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JOURNAL OF DOCTOR JOHN S. WHITTLE,
ASSISTANT SURGEON ON THE U.S. EXPLORING EXPEDITION 1838-1842,
UNDER THE COMMAND OF LT. CHARLES WILKES U.S.N.

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
JANUARY 1962

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I had had the right place, but it was too late, I was coming to early in the morning, the sun had risen, my letters were handed me while I was sitting at breakfast, and you may ask whether or not I paid much. I had tasted no coffee, and found lately this was only a bad habit. I had thirty letters, most of them from the members of my own family. The contents of these had a very tragic effect on me. It produced a sensation about the heart which was very oppressive, and I was in tears for more than the hours, all I could do was to read one of the letters, and the tears all over all. I read them, and found with the single word to my wife and children, and I was overcome with sadness and sorrow. One or two of the officers knew of the fact, and some of them were remarkably given to tears. On the morning of the 25th a band was playing the tunes that I had known as a child, and I was moved to tears and sorrow. One or two of the officers knew of the fact, and some of them were remarkably given to tears.
The following journal has been transcribed from a negative microfilm taken of the original manuscript which was deposited at the Library of the University of Virginia on June 9, 1944 by Miss Frances Whittle Jones, grandniece of Doctor John S. Whittle. Every effort has been made to preserve the document in its original form even to the inconsistencies and errors in spelling and punctuation. Doctor Whittle's handwriting was fairly readable but not without difficulties in deciphering. Completely illegible words, however, have been reduced to a minimum. Deletions which were still readable have also been retained.
The journal presented herewith is a fascinating document, more than one hundred years old, recently donated to the University of Virginia. It was written by Doctor John S. Whittle, an assistant surgeon on the U.S. Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U.S.N. This voyage was undertaken in the spirit of expansion to promote commercial and scientific interests in the Pacific area. Several problems arose in organizing the project, and they continued to accompany it throughout its course. The Whittle journal being an untouched, unexpurgated account of the voyage, serves to throw light on some of these issues.

Various reasons have been given to explain the limited success of the Wilkes Expedition. It became involved in politics; scientific and commercial interests clashed concerning its objectives, and a general lack of interest prevailed due to excessive concentration on internal affairs. Another important factor to be considered was the personality of its Commander who, although a scientifically gifted officer, was heartily disliked and resented by his fellow officers because of his strict discipline and severity.

Doctor Whittle's account adds corroborative detail concerning Wilkes and assesses the feelings of officers and crew in situations that are glossed over in the official accounts of the voyage. It will be of interest and value to those concerned with the study of the mid-19th Century Pacific.
INTRODUCTION

The influence of the frontier in the development of our country must not be underestimated. America's spectacular westward expansion has been a subject of interest and enthusiasm to historians past and present. The topic under consideration here touches one phase of this advancement, that of the 'sea frontier' of the Pacific.

While rapid and effective progress was being made across the continent, the desire for national glory manifested itself on the sea as well. Adventurous New Englanders had developed trade with China resulting in substantial profits. These same hardy people as sealers and whalers were plying the ocean in search of rich returns. Added to the commercial projects was that of the missionary activity in the Pacific area early in the nineteenth century.

All of the above contacts were private enterprises. No systematic attempt had been undertaken on the part of the government to establish a specific political or economic policy with regard to the Pacific peoples up to this time. The need for government help and protection was urgent, but unfortunately very slow in becoming a reality.

Commodore John Downes, U.S.N., wrote to this effect in a letter to John Reed, a member of Congress, saying, "The accounts given of the dangers and losses to which our shipping are exposed by the extension of our trade into seas but little known, so far, in my opinion, from being exaggerated, would admit of being placed in bolder relief, and the protection of government implored in stronger terms." ¹

¹ Downes to Hon. John Reed, Niles Weekly Register, April 3, 1836, L, 152.
It was this need, coupled with the hope of opening new economic opportunities for American merchants and traders, that prompted the desire for an official, government-launched exploring expedition into Pacific waters. Science, exploration, discovery, expansion of commercial interests, all combined in the hope of profiting from such a project, but, despite these many incentives, years passed before the plan was realised.

Two major steps marked the interval of hesitation and delay from the first proposal in 1810 to the date of sailing in 1838. The first great difficulty was to get the bill authorised by Congress and the second was to overcome the seemingly insurmountable obstacles to organisation and planning.

Concerning the first phase, proposals were made persistently to Congress by Captain Edmund Fanning and Jeremiah N. Reynolds, enthusiastic proponents of the idea. Despite assurance of great commercial gains and national prestige that would accrue from such a project, their plans were regularly rejected. "Considering the wide unsettled and unexplored regions at home, the Senate saw nothing in the conditions of the United States to recommend distant voyages of exploration." Reynolds persevered in his tireless efforts, and great credit is due him for his work in the face of opposition and prejudice and "Whatever of good may result to the country from this expedition, justice requires that

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2 Mention should be made that President Madison on March 17th, 1812, commissioned Captain Edmund Fanning to undertake an Expedition of Discovery to the South Seas, but he was prevented from sailing due to the declaration of war against Great Britain. Edmund Fanning, Voyages to the South Seas, Indian & Pacific Oceans (N.Y., 1838), p. 266.

3 James M. Callahan, American Relations in the Pacific and The Far East (Baltimore, 1901), p. 52.
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severing efforts throughout the nation to unite public sentiment in its
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In the Pacific Historical Review of August 1959 there appeared an
article entitled, "A Study in Disorganization." Its author, Wallace P.
Strauss, a member of the history staff at San Francisco State College,
gave a detailed study of the next link in the story, that of organizing
the expedition. Therefore no attempt will be made here to describe this
phase in detail, but an overall resume will help to supply substantial
background for understanding subsequent problems.

Preparations for the expedition were undertaken immediately. Captain
Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, a veteran in both Pacific and naval affairs was
given command. The public considered this choice of leader a wise and
judicious one. Secretary of Navy Mahlon Dickerson sent Lieutenant Charles
Wilkes, head of the Depot of Charts and Instruments in Washington, to
Europe to purchase the necessary instruments and equipment. Various
American scientific societies were asked for recommendations as to the

4 Niles Weekly Register, June 28, 1828, XXXIV, 287. Reprinted from the
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5 Niles Weekly Register, November 29, 1828, XXXV, 212. Reprinted from
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objectives as well as the scientific personnel to accompany the expedition.

In the ensuing months progress was stifled by confusion, lack of organization, problems of personnel, shortage of volunteers to comprise the 85 officers and 518 enlisted men needed, personal jealousies and bickerings. It was during this troubled period that Jeremiah N. Reynolds was 'dropped overboard' and 'shamefully excluded' from further participation in the expedition. He had publicly given vent to his anger in a newspaper feud with Secretary of Navy Dickerson over the constant delays and general incompetency in handling the expedition. Thus the prophetic cry of his friend, Edgar Allen Poe, that hereafter the expedition would be known as "The Expedition of Mr. Reynolds!" was not to prove true.6

Two years passed. The time of sailing was apparently at hand when Jones suddenly handed in his letter of resignation.7 No single factor would suffice to explain this action. Jones was discouraged and disgusted with affairs in general. Added to this was his poor health, which was attested to by the fleet surgeon. Information found in a letter written by Asa Gray, a botanist who attended the scientists' meeting in preparation for the expedition, confirms this fact of ill health, but the underlying reason for resigning is difficult to pin-point with certainty.8 Daniel Henderson in his Hidden Coasts says, "Old Hickory eased his friend

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7 Jones to Dickerson, November 30, 1837, Records Relating to the Wilkes Expedition, IV, (Microfilm Collection, U.H. Library). Hereafter cited as RRWE.
W. P. Strauss gives several reasons: Jones' difficulty in securing release of all the instruments from Wilkes; his anger at being ordered to set sail "before the vessels have been reported ready to proceed on the voyage"; the orders to have the materials obtained from the voyage sealed before witnesses which he claimed "not only questions my honor, but impugns my honesty." Whatever the reasons, personal or political, and they were very likely a combination of both, Jones resigned and the appointment was open.

Dickerson was now confronted with a major problem just at the moment when Congress and the country at large enthusiastically awaited the departure of the expedition. Success alone could make up for the blunders and bickerings of the past, but who was to bring it this success? Who was to be chosen as head of this national enterprise?

Secretary Dickerson offered the post to Captain William Branford Shubrick, but he declined. The next choice was Captain Lawrence Kearny who felt it a great honor, and as far as commercial interests would be involved, he said "I can see my way clear, and so far can count upon success, but when the wings of science are spread, they soar too high for me. . . ." Kearny was not offered the command but was asked to volunteer for the position. This he preferred not to do, though he would have accepted the position if it had been offered him. Finally Dickerson invited Matthew C. Perry to take the honor, but he had just been assigned

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9 (New York, 1953), p. 35
11 Niles Weekly Register, LIII (February 10, 1838), 383.
12 Dickerson to Charles Chauncey, Jan. 4, 1838, RRWE, IV.
to the first American naval steamship, the Fulton, and did not wish to give her up.

At this point President Van Buren placed the United States Exploring Expedition under the charge of the Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, who, being extremely interested in science and scientific explorations, turned to it with promptitude and better than average administrative ability.

Poinsett's first choice of commander was Francis H. Gregory, but disagreements on several details caused him to look elsewhere. Captain Joseph Smith was next given the assignment. Again difficulties arose, and he withdrew. Poinsett then waived aside all rules of seniority and gave the honor to one lower in command, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. Justification for this departure from naval policy was based on the fact that the expedition was of a scientific and exploring nature, completely divested of all military character. In Congress it was claimed that this was not "an infringement of the rights of senior officers, inasmuch as this was a special service, to which the ordinary rules of seniority did not apply.

This choice on the part of Poinsett was obviously based on Wilkes' excellent scientific knowledge and experience. From this point on, the expedition placed a greater emphasis on the scientific phase rather than the commercial interests. The Secretary of War, Poinsett, and the newly appointed Secretary of the Navy, James Kirke Paulding, were both strong promoters of the natural sciences. Jeremiah N. Reynolds' idea of

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13 General Order of the Navy, June 22, 1838, RRWE, IV.
14 Niles Weekly Register LIV (April 14, 1838), 111.
"national glory" and commercial advancement were relegated to the back-
ground. 15

Poinsett's unusual move of brushing aside the seniority rule caused much ill feeling and tension in naval circles. Captain Beverly Kennon objected strenuously, "... If there was no chivalry, no honor, no pride, no skill, no patriotism among our captains the act might be justifed ... There are many, I dare say, who would want to receive it. There is one at least, who now volunteers to accept. I not only ask to conduct the expedition, but I beg to claim it on the score of rank and long service." 16 Kennon's offer was ignored. Other letters of complaint came from Lieutenant C. K. Stribling to Dickerson and to President Van Buren.

With the appointment of Wilkes the expedition now had a commander. Wilkes had been born in New York, April 3, 1798. He had received a good preliminary education in mathematics, navigation, drawing and modern languages. He had entered the merchant service and been appointed midshipman at the age of 20. Between cruises Wilkes had studied surveying and proved himself very capable. It was his success in this field that had brought him the appointment of superintendent of the Depot of Charts and Instruments in Washington.

Scientifically then, Charles Wilkes was an admirable choice for the Exploring Expedition of 1838. Should he have been given the command?

16 Kennon to Dickerson, April 8, 1838, RRWE, IV.
Did he have the necessary qualities of leadership? Did he possess the ability to establish good relations with Pacific peoples in behalf of his country?

"It is probable that there have never been so many assertions, contradictions and reassertions in regard to one man."¹⁷ All agree, however, that he was a rigid disciplinarian, fearless and impetuous in making decisions and possessed of an extremely fiery temper. Wilkes had a high opinion of himself and was innately stubborn and proud. These qualities spelled trouble for one in the position in which he was placed. On the other hand there were redeeming qualities. Wilkes had indomitable courage and perseverance. Endowed with great energy and determination, he shirked no responsibility and would let no obstacle prevent him from attaining his goal.¹⁸

Much has been written concerning Wilkes' character as commander. Concerning his very severe dealings with officers and crew, James D. Hill writes, "In the tender light of the 20th century, our modern milk-fed, humanitarian citizenry would at once brand him a brute. In reality he was not. Mr. Wilkes and the men with whom he dealt were the products of a vastly different age. His discipline and methods had the sanction of the customs of the Navy in which he served. . . . He did his duty as he saw it, though he may . . . have overstepped his authority at

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¹⁸ Capt. G. S. Bryan, "Purpose, Equipment & Personnel of the Wilkes
Expedition," American Philosophical Society Proceedings, June 29, 1940,
LXXII, 551.
times." Hill goes on to say that with a little less turbulence and a little more luck Wilkes could have been dubbed a truly great admiral.

Another author, Albert Atwood, defends the stormy petrel by saying that "despite his defects of temperament Wilkes was a very real leader." He continues: "One of the scientists who complained of Wilkes' conceit and overbearing remarks also adds that with no other commander 'should we have fared better or lived together more harmoniously.'" 20 Wallace P. Strauss points out very simply that Wilkes was a brilliant, scientific-minded officer but that with regard to commanding the expedition he "proved to be a poor choice." 21

The material found in Whittle's journal would seem to substantiate Strauss' conclusion. He gives much revealing, detailed evidence of Wilkes' personality, showing that all was not peaceful, much less 'harmonious' between commander and men. These personal relationships undoubtedly affected the overall success of the enterprise.

In terms of results, Wilkes' contribution to commercial advancement was found chiefly in the many charts, maps and valuable knowledge of the waters and harbors which would provide greater safety and protection for future American maritime enterprises. His aid to commercial interests by establishing better diplomatic relations was not as much as might have been expected. Wilkes tipped the scales in favor of scientific

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achievements. Another choice of commander might have tipped the scales on the side of commercial opportunities. It is well to recall here that when the initial orders of the Exploring Expedition were issued, they stated specifically that commercial gains were to be of primary importance and scientific interests secondary. Once Poinsett took over it was clear that the values were reversed, and science took precedence over commerce.

The fact that the badly handled and disorganised squadron was quickly refitted, reequipped, and reorganized demonstrated Wilkes' decision and industry. Within five months from the date of his appointment, March 20, 1838, Wilkes was ready to set sail. Necessary alterations were made to accommodate the personnel, supplies were shipped and final preparations completed. The ships, all sail, assigned to the expedition were as follows:

- The Vincennes -- Flagship of the squadron, sloop-of-war of 780 tons.
- The Peacock -- A sloop-of-war of 650 tons.
- The Porpoise -- A brig of 230 tons.
- The Relief -- A storeship, tonnage not given.
- The Sea Gull -- Pilot boat of 110 tons.
- The Flying Fish -- Pilot boat of 96 tons.

The memorable departure took place from Hampton Roads, Virginia, August 18, 1838, over twenty-six months after Congress had authorized the expedition.

The primary cause of the existence of Whittle's journal is very probably found in one of the first orders issued by Lieutenant Wilkes to the officers of the expedition.
Officers of the Exploring Expedition will be required to conform to the rules and regulations of the Service by keeping a journal during the cruise, which he will send to the Commander of the Ship to which he may be attached weekly... The journals required by this order will be disposed of according to the directions of the Honorable Secretary of the Navy and it is to be expected that they will be as full and complete as possible... The kind of journal required is not a mere copy of the Log Book, but is a diary in which will be noted all that relates to public information, being a record of all objects of interest however small, which may take place during the cruise, in the Scientific or any other Departments, and the views of the officer ought to be briefly expressed concerning things that may come under his notice. The very record that nothing has transpired during the day, may be of use, but it is believed that this will be of rare occurrence.

Of the fifty-four officers under Wilkes' command of the rank of Midshipman or above, twenty-five kept journals or logs, of which nineteen have survived. This journal of Doctor John S. Whittle is in addition to the nineteen. His name is among the list of officers recorded as not having written one, although throughout the voyage he indicates that he was doing so. At the close of the expedition, as the squadron entered New York Harbor, orders were given requiring all journals to be delivered to the commanding officer. The tone of Whittle's work, privately composed for the edification of his family and friends back home in Virginia, is reason enough for its not reaching the hands of Lieutenant Wilkes. This document was marked 'Private Property' and obviously was not intended for public reading. Also unreported are his note books to which he occasionally refers in the journal.

In comparing Doctor Whittle's journal with those deposited in the National Archives, many favorable comments in its behalf can be made.

22 Court Martial Records of Charles Wilkes, September 13, 1838, RRWE, XXVII, (Microfilm Collection, U.H. Library).
First of all it would be well to mention that many of the officers, representing the command to keep daily journals, fulfilled the obligation very carelessly. Some of the accounts are merely logs describing the routine of navigation, the speed, course, latitude and longitude, wind and temperature. Whittle, on the other hand, although he disliked the task gives us a more detailed and complete account with much additional material of vital interest and value.

Basically, Doctor Whittle's factual material coincides quite accurately and consistently with the information gleaned from the other sources. He possesses considerable facility in composition and expresses candidly his own personal reactions and opinions thus making it of still greater value.

Of all the other accounts, those of George Sinclair and Frederick D. Stuart are considered the most valuable (Wilkes' journals excepted). Sinclair is praised, among other reasons, because of his interest in matters of authority and discipline. On these matters, also, Doctor Whittle's critical comments form a continuous thread woven throughout his narrative. Additionally, Stuart's importance lies in the fact that his is the only journal containing substantial accounts of the voyage of the Peacock from the beginning of the expedition until it met its fate on the bar of the Columbia River. It includes the winter of 1840-1841 when the Peacock was engaged in its special mission to the Central Pacific. His official account of this part of the expedition was presumably the only one known. But Doctor Whittle records this voyage, as he was assigned to the Peacock at Honolulu just previous to its departure for the South.

Doctor John S. Whittle was born April 18, 1813. His family lived
at Whittles' Mills in the county of Mecklenberg, Virginia. He studied medicine, became a naval medical doctor and on June 20, 1838 was appointed to the Exploring Expedition. He formally accepted the position on July 27 of the same year. Whittle served on the flagship, Vincennes, for the major part of the voyage, with the exception of a short two week's run to the Antarctic in the Sea Gull and his second Assignment to the Peacock after the squadron docked at Honolulu in B41. He served under Captain Hudson of the Peacock until its disaster at the mouth of the Columbia River in April 1842. Reassigned to the Vincennes he served under Wilkes for the remainder of the voyage. Whittle's subsequent orders found him attached to the Naval Hospital at Norfolk, Virginia, with intermittent service on board the Princeton, Fleet and Congress. In 1849, he was ordered to the storeship, Lexington, and died at sea April 5, 1850 of yellow fever.\(^{23}\)

Observations made from his journal leave the impression that Whittle was of a calm, peaceful nature, rather retiring and unassuming. Lieutenant J. K. Mitchell, on writing of Whittle later on, says he was of a generous nature, "eminently the gentleman and correct officer and his high professional reputation was sullied by no unworthy trait."\(^{24}\) Unlike Wilkes, he was not given to over-exertion or impetuous excitability. He himself, admits, that he was inclined to be lazy, writing that

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\(^{23}\) John K. Mitchell to Sec. of Navy Wm. B. Preston, May 23, 1850. (Xerox copy furnished by courtesy of National Archives.)

\(^{24}\) Ibid.
I go without suspenders when I can do so, because they have six button holes which require to be adapted to the corresponding buttons. Boots I have not worn for months, simply because they have to be pulled on in the morning and then to be pulled off again at night... If anyone calls me lazy in the future, let him do me the justice to acknowledge that I am the most candid lazy man among them all.

Apparently Whittle was not overly interested in women, although he enjoyed romantic novels, and much of his reading was the work of feminine authors. But it must be remembered that this journal was written to be read by the "folks back home." A short poem which is found scribbled at the end of his journal suggests that his beloved "Lucy" deserted him while he was at sea.

On the other hand Whittle was extremely interested in reading and study. Credit is due him for spending most of his spare time on board ship engrossed in a wide range of books: novels, historical works, books of medicine, physics, anatomy. He even studied spoken and written French under the tutelage of one of the officers. Religion played an important part in his thought, for he seldom neglected spiritual reading of some kind on Sunday either from the Bible or from sermons and religious treatises. His comments on the missionaries of the islands visited are worthy of note.

Like many of his fellow-officers Whittle acquired a great personal dislike for the commander which increased in vehemence as the months passed. This enmity did not exist from the beginning. Whittle mentions being satisfied with the appointment, but first-hand experience under the stormy leader served to change his opinion.

As the following work is especially geared to a study of the Pacific we will open Whittle's journal at the departure of the expedition from Callao en route to the Pacific Islands. Almost one full year had passed
since setting out from Hampton Roads. Much had taken place in the meantime. The voyage from Virginia had included a delightful run to Madeira and the Azores and thence to Rio de Janeiro. After a stop at Patagonia (in Argentina), the expedition headed for Cape Horn. Excellent weather accompanied their 'rounding the Horn,' and all the ships met at Orange Bay, Tierra del Fuego in February 1839. From this port two small excursions were undertaken to the Polar regions, but having met with heavy ice they were forced to return to their base. The Relief was sent home, as Wilkes considered her too slow a sailer and nothing but a hindrance to the progress of the expedition. The Sea Gull had not been heard from for many weeks. (Unfortunately, the Sea Gull was never heard from again, becoming one of the unsolved mysteries of the deep.) The ships then continued to Valparaiso where the interior of the surrounding country was explored and some important scientific data was obtained. July 2, 1839 found the entire squadron anchored at Callao.

Since the purpose is to add to nineteenth century Pacific study, the section of Whittle's journal referring to the initial stage of the voyage has been omitted. But one quotation selected from its pages will help to bring the history of animosity against Wilkes up to date:

Our Commander whom we all liked so much and who seemed disposed to behave so honourably and even kindly towards us has turned out to be one of the most contemptible of petty tyrants. Instead of behaving himself with that moderation and dignity which a man so elevated above his rank must do to retain any of the respect and love of his fellows, all his energies seem exerted in the exaltation of a few favorites, the persecution of the rest of his officers and in showing his power. Already has he sent home five Lieutenants and various other officers the very best and the most experienced in the squadron, and some of them he has taken the most contemptible means to get rid of. Whittle refers here to Wilkes' exchange of certain officers to the Relief so that they would be shipped home with her. In part, from being a most popular commander he has
brought on himself not only the dislike, but the contempt of all hands, except perhaps one or two who are peculiar favorites.

On July 13, 1839, all sails were set for the Pacific Islands. One month after this departure from Callao, the expedition reached Clermont-Tonnerre (Reao), a small island of the Tuamotu Archipelago. Surveying operations commenced only after Wilkes had intimidated the opposing natives by firing light shot into their midst. This marked the United States Exploring Expedition's initial intercourse with the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and Doctor Whittle states in no uncertain terms his opinion of Wilkes' policy on this occasion.

Whittle himself apparently had no "run-in" with Wilkes. He managed in one way or another to outwardly steer clear of him. Many such affairs did occur however, between the commander and his officers, and Whittle recounts them here. His purpose in doing so is "to make known to the world the disadvantages under which we labor, and then if the expedition fails, the blame will fall on the right shoulders." Whittle hopes that the "government will now see the folly of giving any officer a command so much superior to what his rank entitles him to have."

After spending a month or so visiting and surveying many of the islands of this group, September found the squadron anchored at Matavai Bay, Tahiti. This isle of enchantment is delightfully described in detail by Whittle, including his enjoyable 'attack' on the food at a Tahitian luau. Desperately Whittle tried to convince his native host that he could not possibly demolish a whole half of a pig! Some of Whittle's happiest moments were passed among the luxuriant groves and cottages of Tahiti.
Included in this part of the journal is Whittle's own personal
evaluation of the work of the missionaries on the various islands. He
disagrees with their methods of forcing Christianity on peoples not yet
ready to receive it. He would civilise them first, convert them after-
wards. To Whittle, the introduction of the white man was a degenerating
force rather than a beneficial one.

From Tahiti and the Society group, the voyage continued its way to
Samoa. Excellent scientific observations were made and detailed infor-
mation concerning the natives, their appearance, their customs, their
religion, their habits and manner of living was painstakingly gathered
at each island group. As Wilkes had also received instructions to
protect the rights of American seamen against the hostility of the
natives, much time was taken to attain this end. While at Apia Wilkes
"had two conversations with the assembled chiefs, in the first of which
some laws were made and signed by both parties regulating the intercourse
between them and the vessels which come into port. He also appointed a
consul, a young man named Williams, Son to a missionary of that name . . . ."

Four months were spent in untiring labor among these islands. In
November of 1839, the ships left Samoa, visited Wallis Island (Uvea),
Futuna or Hoorn Islands and then headed for Australia. On November 29,
the first phase of Pacific exploration was brought to a close with the
squadron anchored at Sydney.

The next four months of the voyage were occupied in carrying out
the historic Antarctic Cruise. The trip to the South Polar Region is
outside the sphere of Pacific study and is not to be described in detail
here, but its importance warrants the inclusion of Whittle's account of
it. A spirit of international rivalry for polar renown was in the air with the French explorer, Dumont d'Urville, in the Antarctic at the same time as the American Squadron, and England on its way with an expedition under the command of Captain James Clark Ross.

Various controversies arose with d'Urville concerning dates and times of discovery, an account of which can be found in the National Geographic Magazine for January 1910. Controversies with Ross concerned the very existence of land discovered by Wilkes. Unfortunately, the latter problem was due to Wilkes' generosity (or imprudence) in giving Ross the information he had gleaned from his experiences. "I lost no time in preparing for Captain Ross a copy of the chart sent you of our operations South, giving him all my experience relative to the weather etc. etc., well knowing that it would be anticipating the wishes of the President and yourself to afford all and every assistance in my power to aid ... Capt. Ross ... who had himself afforded us all the assistance in his power while I was engaged in purchasing the instruments for this expedition." 26

The explorations of the Antarctic continued until February 21, 1840, when the squadron turned north. They had coasted along the icy barrier for approximately 1700 miles proving the continental character of the land. Sydney was reached on March 11, 1840, and from here they sailed for New Zealand. On March 31, 1840, they were anchored at Bay of Islands.

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26 Wilkes to Sec. of Navy Paulding, April 6, 1840, RRSWE, VI.
There is a lapse in Dr. Whittle's journal extending from this last day of March 1840 to August 25th of the same year. This omission is very disappointing in that during this time the route of the Vincennes included Tongataboo and the Fiji group. Scientific work was carried on here, commercial regulations were drawn up similar to those at Samoa, with David Whippy being appointed vice-consul. A chief named Vendovi who had been responsible for the massacre of ten men on the Charles Doggett of Salem, was captured and made prisoner in the hope that this would have a salutary effect and prevent further outrages.

More important yet was the murder at Malolo of two young officers, Lieutenant Joseph Underwood and Midshipman Wilkes Henry (Wilkes' nephew), when they were attempting to purchase provisions from the natives. Severe punishment was inflicted. The natives' two towns of Sualib and Arro were burned and destroyed and personal surrender demanded. On being accused of extreme severity in dealing with this situation, Wilkes admitted the terms were harsh but fully justified. Whittle has left no comments on this episode, not even in retrospect when the journal was resumed.

On August 11, 1840, the squadron left the Fiji Islands and headed for Hawaii. This part of the voyage was dull and uneventful and the journal correspondingly so. September 25th found them at long last coming into Honolulu. After cruising back and forth in the outer harbor due to unfavorable winds, they "were dragged into the inner harbor by about 100 natives who took the end of one of our hawsers and walked us right in."

While at Honolulu Wilkes again had 'officer trouble,' this time with the surgeon, Doctor Guillou, with whom he had been at loggerheads for some time. Wilkes gave him "permission to return to the U.S. and not
waiting to see whether he would accept it (supposing of course that he would)," he shifted the officers' positions. In the course of these exchanges, Whittle was transferred to the Peacock. Guillou in the meantime refused to go home unless ordered to do so. In the squabble that followed he was arrested and sent to the Peacock for the remainder of the voyage.

Whittle's stay in Hawaii was necessarily cut short. While the Vincennes remained to perform scientific observations and experiments until April 5, 1841, the Peacock was sent December 2, 1840, on a special mission back to the South.

In making plans for the next step of the voyage, Wilkes thought it safer not to attempt any explorations on the Northwest Coast of America until spring. He therefore gave orders to each of the vessels for the intervening months, but he expected all to meet at the Columbia River and to anchor at Baker's Bay sometime between the 15th of April and the 1st of May — no later.

Wilkes' orders to the Peacock and Flying Fish with which Whittle sailed, included:

... a return to the Samoan group, to re-examine the surveys made by the Flying Fish and boats, of the south side of Upolu, in which I had detected over sights, and suspected neglect, to seek for several small and doubtful islands, said to be under the equator, and to visit the little-known groups of Ellice and Kingsmill (Gilberts); to inquire into the fate of Captain Dowsett commanding an American schooner engaged in the whale fishery at Pescadores, and to seek redress for the capture of the American brig, Waverly, owned by Messrs. Pierce & Co. of Oahu at Strong's Island. Having learned of the murder of Gideon Smith at Upolu, I also included in my orders to Captain Hudson, the duty of investigating the circumstances of the crime, and punishing the offenders.

This mission then, included visiting the Phoenix, Samoan, Ellice, Gilbert and Union Islands. Two new discoveries were made which were named
Hudson (Nanomanga) and Bowditch (Fakaofu) Islands respectively. At Drummond's Island (Tabiteuea) one of the crew, John Anderson, mysteriously disappeared and supposedly was murdered, as nothing was heard from him again. The town of Utiroa on Drummond's Island in the Gilberts was destroyed as was the town of Saluafata on Upolu in the Samoan group in punishment for the murder of Smith.

In April, when due at Oregon, the Peacock and Flying Fish were still carrying out surveys in the Gilberts. In May a visit was paid to some of the Marshall Islands, and it was not until June 16 that the Peacock finally anchored at Honolulu Harbor. She sailed for the Columbia on June 21, already two months behind schedule. On July 18th occurred her destruction on the bar in attempting to enter the river. The account of this disaster is given by Whittle's inserting official extracts from the Log Book of the U.S.S. Peacock. He says that the importance of the occurrences which the log details may render it desirable to have it in his possession at some future day.

Whittle's journal ends here. A few poems found scribbled at the end of his notebook are included. From Wilkes' Narrative, it is clear that Whittle was transferred to the Vincennes at San Francisco and remained with the expedition until its return to New York in June of 1842.

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To the Reader (if there should be one)

"If any person come into my private room & finds me not in full costume, what reasonable right has he to criticise my dress"?

On the 13th of July 1839 we left Callao, for the Pacific Islands, The squadron now consists of Vincennes, Peacock, Porpoise & Flying Fish. The Sea Gull has not yet been heard of & from being only apprehensive that some accident might have happened her we are now almost sure she is either lost or that she has been so seriously injured as to make it necessary for her to put back to Rio to refit. I am almost afraid to think on this subject! I had a friend in her who was very dear to me & one of the noblest persons in the world. I left her a week or ten days before we parted with her and consider myself as most fortunate as things now appear, that I got out of her so soon. I trust we are mistaken in our opinions about her fate and that she may yet make her appearance. Mr. Craven, our 1st Lieutenant, was left at Valparaiso to take charge of her in case she comes in & in case she does not come in I think, he is ordered to go home. Now I will tell you what I think
about his being left there & some circumstances distantly connected with it.

It will be recollected, or must be recollected, that "He" \[Wilkes\] has favourites in the squadron; this by way of preface. At every place we have stopped at Mr. Craven & Mr. Lee have made application for this command of the schooners, considering that they were only asking what was due to them; this was always refused. The last application was made by Mr. Lee at Orange Harbor & he was sent home for it; Then Mr. Claiborne, another Lieutenant was sent home, leaving only two officers in the Squadron older than a certain favourite. Now if the Sea Gull had been with us He could have gotten rid of these two seniors by giving them the schooners, & would have thus brought in this favourite as first Lieut. of this ship; but as the Sea Gull was not with us & every one supposed she never would be, he had the hardihood to leave one of the Seniors avowedly to take charge of her while he gave the other schooner to the other senior and thus effected his end. Does not the scheme seem apparent? Recollect that while the relative rank of the officers was such that promoting two of them to the schooners would not make his favourite, senior Lieut: in the squadron, he refused to do so on the ground that they were not Lieuts. commands; but as soon as he got things in the proper train for his august purposes, he did the very thing he had refused to do before & which he had said would not be proper!! Does it not require the most consummate impudence, and a total disregard of what is due to others, to act in this manner?

on the 13th of August we reached Clermont Tonnerre \[Meao\] in the
Tuamotu group after a pleasant passage. Nothing of importance occurred during the passage except that on the 15th July the Broad Pendant\footnote{Whittle is mistaken on the date. It was on the 13th of July, 1839, that Wilkes mounted the blue broad pendant (pennant) on board the ship Vincennes. He then styled himself Captain, wore a round jacket with buttons and epaulette straps, the uniform of a Captain and arrogated to himself a title, honour and decoration beyond those allowed to an officer of his grade. For an explanation and defense of his conduct see Wilkes’ Court Martial Records, RRWE, XXVII (Microfilm Collection, U.H. Library).} was hoisted on board this ship & that our Captn mounted two stripes and added a button to his cuffs.

This Island is one of the Dangerous \textit{Tuamotu} Archipelago. When we first saw it, its appearance was very singular. The land is so low that at the distance of twelve miles we could see nothing but the trees with which it is covered; and as these are one moment concealed by the swell, and the next visible; The Island looks as if it was afloat. Early on the morning of the 14th we found ourselves close to the land and commenced the survey. We now found it to be a mere circular slip of land including a large basin of water, and from the top it presents very much the appearance of a large mirror set in a frame; the small Islands in the basin, strengthening rather than destroying the simile, by representing abrasions in the Quick Silver on the back of the glass.

The slip of land is about four hundred yards wide on an average and is thickly covered with trees and shrubs. The trees are chiefly Pandamus and Cocoanuts. We endeavored to find a landing but did not succeed. This Island is of coral formation, and its shores are so rough and sharp & has so much surf breaking on it, that it is impossible to land
with a boat; One of the Porpoises boats was bilged in making the attempt; Some of the officers & men swam off, however, and obtained some specimens of shells and botany; We also caught some fish and they are certainly the most splendid in color I have ever seen. The fruit of the Pandanus tree resembles somewhat that of the Pine Apple. The one I saw was as large as my head but not ripe.

I did not attempt to land as I cannot swim and am besides so fat and unwieldy that I am sure I should have had my head broken in the attempt.

We saw a good many natives, but they did not seem disposed to hold any communication with us; on the contrary, whenever we approached the shore, they hid in the bushes, and again made their appearance when we put off. Next day some of our boats went near the shore and seventeen natives came down, but far from being disposed to have friendly intercourse, they would by no means consent to our landing. They took their positions on the beach & with their long spears in their hands, seemed determined to protect their soil from intrusion. When the boats separated, thinking in this way to distract their attention and thus effect a landing, the natives separated also, and some of them followed each boat. Presents were thrown ashore to them, which they took, but still continued their opposition. At last three of the officers swam ashore, but the savages rushed down upon them and obliged them to seek safety by jumping overboard, as they had no arms; one of them made a narrow escape. Seeing that nothing could be effected by peaceable means, Captn Wilkes shot one of them with small shot, and allowed, or ordered some of the officers to shoot others. Five shots were fired in all, I think, and the savages then retired to the woods when our officers swam
on shore and were not molested again.  

I consider the plan of policy pursued here as miserable; We have no doubt left these people in such a state of mind, that if a ship should be unfortunately wrecked here, the crew will be murdered. This is speaking merely as to the policy of the thing; leaving justice and humanity, which ought to have so much more weight, entirely out of the question. It does seem strange to me that those very virtues which we admire so much in nations of Antiquity, particularly the Greeks, viz; Patriotism, Bravery, & the obstinate defense of their country from foreign invasion, should be rewarded in this way for their noble qualities, by men calling themselves christians.!!

If the Greeks deserve the ulogiums of historians and the admiration of the world for their achievements at Thermopylae & Salamis, do these poor savages, for the very same nobility of feelings and conduct, deserve to be shot by us who profess to have made such advances in civilization?

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2 In Wilkes' account we find this incident described thus: "I felt no disposition to do them harm and yet had no idea of letting them see and feel that they had driven us off without landing, well-knowing, however, if a forcible landing took place, and they made resistance, that injury would befall one side and probably both. I therefore, thinking that they had no idea of fire-arms, ordered several blank cartridges to be fired but they took no notice of them." According to John Sac, they hooted at these arms, calling us cowards, and daring us to come on shore. I then fired a small charge of mustard shot at their legs, which did not produce any effect. Then Mr. Peale, who was near by me, was requested to draw his ball, and load with mustard-seed which he did; and Lieut. North likewise fired, which caused the chief and all the rest to retreat, rubbing their legs. * I have since understood, however that the poor natives have been fired upon by trading vessels, engaged in the pearl fishery in mere wantonness, which will account for their hostile reception of us.

This is the commencement of our intercourse with the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and I sadly apprehend that if the same course is pursued, we shall, some of us, meet with the fate of Cook and Laparouse.  

This little Island & its primitive inhabitants brought forcibly to my mind, the condition of our ancestors in the garden of Eden. They are perfectly naked except a girdle about their loins; Their color more bronze than copper, their hair black & straight, sometimes hanging down & sometimes tied on the top of the head. Their stature is rather above that of ordinary men, one or two of them were uncommonly large, and all of them well made.

This Island was first seen by an Englishman named Bell in the ship Minerva; afterwards Duperrey a french navigator, fell in with it & supposing it to be a discovery gave it the name which it now bears, in compliment to the French minister of Marines. The dialect of the

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La Perouse was a French explorer who was lost in the Southwest Pacific around the year 1790. In 1826, a sword believed to have come from his expedition was found in the Solomons by Captain Peter Dillon, an English navigator. Being told it was found in the Santa Cruz Islands at Vanikoro, he undertook a search and in 1827 located the remains of the ship and brought up ancient relics from the ocean bottom. In January, 1828, Dumont d'Urville a French navigator was sent to Vanikoro to obtain more details concerning the wreck. An editorial of the Honolulu Star Bulletin dated August 19, 1958 states that another step was taken in 1957 by Monsieur P. Anthoniez, the French resident commissioner of the New Hebrides. He took a diving party to the Astrolabe Reefs and found four large anchors, two of them still lashed together which are believed to be remnants of the wrecked ships. There is an inlet on the southernmost tip of Maui called La Perouse Bay which is named after this early French explorer. Peter H. Buck, Explorers of the Pacific (Hawaii, 1953), pp. 95, 96. "Solving the Mystery of Maui's La Perouse," Honolulu Star Bulletin, August 19, 1958.

Clermont-Tonnerre was discovered by Duperrey, April 22, 1823. Peter H. Buck, Explorers of the Pacific (Hawaii, 1953), p. 83. Hereafter cited as Buck.
inhabitants is a mixture of Otaheitean /Tahitian/ & Newzealand, or at least there are a great many words from both these languages used by them. We are the first people who are known to have landed here & I should judge the natives had never seen civilized man. They seemed entirely unacquainted with firearms, and were not at all intimidated by some blank guns which were let off over their heads to intimidate them. It was not until three or four charges of shot had been fired into them that they retreated slowly into the woods. The chiefs wore, by way of distinction, a kind of coronet of green leaves on their heads, & a band of the same material around their bodies.

There was a Newzealander /John Sajg\textsuperscript{7} in one of our boats who understood their language and endeavored to get them to come off, but did not succeed.

Early on the morning of the 16th we set sail for Serle Island /Pukarua\textsuperscript{7} & at ten oclock of the same morning the land was in sight from the masthead.

Serle Island August 16th 1839

This Island is like the other in as much as it is formed of coral & has a lagoon in its centre. The lagoon seems to have no outlet. The whole Island is covered with verdure. Some Cocoanut & Breadfruit trees are among the rest. Both these Islands present the most pleasing aspect to the mariner as the very sight of land and verdure is refreshing after we have been long at sea, even tho we may not be able to stroll over the one or taste the other.

\textsuperscript{5} Serle Island (Pukarua) was discovered by Captain James Wilson of the ship \textit{Duff}, May 28, 1797. Wilson named it Serle Island after a friend of his in the Transport office in England. Buck, p. 47.
In the afternoon, one of our boats which was near the shore survey­
ing fell in with a party of natives who swam off to them and brought
several articles of their manufacture which they gave in exchange for
anything that was offered them. Among other things was a roll of Tappa
/Tapa/ several yards long. It is about eight inches wide and plaited
much like the Guyaquil /Panama/ hats. It is made probably of the inner
bark of a tree & is as pliable as cloth. Some bunches of feathers of
different colors tied on the ends of sticks seemed to have been used as
ornaments for the head. A fishhook made of bone, one of the most
ingenious things of the kind I have ever seen, having part of its cord
attached, which was as well made rope as ever proceeded from a ropewalk.

The people were like those of the other Island and tho they swam
off, they were very suspicious indeed. When the men offered them their
hands to assist them into the boats, they cautiously took them by the
backs, so that while they could hold on, no hold could be taken of them.
They are great rogues, tried to steal every thing they could lay their
hands on, even the coper /copper/ on the oars. We finished the survey
of the island this evening & intended to visit its inhabitants next day,
but drifted off in the night so that we could not do so without loosing
too much time.

On the 19th of August we made Honden Island/6 & laid off and on in
its vicinity for two days. It is similar to those we had seen previously
in formation and Vegetation, but had no Inhabitants. Tho the landing
was very difficult for boats, it was not impracticable and several of our

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6 This was first discovered by Isaac Le Maire, a Dutch explorer, on
April 10, 1616 and named Honden (Dog) Island because the only inhabitants
found on it at the time were three dogs. It is the island of Pukapuka
in the Tuamotus not to be confused with Pukapuka or Danger Island. Buck, p.
14.
boats succeeded in going ashore. The Lagoon is much less extensive and more shallow than those of either Clermont Tonnerre or Serle Island. I did not get ashore as it happened to be my days duty when the landing was effected, but I am told the whole Island was alive with birds and fish, some of them of the most beautiful description. One of the birds in particular was very rich. It is what we call the silken Tropic Bird; is about the size of a half grown chicken; Its color, is the most delicate flesh tint, except the tail which is of the deepest Scarlet, being formed of two slender feathers about a foot long, bending over into a graceful arch. The Island was completely surveyed, but it strikes me that much too little time was devoted to scientific researches. I forgot to mention that on the night of the 18th the Porpoise ran into us. The only damage done was carrying away her flying gibboom, & staving one of our quarter boats.

Larry Sinclair was on the Porpoises deck when the accident happened, & both him & our officer of the deck were suspended, this continued for a short time however, they were restored to duty two days after. Next day He hailed the Porpoise & told Ringgold that they all must have been asleep aboard there when the accident happened. Ringgold did not have independence sufficient to resent this gross insult at the time, tho, I believe, he denied it next day in a written communication. Be this as it may, Larry soon after wrote to Wilkes demanding a court martial; Ringgold refused to forward the letter, Larry wrote to him saying he knew not what right he had to intercept his letter; Ringgold replied that if Larry did not withdraw both his letters & the letters to Wilkes, he would report him. Larry refused to do this & on the 24th was sent for
by Wilkes. Maury and himself came on board together, Wilkes told Larry, he was impertinent. Larry denied it; Wilkes threatened to disrate him; Larry said in that case he would refuse to do duty; Wilkes told him he would make him do it. Larry said it was useless to argue the possibility of doing so till it was attempted. Thus ended the conference; as soon as it was over Wilkes went on deck, had the boat manned and sent Maury & Larry word their boat was ready & he wished them to leave the ship! To what a pitch of Impudence and tyranny is this fellow arriving? Was anything ever heard of to equal it in the annals of our navy? I have heard officers who have sailed with Com. Elliott say that with all his brutality he was by no means to compare with this man. I now for the first time wish I was out of the Expedition & safely stowed in old Mecklenburg. I hope & trust that our Government will now see the folly of giving any officer a command so much superior to what his rank entitles him to have.

On the 20th the following order came out

To the officers of the Vincennes

The Government, in the regulations of the Navy, has thought proper to assign to the different grades of officers their respective apartments, and has imposed upon them different duties; it must be obvious to all that this has been to secure good order, discipline, proper respect and efficiency to the Service.

The apartments assigned to every grade on board this ship are amply sufficient for their accommodation.

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7 Jesse Duncan Elliott (1782-1845) was a fiery contentious officer of the Navy. He is known for his part in the Battle of Lake Erie with Perry and was Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Squadron in 1835-1838. He was suspended for four years in 1840 because of charges brought against him by disgruntled officers. Dictionary of American Biography. Hereafter cited as DAB.

8 Whittle's home was located in Whittle's Mills, County of Mecklenberg, Virginia.
The commander has observed with regret not only a tendency to 
familiarity among officers of the different grades, but that the 
apartments of one grade of officers have been converted into a 
lounge by their juniors, which must in the nature of things produce 
a familiarity having a tendency to destroy that discipline, 
efficiency & respect which the different ranks and distinctions 
of apartments are intended to produce, he believes it only necessary 
to appeal to their good sense to avoid in future the recurrence of 
a habit so destructive to the good of the service.

Very respectfully &c

(Signed) Charles Wilkes
Comdg, Expg. Exdn.

Aug: 20th 1839

To which, the following replies were sent by the officers of the 
Wardroom & steerage respectively.

"The undersigned W.R. officers of this ship, take the liberty 
of respectfully addressing you upon the subject of your communica­
tion of this date, directed to the officers of the Vincennes.

We cannot but consider that part of your communication, in which 
you state "that you have observed with regret not only a tendency 
to familiarity among the officers of the different grades, but 
that the apartments of one grade of officers have been converted 
into a lounge by their Juniors" as intended to apply particularly 
to ourselves as we have been in the habit of friendly intercourse 
with our respective Juniors while not engaged on duty and have 
always been most happy to have them avail themselves of the 
conveniences of our apartments for any purposes compatible with the 
rules & discipline of the navy.

It is our opinion, founded on what you may consider a limited 
experience in the navy that it is highly desirable that all 
officers should be encouraged in the indulgence of the most 
friendly feelings toward each other in the intervals of active duty, 
that this good understanding should be preserved by a reciprocation 
of officers & that the warmest private friendship is strictly 
compatible with the most perfect official subordination & that it 
is particularly important that the officers should be bound together 
by the strongest ties of personal respect and regard, upon our 
present service when the proper performance of our various duties, 
can hardly be expected without the hearty cooperation of all.

We consider it an act of simple justice to our respective 
Juniors to state that the private friendship which has existed 
between them and ourselves has never exerted prejudicial influence 
upon their official conduct, that they have uniformly exhibited 
the most perfect respect and the most cheerful obedience to us 
while in the discharge of our duty & that their whole conduct has
been so unexceptional that we shall always be happy to be associated with them either in their private or official capacity.

We hope that the above remarks will be sufficient to convince you that the private friendship of the officers under your command will never be injurious to the public service, that you will be satisfied with the assurance that we shall invariably exact the most unqualified obedience to our orders, but that at the same time we shall endeavor to preserve our private feelings sacred from the interference of anyone.

We are &c

Signed by James Alden Lieut:
A.L. Case "
J.A. Underwood "

(For reply of Steerage officers)
(see next page)

(For reply of Steerage officers)
(see next page)

J.H. North Lieut:

The whole thing originated out of pure ill nature on the part of the captain who is one of these churlish animals who is disgusted and dissatisfied whenever he sees his officers enjoying themselves. What a miserable and contemptible disposition this is, particularly in the commander of a ship who has it so much in his power to annoy his officers when he has the disposition. I rather imagine, however, that our Capn has got the worst of it in the affair; he has gone so far that not even his warmest friends can support him any longer & he is now accordingly deserted by every officer in the ship except a few sycophants who can only live when warmed by the beams emanating from men in power.

What filthy beings these are who get along solely because they are deficient in every manly virtue & are mean enough to give up their opinions of right & wrong, if they have any, to the tyrant by whos favor they exist! But enough of this; a detail of the disagreeable things which occur in this ship & the villanies which are practiced, would

9 Not reproduced on microfilm.
render this journal disgusting to any amiable person, & induce them perhaps [create] the opinion in his mind that the writer was a man of a malignant heart, because such a person could not believe any man guilty of the sins which I would necessarily have to record; therefore, I shall only give way to my feelings when I am unable to restrain them. I trust however some one will make known to the world the disadvantages under which we labor, & then if the Expedition fails, the blame will fall on the right shoulders.

We remained in the neighborhood of Honden Island all the afternoon of the 21st. During this time the Island was surveyed and several boats succeeded in landing. Specimens of birds were obtained & some of the most beautiful fish.

23d August

Disappointment Island¹⁰ was seen from the masthead at 10 am.

George Elliott O.S. died on board the Porpoise today of disease of the lung, as was ascertained by P.M.E.

24th

Close to one of the Disappointment Islands. At 9 am five canoes came off but did not come along side. Several natives went on board the Peacock. They are much like the inhabitants of Clermont; fine looking fellows. There is no tatooing among any of the people we have yet seen. They wear the Tapa in the usual way. The language of all the people we have yet seen, partakes of Otaheitian [Tahitian] and New Zealand.

¹⁰ Napuka and Tepoto, discovered in 1765, were formerly called Islands of Disappointment by their discoverer John Byron of England. They were so named because the hostile appearance of the natives prevented the boats from landing. Buck, op. cit., p. 21.
A boat was sent close in shore to open friendly communication with the natives but did not succeed; they showed no hostility but simply an unwillingness to have any thing to do with us. An hundred or more of them were seen on the beach at one place.

This Island like the others, contains a lagoon which seems to have no communication with the sea. On the 25th some of the Peacock Officers landed and went among the natives & were beginning to be quite on good terms with ef them, but W.s [Wilkes] coming near in his boat ordered them off & reprimanded them next day.

As a mention of all these little islands would be merely a repetition from my publick journal I shall omit them & only mention the more interesting places we visit.

Sep 10th at 9 am. Peaks of Taheiti were seen from the mast head, but owing to light winds we did not come to till 6 pm. the place we anchored in is called Matevai Bay.

The following is from my note-book, most of it written on the spot.

On the evening of the 9th of August [September] 1839, all boats having returned on board from Aurora [Makatea] we made sail for Otaheite. At 10 am of the 10th the high peaks of this lovely island were in sight and before night we were snugly at anchor in Matevai Bay with some of the most enchanting scenery around us I ever looked at. This island is about 125 miles in circumference & has some peaks rising to the elevation of 6 or 700 feet. The only flat land is that in the valleys and a small strip which surrounds the Island like a Zone running at the foot of the hills and being a mile or less in width. Sometimes this flat land runs out into a long low point, such an one is Point Venus which forms one
of the boundaries of Matevai Bay.

The general appearance of the Island reminded me much of Madeira, and even some of the particulars were very similar. Once I looked up for the Mountain church, so much does a hill here resemble the site of that edifice in Madeira, & Emio looks very much, at a distance, like one of the Desertas;\(^{11}\) where the forms of the harbors are strikingly alike.

The whole of Taheite is clothed in one rich robe of green with scarcely a single exception; even the tops of the highest peaks are not destitute of verdure, & the valleys look almost black.

Point Venus is the most lovely spot I ever saw without exception; It is a low point a mile & a half long & three quarters of a mile at the widest part, very little elevated above the water, & covered with all sorts of trees which are common in the Island. Cocoanut and orange trees abound. Then there are Lemon, Lime, Breadfruit, Guava, &c. The soil here is as rich as it can well be. I saw some tobacco growing which looked as flourishing as I have seen in our most highly manured ground, tho here it had evidently not been cultivated with much care.

On this point are numerous houses of the natives, a church and the house of an old man named Wilson,\(^{12}\) a missionary who has been living on

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\(^{11}\) Name given to one of the two groups of uninhabited rocks of Madeira. The other is called Selvagens. Encyclopedia Brittanica, 1947.

\(^{12}\) Rev. Charles Wilson was the great-grandfather of the late Mayor John H. Wilson of Honolulu. He was a member of the London Missionary Society who arrived at Matavai in the Royal Admiral in 1801. He had started out on the Duff's second voyage but it was captured by a French privateer, Le Grand Buonoparte and taken to Rio de Janeiro. William F. Wilson to John H. Wilson, May 10, 1922, Wilson Papers, Archives of Hawaii.
the Island forty years & has raised a large family here.

The native houses are universally made of small boughs or reeds bound to a framework set firmly in the ground, with roofs of the leaves of the Pandanus. The thatching is the most beautiful work of the sort I ever saw, & is as perfectly water tight as shingling or any other sort of covering. When well done it is said to last about seven years.

The houses are usually surrounded by a fence like our straight fences, much better made however, inclosing about an acre of ground which is used as a garden where pumpkins watermelons & some times tobacco are cultivated for the use of the family. They have no gates, but styles such as we use at home. The interior of the houses is very neat. There are generally one or more bedsteads covered with beautiful mats. Their pillows are shaped like ours; the cases are of mat work and they are stuffed with fragrant plants & leaves which rends it delightful to recline on them. The floors are usually covered with green leaves which are removed daily and fresh ones put in their place; this not only gives an air of coolness, but the fragrance which they exhale fills the atmosphere with a most delicious balminess which renders the mere going into one of these abodes delightful and exhilarating. I recommend all persons who are afflicted with low spirits to spend go to Taheite and spend a month amongst its delightful groves. I dined one day with a native. We directed him some time before meal time to cook us a pig and told him at what hour we would return to dinner; When we came every thing was ready. A chest was drawn up alongside one of the beds, on it were placed two plates & knives; he had no forks, but apologized for the deficiency and at our suggestion cut two wooden ones which
answered the purpose very well. The hull of a cocoanut neatly cleaned was placed in the middle of the table containing salt; one full of the milk of the cocoanut was set by each plate to serve us in place of water. The dinner consisted of roast Pig which was served up whole kneeling on all fours, and numerous vegetables, potatoes, pumpkins taro oranges &c & a mixture of Bananas & Arrowroot which was cooked in a way I do not understand but which was very good.

The manner of cooking the Pig as well as most of the vegetables is the following. First a large fire is made into which numerous small stones are put till they become hot. Then a hole is dug in the ground & the hot stones put into it and thickly covered with leaves. On one side of this hole (/imu/) is put the Pig and on the other the vegetables then leaves are put over them and the whole covered with earth. When sufficient time has elapsed they are carefully taken out and are found to be delightfully cooked. Nothing but Barbacuing can compare with this mode. The dinner (/luau/) was served up in large gourds & the giver of the entertainment cut it up and helped us; He wished to put half the Pig on each of our plates and it was with difficulty we could prevent his doing so. No doubt he measured our appetites by those of his country men, which are enormous.

We commenced the attack alone, not being able to induce any of the natives to join us, but after much persuasion, we prevailed upon two pretty girls daughters of our entertainer, to take seats with us, and tho they were so backward in making the attack, they did their duty with as much efficiency and heartiness as if they had volunteered in the first instance. They both behaved themselves however, with great modesty and
propriety, always waiting for us to help them when their plates, or rather cocoanut hulls were out, and not shewing any of that eagerness and voracity, which might have been expected from persons so little removed from the savage state. The repast being finished on our part, the rest of the family soon dispatched what remained of the viands.

I never recollect to have made a more delicious meal than this or to have passed a more delightful day; In fact some of my happiest moments have been those passed among the groves and cottages of Taheiti, always excepting when I have been at my own sweet home, surrounded by the dear members of my Father's family!

The natives do not eat Pig every day, altho these animals are quite plentiful in the Island. Their usual diet consists of vegetables & fish, while meat is used on gala days & Sundays.

One day I strolled several miles down the beach and called in at numerous houses. At one of these the noon meal was just about to commence. We remained to see how it was conducted. The vegetables were baked in the way I have before described and brought in piping hot. Large leaves were spread on the floor so as to cover a space large enough to contain the dinner utensils. Each one took a seat on the floor around this cloth of green. The food, mostly Bananas, was placed in piles & to every person was set a cocoanut shell containing salt water and pepper.

They ate the Bananas very hot, striking them in their hands as our negroes do potatoes which have been roasted in the ashes. If they have meat or fish, they dip it into the salt and water.

The meal was finished in about ten minutes, tho each individual must have eaten a dozen large Bananas at a moderate calculation. The
old women & children formed a separate group.

The Taheitians are more remarkable than any people I have seen for their large size & good forms. Most of them are six feet, & the chiefs, who are almost universally larger than the community, are frequently some inches above that height. One that I measured was six feet four, & had [sic] did not appear taller than a great many others I saw. Their faces do not indicate any of those strong passions which we might expect to find in Savages: On the contrary, they are generally mild. Their hair is usually somewhat frizzed & is always black, their eyes are black and very good, & noses flat, but not so much so as those of negroes, mouths very large and teeth excellent.

The shape and size of their heads indicate as much intelligence as those of white men.

They usually lead indolent lives, tho when put to any particular work and superintended by white men, or chiefs of authority, they work with great energy and do much more in a day than our sailors. In watering our ship they worked hard from morning till night for half a dollar.

The chiefs do not work at all but are supported entirely by the people in their districts; in fact the labor required to support life is almost null, being mainly that of gathering and cooking the fruits which are the spontaneous production of the soil.

Tho the men are not remarkable for handsome faces, the women have usually pleasing countenances, and some of them are remarkably pretty they would pass any where; In their native dress I mean, for even the most delicate of them have rather a coarse & squatty appearance when dressed in the European style. Many of them talk a little English &
when they do they are exceedingly interesting. When I am listening to
them lisp a few words, I always have in mind the innocence of childhood,
and their sweet, guileless faces lend very much to keep up this
illusion.

I am not able to speak in high terms of the morals of these people.
As far as I have been able to maintain any thing about them, religion
is with them a mere form, kept up by fear of the Missionaries and of the
laws which they have induced the authorities to make. When out of sight
of the Missionaries and under no fear of being found out, they will
commit any sin, which they have a desire to do, without the least
compunction. They are however by no means a vicious people naturally,
in fact much less so, I imagine, than most savages are & when I speak
of their being immoral, I am comparing their actual state, with the
accounts given of them by the Missionaries; These represent the state
of their advancement in Religion, Morals & civilisation, in the most
exaggerated terms & would make us believe them to be patterns of purity
which civilised nations might follow with advantage; but this is far
indeed from their actual condition & I have no hesitation in saying that
sions must elapse before they will be able to appreciate the Christian
Religion.

It strikes me as being the most ridiculous thing in the world to
attempt to make Christians of people who are utterly savage. Civilise
& instruct them first & then they will be in a condition to receive it.
Whereas when it is attempted to be forced on them in their ignorant
state, they seize on the superstitions which are interwoven with it, &
are totally incapable of imbibing the true precepts.
The Missionaries seem to have absolute rule in the Islands, for altho they do not always appear in the management of the country they suggest all the laws which are made and some of these are tyrannical in the extreme. All their amusements are taken away from them & they are not even allowed to sing any but hymns.

They do indulge freely however, in both singing and dancing when their tyrants are out of the way but they are fined or punished if found out. This system it will be acknowledged by every one, has a tendency to produce hypocrisy & lying to conceal a thing which is in itself perfectly innocent, & thus instead of rooting out crimes, they are actually introduced into the country, by persons who came over avowing that their soal motive is to benefit the morals of the people. The motives of these fanatics may be good, but their judgment, it strikes me, is very defective, & in either case the poor savages suffer.

Mr. Pritchard, the principal Missionary, is also English Consul, & with his two employments, manages to feather his nest pretty well, for one who teaches others, not to lay up treasures in this world.

The usual dress of the Taheiteans is a piece of cloth or Tapa folded around the loins and reaching to the knee, all the upper part of the body being exposed. They will however, put on a shirt, a coat or any other article of dress they can get, and seem to be delighted with any thing of this kind.

13 George Pritchard (1796-1883), missionary and consul at Tahiti was advisor to Queen Pomare in the critical period of quarreling with the French over refusing Catholic priests entrance. Pritchard was seized by French authorities and after being released he lived in retirement in London. Dictionary of National Biography. Hereafter cited as DNB
Shoes they never wear except a few of the chiefs and distinguished females on great occasions. Even the Principes are barefoot on ordinary days, and when they wear shoes they seem to be in pain the whole time, and to consider them rather as incumbrances which must be borne for a time, than as things which add to comfort.

We had a grand meeting on board one day while at Papeite. All the principal chiefs came off to settle some difficulty which existed with relation to American seamen, and they brought with them the two Principes, cousins of the Queen. The chiefs were dressed without the least regard to uniformity, the one or two of them had on old uniforms of various nations, shapes & colors. Some with the European coat some with the South American Poncho while others had on the native Tapa.

Two immense chiefs had on shoes, and they hobbled about like Elephants. The Ladies had on calico dresses, bonets & shoes and stockings and tho this is not the most favourable rig for persons of their form, still they looked quite well. The oldest one, Taia, is very fat, the younger of the two, Ninito, not so much so but far beyond the proportions which would be considered graceful at home. They behaved themselves with great modesty and propriety & did not exhibit any undue curiosity about, or astonishment at any thing they saw.

The men ate most enormously, as they always do, and drank (some of them at least) as much as they could lay their hands on. They were all loaded with presents and left the ship in the evening, much pleased with their visit and with what they received. Looking glasses, musical boxes, and cloth of glaring colors seemed to give them most pleasure (the females I mean); The men were pleased with knives, hatchets &c.
General Freire, formerly President of Chile came on board the same day and remained on board till near night. He is now living in exile at Taheite. Report says he has saved ample means to support him comfortably. He is a full blooded Spaniard & evidently a man of more than ordinary character and talent. He is remarkably genteel in his appearance and manners & as fair as an Irishman, almost.

There are probably fifty white persons living at Papeite, including the Missionaries, their wives, and some persons who are here temporarily. There are an hotel and Blacksmith shop. Most of the men are sailors who have either deserted or been discharged on the Island, and of course are not calculated to improve the morals of the people by their example.

There are one or two sugar factories on the Island which are said to yield considerable profit to the owners. The labor is done by natives. There is a road leading from Matavai to Papiete which does great credit to the natives as a great deal of judgment as well as labor were necessary to construct it over the rugged hills which lie between the two places. It answers them likewise in place of a penitentiary, the natives being obliged for certain offences to perform such a quantity of work as the chief shall assign them. I believe, however, they are allowed to hire substitutes when they are able to do so, and in this way the chiefs escape labor even for their crimes. No liquor of any sort is allowed to be retailed on the Island. The police, when they find any knock out the heads of the casks. Our consul is said to have

This is very probably Ramon Freire Serrano (1787-1851) who was twice exiled from Chile. For a brief biographical sketch see Luis Goldames, A History of Chile, translated and edited by Isaac Cox (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1941), p. 473.
sold gin under the protection of the American flag.

The Tahitian Language prevails over the whole Society group, all the Islands of which belong to the Queen of Tahiti.

The present incumbent is a woman about twenty eight years old, named Pomare. [Pomare Vahine IV.] She is married to a youth of 19. She was sick in the interior of the Island during our stay so that we did not see her. Her palace is a large wooden house with a piazza in front. It is neatly fenced in. The yard is gravelled over and several trees planted in it; they are not thick enough however, to afford much shade. I walked thro the palace & went into the Queen's private apartment where I saw several articles of wearing apparel belonging to her majesty; and among other things an English saddle, bridle and whip. I endeavored to find some trifle of hers to take as a memento, but saw nothing suitable. The room was about fourteen feet square.

The Tahitians have no doubt degenerated much since the whites came among them, as is clearly proved by the accounts given of them by Cook & others years ago & by the present state of those who still live among the hills & have little or no intercourse with foreigners.

The arts which they formerly excelled in, such as making mats & are gradually going out of fashion & being lost. And these articles are now manufactured in much smaller quantities and of much inferior quality to what they were formerly. And what have they gained instead? Neither Religion, Morality, Industry, Art, Civilization or any thing desirable!!

On the contrary, love of money & of foreign finery & a great many vices which were unknown to them in their primitive condition, are the only things they have received from those who pretend to have their good
alone at heart.

What a use this is to put Religion to!! Those reptiles who crawl from their own homes, where they are only endured amongst the very dregs of society, and introduce all these evils into happy and innocent communities, ought to be punished as common felons. Of course I speak only of the generality of Missionaries, for undoubtedly there may be and are, among them men who deserve the highest commendation for their purity and zeal, tho I cannot help believing that even they are blinded by fanaticism where they attempt to change ignorant savages, and idolaters suddenly into enlightened Christians.

Altho Oranges are pleanty in Tahiti, & of the very best quality, they are not indigenous, but were introduced here some years ago from Rio de Janeiro. They even exceed those of Rio in flavor and size. Tobacco grows well but is not cultivated to any extent. Sweet potatoes grow well & are finely flavored. Taro is abundant & considered good by most persons. Breadfruit grows everywhere. Its taste when roasted, is much like that of wheat bread without salt; and altho rather insipid to persons not accustomed to it, I can readily imagine that it would be excellent after a little use.

Bananas are pleanty; these, I think, have been introduced. Papeite is very much such a place as Matavai in appearance, but is by no means so agreeable, the natives being inferior in every respect tho the distance between the two places is only seven miles. The only way I can account for it is by saying there are more whites at the one place than the other and that the natives always degenerate when they come into contact with these.
The Brig went out before we did, and we left the Peacock & Schooner at Papeite when we sailed from there. The schr was found to require heaving down to repair something about her keel, and the Peacock remained to assist her.

While here we lost North, who was transferred to the Brig. The 1st Lieut: ordered the Quarter Master at the wheel, to alter the course of the ship. North, who was officer of the deck, told him he would like to know when any thing of this sort was done; This gave offense to the 1st Lieut: who reported him to the Capn' North was required to apologize, & on refusing to do so, was suspended, & kept under hatches till we arrived at Taheite, where he was sent to the Brig. This put Larry Sinclair on board the Schooner.

A young midshipman handled the commander of the "Grand national surveying and Exploring Expedition" rather roughly the other day. A written order came out putting two of them in watch and watch for **neglect of duty**; One of them refused to obey the order, he was immediately ordered to take charge of the Launch which was anchored near the ship and on refusing to do this was told to get ready for the Peacock in ten minutes. The other midshipman paid no attention to the order & was not reminded of it. Both the orders were illegal.

The Taheitean language abounds in vowels and is very agreeable, particularly when spoken by the females who generally have soft plaintive voices. It has only fifteen vowels litters /sic/, five vowels and ten consonants, many of our letters they cannot pronounce atal.

They sing English psalm tunes scientifically giving all the parts, and their voices are remarkably sweet.
The diseases of the country seem not to be very numerous, but one of them, Elephantiasis, which is quite common is sufficient to make up for deficiency in variety. They are acquainted with no remedy for it, & in fact do not attempt a cure. The disease reaches sometimes, to an enormous extent, the legs being frequently as large as a man's body. This is the only disease which I can say is common from my own observation; I saw some ulcers & one or two persons with what I took to be scurvy, tho if scurvy is caused in the way writers say it is, there should be none in the Islands, as the diet of the people is almost entirely vegetable. I do not however believe the common thing, & am under the impression that a man may have the disease under certain circumstances whatever his diet may be.

There is a Physician here, a man named Vaughan but from some things I have heard about him, he must be a Quack.

There are a few horses on the Island and numerous cattle and goats. Hogs I have mentioned before -------

Emio [Eimeo, now known as Moorea]

We left Taheite on the 25th Sep at daylight, and anchored in the harbor of Emio the same day; it is only about 15 miles.

The scenery of this harbor, I cannot attempt to describe, it is so magnificent; A picture will appear in the book which will give some idea of it, tho no paintings can do justice to the magnificent works of God.

We lay under a hill eighteen hundred feet high, and about a quarter mile from it, the top of the hill is a mere comb two or three feet wide, which commences low near the waters edge and makes a sharp ascent till
it reaches the elevation I have mentioned. This comb or ridge is about a mile long.

While we were here, five of our men took the dingy in the night and made their escape to the shore. Next day about 10 o'clock, they were seen walking up this ridge: they appeared like pygmies walking on a sharp edge. As a reward of thirty dollars each had been offered for them, a party of natives sat out in pursuit and were soon seen to overtake them and turn them back. One or two made slight resistance, but as the number of the natives was much superior to theirs they were soon overcome. A mere push would have sent a man headlong the whole 1800 feet & one of the men said he was tempted to give his capturers a shove, but that when he reflected that if he did he would inevitably share the same fate, he determined to remain quiet.¹⁵

The whole scene was plainly visible from the ship and all hands seemed to enjoy it very much. Sailors are much like the ancient Spartans in this respect; if they do a thing which is not exactly right, cunningly

¹⁵ Wilkes describes this incident in his Narrative, II, 58. "Three of our crew having become enamoured of these islands, deserted while the Vincennes lay at Eimeo. They left the ship about ten o'clock at night after which their absence was discovered and parties sent out in every direction to intersect the roads, and drive them to the hills. This was effected by the following morning and a large party of natives was employed to hunt them up. This task they speedily performed, and at last drove the deserters to one of the highest ridges, in full view of the ship. Here the runaways appeared at first disposed to make fight with stones; but when they saw the odds against them, and witnessed the alertness of the natives in leaping from cliff to cliff, they thought it best to give themselves up; which they did, to three natives, naked except the maro, and armed respectively with a rusty sword, an old cutlass, and a piece of iron hoop. These bound their hands, and led them down to the shore, whence they were brought on board, where the three natives received the reward offered for their apprehension. The chase and the capture was an amusing sight to those who watched the proceedings from the ship."
and without detection, they are thought all the better for it by their
shipmates, but if they are found out and punished they are not pitied
in the least.

The inhabitants of Emio are pretty much like those of Taheite.
There is a church here & a school. I did not have an opportunity of
going on shore here frequently: in fact the only times were when we
pulled ourselves on shore to bathe after sundown.

The Bay is a perfectly safe one, being protected on three sides by
lofty hills, and a reef running nearly across the mouth of the harbor,
so as to break the force of the waves when the wind blows in. All the
Society group have Coral reefs running parallell with their shores and
at various distances from them; in fact most of the Islands of the
Pacific are thus situated & what is remarkable, wherever there is a bay
or cove, there is an opening in the reef.

There is a sugar factory here owned by an Irishman which is said
to yield him a thousand dollars a year.

On the 29th Sep\textsuperscript{r} we left Emio and steered N.N.W. passing by several
of the Society Islands viz Hughini \(\text{Huahine}\) Bolabola \(\text{Borabora}\)&c.
On the 30th Sep\textsuperscript{r} passed close to Bellinghausen's Island;\textsuperscript{16} It is a low
coral Island covered with trees. Several of us went on shore here. I
was foolish enough to go without stockings and in consequence my feet
were so burned by the sun that I was unable to walk for two weeks & even
now, 28th Nov\textsuperscript{r}, they are not entirely well.

\textsuperscript{16} Bellinghausen was a Russian navigator who led an expedition to the
Antarctic in 1819. The island mentioned here was named after him by
another Russian explorer, Otto Von Cotzebue who discovered it on March
26, 1824. Buck, p. 79.
Fish are so numerous here that they were killed with sticks and boathooks; and boatloads of birds might have been obtained if they had been eatable.

It is easy to tell whether an Island is inhabited or not, at the distance of a mile or more, by the birds. In those which are not inhabited, they darken the air with their numbers, while they are much less numerous in those which are the abodes of men.

On the 7th Oct. we made Rose Island, one of the Navigation group. It is a mere clump of land, not a quarter mile in circumference, but a reef runs out more than a mile in a direction. Of course this Island is not inhabited. It is named Rose from the man who discovered it, tho it might well have received this appellation from its shape.17

On the 8th we made Oporima another of the Navigations. It is high and precipitous. Several natives & some white men came off to the ship. The natives are fine looking & well made. They were tattooed from waist to knee. They wore no ornaments. The hair of most of them was frizzed, but whether naturally or not I was not able to find out. Some of them wore it flowing and long, some had it tied on the back of the head, while others, shaved it close. This latter is a habit introduced by the Missionaries & is no doubt very useful, as the heads of these people are inhabited according to the luxuriancy of the hair. I am almost ashamed to mention that all the South Sea Islanders, even those

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17 In 1819 this island was discovered by the French navigator, Louis de Freycinet, who named it Rose Island for his wife who made the voyage with him. Whittle is mistaken in saying that it was named after the one who discovered it.
who approach most the civilized state, eat this species of vermin.

On the 9th several boats went on shore. I was so lame from a
sunburn I got at one of the other Islands, that I was confined to my bed.
I am told the women were not near so good looking as the men.

The dress of both sexes consists mostly of a kind of apron of
leaves tied around the waist and reaching nearly to the knee. They have
no headdress usually, tho you sometimes see the leaf of a cocoanut
woven into the shape of the brim of one of our naval caps tied round
the head so as to protect the eyes from the sun. Sometimes also, they
decorate their heads with flowers.

There is a large bell shaped scarlet flower of which they are
particularly fond for this purpose. Some of the white men were anxious
to be taken to Sydney & entreated that they might be allowed to go in
the ships, but our noble commander, most magnanimously and with great
dignity, cursed them & refused their request. This suggested the
following, to me as I was lying in my bed.

Ah! Take me from this savage Isle! Restore me to my country!
What tho God has showered his most beautiful gifts and lavished all the
those comforts which are necessary for man! What tho here there is no
need of toil & labor! What tho everything is spontaneous and life is
one uninterrupted dream of tranquility! Still this is not my native
land, my home!

Here are not those parents who nurtured me in my helpless infancy,
nor those brothers and sisters who were the playmates of my boyhood!

Here is not that wife who won the first affections of my youth &
about whose heart the tendrils of mine are still entwined! Here are not
those dear children whom nature has taught to look to me for succor and support. Alas they are far away! Tis true that in an evil hour tempted by the beauty of God's creation, I fled from the cruel inflictions of a heartless tyrant, but I am not what you take me for! I am no renegade, no vagabond careless of all the ties which bind mankind to each other! I am unfortunate, not depraved. Wilt thou not listen to my prayer?

Think of those aged parents who are bemoaning my uncertain fate! Of that affectionate wife who is pining in poverty & anguish! Of those dear prattlers who are suffering for the very bread of life! Wilt thou not! Has thou parents, and a wife and children and canst thou not feel for me? Yet curse me not! I do not deserve thy reproaches! Farewell Stranger! Thou goest to thy friends & to thy home where I will never go! Alas! Never! Thou wilt live blessed by thy parents, loved by thy wife, & surrounded by thy children, whilst I will die in a distant land without a father's blessing or a mothers prayer. No loving wife shall smooth down the pillow of my affliction, no little prattlers shall sooth me with the music of their tongues! No friendly hand shall commit my body to the earth, but my flesh shall be a prey unto the birds and my bones shall whiten on the beach. Go Stranger, I give thee good for evil; I follow thee not with curses, but rather with my prayers. Perhaps thou wilt live to regret thy treatment of the poor disconsolate exile!

The houses of these people are said to be neater and better built than any we have seen. There were several natives teachers here & some of the natives could read & write. They shewed a great inclination to trade and were great extortioners but this is not to be wondered at when
they see so much trickery among whalers & others with whom they are in
the habit of dealing.

On the 10th we made the island of Tutuila. This day, the Porpoise
was detached on surveying duty & one or two officers were sent on board
of her from this ship.

At thirty minutes past four of the 11th we anchored in the Harbor
of Pago Pago (Pronounced Pango Pango) in the island of Tutuila.

We remained at Tutuila 12 days during which time the various
operations of the Naval officers & Scientific Corps were carried on as
usual. An observatory was established on shore & a tide staff on the
other side of the Island at a place called Fangosa [sic_7Fangasar]. Boats
were sent around the Island for the purpose of surveying it & the harbor
of Pago Pago was surveyed.

The country about which we lay is extremely hilly but wherever you
find a place level enough for cultivation you may expect with certainty
a good crop. Tobacco grows here luxuriantly [sic_7without cultivation
but little or none of it is used altho the people are extremely fond of
smoking. They depend chiefly on what they can pick up from foreigners.
Cotton also grows well here but it is little cultivated. The only use
to which I saw it put was to make wicks for their lamps. They put
cocoanut oil into the shell of the same fruit and twist up a little roll
of cotton and put into it. The light emitted is very feeble serving
more to preserve fire, in fact, than any thing else.

I went over to Fangosa one day and had a terribly fatiguing time
of it. The distance is not more than five miles but the road is almost
perpendicular in some places so that you have to pull yourself up by
the rocks & stones. Our guide carried two guns on his shoulder where we had much ado to get up ourselves. The scenery was beautiful and repaid us well for the labor we underwent.

Close to Fangosa is Massacre Bay [Leone] where Capt DeLangle\textsuperscript{18} of a French surveying ship was cut off and murdered by the natives with the greater part of his crew. The people were however quite polite to us. We were under the protection of a Tonga chief named Toa. He had been a great warrior in his time but on some reverse of fortune was compelled to leave his country & come over here where he had likewise large possessions. He is now, next to the King, the chief man in the Island. We remained all night and returned to the ship in the morning. It rained incessantly all night so that our return was even more disagreeable and laborious than our advance. Toa's daughter Lele is a very modest and well behaved girl and altho not pretty she has a good face & is very interesting altogether. She is a Christian in the Missionary acceptation of the word. The principal missionary on the Island is a Mr. Murray a Scotch Presbyterian who dwells at Pago Pago, and as far as appearances go he is the best man I have seen among the Islands. He has great influence with the people & the forms of morality are generally strictly observed among them. Miss Lele could read very well and wrote a very readable hand. Her Father is a striking likeness of General Washington so much so that every body saw it.

\textsuperscript{18} Captain de Langle commanded the Astrolabe, one of the frigates in La Pérouse's expedition. On December 9, 1787, while getting a supply of fresh water from shore the watering party was attacked by the Samoans. De Langle and twelve men were killed and many others wounded. Buck, p. 54.
The most interesting personage however, to me, was a little girl about eight years old named Lingano. I was on shore one day hunting & fell in with this little creature who struck me immediately with the beauty & amiability of her countenance & the softness of her manners. I gave her a pair of scissors and one or two little trinkets & asked her to come on board & see me, little thinking that so little a thing would venture to do so. She promised to do so however a day or two after this I was sitting in my room when the Quartermaster came to tell me that a friend of mine was on deck and wished to see me & who should I find there but Miss Lingano.

She had informed her father of her promise and had induced him to bring her off in his canoe. She brought me a fine fat pig, a piece of Tapa and some vegetables as presents and insisted on my taking them. She could not speak a word of English except yes & no, but her countenance was so intelligent that she had no difficulty in making herself understood on common subjects.

Of course I rigged her out in the most shiny things I had & she so captivated all the Officers who saw her, by the sweetness of her face & manners that she went off loaded with presents. She got some one to tell me that if I would return when she had grown up she would be my wife. Her father had Elephantiasis dreadfully, one of his legs was fully as large as my body. The men here are generally fine looking but the women cannot compare with those of Otaheite.

Elephantiasis is horribly common among the men. I will venture to say that a fourth of those of middle age are afflicted by it more or less. There is another disease also common, to almost the same extent. It is
an inflammation of the eye which first destroys the sight by producing opacity of the cornea, & finally obliterates the eye itself. It more frequently attacks one eye but sometimes both. Women & men are both attacked by it.

They also have a chronic inflammation of the stomach and bowels which is slow but certain death. They have an uneasy feeling in the parts affected scarcely amounting to pain, frightful emaciation & a sharp miserable cast of countenance with the loss of appetite &c. They seem to have no remedies for either of these complaints. The two latter are, I think, caused by the use of Cava which is a species of Pepper possessing also narcotic properties to a considerable degree. The stomach is affected directly & the eye through sympathy. There are churches in each village where service is performed regularly on Sunday. I saw a native preach to a large congregation, which he did with a good deal of grace and eloquence. The people are called to church & the children to school by persons who go thro the village beating a block of wood with a stick.

There are some beautiful birds here and the finest wild pigeons I ever saw.

25th Oct. 1840 Got under weigh & stood out of the harbor and came within an ace of going ashore in doing so, whereat a certain personage who should have been very cool on the occasion shewed the strongest symptoms of confusion and alarm and was in fact incompetent for some
time to his duties.19

Note While we were at Pago Pago the Peacock was at Opolou
&Amp; Upolu & the Brig and Schooner somewhere else surveying an island.
Schooner came in a few days after we did.

Had a head wind for some days off the mouth of Apia harbor in
Upolu. Capt^n Wilkes pulled in with his boat & there was some doubt
whether we would go in atal.

29th Capt W. sent an order for us to go in & at 6 P.M. came to.

We remained here till 10th Novr; An expedition was sent to
Savaii under the direction of Capt^n Hudson in the Schooner; the object
of which was to capture a chief named Popotuno & who had
murdered several white men but it did not succeed.20

The day after we anchored Mr. Couthouy & myself were ordered to make
an excursion to the eastward^ by land to examine the country &
particularly to look at some Savannas which were said to exist in that
direction. We were absent 4½ days during which time we passed over 80
or 90 miles of country, went thro 25 villages & crossed several ridges
of mountains.

19 Wilkes' account of this critical moment is as follows: "When we
beat out, the wind was light and it failed altogether just as we reached
the most dangerous part of the channel; we were in consequence brought
within an oar's length of the reef, on which a heavy surf was breaking.
The moment was a trying one, and the event doubtful; all were at their
stations, and not a word was spoken. Of my own feelings on the occasion
I have no very precise recollection; merely remembering that I felt as
if I breathed more freely after the crisis had passed and we were in
safety." Wilkes, Narrative, II, 87.

20 This noted chief, Opotuno, had taken possession of two boats sent
on shore by the Whaleship, William Penn from Nantucket. The chief mate,
and the two boat steerers were murdered. The third officer of the
vessel was wounded and left for dead on the beach.
We did not succeed in finding the particular Savannas we were sent in search of on account of the vagueness of our directions, but we saw some of the finest and most fertile plains & valleys possible. One of them was seven or eight miles long and five broad & covered with wild sugar cane and vegetation of various sorts and with a little attention to draining & vegetation might be made as productive as any land in the world perhaps.

Elephantiasis prevails to a frightful extent among the people and they are afflicted with the same disease of the eye as the people of Tutuila.

Rheumatism is not uncommon frequently ending in the contraction of the tendons of the limbs of which I saw examples.

Several other expeditions were sent into the interior. A particular account of Mr Couthouys & mine is in my notebook kept at the time.

Peacock took on board here a native who was proved to have murdered a white man with the intention of leaving him at some island in our route by way of punishment!!

While here Captn Wilkes had two conversations with the assembled chiefs, in the first of which some laws were made and signed by both parties regulating the intercourse between them & vessels which come into port. He also appointed a consul, a young man named Williams, Son to a missionary of that name who has written a book on the subject of these Islands.  

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Rev. John Williams (1796-1839) was a member of the London Missionary Society who devoted his whole life to Missionary labors in the Pacific Islands. In 1837 he published, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Sea Islands. . . At Erromanga Williams was killed by natives in retaliation for cruelties perpetrated by an English crew. He is known as the Martyr of Erromanga. DNB.
These Missionaries are as thrifty a set of gentlemen in appearance as I ever saw, and have every thing smug and comfortable about them. They may probably suffer some inconveniences & even hardships at first, but in the end they are I have not a doubt, far, far better off than they could ever have hoped to be at home. They are served by natives whom they hire at the rate of a fathom of cloth (white cotton worth 8 cents at home) a month; and I was informed that they carried on trade to a considerable extent either directly or thro the medium of a third person. As far as I have seen they are men from the lower walks of life who are by no means fitted to improve the moral condition of savages either by learning or dignity of character. A person placed among these people should not only be honest &c, but above all suspicion of being actuated by interest or self advancement.

At the second meeting it was attempted to engage the chiefs to capture or assist to capture Popotoono but they could not be induced to have any thing to do in the matter and the affair wound up by our offering a large reward of hatchets, knives & other things for his body dead or alive.

This is certainly one of the finest if not the very finest Island we have seen. The soil is extremely rich and well watered. There is a fine valley between every two ridges of hills an[d] one sometimes finds several fine streams in each valley. Rice Flax, Sugar cane &c might be cultivated here to the greatest advantage.

There are several white men at Apia some of whom have their wives with them. They are generally Missionaries or in some way connected with the missionaries.
The natives are well made and large and generally very sensible fellows as they proved in the conversations Capt'n W had with them. There is no king but each chief rules his own district or village and when anything which affects the general interest is to be done they assemble and debate the matter before a step is taken.

The Peacock remained here as long as we did. The Schooner returned from Savai on the 3rd & on the 4th was sent to Tootoolla [Tutuila] to see what had become of the Brig. A day or two after we heard a report that the Brig had been lost in coming out of Pagopago, [sic] but on the 10th She made her appearance together with the Schooner and relieved our fears about her! The same day, in the afternoon, we got underweigh, all the vessels in company, & stood to N'd & W'd.

Nov. 11th

Today we lost Reynolds the pride of our mess and the only person in it who was fit to regulate it. Nothing has occurred since we left home which has given me so much grief as this. He is a fellow of noble soul & has one of the most admirable tempers imaginable. Never have I become more attached to a man after so short an acquaintance. He was caterer of our mess & the very life and soul of it. He was sent out on account of a difficulty with the 1st Lieut; who put his coat into the "lucky bag" & refused to give it to him when he asked for it. May left us at the same time. He was a great friend of Rs [Reynolds] & had been so for a long time. They were roommates. As soon as R was ordered from the ship May went into the Cabin & told the Capt'n that he had treated his friend with injustice & that he wished to leave the ship too. He was ordered out of the cabin and soon after sent on board the Schooner.
Reynolds went to the Peacock.

12th Today we made Wallace's [Wallis's] Island [Uvea] and a canoe came on board of us from shore with two natives. They were remarkably fierce looking personages. They were both dressed in clothes they had obtained from whaleships. One of them had sailed in an American Whaleship and spoke English tolerably well, tho he seemed by no means to abound in its polite phrases. "Will you anchor here?" said he to Wilkes. "No," was the reply. "Oh! you be damned" said he with one of the most comical looks I ever saw but not appearing to think he was taking the slightest liberty. Perhaps he did not know with what thickness of dignity the Commander of the great Exploring Expedition was environed.

The man we brought from Opolou was sent on shore with strict injunctions to the king not to suffer him to escape from the Island.

Nov 13th

Passed Horn's [Hoorn--see Futunna] Island. Parted company with Brig & Schooner who were not able to keep way with us.

15th Having passed the 180° of W. Longitude we gain a day. Not having any 14th.

18th Made Hunters Island early in the morning. It is a small clump probably 1200 feet high & probably ½ mile or a mile in circumference. It is of volcanic formation. There are not more than half a dozen trees on it. A boat was sent on shore.

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22 This island was discovered by a British explorer, Captain Samuel Wallis in July of 1767. His men named it Wallis Island in honor of their Captain. Buck, p. 24.
Novr 23rd In Lat 30° 51' S Lon 163° 09' 16" E. We had a heavy gale from the WNW. At 9:30 PM began to abate and hauled to the Sd & Wd.

Novr 26th At daylight saw Balls Pyramid passed near several small abrupt rocky Islands and saw Lord Howes Island at a distance.

29th Novr 1839 At 10 AM made the Land & at 11 PM anchored in the harbor of Sydney having run in without a pilot.

Today Dr. Gilchrist was suspended from duty. He had been doing the duties of Fleet Surgeon, addressed by W. as fleet surgeon. Entered in several "lists of officers" as Fleet Surgeon & Promised the fleet surgeon by W. before he left home. A few days ago he asked W for the appointment or a written order to do the duty, which would have amounted to the same thing, but was refused. A correspondence took place. Wilkes denied having promised any such thing & the affair wound up by Dr. G being suspended.

On the 30th the Porpoise & Flying Fish came in. We learned that the Relief had sailed for the U.S. from this port 10 days ago after having remained here three weeks. All well at the time of her sailing but she had lost two or three of her crew since we parted with her at Callao. Decr 1st was Sunday & we had a sermon on board. The Missionary Brig Campdin arrived today and reported that having sent a boat ashore at the N. Hebrides it was attacked by the Natives & Messrs. Williams & Harris who were a short distance from it Murdered. We had seen them both a short time before in Apia in fine health & the news of their having been thus cut off threw a gloom over us all. Mr. Williams was

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23 See note No. 21 above, p. 38.
an old Missionary & the author of a book on the subject of the Pacific Islands & the Missions to them. Mr. Harris was a young man & a missionary. Two other missionaries who were on shore with them escaped by running.

We erected an observatory at Fort McQuarrie where our instruments were put up.

The Vessels were overhauled and refitted preparatory to a southern cruise. We were treated with much politeness by the Military and by the Australasian Club. All the Commissioned officers in the Squadron were made honorary members of the club. I was of course embraced among the number but as all the other members of my mess, with one exception were excluded on account of their not being commissioned, I never went to it. It was made up of the elite of the place. Sydney is one of the best built towns, if not the very best, I have ever seen. There are decidedly fewer such miserable hovels about it such as are generally seen about the outskirts of cities. This is probably owing to the extreme facility with which building is effected. Rock is very abundant & so soft as to be cut more easily than wood, but on exposure to the air, it becomes sufficiently hard to render it durable. All the houses with scarcely an exception are built of this material and the houses make a good shew. It is a kind of sand stone & is about the color of Stucco work.

There are some quite shewy buildings in the place. The military barracks are concealed by a high wall which surrounds them. The city contains about 30,000 inhabitants and is in a very flourishing state.

There is by no means so much style here as you will see in our northern cities (independently of some titled personages, who are very few) but
still there is a good deal & some of the most fashionable equipage you will see belong to persons who either came over here as convicts or else had their passage paid by government for the purposes of peopling the colonys. There is however a very strong boundary preserved in society generally between Convicts and those who are not so. None of their descendants for example, except in a very remote degree are allowed to become members of the Australian club & they are not invited to balls, assemblies &c. The Military again keep almost entirely aloof from the citizens and it was with them that we chiefly associated.

The country around Sydney is low and has the appearance of being extremely barren and I believe it is really so. There is however some fine land in the interior and that on the rivers is generally of very fine quality. The principal productions are wheat & wool. The state of the convicts who are actually in bondage is horrible sometimes.

Large numbers of them are distributed among the people as private labourers and servants, every man who owns a certain quantity of land being entitled to so many convicts & more in proportion to the larger quantity of land he may own. When they fall into the hands of good masters they are comparatively well off for then they are well fed and have not so frequent opportunities of meeting with their brethren in iniquity, but where they are at work for government and go in droves under charge of overseers, and have full opportunities of communicating their villainous ideas, they are the most damnable set on the face of the globe. They are obliged frequently to keep them chained like wild beasts and they all have government clothes on with the name of the place they belong to written in \( \text{on} \) their backs in large letters.
The worst of them are sent to Norfolk Island & scenes are enacted there which are too horrible to relate; but I will venture to relate on one anecdote of those who are put out in the country at some distance from Sydney viz. The courts are held in Sydney so that when a murder is committed the culprit has to be carried there for trial. It was the practice some time since for a party of ten or twelve of the wretches who were anxious to visit the city to assemble in the woods, first cast lots to see which of them should be murdered, after which they would cast for the murderer. As soon as this business the murderer would put an end to the one who had drawn the victim's lot; he would be taken up and carried to Sydney for his trial & the others as witnesses. & in this way they would be enabled to spend a week or ten days in town! I am almost ashamed to tell this, but several English officers related it as a fact coming within their own personal knowledge & they furthermore stated that this practice had reached such an extent that it could only be put a stop to by sending the court to the spot to try such cases & thus taking away the inducement fer to the commission of such crimes.

As far as bodily comforts go they are very well taken care of as they are warmly clothed & have an abundance of provisions. The people are, I believe, making an effort to have the transportation of convicts here stopped and probably they may succeed but the population is already so deeply tainted with convict blood that a long time must elapse before a man who was scrupulous about these things could can take a wife there without running the risk of having his feelings shocked by finding that he is connected with the descendant of a convict. The spirit of revolution is taking strong hold on the minds of the people here and
they make no bones of talking about it. Even one gentleman who was in
a public situation under the British government expressed himself without
the slightest reserve about this matter. It will be long however before
they are strong enough to declare their independence without the assist­
ance of some foreign power. Russia perhaps may come in to their
assistance.

There are a great many fine towns and villages in Australia, but I
saw none except Sydney & Paramatta.

On 26th December 1840, we got underweigh from Sydney for a
cruise towards the Antarctic pole.

Jany 1st. Lost sight of the Schooner in a heavy gale. Jany 6th Bent our
new sails & sent up stump top gallantmasts.

Jany 10th 1:30 pm: An Ice island reported from the masthead; saw several
others during the day & night. 11th Passed numerous Iceislands. In
afternoon came to a barrier of field ice and coasted along it for some
distance. We were in a complete bay formed by the Ice. 12th Parted
company with the Brig. 13th At 2 pm made field ice ahead as far as the
eye could reach. Tacked ship and stood to N\(^\circ\) and E\(^\circ\). 16th at 11 last
night came up with the barrier Lat: 66\(^\circ\), Long: 158\(^\circ\) 40' E.

17th Thick fog during night. Peacock came within hail. Officers &
crew all well. Peacock tacked & stood to N\(^\circ\).

Jany 19th Lat: 66\(^\circ\) 19' 15" S. Long: 154\(^\circ\) 27' 45" E. 24

Early part of day calm & foggy. At 10 am fog lifted. Ship drifting

\(^{24}\) This is the date on which Wilkes claims to have definitely sighted
land. It is concerning this date that the controversy with d'Urville
of France arose. Strangely enough, Dr. Whittle makes no mention of
land until January 28th.
towards the Ice. All boats called away to tow ship. Breeze soon sprang up. Found ourselves enmeshed in the Ice. Peacock to Sd standing S.
We tacked & stood out. Some Ice was picked up & interior of it found fresh, but / of it was taken on board, \[sic\] 20th 4 pm. Made the barrier.
Stood to Nd & Wd. 21st Beautiful & clear day. Many Ice islands in sight. Stood S most of the day & at 9 pm made barrier & stood N.
Lat: 66° 53' S. 22d Numerous Ice islands. Passed a range of them 20 miles in extent & so close as not to admit the passage of a ship.
Two ducks and a number of Penguins were seen this morning.
26th Early part of day thick and misty. At 9 am spoke the Brig. She had reached 66 48 & had not a man on the sick list. Barrier a few miles from us. Great quantities of Ice. 27th parted company with the Brig.
28th Lat:
At 10 am saw what much resembled Land on weather bow. Gale coming on we were obliged to tack to get clear of the Ice. 9 pm Heavy gale from Sd & Ew with snow.
Jany 29th Heavy gale all night & snow so thick that no object could be seen more than two hundred yards off and Ice islands as thick as possible. The navigation now became so extremely dangerous that all hands, officers and men were put in watch & watch.
Gale abated at 9 am and wind hauled round to SW by S. In afternoon stood down for the supposed Land.
Jany 30th 1840 Lat: 66° 13' S. Lon 140° 02' E.
Fresh breeze all night. Made Land early in morning. At 10:30 am close to it and had a distinct view. Land extended E&W as far as the eye
could reach and some of the hills at a distance seemed to be 5 or 6,000 feet high and thickly covered with snow as indeed was the whole of it except a few black rocks near the water which were kept bare by the surf.

Got soundings in 30 fathoms. Mr Blunt (Passed Mid) and some others thought they saw a volcano smoking. A gale now came on which obliged us to stand to sea without further examination. Some seals & numerous penguins were seen. In the afternoon a heavy gale commenced from the Sd & Ed and we were in the midst of numerous Ice islands. No one who has not seen this sort of thing can imagine the danger of our situation. Nothing but the interposition of a merciful Providence could have saved us from utter destruction as the snow was so thick that nothing could be distinguished more than a ships length ahead and it was blowing tremendously.

31st At noon the gale had abated a good deal but it still blew fresh and snowed heavily. This state of weather continued all day.

Today Dr Gilchrist who had been under suspension since the day we went into Sydney was restored to duty and ordered to report on the health of the crew.²⁵

February 1st Still blowing fresh from Sd and Ed. At 9:30 am made land which very much resembled what we saw the day before yesterday. At 4:30 pm we were close to the land when we wore ship and stood out.

²⁵Wilkes requested this report as a check on the one given him by Assistant surgeons, Dr. Fox & Dr. Whittle. Their report was to the effect that the crew was in no condition to continue this dangerous exposure to the elements. A few more days of it could hazard the safety of the ship and the lives of all on board. Despite this medical report and the opinions of the majority of the ward-room officers who agreed with the Assistant surgeons, Wilkes proceeded with his original determination of sailing along the ice barrier.
There seemed very little prospect of landing here. The shores were lined and extended by immense quantities of Ice. Some of which was more than a hundred feet high & no doubt it is the breaking off of these masses by their own weight that forms Icebergs.

Latitude 65° 52' 26" S. Long: 137° 51' 30" E.

Feby: 3d Gale commenced last night at midnight at 12 M had abated, land was seen in the morning watch. Lat: 63° 49' 40" S. Lon 134° 03' E.

5th Heavy sea wind mod. numerous whales & innumerable birds. Snow in afternoon.

February 9th At midnight the Aurora Australis was seen. Quite brilliant for a short time. The nights are perceptably lengthening, or rather we now begin to have some slight appearance of night. Heretofore it has been nearly as light at midnight as at midday. You might read without difficulty in a small room on the gun deck which was lit only by a single skylight, at any time of the night. The sun was visible nearly the whole 24 hours.

Feby 14th We are now running down our discovery to ascertain its extent. Not so high here as when we saw it before. It is covered with snow and Ice to an immense depth. Today several of us landed on an Iceberg and spent an hour there. It is nearly a mile square & 60 or more feet high.

We planted a flag staff on it. I rambled over it for exercise. Some got boards and slid down at the rate of 15 miles the hour. Joe Underwood on a spade. Here we found a pond of fresh water and watered ship from it. Saw some penguins one jumped into a boat and was captured.
Observations were made with instruments.  

Febry 15th Nothing new. Sailing among the Ice. Bump a large piece occasionally. Some white birds & cape pigeons about the ship. I shot one & so did Blunt. Very cold fifteen men sick from exposure to cold, I devote most of my time to reading & study. The largest whale I ever saw came within sight of the ship today. He was a sperm whale and probably 100 feet in length. 16th Last night the Aurora covered nearly half the heavens. It was very brilliant and appeared north of us. We are still cruising along the Barrier. No land in sight. 12M The ship is hove to. A boat is just returning from an Iceberg. The crew caught some Penguins. One followed the boat $\frac{1}{2}$ mile & jumped in at the third attempt. Today is Sunday. We had devine service this morning. It is a beautiful day. The sun is bright and the temperature quite pleasant. I have a piece of the new continent, obtained from the Iceberg where we watered ship. 1 pm An Elephant was seen on piece of ice and two boats sent to take him but they did not succeed altho they shot him several times. 7 pm Passed close to an Iceberg and obtained some specimens of geology which were attached to it. Weather very pleasant. Saw the stomach of a penguin which contained a pound of shrimps and a few small stones. 17th Nearly clear till noon when a squall of snow and wind

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26 Charles Erskine, one of the crew, wrote an account of this incident which is amusing. "We had a jolly time while on this iceberg, sliding, snowballing one another, and playing with the penguins and seals. As we had not got our 'shore legs' on we received many a fall on the ice, which, we found, was very hard and flinty, and caused us to see stars... We captured several seals, called sea lions, sea elephants, or sea-tigers, and they form part of our collection at the Smithsonian Institute." Charles Erskine, *Twenty Years Before the Mast*, (Boston, 1890), p. 113.
came up. All hands called to reef topsails. Found ourselves in an extensive bay in the Ice & are trying to beat out of it. 8 pm clear & a bright sun. Something like high land has just been seen to N.E. The horizon is dotted all round with spouts of whales. The water we got from the Ice is brackish & we have only 15 days supply besides. Crew more healthy than they were. We have 15 on the list but none of them are seriously sick.

18th Before I went to sleep last night the Quartermaster came to tell me that the "Aurora Borealis /~Australis_7 was raising a light on deck." I did not go up to see it but am told it was quite brilliant. This is the third we have seen. Nothing new. We are still in the Bay I spoke of yesterday. The Ice and Land both seem to turn to the N^d as we go west. What we thought Land yesterday proved to be so but we could not approach it on account of the Ice.

Our water is horrid. Scareely drinkable on account of its saltness. The men seem to be in pretty good spirits and there are but few of them on the list. This has been a bright day and it is not very cold. We are however so thickly clad that it would require a severe degree of it to make us uncomfortable.

Feby 19th Aurora made its appearance about 10 last night. This morning thick and snowy and we were surrounded by Ice islands. At noon somewhat clearer but far from being entirely so. Going 9 knots. 4 pm Made the barrier and it came on thick & snowy wind died away in the evening.

Feby 20th Clear and bright most of the day having cleared up about 3 am. At 4 pm made the Barrier again. Surrounded by Ice islands of various shapes & sizes and appearance.

Feby 21st Today we have been coasting along the Barrier & at 6 pm we put our helm up for the north much to the joy of all hands, for we were
nearly worn out with anxieties and sufferings to which we had been so long subjected. We have coasted along the Barrier nearly 4 of the circumference of the globe & discovered land which we have seen at intervals for a thousand miles. We are at this moment "splicing the main brace" & the old ship is booming along 9 knots so that all hands are in good humor. Captn. Wilkes has just made a speech which tho by no means edifying to the officers was no doubt pleasing to the men, as it wound up by giving them an extra glass of grog. This is the sort of eloquence that speaks to the sailors heart.

Feby: 22 This has been a fine day & we have been going before the wind at the rate of from 9 to 11 knots. The rolling is tremendous. A hail Squall passed over us half an hour ago but only lasted a few moments. There is now a very small number of Ice islands in sight; a few scattered in the horizon. I must confess I am glad to get rid of them! I have had as much glory of this cold kind as will last me a lifetime. I do not know what the [Antarctic] continent will be called but suppose the naming of it will be left to government. This is Washingtons birthday! I drank a glass of Claret to his memory; altho rather a cold potation for these regions, my heart did not the less glow with pride at being his countryman. The more I think of him and the more I compare him with other men the most illustrious; the more am I confirmed in the belief that he is the greatest, the best, the most illustrious of them all.

No one can imagine the feeling of desolation which sometimes comes over one in the regions about the pole. Every thing is so different.

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27 The great achievement of the Antarctic phase of the Expedition was proving this land to be a continent.
from what we have been accustomed to see. The barren waste of waters interspersed with those huge & shapeless masses of Ice, the lowering sky, the fierce storms might well bring to the mind an idea of what chaos was. This scenery is so terrific that I sicken when I think of it and therefore I drop it forever.

23d to 28th Feb: Stiff weather mostly from Nd & Wd. Saw the last Iceisland on 26th. Weather gradually moderated till today (28th) & it is now a dead calm tho there is a heavy sea which gives a most disagreeable motion to the ship. We have had rain and snow in abundance but there is now some hope of fair weather as it looks clear to Wd. The weather has been very heavy since I last wrote and as disagreeable as possible.

It is supposed we will go into Sydney. The water has fallen short and we have only \( \frac{1}{2} \) gallon a day which gives about three ordinary tumblers for drinking. Living on salt provisions this quantity is far from being sufficient and I am now suffering for a drink without being able to obtain one.

Here end my notes on the subject of our Southern cruise, but their failure is of no importance as nothing memorable occurred during the voyage to Sydney where we arrived on \( \text{March 11, 1840} \).

We endeavoured to go into Hobart Town but the wind was baffling and we were unable to do so without losing more time than we had to spare. We found here \( \text{Sydney} \) the Peacock who had been obliged to put in on account of injuries which she received amongst the Ice. She had her forefoot carried away & lost her rudder and also her rudder but was enabled to get in the latter and repair it. She was for some time
in most imminent peril having drifted foul of an Iceberg, in a calm, from which projected a ledge of ice overhanging her deck & as she rebounded just far enough to clear it, it gave way with an awful crash. She had seen the land also & what she saw connected with ours, made a line of coast 1800 miles long or nearly ½ the circumference of the globe at in that latitude. There was a ball or two &c at Sydney but nothing of importance happened except that Gilchrist was sent home and Fox ordered to take charge of the medical department of this ship.

March 29th 1840 At 9 am got underweigh and beat out of the harbor. 5 pm discharged Pilot & stood on our way. Peacock remained at Sydney, not having completed her repairs.

March 29th 1840 Spoke the Whale Ship Villa de Bordeaux, of Bordeaux, bound to Sydney. Supplied him with beef and Pork.

March 30th 1840 About noon made the North extremity of New Zealand. Wind ahead all day so that it it \textit{sic.} was midnight before we came to in the Bay of Islands.

March 31st Bay of Islands

Found here the Porpoise and Flying fish together with the Gentlemen of the Scientific corps, except Mr. Couthouy who had proceeded from Sydney to the Sandwich Islands, via Taheite, on account of his health, according to order.

August 25th 1840

All the morning we were rolling about on the billows with scarcely any wind. What little we had was fair, but it was so very little as to send us at a mere snails pace towards the haven of our hopes! It may truly be called so to persons who have not heard from home for more than a year,
and who expect to receive numerous epistles there. About 1 pm a squall of wind and rain came up from N & E, light sails were taken in and all hands called to reef topsails. It only lasted a few moments and then left us in a calm with a heavier swell than before. Oh! how sickning to the heart is this "hope deferred". Heigho for a snorting breeze. Today Dr Fox wrote to Capt. W. that Blunt's health was suffering, and received for answer that he might have exercise when the Dr. thought necessary.

Felt miserably all day and have done so for some time past. Stomach and liver out of order. It was well called Liver, for no part of a man's body is so necessary to his living comfortably. My scheme of studying anatomy and French is knocked in the head by the state of my health which unfit me for all mental exertion or bodily either. Living on ship's biscuit, tea, the saltest beef and the brownest sugar. Read some of the life of John Brown Author of The Elements of Medicine (Phil. 1806). Unfortunate fellow! Much like Paracelsus Swiss physician and alchemist who claimed to have discovered the secret of prolonging human life indefinitely in some respects. Read tonight a review of the works of Goethe, in the N. American Review. The review is very interesting. Steerage no place for reading or composition, no one will deny this assertion who has been in one.

August 26th 40 This morning made an Island which proved to be Sydney.28

28 This island was not Sydney. It was an uncharted island about 60 miles west of Sydney which Wilkes named Hull Island after the prominent officer in the United States Navy. It is also known as Maria, Buck, p. 108.
It is about 12 miles in extent and is just like those we have seen in
the Low Archipelago. It has a large lagoon. Cocoanuts are very scarce
there. There being only a few young trees on the Island. We found
here a party of Taheiteans and a Frenchman. They were left some
months by a French trading schooner to take Turtle. Three of the
Taheiteans swam thro the surf to the ship & boat and came on board the
ship. They told us their party consisted of eleven. The Frenchman is
mate of the Schooner and has charge of the fishing party. They are
nearly out of provisions and have been obliged to ake out their stock
by eating Birds, Birdsegs and Fish. There is only one place on the
Island where they obtain water, a small hole probably filled with sea
water which by the time it reaches the reservoir is purified by being
drained thro the sands. They say they have taken 80 turtle which at
the rate of $15 a piece, and they are worth more; comes to $1200;
quite a smug sum. But what a miserable life these people must lead!
What can induce people to engage in such an employment. It is not wealth
surely, for none but the Capt, and mates gain any thing but a living.
However there must be men for all things.

August 27th 1840 We still continue to vibrate between calm, and
very light winds, and make little way on our course. We are now
steering S.E. in search of some Island or other about which there is some
doubt some way. Confound these Islands, I wish they were in the other
hemisphere so that we could pursue our way towards our letters without
interruption. By way of variety we had a squall of wind and rain at
dark. All sail was taken in except the topsails, but by the time it was
done the squall was over. It is now calm. By the way I must mention
that I heard Capt. W. end an angry address to the Boatswain, by the
elegant and gentlemanly expression "and be damned to you". Wilkes was
in the gangway and the Boatswain on the Forecastle so that most of the
men must have heard it. I did not intend to mention such things in my
Journal, but is is necessary to keep some record of them in the present
state of affairs for fear of accidents. This morning read some of
Dr. John Brown's elements of Medicine. It is a work indicative of
great genius and some of the principals are excellent.

Aug. 28th 1840 Last night steering N° & E°. Today have a fine breeze
from the E° and are steering N.N.E. About 10 am today made the Island
which we left the day before yesterday. The circumstance of our being
so far to the S° is owing to the strong currents which prevail here.
This is the most charming day we have had for a long time. Altho we are
not steering our direct course, still we are looking more towards it
than we have been of late & the very fact of the ship going thro the
water gives life after calms. I feel ten percent better today than I
did yesterday tho my stomach and Liver are still out of order. I am
afraid I write too much about my own feelings but a man must talk a good
deal about himself to make out even a page at sea. Some one has remarked
how strange it is that we travel hundreds and thousands of miles on
shore without writing one word, but that as soon as we put foot on board
ship, we commence Journals. I cannot imagine a situation where a man
has less to write about than when making an ordinary voyage,
particularly if he is sailing in the trade winds where every day passes
as every other has done, without the slightest variation scarcely, even
in miniature. As I am determined however to keep a journal in future
no matter where I may be, I will go regularly thro the form daily, even here. There are still several Islands to examine before we reach the Sandwich group. Read today some more of John Brown. There is much more sense in it than I expected to find. Commenced the Monastery, \[Sir Walter Scott, (Boston, 1831)\] after dinner. Some of Scotts introductory letters are rather prosy in my humble opinion. Continued \[Neil Arnott \] \[Elements of Physics, (Phil., 1831)\] tonight.

(Here is another 23th, I do not know how it comes) Today we had a fine breeze all day but it is ahead. All last night calm or nearly so and at noon today we found ourselves 30 miles south of the Island.

August 29th 1840

Had a fine wind all night last night which would have enabled us to steer our course but we lay to on account of some Islands. About daylight this morning passed one without stopping and about 10 am made another and surveyed it with the boats. But the strangest thing is that as soon as soon as \[sic\] we had finished this one, we put the ship about and stood back for the one we passed this morning, which was now 30 or 35 miles off. This Capt: of ours is either cracked or something else. He displays not one particle of judgement or arrangement in anything he does, and in my humble opinion, is no more fit to take charge of an expedition than I am to command an army.

I should be most unwilling to trust him with a ship if I had one.

What lucky fellows we are to have escaped so long without shipwreck. The Island we surveyed today was a mere sand spit with no trees on it and very little shrubbery. It is only a few feet above the level of the water and has a most beautiful and dazzling appearance. The beach is
so white as to have the appearance of an immense snowbank. The Island
is coral and has an immense number of birds and birds eggs on it. The
birds are of various sorts. Tropic Birds, Gulls, &c and their eggs are
as large as those of the hen. Some of the officers brought them off to
eat. Feel unwell today. Read John Brown and some of the Monastery, but
did not feel able to go thro a page of Arnott. We are now under gib
and topsails. Oh! that we should lose this glorious breeze! We might
be going 9 knots on our course! And short of provisions too! The man
is certainly deranged or a fool! "He a captain"

August 30th 1840- The wind has come out ahead and we have now a fine
breeze from the Nd & Ed, but we are still in search of these interminable
Islands. By the bye, we have not yet found the one we were in search
of yesterday. Today at noon we were 14 miles to leeward of it. Nothing
of importance has transpired today except that the Passd Midn who a
few weeks ago had the deck given them under some restrictions, were
deprived of it this morning. Eld & the Capt: had some words on deck
and soon after a Lieut was sent up to relieve him. The weather is fine
and we are in high spirits. There are some sores among the men which
look much like Scurvy; and some of them have slightly sore mouths; but
they are not sufficiently grave to cause much alarm.

Today read some more of John Brown and The Monastery. Could not
find time for Arnott. God only knows when we shall get to the Sandwich
Islands, probably not till we are driven in by want of water which will
be 40 days hence. We are now and have for some time been on short allow-
ance of provisions. No one can imagine how things have changed since
we left the U.S. We were the happiest set in the world then, but now ---
God save the mark!!!
August 31st 1840

I have no more idea where we are going or what we are doing, than the man in the moon, nor do I believe the Capt^n is more enlightened on this subject than I am. But this I do know, that we have passed all the Islands we were in search of. We have now a fine wind from the N^d & E^d and are steering E by S. Today Eld wrote to the Capt^n on the subject of his having been taken from the Quarterdeck, and received for answer that it was because he found it necessary to have an officer on the Forecastle, and not that he thought E incompetent. But from the manner in which he did it, I opine it must have been occasioned by something E said to him a short time previously. It is no doubt uncharitable to attribute to a man motives by which he declares himself not to have been actuated by, but when circumstances are stronger than your confidence in the man's honesty what can you do! Today read John Brown & Scott. Browns work has a great deal of sense in it and must have been the cause of much good, and of much evil too. He was truly a genius, but an unfortunate one.

Sep^F: 1st 1840 Nothing has taken place today which is worth noting. At last it is determined that we steer direct to the Sandwich Islands. We are now steering N E which is a good course, but the wind has died away almost to a calm. It is a dull business. Just the thing that always happens. When we were looking for those plagued Islands we had as much wind as we knew what to do with. Finished John Brown today. The next thing is [François Joseph Broussais'] "A Treatise on Physiology Applied to Pathology" (Phil., 1826). Read some of The Monastery. The "White Lady" [character in The Monastery] rather a
bore. What nonsense it is to write seriously about Hobgoblins at this
day. To represent the belief of the vulgar on these subjects is all
well enough, but to make the "White Lady" come on the stage and talk
and act is beyond all bearing.

Sep'\textsuperscript{2d} 1840

Last night about midnight the wind began gradually to increase and by
breakfast time this morning we were going 8 knots. The wind has continued
all day and we are now going 9 knots on our course.

About 1 pm today we had a squall which lasted just long enough for
us to get our light sails in & for a few moments after it was almost
calm, but we were soon relieved by a glorious breeze springing up. We
have now some hope of reading our letters in 15 or 16 days. Probably
tho the Commander may take it into his head to go Island hunting as be
generally does when no one on the face of the earth but him would think
of such a thing. Possibly the bad success he had last time may dis­
courage him, at least I hope so. How exilerating a fine wind is after
having been knocked about as we have. It has all the virtues which
Falstaff \[II Henry IV, Act IV, Sc. 3, l. 103,\] ascribed to a good
"Sherris \[Spanish wine\] sack." There is nothing now stirring on board
ship. A ship is the dullest place in the world. What a fine place it
would be for study if there were only a quiet place where one might
go. But every thing is bustle and every one is trying to find something
to drive away the blues, so that if you are not a most unsociable fellow
you cannot hope to be alone an hour at a time. My time never hangs
heavy scarcely when I am perfectly well, because I can then find sufficient
amusement in books; but occasionally when I am a little out of order and
an neither fit for reading nor conversation my time drags horribly.

This morning commenced Broussais' Physiology. After dinner took up The Monastery, but the White Lady soon put me asleep. What could Scott have been thinking about when he wrote that book! But if any one can be excused for writing a tiresome work occasionally, Scott is the man. His "Life of Napoleon Buonoparte, Emperor of the French, (London, 1827) has faults of a grave nature. It is a disgrace to him. He has made use of every act to blacken the character of the man whose life he pretends to write. Tho no admirer of Bonaparte I cannot avoid being sensible of the cunning with which Scott has traduced him. He sometimes is almost guilty of downright falsehood. What a pity such a man should have lent himself to such a vile purpose. His misfortunes may have had something to do with it. But the man who could blacken anothers character for money!! For shame Sir Walter. When shall I get over the habit of writing stale nonsense!

Sep 3d 1840

Fine wind all day, going at the rate of 8 knots. The weather clear and beautiful. I have been on deck two hours enjoying the delightful atmosphere. The climate however, altho so delightful in other respects has a peculiarly enervating effect on the human frame and renders a man almost too lazy to raise his hand up. You will probably say I have always been lazy, and perhaps I am a little so naturally, but now I have scarce energy enough to go to my dinner, and I know you never saw me in that predicament. The wind is now dying away but I hope it may freshen before morning. We are now (10 pm) going about 6 knots. How uninterest­ing all this must be to you, but I dwell on the progress of the ship
with more pleasure than on any other subject. Nothing else scarcely occupies my mind so that you need not hope for much interest in my journal till we arrive at the Sandwich Islands. Today read Broussais, Scott and Arnot. Head ached so that I did not profit much by what I read. Sep 4th 1840

Fine wind continues but for the greater part of the day only enabled us to head north. This however is doing extremely well. About noon the wind was baffling for half an hour and we thought we should loose [sic] it, but it soon came out again from Sd & Ed. Weather clear, thermometer varies from 80 to 83. Last night was remarkably cool and this morning I have Rheumatism in an arm and shoulder. Yesterday an order came out about Journals. Wilkes said some of them were not written up, some were not full enough some had no dates &c. That he was obliged to believe or that he feared some of the Gentlemen were in the habit of writing from the Log Book and not keeping daily notes and that if things were not better done next time he should be under the disagreeable necessity of doing his duty, &c. He said he considered the keeping of Journals paramount to every thing else! Quire? Does he know the meaning of the word paramount? The fact is that this order is all a piece of deception. The fact is for the last two years he has been in the habit of receiving just such Journals as those that were sent in last time; that he knew just as well then as he does now that the Journals, some of them, were taken from the log book & that he has heretofore been perfectly satisfied, or in other words, that he has not cared one cent for the journals generally. But recently he has had a falling out with Mr Blunt about his journal & all this is done to keep up appearances.
It is without exception the most barefaced shameless thing I ever knew. He must know that every one sees thro the whole affair. Nothing new except this has transpired today. Read a speech of Mr Wise on corruption. He is too abusive. Read the Abbot &c.

Sep 5th 1840 - All day today we have had a fair but moderate wind. We are steering N E by E. Nothing new. The weather is very oppressive especially in the steerage where there are six grown men of us writing in an apartment not more than 8 feet square and with no air except what we get through a single windsail. We are now about 1200 miles from the Sandwich Islands and hope to arrive there, with tolerable luck, in fourteen or fifteen days, but winds are so uncertain in these latitudes that we may be there in six and on the other hand may not for 25 or 30. I may now consider myself as quite a cruiser as I have crossed the line twice, been among the Icebergs twice, and doubled Cape Horn once beside having sailed in its neighbourhood times without number. How entirely things go by contrasts. The first time I came up from the frozen regions the land which first presented itself to our view was False Cape Horn, and it looked like a perfect paradise. As you may suppose, it is by no means an enticing looking spot to persons going from the North, but it had some green moss or something of that sort on it and this was sufficient to render it charming to us. We had seen nothing but Icebergs and land covered from twenty to forty feet with Snow and Ice for nearly a month. The whole amount of Vegetation on the Isle of Deception I took in my hand at once, and I brought half of it away in the heel of a sock. Tonight a number of birds made their appearance around the ship and some of them were caught. There are now some half dozen in the
Mizen top and occasionally when the sail flaps and disturbs them they send forth a most grating cry. They are about as large as hens tho shaped more like ducks. I do not know what species they are of. I judge there must be land near us and that it is uninhabited. The first from their roosting in this ship and the second from their not fearing man. I feel both sleepy and stupid tonight and you must excuse the dullness of my journal therefore. Today read some of The Abbot & tonight dipped into Arnott. The Abott is far superior to its predecessor in my opinion. Some of the scenes are extremely interesting. What can be more sprightly than the entrance of Roland into Edinburg -- I know nothing more delightful. I shall never, I am afraid, get over my love for Novels, But why should I fear! What can I read better? You will say Serious books, History, my profession &c. but the mind must have relaxation, and it is much better to read a novel than to engage in silly conversation as we young men generally do -- I am 27 tho! What an old child I will be when I get home!

Sep 6th 1840 Still continued to have a delightful breeze. It is now from $S^\frac{1}{2}E$ and enables us to head our course at the rate of 5 knots tho we have for the greater part of the day been going much more. How happy it makes us all. It is more than we could have possibly expected as the N E trades are the prevailing winds here. If it only holds on 8 days longer we shall be safely moored in our port. I expect to have at least 30 letters & the very dullest of them, if any should be dull ones, will be worth their weight in gold. Just think that my last dates are nearly two years old! Alas! what changes for weal or for woe may have taken place since then! My soul sickens when I reflect on the
subject! Nothing has happened today. It being Sunday, we had service. Just as the sermon was to have commenced, a squall came on and all hands had to be sent on deck. It is an ill wind that blows no one good! So thought me & probably the Parson. Read some of The Abbot, and am ashamed to say, I did not look at my bible. Promise to do better next time. Sep 7th 1840

Altho both last night and the night before numerous birds came to roost in the ship, we have not yet seen land, tho no doubt we have passed near it. There are no birds tonight. We have had a smart wind from the Sd & Ed most of the day tho there have been one or two short calms & as many squalls. These squalls come up when we least think of it and frequently catch us before we have time to take in sail. Today in one of them we carried away the clue of the main topsail and split the sail considerably. In the course of an hour, however, we had a new one bent and were dashing along at the rate of 8 knots. Blunt was restored to duty today tho he has neither written up his journal nor made an apology to the Captain. So much for the consistency of our head of affairs. Those were the only conditions on which he would be restored, as W[ilkes_7] said to B[La writing]. I am delighted that Blunt is let out of this hot hole as his health was suffering much from the badness of the atmosphere &c. Poor Mr Drayton is terribly alarmed about an Island which some charts put down not far ahead of us. Shoals, Islands and reefs seem to be his evil Genii. A man who has lived on shore till he is middle aged, is not to be blamed for being afraid of the sea sometimes as even us young bloods do not always feel entirely easy. We had some rain this afternoon and the decks being wet tonight I missed my
accustomed walk & talk with Mr. Hale. We take it from 7 till 9 & sometimes 10 o'clock and frequently I forget my Meteorological observations when talking with him. I like him extrimely. He is so intelligent well informed and perfectly amiable. He does not want spirit neither tho a person not well acquainted with him might think so from the softness of his manners. Today read Broussais and finished The Abott. It is truly, the abott, a delightful performance. I cannot help pitying poor Mary of Scotland, tho my judgement tells me she was deeply imbued with sin. Some of the scenes in this work are the most delightful I ever read.

Sep*: 8th 1840

All last night was calm with the exception of a few squalls, so that during the 24 hours we only made about 80 miles good. Today passed in a most provoking state of placidity till about 8 pm when the wind sprung up from N & E. This is the regular trade wind and it is dead ahead. We may expect a continuance of it so that without some good luck we will be 25 or 30 days getting into port. Is this not provoking!

With a fair wind of moderate force we could run the distance easily in 5 days! And to be kept from our letters a whole month is horrible. You never saw "mirth changed to melancholy" more suddenly and more universally than it has been amongst us. However, we must be contented with what we have and trust to God's providence for better. This I find is the only true Philosophy after all, and if there is one situation in life where a man is called upon to use it more than another, it is on board ship. Our hopes are literally blown about by every wind. However, it is an ill wind that blows no one good, Some of us are in debt to the Purser & this delay will enable us to work out, as we can spend nothing here.
We are now living on our ration, and hard living it is. Today we had for breakfast, ships biscuit, no meat and tea with brown sugar: This was the sum total. The biscuit is so hard that it is almost impossible to bite it and it occasionally has enough worms in its composition to walk off with it. Dinner: the same bread, a small quantity of preserved vegetable soup (a little spoiled) and a piece of salt beef so hard and dry as to be susceptible of a fine polish, yams & dried apples. Supper bread and tea. This is a sort of diet that man soon gets tired of.

Today read some of Broussais in the morning. After dinner Pleasures of Memory (Samuel Rogers, Boston, 1811) and commenced Pleasures of Hope (Thomas Campbell, Boston, 1811). The first is extremely sweet and smooth, but the latter is one of the most delightful things I have ever read. Blunts extra pay is still stopped. He wrote to the Captain today to know why it was so & why he had been suspended, but received no satisfactory answer. This is rather too much of family squabbles however!

Sep*: 9th, 1840

"Poor child of danger, nursling of the storm, 
Sad are the woes that reach thy manly form; 
Rocks, winds and waves the shattered barque delay, 
Thy heart is sad thy home is far away."

Last night when I wrote we had a fine wind, but it was ahead. It only lasted a short time however and we have since been bedeviled with calms. Nothing is so disheartening.

And now, having let out my doggerel, I feel much better, I assure you, altho the unfortunate who reads this will doubtless feel much worse.
What little wind we have now is aft, but with all our sail set we can only go one knot. Today a noddy lit on the hammock cloth & allowed us to pat him on the back without shewing any sign of alarm. He is a webfooted bird as large as a dove and of a beautiful dark brown color approaching to black. The top of his head is much lighter. His bill is long and keen. We have seen no land yet tho we must have passed near some. Read today Broussais and Gertrude of Wyoming, *Thomas Campbell, (Boston, 1811)* together with Montgomery's W. Indies, *Montgomery or the West Indian Adventurer*. By a Gentleman resident in the West Indies, (Jamaica, 1812). Finished Pleasures of Hope, it is delightful. Tonight Arnots Physics. Today Blunt wrote again to know why he was suspended &c but his letter was returned with a short note from the Purser.

Sep 10th 1840

Last night when I retired to rest we were creeping along at a snails pace, and frequently bobbing up and down in a calm, but when I turned out this morning I was delighted to find that a fine wind had sprung up at about midnight which enabled us to head our course. We are now steering N at the rate of 6 knots and have been doing this or better nearly the whole day. It is quite cloudy, and suffocatingly hot in the steerage. Perhaps the murkiness of the atmosphere accounts for my want of ideas; but I am afraid there is another and more probable cause, which accounts for it as well if not better. However I have forced out a
verse of doggerel, and this is a good deal for a lazy man to do in one
night. No one can imagine what a horrible inconvenience the doing of
the most ordinary things is to me. The pulling off and putting on my
clothes are dreadful. It is so fatiguing to me to tie on my cravat that
I never succeed in doing it decently. I go without suspenders when I
can do so, because they have six buttons holes which require to be
adapted to the corresponding buttons. Boots I have not worn for months,
simply because they have to be pulled on in the morning and then to be
pulled off again at night. I lie on the bed all day with a book in my
hand and would never change my position were it not for a law of nature
which is that when two things are united and another is thrown in which
has a stronger attraction for either than they have for each other, a
separation will take place and where there is the strongest affinity,
there will be the union. Now the bed and your humble servant are
indissolubly united all the morning, but regularly about two o'clock an
odor of dinner arises, hunger comes in and claims me for her own, and
under her influence I muster sufficient muscular power to toddle down to
the steerage where the attraction is. Is this not philosophically
accounted for? If any one calls me lazy in future let him do me the
justice to acknowledge that I am the most candid lazy man among them all.

Nothing new today. This morning read Broussais. After dinner some
of a little French Comedy tis not much, but I think that sort of reading
makes one familiar with the sort of phrases which are used in conver-
sation. Tonight read Arnott. Hope to be in the S [sandwich] Islands in
the course of a week but this is very far from being certain.
September 11th 1840

Yesterday we made two degrees on our course. The wind still continues steady. We are at this moment heading our course but are frequently unable to do so. A little more to the Sd & Wd and we would go 8 knots whereas we only make about five. However we ought all to be perfectly satisfied, as a fair wind in these latitudes is not to be looked for with any certainty. In five days or a little more we shall probably be in.

Today we were only 730 miles off. How we will revel in news from home, I do not expect to be good for any thing for at least a month after we arrive. All the news of two years will be before us at a glance, and what does not two years bring forth! Nothing new today. Weather extremely oppressive in the steerage. Crew continue pretty health tho some of them have slight symptoms of scurvy. They seem peculiarly susceptible of the influence of Mercury. This morning read Broussais; after dinner a french comedy. Too sleepy tonight for Arnott and too stupid to write. The latter you have no doubt found out ere this.

Sep 12th 1840 At noon today we were just 600 miles from our port and the greater part of the day we have been heading pretty well. Now however we are making a little westing which is bad. If this wind holds we shall be out at least 12 days longer. We have however been much favoured with slants and I do not dispair of our being so again. 120 miles of Easting is all we have to make. See how much we depend on every breath of heaven. The excitement is getting to be painful in the extreme. All our thoughts are turned on port and on our letters;

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29 Mercury was (and mercurous chloride still is) used as an application in ulcers and skin rashes.
not a moment passes but that our thoughts are occupied and thus the plan of diverting our minds by reading and other things which would make the days pass rapidly by, is denied us almost entirely.

I waded through some pages of Broussais today, but it did not stick; read also a french comedy but it did not stick either, so that I do not derive much profit from my work, and no pleasure. What shall I do with myself. By the way all my blues & liver complaint were dispersed by a couple of Bluepills which I took some time ago.

Sep* 13th 1840

Alas! poor wanderer on the stormy ocean
Thy lots a hard a sad one to my notion,
Others are snug at home, while we their betters
Have not the consolation even of our letters.

Stil the breeze continues fresh but from the wrong quarter. At noon today we were 480 miles from our port, having made 19 miles of Westing during the last 24 hours and we have been heading N by W or thereabouts all day. All hope of getting in in less than 8 or 10 days is now at an end, & we have made up our minds to bear the longest time as patiently as possible; at least I have.

We have had several squalls of wind and rain during the day. The weather is more balmy and pleasant tonight than it has been for some time, but nevertheless the steerage is hot and uncomfortable. I am obliged to write on my knee, the only table we have being under the hammocks which are slung at 8 o'clock. This is a horrible inconvenience, and just where I am now sitting to write is a thorofare for everyone who goes into the Wardroom. You people on shore have not the slightest idea of the inconveniences with which we are obliged to put up. Read today the life of Tom Moore. Heard a sermon, it being Sunday, Will read some of
the Bible as soon as I finish this, and I know, after having said as much, you will wish my writing at an end, so I bid you good night.

Sep 14th

The darkening clouds proclaim a coming squall
Hark to the boatswain's pipe! His mates hoarse howl.
The ropes glide swiftly thro the well greased blocks
The light sails all are in, the thickening gale she mocks.

The early part of the day has been rather discouraging as we have been making W.ing This afternoon there have been frequent squalls one of which took us aback, but did no injury. We are at this moment (5 past 9) going N by E at the rate of 9 knots, but I doubt much if this will last long. Ten days will put us in if we are obliged to beat and have good winds. With a fair wind we could run in in two with the greatest ease. Several of the officers will probably leave us at the S Sandwich Islands. It is oppressively hot in the steerage and take it all together it is the most uncomfortable place I ever was in. I pray that I may be sent to the Peacock, but I suppose if I were to go there the Asst. Surgeon's room would be pulled down and then I should be worse of \$ than I am now. However I would be out of the atmosphere of a certain person.

Today read Broussais, Commenced the history of Portugal in French, Perfectly disgusted with Tom Moore.

Sep 15th 1840

Still the wind continues unfavorable, tho fresh. It is now determined to run up into Lat. 23 or 4 North and then down to our port. This we may possibly do in six days if we continue to have as much wind as now. I must give you a short journal today as I am tired of talking about the eternal subject of winds, and there is nothing else to talk about
here. Felt so badly today that I could read nothing but a little of Moore’s light trash. Tonight had an interesting conversation of two hours with Mr Hale whom I like more and more, the more I know him. He is very intelligent and communicative tho not fond of talking unless in private. He is an excessively modest man and sensitive almost to a fault. His amiability is delightful.

Sep’t: 16th 1840

Thro the dark billows as we plough at night
Tis beauteous to see
Our track a stream of living light
As bright as bright can be.

And thru the sprays our boughs throw up,
Oh! How you would admire
It falls back into oceans cup
A shower of living fire.

Nothing remarkable today. You see I have perpetrated more than my usual quantity of doggerel. I write this sort of stuff in order to acquire a more extensive knowledge of words than I possess; I am frequently at a loss to find one for my rhyme, and then, of course, I think over a great many. This you will probably think a poor excuse for my inflicting my stupid verse on you; but then I say if you dont like it, why e’en let it alone. The wind is still fresh but we have been making Westing all day. At this moment we look to the Nd & Ed. Probably with this wind we shall be in in 8 days. Read Broussais and the lives of Sterne and McKenzie30 Much more pleased with the latter than the former.

30 This is probably The Works of Laurence Sterne... with a life of the author, written by himself, (London, 1819). It contains also The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman. “McKenzie” could be Henry Mackenzie who wrote A Man of Feeling (London, 1820) and was influenced by Sterne.
both as a writer and man, Sterne's works are disgustingly obscene particularly when we consider that he was a clergyman.

Sep$: 17th 1840

Such are the varied beauties of the Ocean
That not a wave is set in motion
But brings to the delighted view,
Something that's rich or rare or new.

Nothing new today. Being abreast of our port & about 210 miles off, we are now beating up in good earnest. The wind favors us somewhat and we shall probably be in by Sunday. The water for the last two nights has been beautifully luminous. We have a fine wind. Today, not feeling in a humor for Physick or French, read the Life of Nelson by £ Robert_ Southy [sic_] [New York, 1813]. It is a beautiful work but I do not think Nelson a great man. He was a daring and skilful officer, but that is all.

Sep$: 18th 1840

I saw a poor heart almost die
With disappointment's cruel pain;
But at that moment Hope came by
And bid that poor heart live again.

We have been all day beating up towards our port, but, I believe, made little progress. The ship is so light that she makes a great deal of leeway. At noon we were 160 miles off. When we shall get in I do not know. I am determined to make up my mind to bear with patience the longest, but to hope for the shortest passage. This is the true Philosophy after all. Prepare for the worst but hope for the best. Today read the £ History and_ Life of Admiral £ Robert_ Blake £ John Oldmixon (London, 1740?)] A truly great man.
Head wind, make little toward our port. Probably get in in two or three days. Nothing new today. Read nothing and did nothing except think of my miserable self. A worse fit of gloom today than I have had for a long time. It is truly horrible. No apparent cause. If I ever get home and can raise funds sufficient I will purchase a small farm and a moderate library and spend my days in labor and study. Then I can at least have quiet, and luxury, I have never sighed for. I believe my selection of a profession has been unfortunate for me. If men possessing the first genius and the greatest enthusiasm and industry have yet proceeded in the practice of medicine with fear and trembling, how should one like me, possessing the most ordinary capacity, no industry or enthusiasm, and a very small stock of learning (if my little knowledge can indeed be called learning at all) venture to give a dose of medicine without suffering the utmost torture. I have not always this feeling, but occasionally it comes over me with such force as to make me perfectly miserable. Probably tomorrow I shall be quite happy and consider myself as tolerably competent as a Physician, but I am sadly afraid that my present feelings are a more true index of what is really the case.

Sep 19th 1840

Land Ho! the lookout loudly cries
At once our hopes and spirits rise
Each bosom's filled with instantaneous joy
The oldest man's as merry as a boy.

Land was made out early this morning. At noon our port was 50 miles off
and the wind dead ahead. We are now within 35 miles probably but have a baffling wind which will probably keep us out till late tomorrow, or probably till the next day. We did not expect to make the land today but have had a current in our favor. Read nothing.

Note We were cruising off and on till the 24th, not being able to get in, and in fact when we made the land no one on board knew whether we had hit the right place or not. On the 24th we came to early in the morning in the outer harbor. My letters were handed me while I was sitting at breakfast, and you may well suppose put an end to my meal tho I had tasted so little good food lately that my appetite was by no means moderate. I had thirty letters, most of them from the members of my own family. The receipt of them had a very singular effect on me. It produced a congestion about the heart which was very oppressive, produced continual sighing and a sensation of suffocation which was extremely painful. I was unable to read any of them for more than 24 hours, all I could do was to find one of the latest dates and see that all were well. When I read them I found not one single event had occurred to make me unhappy. One or two of the officers heard of deaths in their family, but there were remarkably few things of this sort.

On the morning of the 25th we were dragged into the inner harbor by about 100 natives who took the end of one of our hawser and walked us right in. I scarcely know what to say about Oahoo; It is so well known that perhaps the less the better. The town is called Honolulu and contains about 10,000 inhabitants of whom 600 probably are Europeans. The town is built altogether of the native reed houses except those occupied by the whites which are frequently, tho not universally built
of coral or mud shaped like bricks, only three or four times as large, and burned in the sun. The coral is cut into square, or rather oblong pieces about the same size as the mud bricks; these latter the people here call dobies. The streets are sufficiently wide and have walls on each side, of these dobis, about 4 feet high. This gives the town a confined and disagreeable look. There are several stores here some of which do quite a large business. Mechanics are scarce and frequently dissipated. There are several Doctors, most of whom are dissipated also. The white inhabitants are quite agreeable for their sort, and treated us very kindly while we were here. There was a Mr Jarvis, the editor of the paper, who had a very pretty and agreeable little wife. Most of us lived on shore a good deal. Four others and myself took a large house, hired a boy to attend to it, and had our beds moved ashore. We took our meals on board. The house we had was built of reeds, had a large flower garden around it and a most delightful bath, the water of which was supplied from a well by means of a windmill. Our whole expense here for a month including hire for house and boy was only six dollars. The French and English consuls who lived near us used to visit us daily and tell us all the news of the place and some of its history. I think I never saw a place, not even Boston which was so much split up into parties as this one. Almost every individual formed a

31 James Jackson Jarves was born in Boston in 1818. In the spirit of adventure and trade, he sailed for Hawaii and arrived in 1838. Two years later he edited and published a newspaper, the Polynesian. It was a 4 column, 4 page weekly but died a year and half later for lack of support. Undaunted, Jarves started a second series of his paper in 1844 and continued it until he left the Islands in 1848. Riley H. Allen, "Hawaii's Pioneers in Journalism," 37th Annual Report, Hawaiian Historical Society, for the year 1928, pp. 80-83.
small party himself, besides belonging to one or more of the larger ones.

Our principal amusement was riding on horseback. Almost all of us kept a horse which cost us about 15 dollars a month all expenses included. We used to ride chiefly up a vally \( ^{\text{sic}} \) just back of the city and one of the merchants had a beautiful little country seat about five miles out where we used to call. This vally is the most delightful place I ever saw. Let it be never so hot in this town, by riding five or six miles out here you find the most delightful breeze and a thermometer not above 60. About Eleven miles from the town this vally terminates being stopped by a high ridge which divides the island into two. It is called the Pari \( ^{\text{Pali}} \) and from it you can see the sea on both sides. On the one farthest from the town is a precipice of two or three thousand feet and it is rumored that one of the ancient Kings of Oahoo being invaded by a neighboring prince got in their rear, drove them up the valley and over this precipice \(^{32}\) The wind on this ridge is frequently so strong that it is difficult to stand on it. The view from it is most magnificent.

Wilkes and some of the officers called on the King \( ^{\text{Kamehameha III}} \) a few days after our arrival here. \(^{33}\) His palace is a good wooden house.

\(^{32}\) In uniting the Hawaiian Islands into one Kingdom, King Kamehameha won a decisive battle against Kalanikupule at Nuuanu Valley in 1795. In this battle, "Kamehameha's warriors advanced, with some skirmishes across the plain to Nuuanu Valley, where the Oahu forces elected to make a stand. The latter fought stubbornly but were dislodged from their strong position on a steep slope and driven up the valley, the retreat turning finally into a rout. Some warriors escaped over the mountain ridges on either side of the valley, a few made their way down the trail into the Koolau district, and some were simply tumbled over the pali at the upper end of the valley and dashed to destruction on the rocks below... Kalanikupule wandered miserably in the mountains for several months but was finally captured and sacrificed to the war god Kukailimoku." Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1938), p. 47.

\(^{33}\) It is amusing to note that on the arrival of the squadron at Honolulu, Kamehameha III sent them a present of fish. Quite a gift for those who had been at sea for two years! R.R.W.E., Vol. XIII. Microfilm Collection, Univ. of Hawaii.
He received us with a great deal of politeness and behaved himself like a gentleman. We learnt afterwards that he was in full dress to receive us, but looking through the window and seeing us in undress, he retired and put on a plain suit. He is a remarkably good looking man and Col. Stephens, who is his favourite, is really handsome. The King is skilled in a good many light accomplishments; he rides, dances, fences, and plays billiards remarkably well.

Soon after we got here a criminal trial took place and two men were condemned to be hung for having produced the death of one of them by poison. The principal evidence was the confession of the parties accused. They were sworn to tell the truth and then examined like any other witnesses! The King left before the execution and it was said he did so that he might not see it. There is a fort at Honolulu but it is a very indifferent affair and is used more as a prison than as a military station. The governor of Honolulu lives in it. He is a fine looking old man and behaves himself with as much dignity as any one I ever saw.  

A large house in the town was taken and fitted up as an observatory and a house in the same enclosure was appropriated to the sick of the squadron, but on the third day they were all found drunk and had to be taken on board ship, tho some of them knew that their health for months depended on their keeping sober and behaving themselves properly. This is just in character with all sailors, for the smallest present enjoyment they will subject themselves to lasting pain and inconvenience & even to the risk

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34 Mathew Kekuanaoa. He was not of high rank among the Chiefs but was a man of exceptional ability. He was the father of Kamehameha IV and V.
Several parties were given to the officers while we were here by different citizens. I went to one of them but felt very much like a fish out of water as I am totally unaccustomed to these things and have no taste for them. The officers also gave an entertainment at a house which they rented about two miles out of town. There was a dinner & a dance and it was kept up till 2 o'clock at night. A balloon was attempted to be sent up, but it burst much to the disappointment of the good people. I did not attend it, but it was said to have been the most "splendid affair ever witnessed at Oahoo." The Scientists visited several of the Islands of the group. An eruption had taken place in Owihee a short time before we got in which added somewhat to the extent of the island on one side. Pinckney and Lewis were sent home from this place and also Gouthouy, one of the Scientists, who had some difficulty with our great head. The people here are perfect slaves and the most depraved set you will find anywhere. They have not the slightest idea of morality. Money is the god and will do any thing. There is a great jealousy between the French Catholic priests and the American Missions. The former were much persecuted when they first arrived here, but this has been rectified by the French government and now they are thriving and making many converts. They have two or three thousand followers in the Island of Oahoo alone. They are said to be very good and learned men. The brig left here before we did. I do not know certainly what her destination was to be but believe she was

35 This eruption of Kilauea volcano in the Puna District destroyed the village of Nanawale, June 3, 1840.
ordered to go into the Dangerous Archipelago to [bore.] Coral and to Tahete to make some survey which we neglected when we were there so long. The Schooner was fitted here and afterwards employed in carrying about the Scientists. The command of her was taken away from Larry Sinclair and given back to Sam Knox.

A singular thing took place here. Dr. Guillou had been at loggerheads with Wilkes for some time and in consequence was taken from the Brig and put on board of the Peacock as Assistant Surgeon. Thus he had three Juniors above him; vis Fox who was acting as Surgeon in the Vincennes, Holmes who was in the Brig and myself as asst Surgeon in the Vincennes. When we got to Oahoo Capt Wilkes gave Guillou permission to return to the U.S. and without waiting to see whether he would accept it (supposing of course that he would) he gave Fox an Acting Surgeons appointment in the Vincennes and sent me to the Peacock. Guillou refused to go home unless he was ordered to do so and had some squabble with Wilkes about it in consequence he was arrested and sent on board the Peacock probably to remain there during the balance of the cruise. We left Oahoo in the Peacock on the 2d Dec and saw the Vincennes come out the next day. The Vincennes was destined to the Marquesas and was expected back at Oahoo in a short time.37

36 Word illegible.
37 Wilkes was detained at Hilo so the Vincennes did not make the trip to the Marquesas as planned.
Well! here I am at my diary again after an interval of nearly three months. I have been on board the Peacock about ten days, and like her extremely well. I have once more a room where I can retire and be alone. This is to me a great blessing, for there are times when the face of my best friends [sic] is hateful to me. The caprice of a Tyrant deprived me of this comfort before, but I am now in hopes I shall be able to retain it. If he finds I am too happy tho' he may take some means to damp my enjoyment; I have known him to do these things. Cuillou reads with me till bedtime. [He is] One of the most amiable and intelligent men I am acquainted with—always at the service of his friends. Ready to do anything for them that he can do, and I have seldom known him fail in anything he undertook. Sailed from Honolulu [sic] four days ago. Head wind nearly all the time which is an unusual thing. It is now midnight so I will turn in. Read [John Gibson Lockhart's Memoirs of the] Life of Walter Scott [Edinburgh, 1837] today. He was a wonderful man.

Sunday 6th December

We have had a fair & fresh wind all day. Lat 16° and something N. Don't know what our destination is exactly but think we shall go to the

Navigators [Samoan Islands] Kingsmill [Gilberts], Ascension [Ponape,
Caroline Islands] & Quiros otherwise called the Island of handsome people.38 The two latter I should like much to see, one on account of some ruins which are said to exist there and the other on account of the

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38 See Introduction for the official route of the Peacock on this mission.
beauty of the inhabitants. Have not read any medicine for a long time. Intend commencing tomorrow, as also French. Have been reading lately the Life of Scott by his son-in-law [John Gibson Lockhart]. I like it very much tho it is almost too long. I am now nearly thro' it. What a melancholy affair the failure of his booksellers was. I know nothing so distant which has affected me as much for a long time. Had a sermon read today by the Capt: [Hudson]. He is a miserable reader and very affected, the most disgusting of all affectation, an affectation of sanctity. I like the Peacock very much. Nothing has occurred today. It is now nearly 11 o'clock so good night.

December 7th 1840 It is nearly 12 at night

It's nearly 12 oclock at night
My eyes are tired of reading. So I'll write.

But what to write about is a puzzle in its way as nothing has happened to us worth speaking of. The wind continues fast and we are going 9 knots by the log's shewing.39

It's nearly 12 at night oclock at night
My eyes are tired of reading so I'll write
But what to write about's a puzzle in its way
As nothing of great note has happened to us today.
The wind continues fresh & we are going
Nine knots or more, by the logbook's shewing.
The gallant little Schooner's following in our rear
Oh! what a glorious sight it is to see her
As thro' the briny waves she takes her way
Throwing aloft on either side the snow white spray
Bending to the breeze like pliant willow
Riding like wild duck on the mountain billow.
I'm happy here, but some how I would sooner
Be in that gallant, gallant little schooner.
How thrilling is the sailors roving life.
Amid the rage of storm & battle strife.
Such are the varied beauties of the ocean
That not a wave is set in motion

39 This first entry was written, then crossed out.
But brings to the delighted view
Something that’s rich or rare or new.
The bell has now struck 12, the watch begin
To tumble out so I’ll ene tumble in.
Good night, wheres you are, may pleasant dreams attend you.
These lines I’m sure, a drowsy fit will send you.

December 8th 1840

Read some old papers, pamphlets & what not
And finished Lockharts Life of Walter Scott
Soon after supper took, by way of drench
From Dr G, a page or two of French

Fresh wind and ugly sea all day. The schooner in sight, but at such a
distance that we have had no communication with her. The old ship is
very comfortable tho there is rather too much motion to enable us to be
exactly at our ease. Everything has to be secured and he who drinks his
tea without spilling some of it, is a pretty smart fellow. My room is
a most delightful one, nicely fitted up, thanks to G [Guillou] and as
cool as a room can be on this deck. Just finished Lockharts life of
Scott which is too long but very interesting. What a melancholy thing
the life of such a man is! However it teaches us an excellent example
in morality. I have again commenced French and as Dr. Guillou has kindly
offered to teach me, I have some hope of attaining a tolerable knowledge
of it. He is teaching me the pronunciation and thinks I will be able to
learn it. Commenced a little abridgement of the American Revolution.
Tomorrow must take up some medical book. The ship is rolling dreadfully
in consequence, partly of our being obliged to shorten sail for the
Schooner. It is now 12 o’clock and I have written more than my quantum
so good night. P.S. The necessity I am under of saying so much of
myself in this diary almost disgusts me with it but I am determined to
keep it at all hazards.
December 9th 1840

Not the slightest thing today. We are going at the rate of 8 knots with the Schooner in company. Terrible rolling. Expect to make Washington Island \(74^0\text{Uahuka}_4^{40}\) early tomorrow. Crew quite healthy, only four on the list & most of them slight cases. This morning commenced reading Dewers Practice of Medicine with Dr. G. Read some of the history of the American Revolution by Landrum /\(7\text{John Lendrum, A Concise, Impartial History of the American Revolution, (Boston, 1795)}_7\). Read some pages of French.

Guillou says I improve a good deal which is great consolation as I was under the impression that I was too stupid to learn it. Just struck 12 so good night. No doggerel today which is a great blessing to whoever reads this.

December 10th 1840

About noon today ran over one of the situations where Washingtons Isle is laid down on the charts without seeing anything of it. As there is considerable difference of opinion about its actual position we are now searching for it. This is dull work. Wind not so fresh as it has been. Sailing before it. Terrible rolling. Schooner in company. Studies as yesterday. Some improvement in French which pleases me much as I am very anxious to learn it. Half an hour past midnight.

December 11th 1840

Early today made an Island which is called Washington or \(7\text{New York}_7\). It is low but one of the most luxuriant spots I have ever seen. It is

\footnote{\textit{Discovered by Captain Edmund Fanning in the American ship Betsy, June 12, 1798. He named it for President George Washington. It is about 75 miles northwest of Fanning Island. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., \textit{American Polynesia} (Honolulu, 1941), p. 167.}}
probably 15 miles \[9 miles\] in circuit and literally crammed with cocoanut trees I have ever seen. It is uninhabited as is proved by the quantity and tameness of the birds, mostly boobies which are on it. They come off to the ship in crowds and shewed no fear of us, lighting every where and suffering themselves to be taken by the men. After fixing the position of the land we left it without landing. About dark heavy squalls and rain. Split our jib. Studies as yesterday. The weather very sultry and oppressive.

December 12th 1840

Today it rained almost incessantly the whole day, and in torrents. Atmosphere hot and sultry. Thermometer 82. Crew healthy. Only one, I believe, on the sick list; our carpenter who has rheumatism from having been long under water in the diving bell. Read medicine & french. Finished the American Revolution & commenced Nicholby \[\text{Life & Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby (London, 1839)}\] promises to be interesting. Feel unwell tonight so I shall go to bed early.

Decr: 13th 1840

Wind not so fresh as for some days past. Weather more pleasant tho we had rain this morning. Early this morning made an Island which proved to be the one (Washington) we saw some days ago. Mistake of about 15 miles in our Longitude, Schooner had hers right. We are lying off and on and will land tomorrow. Took French lesson tonight. Nearly 12 oclock. Good night.

Decr: 14th 1840

Nothing of importance today. Occasional rains & squalls of wind. This is a most disagreeable latitude, being almost all the time either calm
or squally. Studies same as yesterday. 12 oclock.

December 15th 1840

December 16th
Squalls of wind & rain. Today made that everlasting Island [Washington] which we have seen twice before. We are now on our way to Fannings Island.41 Went on board the Schooner to see a sick man. Continued to study French & Medicine. Tonight G. read me the preface to [Richardson's Dictionary].

December 17th 1840
Today has passed off pretty much as all the days have passed off since we left port & will pass off till we get into port again.

What can a man write about at night, who sits in a room 6 feet by 4 all day long, scarcely leaving it twice & then only for a few moments?

I am sometimes almost resolved to discontinue my diary, but I will keep it if only to keep a determination I made when I commenced. We are literally overrun with cockroaches. Every thing is full of them, and I may say with safety that a bushel might be obtained in the steerage.

I wonder if it is the same kind we see on shore! It is certainly a singular animal and not an uninteresting one when they are less numerous.

I don't like them in my food tho! And I am obliged to eat some dozen or so every day. I wish I had Com'r Kennedy's taste! It would be gratified

41 Discovered by Captain Edmund Fanning, June 11, 1798, just one day before his discovery of Washington Island. It is about 75 miles southeast of Washington Island. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 164.
to the fullest extent. A cockroach is really and without joke one of the most sensible and social looking animals I ever saw; he walks up to you, and will stand and look at you for minutes at a time, just for all the world as if he wished to enter into conversation with you. If I had only one and was in prison, where I did not see the "human face divine" I think I could become quite fond of him. Indeed on board the Vincennes once there was one in my room that I had saved from death several times and he used to come and look at me for a quarter of an hour at a time with such a quiet air of thankfulness and gratitude that I became quite attached to him; his countenance was very expressive and I was as much convinced of his fondness for me as if he had told me he entertained it. I used to tickle him with a straw, and tho they are usually very timid, running from the slightest approach, he used to stand & take this tickling without saying a word or performing an action evincive of fear, but on the contrary gave evident signs of enjoying it very much. In fact I once heard a faint sound as if he had indulged in moderate laughter, but as the noises on board ship are so various I am not positive that it was really so. We have a large kind now which are gradually eating up the smaller ones, so that we may in time get rid of them. But enough of this little animal. Studies same as yesterday. G. says I make considerable progress in French. Afraid I shall never be able to speak it. Half past 12. Good night.

Decr: 13th 1840

Good wind and fair; sailing for Fanning's Island. Crew in fine health, only three on the list and two of them slight cases. Every thing gets along smoothly on board as the Capt: [Hudson] is a good natured man.
Our mess is by no means as good a one in point of living as the one I left on board the Vincennes. We have no steward & every thing is dirty. Studies same as yesterday. Nicholby has become intensely interesting towards the end. It is a most excellent book. Read no medicine today because G. was sick.

Decr 19th 1840

Today much as yesterday. We are looking for some shoal of which I do not know the name and of which the existence is doubted. Left off the attempt to find Fanning's Island some days ago. The wind being ahead. Today crossed the line for the third time. The wind is fine and fair but this shoal detains us. This is Saturday night and it is duly celebrated in the W. [ard] Room, we never keep it up in the steerage. Studies as yesterday. Finished Nicholby, with which I was delighted, and commenced Dugald Stewart's philosophy /Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind (London, 1792)/. Got into a talk with Mr. Hale on deck tonight & before I thought it was 10, it was 12 oclock, so that I have not read much; but the pleasure of talking to him is superior to that of reading and is instructive too. Good night, my eyes wink while I write this.

Decr 20th 1840 Sunday

Early this morning made the shoal we have been in search of. It is a long sand spit, probably two miles, and has a few shrubs &c on it.42

42 This proved to be Jarvis Island discovered by Captain Brown of the English ship Eliza Francis, August 21, 1821. It has also been called Bunker, Volunteer, Jervis, Brook or Brock. It is about 260 miles (a little west of south) from Fanning. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 156.
Birds are quite numerous. It has never been landed upon and still we
made no attempt to do so!! This seems singular. Captain Michael
Baker had made landings from the ship Braganzia in 1835 and 1836.\textsuperscript{7}
As usual we had a sermon from Capt. Hudson. The wind is astonishingly
fine considering the latitude. After surveying this shoal we steered to
the Wd with what object I do not know. No medicine today. Studied my
French lesson tonight. Reading Dugald Stewart and the "Diary of a London
Physician". Samuel Warren. \textit{\textbf{from the Diary of a Late Physician}}
(London, 1835).\textsuperscript{7} The latter is very interesting. The watch has been
turned out for midnight some time ago so I must think of bed.

Dec\textsuperscript{r} 21st 1840 Monday

Today spoke a Whaleship from N. Bedford, 19 months with 2000 bbs. oil.
Requested the Capt. to come on board but he could not do so. We are
beating up for an Island with a moderate wind. Crew healthy. Read
medicine French & the Diary of a Physician. The latter has some
affecting and most beautiful tales. Our provisions in the steerage hold
out pretty well but are rather salt. Water muddy. Food too much mixed
with cockroaches. Bread which our cook bakes as heavy as lead. Coffee
as thick as mush & not well toasted. Cook and boy the greatest rascals
possible. Of the other two boys one is dull and the other a native of
Oahoo who does not speak a word of English.

Dec\textsuperscript{r} 22d 1840 Tuesday

Nothing of the least importance today; we are still beating up for some
Island or other whose name I do not know and whose very existence has
not been ascertained. As I said before, this is all very important &c
but to me it is the most stupid business in the world.
We continue to have much more favorable winds than we had any reason to expect in these latitudes. Still study medicine and French & read the London Physician. Some of his tales are horrible and some very touching. There is a great deal of sentiment about them which is well enough but too much Presentiment.

Decr 23d 1840. Wednesday

Much as yesterday; nothing to record. Studies as usual. Last night after I had got into a doze just having read one of the Dr.'s Tales, a cockroach ran over my feet and alarmed me terribly. I almost thought I saw a hobgoblin.

Decr 24th 1840 Thursday

This is Christmas Eve. We were in hopes we should have been able to eat our Xmas dinner at the Apia Waterfall but shall not be there for some weeks. We managed to have a small quantity of Eggnog tonight. Where we got the eggs I have no idea, but half a dozen [were] procured somewhere. What sad! tho sweet recollections of home crowd into my mind always on these occasions! How often have I witnessed this same scene when surrounded by those dear ones now far away! Our mess is invited into the W. Room to dinner tomorrow. I shall not go as I have an utter aversion to dining out of my own apartment and it is growing on me every day. This is our third Xmas since we left the U.S. The next, thank God, will see us on our way home. Read Medicine, French & the Physician.

Christmas Day Friday 1840

A very appropriate sermon was read by Capt. Hudson. There was a fine dinner in the W. Room, to which I did not go. Dined on Preserved Soup and a tongue with a small bottle of Champagne. Got hold of some mince
pies however afterwards. Last Xmas all the family were at Mill bank but myself! How is it today? I fear they were not so happy as they are.

God we will then be on our way there. These days of rejoicing are always sad days to me for they always bring forcibly to my mind my separation from those I love. No studies today. Read the London Physician. What horrible tales he tells.

Dec*: 26th 1840

Nothing in the world has taken place today. I have scarcely been out of my room. We have a fresh wind but are beating up for some Island which, it seems, we are never to reach. This day 12 mos. we sailed from Sydney on our Southern cruise. Thank God That's over. Finished the Diary and commenced a Voyage and account of Missionary stations in India by a Mr [Sir Howard] Malcolm. [Travels in Southeast Asia (Boston, 1839)] It seems to be rather dull. Finished Dewers Practice of Medicine. Read French this evening. My eyes begin to suffer and I am very much afraid I will be obliged to curtail this indulgence. What on earth will I do with myself if I am unable to read.

Dec* 27th 1840. Sunday

Have not yet discovered the Island we are in search of and are still endeavouring to beat up for it. Wind becoming rather slack. Today being Sunday, we had a long and dull sermon from Capt: Hudson. What do you think! He says verse for verse &c. Where on earth could he have got this horrible pronunciation? And the worst of it is that he almost always corrects himself. He reads tolerably well but is rather bombastic.

Nothing new! I am almost disgusted with this journal there is so much
monotony. Read no medicine today, some of Malcolm and Mad de Stael's

Anne Louise Germaine de Stael Holstein / Influence of Education on Society [Boston, 1813]. What a sensible
woman she is! Malcolm is so dull that I am afraid I shall not be able
to get thro with him. Studied french Lesson tonight.

Decr 28th 1840 Monday

Today has been just about as dull as all the days have been for the last
month, not that I suffer with "ennui" but there is nothing to make a
journal interesting withal. Tonight heard a real coon song on deck.
One of the W. Room boys sang and a dozen or two of the men joined in
the chorus. It almost brought tears into my eyes it reminded me so much
of home. How I shall enjoy all that sort of thing when I return!

Commenced John Hennens Observations on Some Important Points in
the Practice of Military Surgery [Edinburgh, 1818] today and read some
of De Stael. French at night. The weather is most delightful, the wind
fresh. Thermometer in the cabin stands at about 81 through the days.

My room is generally cool. I read about 10 hours a day, which I am
afraid is too much for my eyes as it is all by candle light.

December 29th 1840 Tuesday

Dr. Guillou having resigned I had the extreme felicity of being appointed
caterer of the mess. What a supremely ridiculous choice if they only
knew my inability to perform the duties from my total ignorance of them!
However I must try and do my best. Wonder if some of our distinguished
men, or rather men occupying distinguished places, do not have the same
sensations which I experience. Today has been rather an idle one with
me on account of headache and pain of eyes. Read no medicine and little
of anything else, but studied my French in the afternoon. We have a
snorting breeze and are still, I believe, in search of those everlasting
Islands.

It is said we will go to Opolu to apprehend a murderer, and if so
we shall no doubt have a fight with the natives as they refused to give
him to us before & also to the brig when she was here afterwards.

Decr: 30th 1840. Wednesday
This being my first dinner as caterer, I gave the mess a blow out in
pancakes. As heavy as lead; they were, and as thick as a man's foot.
We are still beating up for the Islands, or rather endeavouring to beat
up, for in fact we have lost some miles in the last ten days, there
being a strong Westerly current against us. Nothing of importance!
Tomorrow commence drawing with Guillou who will tell me in a week or
two whether I can succeed in learning. Read medicine, French & De
Stael today. Wish I had something interesting for this journal, but
what can I find to talk about?

Decr: 31st 1840 Thursday
Nothing of importance today. Have not found our Islands. Finding my
health much injured by Tobacco, I commenced not smoking today. How long
I shall be able to refrain I cannot say. Read medicine and French and
some of Mad de Stael, but am not able to read as much as I have been
doing, on account of my eyes. Treated the mess today to gingercakes;
and such cakes they were!! Our cook and one of the boys are two of the
greatest rascals I ever saw. The cook, a negro, is the very picture of
Aunt Liddy in face, manners and talk. I never saw a more perfect
resemblance between two people in the whole course of my life.
New Year's Day Friday 1841

This day brings in the new year and I hope it may bring me a more profitable life. We had a sermon today. Gave the Mess pigshead soup, pig, and apple pies by way of blow out. Read no medicine, French & Madam de S. as usual. The latter has some of the most sensible remarks. Have not yet found our Island. Crew continue healthy. Have not seen one of them sick for a month. Palmer doctors all except my messmates, who come under my charge.

January 2d 1841 Saturday

The wind has favored us so much today that we are heading our course nearly. The atmosphere is delightful on deck tho it is warm below. This is a lovely night; The moon shines brightly and with the delightful atmosphere makes it exhilarating to go on deck. Spent most of the evening there talking with Hale & Perry. P. has been spinning yarns about what he saw in Georgia when he was engineering there. Some of the scenes he describes are ludicrous in the extreme and he tells them with a good deal of humour.

A noddy lit on the mizen royal yard and sat there for an hour or more. Read medicine today but no French as Guilou was busy. Madam de S. as usual and commenced [Robert McNish] on [The Anatomy of drunkenness] [London, 1828].

January 3d 1841 Sunday

Had a sermon today. Day has been very warm below, but pleasant on deck where there is a fine breeze. Wind hauled fair today and at noon we were within 35 miles of the place where the object of our search is laid down on the charts, but we had not seen it at dark when we squared away
the yards and are now running to the 3d, with what intent I do not
know. Read neither medicine nor French today, but a little of the
Anatomy of Drunkenness which is exceedingly interesting.

Only one chew of Tobacco today and did not suffer much for the
want of it. I begin to feel like a new man and am growing fat rapidly;
my spirits are better and I have not that love of solitude and utter
horror of society which I had before. In fact I am comparatively a
happy man.

Made out the Meteorological report today which is good four hours
work of the most disagreeable kind of figuring; no small task for as
lazy a man as myself to accomplish.

Had a long talk of about two hours with Palmer, tonight, about Lee
and Br. William. He almost worships both of them. He asked me if I
was not very fond of Br William and said, "he is just the sort of man
I should like to have for an elder brother."

January 4th 1841. Monday

We have at last run over the ground where the Islands are laid down, but
without seeing them. We are now are now [sic] going in search of
Quiros and some others. Quiros is the Island of Handsome People seen
a long time ago by one of the old Spanish navigators.43

It is most insufferably hot below but pleasant on deck, this interferes
with my studies. Read Medicine, French, and the Anatomy of Drunkenness
& [Edward George] Bulwer's [Lytton] new play of the "Sea Captain"

43 Discovered by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, March 2, 1606. Its official
name is Swain's Island but is also known as Olosenga, Quiros, Gente
Hermosa (handsome people) and Jennings Island. Bryan, American Polynesia,
p. 97.
or The Birthright! (Phil. 1840)]. Did not like it at all. We are now before the wind but have not much of it. The rolling is very disagreeable.

Jany 5th 1841 Tuesday

Today we have been running before the wind, looking for Islands the names of which I do not know. Still very warm below but most delightful on deck. Breeze is balmy and refreshing, moon as bright as bright can be and the most beautiful mackerel sky I ever beheld. Little schooner near us; we have to slacken sail for her before the wind, tho she beats us all hollow when we are closehauled, thus we are waiting for each other all the time. Had a talk with Hale tonight about the books we used to read when we were boys. We were familiar with nearly the same. His amiability is delightful and shews itself in every sentence he utters.

Read Hennens Military Surgery in morning and French at night. Finished McNish on Drunkenness and commenced a work on sleep [The Philosophy of Sleep (New York, 1834)] by the same author. Guillou and myself succeeded after a long scuffle in killing a mouse in my room. This is a great triumph as he has been biting away at every thing he could find. I dare say the two of us could have dispatched a man with less trouble than we did the mouse. Not a man on the sick list. Great many birds about the ship.

Jany 6th 1841 Wednesday

Most of the day cloudy, and some little rain fine wind. At 8 Pm Schooner burnt a blue light. At 9 she was out of sight & we hove to for her but at 10 she had not come up. Some birds about the ship this afternoon. Finished McNish on sleep today. I was asleep the whole time I was reading
it. French and Medicine today as usual. This is the day of the victory at N. Orleans; a most unfortunate day for the U.S. If Harrison is elected it will be on account of the battle (/Tippecanoe Creek, Nov. 7, 1811/ he gained, whereas Clay with ten times the talent is left out because he never fought! What nonsense!)

Jany 7th 1841 Thursday

About 11 last night the Schooner came up. No accident had happened to her. Some birds about the ship, Boobies, I believe. Read Medicine French and commenced Tom Jones: (Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling (London, 1789)).

Jany 8th 1841 Friday

Early this morning made an Island which we take to be Endibys tho we are not certain of it. It is six miles long (/3 miles/) or thereabout and 2 broad perhaps, and is so white as to look like an immense bank of snow; it is almost impossible to look at it so dazzling in the sunshine. There is some herbage and a few shrubs on it. Three boats went on shore taking most of the Scientific corps and some of the officers. One of the boats filled in the surf but no one was lost. Mr Peal brought off some birds and rats. The rats are like what are found on most of the Islands but different from all others. The birds were of two or three different sorts. Mr. Rich got three or four sorts of plants, Mr. Dana

44 Whittle has his generals and his battles mixed up as well as his dates.
45 Enderbury was discovered and named in 1823 by Captain James J. Coffin, of Nantucket, when in command of the British whaleship, Transit. It is one of the Phoenix group and was visited by the Vincennes in Aug. of 1840. The name is a misspelling of Endery, a London Whaling merchant. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 58.
some coral. As there were no people to talk to, Mr. Hale did not go.
A large tree was found washed up on the Island which somewhat resembled
mahogany in color. A piece of copper was likewise found which is
probably part of some wreck. Surveyed the Island and about dark left
it. Read Hennen, French and Tom Jones. Wished to read Goldsmith's
works, but could not find them.

Jany 10th 1841 Sunday

I have got my dates confused some how or other for the last week and
cannot get them straight again. You will see that I have got the
Victory of New Orleans on the 6th instead of the 8th. I am now however
correct and will endeavour to keep so. Capt: Hudson read us a child's
story from the "Young Christian" by Jacob Abbott, \textbf{The Young Christian}
(Boston, 1832). I went to sleep during the operation. Read a chapter
from Dugald Stewarts Philosophy of the human mind and a sermon of
President \textit{of Yale Timothy Dwight} on the "existence of god." text
"There is one god." Mark xii--32. His argument would be conclusive
if any argument on the subject was required. I like Stewarts style much.
I intend reading another sermon of Dwights before I turn in.

Jany 11th, 1841 Monday

Today discovered a small sand Island which presented nothing interesting.
It is two miles long and has some little vegetation on it which is
probably \textit{plantain?}. We take it to be Barney's \textit{Birnie} Island
tho there is such a number laid down here which do not exist that it is

\[46\] Word illegible.
hard to say which it is. **47** Finished Hennen. Commenced "Francois"
Magendie's "A Summary of" Physiology, "Baltimore, 1822." Read
French and commenced James J. Burney's "Southern Voyages,"
"Chronological History of Discoveries and Voyages in the South Seas,
(London, 1803)."

Wrote two pages of French translation.

Jany 12th 1841 Tuesday

Nothing of much consequence today. Our stock of eatables in the steerage
getting rather low.

Today Guillou asked me if I would make the cook bake the biscuit for meals.
I told him it was full of bugs! He said that was one reason he had
asked me to have it baked as those animals were better done than raw!!
and we tried it and found he was right. I must confess however that I
have no great fancy to that sort of animal food let it be served up as
it may. So much for the prejudices we acquire in childhood. We not only
drink cockroaches in our wine, as Com: Kenedy did, but we eat more or
less of them in everything which goes into our mouths. Today read
Medicine, French, Tom Jones & Burneys voyages. Magellan's men on one
occasion ate sawdust and the raw hide from the rigging! Worse than
bugs!

Jany 13th 1841 Friday Wednesday

Today we have been cruising for Islands without finding any. Nothing has

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47 This was Birnie Island, the smallest of the Phoenix group. It is 42
miles S.W. of Enderbury. Practically no use has been made of the island.
Being so low and difficult to see, it is a menace to safe navigation and
taken place worthy of note; fine wind and weather pleasant on deck.

Crew continue healthy; There are only about three on the sick list and those have slight diseases. Read Medicine French, Tom Jones and Burney’s Voyages. Finished Magellan’s voyage. It is perhaps the most remarkable ever made, scarcely excepting that of Columbus. Magellan like all other navigators of whom I have read, was a great tyrant & deserved his death. He discovered the straights which bear his name, the Ladrone and Phillipine Islands and some others on his route from the coast of America to the E. Indies. He must have been much such a man as Cook. The murder which he caused to be committed at Port St. Julian: is an indelible stain on his memory.⁴⁸

January 14th 1841 Thursday

This has been a dull day; we have been cruising about seeking what we can find, or rather, what we cannot find. Wind not so fresh as it has been. Insufferably warm below. Perspiration absolutely pouring from me. Schooner in company. Crew remarkably healthy, only two or three slight cases. Read Medicine, French and a small portion of Burney. Guillon entertained me tonight with some of his correspondence; amusing in the highest degree. First voyage made around the world by the ships which sailed with Magellan.⁴⁹ Magellan was a Portuguese tho he sailed for the Emperor Charles V. Dinner today bean soup and salt Beef;

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⁴⁸ Doctor Whittle very probably refers to Captain Gaspar Quesada, the Commander of the Concepcion, whom Magellan had beheaded and quartered for murder committed in the attempted mutiny of three of his five ships at Port St. Julian in the Straits of Magellan. Stefan Zweig, The Story of Magellan (New York, 1938), p. 188.

⁴⁹ Ferdinand Magellan; Port: Fernando de Magathæs.
Brakefast, water with biscuit and mackerel & corn cakes, supper biscuit molasses and tea.

January 15th 1841 Friday

Wind light — We have seen no Islands. Schooner in company, five on the sick list, slight cases. Read Medicine, French, Tom Jones & Burney's Voyages. Portuguese and Spaniards were certainly a most enterprising people, but there was a \( \sum \text{bases?} \) \(^{50} \) of cruelty and greedy love of gold in the hearts of almost all of them, which spoiled their characters.

Second voyage round the world by some of the people who sailed with Loyasa \( \sum \text{Loaysa} \) about 1530.\(^{51} \)

They went round Cape Horn and were brought round the other way by the Portuguese who took them prisoners in the E. Indies. Weather extremely warm, wish to gracious we were at Opolu where we could enjoy the cool shade, the refreshing bath and invigorating exercise.

Jany 16th 1841 Saturday

Ship scrubbed from one end to the other today. There was no such thing as reading and consequently I slept the whole time from brakefast until dinner. Read French tonight. Forgot to mention for the last 6 days that I write translations from French into English an hour every day after dinner. We are still beating about without seeing any land. I should

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\(^{50} \) Word illegible.

\(^{51} \) Don Garcia Jofre de Loaysa was appointed Captain General of an expedition sent from Spain to the Moluccas in 1525. "Though the honour of sending forth the second ship that encircled the globe cannot be claimed by the Spanish nation, it is nevertheless a justice due to the memory of the few of Loaysa's and Saavedra's men, who reached their native country, to notice them as the navigators who the second time performed that tour." James J. Burney, *Chronological History of Discoveries and Voyages in the South Seas* (London, 1803), p. 161.
not be surprised if we were to plump into a reef one of these nights.

Tomorrow I suppose we shall have another chapter from the "Young
Christian."

January 17th 1841  Sunday

All human calculations are fallacious! Instead of a chapter from the
Young Christian we were regaled with one from the Corner Stone (Jacob
Abbott, The Corner-Stone, or A Familiar Illustration of the Principles
of Christian Truth, (Boston, 1834)) & it was read in so monotonous a
manner that I found myself several times on the point of going to sleep.

Early today we made an Island which we take to be Sydney.52  I do not
recognise it tho I saw Sydney Island in the Vincennes as we came up
from the Feejees. We have not yet succeeded in beating up to it.

Probably we may recognise it when we are nearer. Have read nothing
today except some chapters of Burneys voyages. Was obliged to return
Dwight to the owner who is reading it himself. Drake was the first man
who carried a ship round the world. He first saw Cape Horn, tho he did
not name it. He was a noble fellow. Wind light and weather extremely
warm. Crew quite healthy, only five slight cases on the list.

Jany 18th 1841  Monday

Early today came up with the Island (Hull) and sent some boats on
shore. It has a large lagoon. Some few cocoanut trees. A few huts of
Turtle fishers were seen, but no people. Did not determine what Island
it is tho no doubt it is the same we saw in the Vincennes, where there

52 This Island was not Sydney but Hull Island discovered and named by
Wilkes in August of 1840 when the Vincennes visited it. It was often
mistaken for Sydney by whaling vessels.
then were 13 people of Taheite and a Frenchman. Sand crabs were numerous and large. There were a great many birds. One of our messmates brought us a dozen plovers which we will eat for breakfast tomorrow. The Island is about 7 miles long \((7\,\frac{1}{2} \text{ miles})\) and much cut up by branches of the Lagoon. No entrance to the Lagoon was seen. Boats landed without much difficulty. Several specimens of birds were brought off, among them; among others a tropic bird and a curlew. Island surveyed and we left it about sundown. Read Medicine, French, Tom Jones and Burney.

Jany 19th 1841 Tuesday

Wind fresh; sailing before it most of the day. Schooner in company.

Still cruising for Islands. Have seen none today. Read French, Medicine, Tom Jones and Burney. It was so extremely warm below that I could not write my exercise today. Ate the Plover this morning with great relish; they were delightful. Good effects of not chewing Tobacco visible.

Growing fat. Appetite for breakfast, head clearer, Memory better. More cheerful and begin to I hope I shall have firmness enough not to chew again. Knox came on board from the schooner, I got a letter from Reynolds. All well on board there. Sent Reynolds \(\frac{1}{2}\) doz bottles of claret. Ship before the wind and rolling \((\text{is})\) extremely disagreeable.

January 20th 1841 Wednesday


Jany 21st 1841 Thursday

Same as yesterday. Nothing in the world to note. Studies as usual.

P.S. For the last few days have been translating from English into French which I find very difficult indeed. Time tho, I hope, will bring about this as it does all other things.
Jany 22d 1841 Friday

Searching for the Island of Quiros [Gente Hermosa] where the handsome people live. Weather clear and extremely hot. Studies as usual — The improvement of my health since I left off chewing Tobacco is wonderful. I have no doubt but that if I can hold out I will look and feel four years younger than I did when I left. Studies as usual.

January 23d 1841 Friday Saturday

Searching-for-the-Island-of-Quires

Nothing of importance. Studies as usual.

January 24th 1841 Sunday

Today had a lecture from the Corner Stone and a piece read from a newspaper. Read Henry Clay's speech on abolition which I thought very commonplace. No studies today. Weather extremely hot. Crew remarkably healthy, which is indeed remarkable considering how long we have been in hot climate.

Jany 25th 1841 Monday

Last night there was a succession of heavy squalls of winds, and immense quantities of rain. Just before daylight this morning there was a heavy puff which carried away our fore sheet & just as it cleared up, land was made only three or four miles ahead. It was a low but quite an extensive Isle 53 (probably 8 miles long) and thickly covered with luxuriant vegetation and with Cocoanut trees.

As we were cruising around the Island three double canoes came off

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53 This was the Duke of York Island (Atafu) discovered by John Byron in 1767. It belongs to the Tokelau or Union group being about 310 miles north of Samoa. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 84.
to us and forty or fifty people, probably women and children, were seen on a point of the land. The canoes had about forty men. They all united in a song as they approached us, and those who were not employed at the paddles went through various motions keeping time with the music and some holding up mats and other articles of trade. The Oahoo men did not understand their language. They were much like Samoa men.

They were all fat & sleek looking and had the appearance of living well. Several of them had bad teeth which is very rare among the Islands.

Their hair was black and curled, but not wolly. They had visors made of shell and fixed over their eyes after the manner of the shades we use in reading. Their dress was a single narrow mat worn like a T bandage.

Some of these had fringes hanging half way down the leg. Some of the mats were very handsomely made and striped with various colours. They had also nets, some Tortoise shell, several small canoes &c. All of which they disposed of for anything we offered them tho they seemed to prefer knives, plain irons, files &c. They frequently made use of the word Loki which is very commonly used in these seas for any instrument of iron. A bottle or fishhook would buy anything they had. They seemed anxious to trade but shewed no disposition to steal that I heard of. The chief had the tail feathers of a Tropic Bird stuck on his head which our Cook bought and gave me. None of them came on board. While they were along side, a gun was fired to measure distance with the Schooner, when they were thrown into the greatest consternation. The chief jumped into the water and they all put off for the shore as soon as they got him on board. Soon after this, boats went to the shore with the Scientifics. They were received in a friendly manner tho the women and children were
kept out of sight. Several other things were collected and among them a stool with legs at one end only, which they used to lean against when sitting on their mats. We have never seen this before. Some cocoanuts were brought on board. The Island was surveyed and by four P.M. we were off again. The women wear large mats which are wound around them and reach from above the waist to the ground. Their houses are thatched and are much like the Navigators except that they are oblong, whereas the Navigators are oval. The canoes, as I said, were double, and were very well made, being covered with the fibres of the cocoanut husk. What we saw was probably the whole population of the Island. It has not been seen before for a long time that I know of; The last time was by the Pandora Capt Edwards who was in search of the mutineers of the Bounty. It was said at that time not to be inhabited. Finished Tom Jones & commenced \[Samuel\] Johnsons Lives of the \[]English\[\] Poets, \[1779-81\].

Tomorrow we will probably make the Duke of Clarences Island which was seen when this was, and was inhabited.

Jany 26th, 1841 Tuesday

Heavy rains last night with squalls of wind. Nothing worth noting in the early part of the day except murkiness and heat of the weather.

About 5 P.M. made an Island from the masthead 10 or 15 miles off, but it was too late to approach it, so are laying off and on till morning. This

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54 Basis for the popular story, Mutiny on the Bounty by Nordhoff & Hall. Captain Edwards of England, was sent on the H.M.S. Pandora to search for the mutineers. He stopped at Duke of York Island (Atafu) in 1791. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 30.

55 Duke of Clarences Island (Nukunono) was discovered by Captain Edwards a few days after visiting Duke of York Island in June 1791. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 30.
is no doubt Duke of Clarence which we expected to make today. Read Medicine, French & part of Roger’s “Human Life”, [A Poem (Phil., 1819)]. Tonight read Quiros’ Voyages in the S. Sea. No arms were seen at Duke of York except small straight clubs.

January 27th 1841 Wednesday

Early this morning the Land we made yesterday was astern of us, we having passed it in the night. We were becalmed all morning and did not get and did not get [sic] near the Island till late in the evening when we had not time to land on it. We are now lying off and on till morning when we will send boats on shore. As we saw it this evening it seemed to be a great many patches of land united by reefs. There are a great many cocoanuts. We have seen no natives. Read Medicine and French and wrote the latter. Commenced the letters of Lady M W [Mary Wortley] Montague & her works [The Works of the Right Hon. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (including her correspondence, poems and essays), (London, 1803)] which I find extremely entertaining. She was certainly one of the most remarkable women who ever lived.

January 28th 1841 Thursday

Pretty much the same as yesterday. We were becalmed all morning and did not get up to it in time to land. We are now lying off and on. We have not seen any natives tho we were quite near the shore this evening. The Island is probably 20 miles in circuit and is split up into a number of parts connected by reef, and contains a large Lagoon. One of these pieces of land is 6 or 7 miles long, the others are small round mounds. Read Medicine this morning and Lady M [Montagu] whose letters are really charming, more so by far than any I have ever read before. It was so
insufferably warm today that I could not stay below long enough to read or write French. We have just had a squall (11 p.m.) and it is now raining. Lightning was quite vivid at 8 tho I heard no thunder.

January 29th 1841 Friday

Late last evening it came on black and squally so that we were obliged to leave Clarence Island for fear of running on it; but we did not much lessen our danger by doing so, for this morning a heavy squall came on about three o'clock and soon after, breakers were heard ahead; Just at that moment the weather cleared up and an Island was seen ahead and close aboard. In a very few moments more we should have been on shore. This Island is not laid down on the charts, so that we claim it as a discovery tho it may be Duke of Clarence and the one we were at yesterday a new one. This is much like the other, clumps connected by reefs; it is ten or twelve miles long and thickly covered with cocoanut and other trees and with a rich herbage.

Early this morning our boats were sent to tow the Schooner off shore, she being close in and becalmed.

About 10 A.M. canoes were seen in shore of us fishing, but they seemed not atal disposed to approach us. Some boats were sent to communicate with them, but they were very shy at first and could be only approached by degrees; but as soon as one canoe could be induced to come near the boats, all did so & they had a long talk and exchanged some things.

56 This island proved to be Fakaofu Island discovered earlier in January of 1841 by Captain Morvan of the French ship Adolphe. Captain Hudson of the Peacock considered it a new discovery and named it Bowditch Island. It is about 270 miles north and a little east of Apia, Samoa. Bryan, American Polynesia, p. 93.
Soon after the boats came along side, the canoes did so too. They came singing in the same manner as those at Duke of York Island and were much like them in all respects. They wear the same visors and much the same caps dress.

They had no mats to sell, nothing in fact but a few cocoanuts, pearl fishhooks and the figure of a fish cut rudely in wood. They were eager to get our fishhooks. Guns were fired to measure here when they all left in great fright. The boats then went on shore but landed on a part of the Island where there were no houses and saw only the people who had been to the ship. They saw no arms of any sort, No Iron ware was found among them but a few glass beads were. The natives had figures of Turtles, paddles, fishes &c, tattooed rudely on their bodies. Cocoanuts were abundant here and good. The canoes were single with outriggers, and looked very little, being neatly put together with fibres of Cocoanut Husk. There were perhaps 60 of them alongside. Tomorrow boats will be sent to the town, I will endeavor to go. Read Medicine French &c, as usual & some of Lady Ms letters which are written in a style truly delightful.

Jany: 30th 1841 Saturday

The boats went on shore today, but for some trifling cause I did not go. What a treat I missed. I have long wished to see people in exactly the state Columbus found the Americans in and here I might have done so but my evil star prevailed. The small Islands (connected to the main by a reef) where the boats landed, was covered with houses so as to form one large town. It was about a mile in circumference and contained, from accounts, 800 or 1000 people. As soon as the boats reached the shore
the chiefs came down bearing in their arms their old King who was white
headed and dreadfully afflicted with Elephantiasis, as were all the old
men that were seen. They were all extremely alarmed and threw down as
presents every thing they could lay their hands on, begging our people
at the same time to return to their boats. Some pulled off the mats
which they wore and offered them as gifts. Large mats were spread on the
ground for our people to sit on. Some of the officers happened to look
up at the sun and make some remark about the time of day. The natives
who were near trembled violently. They said afterwards that we came
from the sun. After some time spent in this way, the party went up
into the town, but the women and children, who were very numerous had
been sent off in canoes into the Lagoon. Mats of different sorts, fish-
hooks and lines, files and rasps made of the skin of the shark stretched
on pieces of wood, and various other things were brought off. The people
were much like those we saw at the other Island, probably better looking,
and all of good size. The women and children, some of whom were seen
by accident, were said to be very handsome indeed. The children and
young women were in a state of perfect nudity; the old women wore mats
with immense fringes, so thick that the hands of the wearer could just
reach the outer edge of them and they were so heavy that they must have
been enormously inconvenient. They were eager to trade for anything
we had and never cavilled about price, always taking whatever was
offered for anything they had. They carried the desire to obtain what
we had so far that they would steal if the slightest opportunity offered
itself. Mr. Agate [Artist] had a book, which was fixed round his neck
with a guard, taken and thus lost the sketch he had taken of the group
on the beech. No arms were seen among them except a few clubs in the Godhouse. There houses were built after the manner of those of the navigators but were not so good. The Godhouse was a large rough building and the god was concealed by mats. There were some immense pieces of timber in this house which they said they had obtained from the sea. They spoke a language so nearly resembling the Sandwich that Mr Hale could make himself very well understood. They told him they had never seen white people before but once; that about four years ago a ship had been cast away on their coast and that two only of the crew got on shore. These have since died. They had a windlas and some iron tools which they obtained from this ship. The boats returned before night. I cannot but be thankful that we did not share the fate of those unfortunate people who were cast away here, as indeed we were very near doing; for if it had remained thick only ten minutes longer we would most inevitably have gone on shore. How many sad hearts may not the fate of those poor fellows have made!! I have some few things I obtained at this place which I will endeavor to get home. Studies as usual. Probably we may visit this Island again, at least I hope so, after having been to Opolu.

January 31st 1841 Sunday

Today a long, long sermon while everyone was suffocating with the heat and closeness of the atmosphere. Last night it rained and squalled, at intervals, the whole night, and all today the same weather has continued. We are now going before the wind to Nd & Ed in search of Quiros. This has not been seen, I believe, since 1606 when it was discovered by a Spaniard whose name it bears. After that we will go to Opolu where

57 See note No. 43 above, p. 97.
Pig and vegetables will be very acceptable as we have already been at sea sixty days and living on salt provisions nearly the whole of that time.

Feby: 1st 1841 Monday

Since we left the other Island we have been running to the $S^d$ & $E^d$, and today, about 3 pm land was made on the weather bow about 15 miles distant. We commenced beating up for it and before dark could see it distinctly on the from the deck. It appeared at that view as two clumps of land, as we passed over the situation of Quiros last night and this is nearer it than any other we have seen, being about 40 miles out of the way, we reasonably suppose this may be the one.58

Studies as usual. Rain frequently during the day. Crew healthy. I have improved a good deal in French. Commit about two pages to memory every night, which at first seemed almost an impossibility, but I can now do it in half an hour without any difficulty; So much for habit.

Feby 2d 1841 Tuesday

All last night was rain and squall; some of the heaviest rain I ever saw. Most of the day has been the same, so that we have not been able to land on the Island, tho we were at one time quite near it. It seems to be about 3 miles long and is certainly as pretty a piece of ground as you would wish to behold. It is elevated a few feet above the surface of the sea and is covered completely and thickly with trees and herbage.

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58 This was Quiros Island but Captain Hudson finding the position to be different from that given by Quiros, named it Swain's Island. It is about 170 miles north and east of Apia. Hudson reported no inhabitants on the island. Shortly after this a new colony was founded from Fakaofu. Bryan, *American Polynesia*, p. 97.
Cocoanuts are very plentiful. We have not yet seen any natives, tho it would seem almost impossible for so fine an Island to be uninhabited in this situation. We do not yet know whether it has a lagoon. It is still supposed to be Quiros; and altho it does not agree in some particulars with his description, those old fellows were so inaccurate that it may still be the same. I begin to find my account in not chewing tobacco and I have now left it off so long that I can do very well without it. I continue to take one chew every night at 9 o'clock which does me no harm and is a great comfort. One of the greatest evils of Tobacco is that feeling of perfect tranquility and content it gives a person which makes him satisfied to dream away his time without exertion, either bodily or mental. Now that I do not chew I find it necessary to do something to keep my mind employed, and consequently I do much more and do it a great deal better than I did. My happiest time is half an hour after supper when I sit in a port with a cigar in my mouth and dream about home; Some of these dreams are perfect bliss, and all of them more or less happy. Read \textit{A Treatise on Pathological Anatomy} (Phil., 1829) and French, Made Meteorological report. Read Lady M. who in some of her letters is the most disgusting slut (it is very impolite but appropriate) I ever read; however she writes elegantly, and with a spirit and good sense which make her enchanting.

Febry 3d 1841 Wednesday

Came up with the land today and sent boats to examine it. One of them was thrown on shore and the others could not land with safety. The officer in the boat was a good deal bruised but no one else was hurt.
No inhabitants were seen, in fact none are supposed to be there, so that it cannot be Quiros. The next nearest on the chart is Swains, but probably this is a discovery. Why may not the last island we landed at be Quiros? We have a fresh wind at present. It has been squally or rainy almost the whole day. Read Horner & Gaul and Spursieke Examinations of the Objections Made in Britain Against the Doctrines of Gaul and Spurzheim (Boston, 1833) this morning; Wrote and read French in afternoon; read also Lady M. who continues to be interesting. Boats got on board just in time, for soon afterwards a wind came up which would probably have swamped them.

Feb 4th 1841 Thursday

Hurrah! Today, after getting the Latitude at noon, we "up stick" for Opolu. Studies as usual.

Feb 5th 1841 Friday

Late this evening made Opolu at the distance of about 40 miles. Could not come up in time to go into port. Studies same as yesterday.

Feb 6th 1841 Saturday

Wind light. This morning we are engaged in fixing boats and Schooner for a surveying cruise. About 3 pm sent the boats off and went inside the reef. At 4 pm Schooner asked permission to come in and anchor, which was granted her. At 4 1/2 pm wind died away and we were obliged to let go our anchor at some distance from the shore, and before dark we had worked in & anchored near the town of Apia. Schooner swept in and came

59 A whaling captain named Swain had told Hudson of the existence of an island here when they were in Samoa on their last visit. It turned out to be the same as Quiros, but Hudson, thinking he had made a discovery, named it Swain's Island.
to soon after we did. Boats proceeded on their cruise to Wd. Opolu is beyond all comparison the richest Island we have been to; even Tahiti does not compare with it. This being Sunday here, not a canoe came alongside. One of our boats went on shore. No studies today.

February 7th 1841 Sunday

Today we had service on board by one of the missionaries. Several people came on board but only one Lady. In the afternoon I went on shore with three others to take a bath in a delightful little stream of fresh water near the town. We missed the sundown boat, and as no other was to have come on shore we made up our minds to stay all night. We went to the house of a native we knew and asked him if he would take us in; this he did readily and asked if we did not want supper! We said yes, when he brought out pig and taro on breadfruit leaves and apologised very politely for the want of plates knives and forks.

After supper he with those in his house, a pretty young wife and half a dozen young men sang a hymn, prayed, and then commenced spreading our bed. It consisted of half a dozen of the nicest mats, spread one on the other on the floor and a screen made by stretching a screen across the house and throwing over it a piece of native tapa large enough to reach the ground on both sides. This was intended to keep off the mosquitos, but as it was so thick that not a particle of air could come through, and there were four of us packed under it we were almost suffocated with heat, and began to fear a most uncomfortable night, when about half past 8 one of the men came to the door and told us a boat had been sent for us; so we escaped suffocation for this time. We saw in the village house a large collection of people sitting around in great
state, and were told this morning that a wedding had taken place & that these people were assembled to the feast. No studies today. Tonight read some of the letters I got from home at Oahoo, and experienced almost as much pleasure as when I first perused them. It has been raining almost all day in torrents.

Opolu Feby: 8th 1841 Monday

Today was Dr Palmers day on shore and I was obliged to remain aboard. A chief I knew here before came on board to see me and seemed much pleased. He wished to give me the dress he had on, but I persuaded him to wait till tomorrow, when I would go to his house. He really seemed very glad indeed to see me and told a white man who spoke his language to press me to come to his house. Almost all the missionaries of the group are here at this time for some business or other. I forgot to mention that we found the missionary brig Campden here. She is going soon to Sydney to take Mr. Murray, the Missionary of Tutuila, there, he being obliged to go to England on account of the bad state of his health. Mrs Day my old friend, is living about 9 miles from here and is quite unwell, I am told; I must go and see her. It has been nothing but rain rain, rain, the whole day. I never saw anything like it except at Tutuila. There are some seasons at both these Islands when it does nothing but rain, & this, I believe, is one of them. Too gloomy for reading today except my letters from home, a great many of which I have read for the hundredth time with undiminished pleasure. Today Guillou, Rich, [botanist] & Peale [naturalist] started on a week's excursion. I shall not be able to do anything of that sort, as my duties keep me on board ship, or at least within reach of her at all times. I am afraid
French and Physick will suffer while we are here. Today two of my messmates went on shore and shot 18 pigeons and 2 ducks. The pigeons are the most delightful food in the world of the sort.

Feb 9th 1841 Tuesday

This morning hired a canoe and went on shore. Ran foul of another and came near being swamped in the surf. Found Amos, a man I knew here before & who had been on board to see me, waiting for me on the beach and we immediately sat off for Benjamins, the chief who came to see me yesterday, who has two fine villages two miles from Apia. We had a sweet time of it! It rained almost the whole way and we had several streams to cross which were much swollen these, however, I made Amos carry me over on his shoulders. I found Benjamin and his wife, Lucy, at home and very glad to see me. Lucy, tho not very pretty, has a sweet face and is one of the most industrious and well behaved people I ever saw & so is her husband. The latter is about 30 years old and Lucy, I should say, not more than 20. They seem very affectionate. They have the same house they occupied when we were here before, and everything about it looks much the same. After sitting a little while some of Benjamins men came in with a small pig very well roasted and some nice looking Taro & Parasa. The pig was soon dissected by Amos who was directed to do so. He did not use a fork but took hold of the animal with his dirty paw, and with a large knife very dexterously cut off his head & then split down the back bone. I told him I wished a small piece & he only gave me a whole broadside. None of the natives would eat till I invited them. Benjamin and myself sat together the others were made to keep at a respectful distance and had some food distributed
to them and after we had finished, what was left was given to the children. I ate very heartily of the Taro and Parasama, the latter of which I am very fond of. It is made of the tops of taro, which has cocoanut grated over it and is then wrapped in leaves and roasted under ground. It is quite moist when done and is one of the most delightful dishes I know, being much superior to Spin纳ch and more like it than anything I am acquainted with. We ate sitting on mats and used only jack knives, a few of which my friend had. The food was brought in on the leaves of the Breadfruit tree. After dinner I gave Benjamin some paper and quills, with which he was much pleased, as he is a preacher and writes very well. After this he retired to the next room, for he has three in his house, an uncommon circumstance, and called out to me, he always called me John; When I went in he had two very handsome pieces of Tapa which he bundled up in a mat and told me was a present for me. His wife to whom I had given some needles presented me with a native comb. When I was about leaving Benjamin told me good bye a dozen times and called out to me when I was some distance off. At Apia I was obliged to eat a second dinner with the bigmouthed chief, as they call him. Then I went to see Lupo, the chief with whom I came near passing the nite on Sunday who seemed pleased at my visit. His family was preparing to go to church, and Amio, his wife, had on a bonnet, made by herself but after the European fashion, which was very neat indeed. Returned to the ship at 6 o'clock, and about an hour after who should come on board but my old friend Mrs. Day. She had come down the coast 9 miles in a canoe, tho it was raining and blowing quite hard. As I was wet and dirty I had to send her an apology for not going to see her immediately, and before I
was ready she had gone on shore. She told Palmer she had received the medicine I sent her when I was here before and that it had cured her rheumatism in the most wonderful manner. I have made a long yarn out of this day, but I do not have an opportunity often so you must excuse me.

Apia February 10th 1841 Wednesday

On board all day today. Rain the whole time. This afternoon it blew a complete hurricane for about four hours. We dragged one of our anchors a little and got our sheets ready for letting go, but the gale abated without there being any necessity for it. I forgot to mention that the schooner came in and anchored yesterday, not having been able to get an observation of the sun; She had gone out the next day after we came in and was to have cooperated with the boat, which left the ship before we came to. Old Sam Knox came on board and cheered us up a little.

It is really gloomy on board in such weather. Not a dry spot on board except the cabin. If those at home could only see the apartments we sleep in they would never be uneasy about the floors of our rooms being wet again.

Apia Feb 11th 1841 Thursday

Last night I had a most singular dream, so much so that I will give it a place here; It was a dream within a dream. "I was in Lima and fell in with a person who was dressed as an officer of Peru. He told me he was stationed there and that he was intimate with several of our officers, and very politely offered to introduce me into some families. As he mentioned several of my acquaintances by name & inquired particularly after them, I took it for granted what he said was correct and started visiting with him. He carried me to several houses where we were

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received politely and indeed treated with a great deal of attention, but still I thought I saw something in the manners of some of them which was not exactly what it should be, and this put me on my guard. At last he proposed a ride, and we galloped out of town and were riding along a woody road when I fell into a fit of musing on recovering from which my companion had disappeared. As I was uncertain about the way into town, I began to be uneasy, when a negro rode up to me and told me my friend was not far off and had sent him to conduct me to him. I observed that this fellow was armed completely. However I followed him and he took me some miles without my seeing anything of the officer. Just as I began to grow suspicious another fellow jumped into the road and seized my horse by the bridle. I gave him a stroke with a bowieknife and put spurs to my horse with the Negro close at my heels in full pursuit; and just as he was about overtaking me his horse missed his footing and fell down a precipice, tumbling rider and all headlong fifty feet. This put an end to my danger and I rode into town and was proceeding to my hotel, when passing a place where some soldiers were stationed, when I saw my identical friend walking guard with a privates uniform on. As soon as he saw me he sang out, "I had no part in attempting your life" which convinced every one around that he did have some part in it. As I was proceeding to the police office to have the matter investigated something woke me from my deep sleep, and then my other dream commenced. I dreampt that at this moment (knowing that I was on board ship, was at Apia and even that I was now asleep) one of my messmates came in, to whom I told my dream, and that he said it was so remarkable I ought to write it. At brakefast this morning I had entirely forgotten it till the word dream
happening to be made use of the whole thing flashed at once into my mind. These dreams within dreams are by no means common altho instances of them happen sometimes. If 20 persons would keep a regular record of their dreams and of their lives at the same time, for a whole life the account would be very interesting.

Went on shore this morning with shooting apparatus, in the rain. We were loafing about for some hours before we ventured to start hunting. Ate dinner with Lupo. About 12 oclock a slight lull of the rain, and we went out. I killed 6 pigeons and Davis 2. Came on board in a canoe about 4 as wet as rats and shivering with cold, having been soaked to the skin since 10 in the morning and sitting still most of the time. Dry clothes and some warm soup soon made all right. Lupo came off at supper time to spend the night with us. The ship is as uncomfortable as possible.

Apia Feby: 12th 1841 Friday

On board all day today and had the blues terribly. Benjamin sent a canoe down to me this morning with a present of fifty cocoanuts, a basket of Taro and a handsome Cava ££Awa££ bowl.

This afternoon went on board the Schooner. I am always cheered up when I go there, by Reynolds who has one of the gayest and happiest dispositions I have ever met with. He says that judging from the only specimen he has seen of the people about Whittles Mills £Whittles' home town££ they must be as great curiosities as the savage inhabitants of these Islands. By the bye, I often hear the name of the old place as some of my intimates call me by that as a nickname, they got it from the direction of my letters.
One of my messmates went on shore at 10 this morning and came back long before night with 30 fine pigeons. There is no saying how long we may stay here, as we came for the purpose of surveying and have not yet had a single day which was fit for that purpose. The Missionary Brig goes to Sydney before long and I will send some short letters by her tho I am certain we shall meet opportunities by which they will reach home sooner. However a bad chance is better than no chance.

Apia Feb'y 13th 1841 Saturday

This has been a rainy day but not so much so as most of the others since we have been here. Spent the day on board the Schooner. Before dinner the Scientifcs and Guillou returned and Guillou came on the Schooner where we remained till ten oclock at night.

Apia Feb'y 14th 1841 Sunday

This day commenced clear and beautiful and has continued so. Had a sermon from Capt. Hudson. No strangers on board. About 11 A.M. the Brig Campden went out on a short cruise. She will return here before we leave. Our Schooner went out soon after noon on a surveying cruise. Our Launch and another boat went to the Ed about a week ago under Emmonds. Benjamin came up today and brought me some cocoanuts. He is quite sick with Rheumatism. I wished to bleed him but he would not consent to it. Gave him a bottle of volatile linament to rub his limbs with. Peale [Naturalist] used up by his tramp. Saw a beautiful canoe belonging to Maleatoa with a sail. I will endeavour to get a drawing of it.

Apia Feb'y 15th 1841 Monday

In the morning went on shore in canoes, Guillou and myself. G. was upset along side and if my gun, which he had, had not been made fast, it would
have gone to the bottom. We visited a great many sick natives and then
went down down [sic_] to Benjamins. He received us with great kindness
as usual gave us a pig for dinner &c. Just before dinner he asked us as
well as he could, for he did not speak a word of English, to excuse him
a short time while he preached to his flock. He went out and we soon
heard the drums beating to call the people together and then the hymns
and prayer. After dinner he called me into the back room and made me
up a bundle of two handsome pieces of tapa and a very pretty mat telling
me it was a poor present but the best he had to give. He then gave me
another piece of Tapa which he said was for Guillou. I do not know how
to express the high sense I have of this man's good qualities. He has
many virtues of which civilized men might be proud, and not one vice,
that I know of, which could make them ashamed. He is modest, honest,
and has none of the disagreeable qualities which characterize his
countrymen. I will say no more of him but leave the rest to the
imagination and I am shure the most vivid will not do him more than
justice. Started back about sundown & arrived opposite the ship about
7 oclock. Found a creek swollen and were carried across on the shoulders
of some natives. Purser, Walker and Clark went down to see Maleatoa in
three of his canoes.

Feby 15th [16] 1841 Tuesday

Today Benjamin came up and dined with me. I gave him a hatchet, two
shirts, some pictures, an inkstand &c &c and Guillou gave a writing book
and some pens. Clark and Walker returned much pleased with their visit.
P.S. Another mistake in dates. I have got two 15ths and how it came In
I cannot imagine.
Aelia Feby 16 [17] 1841 Wednesday
Went on shore today and spent the time in what Miss Kemble calls dawdling. Saw a few sick people and brought a few shells. Some rain during the day but on the whole it was clear. Launch and cutter came in about noon.

Aelia Feby 17th [18] 1841 Thursday
Staid on board today, it being my days duty. Occasional rains during the day but mostly clear. One thing worth mentioning is that the "Flying Foxes," a large species of bats, are so numerous [sic] here and so destructive to all fruits which are atal sweet, that they are obliged to be pulled from the trees when they are quite green and ripened under ground. This practice is universal and absolutely necessary. There is a man on this Island who goes by the name of Joe Gimblit, who has established a religion of his own and played a great many tricks on the superstition of the natives. He is a sort of Mahomet in his way and has a great deal of the same kind of cunning. Mr Rich [botanist] fell in with the present High Priest of this sect and was told he had a book out of which he preached to the people. He prevailed on him to let him see it & found it to be an odd volume of the Rambler. [English periodical edited by Dr. Samuel Johnson, (London, 1783)]. The fellow could not read nor even speak a word of English and had been for a long time imposing on the credulity of his flock by reading long discourses from a book of which he did not understand one word! What a strange vagary it was for the Rambler to find its way out here! Mr. Agate obtained this holy volume from him by giving in exchange a book of travels with a shewy red back which he liked much better.
The Launch and the Cutter started again today on a surveying cruise and will be back tomorrow night. We begin to make preparations for a start and will probably be off on Sunday. We are building a boat which will be done tomorrow. Tomorrow Mr. Hale and myself take a tramp.

Apia Feb’y 18th [19.] 1841 [Friday.]

This morning Mr. Hale and myself started about half past 10 for the village of the King, [Malieotoa] but first we had to walk a mile in the opposite direction to see a sick man. The road down to where we went was very bad, part of it, being thro streams of water more than knee deep, for a hundred yards in some places, and this occurred frequently so that we were a considerable burthen to our guide who carried us on his back over all of them. We passed thro numerous beautiful villages, some heathen, some christian, stopping to have a chat in each. They are usually situated of flat pieces of land in the midst of the most beautiful groves of cocoamuts and breadfruit. About 4 PM we arrived at the house of Mr. Day, a missionary, and found the family at dinner, and were obliged by their urgency to partake with them. Leaving here we walked on to the termination of our journey, where we were received by the King and his principal wife, for he had two, [Lauilupa and Siona] and food was immediately prepared for us. At supper I had the honor of being fed by the Queen! As fast as I put in yam she put in Parasama which she did with a small stick and her fingers; and altho it was not very agreeable to be stuffed in this way, still as it was the Queen, I was forced [sic] by my politeness to submit. This same queen is just such a looking woman as Conway’s Sally, and about as fat. The old King is extremely feeble and is evidently on his last legs. After supper we went round the Village to see what was to be seen and did
not enter a house where we were not offered food. On our return to the
Kings another meal was set before us of which we partook more from
politeness than hunger, and then after sitting a short time a piece of
Tapa dipped in oil was lighted by a man and he shewed us to our lodging
which was a house about ten steps from the Kings. We found here a bed-
stead with curtains of Tapa, very neatly fitted up; but all comfort was
knocked on the head by our having a native pillow; which is a large
bamboo with legs to it. We passed a most miserable night. In the morning
a boy came in with water for us to wash and to help us dress. He brought
the water in two cocoanut shells and really rendered himself as useful as
if he had been trained to that sort of business. When we had dressed we
went to see Moli, \( \text{sic} \) son of the King, who gave us brakefast served
on a table and stools to sit on. At the Kings we ate on the floor in the
following manner.

A nice mat 4 feet square, was laid on the sitting mats and covered
with Banana leaves. The food was brought in in a basket made of cocoanut
leaves and being taken out of the basket was placed on this cloth of
leaves, and really it is one of the nicest table cloths imaginable, and
has this advantage over all others, that you never have a dirty one. You
eat with your fingers, or a knife if you have one but no such thing is
usually provided.

We were obliged to eat brakefast with the King when we returned to
\( \text{sic} \) Moli's, (you will say our politeness was most voracious) and soon
after having made them some small presents, and I having prescribed for
the Queen, who had rheumatism; we sat out on our return to the ship. This
village is a very large and beautiful one. It is in a grove of cocoanut
and breadfruit, and each house has a large pavement of Lava round it.
That round the Kings house is elevated about a foot above the common surface of the plain. The Kings house is one of the smallest, because, say they, he never entertains, or rather lodges, company in it, having others to which he sends his visitors, as he did us, to sleep. Moli is much more civilized than his father, and has only one wife as is the case with most of the natives who belong to the church. Formerly it was the custom to have a great many. Maleataa was an old man when he was converted [sic.] [died in 1841], which is the cause of his having more than one. On our way back we stopped at a village half way where we had made arrangements the day before to have a dance, but we found the chiefs son had died that morning, and of course we were disappointed. The chief did not shew any sign of grief, but laughed and talked as he had done the day before. As we were tired we hired a canoe from him to take us to the ship where we arrived a short time before dinner. Our trip on the whole was quite a pleasant one.

Feby 20th 1841 Saturday
Nothing of importance.

Feby. 21st 1841 Sunday
Today Mr. Mills the missionary here, preached on board; a most indifferent and tiresome sermon. He was a silversmith, I believe, the one at Tahelte was a blacksmith. There came on board today a young man, whose name, I believe, is Ashton; he is dressed in a coarse shirt and trousers, is bare foot and has a shabby straw hat on, but with all this he looks like a gentleman and converses in such a way as to convince every one that he is perfectly well educated. He is an Englishman and wished to get passage to the N.W. coast of America. He has travelled much in America, the W.
Indies, and the Islands of this ocean and has his heart much set on going with us, but the Captain refuses him a passage on the plea I am told, that he is afraid he will get hold of the secrets of the expedition!! He was very indignant at being refused, particularly as the Capt. used some expression of pity when he told him his determination. He came to this Island from Rarotonga (One of the Cook Islands) and has offended the Missionaries in some way or other. He is a very haughty fellow indeed and does not look as if he had ever worked. There is a rumor that he is the son of an English Nobleman. When he came here he was well provided, and had among other things, a beautiful rifle; but he has been obliged to dispose of everything he had to support himself and is now as poor as a church mouse. They say he is crazy at times; And he says he has been so much persecuted and so hard put to it, that he should not be surprised if it were the case. The natives have attempted to kill him several times because he does not allow any familiarities from them as the other white men do & has beat several of them for attempting it. Today I commenced to read [Bishop] Jeremy Taylors "Holy living and dying", [1650] with the commencement of which I am much pleased. I am very sorry I have not attended to this sort of reading as much as my dear Mother expects me to do, but I will make up for it in future.

Feb'y 22d 1841 Monday

This is Washington's birthday. I drank to his memory in a glass of bad wine. At daylight this morning two boats went on shore to endeavor to secure the chief of the village where a murder was committed some time
He was sick in Apia yesterday, but had absconded when the boats landed. Early this morning we weighed ship intending to sail as soon as we get the wind. We will go to Saliafata the murderers town, about 15 miles E of this, and probably burn it. My old friend Benjamin came up to see me today and take leave; and as usual, brought a canoe load of cocoanuts &c. When we parted we rubbed noses, which is a particular token of affection. I was quite sorry to part with the old fellow. Since we have been in here I have finished Lady Ms letters and read Quintin Durward. Today read some of the tales of Mudu; Wonderful tales!!

Feb 23d 1841

About 3 pm today we had a light wind blowing out of the harbor and got underweigh. We had a fine and fair wind outside and might have anchored at Saliafata that night easily but from some cause or other we stood off. Nothing of importance today. Read some of Taylor's Holy living and Dying and commenced Cooper's Pathfinder. Staid on deck till near one talking to Mr. Hale. So intensely warm below - that I had to get up in the night and go out of my room.

Feb 24th 1841 Wednesday

This morning we were 15 miles from Saliafata and with no wind. About 4 pm a light breeze sprang up and at sundown we anchored a short distance from the Town. Schooner was in sight just before dark. All things are in readiness for the grand attack which will probably take place at daylight.

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60 Gideon Smith, a native of Massachusetts, on the whaler, Harold, was murdered at or near Saluafata, Upolu, July 11, 1840 by a native named Tagi. The complete story of this unfortunate incident is found in Wilkes Narrative, III, Appendix XX, 434-438.
tomorrow. The orders are not to kill more people than is absolutely necessary but to burn the town, which is quite a large one and very handsome. At my request I have been appointed medical officer of the expedition and have my small bundle of "Means and Appliances" all ready for an early start in the morning. Beside my professional instruments of torture, I will take a cutlas and brace of pistols to serve for my warlike capacity. When we came in, about 300 people were seen on a point about half a mile from here, probably they came to be spectators of the fight. Some few natives were seen walking about the town. A gun was fired tonight at 8, a blue light burned, and four rockets sent up; every light on shore was immediately thereupon extinguished or concealed, but after a few moments they blazed up again. It is said that a chief from the other side of the Island has come over to assist them, and if so there may be some fighting, but they will probably not stand more than one fire. The great event will be told tomorrow.

Feby 25th 1841 Thursday

"Oh! for a muse with voice as loud as thunder
East & West & North & South I'd make resound
This dire, apalling tale, this eight day's wonder
How 70 armed men burnt one deserted town."
Anonymous

Well! the morning came! Great preparations were made! At half past nine the boats, seven in number, were called away and ordered to lay close to the ship till further orders. I was in the 1st Cutter with De Haven. As soon as the boats were manned, the ship commenced throwing grape and round shot into the town; but only a few of them told, most of them being either too high or too low. When about 20 shots had been fired the boats
were ordered to land. The gig with the 1st Lieut. lead the way and we were next. We found no opposition to our landing. As I went as a volunteer, I had permission to do as I pleased & I determined to stick to the Cutters crew. Perry was left on the beach to protect our rear and the boats and the other parties took different directions to the back part of the town where the burning was to begin. We examined most of the houses before setting them on fire and found all the property had been removed. The only thing I could find as a memento was a small gourd which I intend to give someone at home to darn stockings on. The whole was soon in flames and an hour after the first brand had been lighted, not a house was standing. No opposition was made. Once we thought we heard firing, but it proved to be the cracking of the bamboos. We now embarked and went along side the ship where the men were refreshed and we set off to two other towns which were to share the fate of this one we had just left. The people were seen leaving it as we approached and we soon finished it. A carpenter who lived on shore came off and shipped as his life had been attempted the night before. After the town had been destroyed, the party to which I belonged was ordered to examine a small Island about 300 yards from the shore and joined to it by a reef so that we had to wade up to the armpits in water barking our shins almost every step against the rough coral. The ascent was as steep and difficult as possible, and when we reached the top, some of the other party was already there, having found a good path on the other side. Half a dozen men might have kept this place against ten times our number with ease, but no attempt was made to do so. We found here the grave of the ancient King of this part of the Island, in which several chiefs have been buried of late. On lifting of the broad
piece of coral which covered it, a skeleton presented itself. Today was the warmest we have had for a long time. Thermometer in the sun 150. By 4 pm the whole business was over and we on board ship. Thus ended the day without bloodshed, except that one of the first loads of grape we fired, wounded a native badly in the arm. A whale ship in sight all day. At 8 pm the wind favouring we got underweigh, altho it was quite dark, and stood out of the harbor. We were for some time in imminent danger of being cast away on the reef owing, I believe, to a change of wind. All hands were kept on deck till one o'clock in the morning when we were clear of everything. What fine fun it would have been for the natives if we had lost our ship so soon after burning their town!

Feby 26th 1841 Friday

Standing off and on along the coast. Captain of the Whaleship came on board in the morning 16 mos. from the U.S. with 600 barrels of oil. He has been cruising mostly in this neighbourhood. I got a barrel of flour from him for the Mess. Emmons and Harrison went on some secret expedition in a boat. Read the Pathfinder today. Walker went into Apia in a boat and brought off Lupo as a guide to us in going to the harbor of Savaii. He seems a good deal alarmed.

Feby 27th 1841 Saturday

Standing along the Islands. Mrs. Walker and De Haven sent with two boats and 16 men on a secret expedition. Good weather. Great many saltwater boils among the crew.

Feby 28th 1841 Sunday

Had service today as usual. Read Taylor. Finished the Pathfinder with which I am delighted. Read Miss [Eliza] Leslie's Embroidered Handkerchief
Good. Walker and De Haven returned about 9 pm having failed in the object of their expedition which was to take Maleataoa prisoner. His people were on the lookout and they could not get him.

Nothing of importance today. We are expecting Emmons back. He went to the Island of Manono (small island between Savaii and Upolu), probably to make prisoner of some chief. Squally occasionally. Good deal of rain this afternoon.

March 1st 1841 Monday & Tuesday 2d

Endeavouring to get to Savaii. Gales and rain. Emmons not yet returned.

March 3d 1841 Wednesday

Cleared up somewhat in the afternoon, but not in time for us to get into Savaii.

March 4th 1841 Thursday

Nothing of importance. Read some of Delphine by Madam de Steal (Paris, 1803).

March 5th 1841 Friday

Got into Savaii about 4 pm and boats were sent out surveying immediately. Bay small and much exposed. Some white men, natives, and negroes came on board. This is a fine large Island and the town here is situated in a magnificent cocoanut grove. It is the only harbor on the Island and is a very indifferent one.

March 6th 1841 Saturday

Finished the survey of the harbor today and about 5 pm got underweigh and stood out. Bilged two of our boats here, one very badly. I did not go on shore. Schooner came in and anchored just before we got up our anchor. Mr. Emmons had not succeeded in capturing the chief he went after. He
had made his disappearance. I did not mention, I believe, that the
Schooner went with Emmons. We are now off from this group and I am
sincerely delighted at it. Finished Delphine today; it is a strange
book, and has some of the very worst principles clothed in the most
beautiful and seductive language. I commenced Henry of Guise by [George
Payne Rainsford] James, [London, 1839] tonight and on Monday G. and
myself will resume our studies.

March 7th 1841 Sunday

Had a sermon today. Read some of Taylors Holy Living. Nothing of import-
ance.

March 7th 1841. Nothing of importance. Some rain today. We are now
standing for the King's Hill group. Read Medicine, French & commenced
Henry of Guise.

March 8th 1841 Tuesday Monday

Nothing of importance today. Read Horners Practical Anatomy, French and
finished Henry of Guise which is a tolerably good thing. Wind fair;
ships company much afflicted with boils and sores. The slightest sores
are very hard to heal. These things depend on the same causes as Scurvy.

March 9th 1841 Wednesday Tuesday

Nothing of importance. Studies as usual. commenced [Hon. Charles
Augustus Murray's Travels in America and Sojourn Among the Pawnee
Indians. [London, 1839].

March 10th 1841 Wednesday

Nothing of importance. Going before the wind. Read as usual.

March 11th 1841 Thursday

Heavy squalls of wind and rain. Going rapidly thro the water. Tremendous
rolling. Davis returned to duty today he having been suspended for nearly a week. Nothing of importance.

March 12th 1841 Friday

Going before the wind with a moderate breeze. The rolling is very unpleasant. Today passed the 380th degree of longitude so that we are now in E longitude and tomorrow will be Sunday and and [sic] the 14th instead of Saturday and the 13th. We had some rain today but not much. Read as usual. Finished Henry of Guise and Murray's Travels. The latter is one of the most stupid bombastic and pedantic things I ever attempted to read.

March 14th 1841 Sunday

Sermon today. Made and partly surveyed a large Island; [Funafuti] one of the Ellice's group. It is about 10 miles in diameter and contains a large lagoon the Island being a mere circular slip of land covered with cocoanut trees. Some natives came off to us and brought several articles of trade. They were fine looking men and had beards.

Their tattoo was different from what we have seen, being confined to the upper part of the body as low as the middle, and arms; the figures were pretty and gay. Their language was, I believe, a mixture of navigators, Taheite and Sandwich. We sailed from here same night.

March 15 1841 Monday

Today made De Payster's group, [Depeyster's Island or Nukufetau] but at a distance and the wind ahead. Then we had a succession of squalls of wind and rains & calms, so that we did not come up with it today. The weather is very disagreeable. Studies as usual. Commenced reading Hamilton King [Mathew H. Barker, Hamilton King; or The Smuggler and the Dwarf, (London, 1839)] a sea novel.
March 16th 1841 Tuesday

Rain and squalls and calms all day. Have not seen the land today. Forgot to mention that we had a heavy thunderstorm last night. Studies as usual. Hamilton King rather amusing. Commenced "Jean de France", a French novel. Nothing of importance.

March 17th 1841 Wednesday

This is St. Patrick's Day. Just 12 months ago this very night I made my famous retreat from the ball.61 A retreat which is as celebrated in its way as that of the 10 thousand. We have not yet come up with de Paysters group tho they have been seen today. Studies as usual.

March 18th 1841 Thursday

Today came up with De Paysters group. It is a large Island with a ship passage into the lagoon, and has a good many small ones scattered about it. A great many canoes came off to the ship and forty or fifty people came on board. They are somewhat like the people we saw last but still different in several respects. The tattoo on the upper part of their bodies is the same or nearly so, but then their legs are also tattooed whereas the others were not. Their dress is a small strip of fringed matting which goes around their loins and a flap which is passed thro this hangs down in front. This latter is of various colors and much ornamented. Their hair is put up in a manner which it is impossible almost to describe so as to give a good idea of its appearance; it looks, however, like rolls of carded wool about a foot long and these rolls are very numerous.

Reference is made here to a St. Patrick's Day Ball held at Sydney to which the officers of the Expedition were invited. Whittle declined.
probably 20 or more. The people vary much in color, more than any we have yet seen, some of them being as dark as Fijians and much like them in every respect, while others are but little darker than we are. The general color, however, is about that of the people of Oahoo. They all wear long beards, imperials and mustachios. A great many of them had the skin pealing off their bodies all over as, if from the effect of the sun. One woman was with them she was covered nearly all over with a kind of grass which was strung into fringes some feet long and one tied on above the other so that they overlapped like the shingles on the roof of a house. She remained in the boat and could not be induced by any persuasion to come on board. There was one albino among them decidedly the best looking man of this sort I have ever seen. He was tattooed like the others and his eyes tho light were not nearly so much bloodshot as those of his sort usually are. He seemed to stand the sun as well as any of them. His hair was perfectly white and somewhat crisped. These people seemed anxious to get anything we shewed them but did not attempt to steal. They had mats of various colors. The figures on them were diamond, as large as my hand and perfectly regular. Three colors predominated, red, blue & white. They had long spears barbed with the teeth of sharks. Fishhooks made of wood or shell, necklaces of shells, cocoanuts, and several other things to trade. Their canoes were good, but not so neatly made as those of Samoa. Mr. Hale was able to converse with them very well. Their language was, I believe, somewhat like Samoan tho partaking of others in these seas. The Island is low and covered with cocoanut trees. In the afternoon an old man with Elephantiasis in both legs, a large mat round him, and moderately long curled hair, came on board in one of our
boats which had been near the shore. They said he was their king and
Their God. They seemed to treat him with a great deal of deference. He
was about 50 years old. These people rub noses by way of showing affec-
tion. Finished surveying the Island by sundown and steered away from it.

Read Medicine this morning, finished Hamilton King and commenced
William_7 Russels History of Modern Europe _Phil., 1815_. Read
French at night. The wind is moderate but fair. We expect to get to
King's Mill _Gilberts_ in about 8 days.

March 19th 1841. Friday
Light winds and calms most of the day. The whole sea as far as can be
seen has been covered with Portuguese Men of War all day. There are
literally millions of them. Read Medicine this morning then copied some
of these notes into my Journal. Read French and Russel at night.

March 20th 1841 Saturday
Nothing of importance today. Wind very light. Read Medicine, French and
Russel.

March 21st 1841 Sunday
Sermon today. Immense quantity of rain last night and this morning.
Caught 300 gallons of water in a very short time. Read the whole of
Deuteronomy, the Song of Solomon and a chapter in Holy Living. Tonight
read some chapters from Russel. Scarcely any wind. A few days ago two
of the Marines were flogged at the gangway, and soon after went to the
CaptB and refused to do any further duty as their times of service were
out. They were put in double irons on the half deck with a sentry over
each and limited to bread and water. This is the fourth day and one of
them pretends he has not eaten any thing since. He is a Frenchman.
March 22d 1841 Monday

Nothing of much importance today. The two marines returned to their duty; one today and the other yesterday. Wind light and ahead. Read Anatomy, French and Russel. Write my Journal at all idle times.

March 23d 1841 Tuesday

Some birds were seen about the ship today. Studies as usual.

24th March 1841 Wednesday

This morning discovered an Island a mile long and covered with cocoanut trees. Passed close to it about dark. Saw people and boats but none came off. This is a discovery.62

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62 Wilkes named this Island Hudson, after Captain L. Hudson. It is the Island of Nanomanga.
Due me by the Purser
1st October 1839 $277.15

Articles furnished me since then amt. to $7 & something.

½ doz. sheath knives
1 pound Cavendish Tobacco
1 " Common "
1 pr. suspenders

17th Novr. ; 1 pr pumps
1839 Mid’l Elliott $115

November 1840. Mr Blunt $50
Medical Journal
U.S. Schooner Sea Gull
John S. Whittle
Asst: surgeon

Volume II

Journal of a Cruise in the
U.S. Exploring Expedition
U.S. Ship Peacock
March 25th 1841 Thursday
Today made an Island which is the one called by the Spaniards and French "Grande Coral" of the great Cocoanut Grove. It is thickly covered with the trees from which it derives its name. 63 Read as usual.

March 26th 1841 Friday
Nothing of importance today, we are now beating up for the King's Mills group with a moderate wind dead ahead. Crew quite healthy. Finished Horners Anatomy. Read French and Russel.

March 27th 1841 Saturday
Wind freshened much in afternoon but still continues ahead. We have about 200 miles to beat. Commenced [Philippe Frederic] Blandins [Treatise on] Topographical Anatomy [1830] today. Read French and Russel as usual. All my spare time is now occupied in writing up my journal which is some months behind hand.

March 28th 1841 Sunday
Had sermon today. Read a chapter in Taylor and 45 chapters in Genesis. Nothing of importance. Beating up for King's Mill. We have only 14 months more to be out. I begin to count them with a great deal of anxiety. Read a few chapters in Russels Modern Europe. Weather clear and fine.

March 29th 1841 Monday

March 30th & 31st Tuesday & Wednesday
Nothing of the slightest importance either of these days. Moderate head winds and occasional squalls and showers. Studied as usual. Blandin &

63 St. Augustine's Island (Nanomea).
write Journal in morning & afternoon, French & Russel at night.

April 1st 1840 Thursday
Moderate head wind. Some showers. Read Blandin, French & Russel & commenced making the Meteorological report.

April 2d 1841 Friday
Nothing of importance. Weather tolerably pleasant. Studies as usual.

April 3d 1841 Friday
Early today made one of the Kingsmill Islands called Sydenham. It is several miles, probably 20, in length, very low and covered with cocoanut trees. As soon as we got within a few miles several canoes were seen coming off under sail, and there were soon about 40 alongside and near the ship. They seemed somewhat suspicious, so that we only succeeded in getting a few of them on board. They are not large men, but well made and seem very active.

Their color is a dark reddish bronze, Hair black and curled somewhat. Not much beard, but they wear what they have and it only shows itself in the mustachios imperials and goty, there being no whiskers. They are said to be much like Malays. Some of them have remarkable bad heads.

Their eyes are sharp and piercing, but have, or I imagined so, a peculiar expression of cunning, suspicion and treachery which is very displeasing. Some of them wear their hair long but generally it is only moderately so, They have mats about 8 inches wide around their loins, but many of them are perfectly naked. They wear a scullcap which fits the head close, has no visor. It is made double of cocoanut leaves and is double with a small hole in the inside which answers for a pocket into which they put little things that are given them. Their canoes are

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64 Whittle corrects this error later on. The island is Drummond's Is. not Sydenham.
different from any we have seen being made by sewing together pieces of
plank about 2 inches wide and generally 3 or 4 feet long. They are
strengthened by knees inside. They are very narrow and deep and
consequently have great hold on the water.

Their masts are large being probably made of very light wood. The sails
are made of matting and are triangular with one angle down. The canoes
are very sharp fore and aft and in every way well calculated for speed.
The outriggers are or rather the piece, to which they are attached, are
much larger than any we have seen before, being from 10 to 20 feet, while
the outrigger itself is much shorter. The paddles are made by lashing
the blade to a stick of sufficient length. All these peculiarities are
owing to deficiency of timber of any size. They had fishing nets just
such as we use, fixed at the end of long poles. They wear necklaces of
shells which are frequently 20 or more yards in length, & they frequently
have strings of the same material wound round their bodies. They also
have circular pieces of white shell attached to shorter necklaces, which
hang on the upper part of the chest. Their bodies are tattooed from the
level of the shoulders to near the ankles in streaks perpendicular with
ribs going off on each side.

They have cocoanut shells full of a liquid much like molasses in
consistency color and appearance. They obtain it from the young cocoanut
tree by cutting off the bud, catching the juice in shells and boiling it.

Tobacco seems to be the thing they wish for most and for a small
piece of it any thing they have can be obtained. Two coats of armor were
bought for the expedition. They are made of the cocoanut husk plaited
and woven, are nearly an inch thick and fit the body beautifully. They
cover the chest and abdomen completely and behind is a square piece which reaches above the head. They have long spears with a row of sharks teeth on each edge. Sometimes three & even four edges, generally two. Some of them are 30 feet long. These cut like the keenest knife. They have also swords of different sizes made in the same way. Many of these people have numerous scars on their bodies. They have fans such as we have seen before, made of Pandanus or cocoanut leaves. Some of them have round their loins the skin of a kind of fish which is so spiny and knotty that it would be impossible to penetrate it with a knife arrow or spear. They have the skin of the Porcupine Fish on their heads. This is quite ornamental. Some of them have a disease of the skin which we noticed at the Islands we made before getting to Apia the last time, it is said to be a species of Leprosy. About dark the canoes shoved off and we commenced beating up to windward. Studies as usual. Read Johann Gaspar Spurzheims work on Physiognomy in Connexion With the Study of Physiognomy (Boston, 1833) which seems to me to be a very sensible thing. He discards the idea of your being able to know any thing of a man by his face unless you consider his head also, and even then he places almost exclusive reliance on the indications given by the soft parts of the face & not the bony.

April 4th 1841 Sunday

Sermon as usual. Still beating up for the land which is not visible. Finished Genesis today and read 23 chapters of Exodus.

April 5th 1841 Monday

Early this morning we had got close to an Island and canoes came off in large numbers with articles of trade, chiefly such as we saw the day before
yesterday. There were also some things in addition. They had suits made like coats of mail of cocoanut husk twisted into small rope and matted. This seems to be a good protection against the teeth edged swords. They danced on deck several times and did it with such rapidity and excitement that some of them were quite exhausted at the end of a few moments. These people are by no means plump and well fed looking, but are on the contrary rather emaciated. About half of them have disease of the skin. The teeth of almost all the grown men are very defective indeed so much so that frequently they have not a sound tooth in their heads. Most of them have numerous wounds in various parts of the body, but usually in the back. They make baskets with a dozen different compartments in them. Their fishhooks are of wood and mother of pearl. They have some spears tipped with the tail of the "sting ray". Their fondness for tobacco is astonishing, they actually eat it.

Whales teeth are much in demand among them & is even more valuable than Tobacco. They are the only people we have seen who do chew and do not smoke.

April 6th 1841 Tuesday

I forgot to mention yesterday that we came to anchor early on that day on the S.W. side of the Island, which is named Drummonds [Tabitenue] instead of Sydenham. There is no bay here but a moderate bend in the land, and as storms are rare occurrences here, at least at this season of the year, it is a tolerably safe place to lie for a short time. Very early this morning canoes began to come off and at one time there were 95 around and near the ship, and a great many natives on board. The Schooner and two boats were sent off surveying yesterday and some boats sent in to the
shore, but as the people had rather a suspicious appearance the latter were recalled. Today, however, some boats landed with the scientifics and they staid on shore nearly the whole day. They say they did not see many articles of manufacture which had not been brought alongside. The houses are built on pillars of coral four or five feet high and are covered with Pandanus leaves after the manner of those of Fiji. They have wells for water which is by no means good. They have a fermented liquor made of the juice of the young coconut. I do not know whether it is very intoxicating. They eat the Pandanus fruit. The women are said to be very pretty indeed. Their hair is long and black. Their dress is a cord which goes around the waist with a small bunch of grass hanging down behind and before. Many of the young women were perfectly naked as were most of the men who were alongside today. I saw one woman on board who was by no means pretty. There is said to be a white woman here, wife of a whale captain who was murdered by the natives in 1837 or 8. She has a child with her. The ship was wrecked, some of the crew made their escape in a boat, but the boat in which the captn and his wife were was taken and all hands put to death. We can get nothing out of them on the subject. Read Robinson Crusoe today.

April 7th 1841 Wednesday

Today a great many canoes were about the ship early and they had among other things, a great many suits of armor. They have now increased very much in their demand for things, and ask a whales tooth for what could have been purchased the day before yesterday for a chew of tobacco. We must have seen in all, about 150 of these complete suits of armor viz: A stiff jacket which protects the whole body, a jacket of mail which
covers the arms, and pantaloons like the latter. They have cords of human hair plaited some of which are 50 or 60 yards long. Strings of human teeth have been brought on board for sale. About 1/2 past two today four of our boats with the Capt'n and nearly all the officers went on shore. They returned at dark with one man, John Anderson, short, and they suppose that he was murdered, poor fellow! As soon as they landed the people got around them and tried to entice them off singly under various pretences. Dr. Guillou was near loosing his life in this way. Fortunately Davis came up to the house where he was with five men just at the moment when the Dr expected to be attacked by 50 men.

When the boats were about to leave the shore, Anderson was missing and a party was sent thro the town to search for him, shouting and hollering his name the whole of the time, but no answer was obtained. Some boys directed the party to pursue a certain course as if they would then find the man but they soon came to an enclosure fortified with bamboo where 200 men with armor on and spears and clubs in their hands were assembled. As there were only 3 in the party including the officer he thought it prudent to return to the boat and as he did so he was followed at a short distance by the natives, who threw stones at him. One of his men was struck on the shoulder and staggered. The natives who threw this stone would have been shot on the instant had not Davis ordered his men to desist, thinking that if the missing man was still alive his life would be forfeited by the death of a native. When the men had embarked a musket was fired as a signal to the last man, but without any effect. Probably the poor fellow is being eaten at this very moment. One of the officers thought he heard a gun go off in the village some
time before the men came down to the boats, which was possibly that of poor Anderson. How melancholy is his fate. Even if he is alive, knowing as he does the character of these people, which is worse than that of the Fijians, he must suffer more than the pangs mentally. Whether an attempt will be made to recover the man if he proves to be alive or to avenge his death if that has happened, I do not know. Probably all proceedings of this sort will be deferred until we are through surveying and until the schooner returns from her circuit of the Island. I sincerely hope they may be severely punished if he is not forthcoming tomorrow. Probably we will kill some 50 or 60 of them & burn their town. Those who were on shore seem to think the people suffer for want of food as they eat Pandanus fruit and the rind of the coconut. They have a little Taro but very little. I saw a boy today who looked in the face to be 60 years old, tho he is probably not more than 16 and the whole of them have a meagre look tho they are very nimble and strong for their size. I mentioned that many of them had bad teeth, this is confirmed by seeing more of them. A great many even who are not grown have this defect.

April 8th 1841 Thursday

Today a great many canoes were at the ship, but none from the town where our man was taken. One man from a town near that one said that our man was alive and he promised, in consideration of a quantity of Tobacco to bring him off, but no doubt he is deceiving us. It was determined today by the Capt’n to send some armed boats on shore in the morning and either get the man or punish the people. I got permission to accompany the party. Everything was got as near ready as possible tonight so that we may start before the heat of the day tomorrow.
April 9th 1841 Friday

At 4 am this morning all hands were called and commenced getting the boats ready for their departure. At or before seven the Schooner (having come back yesterday) got underweigh and stood in toward the shore, but could only get about half a mile nearer the scene of action than the ship was. A little after seven the boats were all manned and ready for departure. It is necessary to say that the town we were going to attack extends along the beach about a mile, and back about one hundred yards. The cocoanut trees and bushes are so thick that a man might very well conceal himself ten steps within them. Along the whole front of this town about 30 paces from the water, posts are set up a few feet from apart and a close sort of bamboo work fill up the spaces between them; this is about 5 feet high and so firm that we had difficulty in pulling it down at some places when we wished to get thro! The Codhouse stood outside this breastwork close to the water on a platform of stones a few feet above the level of the water; It is large enough to hold 400 or 500 people. Just before 8 oclock we set off from the ship, there being 80 of us all told in seven boats. The men were armed with muskets, pistols & cutlasses. The officers generally with pistols, swords & double barreled guns. We had about 5 miles to pull, but fortunately it was cloudy at the time so that we did not, as we expected to have done, suffer much with heat. When we were within ½ mile of the shore Mr Walker, who had command, formed the boats into line abreast and in this way we pulled to within 150 yards of the CodHouse, when Mr Walker in whos boat Mr. Hale was, pulled ahead of the others to talk with a native who advanced to meet him. Some Tobacco had been brought to offer for our
man and it was now shewn him and the intention of offering it explained to him; but it seemed to have no effect and his intention evidently was to entice our boats within reach of his people. Finding this to be the case Mr Walker told Mr Perry in whose boat I was, that he intended opening a fire on them, but that he would first throw in a rocket. All this time the main body was collected in front of the Godhouse and about 50 were in the water at various distances from us. There was the most clamorous din of voices I ever heard. They were shouting and beckoning to us to come on, beating the water with their swords and spears in token of defiance and evidently expecting to have an easy conquest. A great many of them had on armor. At this time a rocket was sent among those at the Godhouse, which was aimed so well that it went into the midst of them and caused them to scatter, tho they did not flee. Mr Peale who had a double barreled rifle was then ordered to fire at a leader; this he did and brought him down. Then the men were ordered to fire in volleys and the natives squatted in the water and dodged so that it was hard to say at the time how many were killed or wounded. After the men had fired twice, I believe, we pulled right up to the beech and landed and the natives all retired out of gunshot as we did so. Having now firm possession; our men were divided into three parties, one staid by the boats, one marched round to the back of the town to burn it there and a third was ordered to set fire to the front. I was with this third party. We set fire to the breastwork and houses for near a mile. All their property seemed to have been left in the houses. We burnt some magnificent canoes, one of them, I think, was 6 feet deep. We saw plenty of natives as we marched along the beech, but they kept out of our way generally. Half a dozen of
them were fired and one or two of them with effect, but not generally. Every thing was done with perfect coolness and order and not a man was allowed to stir out of his place. By 12 o'clock the whole town was in a blaze. We suffered extremely with heat as the sun was pouring down and there was only a small space between the beach and the immense fire we had kindled, and the smoke which blew immediately in our faces and the embers which were flying about were almost suffocating. There are various estimates of the number of natives who opposed our landing, some say 800. I think about 300. There are different opinions about the number of killed and wounded too. I can answer for four killed, some say 20. No doubt many more were killed and mortally wounded than we saw. The number of houses burnt, including canoe houses, is estimated at 300, and as all their property was in them and most of the cocoanut trees were probably killed, the loss will be most severely felt by them.

After the burning was over and we were about to embark, an old man, chief of another village, came down to beg that we would not injure his dominions. We explained to him that we would not, and he seemed highly pleased. He was at war probably with the party we had punished, as his people, who accompanied him at a distance to the number of 200, were seen pillaging what little property had escaped the flames. We now embarked, it being about 1 o'clock. As the tide had fallen we had to wade off about half a mile to the boat. We spread our sails to a light breeze and at 2 o'clock were on board ship. One or two of our men wounded themselves with their cutlasses, one so that he was put on the sick list.

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65 Wilkes gives the number as 12 natives killed and no injuries done to our men. Narrative V, 60.
These people evidently expected to make prey of us and seemed determined to fight till we fired into them several times and probably they did not know the effect of our arms, till they had felt it. This Island is more than 30 miles long and is more thickly covered with cocoanut trees than any other I recollect to have seen. In some places it is not more than 50 yds wide; and the broadest part, which is at the place where we made the attack is not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile. De Haven who saw the whole of the Island says there must be 10,000 people on it.

Judging from the number of wounds we saw these people must be continually at war with one another. They probably live chiefly on fish. They eat also cocoanuts and Pandanus fruit and a little Taro but the quantity of this latter is insignificant. They are, no doubt, frequently pressed for food. We saw nothing of our man. After all it was melancholy to come away without him. Their houses are built on Stakes or coral pillars about five feet high. The lower part is open and is matted. The people probably sit here in the day time. You go into the upper story thro a small trap door, and this apartment is divided into two which communicate by a hole just big enough for a man to crawl through. They have a great many things about their houses which require a good deal of ingenuity in the manufacture. I only had two shots, and thank God did not kill any one, altho I felt very much like it at the time. At 4 pm we got underweigh and before night made Bishop's Island. (Sydenham or Nanouti)

April 10th 1841 Saturday Sunday

Had sermon today; made and surveyed small Island. Finished Exodus & read Book of Genesis, Leviticus.
May April 10th 1841 Saturday
Surveyed Bishops Island today. It looks much like Drummonds. Some canoes were seen at a distance but could not overtake us. Ship was scrubbed today so we could not study.

May April 11th 1841 Sunday
Had sermon today. Made and surveyed a small Island. Finished Exodus and commenced read the Book of Leviticus.

May April 12th 1841 Monday
Surveying some of the other Islands of the group [Gilberts] who's names I do not know. Some natives came on board. They were better looking men than those at Drummond and had the appearance of being better fed. Some young women whom they brought off with them were really quite pretty.
The name of the Island from which these people came is Henderville [Aranuka]. Read medicine and french today and copied journal.

April 13th 1841 Tuesday
Much as yesterday. Some canoes were seen but did not come alongside.
Read medicine French & Modern Europe & wrote Journal. We will probably not be on the N.W. coast till the 1st of July. When we left Oahoo we were to have been there by the middle of April.

May April 14th 1841 Wednesday
Surveying Halls Island [Maiana] most of the day. Some canoes came off and one of them was at one time alongside but a gun was fired & then he cast off and could not be induced to return. People much like the last we saw. Better looking than Drummond's. Weather pleasant generally.
Saw an immense shoal of Porpois today. About dark had a heavy rain squall which lasted only a few moments. Read Medicine this morning, wrote
April 15th 1841 Thursday

Nothing of importance today. Still cruising among and surveying the Kings Mill group. Read Blandin, French and Russel & wrote journal.

April 16th 1841 Friday

Today went close to Woodles Island [Kuria] from which some canoes came off and in one of them was a white man who was desirous to leave the Island. He said he ran away from an English Whaling ship three years ago and had been very kindly treated by the natives ever since. His wife came off with him. She was a very fine looking woman. I will write what this man says about the Islands in a few days. Studies as usual.

April 17th 1841 Saturday

Last night came very near going on shore while the ship was going 6 knots. Fine breeze today. Islands in sight in different directions. Read Russel and French today.

April 18th 1841 Sunday

Still cruising among the Kings mill. Had sermon today. Read the Book of Numbers in morning and some of Russel in afternoon. This is my birthday. I am 28 years old! It seems only yesterday since I was a boy! We sailed from the U.S. 32 months ago this day. Nothing of importance.

April 19th 1841 Monday

Still in the same group. Quite squally for the last two days. Last night I lay in bed fairly burning for a drink of water and not able to obtain a drop. Just then a heavy shower fell and I made one of the boys catch
me one of the most delightful glasses I ever had. Nothing of importance. Read medicine, Russel and French, and commenced one of Miss Austin's novels viz "Pride & Prejudice."

April 20th, 21st, 22d Tuesday, Wednesday Thursday

Nothing has happened these three days, We are still cruising among the Kings Mill Islands and surveying them, but have not seen any natives lately. The man we found at one of these Islands (Kirby is his name)\(^6\) gives some curious particulars of their manners and customs. He says they are much at war and make slaves of their prisoners. Some of the small Islands are tributary to the large one. He never saw human flesh eaten but once. One of their chiefs was killed for some crime and his body eaten. It is not considered disgraceful for single women to enjoy the pleasures of love, and they take advantage of this impurity to a great extent, but all the offspring is destroyed in the womb by pressure. Some of the chiefs have as many as 13 wives. All the children of the women who are married, after the second one, are destroyed in the womb. This practice, so shocking to our ideas of humanity, is said to be necessary to prevent over population. The father has the right to enjoy the wife of his son, but unfaithfulness to the marriage bed, except to this extent, is punished with death both of man & woman. The sculls of their parents are preserved and carried about with them from place to place; Their bodies are buried. The souls of the departed wander about in the air and

\(^6\) John Kirby was a deserter from the English whale-ship Admiral Cockburn. Captain Hudson gave him permission to remain on board. His knowledge of the language, character and customs of the islanders was a great help to Hudson. Wilkes Narrative V, 65.
frequently converse with their friends they have left behind, in dreams!
What a beautiful idea this is! This is all I have collected, but Mr. Hale
has got the whole story, and no doubt it will be published in the big
book. Read Medicine Russel and French and some of Jane Austin. The
latter is delightful. She paints people as they really are.

April 23d 1841 Friday
Surveying the Island called Mathews or Charlotte or both. This island is
about 30 miles in circumference and has a fine large lagoon in it. Read
Medicine French and Russel.

April 24th 1841 Friday
Boats were got ready to land the Scientific corps and as the Schooner had
made signal for medical assistance, I was ordered to go in one of the
boats, and join the Schooner after the landing had been affected. The
ship was about 5 miles from land when we left her, and the sun as hot as
possible, so that we had a disagreeable pull of it. Dana, Agate and
Davis were in the boat with me. Landed Dana & Agate about ½ past two.
The natives came into the water to meet us; There were only about 30 of
them. The place we landed at was a small clump of a few acres connected
to the main Island at each end by a long reef. After waiting about ½
hour the Schooner had worked to within ½ mile of us and I went on board.
Reynolds was leaving for shore just as I got alongside. Soon after I got
on board Old Knox resolved to run into the Lagoon on this side where he
was sure there was a passage and to endeavour to find one out on the other
side and meet Emmons who had charge of the survey that was making.

We beat in very well thro a fine wide passage our shoalest water
being 3½ fathoms, and after sailing about 5 miles we kept away to go out
again, but instead of going out we went on shore. The sheets were eased off to endeavour to force her head over but this could not be effected. The natives in canoes, now beginning to collect, Knox asked me to load and get in order the muskets and in the mean time he got a kedge out over the larboard bow and endeavoured to heave her head round but could not succeed. The hawser was then brought over the quarter but with as little effect. The tide had now fallen so much that all further efforts were considered useless. Some of the canoes seemed disposed to come on board of us and after trying all gentle means to get rid of them, we were obliged to fire into them. This we did in such a manner as to cut their sails and rigging and thus shew them the power of our arms, without wounding the people. After firing half a dozen shots in this way they hauled off a little but continued to sail about and laugh at us till dark. They generally jumped over board as soon as we fired but got in again immediately. One shot cut the fellows haulyards & his sail went overboard and immediately all hands except one jumped into the water and commenced swimming to shore about 3 miles distant.

It was five o'clock when we struck and as Emmons boat was in sight, we made signals to her that we were aground. About 8 P.M. he got on board. By this time the tide had left us so that we had careened over till it was impossible to walk on deck. Everything was turned topsy turvy. We now made signals to the ship that we were aground and propped up the Schooner so as to prevent her going over any farther.

There was no sleep for any one on board. In the first place there was no place to sleep and in the next we were obliged to keep a lookout on the natives. It was a beautiful night. I staid, I was going to say
laid, but I was almost standing up, on deck with a cloak around me, but could not sleep. The people on shore were burning signal fires and blowing war conchs almost the whole night. At daylight, the tide being in, we were nearly afloat and hauled off easily with the assistance of an anchor. Just before we got off the natives began to collect about us in large numbers; there were about 200 of them in 25 canoes. One of them came so near that we fired over their heads to drive them away and just at that moment, being all clear, we made sail. The canoes followed us and two of them outsailed the Schooner, but we left the others astern. As soon as they saw we were about to be off they tried to stop us by shewing us articles of trade.

If we had remained a half hour longer we should probably have been under the necessity of killing some of them. About 10 o'clock this morning (25, Sunday) we got alongside the ship when Capn. Hudson hailed us and told us he had been on shore too in the night, on Knoxes Island. He touched very lightly, however, and backed off immediately.

Had church today and a rain and wind squall soon after we got on board. About 9 at night heavy squall of wind and rain. Read nothing today, being too sleepy.

April 26th 1841 Monday
Cruising to see whether Mathews [Maraki] and Charlotte [Apaiang] are the same. Made land this afternoon. Some rain during the day. It is whispered that we go to Oahoo. Read Medicine today, Russel and some of "Mansfield Park" by Miss Austin. Went to sleep at 3 and slept till 9 at night so that I missed my French.
April 27th 1841 Tuesday

Weather squally and rainy. No events worth recording. Read Medicine, French & Miss Austin.

April 28th 1841 Wednesday

Nothing of importance today. Read as usual.

April 29th 1841 Thursday

Today we were near Pitt's island [Makin'] and a great many fine canoes came off loaded with people. One of the canoes had a white man in it who asked to come on board and when we told him we would heave to for him he took off his hat and waved it; His long hair streaming in the wind his face overgrown with beard and his clothing of mats brought Robinson Crusoe into my head. He said he had been here 6 years. There are more fat men among these natives than I ever saw in the same number before. There were several who would, no doubt, weigh two hundred & fifty. About 30 of these fat fellows were said to be sons of one man, who himself did not seem more than 50. He has 50 wives, and almost all the people who were married here have ten or twelve. When you marry the oldest daughter here you are entitled to all the others. The white man had been kindly treated. Mr. Rich saw here what he supposes to be the plants from which Chinese Rice paper is made, and went on shore to try and get a good specimen but did not succeed. These people are naked. Their hair is long black and beautiful; sometimes straight, and sometimes slightly frizzed. Their beards are in proportion. Take them all in all they are

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67 This character gave his name as Robert Wood (alias Grey) a Scotchman by birth, who was left by his own wish on the island, some years before, by the English whaling brig, Janie, of London, sailing from Sydney. Wilkes, Narrative, V, 72.
fine well fed looking fellows. They reminded me about the head, of pictures of Charles 2nd. The white man had a mat around his body which reached to his knees, and a poncho of the same material which covered all the upper part of his body; it had a few stitches under the arms which converted it into a kind of jacket. When we were about leaving, the white man having agreed to remain with us, six of the natives determined to stay too, and we had actually to force them out of the ship. The white man seemed much confused when he first came on board, and did not know for some time whether he would go with us or not. It was amusing to hear him talk. He would frequently talk Kings Mill to us and English to the natives; and at other times a mixture of both. He is an Englishman [who] was out here whaling in a Sydney ship when some difficulty occurring between him & the mate while they were in a boat, this man jumped into a canoe & put off. Read Medicine, French, and W Austin.

April 30th 1841 Friday

Calm most of the day. Sent some things on board the Schooner. Nothing of importance except that we were put on half a gallon of water and 3/4 of food today.

Read as usual.

May 1st 1841 Saturday

Wind freshning. At daylight made weatherscot of Pitts Islands on the bow. At 8 A.M. it was about 2 miles distant. Nothing of importance.

May 2d 1841 Sunday

Had service today. Wind hauled fair and freshned at 11:30 A.M. made one of the Islands of the Mulgrave's group. [Mill, Marshall Islands] Read some of Joshua but was too unwel to study.
May 3d 1841 Monday


May 4th 1841 Friday

Fair breeze and some rain. All hands act as if they were crazy when it rains, on account of the scarcity of water. The living on board here is horrible. Read Johnson today, finished Blandin's Anatomy yesterday.

May 5th 1841 Wednesday

Today made one of the Pescadores Rongerik Atoll, Marshall Islands and surveyed part of it. Wind fresh. Read as usual and commenced Edward Turner's Elements of Chemistry (Phil. 1835). Finished the History of Portugal and commenced "Jeanne de France" a novel.

May 6th 1841 Thursday

Squally and rain occasionally. Topsails close reefed split our fore-top-sail and got up a new one. Read as usual.

May 7th 1841 Friday

Gale moderating somewhat. Weather fair. Near one of the Pescadores. About 3 P.M. a cance was seen coming off but we tacked ship and he put in to the shore. Schooner was sent in pursuit but could not come up with him. This is the place we expect to find Captn Dowset who was east away captured here 6 years ago. He landed in a boat and all hands except himself were murdered. His wife is on Oahoo and expects us to bring him to her. Read Turner, French, & Russel.
April [May] 8th 1841 Saturday

Today the rain had moderated a good deal and we were close to the Island, but saw no canoes and no people. We gave the schooner instructions to separate from us and meet us on the opposite side of the Island on Monday. Probably she will miss us and in that case will go direct to Oahoo. We will probably do so too on Monday. Since I have heard this true tale about Captn. Dowset, I think ours the surest wild goose chase that ever a set of foolish people came on.

He went on shore with a party, most of the party were murdered by the natives and two got to their vessel badly wounded, and because they did not actually see the dead body of the Captn. they take it for granted he is alive, when in all probability he was one of the first killed & for that reason was lost sight of.\(^6\) This thing of being on short allowance is no joke. We do well enough for food as to quantity but are much famished for water. Each one takes his share in bottles and it amounts to a little more than two bottles each. This is for cooking, washing, drinking, and every thing. The consequence is that we cannot have coffee or tea, or at least we have it in very small quantity, and are obliged to dispense with every thing which it would require fresh water to cook; and even with this economy, as everything we eat is of the very saltest kind and we are within the tropics, you will see how inadequate our potations must be. This is to last for two months and probably

\(^6\) It was later found that Dowsett had reached another atoll safely and was still living there in 1843.
longer. We have a fine breeze. The old ship fairly cracks under it but we are only fooling away our time. Studies as usual.

May 9th 1841 Sunday

I really believe that we are at last on our way to Oahoo, the every thing, even the simplest is made such a profound mystery in this expedition, that it is hard to say positively. We have been steering to the Nd & Ed all day, and are now probably 120 miles from the Pescadores. The Schooner will leave there on Tuesday. We have ½ allowance of food and water for about 50 days on board and as it is the opinion that we will be out longer than that, the allowance will have to be still farther reduced.

It is really enough to make a man sick to be called to a meal. The very sight of salt beef takes away my appetite. This trip of ours has been the most foolish thing I ever heard of. We have come down here to look for a man, who in all human probability has been dead 6 years, without even knowing which of the Islands he is supposed to be on; and we go back again without doing one thing calculated to find him if he is on any of them. We have been off and on in sight of land for two days past but usually at a great distance. We have not landed nor made any attempt to land. We have made no inquiries from natives and indeed have seen none except one canoe full, who were coming off to us when we changed our course & lost them! It is really a wisely conducted piece of business!! And by our delays we have lost all chance of being on the N.W.

69 More than 1000 gals, of water were discovered in the hold when the Peacock docked at Honolulu. The Master of the ship knew nothing about it. The whole ship was on rations when there had been plenty on board. Journal of F. D. Stuart on board the Peacock. R.R.W.E. Vol. XX, Microfilm Collection, Univ. of Hawaii.
coast for more than a few weeks; when the Scientific corps are anxious to get there & our services are wanted there too! Truly they spend Uncle Sam's money most vilainously. We had sermon today as usual. Weather has been squally tonight and there has been some little rain but not much. Finished Joshua today and read the book of Judges, also read some of Erskines evidences and Russel's modern Europe.

May 10th 1841 Monday
We have had a fine wind all day; going 6 knots and heading NNW. Weather fine and cool. Cockroaches seem to be suffering for want of water. When it rains they go on deck in crowds to drink. Read Turner, French, Russel and copied Journal.

May 11th 1841 Tuesday
Once today the wind died away and we all began to fear that we should have a calm, but it only lasted a few moments and then sprung up as fresh as ever and from the same quarter. We go about 6 knots. We are now directly under the sun & notwithstanding this it is absolutely chilly at some times of the day, and not uncomfortably warm at any. How horrible a calm of any duration would be to us! Read Turner Russel & French & wrote French and Journal.

May 12th 1841 Wednesday
Today has passed pretty much as usual. We have been going 6 knots and heading N by W but just before dark we were enabled to head N by E which is remarkably well. The weather continues cool, thermometer from 78 to 79. Barometer is much higher than it has been for some time, its usual range since we left Oahoo has been 29.80 to 29.90 & that of the thermometer 84 to 86; The Barometer tonight and for several days past has
been a little above 30 inches. Read Turner, Russel, & French & wrote
journal and french.

May 13th 1841 Thursday

Made some little sorting today. Fine wind. Read Turner, Russel, French
& the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal & wrote French and Journal.

Nothing new.

May 14th 1841 Friday

Heading better today than we have been doing yet. General course N.N.E.
It is now expected that we will get into Oahoo by the middle of next
month. Weather delightful. I have slept under a blanket for the last
three nights and find it quite comfortable. Read Russel, Turner, French
& the Boston Medical & Surgical Journal. Wrote Journal but no French.

Nothing worth writing about.

May 15th Saturday to May 20th Friday

Since last date it has continued cool and pleasant, the thermometer being
from 72 to 77. You will be surprised to hear that we call this cool, but
we have been in tropical climates now so long that what would be very
pleasant to you would freeze us. I have been sleeping under a blanket
for the last ten days and am dressed in woolens from head to foot. The
wind has favored us marvelously till today when it has headed us off
again but, as we are now in the variables we do not despair of having it
fair again. Studies as usual. Commenced reading [Rev. William]
Buckland's Bridgewater Treatises [Geology & Mineralogy Considered with
Reference to Natural Theology, (London, 1836)] on Sunday afternoon. A
great many whales were seen this morning all around. There must have
been some hundreds. Some of them jumped entirely out of the water; This
is called breaching by the whalers. The sea is thickly studded with a kind of shell called Southena Fragilis. The animal within this shell is of a deep purple color and at the mouth is a bladder of various sizes which keeps the shell afloat. Any quantity of the purple dye may be obtained as there are millions of the shells all around.

May 21st 1841 Saturday

Wind ahead all day. Millions of Southena.

May 22d 1841 Sunday

Sermon today. Wind came out fair at 7:00 o'clock this morning and we have probably averaged 5 knots since then. About 8 P.M. it died away. Shells continue numerous. One man on the list with symptoms of scurvy. Eyes so bad today that I could not read any thing. Thermometer down to 70. Dressed in flannel and woolen clothes. Cold quite disagreeable unless you are moving about.

June 14th 1841 I have written nothing in my Journal since last date simply because I could find nothing to write about. I have tried the daily record of wind and weather till I am tired of it, and whoever reads this journal, if any one can be found even among my most partial friends, rash enough to undertake it, he will rejoice and bless me when he comes to this gap. We have had winds of all sorts fair winds, and foul winds, & baffling winds; & an equal variety of weather tho for the most part clear and cold. The crew has been tolerably or indeed very, healthy. We are all heartily sick of short allowances of water and provisions. I have been reading Turners Chemistry and Russels Europe during the week and the Bible & Bucklands Geology on Sunday. I finished the second book of Kings yesterday, which was Sunday. To the delight of all hands we
made Oahoo this morning, but were not able to get in before night; We are now 8 pm approaching the harbor of Honolulu and will probably anchor there by brakefast time tomorrow. Today Dr. Palmer and myself recommended to the Captn, that we remain at Oahoo at least two weeks & that the officers and men be allowed to take as much recreation on shore as possible. If this recommendation is not attended to, I tremble for them on our passage thro the E. Indies and this consideration was pressed on the Captn. If he refuses to comply with what we have recommended I would not have what will be on his conscience, for a dukedom. I forgot to say that on the 5th of this month we fell in with a whaler named Magnolia. The captn. of her sent us some Potatoes and Newspapers & told us that General Harrison was elected President & John Tyler Vice P.

Old Virginia stuck to Van I hear. I am sorry for it. I have read lately a book called the Doctor. It seems to me to have been written at odd times & when the humor was on and ought to be read in the same way. Taken thus little by little it is a most pleasant book. The idea of a fresh brakefast tomorrow makes my heart leap for joy.

June 16th 1841. All day today employed in beating up for Honolulu for this morning we found ourselves as far off as we were the night before. About 10 am sent in a boat (we being then about 15 miles to leeward of the harbor,) Late in the Afternoon we saw a boat pulling off to us; she was soon alongside and proved to be a large shore boat having the American Consul (Brinsmaid) & Mr. Shelton on board; they were

70 Strictly speaking, Peter A. Brinsmade was an American agent for commerce and seamen, although frequently referred to as the American consul.
loaded with fresh things and brought some letters and newspapers. I got 8 long letters to my share & a few newspapers. They told us the Schooner had arrived the day before, all well. Our boat had not got in when they left.

We were all delighted to receive these fresh provisions, of course as we had suffered very much for something good to eat. I can answer for myself that I had actually been hungry for a month past. Mr. B [Brinsmade] & Mr. S. [Hilton] staid all night on board, having sent their boat back as soon as she was unloaded. My letters contained all good news; They were later than any I had received before, but still more than a year old.

June 17th 1841 This morning before breakfast we came to in the inner harbor. Honolulu looks pretty much as it did tho there are some few improvements. I got permission to live on shore & Guillon & myself took a couple of rooms in the Polyglot. One of the first things I heard of on landing was the death of John Sack [Sac] a New Zealander whom we left here last time. I was truly sorry to hear of it — Blunt is here! he was left on sick ticket & totally detached from the Squadron. He has regained his health almost entirely.

We remained in Honolulu till the morning of the 22d. It will be seen that our advice to the Capt'n about recruiting the men was totally disregarded. On what grounds I am unable to say. I enjoyed myself much while here. Principal amusements riding rolling ten pins & visiting, all of which I took advantage of. The men had liberty for 24 hours & scarcely any of them got drunk. On the morning of the 22d at 12 oclock we got underweigh and stood out with a fine breeze.

June 29th, 1841 Nothing of importance has occurred since last date. We
have had fine wind most of the time. The weather has become so cool as to render flannel agreeable. Thermometer today as low as 70 Barom as high as 30.32! Today is damp and disagreeable and we may soon, I suppose, expect blowy & bad weather. It is rumored that some of the vessels may go back to Oahoo on the way from N W coast to Manila. There is a large letter bag for us on board the Vincennes so I am anxious to get there, otherwise I do not care much about it. I suppose we will be there about 6 weeks which will be long enough. Blunt remained at Oahoo waiting for an opportunity of going home. I forgot to mention that the St Louis was at Oahoo during our absence. The people seemed much pleased with her officers.

I continue my studies as usual. Turner, Chemry, French, Duglisons Physiology &c. [Richard J. Duglison, Human Physiology (Phil., 1832).] & Bible & Geology on Sundays.

June 30th, Nothing of importance today. It is cool & damp & consequently disagreeable I sleep under two blankets and wear a peacoat in the day-time. Wind moderate and tolerably fair. Read Turner Duglisons read & wrote French and studied the Greek grammar. I am afraid I undertake too many things at once but I have so much to learn that I am obliged to crowd as much as possible.

July 1st 1841 Wind and weather as usual except that it is growing colder and colder. French Duglison Turner & Greek Grammar.

July 2d, 1841

Good many vellelae in the sea. It is now unusually cold for this season of the year. There must be Icebergs in the neighborhood. The thermometer was at one time today as low as 59 and it feels much colder than it really
is on account of the dampness of the atmosphere, the want of fire & the circumstance of our having been so much in warm weather lately. Studies as usual.

July 3d 1841

Weather continues cold; thermometer down as low as 56 or 28 degrees lower than we had it at Oahoo. The sea is so thickly covered with vellelae that they look like snow; there is no exaggeration in this tho it seems truly astonishing. This has been the case almost the whole day.

As tomorrow, 4th July, comes on Sunday, the "Main Brace was spliced" this evening. All hands are dressed in their warmest clothing. It seems very odd that here in about Lat: 40° N we should have it almost cold enough for snow on the 4th of July. There is some talk of a party being got up to go home by way of the NW Coast. This will no doubt be pleasant, but I shall stick by this Exdn and go home with it more especially as it will probably reach the U.S. some what sooner than the Land Parly. Nothing short of absolute necessity would induce me to prolong my absence one moment. Studies as usual.

July 11th 1841 Our fourth passed in as quiet a manner as the most sober person could have wished. One bottle of wine among 8 would not be found fault with even by a temperanceman. All our warmest clothing has been in requisite for some time past. Thermometer as low as 52. Nothing of importance has occured. For the last 3 or 4 days we have had a fair wind and are now within 700 miles of the Columbia. Studies as usual. Read lately Hugh Murray's "Historical account of "Discoveries & Travels in N. America" including the United States, Canada, the shores of the Polar Sea, and the voyages in search of a Northwest Passage; with observations
on emigration. (London, 1829), which is one of the most interesting books of the sort I have ever read. Schooner detains us a good deal.

July 12 & 13th. Winds continue much the same as at last date, sometimes slackening but always dead aft. We were today less than 500 miles from our port and in all human probability will get in on Monday or Tuesday at farthest. The weather is cold, damp and extremely unpleasant. There are a good many colds in the ship but no case of serious sickness except one; that of a man named Churchill who was taken on board the Schooner at Oahoe without having him examined by the Doctor. As soon as we got out he was found to be in so bad a state of health that it is doubtful whether he will recover. There is some talk of a party of Scientists and some few officers going across the Rocky Mountains from the Columbia River, or at least they intend applying for permission to do so. Guillou is to be one of them and almost all his things in readiness for a start. I doubt very much whether they will be allowed to go. I have been reading Chemistry Regularly for the last two days but neglected my other studies on account of headache. Tonight read Washington Irving's Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains 2 vols. (Phil., 1836) to Guillou while he was making himself a poncho and hood to cross the mountains in.

July 14th, 1840. Nothing of importance today. We have a moderate fair wind still, but the most disagreeable, damp & cold weather imaginable. Today's reckoning put us 380 miles from the mouth of the Columbia so that with tolerably good fortune we will be there on Monday or before. Read chemistry today, finished Astoria and commenced "The far West" by the same author. Washington Irving, The Rocky Mountains, or Scenes, Incidents,
and Adventures in the far West; digested from the journal of Capt. E.L.E. Bonneville. ... and illustrated from various sources (Phil., 1837)  

July 15th The wind has been fair and we are advancing rapidly to our port. Continued our reading professional and ephemeral, also that for Guillou's 'route.' He seems as settled in his determination to leave the Squadron at the Columbia, under any circumstances which will offer prospects of reaching home, as soon as or before the arrival of the Squadron in the U.S.

July 16th Finished Turner's Chemistry to day. Will at present abandon the morning's reading till after leaving the coast which we are now approaching.

July 17th Before sunset the land in sight, supposed to be some 20 miles to the n'd of the Columbia River.

July 18th For the events of this day I refer to the Log Book of which I subjoin a copy. The importance of the occurrences which it details, may render it desirable to have in my possession at some future day a copy of the "official record." Extract from the Log Book U.S.S. Peacock.

Wm L. Hudson Esquire Comy

"Sunday July 18th 1841.
"From 4 to 8 A.M. "Light airs and calms and foggy, with a dead swell "rolling in towards the land; towards the close of the watch the fog "cleared away, and a breeze sprung up from the Sd and E^; when we found "ourselves about 10 miles to the Wd of Cape Disappointment; the schooner "in shore and to leeward; made sail on a wind for the land the current

71 Word illegible.
"apparently setting us to windward.

(sign) G.F. Emmons

"From 8 to mer, Light breezes and pleasant; At 9h sounded in 40 fms water, at 10 h, 15m in 14 fms; wore ship off shore; At 11:30 wore again.

"At meridian Cape Disappointment bore per compass E by N about 5 miles distant. The ship's steerage much effected by counter currents. Schooner 4 or 5 miles to distant to leeward. (sign) E.S. DeHaven

"at 9 A.M.

"Barom 30:05, therm 63°

"From Meridian to 4 P.M moderate breezes and freshening from N° and W° with thick cloudy weather. At 12:35 called all hands to work ship into port, At 12: 45, were close in with the breakers; wore ship and stood in along them. At 1 being off the supposed entrance, the water being smooth, hauled up N E and stood in. At 1:05 struck; immediately endeavoured to bring her by the wind, to haul off shore; but owing to the strength of the current and the force of the Sea, she became unmanageable, clewed up and furled sails, lowered the larboard waist-boat and sent LT. Emmons to sound. Lashed the wheel and hooked the relieving tackle, sent down top-gallant and royal yards; Got up yards and stays. Got out the first cutter and cleared away the launch, roused up stream cable and hawsers and got the stream anchor ready for sending out. Called all hands out boats; 1st cutter stove by the sea; hoisted her in; but finding her unworthy of repairs broke her up. Rigged the pumps and got buoys on the guns — made signal 57 and 146 to the schooner outside the breakers. At 4 ship had forged into 10½ feet forward and 11 feet aft.

Signed) A.B. Davis
"From 4 to 6. Moderate breezes and foggy. Still aground, thumping
heavily, nine feet water under main chains; Sch in the offing -- a
boat or canoe inside the breakers in the river -- fired three signal
Guns of distress.

(signed) G.W. Harrison

"From 6 to 8 -- moderate sea breezes and cloudy with a heavy surf setting
against the ship and continually forging her further on the reef and
causing her to lift and strike heavily upon a hard sand bottom having
only 9 feet water under our main chains, sent down top gallant masts,
and rigging upon deck and the light sails out of the tops, and continued
throwing round and grape shot over the weather quarter and both bows to
ease the ship. The flood tide commencing, the larboard hawser was let
go being swung clear of the ship by a tackle on the weather foreyard
arm: and as soon as the tide rose the ship swung head to wind and sea,
not withstanding the current was setting out, and continued thumping
and flooding the Gun Deck with water, taken in at the hawser holes. The
tide continuing to rise veered 25 fathoms of chain. Soon after parted
the laniards of the stoppers, got new laniards, passed them and carried
them away, then veered more chains, making her riding scope between 40
and 50 fathoms! Starting the water, kept the pumps continually going,
water slowly gaining in the hold, and accumulating in such quantities
on the Gun and Spar Decks as to be occasionally precipitated down the
hatch by the roll of the ship. Lashed the tiller amidships, soon after,
struck heavily and broke it off near the rudder head, the rudder pintles
going at the same time or soon after. The rudder continued playing up
and down with the motion of the ship in spite of all suspension lashings,
which were carried away, one after the other until it finally eat away a
hole in the stern large enough to escape and sink, still suspended by
the rudder pendants.

(signed) G.F. Emmons

"From 8 to 12 midnight

It looks as if much was erased here."

Some inaccuracy has naturally crept into the account of time on this day.
The occurrence now noted occurred took place at early daylight. The
launch was lowered (of course last) at about 7 A.M.

There is no mention made here of the canoe which came alongside at early
daylight with a pilot and Cap'n Wilkes' servant John Dean, the Ceylonese.
This is the same canoe seen the evening previously between 4 and 6. It
was afterwards used in conveying the Purser (with his papers & the hard
contents of his iron case) & Mr. Agate and Dr. Guillou. were eat with

According to the Schooner's log book this occurred at 10 h: 30 m. A.M.

According to some authority this occurred at 11 h: 45 m.

July 19th monday

"Commences with and until 4. Moderate breezes from the NNW, and cloudy.
"Till 2 ship striking heavily, sea breaking over the larboard bow and
"beam -- stove in the larboard bulwark, from the gangway forwards --
"Knocked out planks in the bulwark, to free the deck & put on the gratings
"and tarpaulins -- Masts swaying to and fro threatening every instant to
"go by the board. We should cut them away, but must reserve them to get
"out the boats. Employed pumping ship and securing sufficient provision
"for a few days subsistance -- Water above the chain lockers -- latter
part of the watch ship more easy & we have no hope but of saving the
crew.

(signed) A.B. Davis

Weather continues as above. The condition of the ship hopeless -- We
hand on to the masts to enable us to get out the boats -- At about 9 A.M.
got out and lowered the boats -- struck into the launch a few barrels of
provisions & commenced landing the crew and ship's valuables.
The sick, the civilians, and the marines, were the first to leave --
continued landing the crew until the increasing sea and strength of wind
made it impossible for the boats to approach the ship. We waved to them
to return to the shore, but they for a long time afterwards continued
their efforts to reach us. We observed with deepest solicitude that
one of them swamped in the attempt to reach us: we are ignorant of the
fate of the crew -- At about meridian we had fear of the ship going over
on her beam & was striking awfully. Cut away the masts by bracing up
the yards first, they went over beautifully and were immediately cleared.
Hoisted the ensign union up on the stump of the mizen mast as a signal
to the boats: they seemed to understand at once our desire and returned
to the shore. John Fenno received a slight injury in clearing the fore-
mast and narrowly escaped with his life. -- Ship much easier, -- water
over the birth deck. Piped dinner and dined on the spar deck.

(Signed) W.M. Walker

From meridian to 4. weather without change, whip fast working to pieces --
upper works on the larboard side knocked away by the Sea, occupied in
transporting the men's bags to the Gun deck and to the spar deck such
articles as will be most indispensable to our future operations --
"waiting the return of boats."
          (signed) Wm M. Walker

"From 4 to 6 weather without change. At about 4:30 five boats came off;
"but owing to the Sea and current could not venture alongside. At about
"5 they were permitted to come alongside and after embarking the remainder
"of the crew and officers, Captain Hudson and myself left in the last
"boat. The Captain was last to leave the ship.
          (signed) W, M. Walker

"After a pull of about 4 miles we landed in Baker's Bay where, we found
"the crew comfortably lodged in huts, under the charge of Lieutenant
"Emmons. All hands had assembled on the beach to welcome the arrival of
"the Captain and as he stepped out of the boat gave him three hearty
"cheers. All hands safe on shore.
          (signed) W, M. Walker

"The night passed quietly and all slept soundly. At an early hour in the
"morning (20th) the boats were dispatched to the wreck to save if possible
"some of the small arms and the men's clothing: but they returned with
"the report that nothing remained above water but the bowsprit — That
"the spar deck and upper works were entirely gone and the larboard
"broadside appeared to have been stove in.
          (signed) W, M. Walker

"Log ashore July 20th 1841

"Moderate breezes from the Nd and Wd with pleasant weather. After the
"return of the boats from the wreck despatched, Lt Emmons with a pilot

72 A crudely drawn map of the coast and position of the various ships
appears at this point.
"to bring in the schooner. Embarked for Fort George. Captain Hudson, "Lt Perry, Mr Baldwin and a small number of men remained at Baker's Bay. "At about 9 A.M. landed at Fort George and were most kindly received "by Mr. Birnie of the H.B.C. [Hudson Bay Co.] after securing the boats, "constructed shanties for the accommodation of the crew upon the site "of Astoria. We were indebted to Mr. Birnie for a salmon dinner for all "hands; through his exertions every man was supplied with a blanket before "night. In the afternoon the Flying fish anchored in Baker's Bay. The "conduct of the crew has been most exemplary, and though their loss has "been great they are very cheerful. After their house was completed they "ran up the ensign they have saved from the wreck and gave three cheers. 

(sign) W. M. Walker

"Camp Peacock" July 21st 1841.

The log book from this day is headed "Camp Peacock" and gives the details 
of events there and at the capes, whither wrecking parties had been sent 
under charge of the officers, to recover and collect whatever might drift 
from the lost ship. 73
Dear Whittle, when I sometimes dream
Of what our future lots may be,
How wide apart the vistas gleam,
Unveiled by fate to you & me,

Domestic bliss; a manhood bright,
A fireside cheered by many a friend
Down life's discreet declension light
Respected age & peaceful end; --

Thus far your horoscope I cast:
For me, and early welcome grave,
On some bleak hillock where the blast
Of stormy winter loves to rave.

Yet e'en in this, a heart not blind
One recompensing boon can see, -
I, in your bliss, some joy may find,
While you, perhaps, will grieve for me.

But, howso'er our paths may bend,
This hope remains, of heavenly growth, --
To the same vale our footsteps tend,
And all beyond is free to both.
The night was Dark, high broke the sea,
Black clouds obscured the sky,
But still we held our onward course
Nor dreamed of danger nigh
Nor dreamed of danger nigh my boys
Our hearts beat light & free,
We think of home & friends my boys
And merry men are we

Now swiftly on our good bark flies
The wind is fresh & free
When hoarse a voice comes o'er the ear
There's breakers oh the lee
There's breakers oh the lee my boys
Each roller's curling high
No one but God can save us now
He helps us or we die.

Swift at the word down flies the helm
Quickly we crowd all sail
It is our last, our only hope
She staggers to the gale
She staggers to the gale my boys
The stoutest heart beats fast
Then onward flies with triple speed
We breathe! our danger's past.

And now again we're safe my boys
Again our hearts beat free
Again our homes we'll reach my boys
Our friends once more we'll see
Our friends once more we'll see my boys
And merrily we'll tell
How off the straits of Bernardine
This danger us befell
Badger! Spare my hair
Cut not my beard one jot
Twas nature placed it there
And thou shalt harm it not

When but an idle boy
I sought some secret place
And with a razer dull
I scraped & scraped my face.

My father's angry frown
My mother's reprimand
Could not my hand withhold
Ah! let my whiskers stand

Since when, in days of yore,
Our lives for freedom bled
No impious hand hath dared
To crop a freeman's head.

A British monarch tried
To shave his scullions once
And to the latest time
He's handed down a dunce

Then Badger grant my prayer
Withhold thy lopping hand
Cut not my curling hair
And let my whiskers stand

Miss Lucy! I'm rejoiced to find
That you, at last, have changed your mind
Depend upon it, I'm not hurt
Who do you think could love a flirt
Whose love is like a Butterfly
Born in an hour, as soon to die!

When trusting woman joins her lot
To man's, and for him only lives
Too oft, his solemn vows forget;
His heart he to another gives;
Breathes his fond words in others ears
Looks lovingly in other eyes
Leaves his sweet mate to grief & tears,
Who, solitary, pines and dies.
But dearest! do not fear for me
Whenever fortune casts my lot
My heart will think for none but thee
I swear thou ne'er shall be forgot.
Dear Lucy since it must be so
Since you those ties which bound us sever
In sadness from you I must go
But love another! Never! Never!
Canst thou so lightly wound a heart
Which loved you ah! with what devotion!
Thus coldly from thy lover part
Without one sigh, one sad emotion?
Ah! cruel maid unbend that brow
Heave but one sigh before we part
No! then adieu! I leave thee now
and leave thee with a broken heart.

If Single Ladies are divine,
If round them all the virtues twine,
Modesty, goodness & each grace
Of mind, of figure & of face!
How comes it, as tis often said
That when they'r wed they'r sometimes bad
A married friend was standing by
And answered with a deep drawn sigh,
A wife is like the source of evil,
And angel once, but now a devil.
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