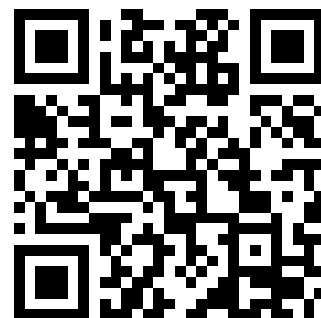

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M I N U T E S
OF THE
P R O C E E D I N G S
OF THE
COURT-MARTIAL held at PORTSMOUTH,
AUGUST 12, 1792.
ON
TEN PERSONS charged with MUTINY on Board
His Majesty's Ship the BOUNTY.

WITH AN
A P P E N D I X,
CONTAINING
A full Account of the real Causes and Circumstances of that unhappy
Transaction, the most material of which have hitherto been
withheld from the Public.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DEIGHTON, opposite GRAY'S-INN, HOLBORN.

MDCCXCIV.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE following Minutes of the Trial of the Mutineers of the BOUNTY were taken by myself and my Clerks, being employed to give Assistance before the Court-Martial, to William Musprat, one of the Prisoners. They were not continued beyond the Evidence for the Prosecution, nor do they comprize the Whole of the Evidence respecting the Capture of all the different Prisoners at Otaheite. They were not intended for Publication. Repeated Assurances have been given, that an impartial State of all the Circumstances attending that unhappy Mutiny, as well as a complete Trial of the Prisoners, would be published. The anxious Relations of the unfortunate Parties in that Mutiny, worn out with Expectation of that Publication, have repeatedly solicited my Consent to publish my Minutes, and as such Publication may in some Degree alleviate their Distress, I cannot think myself justified in withholding such Consent, and hope this will be a sufficient Apology for my Conduct.

I affirm, that as far as those Minutes go, they contain a just State of the Evidence given at the Court-Martial.

STEP^N. BARNEY.

PORTSMOUTH,
May 1st, 1794.

T H E
T R I A L, &c.

AT a COURT MARTIAL, assembled and holden on the 12th
Day of April 1792, on Board His Majesty's Ship DUKE,
in *Portsmouth Harbour*,

B E F O R E

The Right Honourable Lord HOOD, } President.
Vice Admiral of the Blue,

C A P T A I N S

SIR AND. SNAPE HAMMOND, JOHN COLEPOYS, GEORGE MONTAGUE, SIR ROGER CURTIS, JOHN BAZELEY, SIR ANDREW DOUGLAS,	JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH, JN ^o NICHOLSON INGOLDFIELD, JOHN KNIGHT, RICHARD GOODWIN KEATES, and ALBEMARLE BERTIE.
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On a Charge of Mutiny on the 28th April 1789, on Board His
Majesty's Ship Bounty, for running away with the Ship, and
deserting his Majesty's Service;

A G A I N S T

Joseph Coleman, Charles Norman, Thomas M ^c Intosh, Peter Heywood,	James Morrison, John Milward, William Musprat, Thomas Burkitt,	Thomas Ellifson, and Michael Byrne.
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The following Letter from Captain Bligh to the Lords of the
Admiralty was read, as containing the Charge of Mutiny and
Desertion:

B

“ SIR,

" SIR,

Coupang in Timor, August 18, 1789.

" I am now unfortunately to request of you to acquaint the
 " Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's armed
 " vessel *Bounty* under my command, was taken from me, by some
 " of the inferior officers and men, on the 28th April 1789, in the
 " following manner:

" A little before sunrise, *Fletcher Christian*, who was mate of the
 " ship, and officer of the watch, with the ship's corporal, came into
 " my cabin, while I was asleep, and seizing me, tied my hands
 " with a cord, assisted by others who were also in the cabin, all
 " armed with muskets and bayonets. I was now threatened with
 " instant death if I spoke a word; I however called for assistance
 " and awakened every one; but the officers who were in their
 " cabins were secured by sentinels at their doors, so that no one
 " could come to me. The arms were all secured, and I was forced
 " on deck in my shirt with my hands tied, and secured by a guard
 " abaft the mizen-mast, during which the mutineers expressed
 " much joy that they would soon see *Ottaheite*. I now demanded
 " of *Christian* the cause of such a violent act, but no other answer
 " was given but "Hold your tongue, Sir; or you are dead this instant;"
 " and holding me by the cord, which tied my hands, he as often
 " threatened to stab me in the breast with a bayonet he held in his
 " right hand. I however did my utmost to rally the disaffected
 " villains to a sense of their duty, but to no effect. The boat-
 " swain was ordered to hoist the launch out, and while I was kept
 " under a guard with *Christian* at their head abaft the mizen-mast,
 " the officers and men not concerned in the mutiny were ordered
 " into the boat. This being done, I was told by *Christian*, "Sir,
 " your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with
 " them;" and with the guard they carried me across the deck, with
 " their bayonets presented on every side, when attempting to make
 " another effort, one villain said to the others, "Blow his brains out."
 " I was at last forced into the boat, and we were then veered astern,
 " in all, nineteen souls. I was at this time 10 leagues to the S. W.
 " of *Tofoa*, the North Westernmost of the Friendly Islands, having left
 " *Ottaheite* the 4th of April with 1015 fine bread-fruit plants
 " and many fruit kind, in all 774 pots, 39 tubs, and 24 boxes.
 " These plants were now in a very flourishing order. I anchored
 " at *Annamocha* 24th April, and left it on the 26th. The boatswain
 " and carpenter, with some others, while the boat was alongside, col-
 lected

" lected several necessary things and water, and with some difficulty
 " a compass and quadrant were got, but arms of no kind, or any
 " maps or drawings, of which I had many very valuable *ones*. The
 " boat was very deep and much lumbered, and in this condition
 " we were cast adrift, with about 28 gallons of water, 150lbs. of
 " pork, six quarts of rum, and six bottles of wine. The day was
 " calm, attended with light breezes, and I got to Tofoa by seven
 " o'clock in the evening, but found no place to land, the land
 " being so steep and rocky. On the 30th I found landing in a cove,
 " on the North West part of the island, and here I remained in
 " search of supplies until the 2d of May; when the natives discovered
 " we had no fire-arms, they made an attack on us with clubs and
 " stones, in the course of which I had the misfortune to lose a
 " very worthy man, John Norton quarter-master, and most of us
 " were hurt, more or less. But getting into our boat was no security,
 " for they followed us in canoes loaded with stones, which they
 " threw with much force and exactness; happily night saved the
 " rest of us. I had determined to go to Amsterdam, in search of
 " Paulchow the king; but taking this transaction as a real sample
 " of their native dispositions, there was little hope to expect much
 " from them; for I considered their good behaviour hitherto owing
 " to a dread of our fire-arms, which now knowing us to have
 " none would not be the case, and that supposing our lives were
 " in safety, our boat and every thing would be taken from us, and
 " thereby I should never be able to return. I was also earnestly
 " solicited by all hands to take them towards home, and when I
 " told them no hopes of relief remained for us but what I might
 " find at New Holland, until I came to Timor, a distance of 1200
 " leagues, they all agreed to live on one ounce of bread per day
 " and a gill of water. I therefore, after recommending this pro-
 " mise for ever to their memory, bore away for New Holland
 " and Timor, across a sea but little known, and in a small boat
 " deep loaded with 18 souls, without a single map of any kind,
 " and nothing but my own recollection and general knowledge
 " of the situation of places to direct us. Unfortunately we lost
 " part of our provision; our stock therefore only consisted of 20
 " pounds of pork, three bottles of wine, five quarts of rum, 150lbs.
 " of bread, and 28 gallons of water. I steered to the W. N. W.
 " with strong gales and bad weather, suffering every calamity and
 " distress. I discovered many islands, and at last, on the 28th May,
 B 2 " the

“ the coast of New Holland, and entered a break of the reef in
 “ latitude about $12^{\circ} 50'$ south, and longitude $145^{\circ} 00'$ east. I kept
 “ on in the direction of the coast to the northward, touching at such
 “ places as I found convenient, refreshing my people by the best means
 “ in my power. These refreshments consisted of oysters and a few
 “ clams; we were however greatly benefited by them and a few
 “ good nights' rest. On the 4th June, I passed the north part of New
 “ Holland and steered for Timor, and made it on the 12th, which
 “ was a happy sight to every one, particularly several who perhaps
 “ could not have existed a week or a day longer.

“ I followed the direction of the south side of the island, and on
 “ the 14th in the afternoon saw the island Rotty and west part of
 “ Timor, round which I got that night, and took a Malay on board,
 “ to shew me Coupang, where he described to me the governor
 “ resided. On the next morning before day I anchored under the
 “ fort, and about eleven, I saw the governor, who received me with
 “ great humanity and kindness. Necessary directions were in-
 “ stantly given for our support, and perhaps more miserable beings
 “ were never seen.

“ Thus happily ended, through the assistance of Divine Providence,
 “ without accident, a voyage of the most extraordinary nature that
 “ ever happened in the world, let it be taken either in its extent,
 “ duration, or so much want of the necessaries of life.

“ The people who came in the boat were,

John Fryer,	-	Master.
William Cole,	-	Boatswain.
William Peckover,	-	Gunner.
William Purcell,	-	Carpenter.
Thomas Ledward,	-	Acting Surgeon.
William Elphinstone,	-	Master's Mate.
Thomas Hayward,	-	Midshipman.
John Hallett,	-	Midshipman.
John Samuel,	-	Clerk.
Peter Linkletter,	-	Quarter Master.
John Norton,	-	Ditto, killed at Tofoa.
George Simpson,	-	Quarter Master.
Laurence Labogue,	-	Sail Maker.
Robert Tinkler,	-	Able Seaman.
John Smith,	-	Ab.

Thomas

(5 .)

Thomas Hall,	-	Able Seaman.
Robert Lamb,	-	Ab.
David Nelson,	- -	Botanist, since dead.
Total 18.		

“ The people who remained in the ship were,

Fletcher Christian,	-	Master's Mate.	
George Stewart,	-	Acting ditto.	
Peter Heywood,	-	Midshipman.	
Edward Young,	-	Ditto.	
Charles Churchill,	-	Corporal.	
James Morrison,	-	Boatswain's Mate.	
John Mills,	-	Gunner's ditto.	
Charles Norman,	-	Carpenter's ditto,	} detained against their consent.
Thomas M'Intosh,	-	Ditto Crew,	
Joseph Coleman,	-	Armourer,	
Thomas Burkett,	-	Able Seaman.	
John Summer,	-	Ab.	
John Williams,	-	Ab.	
Matthew Thompson,	-	Ab.	
Thomas Ellison,	-	Ab.	
William Mackiehoj,	-	Ab.	
John Millward,	-	Ab.	
Richard Skinner,	-	Ab.	
Matthew Quintal,	-	Ab.	
Michael Byrn,	-	Ab.	
Henry Hilbrant,	-	Ab.	
Isaac Martin,	-	Ab.	
Alexander Smith,	-	Ab.	
William Muspratt,	-	Ab.	
William Brown,	-	Botanist's Assistant.	
Total 25.			

“ The secrecy of this mutiny was beyond all conception, so that
 “ I cannot discover that any who were with me had the least know-
 “ ledge of it; and the comparative lists will shew the strength of
 “ the pirates.
 “ I found three vessels here bound to Batavia, but as their sailing
 “ would be late, I considered it to the advantage of His Majesty's
 “ Service, to purchase a vessel to take my people to Batavia, before
 “ the

“ the sailing of the fleet for Europe in October, as no one could be
 “ hired but at a price equal to a purchase; I therefore gave public
 “ notice of my intent, and assisted by the governor, I got a vessel for
 “ 1000 rix dollars, and called her *The Resource*.

“ We have not yet our health perfectly established. Four of my
 “ people are still ill, and I had the misfortune to lose Mr. Nelson
 “ the botanist, whose good conduct in the course of the whole voy-
 “ age, and manly fortitude in our late disastrous circumstances, de-
 “ serve this tribute to his memory.

“ I have given a summary account of my proceedings to the go-
 “ vernor, and have requested, in His Majesty's name, that necessary
 “ orders and directions may be given to their different settlements,
 “ to detain the ship wherever she may be found.

“ There is but little chance that their Lordships can receive this
 “ before I arrive myself; I therefore have not been so particular as
 “ I shall be in my letters from Batavia.

“ I shall sail in the morning without fail, and use my utmost exer-
 “ tions to appear before their Lordships, and answer personally for
 “ the loss of His Majesty's ship.

“ I beg leave to acquaint their Lordships, that the greatest kind-
 “ ness and attention have been shewn to us while here, by the
 “ second governor, Timotheus Wanjon, whose zeal to render ser-
 “ vices to His Majesty's subjects has been unremitting during the
 “ sickness of the governor William Adrian Van Este, who is now
 “ at the point of death.

“ The surgeon of the fort, a Mr. Max, has also been ever atten-
 “ tive to my sick people, and has daily and hourly attended them
 “ with great care.

“ I have the honor to be, S I R,

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

“ WILLIAM BLIGH.”

“ To Philip Stephens, Esq.”

(A Copy.)

JOHN FRYER, MASTER of the *BOUNTY*, *sworn*.

I had the first watch on the 28th April 1789, Captain Bligh
 came on deck, and gave orders for the night. I was relieved at twelve
 o'clock by William Peckover the gunner, and the gunner was re-
 lieved at four by Mr. Christian; all was quiet at twelve, when I was re-

lieved ; at dawn of day I was alarmed by a noise in the cabin, and as I went to jump up from my bed, Sumner and Quintal laid their hands on my breast, and desired me to lay down, adding, " Sir, you " are a prisoner." I attempted to expostulate with them, but they told me to hold my tongue, or I was a dead man ; if quiet, no man in the ship would hurt me. I then, by raising myself on the locker, saw Captain Bligh on the ladder going on the quarter-deck in his shirt, with his hands tied behind him, Christian holding him by the cord ; Churchill came to my cabin, and took a brace of pistols and a hanger, saying, " I'll take care of these, Mr. Fryer." When I saw Captain Bligh on the ladder, I asked, what they were going to do with him ; when Sumner answered, " Damn his eyes, put him " into the boat, and let the bugger see if he can live upon three- " quarters of a pound of yams per day." I said, For God's sake for what ? Sumner and Quintal replied, " Hold your tongue, Mr. Chris- " tian is captain of the ship, and recollect, Mr. Bligh brought all this " upon himself." I advised them to consider what they were about. Sumner replied, " they knew well what they were about, or they " would not persist." I then persuaded them to lay down their arms, and assured them nothing should happen for what they had done. They replied, " Hold your tongue, it is too late now." They said they would put Captain Bligh into the small cutter. I said, her bottom was almost worn out. They said, " Damn his eyes, the boat is too " good for him." I said I hoped he was not to be sent by himself. They said, " No ; Mr. Samuel, Mr. Heywood, and Mr. Hallet, are " going with him." I then requested to go on deck to Captain Bligh, before he went into the boat ; they refused to let me. I then prevailed on them to let me call to Christian on the deck, to get permission ; I did so, and was permitted to go on deck. When I came on deck, Captain Bligh was standing by the mizen-mast with his hands tied behind him, Christian holding the cord with one hand, and a bayonet in the other. I said to Christian, Consider what you are about ; Christian answered, " Hold your tongue, Sir, I've " been in hell for weeks past ; Captain Bligh has brought all this " upon himself." I said, their not agreeing was no reason for tak- ing the ship. Christian replied, " Hold your tongue, Sir, this in- " stant." I then said, You and I have been upon friendly terms during the voyage, give me leave to speak ; let Captain Bligh go down to his cabin, I make no doubt all will be friends again in a short time. Christian again said, " Hold your tongue, Sir, it is too " late."

"late." Being threatened by Christian, I said no more on that head. I then said, Mr. Christian, pray give Captain Bligh a better boat than the cutter, the bottom is almost out, let him have a chance to get on shore. Christian answered, "No; that boat is good enough." I whispered to Captain Bligh to keep up his spirits, for if I stay on board I may find means to follow you. Captain Bligh said aloud, "By all means stay, Mr. Fryer;" and further said, "Isaac Martin" (then under arms) "was a friend;" and likewise said several times, "Knock Christian down." Christian must have heard all this, but took no notice. Sumner and Quintal, who had followed me upon deck, were behind all the time with musquets and bayonets. I tried to pass Christian to speak to Martin, but could not. Christian, putting a bayonet to my breast, said, "If you advance an inch further, I'll run you through;" and ordered me down to my cabin, and Sumner and Quintal conveyed me there. Going down the hatchway, I saw Morrison fixing a tackle to the launch's stern. I said, Morrison, I hope you have no hand in this business; he said, "No, Sir; I do not know a word about it." I said in a low voice, If that is the case be on your guard, there may be an opportunity of rescuing the ship. His answer was, "Go down, Sir, it is too late." I was then confined to my cabin, and Milward was put over me as a third sentinel. I then thought Milward friendly, and winked at him to knock Sumner down, who stood next him. Milward immediately cocked his piece and dropped it, pointing to me, saying, "Mr. Fryer, be quiet, no one will hurt you." I said, Milward, your piece is cocked, you had better uncock it, you may shoot some person; then holding up his piece said, "Sir, there is no one means to hurt you." Sumner said, "No, that was our agreement not to commit murder." Mr. Peckover and Nelson continued in the cock-pit, and I persuaded the guards set over me to let me go to them. I found Mr. Nelson and Mr. Peckover in his cabin. Nelson said, "Mr. Fryer, what have we brought on ourselves?" and Mr. Peckover said, "What is best to be done?" I told them, I had spoke to Captain Bligh to keep up his spirits, and if I stay on board, I hope soon to be able to follow him; and that Captain Bligh had desired me to stay by all means. I then said to Mr. Nelson and Mr. Peckover, If you are ordered into the boat, say you will stay on board; and I flatter myself we shall restore the ship in a short time. Mr. Peckover said, "If we stay, we shall all be deemed pirates." I said, No; I would be answerable for any one who would join me. Whilst we were talking, Hilbrant
was

was in the bread room getting bread to put in the boat. I think Hilbrant must have heard our conversation, and went upon deck and told Christian, for I was immediately ordered up into the cabin. I then heard from the centinels Sumner, Quintal, and Milward, that Christian had consented to give Captain Bligh the launch, but not for his sake, but for the safety of those that were going with him. I then asked if they knew who were going with him; they said No, but they believed a great many. Christian then ordered every man a dram that was under arms, and Smith, the Captain's servant, served the drams out. I then hoped I should stay on board, that if the men got drunk, I should be able to take the ship. Mr. Nelson and Peckover were then ordered upon deck, and I soon afterwards. And Christian said to me, Mr. Fryer, go into the boat; I said, I will stay with you, Sir, if you will give me leave; but Christian said, No Sir, go directly. Captain Bligh being on the gangway without the rail, his hands at liberty, said, Mr. Fryer, stay in the ship. Christian said, No, by God, Sir, go into the boat, or I will run you through, pointing the bayonet to my breast. I then went outside the rail to Captain Bligh, and asked Christian to let Mr. Tinkler (my brother-in-law) go with me: Churchill said, No; but after some time Christian permitted it, and upon request let me have his trunk, but ordered nothing else to be taken out of my cabin. I requested my log book and quadrant, but they were denied, as Captain Bligh had a quadrant. I cannot say who went into the boat first, whether Captain Bligh or myself, we were both on the gangway together, and all the time bad language was used towards Captain Bligh, by the people under arms. I begged for muskets, but Churchill refused, saying Captain Bligh was well acquainted where he was going. The boat was then ordered astern, and four cutlasses handed into her, by whom I know not; but the people all this time used very bad language towards the Captain, adding, Shoot the bugger. William Cole, the boatswain, said to Captain Bligh, We had better put off, or they will do us some mischief; which Captain Bligh agreed to, and we rowed astern to get out of the way of the guns. Christian ordered the top gallant sails to be loosened, and the ship steered the same course as Captain Bligh had ordered. From the confusion and great attention we were obliged to pay for our preservation, I had no means or opportunity to make any notes or memorandums until we arrived at Timor. I observed under arms, Christian, Churchill, and Burkitt, that they were in the cabin securing the Captain; Sumner, Quintal, and Milward, were centinels over
C me,

me, Martin was centinel at the hen coop, and the four persons following wished to go into the boat. Coleman, who called to the witness several times to recollect that he had no hand in the business; M'Intosh and Norman were leaning over the rail, and Byrne was along side; all appeared to be crying. Byrne said, If he went into Captain Bligh's boat, the people would leave him when he got on shore, as he could not see to follow them. I did not perceive Heywood upon the deck the time the ship was seized.

COURT. What number of men did you see on the deck at each time you went there?

A. Eight or ten.

Q. How long did you remain there each time?

A. Ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour.

Q. What works were going on each time?

A. When I went first, hoisting out the boats; the last time nothing particular except the centinels over Captain Bligh and myself forcing us into the boat.

Q. Do you think the boats could be hoisted out by eight or ten persons?

A. No.

Q. You have no reason to know who were under arms besides those you have named?

A. No.

Q. When you was on the quarter-deck or gangway, did you see either of the prisoners active in obeying orders given by Christian or Churchill?

A. Burkitt and Milward were under arms as centinels over Captain Bligh and myself on the gangway, which I suppose was by their orders.

Q. You say you saw Morrison the boatswain's mate helping to hoist out the boats, did you see any others of the prisoners employed so, or otherwise?

A. No; my attention was taken up with Captain Bligh—I did not.

Q. When the dram was served, did you see any of the prisoners partake?

A. One.—Milward.

Q. When the boat in which Captain Bligh and others were put had veered astern, did you observe any one of the prisoners use the bad language which you say passed on that occasion?

A. Not

A. Not to the best of my recollection.—I saw Milward on the taffarel rail with a musket ; there was so much noise in the boat I could not hear one man from another.

Q. You say when the cutlasses were handed into the boat there was much bad language, did any one of the prisoners join on that occasion?

A. Not to my knowledge, it was a general thing.

Q. Did you see Ellifon on the day of the mutiny?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Musprat?

A. No.

Q. At the time you were ordered upon the deck after the conversation in the cockpit, how, and by whom were these orders conveyed to you?

A. By the centinels, Milward, Sumner, and Quintal.

Q. When you and Captain Bligh were ordered into the boat, did any person assist Christian, or offer so to do?

A. Yes ; Churchill, Sumner, and Quintal, and Burkitt, were under arms on the quarter deck.

Q. You say when the boat was cast off, you rowed astern to get out of the way of the guns : had you seen any preparations made for firing?

A. I meant the small arms they had in their hands, when they said Shoot the bugger.

Q. When you heard Christian order the top gallant sails to be hoisted, was you near enough to know any of the people that went on the yards?

A. I saw only Ellifon.

Q. I ask you as Master of his Majesty's ship Bounty, how many men it would require to hoist out the launch?

A. Ten.

Q. Was the remark of your not having seen Heywood on the deck on the 29th of April made at Timor, or since you knew he was apprehended by the Pandora?

A. Since : I frequently told the people in the boat, that I had not seen the Youngsters on deck.

Q. How many men went up to loosen the topfails?

A. Only Ellifon.

Q. What reason had you to imagine that Milward was friendly when he was centinel over you?

C 2

A. He

A. He appeared very uneasy.

Q. You say you obtained permission for Tinkler to go with you : had he been compelled to remain in the ship ?

A. He had been told by Churchill that he was to stay on board as his servant ; then came crying to me.

Q. Do you think that any of the people who remained in the Bounty were kept against their consent ?

A. None but the four.

Q. In what part of the ship was the Youngster's birth ?

A. Down the main hatchway on each side.

Q. Did you observe any centinel over the main hatchway ?

A. Yes ; I omitted to mention Thompson, who was sitting on the arm chest ; I wanted to go to my mess-place, but was stoppt by Sumner and Quintal.

Q. Was Thompson armed ?

A. I believe he was, with a cutlafs.

Q. Did you consider him as a centinel over the Youngsters' birth ?

A. Yes ; and a centinel on the arm chest at the same time.

Q. Was any effort made by any person to rescue the ship ?

A. Only by what I said to Mr. Peckover and Morrison, Mr. Cole the boatswain came down, and I whispered him to stay in the ship.

Q. What was the distance of time from the first alarm to the time of your being forced into the boat ?

A. Two hours and a half, or three hours.

Q. What did you suppose Christian meant, when he said he had been in hell for a fortnight ?

A. His frequent quarrels with, and abuses received from, Captain Bligh.

Q. Had there been any recent quarrel ?

A. The day before, Captain Bligh had been challenging all the young gentlemen and people with stealing his cocoa nuts.

Q. When you went into the cockpit, were any centinels over Mr. Peckover and Mr. Nelson ?

A. No ; the same centinels that confined me, kept them below.

N. B. Prisoners were now asked, If they had any questions to ask the witness.

Coleman.—None.

Heywood.—None at present.

Q. per

Q. per BYRNE.—Was you on the deck when the large cutter was hoisted out?

A. No.

Q. per MORRISON.—Do you recollect, when you spoke to me, my particular answer; and are you positive it was I who said, “Go down to your cabin?”

A. Yes, I am; “Go down to your cabin, it is too late.”

Q. Ditto.—Do you recollect my saying, I will do my endeavours to raise a party and rescue the ship?

A. No.

Q. Ditto.—Did you observe any part of my conduct on any part of that day that leads you to think I was one of the mutineers?

A. I never saw him only at that time, and his appearance gave me reason to speak to him; he appeared friendly, but his answer surprized me; I did not expect it from him; whether he spoke from fear of the others, I know not.

COURT. Might not Morrison speaking to you, telling you to keep below, be from a laudable motive, supposing your assistance at that time might prevent a more advantageous effort?

A. Probably it might; if I had staid in the ship, he would have been one of the first I should have opened my mind to, from his good behaviour.

Q. Did he speak to you in a threatening tone, or address you as advice?

A. As advice.

Q. Did you see any person that appeared to be forcing the prisoner Morrison to put the tackle to the launch?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Morrison employed in any other way than you have related from the time you was first confined, till the boat was cast loose from the ship.

A. No.

Q. Did you consider the hoisting out of that boat as assisting the mutineers, or as giving Captain Bligh a better chance for his life?

A. As assisting Captain Bligh, and giving him a better chance for his life.

Norman.—None.

M^r Int^lsb.—None.

Musprat.—None at present.

Q. per

Q. *per* BURKITT.—If you did not see Captain Bligh before he was going up the ladder, how could you see me seize him in the cabin?

A. I have not said I saw you assist in seizing him, but when Captain Bligh was on the ladder, I saw you and Churchill come out of the cabin armed.

Q. Did you see or hear me swearing or giving any directions, or taking any charge when on the deck, or during the mutiny?

A. No.

Q. Did I not do my duty on the voyage as a seaman?

A. Yes.

Millward.

Q. Did you see me when you spoke to Morrison to rescue the ship?

A. No, you was ordered as an additional sentinel over me afterwards.

Q. Had I the arms I held at that time voluntarily, or by force?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Do you recollect what I said when I came down to the cockpit?

A. Nothing but what I have said already.

WILLIAM COLE, BOATSWAIN of the BOUNTY, *deposed*,

That Quintal, a seaman belonging to the Bounty, but in what part of the ship he knows not, calling to the carpenter (Purcell) said, they had mutinied and taken the ship; that Christian had the command, and the Captain was a prisoner upon the quarter deck; that the witness being thus awaked, jumped out of the cabin, and said to the carpenter, For God's sake I hope you know nothing of this; he said, he did not; that the sail-maker Lawrence Lebogue lying by witness's cabin, witness asked him what he meant to do; Lebogue answered, he did not know, but would do as the witness did; that witness went up the fore hatchway, and looking aft, saw Thompson sentinel at the main hatchway, and Heywood leaning over his hammock, in the larboard birth, and Mr. Young in the starboard birth, Mr. Elphinstone looking likewise over the side of the birth which was boarded up; that witness then went on deck, saw men under arms around the fore hatchway, Churchill, Brown, Alexander Smith, William

William M'Koy, and Williams; that Williams looked aft, saw the Captain's hands tied behind him, and Mills, Martin, Ellison, and Burkitt, centinels over him. That witness jumped down the fore hatchway, awaked Morrison, Milward, M'Intosh, and Simpson, all lying in the same tier. I informed them what happened and hoped to form a party; they denied all knowledge of the mutiny; that Milward said, he was very sorry for it, and said he had a hand in the foolish piece of business before, and was afraid they would make him take a part in that; that Churchill then came forward and called out to Milward to come on deck immediately, for he had a musket for him, or to take a musket; that they all went up as they got their cloaths on; that witness did not see any of the rest at that time have arms. That witness went on deck and asked Christian what he meant to do; that Christian then ordered this witness to hoist out the boat, and threatening him with the bayonet if he did not take care that the boat was hoisted out; and witness asked liberty to go and speak with Mr. Fryer, which was granted; witness went below and asked Mr. Fryer what was best to do, when Mr. Fryer in a low voice told witness by all means to stay; that one of the centinels over Mr. Fryer, (Sumner, as witness believes,) said to Mr. Fryer, "you have a wife and family, but all will be forgot in a little time;" that Mr. Fryer came upon deck and asked Christian what he was about, and told him, "If he did not approve of the Captain's behaviour, to put him under an arrest, and proceed on the voyage;" that Christian then said, "If that's all you have to say, go down to your cabin, for I've been in hell for weeks past;" that they were then intending to send away the Captain and Hayward, Hallet, and Samuel, with him; that the small cutter being stove, they made interest with Christian for the other cutter, which was fitted out; that Christian still threatened the witness, if he carried any thing away, or sprung any yard; that witness then finding the Captain was to be sent from the ship, went aft and asked for the long boat; that Hayward and Hallet were upon deck all this time; that after asking Christian three or four times without an answer, Captain Bligh said, For God's sake, Mr. Cole, do all in your power; that the carpenter said, "I've done nothing I am ashamed or afraid of, I want to see my native country;" that the launch was then granted; that the carpenter and armourer were employed in fitting her; that when the boat was going over the side, Byrne was in the cutter along-side, but how he came there witness don't know; witness says, we were employed in getting the launch out; that

that Christian ordered a dram to be given to each of the men under arms; that Smith brought some spirits and gave witness some in water; that Christian was continually threatening witness with the bayonet, to take care not to carry any thing away; that witness saw Heywood standing there at the same time, lending a hand to get the fore-stay sail along; that when the boat was hooked, Heywood said something to me, but what it was I do not know, Christian threatening witness at the time; that Heywood then went below, and witness saw no more of him; that witness says, they got the boat out, and Norman, M'Intosh, Coleman, and Morrison, who did not go into the boat with others who did, were busy in getting necessary things into the launch; that Churchill and Quintal were walking about, saying Damn them, they have enough; that at this time witness saw William Musprat with a musket in his hand, but don't remember seeing him before; that witness heard Churchill call out, Keep somebody below, but who he knows not; that Churchill and Quintal were forcing the people into the boat; that Coleman was handing a bag into the boat which appeared to contain iron, or it was in the boat before; that Christian ordered it to be stopped; that Norman and M'Intosh were then going into the boat, and endeavouring to get in the carpenter's tool chest, when Quintal said, "If you will let them have these things, they will build a vessel in a month;" that the chest was then handed in, some tools first being taken out; that the carpenter got his cloaths chest in; that they were then forcing the people out that were going and not of their side; that witness went then into the boat, and that Peckover, Samuel, Hayward, and Hallet, soon after were put or came into the boat; that Captain Bligh was then brought to the side, and put into the boat, which was then veered astern; that Coleman and Norman were crying on the gangway from the time they were ordered not to go into the boat; that M'Intosh was standing by, not crying, but wished to come into the boat; that Byrne was in the cutter all the time crying; that when the launch was dropt astern, some pork, and other provisions and necessaries were handed over; that Burkitt went and got some cloaths from the gunner and threw into the boat; that Sumner demanded the Boatswain's call of witness, and said it would be of no use to him where he was going; that witness asked him in the Indian tongue, if he would give him any thing for it, and sent it up, but got nothing for it; that Norton asked for his jacket when Sumner said, "If I had my will you, bugger, I would blow your brains out;" that

that witness then told Captain Bligh it would be best to cast off, as the witness thought they might fire upon the boat; that Captain Bligh then called and wished to speak with Christian, but he did not come aft; that Coleman called over, and said "he had no hand in it, and desired if any of them reached England, to remember him to Mr. Green of Greenwich;" that the boat then cast off, being at midships only seven, or eight inches out of water; that the last person witness saw was Ellifon, loosing the maintop gallant sail, and they sailed directly.

Q. *per* COURT.—How many men did you see under arms?

A. Nine at first on the deck, viz. Churchill, Williams, Mills, Brown, M'Koy, Burkitt, A. Smith, Martin, Ellifon, and two or three at other parts; Thompson at the main hatchway; Quintal and Sumner over the master's cabin, and at the cock-pit; Hillbrant about the deck; Skinner on the deck, but not at first; Musprat on the deck abaft the fore-hatchway, it was at the latter part of the time I saw him. Millward was ordered to take a musket and had it on the deck, Churchill called out to him, "Damn you, come up, here's a musket ready for you."

Q. What number of men was helping you to hoist the launch out?

A. Fourteen or fifteen; those who had no arms helped out with the boat, but those who had did not quit their arms; the master at arms had a pistol. I was not put under any restraint, but often threatened by Christian.

Q. Did any of the prisoners assist you in getting the launch out?

A. Yes; Coleman, Norman, M'Intosh, and Morrison, were forward, Heywood and Hallett aft, I believe.

Q. Had you any conversation with the prisoners respecting the mutiny?

A. No conversation about the mutiny, except with the men mentioned whom I awaked.

Q. What force was used to prevent the people getting into the boat, who were not permitted to go?

A. Nothing but orders; the people stood round them with arms, but they did not attempt to break the order.

Q. Did you see any attempt by any one of the prisoners to prevent the mutiny?

A. None, I saw Heywood handle the forestay tackle fall.

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Q You

Q. You say you saw Heywood handle the forestay tackle fall, was that voluntarily done?

A. Voluntarily. He was not forced.

Q. You say you saw no one of the prisoners make any attempt to stop the mutiny. Did you see any make any marks of disapprobation at what was going forward?

A. No.

Q. When the drums were ordered, did either of the prisoners partake?

A. Smith the servant served all in general, I did not observe who in particular.

Q. Did you hear any one threaten to shoot into the launch before you cast off?

A. Skinner.

Q. You have said, that Coleman, M'Intosh, and Norman, were detained against their will; have you reason to believe that any other of the prisoners were so detained?

A. I believe Heywood. I thought he intended to come away, he had no arms.

Q. Have you any other reason to think that Heywood was detained against his will?

A. I heard Churchill call out to keep *them* below; who he meant I do not know, but I believe Heywood.

Q. You have said you did not see any of the prisoners shew any marks of disapprobation of what was going on. What was the cause of Coleman, Norman and Byrne crying, as you have represented?

A. Coleman and Norman wanted to come into the boat; why Byrne cried I know not, but he was blind.

Q. What was Burkitt's situation when on deck?

A. He was on the starboard side next the wheel, he had his musket shouldered, and was standing there.

Q. When you awoke Morrison, Millward, M'Intosh, and Simpson, what did they do, when first on the deck?

A. Millward was ordered to take a musket, and went up, the other three were clearing the boat from yams.

Q. How long was it from the time Heywood quitted the tackle fall and went below, before you was forced into the boat?

A. Twenty minutes, or half an hour.

Q. Did you see any of the prisoners forcing Captain Bligh into the boat, or any under arms at that particular time?

A. I was in the boat alongside, and cannot tell who forced him.

Q. In consequence of Churchill calling to Millward to come upon deck, and take a musket; did Millward make any objection?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. You say, that Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh, assisted at the top tackle fall to get out the launch. Did you suppose that they meant to be of use to Captain Bligh and accompany him, or that they were well disposed towards the mutineers, and wished to get quit of their Captain?

A. I think they wished to go with him.

Q. Do you think Heywood assisted from the same motive?

A. I have no reason to think otherwise, we did not converse at all. I did not see him at the tackle fall until the boat went out.

Q. Where was Musprat when under arms?

A. Aboard the hatchway.

Q. Did he appear to be sentinel over any place or person?

A. He did not.

Q. Who were the persons that forced Captain Bligh into the boat?

A. I do not remember. I was in the boat, they on the deck.

Q. *per* BYRNE.—When the large cutter was hoisted out, who was the person that threw the fall out of her, to hook on the fore stay tackle?

A. I do not remember.

Q. When the orders were given for hoisting her out, did you not look down the hatchway, and see three or four people abreast in the starboard cable tier?

A. No; I saw Norton (since killed) get out of his hammock, and I believe the cook was there.

Q. Do you remember any one ordering some person to hook on the tackle to the boat?

A. Not in particular.

Q. Did you not call to people below, to come up and hoist out the cutter?

A. I do not know that I did, but I might.

Q. When the cutter was out, did you not order me to stay in her, to keep her from thumping against the ship?

A. I do not remember I did, but I told you to hawl her a-head when the launch was going over the side.

D 2

Q. When

Q. When Purcell and you came out of the cock-pit, on the first alarm, did you perceive any one sitting on the chest on the fore hatchway?

A. I do not remember.

Q. Did any one speak to you or Mr. Purcell on the fore hatchway?

A. They may, but I do not know.

Q. When Mr. Purcell and you came up, did not I say to you, "Sir, the people are in arms, and Captain Bligh is a prisoner?"

A. I do not remember seeing you, but you might be there; but your being blind I should have taken but little notice of you in the confusion.

Morrison.—Do you recollect when I came upon deck, after you called me out of my hammock, I came to you abaft the windlass, and said, Mr. Cole, what's to be done? Your answer was, "By God, James, I don't know, but go and help them out with the cutter."

A. Yes, I do remember it.

Q. Do you remember in consequence of your order, I went about clearing the cutter?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember I did haul a trawl or grapnel from the main hold, and put them into the boat?

A. I remember such things being in the boat, who put them in I know not.

Q. Do you remember calling to me to assist in hoisting a cask of water from the hold, same time threatening Norton the quarter master that he should not go in the boat, if he was not more attentive in getting the things into her?

A. I remember telling Norton that, for he was frightened, and believe that Morrison was employed on that business.

Q. Do you recollect I came to you when you were getting your things (which were tied up in part of your bedding) into the boat, and telling you the boat was then overloaded, and that Captain Bligh had begged no more should go into her, and in consequence I would take my chance in the ship; that you took me by the hand and said, God bless you, my boy, I'll do you justice if ever I get to England?

A. I remember shaking hands with you, and your saying you would take your chance in the ship; I had no reason before but to think you meant to leave the ship.

Q. *per* COURT.—Do you remember saying, If you got to England you would do him justice?

A. I do.

A. I do not remember it, but I have no doubt but I did.

Q. *Morrison*.—Was my conduct on that day such, or during the voyage, as to give you reason to suppose I was concerned in the mutiny?

A. I had no reason to suppose so.

Q. *per COURT*.—Did you hear prisoner Morrison say that Captain Bligh said, that no other men could come into the boat, as she was deeply laden already?

A. I remember taking him by the hand, but the conversation I do not recollect.

Q. Did you at that time believe that prisoner Morrison would have gone with you into the boat, if it had not been apprehended the boat was too deeply laden?

A. From his conduct and behaviour I had no reason but to think so, he did what I ordered him.

Q. What was Morrison doing when you desired him to clear the cutter?

A. To the best of my knowledge standing on the booms doing nothing, just come up.

Q. You said, Morrison assisted in getting out the boat, did you consider all those that assisted in getting out that boat to be of the Captain's party?

A. No. Some were under arms.

Q. Did you consider these not under arms, at that time, to be of the Captain's party?

A. I certainly did think they had no hand in the mutiny.

Q. Do you think all Mr. Christian's party was entrusted with arms?

A. I do not know, for some came on deck with arms, afterwards Mr. Young came upon deck with a musket; and Musprat came afterwards, which was after the first boat was hoisted out.

Q. Did you on that day consider Morrison as a person that was awed by the people under arms, to assist in hoisting the boat out, or as one aiding and assisting them in their design?

A. I do not think he was in awe of the people, nor that he was aiding or assisting them in their design.

Q. Did Morrison express any desire to come into the boat, and was he prevented?

A. He did not make any express desire, nor was he prevented from so doing.

Q. *Ellison*.

Q. Ellison.—Are you certain, when you came upon deck and looked round, whether it was me that was armed, or the man that stood before me, as I stood at the wheel?

A. To the best of my knowledge I think it was you under arms; there were four men then on the quarter-deck under arms; Ellison, Mills, Martin, and Burkitt.

Q. Are you certain it was me, I was only a boy and scarcely able to lift a musket at that time?

A. You stood by Captain Bligh part of the time, he was upon deck with a musket, and I believe a bayonet fixed.

Q. In what position did I stand?

A. I do not know, I cannot answer that question.

Q. Burkitt.—When you came aft to get the compass out of the binnacle from the starboard-side of the quarter-deck, did not Quintal come and say, he would be damned if you should have it; you said, Quintal, It is very hard you will not let me have a compass, when there is a plenty more in the store-room; then you looked very hard at me, and I said, Quintal, let Mr. Cole have it, and any thing else that will be of service?

A. Quintal objected to the compass going, but I do not remember that you said what you mention; you might, you were standing there, I do not remember what conversation passed, the confusion was so great.

Q. Did you hear me that morning, during the time you said I was under arms, give any orders or use any bad language?

A. I did not. But when Mr. Peckover asked you for the cloaths, you went and got them, and threw them into the boat.

Q. Do you remember my coming aft and looking over and asking the people in the boat, if they wanted any thing I could get for them. Mr. Peckover told me to get his pocket-book out of his cabin and his cloaths?

A. I do not remember your asking any body if they wanted any thing; I have said you brought Mr. Peckover's cloaths.

Q. Millward.—Can you positively say that I took the musket according to Churchill's orders?

A. I don't know if by Churchill's orders, but you had one.

Q. Do you recollect speaking to me as I stood by the windlass, when you came up the fore-hatchway, and asked me what I was doing; I told you, Nothing; you told me to lend a hand and clear the large cutter?

A. No.

Q. per

Q. per COURT.—Were all the people that were called on deck bound and put in the boat, or were they all at liberty?

A. They were not bound, but brought up by centinels at different times, and put into the boat.

Q. Were there no other arms in the ship but in the chest, at the main hatchway?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Was it Burkitt's watch on deck the morning of the mutiny?

A. I think it was.

Q. Was it Musprat's?

A. I do not know he watched at all, he assisted the cook.

Q. Was it Ellison's watch?

A. To the best of my knowledge it was.

Q. Was it Norman's?

A. I do not remember what watch he was in.

Q. Was it Byrne's?

A. I do not think it was.

Q. Was Byrne on deck when you first came up?

A. I do not remember.

Q. Was it Coleman's watch?

A. No.

Q. Was he on deck in the morning early?

A. I did not see him.

Q. What time did day break?

A. About a quarter before five o'clock.

Q. Byrne.—When you and all the people were in the boat, did you not hear me speak to some of the people forward in the launch's bow, as I was in the large cutter's stern?

A. I do not remember; you may.

Q. Did you ever hear any of the people in the launch say I had so spoken to them?

A. Yes; Mr. Purcell.

Q. Did you hear any one else?

A. I do not remember.

Q. Did you say yesterday, you did not know how I came in the cutter?

A. I did not know if you was hoisted out in her or not.

Mr. PECKOVER,

Mr. PECKOVER, *the GUNNER of the BOUNTY, sworn.*

I was awaked from my sleep by a confused noise, and directly afterwards thought I heard the fixing of bayonets; I jumped up, and at the door met Mr. Nelson; he told me the ship was taken from us. I answered, "We were a long way from land, when I came off deck." Mr. Nelson said, "It is by our own people, Christian at their head, or Christian has the command, but we know whose fault it is, or who is to blame." I answered, "Let us go forward and see what's to be done." On going to the hatchway to get up, we were stopped by Sumner and Quintal, by a fixed bayonet down the hatchway, who said, "Peckover you can't come up; we have mutinied, and taken the ship, and Mr. Christian is captain." That in a short while, Mr. Samuel came down, and said "he was going away in the small cutter with Captain Bligh, Hayward, and Hallet." He advised with me what he should take with him, I advised him but a few things, he took only a few shirts and stockings in a bag. That Mr. Fryer came down afterwards, and asked me what I meant to do; I told him I wished to do for the best, and to get home if I could, for staying behind we should be reckoned as pirates if taken. He said he would be answerable for that, and something about Captain Bligh, but what I could not distinguish, as we were about this time ordered on the deck. I was a long while down, before I was ordered on the deck; when I came up, I saw Captain Bligh and Christian alongside of him with a naked bayonet. I saw Burkitt in arms on the quarter-deck, with a cartouch box around him, but whether he had any arms I cannot say. I asked Christian to let me go down forward, to get my things out of my chest; Christian said, you have no things down aft, I said only a few, then stepped to the gangway, and went over the side. There was a sentinel on the gangway, but who I cannot say. I saw Muspratt forward on the fore-castle, he seemed to be doing something about wood, he was not under arms, nor was he splitting wood. I saw three or four more people, I don't recollect their names, nor who they were under arms. I then went into the boat, and a sentinel saw me down, I believe there were then in the boat ten or twelve. The cutter was alongside with Byrne in it, and in about four or five minutes the remainder of the people, who went with Captain Bligh came into the boat; and in a short time

time after we dropt or were veered astern, when lying astern Burkitt asked me if I wanted any thing ; I told him I had nothing but what I stood in ; he said, if I would send the keys up, he would get me some cloaths ; I said I had lost them ; he made some answer which I do not remember ; he told me he would go and get me some things, and being gone about ten minutes, returned and threw a handkerchief full of different cloaths into the boat. Another person, who I don't know, went and fetched me more cloaths. Coleman called to me over the stern, and begged I would call on his friend at Greenwich and acquaint him of the matter. I think he said he wished to come into the boat. Cole at different times asked Captain Bligh to cast off the boat, fearing the people would fire into the boat, soon after cast adrift.

Q. *per* COURT. Was you upon deck any considerable time before you was put in the boat ?

A. Two or three minutes.

Q. Was you carried on the quarter deck ?

A. No.

Q. What part of the ship did you remain in ?

A. I believe on the after hatchway.

Q. Did you see Christian, and where was he ?

A. Yes, on the starboard side of the quarter deck.

Q. Could you discover every one on the quarter deck from the combings of the hatchway on which you stood ?

A. By looking round I could, except in the wake of the mizen mast.

Q. Could you see any persons that were not below in any other part of the ship ?

A. All, except where the pigs were stowed, on the larboard side of the deck.

Q. What hindered you from seeing the larboard side ?

A. The main mast I don't doubt, I looked round but I saw nobody.

Q. Was any centinel over you while you was upon deck ?

A. I don't remember any, the two centinels that were over us were at the bottom of the ladder.

Q. Were you placed there by centinels, or were you at liberty to go to any part of the ship ?

E

A. I

A. I was not at liberty to go to any part of the ship, Christian ordered me into the boat, and told me the boat was alongside, and Captain Bligh was just going in.

Q. What number of men did you see under arms in any part of the ship?

A. Burkitt, Mills with a cartouch box round him, but whether under arms I cannot say, Christian upon deck with a bayonet, and Sumner and Quintal below.

Q. Are you sure no more?

A. No more.

Q. Name them again.

A. Christian, Burkitt, Sumner, Quintal, and Mills with a cartouch box.

Q. Where are the arms kept?

A. All in the chest upon the main grating.

Q. Was the arm chest usually kept locked?

A. Yes. And the keys in the Master's cabin.

Q. How long was it from that time you first heard of the mutiny to the time you went into the boat?

A. Two hours, or two hours and an half.

Q. How many people did the Bounty's company consist of?

A. Only forty-three at that time.

Q. How many of the people did you consider were concerned in the mutiny?

A. Four or five.

Q. Was it your opinion that four people could take the ship from thirty-nine?

A. By no means.

Q. Give your reasons for thinking so.

A. There must have been more concerned. I saw no more under arms when I came on deck.

Q. What was your reason for submitting when you saw four only under arms?

A. I came naked on the quarter deck, except my trowsers; I saw Burkitt with a musket and bayonet, Christian alongside Captain Bligh, and the centinel on the gangway, who he was I do not know.

Q. Did you expostulate with Christian?

A. No.

Q. Did

- Q. Did you with the centinels over you ?
A. I reasoned with these below, but to no purpose.
Q. Was any force used to put you into the boat ?
A. The centinel saw me up, and Burkitt being on the quarter deck
as I mentioned, and Christian ordered me into the boat.
Q. Did you on that day see Coleman ?
A. Yes.
Q. Did he appear under arms ?
A. No.
Q. What was he doing ?
A. Looking over the stern.
Q. Did you see Heywood that day ?
A. No.
Q. Did you see Byrne ?
A. Yes.
Q. At what time ?
A. Near eight o'clock.
Q. Was he under arms ?
A. No.
Q. What was he doing ?
A. In the cutter alongside.
Q. Did you see Morrison ?
A. No.
Q. Did you see Norman ?
A. Yes.
Q. Was he under arms ?
A. No.
Q. What was he doing ?
A. Looking over the stern.
Q. Did you consider him as one of the mutineers ?
A. No.
Q. Did you see Ellison ?
A. No.
Q. Did you see M'Intosh ?
A. Yes.
Q. What was he doing ?
A. Looking over the stern.
Q. Did you consider him as one of the mutineers ?
A. No.
Q. Did you see Musprat ?
A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Was he under arms, or what was he doing?

A. Upon the forecastle.

Q. Did he appear to be obeying the orders of Christian?

A. He was standing on the forecastle not doing any thing.

Q. Did you see Millward?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he under arms?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you consider him as a mutineer?

A. I cannot say, he was not under arms.

Q. Was he one that awed you to go into the boat?

A. No.

Q. You saw Coleman looking over the stern, Did you consider him as a mutineer?

A. No.

Q. You saw Byrne in the cutter, did you consider him as a mutineer?

A. No.

Q. You said you was put into the boat by a centinel; Do you know by whom?

A. No.

Q. Was any centinel on the gangway as you went over the ship's side?

A. There was, but I cannot say what his name is, he must have been under arms at the same time, but I cannot upon my oath say whether he was or not.

Q. In what situation was Byrne in the cutter?

A. To the best of my knowledge, standing.

Q. Did he seem to be sorrowful?

A. He did.

Q. Did Norman when he looked over the stern, call to any one in the boat?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. What are your reasons for believing Coleman, Norman, M'Intosh, and Byrne, were adverse to the mutiny?

A. I often heard Captain Bligh mention it in the launch.

Q. What were your observations?

A. It is impossible for me to say, they were upon the stern and appeared to wish to come into the boat; I was busy, I do recollect Coleman calling to me.

Q. In

Q. In conversation with Nelson, he said to you; "You know who's fault it was;" Did you apprehend he alluded to any of the prisoners?

A. No; it was impossible to judge what he meant.

Q. Did either of the thirty-nine people, not of the mutineers, or under arms, offer to relieve Captain Bligh?

A. No.

Q. Of these men who remained in the ship, did you believe them all to be of Christian's party except the four.

A. I had every reason to suppose so.

Q. Do you know if Burkitt had the watch upon deck in the morning?

A. He had.

Q. Was Musprat on that watch?

A. I believe he was not on any watch; he was in the galley.

Q. Was Ellison on that watch?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Was it your watch?

A. No.

Q. In what watch was Norman?

A. I believe in that watch, he was not in mine.

Q. Had Coleman and Byrne that watch?

A. I cannot remember.

Q. Where was Millward when you saw him?

A. Looking over the stern.

Q. In what watch was Heywood?

A. In the first with Mr. Fryer.

Q. *Morrison*.—Do you recollect when you was in the boat aftern, I handed over cutlasses, pork, water, spunyarn, &c.

A. No.

Q. *per Ditto*.—Did you ever observe any thing in my conduct that led you to believe I was concerned in the mutiny?

A. No.

Q. *Burkitt*.—Did you see me when you came upon deck, or did I offer to force you or any body else into the boat? Did I use any bad expressions, or make any game at any one?

A. No farther than standing with musket and bayonet fixed.

Q. Did ever my conduct during the voyage, or the five months I was on shore with you at Otaheite, before the mutiny, give you reason to think I was ringleader in the mutiny?

A. Not in the least.

Observations

Observations *per* COURT.—You said it was concluded that each person left on board was concerned in the mutiny, now you say Morrison was not concerned.

Q. Who were Christian's mess-mates?

A. Elphinstone, Young, Hallet, Ledward, and Tinkler.

Q. When he relieved you at four in the morning, did you observe any thing particular in his conduct?

A. No.

Q. Were centinels usually placed on board the Bounty when at sea, in any part of the ship?

A. No.

WILLIAM PURCELL, CARPENTER of the BOUNTY, *sworn* :

April the 28th, the morning of the mutiny, Quintal came to my cabin and awaked me, saying, you and Mr. Cole may go on deck and do as you think proper, for we have mutinied and taken the ship; Mr. Christian has the command, Captain Bligh is confined, resistance is in vain, and if you attempt it you are a dead man. I called Mr. Cole, and went up the hatchway, saw Thompson standing centinel armed in the main hatchway, Heywood and Steward were in their births abreast of the main hatchway, on the larboard side, Mr. Elphinstone on the other side. John Williams came down the fore hatchway armed, and accompanied us on deck. I saw Captain Bligh standing on the quarter deck with his hands tied, Christian standing over him with a bayonet. The small cutter was alongside. I asked Alexander Smith what they meant to do; he answered, "To put Captain Bligh, Hayward, Hallet, and Samuel into her, to put Captain Bligh on shore." I then said to Christian, I hope you will not send any body in that boat, the bottom is almost out, and she cannot swim to the shore. An altercation then happened between Christian, Churchill, and others, about another boat; that being determined, Christian ordered me to get the large cutter ready; I hesitated obeying him; he said, Sir, you'll get the boat ready directly; Cole was gone below to turn those in their hammocks on deck. I called McIntosh and Norman to go down to my store room and hand the gear of the cutter to get her ready for hoisting out; they did so, and we in the mean time were clearing the cutter of yams, cocoa nuts, and lumber; when ready, Christian ordered her to be hoisted

out ; I went to Christian and interceded for the launch, and asked Christian, " If he meant to turn us adrift in the boat, to let us have " the launch and not make a sacrifice of us ;" Christian then ordered out the launch, but told Cole the Boatswain to carry nothing away. The launch was hoisted out and I went down to my cabin to procure such things as I thought might be useful ; I desired M'Intosh and Norman to fill a bucket of nails and hand a cross-cut saw out of the store room ; I then got my chest upon deck and into the launch, and afterwards got sails and other articles, and asked Christian for my tool chest and a cross-cut saw ; the latter he granted, and also my tool chest, after Churchill the master at arms had opposed my having the chest, and taken what he thought proper out of it. Prior to this I had been down to Fryer's cabin, when he desired me to ask Christian to let him come on deck ; he came on deck, and had some discourse with Captain Bligh, I could not hear what ; Alexander Smith desiring me not to come aft ; I then addressed Churchill, on the quarter deck, with Smith, Martin, Mills, Ellifon, and Burkitt, desiring them to lay down their arms, asking them what they were about, and advising, " If the Captain had done any thing wrong, to confine him," when Churchill replied, " You ought to have done that months ago," and used other abusive language. Mr. Fryer was then ordered down to his cabin, that Captain Bligh attempted to speak to Christian, who said, " Hold your tongue and I'll not hurt you ; it is too late to consider now, " I have been in hell for weeks past with you." I then went forward to get what necessaries were handed on the deck, into the boat, and then went into the boat, and stowed my chest and other things. That Martin, one of the mutineers, came into the boat with a bag. I asked him what he did there ; he said he was going into the boat ; I told him if ever we get to England, I'll endeavour to hang you myself. Quintal and Churchill hearing me, presented their pistols and desired Martin to come out of the boat, which he did. Christian not being determined whether to keep me on board or not, several of the mutineers opposed my going into the boat, saying, that I should be the last suffered to go out, if they had their wills ; adding, " They might " as well give us the ship as to suffer me to have tools, for we should " have another vessel in a month." I then went into the boat to receive a cask of water and other articles that were handing in. Several of the people were in the boat, the rest were then ordered in ; we were then veered astern. After much abusive language to the Captain, they threatened to blow his brains out. Cole asked Captain Bligh if he should

should cast off, as some of the people talked of firing. Captain Bligh consented, and we quitted the ship, keeping right astern to prevent the guns from bearing on us ; we were nineteen in number in the launch, and about seven inches and an half out of water.

Q. per COURT.—Who were the people under arms ?

Christian,	Churchill,	Sumner,
Quintal,	Mills,	Skinner,
Martin,	A. Smith,	Williams,
Thompson,	M'Coy,	Brown,
Ellison,	Burkitt,	Millward,
Young,	Hillbrant,	

were under arms at different times.

N. B. I forgot to mention a circumstance respecting Millward when Mr. Cole turned the hands up. Millward came up to me and said, Mr. Purcell, I assure you I know nothing of this business, but as I had a hand in the former foolish affair, I suppose they will make me have a hand in this.

Q. When you came on deck, did you see any of the other prisoners ?

A. I did.

Q. Did you see Heywood ?

A. No.

Q. Had you any conversation with him ?

A. Not at that time.

Q. Had you at any other ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Heywood standing at the booms ?

A. Yes.

Q. Had he a cutlass in his hand ?

A. Yes ; leaning the flat part of his hand upon it, on the booms. I instantly exclaimed " In the name of God, Peter, what do you do " with that ? " he instantly dropped it. One or two of the people previous to that had laid down their arms to assist in hoisting out the boats, one or two laid down their cutlasses, but not their pistols.

Q. Did Millward assist in hoisting out the boat ?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of men did you see with pistols ?

A. About four with pistols and cutlasses, the rest with muskets and bayonets fixt.

Q. Do

Q. Do you recollect seeing any other prisoners upon deck, and having any other conversation with them?

A. I saw all upon deck, but had no other conversation but what I have related.

COURT.—As you was upon deck during the mutiny, recollect what all the prisoners were doing at that time?

A. Coleman assisted in getting the boat ready, and handing things into it after it was hoisted out; he wanted to come in with us, but was prevented by the mutineers, and he desired me to notice that he had no hand in the conspiracy.

Heywood, when I came on deck, was in his birth, I did not see him on deck, until the launch was getting out; then he was standing on the booms resting his hand on a cutlass, I exclaimed, for God's sake, Peter, What do you do with that; he dropped it, and assisted in hoisting out the launch and handing things into it, then went below; I heard Churchill call to Thompson to keep them below, but could not tell who he meant; I did not see Heywood after.

Q. Did Heywood hand any of his own things into the boat?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Byrne was in the large cutter keeping her off from the side, and remained there when we left the ship; he was crying, and said, if he went with us he could be of no service being blind, he was not armed.

Morrison I observed, when Mr. Cole went down to turn the hands up, who were in their hammocks, but I did not observe he was armed; he assisted in hoisting out the launch.

Q. Did you hear any conversation between him and Fryer?

A. I did not.

Q. Did he appear to you at that time to be in league with the mutineers?

A. No.

Norman I called out of his hammock, and ordered him to fetch tools and cloaths, which he did; he gave me every assistance during the whole transaction, was crying when we came away, and desired me to take notice he had no hand in the conspiracy.

Ellison, when I came on the deck, was standing near the gangway, on the larboard-side, armed with a musket and bayonet; in that situation he was during the whole time, to the best of my knowledge, but in different parts of the ship; I had no conversation with him.

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COURT.

COURT.—Relate as to M'Intosh.

M'Intosh I called out of his hammock, and desired him to go down with Morrison to the store-room to get the gear for the boat; he did, and gave me every assistance, and desired me to take notice he had no hand in the mutiny.

Musprat, I cannot charge my memory with any particular circumstances as to him, I do not remember seeing him in arms.

Q. What was he doing?

A. Walking about the ship, handing liquor to the ship's company I think, and handing the Captain's and Mr. Fryer's things up.

Q. Was that when the dram was ordered?

A. Yes.

Burkitt, when I came upon deck, was standing upon the wind-lafs, armed with a musket and bayonet; soon after went aft on the quarter-deck, and I believe remained there during the whole transaction under arms.

Q. Did Burkitt make any answer to the master, when he desired him and the other men, for God's sake to lay down their arms?

A. Not that I heard.

Milward, when I came upon deck, was in his hammock, Mr. Cole turned him up, and when he came over the booms, he said, I assure you, Mr. Purcell, I know nothing of this business; but as I had a hand in the former foolish affair, I suppose they will force me to take a part in this; I saw Milward afterwards down the after-ladder by Mr. Fryer's cabin, armed with a musket, but do not recollect he had a bayonet fixed, nor seeing him afterwards until we were in the boat; then I saw him look over the taffrel, but cannot tell if he was armed then or not.

Q. When you all went into the boat, was any centry on the gangway?

A. Yes; Quintal and Skinner.

Q. Were they armed?

A. I cannot say they were armed, they were placed as centinels.

Q. Were you forced in the boat suddenly, or did it take some time?

A. I do not think it was above ten minutes, before every one was in the boat.

Q. Was it generally known about the ship, that the boat was going to put off?

- A. I think it must, we were a long time collecting our things.
- Q. Did you hear any body say he wished to go in the boat, except those you have named already?
- A. I cannot say I did.
- Q. Did Norman and M'Intosh shew any intentions to regain the ship?
- A. They did not.
- Q. Did you propose any such thing to them?
- A. I did not.
- Q. Did any of the prisoners shew any such wish?
- A. No.
- Q. In what light did you look upon Mr. Heywood at the time you say he dropped the cutlafs?
- A. I looked upon him as a person confused.
- COURT.—You must answer that question?
- Witness.—And that he did not know he had the weapon in his hand; his hand being on it, it was not in his hand.
- Q. What reason had you to suppose him so confused?
- A. By his instantly dropping it, and assisting in hoisting out the boat, convinced me in my own mind, that he had no hand in the conspiracy.
- Q. Were any people armed near Heywood at that time?
- A. I do not know there were.
- Q. After the launch was hoisted out, you say Heywood went below, and you saw no more of him. Did he of your knowledge go below of his own accord, or was he compelled to go by any of the mutineers?
- A. I think he went of his own accord, or to get some of the things to put in the boat.
- Q. How long was it after the launch was hoisted out, before she went from the ship?
- A. Near two hours.
- Q. Do you think then that Heywood was so long employed in collecting his things as you before supposed?
- A. No; he was assisting me and the rest to get the things into the boat, which I suppose prevented him from collecting any things of his own, until that time.
- Q. You have said just now, you saw no more of Heywood after he went below. Did he go below immediately after the boat was hoisted out?
- A. No.

Q. How long did the launch remain alongside after Heywood went below?

A. I cannot be positive; ten minutes or a quarter of an hour was the outside.

Q. Were the booms of the Bounty above deck?

A. Yes; off the deck on chocks.

Q. When you represented Heywood leaning his hand upon the cutlafs, Was that cutlafs leaning against, or supported by any thing else?

A. I cannot be positive.

COURT.—Describe the situation he was standing in with the cutlafs. Was it leaning against the booms?

A. I cannot be positive, it might be supported by something.

COURT.—Describe with your own hand, his hand as to the top and handle of the cutlafs?

N. B. The Witness then described the cutlafs perpendicular on the point, and Mr. Heywood's hand flat on it.

Q. *per* COURT.—Do you, upon the solemn oath you have taken, believe Heywood by being armed with a cutlafs, at the time you mentioned, by any thing you could collect, either by gestures, speeches, or any thing else, had any intention of opposing or assisting and joining others, who might endeavour to stop the progress of the mutiny?

A. No.

Q. Except the cutlafs upon which you saw Mr. Heywood's hand, did you see any cutlafs on the deck, other than those in the mutineers' hands at any time during the mutiny?

A. I cannot say I did; I can't say I did at that time, one man laid one down by him, and assisted in hoisting out the launch.

N. B. The witness said, one man laid one down by him, and took it up, but afterwards recalled his words, "and took it up again," and added while he assisted in hoisting out the launch.

Q. Do you know if any one of the mutineers took notice of Mr. Heywood's having a cutlafs?

A. No.

Q. Have you reason to believe that the cutlafs you saw in the possession of Heywood was placed upon the booms accidentally, and that he did not furnish himself with it?

A. I have reason to think he did not furnish himself with it.

Q. What is your reason?

A. As

A. As Thompson was standing over the arm chest, and Heywood in his birth, had he meant to arm himself, he certainly might have done it before he came on deck.

Q. Was the arm chest near Mr. Heywood's birth?

A. It stood in the center of the main hatchway, between the two births at the after-part.

Q. Did you go on deck before, or after Mr. Heywood?

A. Before him, he was in his birth.

Q. Did you see him leave his birth, and go upon deck?

A. No.

Q. Can you say that he might not have carried the cutlase on deck with him?

A. I have reason to think he did not.

Q. What reason?

A. As Thompson was centry over the arm chest, and knew Mr. Cole and myself were not of the conspiracy, and knew Mr. Heywood was in his birth, and did not attempt to arm himself before we went upon deck, he most certainly suspected Mr. Heywood wanted to procure arms to assist us in retaking the ship.

Q. Do you suppose it possible, that if Mr. Heywood had been inclined to join the mutineers he would have armed himself before you and Cole?

A. I should suppose not, as he might have armed himself before we were called up; Thompson being centinel over the arm chest, and Mr. Heywood in his birth when I went on deck.

Q. From the bulkhead forward, were there any other centinels except Thompson?

A. There were two more when I went upon deck, Quintal, the man who accompanied and called me up, and John Williams; both came to the foot of the lower deck ladder, and followed us up.

Q. Did you see Mr. Heywood as you and Mr. Cole, the boatswain, were going on deck?

A. I saw him in his birth, as I went up the cockpit ladder, whether sitting or leaning I'm not positive; the hammocks were hanging.

Q. Had you any conversation with him?

A. No.

Q. Do you know if at that time he knew of the mutiny?

A. I think he must, as the centinel was upon the arm chest close to his birth.

Q. Was

Q. Was the centinel over the arm chest or their births?

A. I cannot say; he was between both births.

Q. Did the centinel, or any other person, prevent his going on the deck with you and Mr. Cole, had he been inclined so to do?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Did you see any oppose him?

A. I did not.

Q. When Mr. Heywood dropt the cutlafs, as you say, did it fall down from his quitting his hand from it, or did he lay it down?

A. I think it fell, for he did not lay it down.

Q. Do you think any of the mutineers noticed Mr. Heywood having the cutlafs in his hand?

A. I don't know, as I was busy in getting the boat out, I had no time to make any observation.

Q. Would they have permitted you, or any well-disposed person to the captain, to have touched a cutlafs?

A. I cannot tell, as they had pistols I should imagine not.

Q. Did it appear to you, after they had got possession of the ship, that they were careless of their arms?

A. By no means, only in that instance in hoisting out the boat.

Q. In the time Heywood was assisting you to get things into the boat, did he, in any degree whatever, manifest a disposition to assist in the mutiny?

A. No.

Q. Was he, during that time, deliberate or frightened; in what manner did he behave himself?

A. I had not an opportunity to observe every action, being myself, at that time, engaged in getting things into the boat; I was apprehensive the mutineers might have stopt our so doing.

Q. Putting every circumstance together on your going into the boat, declare to the court, upon the oath you have taken, how you consider his behaviour; whether, as a person joined in the mutiny, or wishing well to Captain Bligh?

A. I by no means considered him as a person concerned in the mutiny or conspiracy.

Q. At the time Mr. Heywood was assisting you in getting things into the boat, did he know it was the intention of the mutineers to send the commander of the Bounty, with several of the officers and men, away in the boat?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Did

Q. Did he know that you was going out of the ship?

A. He certainly must think so, seeing me getting my chest and things into the boat.

Q. Did you know Captain Bligh was going in the boat?

A. Yes.

Q. Could it be possible but that every person must have known that Captain Bligh was going to be sent away?

A. I suppose not.

Q. Did Mr. Heywood know what caused you to quit the ship?

A. Every body must have known who was on deck at the time, that I meant to follow my commander.

Q. Did Mr. Heywood express any desire or inclination to follow his commander with you?

A. Not to me.

Q. Was Captain Bligh confined on the quarter-deck, in such a situation as he must have been seen by Mr. Heywood, whilst he was upon deck with you, or when he was assisting in getting out the boats?

A. I think he was in such a situation, that he must have been seen by every one upon deck.

Q. Was any bulkhead round Mr. Heywood's birth?

A. No; it was half boarded, and half canvas.

Q. If the screen was drawn, how could you see Mr. Heywood?

A. The screen was not drawn.

Q. When you saw Mr. Heywood with the cutlafs, might it not have been used with advantage?

A. By no means, there being fourteen on the deck armed, the officers confined, and most of the mutineers having cutlasses or pistols.

Q. Were any of the prisoners amongst those who opposed your going into the boat?

A. No.

Q. You say Morrison did not seem to be leagued with the mutineers, did he express to you, any desire to follow the fate of the commander in the boat?

A. No.

Q. Do you know if M'Intosh was prevented leaving the Bounty?

A. He desired me to take notice that he was prevented by the mutineers from coming into the boat.

Q. Did you see him prevented?

A. I did

A. I did not personally see it, but Christian had given orders before, that neither Coleman, Norman, or M'Intosh should quit the ship.

Q. How do you know that?

A. I heard him.

Q. *Byrne*.—When you were first alarmed, and came from below with Cole, did you observe any one sitting on the chest on the fore hatchway?

A. I did not.

Q. *per Ditto*.—When you was in the launch, receiving things from some person on board, did I not speak to you from the stern of the large cutter?

A. I don't recollect it, only your desiring every one to take notice, that by your being blind, you could be of no service, and crying.

Q. *per Ditto*.—Before Captain Bligh, Mr. Fryer, and other officers came on the deck, was you not down in the launch?

A. I was several times in her, stowing the things.

Q. *per Ditto*.—Do you recollect my saying, Mr. Purcell, if you live to go home, I hope you will go to my friends, and tell them I know nothing of this transaction, or had any hand in it?

A. No.

Mr. HAYWARD, *sworn*.

At four o'clock in the morning, of the twenty-eighth day of April 1789, Fletcher Christian relieved the watch as usual; at about five o'clock, after giving orders to prepare for washing the decks, he ordered me to look out, as being master's mate of the watch, whilst he went down to lash his hammock up, a few minutes after I was looking out at a shark, which was at the stern of the ship; when, to my unutterable surprise, I saw Christian, Charles Churchill, Thomas Burkitt, one of the prisoners, John Sumner, Matthew Quintal, William M'Coy, Isaac Martin, Henry Hillbrant, and Alexander Smith, coming aft, armed with muskets and bayonets. Going forward to prevent their proceeding, to ask Christian the cause of such an act, he told me to hold my tongue instantly; and left James Martin a sentinel upon deck; and proceeded with the rest of his party below to Captain Bligh's cabin; some men standing with
their

their heads above the deck, Mr. Hallet, myself, Lamb, (Ellison at the helm,) and Mills, being on the deck. Christian being gone below, I asked Mills, If he knew any thing of the mutiny? he said, No. Ellison quitted the helm, and armed himself with a bayonet; the ship's decks now began to throng with men; Young, Millward, Musprat, Williams, Skinner, and Brown on the deck, armed with muskets and bayonets; Heywood, Steward, and Morrison, unarmed on the booms; Christian and his gang had not been down long, before I heard the cry of murder from Captain Bligh; and on the other hand, heard Churchill calling for the rope. It was now I found Mills was of the mutineers' party; contrary to all orders he cut the deep sea line, and carried a piece of it to Christian; soon after, I saw Captain Bligh brought upon the quarter deck, with his hands bound behind him, surrounded by most of those who came last on deck; some of the officers were permitted to come on deck, and Christian ordered us to hoist out the cutter; we remonstrated against it, being too small and unable to contain us. As soon as the launch was out, Christian ordered Mr. Samuel, Mr. Hallet, and me into it; we requested time to collect some things, which was granted; I was going down, but was prevented by Thompson, who was armed with a cutlass, and centinel over the arm chest; he stood aft a part of the main hatchway; he assented, and I went down, and saw Heywood in his birth. I told him to go into the boat, but in my hurry I do not remember receiving an answer. Mr. Hallet and I went down the main hatchway together; after getting a few cloaths, I went up and put them into the launch; then went to Christian and asked him for my instruments and chart, but was refused and hurried into the boat, not before I had seen Captain Bligh brought to the gangway, held by Christian, and surrounded by Mills, Burkitt, Quintal, Sumner, Millward, and M'Coy, armed. I do not recollect any more, but Ellison came up in a hurry with a bayonet in his hand, swearing, Damn him, I will be centinel over him. I then went over the gangway. When I was in the launch, I saw Byrne in the cutter, I heard him say he was sorry he could not have leave to come with us. The officers and men being in the boat, Captain Bligh was then forced in, and we were veered astern, the mutineers saying, they would give us a tow towards land. In this situation we prayed much for arms, ammunition, and more provisions, and then (for a watch and boatswain's call) we got four cutlasses and a small addition of pork; a number of mutineers collecting themselves on the taffrail, amongst whom were Skinner,

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ner, Quintal, Millward, Hillbrant, Ellison, Smith, and Brown, publicly insulting Captain Bligh. Skinner would have shot into the boat, but was prevented by others of the mutineers; Millward jeering, said, Go and see if you can live upon a quarter of a pound of yams per day. Just before casting off, Coleman came to the taffrail, and avowed his innocence and ignorance of the matter. After casting off, I heard orders given for loosing the top gallant sails, and saw Ellison going up the shrouds for that purpose.

Q. COURT.—I think you were sent to apprehend the prisoners gone to Otaheite; inform the court what you know?

A. Before anchoring in Mattavai Bay, in the Pandora, in the island of Otaheite, I saw Coleman coming off to the ship; soon after we were at anchor, Steward and Heywood came on board, but I did not see them until they were in Captain Edwards's cabin. They made themselves known to Captain Edwards, saying, they belonged to the Bounty, and were happy they were arrived. On my asking some questions concerning the Bounty, Captain Edwards said, it was unnecessary to ask any questions. I asked how they came to go away with the Bounty? and received for answer from Steward, that when called upon he would answer all particulars. I was prevented from asking any more questions, by Captain Edwards saying again, it was unnecessary. The next day I was dispatched to Papara with a party, in order to receive the mutineers, who were supposed to be in the valley; as soon as I arrived at Papara, I had intelligence that they were not far off, and with a guide marched to find them, but without success. The next morning about eleven o'clock, I had intelligence of them coming down. I drew out my party to receive them; when they came within hearing, I called to them to lay down their arms and go on one side, which they did, and I took them into custody and brought them on board. I wrote to Lieutenant Corner, who was coming to the valley, that I had taken them.

Q. COURT.—I think you say, in the morning of the mutiny you saw eighteen under arms?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of any conversation between Captain Bligh and the officers, about launching the cutter?

A. None, but a general clamour.

Q. What number of men was in the boat when you were ordered into it?

A. None; I was the first that was ordered into it.

Q. How

Q. How long did the boat remain alongside after you was in it?

A. About a quarter of an hour.

Q. Were all the people that went into the boat, ordered in; or did they go voluntarily?

A. I heard no one ordered but Mr. Hallet, Mr. Samuel, and myself.

Q. What number of men were on the deck at the time of hoisting out the boat?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Can you tell if there were any below at that time?

A. None, except those who guarded the officer's cabins in the after part of the ship.

Q. Look at all the prisoners, and relate all you know of them on that day?

A. *Coleman*, I saw nothing of him till he came to the taffrail, and declared his innocence. *Heywood*, I saw on the booms, not doing any thing, and afterwards in his birth below, when I spoke to him, and told him to go into the boat.

Q. Did he make any answer?

A. I believe not.

Q. Did you at any time that day see Mr. Heywood with arms in his hands?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you see him assist in hoisting out the boats?

A. No.

Byrne I saw in the cutter alongside the ship when I was in the launch, I heard him say he was sorry he could not go with us.

Morrison I saw assisting in clearing the yams from the boat, but am doubtful whether he was under arms at first or not.

Q. Did you hear any conversation between him and any officer of the ship?

A. I do not remember any.

Q. Did he at all appear to you by his conduct, to be assisting the mutineers, or in obedience to orders, to get the boats out?

A. If I was to give it as my opinion, I should say he was assisting the mutineers, wishing us away as fast as possible.

Q. Did you at any time that day see him with arms in his hands?

A. I am doubtful if he was under arms at all.

Norman was on deck forward, I neither saw him under arms nor assisting the mutineers, but assisting in getting things into the boat.

Ellison I saw at the helm, and, soon after the people had gone to Captain Bligh's cabin and quitted it, armed himself with a bayonet, and just before my going into the boat saw him as a centinel, with a bayonet in his hand, over Captain Bligh, saying, Damn him, I'll be centinel over him.

M^cIntosh I did not see under arms, nor did I suppose him one of the mutineers; he assisted to get out the boat.

Musprat I saw on the larboard side with a musket in his hand, supposing him one of the mutineers.

Burkitt I saw come aft, following Christian and Churchill, and saw him descend the after ladder with them armed with a bayonet.

Millward, I don't recollect seeing him at first, but after Captain Bligh was brought on deck, saw him armed as a centinel; after the boat was astern, saw him on the taffrail jeering us, and saying, Go see if you can live upon a quarter of a pound of yams per day, or something to that purpose.

Q. Was you present when Norman, Morrison, and Ellison were taken?

A. No, they had been left there by Lieut. Corner, under the charge of Mr. Saville.

Q. When you fell in with M^cIntosh, Burkitt, Musprat, and Millward, did they make any resistance?

A. None.

Q. They surrendered themselves upon your demanding them to lay down their arms?

A. They did.

Q. When you went down the main hatchway, who were between decks besides Thompson?

A. Mr. Heywood. Mr. Hallet went with me and Mr. Elphinstone.

Q. Was Thompson centinel?

A. Thompson was the only centinel; but there were armed men round the hatchways on the boom.

Q. Of the ten prisoners, six of whom you describe under arms; do you know of any effort made by those not under arms, or any of them, to restore the ship?

A. No.

Q. Did Norman express any desire to you of going into the boat?

A. To me, none.

Q. Did you hear him to any other person?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. Did M'Intosh?

A. No.

Q. Or any disapprobation of the mutineers' conduct?

A. No.

Q. How long after the mutiny began that you saw Musprat under arms?

A. I beg leave to remind the court that they did not come up together, it might be about ten minutes.

Q. At the time the mutineers went into the cabin, was Burkitt one of them that remained on the hatchway?

A. No.

Q. Have you reason to know that Mr. Heywood would have been prevented from going into the boat at the time you did, after you desired him?

A. No.

Q. How long before your going down in the boat, before you spoke to him?

A. About two or three minutes.

Q. You say, if you were to give your opinion, it is, that Morrison was assisting the mutineers by getting out the boats, and wished to get you away from the ship. You have likewise said, that M'Intosh was assisting in getting out the boats, and you did not look upon him in that light; I wish to know the reason of that difference?

A. The difference in the countenances of people may be ill-grounded. One looked rejoiced, the other depressed.

Q. You said Norman was employed in putting a tool chest into the boat. Do you know why he did not accompany you?

A. No.

Q. When you spoke to Mr. Heywood in his birth, and admonished him to go into the boat, was he under any restraint as to going on deck?

A. No.

Q. What was he employed about at that time?

A. Nothing but sitting with his arms folded.

Q. Did you by his behaviour, consider him as attached to his duty, or to a part of the mutineers?

A. I rather suppose, after telling him to go into the boat, and not joining us, he was on the part of the mutineers, but that must be only

only stated as an opinion, as he was not employed during the acting part of it.

Q. Did you observe joy or sorrow in his behaviour?

A. Sorrow.

Q. You have said that M'Intosh was unfriendly to the mutineers; you mean he was not attached to them, because he was depressed in his countenance; might not the sorrow in Mr. Heywood arise from the same cause?

A. It might.

Q. *per* Morrison.—You give it from your opinion that I was one of the mutineers, can you declare before God, and this court, that such evidence is not the result of a private pique?

A. It is not: It is an opinion I formed after quitting the ship, from his not coming with us, when he had as good an opportunity as the rest, there being more boats than one.

Q. Ditto.—Are you certain we might have had the large cutter to have accompanied you?

A. My not being present at any conversation with you, I cannot say, but perhaps you might.

Q. Ditto.—Can you deny you were present when Captain Bligh begged, that the long boat might not be overloaded, and said, he would do justice to those who remained?

A. I was present when Captain Bligh did make such declaration, but I understood it respected cloaths and other heavy articles, with which the boat was already too full.

Q. Ditto.—Do you recollect in consequence of such declaration, I told you, I would take my chance in the ship?

A. I do not.

Q. Ditto.—Do you remember when you handed your bag up the main hatchway, and with it your fuzee, that I was the person that received them from you, and Quintal came and seized the fuzee, and swore, Damn his eyes, if you should have it?

A. I do not remember the person who took the bag and fuzee, it might have been you, but I remember Quintal swearing I should not have it, but from whose hands he took it, I cannot say.

Q. Do you remember on any time that day calling on me to assist you in any point of duty, or to give my assistance to retake his Majesty's ship?

A. I have a faint remembrance of a circumstance of that nature.

COURT.

COURT. Relate it.

A. It is so very faint I can hardly remember it, or who it was.

COURT. Relate it.

A. On seeing Churchill on the booms, I thought if I had a friendly island club, of which there were many on board, had I not been observed, I could have gone forward and knocked him down at the time of handing the bag out, and you might have been the person I called to my assistance.

Q. *per* Morrison. What answer did I give you?

A. I do not know.

Q. Ditto.—Did not I say, “ Go it, I’ll back you, there are tools enough in the ship?”

A. I cannot remember.

Q. Ditto.—Did you ever observe any thing in my conduct during the voyage, or on that day, to give cause of complaint?

A. None: But on that day I thought he was pleased in preparing the boat for our departure; but, as I said before, I do not know his real intention.

Q. *per* Ditto—Are you sure that there was a continual smile and appearance of joy upon my countenance all the time you observed me, or at the time only when you called upon me for assistance?

A. I cannot say.

Q. *per* Musprat.—In answer to a question just asked by Morrison, you allow Captain Bligh used these words, “ Don’t let the boat be “ overloaded, my lads, I’ll do you justice;” which you say, alluded to the cloaths and other heavy articles. Do you mean to understand the latter words of “ My lads, I’ll do you justice,” to apply to cloaths or men who he apprehended might go in the boat?

A. If Captain Bligh made use of the words “ my lads,” it was to the people already in the boat, and not to those in the ship.

Q. COURT.—To whom do you think Captain Bligh alluded, when he said he would do them justice; was it your opinion to the men in the boat with him, or to any person remaining in the ship?

A. To persons remaining in the ship.

Q. Are you of opinion that he meant, he would do them justice on account of remaining in the ship, or that he would cause satisfaction to be given them for any thing they might lose?

A. I rather think it was the few who Captain Bligh knew to be of his party, that were detained contrary to their inclination, that he

would

would do them such justice that should throw aside all doubts of their being true to the service of their country.

Q. Do you know if any were detained contrary to their wish?

A. Coleman and Byrne, which, from the latter's answers, I suppose to be the case.

Q. What authority have you for saying Coleman was detained contrary to his inclination?

A. From hearing amongst the mutineers their intention to detain him, as well as the acting surgeon, who they afterwards let go, saying, they would have little occasion for doctors.

Mr. HALLET's *Evidence.*

On the 28th day of April 1789, at day-break, I had the watch upon deck; I saw Christian, the officer of the watch, come up the fore hatchway armed, and several armed men following him, Burkitt, Churchill, Sumner, and Martin, no more; at first, I attempted to go down the fore hatchway, but was prevented by two fixed bayonets thrust up, and I was ordered to stay where I was; who they were I cannot say, I was then going aft, but before I got on the quarter deck, I heard Captain Bligh sing out "murder;" he was soon after brought on deck in his shirt, with his hands tied behind him, and Christian holding the cord that tied him, and a bayonet in the other hand, and kept in that situation with the guard round him.

COURT. Name the guard.

A. I do not know any more than I before mentioned.—The cutter was ordered by Christian to be hoisted out, and Mr. Samuel and myself ordered into it; but upon the Boatswain's and Carpenter's coming aft, and telling Christian they would prefer going in the boat with the Captain, than staying in the ship, desired to have the launch instead of the cutter; he granted it, and said, he did not wish them or any other to stay against their inclinations, or to go; they then asked for various articles that would be of use; and Mr. Heywood, Mr. Samuel, and myself, then went into the boat and were veered astern, Christian saying, he would hove us in near the land—We then got a few more things from the ship, and were cast loose.

Q. Did you hear any conversation between Christian and the Officers of the Bounty, about the launch or cutter?

A. The boatswain and carpenter came aft, as I said before, and spoke to Christian about them.

Q. What number of men were in the boat when you went into it?

A. By Christian's order, I was the first in the boat.

Q. How long did the boat remain along side after you was in it?

A. Ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour.

Q. Were all the people ordered in, or did they go voluntarily?

A. I believe the most part went voluntarily.

Q. What number of men assisted in hoisting out the launch?

A. About twenty.

Q. Were all unarmed?

A. One or two gave their arms to others, and assisted, and as soon as done resumed their arms.

Q. What number of men did you see under arms that morning?

A. Ellison, Morrison, Millward, Burkitt, Hillbrant, Sumner, Skinner, Christian, Young, Churchill, Thompson, Alexander Smith, Mills, M'Koy, Williams, Brown, Martin, and Quintal.

Q. What time did you make that memorandum?

A. Lately.

Q. Had you any conversation with the officers or men that morning, respecting re-taking the ship?

A. Seeing so many armed men, and no possibility of our procuring any arms ourselves, I believe it was deemed impracticable.

Q. When the mutineers gave their arms to others, whilst they hoisted out the boats, did they give them to their own party?

A. Intirely so.

Q. Did you see Coleman?

A. Yes.

COURT.—Relate his conduct that day.

A. Coleman assisted in getting things into the boat, and when aftern, called to the gunner, "Remember, Mr. Peckover, if ever you arrive in England, I had no hand in this."

Q. Did you see Mr. Heywood?

A. I saw him once.

Q. Where?

A. Upon the platform on the larboard side of the deck.

Q. What was he doing?

A. Standing still, looking attentively on Captain Bligh.

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Q. Had

- Q. Had he any arms at that time ?
A. I did not see him under arms at all.
- Q. Had you any conversation with him ?
A. I do not recollect having spoken to him.
- Q. Was he or not prevented from going into the boat ?
A. I do not know that he offered to go into it.
- Q. Did any person propose to him so to do ?
A. I do not know.
- Q. Do you know any other particulars of him that day ?
A. When he was standing as before related, Captain Bligh said something to him, but what I did not hear ; upon which he laughed, turned round, and went away.
- Q. Did he appear at liberty, or at any time confined ?
A. At liberty.
- Q. BYRNE.—Relate what you know of Byrne that day.
A. I remember to have seen him once, keeping the cutter alongside.
- Q. MORRISON.—Relate his conduct that day.
A. When I first saw him, he and Millward were talking together unarmed, but he shortly afterwards appeared with a musket.
- Q. What part of the ship did you see him in with a musket ?
A. I did not see him under arms till the boat was veered astern, then he looked over the taffrail, and jeering, said, " If my friends enquire after me, tell them I am somewhere in the South Seas."
- Q. How was he employed at any time, and until you put off ?
A. I have related all to the best of my recollection ?
- Q. NORMAN.—Relate all you know of him that day.
A. Norman was employed in getting things out of the carpenter's store-room ; just before we came away, he cried, and said, " He wished to go with us, to see his wife and family."
- Q. Did you consider him as a mutineer ?
A. I considered him as an innocent man, and detained against his inclination.
- Q. ELLISON.—Relate all you know of him that day.
A. He appeared early under arms, and came to me insolently, saying, " Mr. Hallet, you need not mind, we are only going to put the Captain on shore, and then you and the others may return on board," meaning Mr. Hayward and Mr. Samuel, as no others at that time were ordered to quit the ship.
- Q. M'INTOSH.—Relate all you know of him.

A. He

A. He was employed in getting things from the store-room, and willing to procure things for us that we required.

Q. Did he shew any inclination to come on board?

A. I did not myself observe it.

Q. MUSPRAT.—Relate all you know of him that day.

A. I do not remember to have seen him once.

Q. BURKITT—Relate all you know of him that day.

A. I have related the whole I know.

Q. MILLWARD.—Relate all you know of him that day.

A. As I before said, I saw him and Morrison talking together, and shortly after saw him armed.

Q. Look round, and point out Morrison?

A. This is he; pointing to Morrison.

Q. Do you know if Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh, were detained against their wills?

A. I have great reason to suppose they were.

Q. Did you speak to Byrne, so as to form an opinion of his mind?

A. He appeared pensive and sorrowful.

Q. Do you believe it proceeded from his disapprobation of the event that had taken place?

A. The cause I am totally ignorant of.

Q. Describe the situation of the commander of the Bounty, when Heywood turned round as you before said.

A. He was standing with his arms tied behind him; Christian holding the cord that bound him with one hand, and a bayonet at his breast with the other hand.

Q. Did you go down the main hatchway with Mr. Heywood that morning?

A. I was below.

Q. Was Mr. Heywood in his birth at that time?

A. I do not remember to have seen him during that morning except at the time already related.

Q. At the time the boats were hoisting out, to whom did the mutineers give their arms?

A. Very few were given; those that were, were to their own party.

Q. When the boat put off from the ship, did you see or hear any person express any dissatisfaction at being left?

A. Yes: Coleman, and Norman.

Q. *per* MORRISON.—You say you saw me under arms at the taffrail, and I did sneeringly say, "Tell my friends, if they inquire, that

“ I am somewhere in the South Seas ; Can you positively declare before God, and this court, that it was me and no other person you saw under arms, and to whom I delivered the said sneering message ? ”

A. I have declared it, but did not remark that the message was said to any particular individual.

Q. Ditto.—Can you deny that I did lower down into the boat from the larboard quarter, two cutlasses, two large jars of water, and five or six and twenty pieces of pork ?

A. I remember four cutlasses lowered, and the other things you mention in the boat, but by whom I cannot say.

Q. Do you remember that I personally assisted you to haul your chest up the main hatchway, and if I was armed ?

A. Concerning the chest, I do not remember, and have before said, that I did not see you under arms till the boat was veered astern.

JOHN SMITH'S *Evidence :-*

Between five and six o'clock, on the 28th of April 1789, Thomas Hall told me I was wanted aft, on the quarter deck ; Captain Bligh then stood on the quarter deck in his shirt, Christian holding him in his left hand, and a cutlass in his right. Christian ordered me to bring a bottle of rum, and serve every man under arms ; and at the same time to bring up the Captain's cloaths, I did so ; and put some cloaths over Captain Bligh's shoulders, and then served the drams.

COURT. Name who you served.

A. Christian first.—I believe M'Koy and Williams were on the starboard side.—I served several, but am not positive who ; then I went on the quarter deck and served Ellison, no more on the deck ; I then went down with the bottle ; by that time the Captain was gone over the side ; I saw Mr. Samuel in the Captain's cabin, getting his papers and things ; there was a sentinel below, between the cabin and Mr. Friers ; Sumner and Quintal remained below until the Captain was gone over the side ; I then came up with wine in my hand, and went across the ship, and put the wine into the boat and we dropt astern.

Q. You say you served the drams by Christian's order ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you give a dram to Coleman ?

A. Yes ; some in a tin pot.

Q. To

- Q. To Mr. Heywood ?
A. No ; he refused.
Q. Where was he standing ?
A. By the windlafs, with his back towards me, and his hands in his pockets.
Q. To Byrne ?
A. No.
Q. To Morrison ?
A. I don't know.
Q. To Norman ?
A. No.
Q. To Ellifon ?
A. Yes.
Q. To M'Intosh ?
A. No.
Q. To Musprat ?
A. No.
Q. To Burkitt ?
A. Yes.
Q. To Millward ?
A. Yes.
Q. Did any person go into the boat after you ?
A. Not to my knowledge.
Q. How long was the boat alongside after you went into it ?
A. It dropt astern directly.
Q. Did Christian order any to go into the boat ?
A. No.
Q. Was you ordered to go into it ?
A. No.
Q. Did you assist in hoisting out the launch ?
A. No.
Q. You did not see her hoisted out ?
A. No.
Q. In what station was you ?
A. Captain's servant.
Q. Who ordered you to get the Captain's cloaths ?
A. Christian—when I went down for the rum.
Q. How long after the mutiny began, before you served the drams ?

A. Immediately after putting the Captain's cloaths on. I can't say how long.

Q. When you offered a dram to Coleman, where was he?

A. Forward upon the booms.

Q. Had he arms then?

A. No.

Q. You say when you offered a dram to Mr. Heywood, he had no arms?

A. No; he was neither talking nor doing any thing.

Q. Did you see Morrison?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. I can't tell, I did not offer him a dram.

Q. Had he any arms?

A. No.

Q. Did you see Norman?

A. Yes.

Q. What was he doing?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. What was Ellison doing?

A. Standing with a musket in his hand.

Q. In what part of the ship?

A. Before the mizen mast.

Q. What was M'Intosh doing?

A. Standing by the booms, having no arms.

Q. Did you see Musprat?

A. I don't recollect seeing him at all.

Q. Where was Burkitt?

A. On the fore part of the quarter deck.

Q. What was he doing?

A. He was under arms.

Q. What was Millward doing?

A. He stood with a musket in his hand on the after ladder.

Q. *per* MORRISON.—Do you recollect when you came forward with the bottle, that Coleman and I were talking together, and you gave Coleman a glass in a tin pot, and said, "Morrison, you may as well have a drop, though I am ordered to serve none but the centinels?"

A. I do not.

Q. *per*

Q. *per* MUSPRAT.—Do you know on that morning, if any one came down abaft, and got a bottle of rum to serve the ship's company besides yourself?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. *per* MILLWARD.—Do you recollect any person who took the case from you, and the other necessaries, handing up for the good of those going in the boat?

A. I do not recollect.

CAPTAIN EDWARDS's *Evidence* :

COURT.—Relate all you know concerning the prisoners belonging to the Bounty.

A. Before we came to anchor in Mattavai Bay, Coleman came on board. I was informed that others had sailed in a schooner that had been built by some of the Bounty's people. I likewise heard that one man had been murdered, (the master at arms,) and likewise an account that the Bounty had been twice at Otaheite, in possession of Captain Bligh; the last time, after some people being landed, she went away in the night; and was seen again in the morning in a north west direction. Coleman was ready to give me any information. Steward and Heywood, after we anchored, came on board before any boat was sent on shore. Mr. Larkin brought them to me; "I asked what news?" and Mr. Heywood said, "he supposed I had heard of the affair concerning the Bounty." I cannot recollect all the conversation, but he enquired if Mr. Hayward was on board; I said he was; he desired to see him, and I desired Mr. Hayward to come out of my state room. Mr. Hayward came, and gave them a contemptuous look, and began to enter into a conversation concerning the Bounty. I called people to take the prisoners; some words passed, and Heywood said he should be able to vindicate his conduct. Byrne came on board the third day alone. Ellison, Morrison, and Norman, were sent on board, by parties that were sent after them.

Q. *per* BYRNE—Did you, or any under your command, commissioned, warrant, petty officers, or seamen, bring me on board the Pandora?

A. No; I did not understand it so.

Q. Did

Q. Did you know at what part of the island I was, when the Pandora anchored in Mattavai Bay?

A. Not exactly, but I heard some distance from the place.

Q. *per* BYRNE—Was I not introduced to you by your officers?

A. Probably you was.

Admitted that Byrne voluntarily surrendered himself.

Q. Did Byrne request an interview with you, saying, he came from Papara, a distant part of the island, and that he had walked all night to join the ship?

A. I do not recollect the place, but I believe he did say he had walked all night.

LIEUTENANT LARKIN's *Evidence* :

COURT.—Inform the Court how the prisoners came on board the Pandora.

A. *Coleman* came before we came to anchor voluntarily.

Heywood next, and *Byrne*, both voluntarily.

Norman,
Ellison, and } Came round in one of our boats from the other side
Morrison, } of the island, sent by Mr. Savill (since lost).

M'Intosh,
Musprat, } Brought on board in one of our boats that was sent
Millward, } after them.
and *Burkitt,*

LIEUTENANT CORNER's *Evidence* :

COURT.—Inform the court what you know of the prisoners being taken and carried on board the Pandora.

A. *Norman,* } Came to me in company with another person
Morrison, and } named Brown, (who had been left at Otaheite) at
Ellison, } Papara, when I was going in search of the schooner.
I landed about two o'clock in the morning; they
were armed with hatchets, and instruments, that Brown had given
them

them to defend themselves from the Indians, I confined them in the boat and went to secure the rest.

Q. Was you sent in pursuit in the Pandora's boat ?

A. I was sent in pursuit of the schooner the evening the ship arrived—I got within about a mile of her, when the schooner avoided us; we chased her, but I cannot say who was on board.

Q. Was the schooner in your possession before the prisoners surrendered themselves ?

A. No.

Q. Did Norman, Morrison, and Ellison, voluntarily surrender themselves ?

A. They made no resistance; they came voluntarily with Brown.

Coleman, Norman, M'Intosh, and Byrne were acquitted. Mr. Heywood, Morrison, Musprat, Millward, Burkitt, and Ellison, were found guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced upon them; but the Court at the same time informed Mr. Heywood and Morrison, that they should recommend them to the King for mercy, which his Majesty was afterwards graciously pleased to grant. Musprat having requested that Norman, one of the prisoners, against whom there was no evidence, might be acquitted and examined in his favour, and this being refused by the Court, his sentence was respited till the opinion of the twelve judges could be obtained upon the question. They decided that the evidence ought to have been received, and in consequence Musprat was discharged.

The Sentence of the Court was afterwards executed upon Millward, Burkitt, and Ellison. When they were brought upon the fore-castle of the ship in which the execution was ordered, Millward addressed

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the ships' crews and spectators, in the following words : " Brother Seamen, You see before you three lusty young fellows about to suffer a shameful death for the dreadful crime of mutiny and desertion. Take warning by our example never to desert your officers, and should they behave ill to you, remember it is not their cause, it is the cause of your country you are bound to support."

THE
APPENDIX.

T O

STEPHEN BARNEY Esquire, *Portsmouth.*

S I R,

Gray's-Inn Square, May 15th, 1794.

I Affure you I regard the publication of your Minutes of the Court-martial as a very great favour done to myself, and I am the more sensible of the obligation from being convinced that they were not originally taken with an intent to publish. But they appear to be so full and satisfactory; that, from your further kindness in permitting the extraordinary information which I have collected to be annexed as an Appendix, the Public, I trust, will at length be possessed of a complete knowledge of the real causes and circumstances of that most melancholy event, the Mutiny on board the Bounty. It is unnecessary for me to add, that I alone am responsible for the authenticity, or rather accuracy, of the information contained in the Appendix, as far at least as it has been obtained by me, in the manner and from the persons described therein.

I have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

and obliged Servant,

ED. CHRISTIAN.

T H E
A P P E N D I X.

THE circumstances communicated in this Appendix have been collected by a person nearly related to Christian : and it is far from his intention or wish to insinuate a vindication of the crime which has been committed. Justice, as well as policy, requires that mutiny, from whatever causes produced, or with whatever circumstances accompanied, should be punished with inexorable rigour. The publication of the trial, and of these extraordinary facts, it is presumed, will in no degree impede the pursuit of justice, yet it will administer some consolation to the broken hearts, which this melancholy transaction has occasioned. And whilst the innocent families and relations of twenty-one unhappy men are deeply interested in reducing to it's just measure the infamy which this dreadful act has brought upon them ; every friend to truth and strict justice must feel his attention awakened to the true causes and circumstances, which have hitherto been concealed or misrepresented, of one of the most remarkable events in the annals of the navy. It is the aim of the writer of this Appendix to state facts as they are, and to refrain, as far as possible, from invective and reproach.

It will naturally be asked from whom, and how have these facts been collected ? and why have they been so long suppressed ? It may be answered, That the writer of this Appendix, with the other relations of the mutineers, entertained no distrust of the narratives published to the world, or the accounts which they received in private ; and as they came from those whose sufferings had unquestionably been extreme, and preservation almost miraculous ; and thus carrying with them the stamp of even greater authenticity than the solemn declarations of a death-bed, they precluded all suspicion and enquiries among those who were most concerned in the horrid representation. Their lips were closed, they mourned in silence, and shuddering at
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the most distant allusion to this melancholy subject, they were of all persons the least likely to discover the real truth of the transaction.

All the circumstances stated here could not be produced at the trial, as the Court confined the witnesses, as much as possible, to the question, Who were actually engaged in the mutiny? for that being a crime which will admit of no legal justification, the relation of previous circumstances could not be material or legal evidence; yet what passed at the time of the mutiny was so immediately connected with what had happened previously in the ship, that in the testimony of most of the witnesses there will be found an allusion to, or confirmation of, what is here advanced.

Some time after the trial of the mutineers, the writer of this Appendix received such information as surprized him greatly, and in consequence of which, he resolved to make every possible enquiry into this unhappy affair. The following circumstances have been collected from many interviews and conversations, in the presence and hearing of several respectable gentlemen, with Mr. Fryer^a, master of the *Bounty*; Mr. Hayward^b, midshipman; Mr. Peckover^c, gunner; Mr. Purcell^d, carpenter; John Smith^e, cook; Lawrence Lebogue^f, sail maker; all these returned in the boat with Captain Bligh: and with Joseph Coleman^g, armourer; Thomas M'Intosh^h, carpenter's mate; Michael Byrneⁱ, seaman; these are three of the four, who were tried and honourably acquitted, even with Captain Bligh's testimony in their favour; and with Mr. Heywood, midshipman, who has received his Majesty's pardon; and William Musprat, discharged by the opinion of the judges in his favour, upon a point of evidence: the writer of this has received letters also upon the subject from James Morrison, the boatswain's mate; who was pardoned. Mr. Heywood is now serving again as midshipman, under Lord Howe, in the *Queen Charlotte*, and is much respected by all who know him; and Morrison and Musprat are also employed again in the king's service; yet the writer of this Appendix thinks it necessary to assure the reader that no material fact here stated stands in need of their testimony or confirmation. The gentlemen who were present at different conversations with the persons just mentioned, are; John Farhill, Esq. No. 38, Mortimer-street; Samuel Romilly, Esq. Lincoln's Inn; Mr. Gilpin, No. 432, Strand; the Rev. Dr. Fisher, Canon of Windsor; the Rev.

^a Now of the *Inconstant* man of war.

^b Lives at No. 13, Gun Alley, Wapping.

^c In London, but residence unknown.

^d In the merchants' service, his mother keeps a public house at North Shields.

^e In Greenwich Hospital.

^f Now Lieutenant in the *Diomed*, East Indies.

^g Now of the *Dromedary*, West Indies.

^h In Greenwich Hospital.

ⁱ In Ditto.

Mr. Cookson, Canon of Windsor; Captain Wordsworth, of the *Abergavenny* East Indiaman; Rev. Mr. Antrobus, Chaplain to the Bishop of London; John France, Esq. Temple; James Losh, Esq. Temple; Rev. Dr. Frewen, Colchester; and John Atkinson, Esq. Somerset Herald. Each of these gentlemen has heard the declarations of one at the least of the persons before mentioned; some have had an interview with five or six of them at different times, together with the writer of this Appendix, who is confident that every one of these gentlemen will bear testimony that what he has heard is not here exaggerated or misrepresented. There is no contradiction or variance whatever, in the account given by the gentlemen and people of the *Bounty*, though they could not upon every occasion, be all present together, and therefore cannot all relate exactly the same circumstances.

They declare that Captain Bligh used to call his officers "scoundrels, damned rascals, hounds, hell-hounds, beasts, and infamous wretches;" that he frequently threatened them, that when the ship arrived at Endeavour Straits, "he would kill one half of the people, make the officers jump overboard, and would make them eat grass like cows;" and that Christian, and Stewart, another midshipman, were as much afraid of Endeavour Straits, as any child is of a rod.

Captain Bligh was accustomed to abuse Christian much more frequently and roughly than the rest of the officers, or as one of the persons expressed it, "whatever fault was found, Mr. Christian was sure to bear the brunt of the Captain's anger." In speaking to him in this violent manner, Captain Bligh frequently "shook his fist in Christian's face." But the immediate cause of the melancholy event is attributed to what happened on the 26th and 27th of April, the mutiny broke out on the morning of the 28th of April 1789. The *Bounty* had stopped at Annamooko, one of the Friendly Islands; on the 26th Christian was sent upon a watering party, with express orders from the Captain, by no means to fire upon the natives; upon their return, the Captain was informed that the natives had stolen the cooper's adze; at this, Captain Bligh was in a great rage, and abused Christian much; saying to him, "G— damn your blood, why did not you fire,—you an officer!" At this island the Captain and ship's company had bought quantities of cocoa nuts, at the rate of 20 for a nail; the Captain's heap lay upon deck, and on the morning of the 27th, Captain Bligh fancied that the number was diminished, but the matter, Mr. Fryer, told him he supposed they were pressed closer from being run over by the men in the night. The Captain then ordered the officer of the morning watch, Mr.

Christian,

Christian, to be called ; when he came, the Captain accosted him thus, " Damn your blood, you have stolen my cocoa nuts ;" Christian answered, " I was dry, I thought it of no consequence, I took one " only, and I am sure no one touched another." Captain Bligh then replied, " You lie, you scoundrel, you have stolen one half." Christian appeared much hurt and agitated, and said, " Why do you treat " me thus, Captain Bligh ?" Captain Bligh then shook his hand in his face and said, " No reply ;" and called him " a thief," and other abusive names. He then ordered the quarter masters to go down and bring all the cocoa nuts both from man and officer, and put them upon the quarter deck. They were brought. The Captain then called all hands upon deck, and desired " the people to look after the " officers, and the officers to look after the people, for there never " were such a set of damned thieving rascals under any man's command in the world before." And he told the men, " You are allowed a pound and a half of yams to-day, but to-morrow I shall " reduce you to three quarters of a pound." All declare that the ship's company were before greatly discontented at their short allowance of provisions, and their discontent was increased from the consideration that they had plenty of provisions on board, and that the Captain was his own purser*. About four o'clock on the same day, Captain Bligh abused Christian again. Christian came forward from Captain Bligh, crying, " tears were running fast from his eyes in big " drops." Purcell, the Carpenter, said to him, " What is the matter Mr. " Christian ?" He said, " Can you ask me, and hear the treatment I " receive ?" Purcell replied, " Do not I receive as bad as you do ?" Christian said, " you have something† to protect you, and can speak " again ; but if I should speak to him as you do, he would probably " break me, turn me before the mast, and perhaps flog me ; and if " he did, it would be the death of us both, for I am sure I should " take him in my arms, and jump overboard with him." Purcell said, " Never mind it, it is but for a short time longer." Christian said, " In going through Endeavour Straits, I am sure the ship will " be a hell." He was heard by another person to say, when he was crying, " I would rather die ten thousand deaths, than bear this treatment ; I always do my duty as an officer and as a man ought to do,

* During the mutiny, Captain Bligh said to Mr. Young, " This is a serious affair Mr. " Young." Mr. Young replied, " Yes, it is a serious affair to be starved, I hope this day to " get a belly full."

† By this he meant his warrant ; the warrant-officers can only be punished by suspension and confinement, they cannot be broke and flogged like midshipmen.

" yet

"yet I receive this scandalous usage." Another person heard him say, "That flesh and blood cannot bear this treatment." This was the only time he ever was seen in tears on board the ship; and one of the seamen being asked, if he had ever observed Christian in tears before, answered, "No, he was no milkop." It is now certainly known, that Christian after this had prepared to leave the ship that night upon a raft; those who came with Captain Bligh, can only know it by circumstances, which they afterwards recollected, and which were the subject of conversation in the boat. He gave away that afternoon all his Otaheite curiosities; he was seen tearing his letters and papers, and throwing them overboard; he applied to the carpenter for nails, who told him to take as many as he pleased out of the locker; and the ship intending to stop at no other island, these could have been of no use to him, but in case of his escape to land. Mr. Tinkler, a young boy, one of Christian's messmates, was hungry in the evening, and went below to get some pig which was left at dinner; this he missed, and after some search, found it packed up with a bread fruit, in a dirty cloaths bag in Christian's cot; when the launch was hoisted out, the two masts were lashed to a plank, which they were obliged to untie. This was the raft or stage upon which he intended to leave the ship. These circumstances are remembered by those who came in the boat, but his design of going off upon the raft was frequently the subject of conversation afterwards in the ship. Norman, one of the four who were honourably acquitted, said to him after the mutiny, "This is a hard case upon me, Mr. Christian, who have a wife and family in England †." Christian replied, "It is a hard case, Norman, but it never would have happened, if I could have left the ship alone." Christian told them afterwards in the ship, "that he did not expect to reach the shore upon the raft, but he was in hopes of being seen and taken up by some of the natives in their canoes." The reason of his disappointment is said to have been owing to the people being upon deck in greater numbers than usual, looking at a volcano in the island of Tofoa.

All agree that there was no plot or intention to mutiny before Christian went upon his watch, at four in the morning. The mutiny broke out at five o'clock, and all the mutineers were in bed when it began, except those who were in Christian's watch; how soon after four o'clock the conspiracy was entered into, before it was put in execution, does not appear. That there had been some agreement previous to the breaking out of the mutiny

† Norman's family live at Portsmouth.

is manifest from the evidence of Mr. Fryer, who was told by two of them, "Sir, there is no one means to hurt you; no, that was our agreement, not to commit murder." This statement cannot be reconciled with the testimony of Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallet, who were both in Christian's watch; if the reader were not apprized of a circumstance which was not mentioned before the court-martial; viz. that these gentlemen who were very young at that time, viz. about fifteen, had both fallen asleep. The circumstance of the rest of the mutineers being in bed when the mutiny began, proves that it had not been preconcerted with them; and it is remarkable that Mr. Young was the only person among Christian's messmates, who was concerned in it, and he was in bed when it broke out. On the 26th, before the ship left Annamooko, Christian and some other officers threw away their beads and trifles among the natives, as articles for which they would have no further occasion.

It appears from the testimony of every witness, that the original intent was to put the Captain on shore, with three other persons only, and if the smallest boat, which was hoisted out for that purpose, had not been leaky, it is probable that this design would have been carried into execution; but by the time that the second cutter or boat was got into the water, a great number desired to leave the ship, and requested the launch. It is agreed by all, that every person who went into the launch, went voluntarily, or might have continued on board if he had wished to stay, except the four who were first ordered into the small boat; and afterwards Mr. Fryer, who was commanded to go in consequence of his design to retake the ship being overheard. It is indeed expressly proved by Mr. Hallet, that "the boatswain and carpenters told Christian, they would prefer going in the boat, to staying in the ship; and he said he did not wish them, or any other, to stay against their inclination, or to go; and that the most part went voluntarily." And Mr. Hayward in his evidence has also deposed, "I heard no one ordered to go into the boat, but Mr. Hallet, Mr. Samuel, and myself." Although Mr. Fryer himself wished to stay, from a very laudable motive, viz. that of retaking the ship; yet being obliged to go, he earnestly requested that his brother-in-law, Tinkler, then a young boy, might be permitted to follow him *. In such a dilemma, the alternative was dreadful, yet those

* It is worthy of notice that Lambe the butcher was a mutineer; but when he saw such a number going off in the launch, he actually laid down his arms and joined them; he afterwards died at Batavia.

Martin, another mutineer, attempted to get into the launch, but was opposed by the carpenter, who said he would get him hanged when they got to England; and he was then ordered back by the people in the ship.

who

who went voluntarily into the launch, were sure of getting to shore, where they expected to live, until an European ship arrived, or until they could raise their boat or build a greater, as one of the mutineers said of the carpenter, "you might as well give him the ship as his tool chest." It is proved by Mr. Hallet, that they were veered astern, in order to be towed towards the land, which was so near, that it is said they might see them reach the shore from the mast head of the ship.

After the mutiny commenced, it was between three and four hours before the launch left the ship, and one reason, besides the number of persons, why she was so deeply laden, was, that almost all Captain Bligh's property in boxes and trunks was put on board. A short time after it had quitted the ship, Christian declared, that "he would readily sacrifice his own life, if the persons in the launch were all safe in the ship again."

At Annamooko, besides the cooper's adze being stolen, the natives, by diving, had cut and carried off a grapnel by which a boat was fastened. Captain Bligh, in order to compel the natives to restore it, had made them believe he would sail away with their chiefs whom he had on board; this was unattended with success, as they assured him the grapnel had been carried away in a canoe belonging to another island; but the people of the island, who crowded round the ship to entreat the deliverance of their chiefs, and the chiefs themselves, were greatly frightened and distressed, before they were set at liberty. For Captain Bligh carried them out some distance to sea, and they were followed and taken back in canoes*. This unfortunate circumstance is supposed to have been the cause of the rough reception which the people in the launch met with at Tofoa. For Nageete, one of the chiefs, who had been thus frightened, had come upon a visit from Annamooko, though ten leagues distant, and was one of the first persons they saw at Tofoa. He appeared at the first friendly, yet it is thought that he was glad of having this opportunity of resenting the treatment he had received in the ship at Annamooko.

Those who came in the boat, though they gave vent to no open complaints, yet sometimes made allusions in the hearing of the Captain, to what had passed previous to the mutiny. Captain Bligh was one day observing, that it was surprising that this should have hap-

* When Mr. Nelson told Mr. Peckover, that the ship is taken from us, Mr. Peckover in his evidence says, he answered, "We were a long way from land when I came off deck;" (thinking, as he declares, that the people in the canoes had followed and taken the ship;) and so it was understood by Mr. Nelson, who replies, "It is by our own people."

pened after he had been so kind to the people, by making them fine messes of wheat; upon which Mr. Hallet replied, " If it had not been for your fine messes, and fine doings, we should have had the ship for our resource * instead of the boat."

In a misunderstanding about some oysters, between the Captain and the carpenter, Captain Bligh told him, " If I had not taken so much pains with you, you would never have been here ;" the carpenter replied, " Yes, if you had not taken so much pains with us, we should never have been here."

In the evidence of Mr. Peckover and Mr. Fryer, it is proved that Mr. Nelson the botanist said, upon hearing the commencement of the mutiny, " We know whose fault this is, or who is to blame ;" and oh ! Mr. Fryer, what have we brought upon ourselves ?" In addition to this, it ought to be known that Mr. Nelson, in conversation afterwards with an officer at Timor, who was speaking of returning with Captain Bligh if he got another ship, observed, " I am surprized that you should think of going a second time with one, (using a term of abuse,) who has been the occasion of all our losses."

In Captain Bligh's Narrative no mention is made of the two little boats or cutters, the least boat would not hold more than six, and the larger more than nine persons. But after Captain Bligh relates that he was brought upon deck, he proceeds thus in the two next paragraphs :

" The boatswain was now ordered to hoist out the *launch*, with a threat if he did not do it instantly, to take care of himself.

" The *boat* being out, Mr. Heywood and Mr. Hallet, midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel, were ordered into it." P. 2.

Every reader must have supposed that the boat mentioned in the latter paragraph, was the same as the launch in the former, and that these four were the first of the nineteen who were ordered into it.

If the small boats had been distinctly mentioned in Captain Bligh's Narrative, it would have been manifest to all the world that the mutiny could not have been the result of a conspiracy of twenty-five of the people, to turn the other nineteen into one or both of them.

Indeed, many readers had the penetration to think that it was incredible, and almost beyond any calculation of probability, that twenty-five persons could have been seduced to have concurred in

* It must be supposed that, after a distance of time, although the ideas and impression are remembered, the exact words will be forgotten ; but one person particularly recollects, that Mr. Hallet used the word *resource* upon this occasion, because he afterwards fancied it was thus suggested to Captain Bligh's mind, as the name which he gave to the vessel purchased at Timor.

such

such a horrid plot, without a single one having the virtue to resist the temptation, and to disclose the design to the Captain.

In the Narrative, p. 8, there is this memorable paragraph :

“ Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated, the remembrance of past kindnesses produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him, If this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship? He appeared disturbed at my question, and answered with much emotion, “ That, Captain Bligh, —that is the thing; I am in hell—I am in hell.” In Mr. Purcell’s evidence before the Court, this conversation is sworn to thus : “ Captain Bligh attempted to speak to Christian, who said, Hold your tongue, and I’ll not hurt you ; it is too late to consider now, I have been in hell for weeks past with you.” But all, who were upon deck and overheard the whole of this conversation, state it thus ; “ Captain Bligh, addressing himself to Christian, said, “ Consider Mr. Christian, I have a wife and four children in England, and you have danced my children upon your knee.” Christian replied, “ You should have thought of them sooner yourself, Captain Bligh, it is too late to consider now, I have been in hell for weeks past with you.” Christian afterwards told the people in the ship, that “ when Bligh spoke of his wife and children, my heart melted, and “ I would then have jumped overboard, if I could have saved you, “ but as it was too late to do that, I was obliged to proceed.” One person, who heard what passed, immediately after Captain Bligh was brought upon deck, says, That Captain Bligh asked Christian, “ What is the meaning of all this? And Christian answered, Can you “ ask, Captain Bligh, when you know you have treated us officers, “ and all these poor fellows, like Turks?”

Captain Bligh in his Narrative asserts, “ When we were sent away, “ Huzza for Otaheite, was frequently heard among the mutineers.” — P. 7. But every one of those who came in the boat, as well as all who staid in the ship, declare, that they neither heard nor observed any huzzaing whatever in the ship.

In Captain Bligh’s Narrative, p. 11, there is the following paragraph :

“ Had their mutiny been occasioned by any grievances, either real “ or imaginary, I must have discovered symptoms of their discontent, “ which would have put me upon my guard, but the case was far “ otherwise. Christian in particular I was on the most friendly terms

“ terms with ; that very day he was engaged to have dined with
 “ me ; and the preceding night he excused himself from supping
 “ with me, on pretence of being unwell, for which I felt concerned,
 “ having no suspicions of his integrity and honour.”

It is said that the Captain had his officers to dine with him in rotation, and Christian's turn might have fallen on the day of the mutiny ; but in consequence of the charge of stealing the cocoa nuts, the gentlemen (or most of them) had resolved not to dine again at the Captain's table. Mr. Fryer had not dined there for a long time before. It is true that Captain Bligh had asked Christian to supper ; but it now appears, he excused himself, not to meditate the destruction of his benefactor, but his own flight.

It was proved on the trial, that Christian, during the mutiny, told Mr. Fryer, “ You know, Mr. Fryer, I have been in hell on board this
 “ ship for weeks past ;” and that he said to the Captain, “ I have been
 “ in hell for weeks past with you :” but what particular period Christian referred to, or when the poignancy of his distress had begun to prey upon his mind, does not appear. But instances are mentioned of Christian's being hurt by Captain Bligh's treatment, even at the Cape of Good Hope, in their outward bound voyage. Christian had the command of the tent on shore at Otaheite, where Captain Bligh sometimes entertained the Chiefs of the island, and before all the company used to abuse Christian for some pretended fault or other, and the Chiefs would afterwards take an opportunity of observing to Christian, “ Titiano, Brie worrite beha : i. e. Christian, Bligh is perhaps
 “ angry with you.” Christian would turn it off by saying, No, no. But he afterwards complained to the officers, of the Captain's cruelty in abusing him before the people of the country, observing, that he would not regard it, if he would only find fault with him in private. There is no country in the world, where the notions of aristocracy and family pride are carried higher than at Otaheite ; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that the Chiefs are naturally distinguished by taller persons, and more open and intelligent countenances, than the people of inferior condition ; hence these are the principal qualities by which the natives estimate the gentility of strangers ; and Christian was so great a favourite with them, that according to the words of one person, “ they adored the very ground he trod upon.” He was Tyo, or friend, to a Chief of the first rank in the island, whose name, according to the custom of the country, he took in exchange for his own ; and whose property he participated. This Chief
 19 dined

dined one day with Captain Bligh, and was told by him, That his Tyo Christian, was only his Towtow, or servant. The Chief upbraided Christian with this, who was much mortified at being thus degraded in the opinion of his friend, and endeavoured to recommend himself again to the Chief, by assuring him, that he, Captain Bligh, and all the officers, were Towtows of the King of Bretane.

These circumstances, although comparatively trifling, are such as to be distinctly remembered; but they prove that there could be little harmony, where such painful sensations were so frequently and unnecessarily excited.

A regard to truth obliges the writer of this Appendix to add, That Captain Bligh has told some of Christian's relations, that after they sailed from Otaheite, Christian, when he was upon duty, had put the ship in great danger; from which Captain Bligh supposed that it had been his intention to cripple the ship, that they might be obliged to return to Otaheite to repair. But no such circumstance is remembered by any person besides the Captain*. Captain Bligh has also declared that the persons in the launch "were turned out to certain destruction, because the mutineers had not the courage to embrace their hands in blood." It has already been observed, that it is proved before the court-martial, that most of the persons went into the launch voluntarily. And it is certainly true, that, although the sufferings of the persons in the boat were distressful to the last degree, they were not the occasion of the death of Mr. Nelson at Timor, or of those who died at Batavia; for all recovered from the extremity to which they had been reduced by this unhappy voyage.

It is agreed that Christian was the first to propose the mutiny, and the project of turning the Captain on shore at Tofoa, to the people in his watch; but he declared afterwards in the ship, he never should have thought of it, if it had not been suggested to his mind by an expression of Mr. Stewart, who knowing of his intention of leaving the ship upon the raft, told him, "When you go, Christian, we are ripe for any thing."

The mutiny is ascribed by all who remained in the ship, to this unfortunate expression, which probably proceeded rather from a regard for Christian, than from a mutinous disposition; for all declare that Stewart was an excellent officer, and a severe disciplinarian; se-

* They had sailed from Otaheite twenty-four days, when the mutiny broke out; and as in those seas a constant trade wind blows from east to west; in order to return to Otaheite, they must have been obliged to have gone into a high southern latitude before they could have gained the advantage of the variable winds. Their return to Otaheite would probably have taken up twice or thrice twenty-four days. If the mutiny had been plotted at Otaheite, it is not probable the execution of it would have been so long delayed.

vere

vere to such a degree as to be disliked by the seamen, though much respected for his abilities. Mr. Stewart was in bed when the mutiny broke out, and afterwards was neither in arms, nor active on the side of the mutineers; yet it ought not to be concealed, that during the mutiny he was dancing and clapping his hands in the Otaheite manner, and saying, "It was the happiest day of his life." He was drowned in the wreck of the Pandora. This gentleman is spoken of by all in terms of great praise and respect. He is said to have been the best practical navigator on board, even superior in that character to Captain Bligh and Christian*. Soon after the launch had left the ship, Christian told the people that he had no right to the command, and that he would act in any station they would assign him. But they all declared that he should be their Captain, and after some persuasion from Christian, they permitted Mr. Stewart to be the second in command, though they were desirous, from Stewart's former severity, of preferring Mr. Heywood; but being told by Christian, that as the ship must be at watch and watch, he thought Mr. Heywood, who was then only sixteen, too young and inexperienced for such a charge, with some reluctance they acceded to his recommendation of Mr. Stewart. The other arrangements being settled, instead of insisting upon going back to Otaheite, they told Christian he might carry them wherever he thought proper. Christian advised them to go to an island called Tobooy, which was laid down in the charts by Captain Cook, though no European ship had ever landed there. This lies about seven degrees south of Otaheite, and it was chosen because it was out of the track of European ships†. When they arrived there, and with difficulty had made a landing, although it was full of inhabitants, they found no quadrupeds but a species of small rats, with which the island was completely overrun. They staid there a few days, and then resolved to sail to Otaheite for a ship load of hogs, goats, dogs, cats, and fowls, to stock the island of Tobooy, which they had fixed upon for their settlement‡.

* Though all acknowledge Captain Bligh's great skill and abilities in theory and in making observations, yet they all declare, that in the practical management of a ship he was not superior to Stewart or Christian. For the two last are thus classed and compared with the Captain. Captain Bligh was the best artist on board; Stewart the best seaman; and Christian was the best in both characters united. Stewart was several years senior to Christian, both in age and in the service.

† One of the four acquitted, said, "Mr. Christian was a fine scholar, he carried us like a "shot to Tobooy, and told us within half an hour when we should make land."

‡ They prevailed upon the king to give them a bull and a cow, which were kept tied up as royal curiosities; but the voyage back to Tobooy was very tempestuous, and the bull being old could not stand upon his legs, and died in consequence of the bruises from his falls. There is a breed of English cattle, which run wild upon the mountains of Otaheite, but the natives cannot be persuaded to make use either of their flesh or milk.

When

When they had reached Otaheite, in order to acquire what they wanted more expeditiously, Christian told the Chiefs and people, that Captain Bligh had returned to Captain Cook, who had sent Christian back to purchase for him the different articles which they wished to obtain.

This story was the more plausible, as the people of Otaheite had been told by Captain Bligh, that Captain Cook was still living, and that he had sent him for the bread-fruit. Such is still their love and veneration for the memory of Captain Cook, that the natives even contended for the honour of sending their best hogs and animals to Toote. The ship by this artifice being soon filled, they returned with some Otaheite men and women to Tobooy. It was thought that the Otaheite men would be useful in introducing them to the friendship and good offices of the natives. At Tobooy they built a fort*, and having staid there three months, and finding the inhabitants always inhospitable and treacherous, the people of the ship grew discontented; all hands were called up, and it being put to the vote what should be done, sixteen out of the twenty-five voted that they should go back to Otaheite. Christian, thinking that this was the general wish, said, *"Gentlemen, I will carry you, and land you wherever you please; I desire no one to stay with me, but I have one favour to request, that you will grant me the ship, tie the foresail, and give me a few gallons of water, and leave me to run before the wind, and I shall land upon the first island the ship drives to. I have done such an act that I cannot stay at Otaheite. I will never live where I may be carried home to be a disgrace to my family."*

Upon this, Mr. Young, the midshipman, and seven others declared, *"we shall never leave you, Mr. Christian, go where you will."* It was then agreed, that the other sixteen should be landed at Otaheite, and have their share of the arms and other necessary articles; and he proposed to the rest, that they should go and seek an island, not before discovered, where they were not likely to be found, and having run the ship aground, and taken out every thing of value, and scuttled and broke up the ship, they should endeavour to make a settlement. They reached Otaheite on the 27th of September 1789, and came to an anchor in Matavai Bay about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and the sixteen were disembarked with their portions of the arms and other necessaries. Chris-

* Christian having endeavoured to convince them of the necessity of building a fort for their protection, assured them, that he would take his share of the labour; and calling for a pick-axe, was the first who began the operations.

tian took leave of Mr. Stewart and Mr. Heywood, and told them he should sail that evening; and desired them, if they ever got to England, to inform his friends and country what had been the cause of his committing so desperate an act; but to guard against any obstruction, he concealed the time of his sailing from the rest.

The natives came on board in crouds as usual, and about twelve o'clock at night he cut his cable, and sailed from the Bay. The people on board consisted of nine Englishmen, about twenty-five men, women, boys, and girls, of different ages, from Otaheite, and two men from Tobooy. It does not appear that any selection was made of the Otaheiteans, who are always eager to be carried away in an English ship. The ship was seen standing off the island the next morning, but from that day, for the nineteen months the others lived at Otaheite, they never saw nor heard any thing more of Christian; and upon the arrival of Captain Edwards in the Pandora, they could give him no further account of the Bounty than what is here stated*.

During his short stay at Otaheite, Christian was much pressed to go on shore to visit the King, but he declined it, saying, "*How can I look him in the face, after the lie I told him when I was here last?*" These circumstances concerning the Bounty, subsequent to the mutiny, must necessarily be collected from the seven persons who were left in the ship, and who are now, or were lately, in England. These say, that Christian was always sorrowful and dejected after the mutiny; and before he left them, had become such an altered man in his looks and appearance, as to render it probable that he would not long survive this dreadful catastrophe. Indeed, it is impossible that he should have appeared † otherwise, if he deserved the character which all unite in giving him.

* Sixteen were left at Otaheite; one of whom, in a quarrel about their arms, was shot by another Englishman, who was put to death by the natives, as an act of justice; the other fourteen surrendered themselves to Captain Edwards, or were taken by the people of the Pandora; four of these were lost when the Pandora was shipwrecked; four have been honourably acquitted; two have received his Majesty's pardon; one has been discharged by the opinion of the judges in his favour; and the remaining three have suffered death according to the sentence of the court-martial. Millward, one of the three, was in bed when the mutiny broke out; the other two were in Christian's watch; Ellison, one of them, was a young boy at the time. When the others went down to arm themselves, he was left at the helm. He was afterwards active in the mutiny. He had got a musket in his hand, which Christian having observed, said, "You little monkey, what business have you with that?" and ordered it to be taken from him.

† Though they say he kept up good discipline in the ship, yet he was generally below, leaning his head upon his hand, and when they came down for orders, he seldom raised his head to answer more than Yes, or No.

In the Royal Jamaica Gazette, dated February 9, 1793, which announced the arrival of Captain Bligh in the Providence, the following was one of the paragraphs, and it has been copied into all the English newspapers:

“ Captain Bligh could gain no intelligence of the mutineer Christian and his accomplices, who were on board the Bounty. When they returned to Otaheite, after executing their infernal project, the natives, suspecting some mischief from the non-appearance of the Commander and the gentlemen with him, laid a plan to seize the vessel and crew; but a *favourite female* of Christian’s betrayed the design of her countrymen. He put to sea in the night, and the next morning the ship was nearly out of sight.” It is immaterial to inquire who was the author of this paragraph, yet it cannot but be remarked, that it is totally different from the account which has been given by those who staid at Otaheite, and who can have no possible interest in concealing this circumstance, if in fact it had existed; nor can it be reconciled with probability, or the treatment and protection which the Englishmen experienced from the natives when the ship had left them.

As this paragraph contains an assertion, that Christian had a *favourite female* at Otaheite, it is proper that it should be known, that although Christian was upon shore, and had the command of the tent all the time that Captain Bligh was at Otaheite with the Bounty, yet the officers who were with Christian upon the same duty declare, that he never had a female favourite at Otaheite, nor any attachment or particular connexion among the women. It is true that some had what they call *their girls*, or women with whom they constantly lived all the time they were upon the island, but this was not the case with Christian.

Until this melancholy event, no young officer was ever more affectionately beloved for his amiable qualities, or more highly respected for his abilities and brave and officer-like conduct. The world

One of the seamen being asked, if they never mutinied afterwards in the ship, and told Christian, they had as good a right to the command as he had, said, “ No, no man would ever have mutinied against Mr. Christian, no one ever thought of resisting his authority.”

One method, it is said, which he adopted to prevent riot and confusion in the ship, was, to draw off secretly the spirituous liquors from the cask, and he then persuaded the people they had drunk them to the bottom.

has been led to suppose, that the associates in his guilt were attached to him only by his seducing and diabolical villany. But all those who came in the boat, whose sufferings and losses on his account have been so severe, not only speak of him without resentment and with forgiveness, but with a degree of rapture and enthusiasm. The following are, word for word, some of the unpremeditated expressions, used by the gentlemen and people of the Bounty, in speaking of this unfortunate mutineer: "*His Majesty might have his equal, but he had not a superior officer in his service.*" This probably had a reference to his age, which was about twenty-three. "*He was a gentleman, and a brave man; and every officer and seaman on board the ship would have gone through fire and water to have served him.*"—" *He was a good and worthy gentleman, and was dear to all who ever knew him; and before the fatal day, his conduct was in every respect such as became an officer, a gentleman, and a man of honour.*"—" *He was adorned with every virtue, and beloved by all.*"—" *He was a gentleman every inch of him, and I would still wade up to the arm-pits in blood to serve him.*"—" *As much as I have lost and suffered by him, if he could be restored to his country, I should be the first to go without wages in search of him.*"—" *He was as good and as generous a man as ever lived.*"—" *Mr. Christian was always good-natured, I never heard him say Damn you, to any man on board the ship.*"—" *Every body under his command did their duty at a look from Mr. Christian, and I would still go through fire and water for him.*" These are respectively the expressions of nine different persons, and it is the language of one and all. Mr. Hayward in his evidence, no doubt with a proper sentiment of the crime of mutiny, has used the words, "*Christian, and his gang:*" yet that gentleman has declared, that, until the desperate act, Christian deserved the character described by the strongest of the above expressions.

Christian, having staid at school longer than young men generally do who enter into the navy, and being allowed by all who knew him to possess extraordinary abilities, is an excellent scholar, and every one acquainted with him from a boy, till he went on board the Bounty, can testify, that no young man was ever more ambitious of all that is esteemed right and honourable among men, or more anxious to acquire distinction and advancement by his good conduct in his profession.

feſſion. He had been an acting Midſhipman but a ſhort time in the ſervice, when Captain Courtenay, the late brave Commander of the Boſton frigate, entruſted him with the charge of a watch in the Eurydice all the way home from the Eaſt Indies. This, no doubt, was extremely flattering to him, and he declared to a relation who met him at Woolwich, " he had been extremely happy under Captain Courtenay's command;" and at the ſame time obſerved, that "*it was very eaſy to make one's ſelf beloved and reſpected on board a ſhip; one had only to be always ready to obey one's ſuperior officers, and to be kind to the common men, unleſs there was occaſion for ſeverity, and if you are ſevere when there is a juſt occaſion, they will not like you the worſe for it*.*" This was after the concluſion of the peace, and within a few days the ſhip was paid off; and being out of employ, he wiſhed to be appointed a Mate of a Weſt-Indiaman, a ſituation for which he thought himſelf qualified. Whiſt he was in treaty with a merchant in the city to go in that capacity in his ſhip, Captain Taubman, a relation of Chriſtian's, came to London from the Iſle of Man, and ſuggeſted to Chriſtian, that it would be very deſirable for him to ſerve under ſo experienced a navigator as Captain Bligh, who had been Sailing-maſter to Captain Cook, and who was then in the merchants' ſervice; and as Captain Taubman was acquainted with Captain Bligh, he offered to make an application to him in Chriſtian's favour. The application was made, and Captain Bligh returned a polite answer, that he was ſorry he could not take Chriſtian, having then his complement of officers. Upon this, Chriſtian of his own accord obſerved, that " wages were no object, he only wiſhed to learn his profeſſion, and if Captain Bligh would permit him to meſs with the gentlemen, he would readily enter his ſhip as a Foremaſt-man, until there was a vacancy among the officers:" and at the ſame time added, "*we Midſhipmen are gentlemen, we never pull at a rope; I ſhould even be glad to go one voyage in that ſituation, for there may be occaſions, when officers may be called upon to do the duties of a common man.*"

To this propoſal Captain Bligh had no objection, and in that character he ſailed one voyage, and upon his return ſpoke of Captain Bligh with great reſpect: he ſaid, that although he had his ſhare of

* Chriſtian always ſpoke of Captain Courtenay as an officer and a gentleman, with the greateſt affection and gratitude. The gentlemen and people on board the Eurydice, the writer of this Appendix has been aſſured, declare that Chriſtian was the laſt perſon whom they would have expected to have committed ſuch a crime.

labour

labour with the common men, the Captain had been kind to him in shewing him the use of his charts and instruments; but at the same time he observed, that Captain Bligh was very passionate; yet he seemed to pride himself in knowing how to humour him. In the next voyage, Captain Bligh took him out as his Second Mate, and before his return the Captain was chosen to command the *Bounty**. Christian wishing to go upon a voyage where so much service would be seen, in which he would complete his time as a Midshipman, and if it had been successful, he would, no doubt, with little difficulty upon his return have been raised to the rank of Lieutenant, was recommended to the Admiralty by Captain Bligh himself, as one of his officers; and as it was understood that great interest had been made to get Midshipmen sent out in this ship, Christian's friends thought this recommendation, as they do still, a very great obligation. Captain Bligh had no Lieutenants on board, and the ship at the first was divided into two watches, the charge of which was entrusted to the Master and the Gunner: but after they had sailed about a month, the Captain divided the ship into three watches, and gave the charge of one to Christian, on whom Captain Bligh has always declared he had the greatest reliance. Such was his introduction to, and connexion with, Captain Bligh; and every one must sincerely lament, that what in its commencement had been so honourable to both, should in its event and consequences have proved to both so disastrous and fatal.

The writer of this Appendix would think himself an accomplice in the crime which has been committed, if he designedly should give the slightest shade to any word or fact different from its true and just representation; and lest he should be supposed to be actuated by a vindictive spirit, he has studiously forborn to make more comments than were absolutely necessary upon any statement which he has been obliged to bring forward. He has felt it a duty to himself, to the connexions of all the unfortunate men, and to society, to collect and lay before the Public these extraordinary circumstances.

The sufferings of Captain Bligh and his companions in the boat, however severe they may have been, are perhaps but a small portion of the torments occasioned by this dreadful event: and whilst these

* Upon Christian's return from the second voyage to the West Indies with Captain Bligh, he had no opportunity of a personal interview with his friends, and he made no complaint by letter. But a person, who had sailed with Captain Bligh and Christian, both to the West Indies and the South Seas, being asked, if Captain Bligh's treatment of Christian had always been the same? said, "No, it would not long have been born in the merchants service."

prove

prove the melancholy and extensive consequences of the crime of Mutiny, the crime itself in this instance may afford an awful lesson to the Navy, and to mankind, that there is a degree of pressure, beyond which the best formed and principled mind must either break or recoil. And though public justice and the public safety can allow no vindication of any species of Mutiny, yet reason and humanity will distinguish the sudden unpremeditated act of desperation and phrenzy, from the foul deliberate contempt of every religious duty and honourable sentiment ; and will deplore the uncertainty of human prospects, when they reflect that a young man is condemned to perpetual infamy, who, if he had served on board any other ship, or had perhaps been absent from the *Bounty* a single day, or one ill-fated hour, might still have been an honour to his country, and a glory and comfort to his friends.

THE END.

E R R ' A T U M.

Page 1, line 2, for *April*, read *August*.

