of the liquor for himself, he tempted me with the offer of the London price, prevailed upon me to sell it to him. All my experience of human depravity did not supercede the need of another lesson upon this subject. As soon as the cargo was discharged, my debtor the first mate having drunk all my Brandy, ran away without paying me a farthing !

Arrived in London I wrote to my friends in the country, telling them I wished to know how they all were, but that it was my intention to return to America: and that I had already engaged myself to the captain of a vessel. They wrote to me immediately, and a friend soon followed, who persuaded me to leave the vessel, and to accompany him into the country. I at length complied, and having gone to the captain and procured my discharge set off with him for my native village to see my friends.

After the novelty of amusing myself and them by relating the events that had befallen me, had subsided; I felt an insuperable reluctance to return to the confinement of a particular spot, and the labours of a weekly employment. Rambling was, by my late course, rendered a habit, and I indulged my propensity to it, and set off for London. But, calling in my way on a pious relation, she persuaded me to go to a town in the neighbourhood, where those religious impressions were first received, which induced me to leave my native country; hoping that the society of my old friends might awaken me to reflection, and rekindle the almost extinguished sense of religion in my heart. I yielded to her remonstrances, returned to the town which I had left for the Friendly Islands; followed my former occupation, and was induced by my pious friends to attend again the long neglected means of grace.

Under these reflections on my past transgressions, conviction of guilt, fear of futurity, shame for my past conduct, compunction of spirit, desire of forgiveness and resolutions of obedience, began to return. At length, in this scene of retirement, and meditation, the prodigal began to repent, the backslider to pray, the wanderer to return to the fold, from which he had departed. And, may praise ever ascend from my heart, and love ever quicken my obedience, when I look back and remember, that I was taught again to look to that Saviour for pardon, who prayed and died for his murderers; whom I had "pierced afresh by sin," instead of proclaiming his merits, his power, and mercy to nations who never heard of his name. May penitence ever bow my soul in humility, when I reflect, that the mercy which I neglected to recommend to them, has abounded to such a sinner, in the grace, I trust, afforded him, to return to God, to sit down contented in the labours of private life, and to seek divine strength from above, to walk "in the narrow way" which leads to heaven.

My mind however was, for a length of time, oppressed with fears and distress. I prayed earnestly, and often, before any ray of hope dispelled that gloom of despondence, which a sense of guilt had spread over my soul. I read the Bible with diligence, attended on the means of grace, with regularity; and sensible that I must repent and be restored to God,

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or I should perish, I desisted not to wait upon God at the throne of grace, to plead his promises and to seek that mercy, which is freely offered to returning prodigals, by the compassionate Father of us all, through the merits and intercession of his adorable Son. In this way, I at length found peace of conscience "through the atoning blood of Jesus."

But I learned also that it was a great and important matter to be a christian indeed. I perceived that it was easy to deceive myself and others. I was convinced that for a man to be truly religious, and faithful to God throughout life, it is necessary that there be an entire and spiritual change in his mind and heart, and a principle of grace implanted controlling and regulating his affections and influencing all his conduct, agreeably to the word and will of God. I was well persuaded, that as the spirit of God only can produce this change in the soul, so his aid is daily needed to confirm it, and render it effectual on the life. One principal effect too resulting from my past declension from God, and my return to him, was that I became afraid of the world: remembering how ensnaring it had proved, and that my past offences had been in a great measure occasioned by my yielding to its spirit and maxims. I entered the company of the worldly and profane, where engagements called me with reluctance and fear.

Providence has, at length, placed me in a situation of responsibility, trial, and exertion ;—in which I have some opportunity of attempting to benefit my fellow creatures. The toils of it are great, and often make me sigh for some solitary hut, where I might end my days in a tranquil resignation to the will of Heaven, in contemplating his numberless mercies, and in a holy preparation for that glorious state of which I am conscious of being unworthy. I have much to contend against, and I find it a difficult work amid numerous engagements, to keep up the power of religion in my soul, and in the hurry of affairs multiplied and complex always to act consistently. I thank God, however, that through his mercy, I have some consolatory supports in the use of the means of grace, and in the society of a partner with whom God has blessed me, who shares my labours and knows how to alleviate them. I trust too I may without presumption have hope toward God, that He will still be merciful to afford his preserving and assisting grace, through Jesus Christ, to keep me in the right way, that my feet may no more wander from him. I pray that he may enable me to be faithful in every future station, and at length that he will, in mercy, through my blessed Redeemer, admit me when prepared by his sanctifying grace, into the mansions where perfect holiness and peace for ever dwell.

If some soul should be guarded, by these memoirs, from yielding to negligence and presumption, either in distant climes, or in their own land ; if any one should be made to dread a declension from the paths of piety, by the difficulty and anguish of mind that must be encountered in a restoration to God ; if some backsliders should be roused, immediately to return, from a fear of death and perdition in the midst of sin, of which I was so often in danger ; if some penitent sinner, some returning prodigal should be encouraged to seek mercy through the Redeemer, by that grace which I trust I have found ; and should any of the servants of the Most High be stimulated to persevere in waiting at a throne of grace for daily assistance from above to preserve them "in their integrity" to the end of life ; the greatest wish of the Missionary, seduced abroad, and reclaimed at home, will be completed, and the design of the compiler of the narrative fully answered ; and to the Triune Author of all good, shall be all the praise.

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APPENDIX.

DEAR SIR,

While I was perusing your manuscript, the following thoughts occurred to me, which, either more directly, or more remotely, bear on the grand subject of Missionary attempts; and which you are at liberty to dispose of as you think proper.

I am,

Yours, &c.

1.—THE universal and deep depravity of human nature is most fully shown, and most strikingly illustrated, by the facts recorded in this narrative. It is manifest that men are every where on earth, as far as accurate and impartial observation has hitherto reached, not only alienated from the true God, his holy perfections, his spiritual worship, and his reasonable service; but also, under the power of selfish and malignant passions, to such a degree, that, when exposed to suitable temptations, all regard to justice, truth, goodness, and mercy, in their dealings with each other, are lost sight of, and they rush with impetuosity into crimes destructive to others and themselves.

2.—The fallacious statements (whether designed or undesigned,) of travellers and navigators, formed from a superficial observation of heathen manners, in different parts of the world; (while they were gratifying them in the highest degree by exchanging European manufactures, the meanest of which are to them inestimable, for such produce of their own soil as they can spare without inconvenience;) are completely disproved by those, who have had time and opportunity for making more particular observations. This is evidently the case, even in respect of those, who at first most implicitly credited the favourable report, and were, with the utmost reluctance compelled to feel and own their mistake.—These remarks show, how greatly the gospel is needed by men, in every part of the world, and by all the race of fallen Adam.

3.—This narrative shows the mistake of many cordial and liberal friends to missionary exertions, (into which they have in great measure been seduced by the before-mentioned fallacious testimony;) in supposing, that the gospel will meet with a more favourable reception in some places, than in others; because of the apparently more gentle tempers of the inhabitants.—Some indeed will be more hospitable than others, while they have incitements held forth suited to their inclinations; because these inclinations prove stronger than their fears and resentments, on trivial occasions. But testify plainly and

solemnly against their sins, their idolatries, superstitions, and vain confidences; show the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, &c. and point out Christ as the *only* Saviour; explaining the nature of repentance, faith, holiness, &c. and it will soon appear, that fallen man is every where enmity against God.—Contempt and neglect therefore, alone, can secure christians from this enmity; unless God himself interposes in their behalf. Lay aside the christian character; they may cordially welcome you; be inactive and timid; contempt may disarm the fiercer passions: but zeal in the cause of Christ will excite enmity: and the Missionary, especially in countries where the protection of law is little experienced, must go in the spirit of a martyr; if he would count his cost, and not turn back in the day of battle.

4.—Wherever a christian Missionary goes, he must, if faithful, at length “testify of the works” of the natives, that they are evil, and thwart them in their favourite pursuits, indulgences, and interests; as well as oppose their superstitions. Now as Herod revered John and heard him gladly, till he said of Herodias, “It is not lawful for thee to have her;” but then imprisoned and beheaded him: so this interference with men’s favourite interests and indulgences, is alone sufficient to convert the mildest heathen manners, to the most savage cruelty and deep revenge.

5.—It is manifest from facts, that heathen notions of immortality, and of some superior beings, and other things of that nature, being almost entirely contrary to the scriptural doctrine on those subjects, is rather a hindrance, than a preparation to their receiving christianity: for to unlearn (so to speak,) what is erroneous, when “received by tradition” from ancestors, is at least as difficult, as to learn what is true.

6.—As all need the gospel, and all need it equally; had the friends of missions means and instruments, they ought to attempt, in one way or other, to send it to every part of the inhabited globe: but as their means are inadequate, not to say scanty, and their instruments few, *selection* is a main point of wisdom. Selection, both in respect of the probability of success; and selection, in respect of the probable effects of success in one place, as opening a way for a wider diffusion of the light into other countries. Some grand centre should be first selected, which may open a way for attempts through a large adjacent circumference.

7.—In making this selection, it is of vast importance to begin with places, in which, however uncivilized and sunk in pagan darkness, the laws and the police protect the persons and properties of men, without discrimination, from fraud, and violence; and where theft, robbery, and murder, meet with condign punishment; and where persecution for reli-

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gion is the principal danger to which Missionaries are exposed. The enlargement of the Roman empire, and the extension of Roman jurisprudence, through a large part of the world, was a wonderful preparation, in Providence, for the labours of the apostles and the primitive Missionaries : and why may not the government of European nations in the uncivilized parts of the world, be considered in the same light ? It is probable, that some of the apostles laboured among lawless savages ; lawless, as to the protection of the persons and properties of strangers : but the new Testament records no such Missions. Persecution must in one form or other be expected by those who zealously labour to promote the gospel, whether they live among the most savage, or the most civilized, of the human race : and this is fully sufficient to prove the Missionary's faith and patience, without exposing him, on other accounts, as an outlaw to ruffians and assassins.

8.—Societies for missions, at their first institution, labour under peculiar disadvantages. The persons who conduct them, however, wise, pious, benevolent, and zealous, want that kind of knowledge, which experience alone can supply ; and they have no tried and approved missionaries ; no old veterans, but merely raw undisciplined soldiers ; whom no human penetration can fully know. The first attempts therefore of such societies, and such Missionaries, it may reasonably be concluded, ought to

be made in places, where the Missionaries themselves should be exposed to as few temptations as the nature of the service will allow. Above all, *young men*, and novices, should not be sent to those seducing scenes, in which that christian, not far beyond the meridian of life, who could think himself safe, would show that he was but little acquainted with human nature, or with his own heart.

9.—The unbending *jealousy* of Asiatics, respecting their women, and of many in other parts of the world, and the general manners resulting from it though unfavourable in some respects to missionary success, is at least immensely less dangerous to young and unexperienced missionaries, than the South-Sea islands. These islands therefore are, on that, and many other accounts, by no means the most proper source for an infant society.—When little comparatively can be attempted, *selection* is of the more importance.—Could the gospel be planted there, it must remain in great measure stationary, and diffuse its influence with extreme difficulty.—The Baptist society therefore, in its first very feeble and obscure efforts, was directed to select a more favourable field of exertion : and probably it will soon appear, that the good effects have been proportionable.

10.—Old societies, who have tried and approved veterans, have immense advantages which new so-

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cieties must wait for with patience. They have *fathers* in Christ, who may with propriety have the precedence and authority over junior Missionaries : and some of these *fathers* should, certainly, preside in every new field of action.

11.—None but tried characters should be sent, without great necessity, into those places, where sensuality assumes its most bewitching forms ; or where prospects of gain readily open to the wavering Missionary.

12.—Unmarried men, if contentedly such, are suited for services, which married men cannot so well undertake ; but it must arise, from ignorance of human nature, if the circumstance of being married, or being disposed to marry, be considered as an objection to a man, who is in other respects a suitable Missionary.—Frugality, in the Managers of Mission societies would in this case be misplaced.

13.—If an unmarried Missionary should after all, marry an unconverted native of the country to which he was sent : though a marked disapprobation should be shown to his conduct ; those concerned should be careful not to drive him, by harshness, to seek refuge among the heathen. He may repent, and be restored ; and at length prove useful.

14.—Voluntary poverty, and trust in providence for daily bread, and a willingness to live like the natives, as to food, lodging, &c. is essential to the character of a missionary. To send him rich, (for

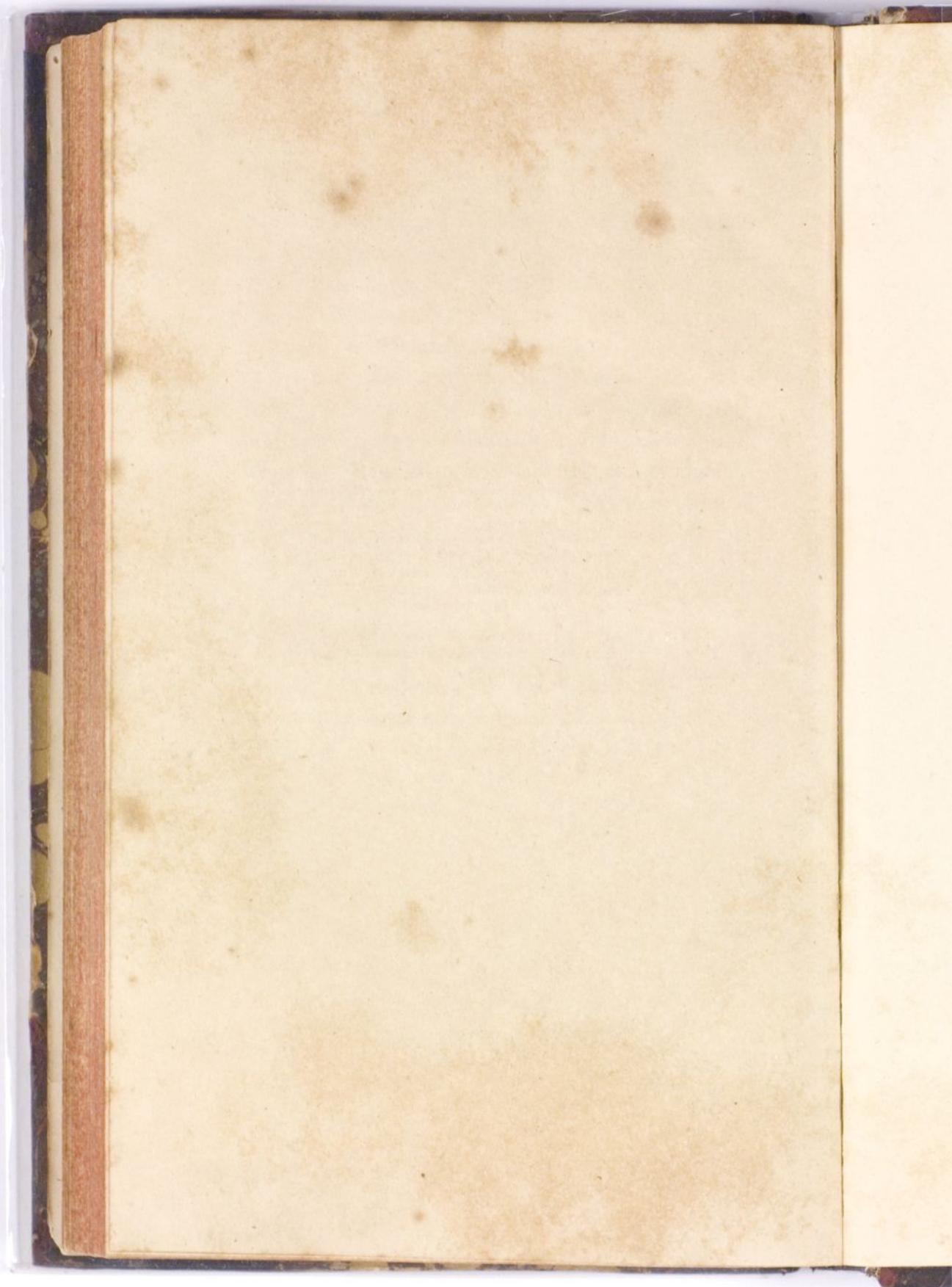
European manufactures, however cheap and coarse are *riches*, among savages,) is to expose him to robbers and murderers. He will have no safety, and feel that he has none, till he is reduced to that poverty, which he should at first have chosen. The murder of the remaining missionaries at T. was owing to the property which they possessed. The liberality, therefore of christians in this respect, though well meant, was injudicious and productive of those ill effects which before the Missionaries left England some persons had predicted would probably result from it.

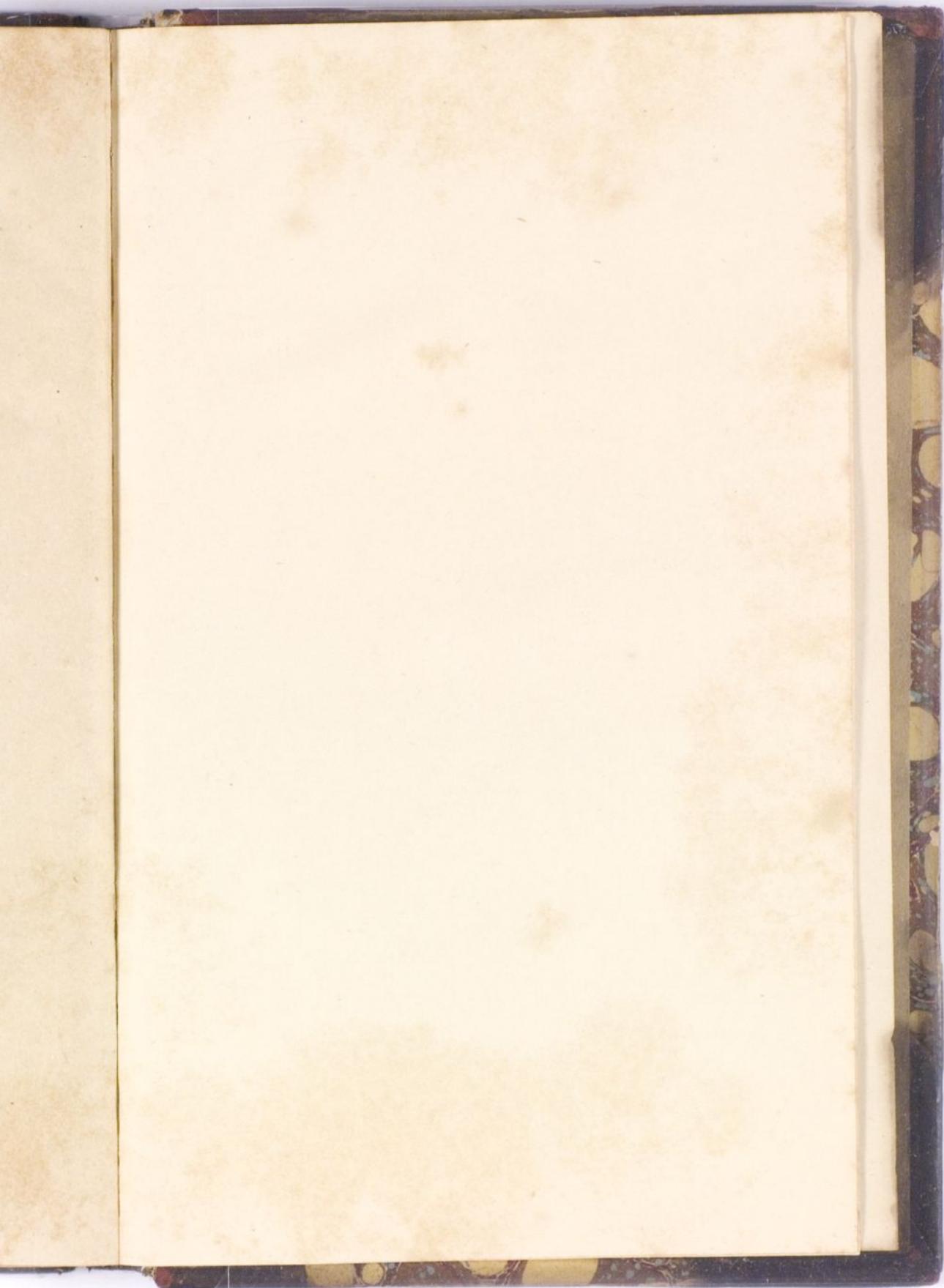
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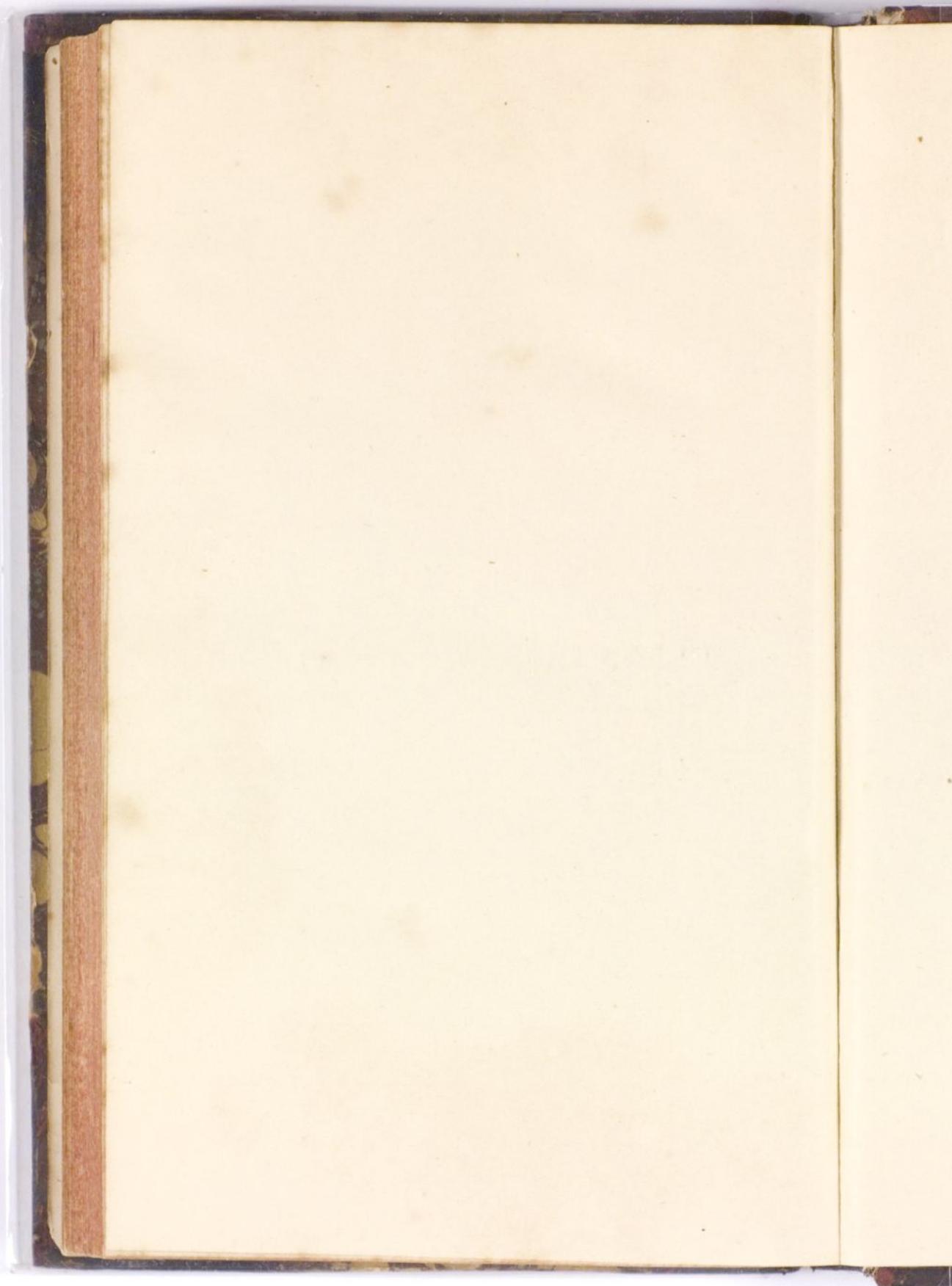
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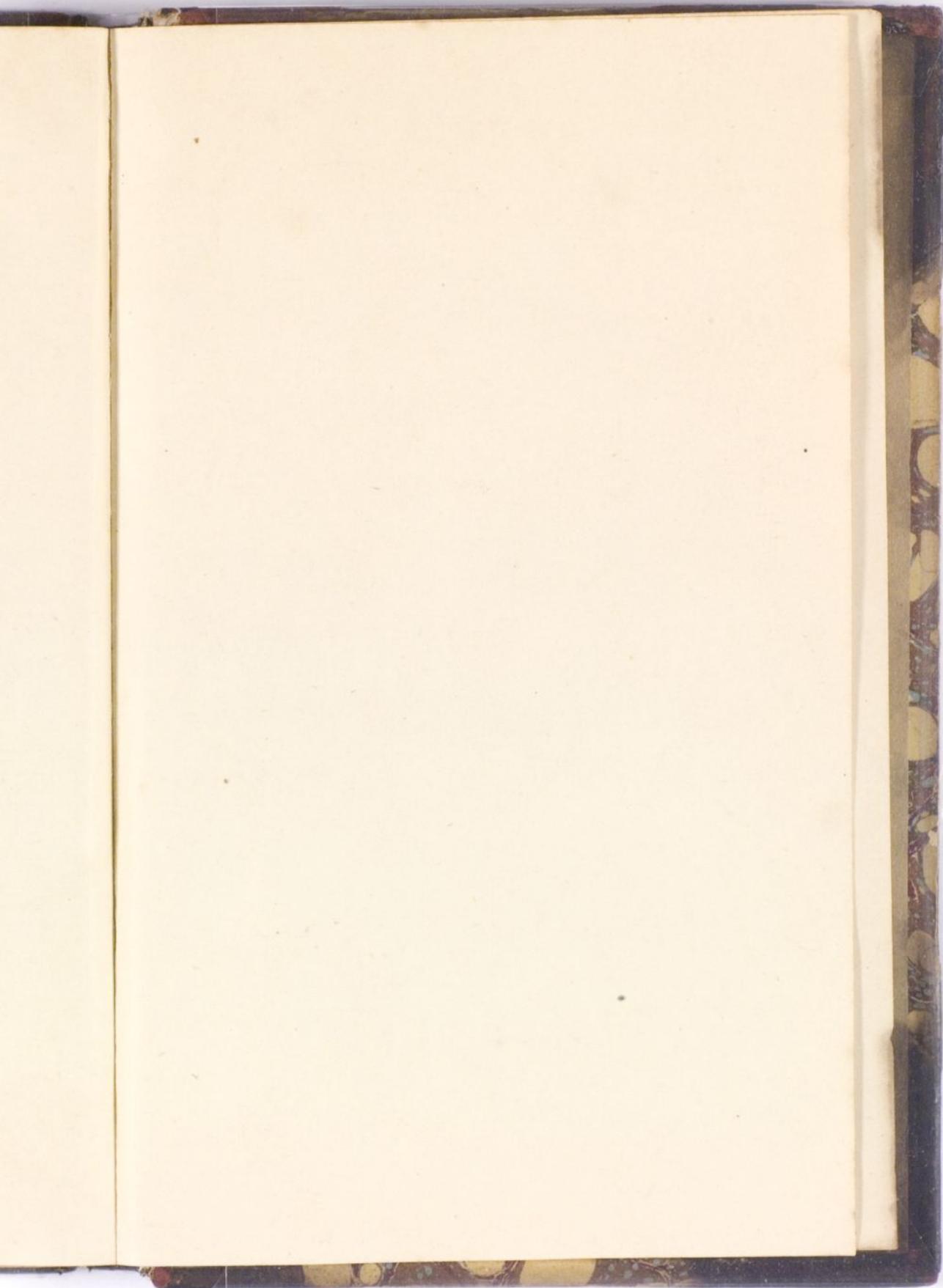
Page 48,	line 4,	of note, for Herchel	read Herschel.
78,	line 19,	for cleaver	read clever.
80,	line 9,	for dare	read dared.
107,	line 4,	for then	read the.
127,	line 8,	for were	read appeared to be.
128,	line 8,	for possessions	read possession.
137,	line 2,	for workman	read workmen.
138,	line 17,	for tufted	read tufted.
151,	line 26,	for Higgolayo	read Higgolayo.
155,	line 19,	for This	read His.
159,	line 17,	for Navou	read Vavou.
160,	line 5,	for monotous	read monotonous.
167,	line 2,	erase a	
171,	line 2,	for employing	read imploring.

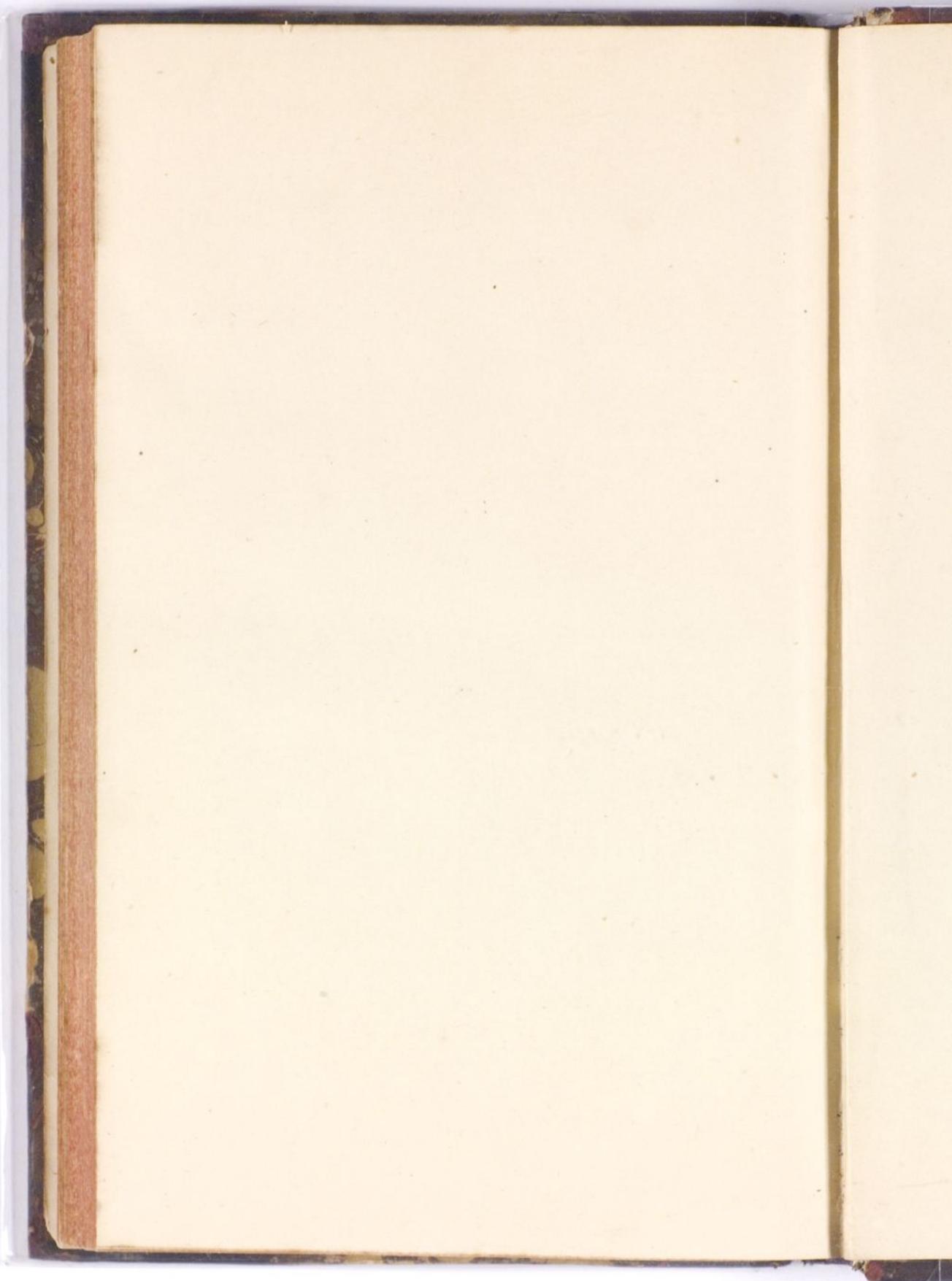
The two Latin lines in the note, page 156, ought to be in Poetic form.











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