

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 28
MICRONESIA
BECOMES
A MEETING PLACE

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MICRONESIA

BECOMES

A MEETING PLACE,

1858-1866

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by

Rodrigue Lévesque.

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Documents 1858G

**The ordeal of Thomas Huntly, rescued by the
Emily Morgan, Captain Chase**

Source: Articles in The Friend, Honolulu, November 8, 1858.

Note: The logbook of the Emily Morgan, covering the year 1858, is Doc. 1855N.

**A Card.
To the Editor of The Friend.**

Sir:

Please to insert in your columns the following heartfelt acknowledgment of the undersigned, having been picked up at sea by the **Emily Morgan**, Capt. Chase. I received every kindness that my case required. I was naked, sick and sore. Every one on board tried to vie with each other in striving to supply my wants. I was in a helpless condition. They washed and dressed me and my wounds. The captain supplied me with clothing, and his amiable wife did all that laid in her power to enable me to get my strength and health. After I had told Capt. Chase my story, he pitied me from his heart. After two days we made Ocean [Banaba] Island; I was still low; I did not want to go, and the captain told me if he could get to Hall's [Maiana] Island he would, and land me there—which he did after a few days. May the Almighty, who has sustained me through all my trials and sufferings, and suffered me not to perish, reward them, which is the sincere and contyrite prayer of

Thomas Huntly,
in the employ of Charles Smith and Co.,
Sydney, N.S.W.

The following extract from Captain Chase's journal, will fully explain the above card, and furnish abundant proof to show how much occasion the said Thomas Huntly had to be thankful to God for His gracious care and protection, in directing Capt. Chase to steer in that direction where Huntly's boat was drifting, at the mercy of the wind and waves.

Boat Picked Up—Death of Natives—Great Suffering.

Thursday, March 18, 1858, lat. 30 miles N., long. 167°33' E.

While taking tea, there was a report from the mast-head that there was a boat or canoe in sight. I ran my ship in that direction. After tea I went to the mast-head with my glass to see what it was, when I found it to be a small yawl boat with a sail set, and I thought I could see something that looked like a human being in it. Calling my first officer, I told him I thought that there was a man sitting there, and it was so near night that I feared we should miss the boat, so I ordered him to lower his boat and go as quick as possible, for it might be means of saving life. The wind was very light at the time he lowered. At 7 P.M. he returned and brought the boat, and also a man by the name of Thomas Huntly, a native of London, England, late a resident of Hall's Island, and formerly a resident at Iahaina, Sandwich Islands. The man was nearly exhausted. I made him as comfortable as I could at that time—took his boat and all the things on deck.

The next day he felt better, and gave the following account of himself:

"It was on the 17th of February when he left Hall's Island, with four natives of the same place—two males and two females—to go across to Knox's [Tarawa] Island in their boat in search of a vessel to take some cocoanut oil that he had been purchasing for the master of a vessel belonging to Sydney. After getting to Knox's Island, he found them at war with one of the neighboring islands. They took him and his companions and detained them as prisoners for three days—then taking his boat for their own use, placing him and his companions in a canoe, they started for the other Island to fight—they arrived at the next forenoon, and made his boat fast to the canoe, and went on there to fight. We saw the fight and saw that they were defeated. As quick as he could, he took his boat and companions and left for Hall's Island again, the wind blowing fresh, and not favorable at the time, he went to leeward through the night. When daylight came, all he could see was several canoes far to windward, and no land in sight. He continued tacking from north to south for several days, until at last their food and water was all gone. In three or four days after their sufferings were so great that the natives began to drink salt water, when one of the females became raving mad and soon died; the natives then wanted him to tell them where the land was. He then gave up all hopes of getting to his island again, and steered for Ocean or Pleasant [Nauru] Islands as near as he could, but never saw either. About seven days after their sufferings were great, and the other female died. The father being in the boat, and having his wife and daughter to die in such a suffering condition was more than he could bear up under, and he expired in two days after. Thinking that he must have passed Ocean and Pleasant Islands, steered his boat to the north hoping to fall in with some sail there. The Lord sent them rain to quench their thirst, and they caught a small shark also for food. Now he had the wind blowing heavy in squalls from the west, and plenty of rain. The other native at this time was very poor indeed, but he was in hopes, however, that he would survive, thinking that some vessel might appear and come to their relief before sundown, moored the boat to their oars. During the night the wind continued blowing with occasional heavy squalls and rain, and they filled the boat-keg with fresh water; at day-

light he steered to the eastward—saw a great change in the other native; the rain and cold had taken considerable effect on him. Caught another small shark, but the native only took one or two mouthfuls—he appeared as though he would not long survive. Ran to the eastward all day, and at night moored the boat to the oars again. Heavy squalls of wind and rain continued through the night—wet and cold both with fresh and salt water, the wind still from the west. About 2 P.M. this day the native expired—the wind blowing fresh, he did not throw him overboard till next morning. This day the wind changed to the N.E.; he stood to the S.E., and kept standing north and south as near as he could judge, so as to keep near the Line. The day he was picked up he was standing to the south—the boat wore round herself, and he felt too weak for exertion, so he let her go to the northward. About 2 P.M. he felt very weak and desponding—took down sail and laid down in his boat full of grief. He cried unto the Lord with tears of penitence for an hour in earnest prayer for relief. When he arose he saw a vessel a long way off. After an hour after, having a spy-glass, he made out a ship coming before the wind—it must have been about 4 P.M.; he saw the vessel some time before they saw him. Towards dark the vessel sent a boat and towed me (the most miserable-looking of human beings) alongside, where I received every kindness that humanity could suggest.”

Documents 1858H

Various other ships and disasters of 1858

H1. The brig **Mercury**, Captain Hayden, recued natives

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, Oct. 1858.

Note: The 390-ton Bark Mercury of New Bedford, left in October 1855 and returned in April 1859, under Captain William C. Hayden. No logbook extant.

Brig [rather Bark] **Mercury** of New Bedford reports:—Off Bougainville, in lat. 5° S., long. 155° E. Dec. 23, 1857: was struck with lightning, which took off the main-royal mast clean, and shattered the main top gallant mast very bad, and also the head of the main top mast, and likewise the main mast badly; from thence the lightning came down into the pumps, but as the pumps were full of water up to the spouts, it did no other damage about deck but it went overboard on the larboard side in the waist, which took off a piece of sheathing-board and some copper.

Feb. 26, 1858, in lat. 2°30' N., long. 170°30' E., picked up a canoe, upwards of 190 miles from any land, with 13 persons on board—men, women and children—left to the mercy of God on the waves, without a paddle or an oar to help themselves with, and nothing eatable or drinkable on board their little vessel. They were most kindly and hospitably received on board brig **Mercury**, by Capt. Hayden, who landed them safe on Covel's [Ebon] Island on the 9th March.

...

H2. The **Mercury** at Guam

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1858.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Hayden, of Barque **Mercury**, of New Bedford, reports her at Guam May 15 [1858], with 250 bbls. oil on board, to leave same day.

Reports at do. same date, ship **Emily Morgan**, Chase, New Bedford, oil not stated.

H3. Wreck of the Belgian ship *Constance* at Oroluk

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Evening Transcript, July 29, 1859.

Dreadful Suffering at Sea.

On the 29th of September last [1858], eleven shipwrecked persons belonging to the Belgian ship **Constance**, including the Captain Utenhaven, arrived at Doreh (New Guinea). The vessel sailed from Sydney bound to Manila, and was wrecked on an unknown reef near the Caroline Islands on the 9th of July. After driving about at sea for 82 days, nearly destitute of everything, these unfortunate men were found near the coast of Amberkakin¹

H4. The *Charles W. Morgan* at Pohnpei

Source: Article in the Boston Post, Nov. 13, 1858.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Fisher, of ship **Charles W. Morgan** of New Bedford, reports her at Ascension in March [1858], with 130 bbls. sperm oil since leaving Sandwich Islands. Was bound to Guam, thence to Japan Sea, to cruise a month or two, when she would go to Ochotsk Sea.

1 Ed. note: Probably Abgarris in the Bismarck Archipelago. by the natives of that place, and taken to the Dutch missionary at Doreh. They had been reduced to such extremity as to come to the resolution of sacrificing two of their number to preserve the lives of the others. A boat with five men, who left the wreck at the same time as the eleven, parted company during the dark night and nothing more was seen of it.

Document 1858I

HMS Magicienne, Captain Vansittart, visited Saipan and surveyed Laulau Bay

Source: NMM Mss. SHP/5.

The diary of Lieutenant Philip Ruffle Sharpe

Notes: This Royal Navy officer later became Vice-Admiral. His papers are now deposited in NMM, London. At the time HMS Magicienne was on the way to China to participate in the second Opium War with the Chinese. The ship was a steamer, and potable water could be made from her condensed steam.

Philip R. Sharpe. January 1857.

In the event of any accident occurring to me, which would prevent my return to England; it is my wish, that anybody finding this book, will forward it to my brother at the following place:

Ernest Sharpe, Esq.
3 Cambridge Terrace
Lee, Kent

...

12th VII [1858] Kept as Saturday by us.

There is nothing whatever to write about; except that on Monday afternoon, we got up steam to condense; we went along for some 48 hours, doing our 300 miles when, having made water enough, we let the fires out, as our coal will be more wanted when we get to the Ladrone Islands. Finished [to read] Murray, and have again taken to the Chemistry of Common Life. Since disconnecting, we have done very little, the wind being so very light indeed; only logging some 80 miles a day. Lear and his department shone out proudly when disconnected, when unshipping the floats; as they were working against time. They got the 13 off in 19 minutes. Last evening the men had a treat; allowing them to bathe; which they seemed to enjoy highly, for I myself did not join.

...

23rd VII

On Saturday evening we got up steam, finding the winds continued light and adverse; and lucky it was that we did so, for we have had a continuance of the same weather; ever since; so that we should not I suppose have joined a foot. The drawback

was that we continued steaming some 600 miles, before we calculated upon doing so; or in other words, we have not coal on board to steam all the way, but then what was to be done; we could not afford to stop almost stationary & wait for a breeze, for of some provisions, we have only 20 days on board, so that the Captain has done the wisest thing, in making for the Ladrone, where we are going to set work, & cut wood enough for the rest of our journey. The islands we are going to, are I believe Tinian & Sapan, of them more shall be said hereafter. Read St. Roman's Trek, which pleased me indifferently well, and am reading Gifford's Deeds of Naval Daring.

27th VII

... Here we are at the Ladrone Islands, at anchor at the Island of Sapan; we got up to them, steaming very slowly on Friday by noon; we felt our way in cautiously with boats ahead. At a distance the islands looked as if there was not a bit of wood, fit for our purposes, but surely in some places, thick brush wood. Almost all expressed that opinion; and indeed at one time, we were nearly going on without stopping, so satisfied was the Captain that there was no wood to be had; but as we had now got up to them; and on nearer approach, the trees appeared to be of a larger growth; it was determined to make certainty sure, he had to steam pretty close, as the shore is so bold; and it was only withing some 100 yards of the shore that we found bottom on the edge of a bank in 22 fathoms, a short distance outside having 60. We got to our anchorage on the SE side of Sapan, in a large spacious bay by about 1:30 p.m. and out boats went on shore with Lear & Hill to examine the wood. They had some difficulty in landing owing to there being a reef skirting the shore; but succeeded and quickly returned, with a most successful report. Any quantity of wood for any quantity of ships. The only drawback being getting it off. That afternoon our men went on shore; and we had a good load off that evening. Next day, were at it again. Some of the officers on shore; the wood being too thick for comfortable walking. Shellers very successful.

Yesterday morning (Sunday, ship reckoning) our men worked till 8 a.m. then came off & rested, & cleaned. At 5 bells we had prayers for those who wished to come. In the morning we had seen smoke from a large fire in the direction of the settlement, rising over the brow of the hill. After the men's dinner; they most of them went on leave and had a trudge, over the hills, while some went shelling. Hill was amongst them. They soon got through the brushwood into the clear; and the first thing little Hill did was to set fire to the grass; which burnt like so much tinder; and the whole hillside was soon blazing. Hs. Van [i.e. Captain Vansittart] came up and he was furious, and immediately fired a gun and made the general recall; and with his glass tried to detect the culprits. Hill soon afterwards came on board for dinner; and immediately went up to him and told him "it was some of his mischiefs" and that he had done it, without giving it a thought. Van told him that thereby, he had caused the men's liberty to be shortened, and let him have it a little. Our working party had seen some wild hogs in the bush, & traces of oxen, indeed one man said he had seen one; but this was settled last evening, for when we were smoking we saw seven 7 head of cattle on the hills, come out of the

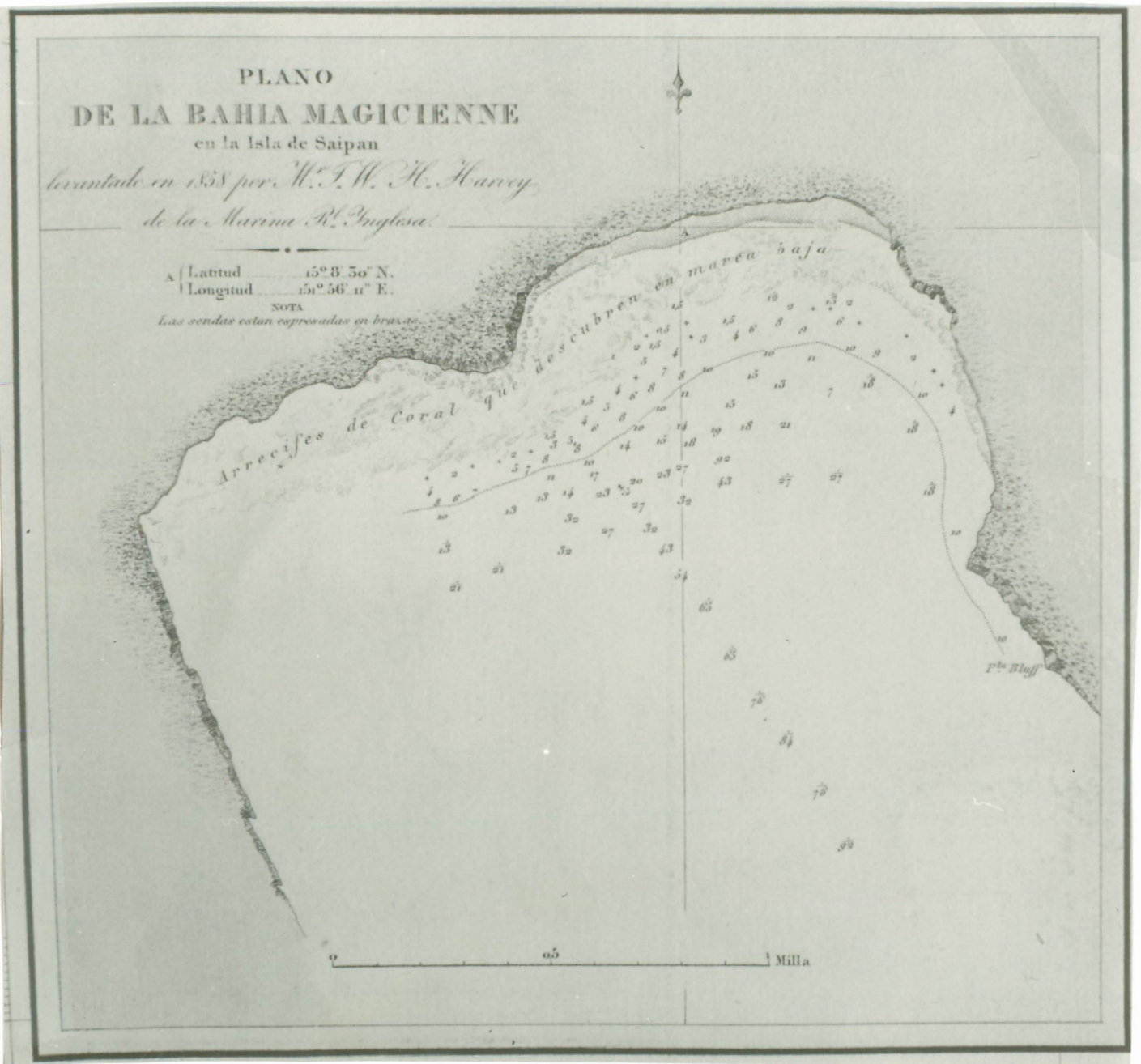


Chart of Magicienne, or Lauiau, Bay, Saipan. Copied by the Spanish, and later found in their Depósito Hidrográfico, 1862 (now in their Museo Naval, Madrid).

woods and walk across a clear bit of grass. This morning our first boat, brought off some of the natives, who had walked across from the village which is only seven miles off, one of whom seemed to be a sort of chief; and had with him a flag in imitation of the Spanish (to whom the islands belong); and three of the natives spoke English so that we were able to get on. He told us, they had pigs & fowls; that there was wild cattle, wild hog & wild fowl in the bush; and that they would find us a guide, if we wanted to go. Fowls are 6' each; and tomorrow a canoe is to come round with gear for sale. They spoke Spanish, and seemed to be a mixture of all races, Chinese, Indians, Spaniards & so on. The old chief had on a pair of trowsers and shirt, as had one or two others; but the rest had nothing more than a loin-cloth. He had about 8 on board while there were perhaps 20 more on shore. Grimes, Brabazon and one or two others, have gone over to-day to the village.

2nd VIII

It appeared afterwards that the old man who came, really was governor of the island for the next day he came over again, bringing with him plenty of presents for our chief. Brabazon and Grimes returned highly delighted with their visit to the village, in which poor little Campbell, and Rougemont had accompanied them; the former of the two getting knocked up with the distance, so that Brabazon had regularly "to tow him" back. They described the natives as most civil and obliging, and apparently honest. The governor's son killed the fattest calf for them; giving them a patchedcocked fowl, roast pork, bread fruit, bananas, water melons, indeed all the delicacies that the place afforded; besides tumblers, knives & forks, things you would not expect to meet with. After this somebody went every day nearly; and were always well received; besides which it gave a fine field for conversation, as to the distance of the place, which even yet is not settled, accounts stating it to be from 4-1/2 to 9 miles; though general opinion puts it down at 7.

Last Monday, Jason, Bacon & Roach tried to see if they could bag a bullock, but failed. The wooding went on very successfully, though latterly the men began to get done up; though we escrased (?) for all that, our 30 tons of wood per day, cutting, transporting and stowing it. As [for] myself, did not land once, during the whole of our stay, as my prickly heat was rather bad, and very painful; besides which, you must necessarily get wet to your middle, and salt water do not benefit prickly heat. Soady was even worse than I was; and how he managed to stand the shore work all day I dont know. Latterly he was more like a mummy than anything else, being a mess of bandages to keep the chafe off his sores.

On Wednesday old Danser the ship's cook managed to fracture his ribs, by slipping on the deck, and falling on some wood, which has caused the old fellow some pain. Next day the boy Pearce (piccolo) managed to get a crick in his neck, by falling out of a tree, on his head. As the wooding went on; so our list began to swell, mostly from wounds, either from the tools, or the coral; while others suffered from eating too much fruit &c &c.

5th VIII

To continue, on Thursday, the Captain went over to the village, meeting the governor half way, who turned back with him and Friday morning, we were glad to hail as our last day's wooding. The last boat was cleared by noon; and we soon as the boats were ready, we hoisted them in. Steam way up by 1 p.m., when we got the anchor up & weighed. We soon found that the wood was a great deal too damp to burn by itself; and it was with the greatest difficulty that they kept steam at all. After we had been making our way slowly out of the bay, for about three quarters of an hour; someday found out that Holbrook the shoemaker was not on board. The hands were turned up to muster, the ship was thoroughly searched, and the man found to be absent. As we had to turn back again, thinking that he might have lost himself in the woods while straggling from the party. We fired two or three guns to attract attention; anchored again, & waited till near sunset, sending a party on shore meanwhile to search the woods near where we had been; and also to examine the beach; thinking that whilst shelling, he might have fallen into some of the many holes & been drowned; but they returned without finding any traces so that at dark we had to leave him to his fate, & off he went. The Captain having done everything to find him, if it was lost, and not caring, sufficiently to find him, if he had **run**. This latter supposition seemed the most probable after all, for his bag was found with but a single jumper in it, and it was known that he spoke Spanish perfectly; and had also deserted out in the Pacific before, but what on earth could induce a man at the Ladrone Islands, I cannot well conceive; more particularly, when the said man, has a wife and three children in England. Anyhow we had to leave him, and again we went slowly to sea, more slowly than before; the wood being so damp, that it was nearly all burnt, before it was dry; so that our consumption was alarming; nearly 40 ton in 20 hours. A vast deal more than we bargained for.

On Thursday, I did not forget to celebrate the dear old vicar of Luce's birthday; and drank his health most heartily, in a glass of grog, despite the prickly heat. But with our voyage. It was midnight on Friday night before we were off the South end of Tinian; when we passed between that island & Aguijan; as we shaped our course, westward, so the wind favoured us being from the Southward; and on Saturday morning by six, we were fortunate in its hauling to SE and freshening beautifully, so that the fires were burnt down at once, and we disconnected; and rattled along all day at 5 & 6 knots beautifully....

...

A footnote, by R.L.

This ship was to be captured in January 1863 by the crew of the U.S. clipper ship **Oracle**, Captain W. H. Clark, for trying to run the blockade during the U.S. Civil War. However, she was released for lack of evidence.

 Document 1858J

Ten Melanesians sold as slaves at Pohnpei—Four rescued by the whaler China

Rev. George Turner. Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific (London, John Snow, 1861).

Extract from this book

...

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Missionary voyage in 1859.

Having been again appointed by the members of the Samoan mission to proceed as a deputation to visit the New Hebrides, Loyalty, and other islands, and having arranged and done up the supplies for native teachers and their wives to the number of *seventy*. I embarked in the "John Williams" on Tuesday, the 27th of September, 1859. In addition to the usual crew of seventeen, our number consisted of the following parties:— The Rev. Messrs. Macfarlane and Baker, just out from England as missionaries for the Loyalty Islands, together with Mrs. Macfarlane, Mrs. Baker, and two children; three native teachers with their wives, from the institution at Rarotonga; four native teachers from the institution at Samoa, of whom two were married; a native of Vat, 130, who had been a year in Samoa, and another from the same island who had been about the same time at Tarotonga; **four natives of Lifu, who were lately rescued from slavery on the island of Ascension**; some children of the teachers also, who, with myself and servant boy, made up our number to *fifty-three*.

...

Wide Bay, Lifu.

Sabbath, 30th October.—At noon we anchored at a place called Hepenehe, in the Wide Bay, on the N.W. side of Lifu,¹ where we had arranged to locate Mr. and Mrs. Macfarlane.

...

The four natives of Lifu, to whom I have already referred as being on board our vessel, now rejoiced to find themselves once more on their native shore. There is a tale

1 Ed. note: An island of the Loyalty Group, off the east coast of New Caledonia.

connected with these four young men which makes un ashamed of our country. They say that they were decoyed from their island by a sandalwooding vessel from Sydney, upwards of three years ago. They had gone on board to sell some things, were battened down in the hold, and let up on deck next day when their island was all but out of sight. They were nearly a year on Espiritu Santo [Vanuatu], cutting and cleaning sandalwood, and were then taken to Ascension [Pohnpei], of the Caroline group, and sold for pigs, yams, and firewood. They were rated according to size, age, etc., and fetched from two to five pigs, and a proportionable quantity of yams and firewood for each man. There were ten of them in all.

After a time, six managed to run away, and escaped to Hong-Kong, where five of them died. The remaining four might still have been in slavery on Ascension, but for the kind help of the American missionaries there, together with Captain Thompson, of the whaling-ship **China**.¹ The captain bought off two of them, and the other two were redeemed, partly by their own earnings, and partly by the missionary. They were then taken to Honolulu. The Rev. [Samuel] C. Damon and others kindly attended to them at that place, until Captain Manchester² generously took them to Rarotonga, there to await the arrival of the [missionary vessel] **John Williams**. One of them speaks English pretty well. Mr. Williams, the British consul at Samoa, has taken down the deposition of the young man, and reported all at the proper quarter. In the course of our voyage we traced the name of the vessel, and also that of her captain and supercargo. The Lifu people had long given up these four young men as dead, and there restoration was no small addition to the joy occasioned by the arrival of the missionaries. Two of them are of high rank in the bay where we anchored, and it was affecting to see how the people clung to them, listening to their tale, and following them wherever they went.

1 Ed. note: This identifies it as her voyage of 1857-59 when Capt. John W. Thompson was in command (see Starbuck, page 534).

2 Ed. note: There were many whalers with a Captain Manchester in command circa 1855: Morea, Cicero, Coral, California.

Document 1858K

The voyage of the Russian ship *St. Nicholas*, Captain Sheretoff, in 1857 or 1858

Source: H. Marguerit. Deux ans de navigation. Exploration de l'Amiral Chretoff sur la corvette le "Saint-Nicolas" (Paris, Théodore Lefèvre, n.d.).

Editor's note: After perusing this book, I have come to the conclusion that it may be a work of fiction, in imitation of the great Jules Verne, a popular French writer of that period.

The scientific expedition of Admiral Sheretov

Note: Extracts from Marguerit's book, translated by R.L.

The *St. Nicholas*, a corvette with auxiliary steam power, was a vessel that had been specially designed to resist the difficult and dangerous navigation that this type of exploration demands. She had to face the ice near the pole, the violence of hurricanes in the tropics and the storms off Cape Horn. Huge quantities of supplies of all types had been taken on board, in case of a long winter season in the ice, or at uninhabited places around the world. Her deck carried a dozen guns and they were meant to bring respect to the Russian flag.

Admiral Sheretov had on board a large number of officers, from among the most distinguished and learned in the imperial navy. They were in charge of hydrographical and astronomical tasks, and in general of everything that had to do with navigation.

...
[The scientists on board were: 1) Alexis Narisshev, about 30 years old; 2) George Ramsay, a young Englishman of about 26 or 27 years of age; 3) Henry Meyer, a young German; 4) Frederick Burton, a 30-year-old American; and 5) Léon Bussières, a 27-year-old French engineer.]

CHAPTER IX.

The Pacific Ocean.—Tahiti.—New Caledonia.—Flora of Australia.—Ornithoryngue.—Kangaroo.—The Caroline Islands.—Hurricane.—Hong-Kong.—Canton.—Chinese burial.—The lantern festival.

...
[By the time the ship left Port Jackson, Australia, she looked like the Ark of Noah, with live animals of various species on board, e.g. kangaroo, jaguar, monkeys, birds, and fishes, etc. They crossed Melanesia, headed for Micronesia.]

...
From Vanikoro to the Carolines, the corvette did not stop except at a few places of little interest, and only to get fresh vegetables, fruits, and water.

The Carolines, or New Philippines, constitute a vast archipelago of groups of numberless islands. Sighted for the first time by Ruy Lopex de Villalobos in 1845, they owe to their lack of precious metals the fact that Spain has neglected them; they, in fact, have remained independent.

Their inhabitants are remarkably handsome and well made; their color is like copper, very dark. Each island has a chief, or *tamul*, who rules under a high chief or great *amul*. They are peaceful, hospitable, love to dance and sing passionately, and live off their fishing and vegetable products from their soil. The climate is magnificent, but unfortunately the islands are subject to terrible hurricanes.

At the time of their discovery of the Caroline Islands, the Spanish were surprised by the skill of the natives in the building and management of canoes. They knew the wind compass, which they divided like the Greeks at the time of Alexander and the Romans at the time of Claudius; however, they also knew the purpose of a magnetic compass. Such knowledge as they had made others believe that they might have had contacts with the Arabs, or else with the Chinese, who have been using the magnetic compass since twelve centuries before Christ. Marco Polo brought back samples to Europe in the 13th century., circa 1275.

The Admiral was making careful progress until he came in sight of Lamurca [Lamotrek] Island, the residence of the main *tamul*. The coral reefs that surrounds this group make the navigation very dangerous in the midst of various channels that separate these islands. A boat, under the direction of a lieutenant, with the five scientists as passengers, was sent ashore to look for coconuts and vegetables.

The air was calm and the sky beautifully clear; but in less than one hour, the sky darkened, the barometer rapidly dropped and the symptoms of a storm became obvious.

The Admiral immediately ordered two more anchors to be thrown overboard, and, after signal flags were raised, had one gun fired to recall the boat. The corvette was then three miles from Lamurca Island.

Although the preparations to resist the storm had been had been made quickly, the hurricane had progressed even faster. The black spot that had first appeared on the horizon was growing fast, and, like a funereal pall, covered the sea which was running high, showing white caps, and advancing rapidly towards the corvette. Soon the **St. Nicholas** was riding those waves, rolling and pitching violently, the wind singing in the rigging. Soon the sea broke over the deck itself. The steam launch was made ready, until the crew were only waiting for the signal to lower it. But at that moment, Admiral Shertov spotted the boat which, obeying the signal to return, had left the island, fighting against the wind and the waves, making slow progress towards the corvette.

The storm grew in intensity: at every instant, the coral reefs, being in turn submerged and uncovered by the waves, shoed their threatening mass and their ragged edges. The

poor sailors, bent on their oars, could hardly keep the bow pointing forward. Encouraged by Lieutenant Platov, an intrepid and excellent officer, assisted in their efforts by the five passengers who lent a hand, they were keeping away from the rocks only with difficulty; there a certain death awaited them. The least false move would mean the end of the boat, and of all those on board it.

The sea was so furious that two men at the helm could hardly keep the boat running in the right direction.

The Admiral, standing at the stern, with one hand firmly the running rigging, and the other holding a spy-glass pointing at the dark spot that appeared and disappeared in the whirlpool, was unrecognizable. This man, normally so calm, so imposing by his cold blood in the midst of the most terrible trials, was livid and his features revealed a deep anxiety.

All of a sudden, he called the flag officer who would normally replace him in his absence, shouted a few words in his ear, before jumping aboard the rescue launch.

—“Let go,” shouted he with a voice that was heard above the storm.

One second later, obeying to the power of steam, the launch was splitting the waves with a surprising speed, pushed by the storm itself, and passed between the reefs and the boat that was in danger of being lost. By a maneuver that was not only daring but skilful, the Armiral, in going the point where his men were fighting, began to throw hooks which the men instantly grabbed and put in place; then, pushed by the wind, splitting the waves that were rushing into the channels and swamping the boat, he began to tow the boat that could hardly maintain the proper direction, while its whole crew struggled furiously with the bailers.

Finally, they all came alongside the corvette; all possible means of rescue had been made ready, grappels, blocks and tackles, all manned by an eager bevy of seamen. Thanks to the courageous efforts of both officers and sailors, and, after an expense of incredible efforts, every man reached the deck and the two boats were put back on their davits.

The Admiral had remained in the launch until the last man had been taken up. When he appeared on deck, his arrival was greeted with a general hurrah.

Bussières was the first to approach him.

—“Commander,” said he with an emotional tone of voice, “let me embrace you, because without you we were all lost.”

—“With pleasure, my friend,” answered the worthy Admiral with equal emotion. “You too, my sons,” he added as the other young gentlemen followed Bussières’ example.

—“Ah!” he added with an energetic movement of his arm, “if such a tragedy had happened, I would never have been able to forget it for the rest of my life.”

—“Gentlemen, go back to your posts,” said he, while turning around to hide a tear that had just formed at the corners of his eyes.

The storm continued for another two hours, then the wind abated suddenly and the sea became calm progressively. At last, the **St. Nicholas** was able to weigh anchors and left this neighborhood, so beautiful but so dangerous also.

The Mariana Island group, or the Ladrões, were then sighted. Discovered by the companions of Magellan in 1521, these islands owe their name to Maria Ana of Austria, mother of Charles II of Spain. The cruelty of the Spaniards has almost completely depopulated this country that, today, has hardly 2,000 inhabitants, whereas it had about 50,000 at the time of its discovery.

...

Documents 1858L

The visit of the Austrian Navy frigate *Novara*, Commodore Wüllerstorff-Urbair

L1. The notice that appeared in the *Nautical Magazine* of 1857

Source: Nautical Magazine (1857), p. 391.

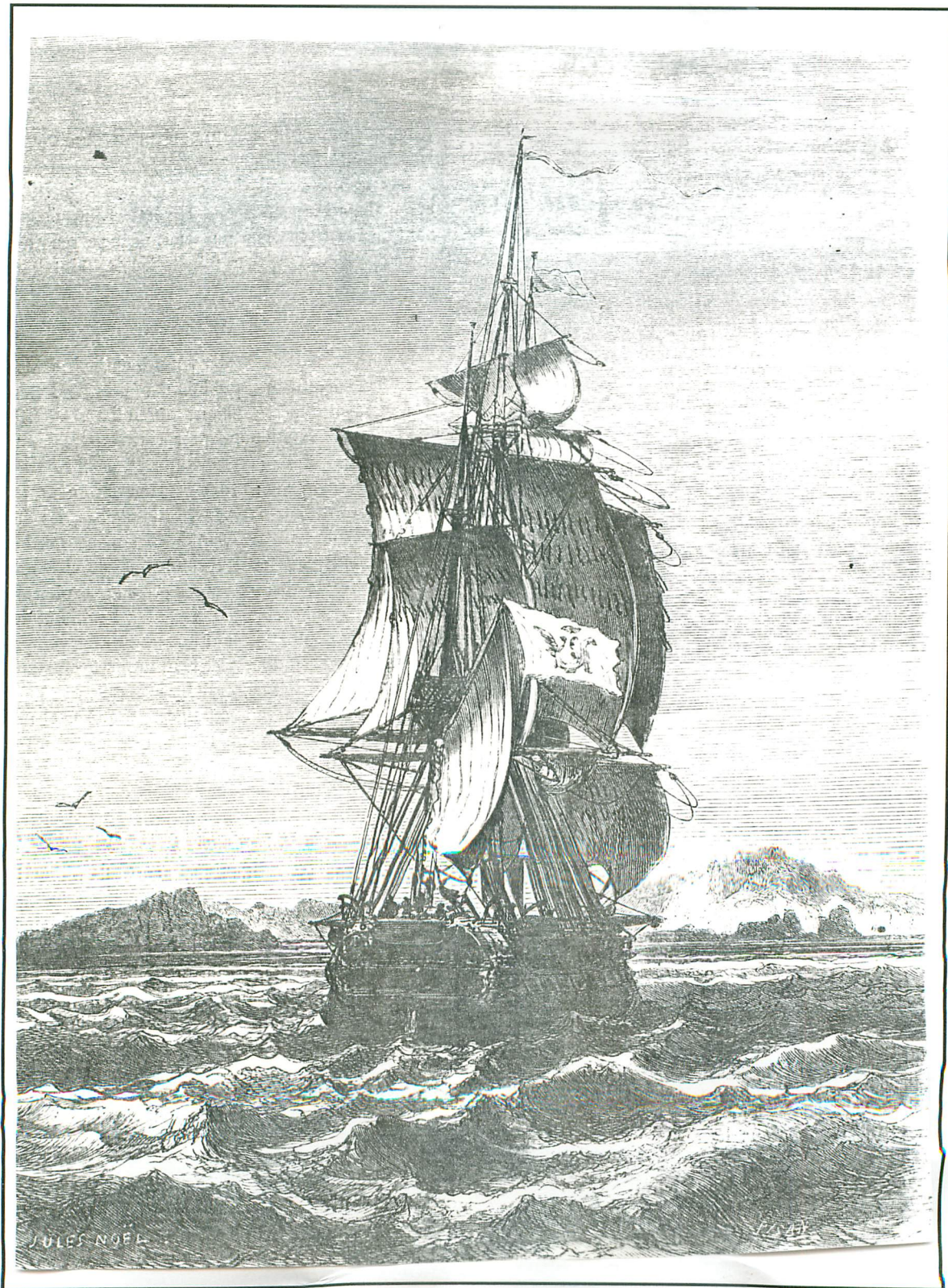
The Austrian Scientific Voyage.

The Austrian frigate *Novara*, 30 guns, left Trieste on the 30th of April for Gibraltar, on a scientific voyage round the world. The astronomical, meteorological, and magnetical observations will be made by officers of the Navy, under the command of Commodore Wüllerstorff. Dr. Hochstetter, from the Geological Institution of the Austrian Empire, will be occupied with geological and physical, Messrs. Frauenfele and Zelebor with zoological, Drs. Schwarz and Tellinek with botanical, and Dr. Scherzer with astrological and national-economical researches and investigations. The last of these gentlemen will also keep the journal of the expedition, and make the reports on its progress and results to the different political and scientific authorities at home. The expedition is likewise accompanied by a renowned Austrian painter, M. Selliny, who will be occupied in illustrating the most interesting points visited by the *Novara*, and likewise make drawings for different scientific purposes. The *Novara* is accompanied by the corvette *Carolina*, and will be towed as far as Messina by the steamer *Lucia*, Capt. Littrow, an Austrian man-of-war.

...

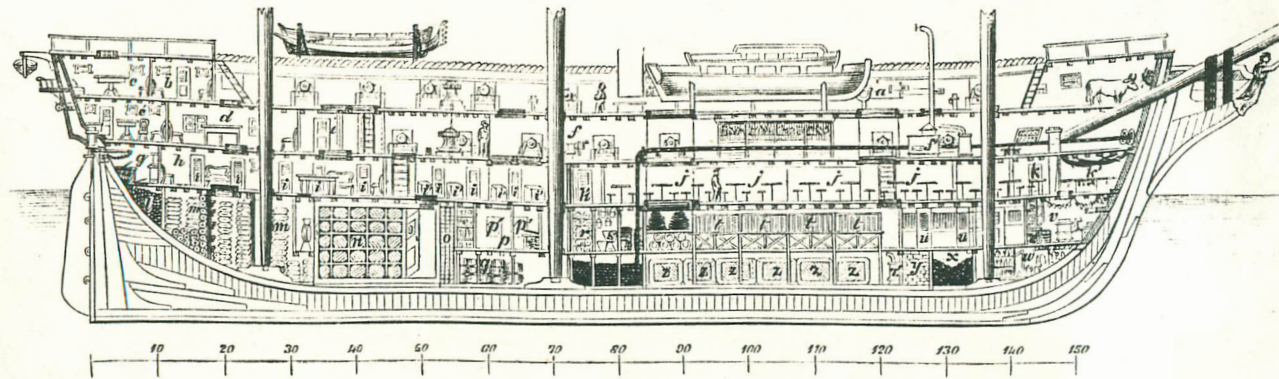
L2. Introduction

With the exception of Germany, which sent a scientific expedition to Micronesia in 1908-10, Austria was also late in sending her own, in 1856. A ship was despatched on a three-year cruise around the world, under the sponsorship of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, for the purpose of training naval officers and cadets, rather than duplicating the results of former scientific expedition; that is why there was a large complement of officers on board, including some noblemen.



The Austrian frigate Novara on a voyage around the world.

VERTICAL SECTION OF THE FRIGATE "NOVARA."

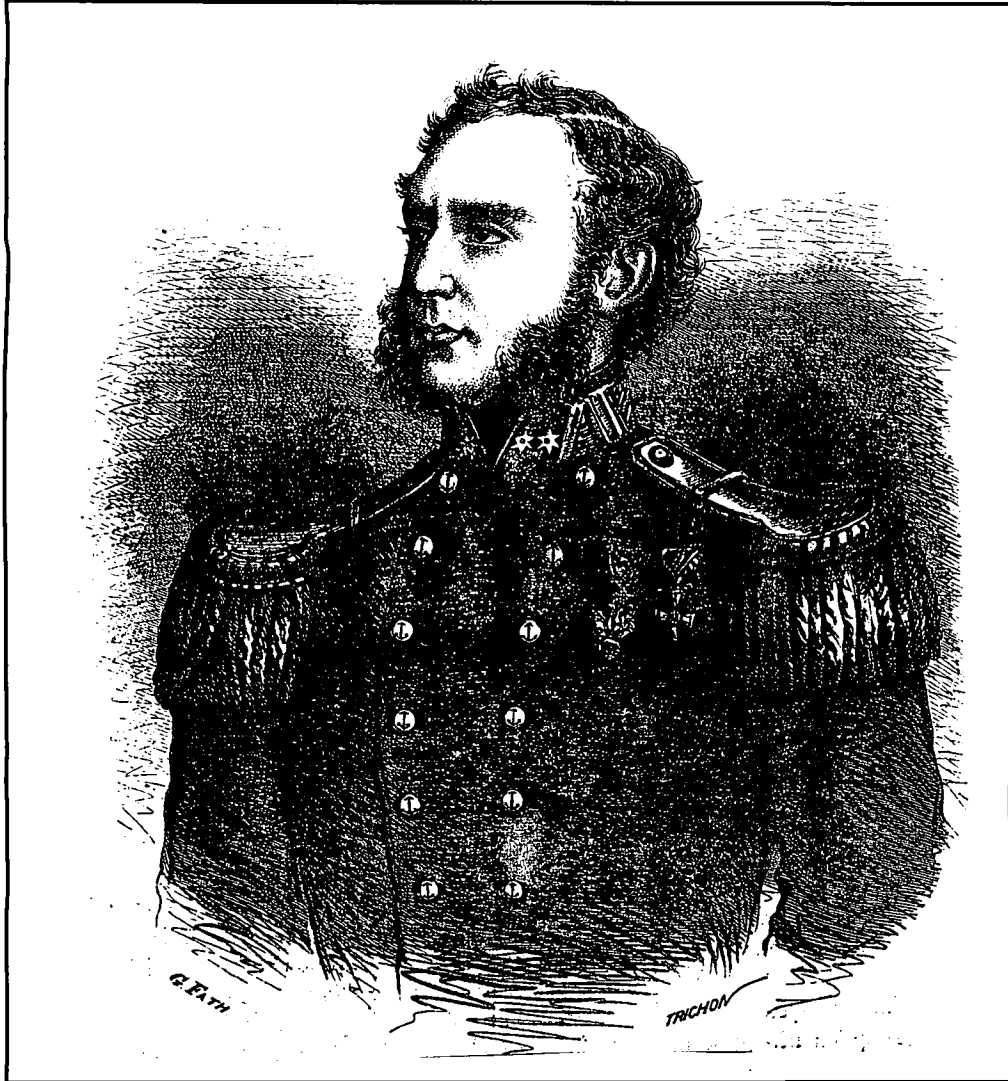


a. Spare Spars.
b. Captain's Cabin.
c. Commodore's Apartment.
c'. Captain's Apartment.
d. Gun-room (also used as Reading-room.)
e. Cabins of Naturalists.
f. Pumps.
f'. Kitchen, with Distilling Apparatus.

g. Side-board & Lockers of Officers.
h.h. Officers' Mess or Ward-room.
h'. Commodore's Stores.
i.i.i. Officers' Cabins.
i'i'i' " Lockers.
j. Half-deck (for Crew).
k. Sergeants' Cabins.
k'. " Sick bay."
l. Shot-hold.

m. Bread-lockers.
n. Powder Magazine.
o. Preserve fresh provisions in tins.
p. Pantry.
p'. Store-room for Rice, Cocoa, and Dried Vegetables.
q. Spirit Room.
r. Salted Provisions.
s. Buckets, Hoystones, &c.

t. Sail-room.
u.u. Tool Room, &c.
v. Boatswain's Cabin.
w. Painters' Stores.
x. Coal-cellar.
y. Tins of fresh provisions for the crew.
z. Iron Water-tanks.
z'. Tank for the Distilling Apparatus(*f'*)



Captain Wüllerdorf-Urbair, head of the scientific expedition

The construction of the frigate **Novara** began in Venice in 1845 but launched five years later. She was 165 feet long and 45 feet broad, carried ... guns and a crew of 352 members.

After visiting Brazil and crossing the Indian Ocean, the frigate arrived at Manila in June 1858. Among other places, the members of the expedition visited the monasteries within the walled city; in the Augustinian Recollect monastery they found some information regarding the Mariana Islands.

L3. The narrative of the anthropologist, Karl Ritter von Scherzer

Source: Karl Ritter von Scherzer. Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian Frigate 'Novara' (3 vols., London, 1861-63).

[At Manila] in each monastery there is what is called a *Procuración*, where the various printed books published by the order (almost exclusively dictionaries and grammars of the native languages and dialects) are sold for the behoof of the funds of the monastery. The members of our Expedition exerted themselves to form a very complete collection of all such publications; and while thus engaged they also succeeded in getting several ms. treatises on language.¹

...
 Until 1857, all letters to Europe were for the most part dispatched by sailing-vessels, so that letters remained four or five months on the way... Since March 1858, there has been established regular communication by steam between Manila and Europe [via Hong Kong]... On the other hand, there is up to this moment no regular communication with any of the adjacent islands in the archipelago, even the government only availing itself of such sailing-vessels as private adventurers may from time to time charter. When any change of officials takes place, the new appointment must often remain vacant for months till the occupant reach his post; indeed, during our stay in Manila we witnessed a case in which the consort of the Governor of the Marianne Archipelago had been vainly waiting for months for an opportunity to return to her husband.²

-
- 1 Vocabularies of the Igorot and Ilongot languages of Luzon, as also the idiom used by the natives of the Marianne Archipelago, together with a short treatise on the Marianne group written in Spanish by a missionary. All of these works will be thoroughly and exhaustively treated of in the ethnological portion, where also the manuscripts will be published. Ed. comment: See below the Ethnography memoir published by Dr. Müller and based on his collections.
- 2 She died a melancholy death, having, what rarely occurs among Spanish women, committed suicide at her hotel by swallowing Prussic acid. It was rumoured that an unhappy attachment led to this fatal resolve. Ed. comments: She must have been the wife of Colonel de la Corte, who served as Governor of the Marianas from 1855 to 1866. Prussic acid is HCN, hydrocyanic acid, which is a very strong and fast-acting poison. This fact may have been reported to the Austrian officers by a German chemist who owned a pharmacy in Manila, possibly Mr. Zobel Hinsch.

[After leaving Manila, the **Novara** sailed to the north end of the China Sea, where they came near a typhoon.]

...
Our course was now shaped for the Marianne Archipelago. For several days after the typhoon, the weather remained unsettled, and the swell was both heavy and broken, when on 26th August we came in sight of the island of Guam or Guaham, the most southerly of the Marianne group. In twelve days we had run 1860 miles, with the aid of the typhoon it is true, but there was the fact, the distance had been accomplished, and as to the How? Jack gives himself little concern, so long as he reaches his goal swiftly and in safety.

On the morning of the 27th we stood into the Bay of Umata, although it was very doubtful whether we should find a secure anchorage here, considering the S.W. wind that was blowing full into the roadstead, which is quite unsheltered in that point of the compass. In fact, as we came nearer the land, we speedily became aware of the impracticability of anchoring here even in the best weather; while, on the other hand, it did not seem very advisable, owing to the difficulty of getting in, to make for the excellent harbour of San Louis de Apra, it being by no means easy, during the prevalence of the S.W. monsoons, for a large ship to beat out, so that they are occasionally detained there for several weeks. The other was accordingly given to luff up, so as to make tacks against the freshening west wind, out of this bay, studded as it is with numerous coral reefs. This proved to be a work of much time and trouble, ere we succeeded, after many hours of anxious care, in weathering the reef.

The island of Guam, with its lofty green mountain ridges, numberless valleys, and thickly-wooded glades, had a cheerful and friendly aspect, but seems but little cultivated. At Umata, where we perceived a few houses, the Spanish flag was waving from a small fort adjoining the settlement, which had been hoisted on the approach of the frigate.

On 30th August, in 149°E53' E., we reached the eastern limit of the S.W. monsoon, and—although not more than four days' sail from the object of our next visit, the island of Puynipet [Pohnpei], had we met with favourable winds to waft us a little further—it was 15th September ere we came in sight of that lovely island, for, stormy and boisterous as the beginning of this section of our cruise had proved, not less annoying were the fickle calms, which kept us lying for weeks motionless, our sails idly flapping with the roll of the ship. It is a wretched depressing state of inactivity and discomfort, of which only those can form an idea who have been caught in a calm on the open ocean, on board of a sailing ship.

XVI. The Island of Puynipet.

18th September, 1858.

Native boats in sight.—A pilot comes on board.—Communications of a white settler.—Another pilot.—Fruitless attempts to tack for the island.—Roankiddi Harbour.—Extreme difficulty in effecting a landing with the boats.—Settlement of Roi.—Dr. Cook.—Stroll through the forest.—Excursions up the Roankiddi River.—American missionaries.—Visit from the king of the Roankiddi tribe.—Kawa as a beverage.—Interior of the royal abode.—The Queen.—Mode of living, habits and customs of the natives.—Their religion and mode of worship.—Their festivals and dances.—Ancient monumental records and their probable origin.—Importance of these in both a historical and geological point of view.—Return on board.—Suspicious conduct of the white settler.—An asylum for contented delinquents—Under weigh for Australia...

While yet, on 16th September, 1858, five or six knots [rather nautical miles] distant from the island of Puynipet, first discovered in 1828 by the Russian Admiral Lütke, and just as we found ourselves of what is called "Middle Harbour," we remarked a boat of European construction making for the frigate. Two hours later it came alongside, with four natives and a white man, the latter of whom came on deck and offered his services to the Commodore as pilot. He proved to be a Yankee named Alexander Tellet [sic],¹ who had lived 20 years on the island as smith and carpenter, to which he added the functions of pilot for the harbour in which he lived.

[Pohnpeian canoes]

Presently we were surrounded by a considerable number of natives in elegant canoes streaked with red, and formed of hollowed-out trunks of trees with outriggers, which have very peculiar scaffold-like supports, so that there is a kind of platform formed in the centre of the canoe, whereon the master usually seats himself, but which serves on occasion for festive meetings, and even for a small dance! The sails, made of mats, are triangular, the most acute angle being confined between two long bamboos, while a third serves as a mast, the whole capable of being shifted to either end of the boat by one of the crew, according to the direction of the wind. While some were doing what they could in their small boats to keep within the speed of the frigate, though we were going pretty fast, just as parasites make fast to the shark, others followed us a little distance, like dolphins, those faithful companions of ships, as far as the nearest harbour.

[Pohnpeian natives]

With the exception of a short apron of cocoa- palm leaves, the natives were quite naked, and seemed pretty well made. On their heads they wore a sort of projecting pent-hat, also of palm leaves, obviously intended to hied the eyes from the vertical rays of the sun, and in form most resembling these lamp shades which old men or youths with weak eyesight are with us in the habit of using to ward off the full glare of artificial light.

¹ Ed. note: Probably Gellett instead.

Among the natives who favoured us with their escort, there were two who, from their personal grace, their light colour of skin, and thoroughly European cast of features, especially attracted our attention. They were the sons of an Englishman named Hadley, who had been for many years resident on Mudock island [rather Harbour], E. of Puynipet, where he supported himself by fishing and pilotage, and had married a native woman. Shortly before our arrival, Hadley had started with several hundred pounds of tortoise-shell for Hong-kong, whence he intended to sail for England. He had intrusted his two sons to the care of a European settler, who succeeded him as pilot on Mudock island. According to all appearance, however, Hadley had little intention of returning to this island, notwithstanding the family tie that should have bound him to it.

As we were coasting along the west side of the island about 1 to 17 miles from the reefs, Tellet was overwhelmed with questions on every hand and on every possible subject, and among other subjects of information we presently found that the chief intercourse of foreign ships was carried on with Roankiddi or Lee Harbour, some 15 or 20 miles distant, and Metetemai [rather Metalanimi] or Foul-weather Harbour, which lies six or seven miles E. of Roankiddi. During the N.E. trade (November to April), from 50 to 60 American whalers put in to Puynipet to take in wood and water, and fresh provisions, chiefly yams, taro, sweet-potato, poultry, and pigs. Many ships, moreover, bound from Sydney for China prefer at that season the voyage through the Pacific to passing round the south of Australia, and thence through the Straits of Sunda, or the yet more dangerous passage through Torres Straits, and usually make a tolerably fast run. Thus the Swedish corvette **Eugénie**, on her voyage round the globe, performed in November, 1852, the astonishing feat of making the passage from Sydney to Hong-kong, 5000 miles, in the unprecedentedly short space of 37 days!

The number of aborigines on this island, which is about 60 miles in circumference, was estimated by Tellet at about 2000. Formerly it was as many as 5000,¹ but the small-pox had since then committed fearful ravages among the population. The circumstances under which this frightful scourge was first introduced into Puynipet, threw considerable light upon the history of the spread of that disease, as well as much useful information upon the question of vaccination.

In 1864, the English barque **Delta** arrived at Roankiddi Harbour, with one of her crew ill with smallpox. The white settlers then on the island, who were well acquainted with the virulence of the disease, implored the native chief to forbid the captain's remaining, and insist on his putting to sea forthwith. The latter, however, seemed determined to leave the patient on the island. When he learned the hostile feeling of the population to himself and the crew, and found that they would neither take his sick man off his hands, nor supply himself and ship's company with provisions, he availed himself of the silence and obscurity of night to deposit the sick man on the shore with

1 Ed. note: Captain Andrew Cheyne... who last visited Puynipet in 1846, reckoned the population of the island at that period at from 7000 to 8000...

all his property, and at daybreak made off under full sail. Next morning the natives found the unfortunate wretch stretched suffering and utterly helpless on the strand, while the barque was no longer in sight. Hostility to the captain was now converted into sympathy with, and active compassion for, the sick man; a couch was prepared in an adjacent hut, and as much attention lavished on him as was possible under the circumstances; but his effects, consisting chiefly of linen and upper clothing, were speedily appropriated by the thievish natives. A few weeks later the smallpox broke out with frightful violence, and raged five months with undiminished severity all over the island. Almost every one of the natives was attacked, and of 5000 inhabitants 3000 succumbed to the virulence of the epidemic.¹ The sailor, however, with whom first originated this terrible fatality, completely recovered. His clothing, scattered through every part of the island, had no doubt essentially contributed to the speedy diffusion of the malady. Of the thirty white settlers, who had all been inoculaed, only one was attacked, and he soon got well again. In August, 1854, the disease disappeared almost as suddenly as it came, and has since then spared Puynipet a second visit, but wherever one goes the traces of the disease are visible in the faces and on the bodies of the natives.

While picking up this information, we were getting nearer and nearer to Roankiddi Harbour on the S.W. of the island, and Tellet now stated he could not undertake to conduct us further, as there resided a pilot in the harbour whom he was not unwilling to give a job to. Another boat was now approaching the frigate, which had on board the regular pilot of Roankiddi Harbour, a Virginia Negro, named Johnson. Our man Tellet now took his leave, and set out in his boat on his return to Middle Harbour. Many a longing glance did we cast at the spot, where for the first time we were to be privileged to examine the wonders of the coral beds of the Soth Sea. For oPuynipet is one of the finest examples known of a lofty island of the great ocean regularly hemmed in by wall-like reefs, by far the majority of the other islands being mere low "atolls." Unfortunately the breeze was unsteady and very light; the sky looked so gloomy and threatening that we had to haul off again from the island, and steer to the S.E., so as not to approach the reef too closely during the night. In the morning we once more neared the island, under the influence of a gentle west wind, having run 15 miles out during the night. Gradually the small wooded or rocky islets hove in sight again, which, stretching northward from the great central mass, 2860 feet in height, surround the lofty island like a ring, inside of the wall-reef, which encompasses it at a distance of from one to two miles. We tacked about during the whole day with light variable winds from the west, and by evening had got sufficiently near our anchorage, that every one expected by a last tack to fetch it ere night set in, when the breeze suddenly shifted, died away, and once more compelled us to withdraw to a safe distance from the island, and pass the night under easy sail. At length, on 18th September, a fresh leading wind from the westward promised to carry us in without further delay.

1 Ed. note: Dr. Gulick estimated that about half of the population, i.e. 2,500, died.

Right in front of us, and with not a cloud to interrupt the view, lay this extinct volcano of an island, densely covered with the most luxuriant verdure. Only at its N.E. [rather NW] corner there sprang suddenly into the air a naked, castellated rock, about 1000 feet high or so, cut off horizontally above, and with perpendicular sides, which we were informed was a small island (Dochokoits),¹ sprarated by a narrow channel from the main island. Gradually, on either side of the isle, several rocky points became visible, which steadily increased in dimension, and began to stretch towards each other, till they looked like a row of pearls densely sprinkled in the air above the horizon; after which a number of thin, small, white clouds suddenly rose and disappeared above the dark blue surface of the sea, flickering here and there like flames. This was our first glimpse of the island-reef and the surf-beaten coraal, seen under the influence of a mirage, when, as is very frequently the case in tropical climates, the temperature of the surface of the water, and consequently of the immediately adjacent strata of atmosphere, is higher than those next above. Having got within about a couple of miles, the dark points resolved themselves into verdant cocoanut groves, patches of which adorn the outermost reef, while the small clouds now proved to be the tumultuous lash of a tremendous blinding surf, on the reef which separated the rise and fall of the ocean outside from the smooth placid surface of the broad channel, which inside the ring-shaped coral ref forms those singular natural corals, on which the natives in their frail canoes can sail right round the island, sheltered from the violence of the waves, and which, at those places where there is sufficient depth, and a breach in the line of reef admits of ingress from without, affords for even large-sized ships a secure harbour, according to observation in 6°47' N., 158°13'3" E.

We now endeavoured to enter between Nahlap Island on the west, covered with cocoanut palms and breadfruit, and Sandy Island on the east, surruounded with a belt of raging foam, its coral masses clothed with low scanty brushwood. But almost immediately "Halt" was once more the order. In order to get into the harbour proper, which lay between two majestic banks of coral rising from the level of the sea like an elegantly hewn dock, we had to pass through a very narrow channel in the reef, barely 50 fathoms wide, which indeed was pretty plainly indicated by the colour of the smooth water, besides being well marked out by regular buoys, but winds in a direction first westerly and then northwards, and accordingly was inaccessible to us with a west wind blowing. There was no alternative but to let the anchor go among the naked coral rocks forming the submarine plateau over which we now lay. But anxiety for the safety of the ship did not admit of her being suffered to remain in circumstances so dangerous. While therefore the frigate once more made sail, a survey of the island and harbour was ordered by a boat expedition.

About 9 a.m. the Commodore, accompanied by some of the scientific staff, set off for land in a slim, flat-floored, Venetian gondola, admirably adapted for such purposes. When we had passed the twin Nahlap Islands and Sandy Island, we found ourselves in

1 Ed. note: Now written Sokehs.

a channel about 100 fathoms in length by not quite 80 in width, which led directly into the interior of this huge basin constructed exclusively by insects, and surrounded by a triple wall of coral, an unfathomable, mirror-like pool, in which a ship lies calm and motionless as though in a dock. A buoy at the S.W. angle of the channel indicates some sunken rocks. On the further side of the coral reef one perceives the low-lying group of the Ant Islands, thickly covered with trees. Although our Venetian boat drew hardly any water, we nevertheless found great difficulty in advancing in proportion as we approached the shore. The fact too that it was ebb-tide served to increase the obstacles that beset our progress. Every moment the gondola touched upon sand-bank or rock. The utmost caution had therefore to be exercised, as we steered for some huts which were visible under the coconut palms quite close to the shore. Following the deeper more navigable channels, we reached the mouth of a river running from N.E., the low swampy soil on either side being covered with dense mangrove bushes, but all our efforts to push through the thickets so as to reach the huts proved unavailing, while the whole soil seemed to be beset with the stumps of the mangrove, like so many sharp stakes. After pushing a short distance up this mangrove channel, from which on either side smaller channels diverged, we retraced our steps, as there was no appearance of the scene changing, nor any appearance of human habitation, and endeavoured to reach the land near the huts already mentioned, by some of the deeper channels. Just then a white settler came to our assistance, who, standing on the shore, indicated to us by manual signs the clue out of this labyrinth of coral, and enabled us by a less shallow channel to reach one of the few points at which a landing is practicable. For at almost every point of the shore the mangroves, by the tenacity of their roots, prevent, or at any rate impede, the approach of boats, the natives themselves being confined to the use of those few spots where rivers or other natural channels afford means of access. Close to the shore appeared three wooden huts thatched with bamboo and palm leaves. This was a small colony of whites, when a singular freak of destiny seemed to have cast away upon these islands, where they earned their subsistence as wood-cutters, smiths, fishermen, &c. They call their settlement Roi. The first hut we entered was inhabited by a Scotchman, who called himself "Dr. Cook," and practised as a physician. He had lived 26 years on the island. His dwelling consisted of three large apartments, which up to a certain height were shut off from each other by thin wooden walls, so that the air could circulate freely overhead throughout the entire length of the hut. Everything was neat and orderly: in the first room, which apparently was used as a surgery, stood a number of medicine bottles duly labelled, and crucibles, which at the very first glance revealed the avocation of the possessor. Cook, who seemed far past the half century, with pale, faded, expressionless features, and a long silver-grey beard, clothed in a coarse woolen jacket, and with the huge, broad-brimmed, worn-out straw-hat pulled low upon his wrinkled forehead, had quite caught the listless, motionless deportment of the natives. Nothing roused him, nothing surprised him; it took considerable time to elicit from him any reply to our questions. The other white settlers in the adjoining islands [rather harbours] were not much more communicative; all showed in their conduct a certain em-

barrassment, which left little doubt that theirs had not been an altogether blameless life in former days. Most of them were surrounded by a number of native wives, who had covered their bodies with a powder of intense yellow, prepared from the *Curcuma longa*, and wore merely a piece of calico round the loins, while splendid yellow blossoms set off the raven blackness of their long hair.

We now followed up a narrow foot-path, which led to a gently sloping eminence behind the huts, and soon found ourselves surrounded by breadfruit trees and banana, while from time to time a black basaltic rock cropped out from among the red, marl-like soil, and beautiful small lizards with sapphire-blue tails that shone with a metallic lustre, shot about with the velocity of an arrow among the stones. The prevailing formation, as in almost all the volcanic islands of the Pacific, is an amorphous basalt-lava, full of olivine and porphyry. On gaining the summit of the hill, we found there a solitary, wretched-looking hut. A dog, a few hens, and a phlegmatic native worn away to a shadow, whom the sudden appearance of a number of European strangers hardly seemed to rouse from his apathy, were the only living creatures visible. On our requesting to be furnished with a light, a wrinkled old hag crept out of the hut, and handed us a piece of lighted wood. The dusky old woman was presented with a cigar, which she forthwith lit, and proceeded to smoke with unmistakable satisfaction. To our request for fresh coconuts with which to quench our thirst, the man, without moving from his place, shouted a few words in the direction of the forest, which was speedily replied to, when some young girls came forth giggling and romping, who brought us what we had asked for, fresh plucked from the slender cocoa-stem, as well as a sugar-cane, and some ginger (*Zingiber officinalis*); all these refreshments were handed us amid much hilarity by a lot of daughters of Eve, young, not the least shy, but by no means attractive, whom a present of two small mirrors in return sent away in a state of enthusiastic delight. On our return to Dr. Cook's hut on the shore, several natives had approached who bartered mussels and fresh fruit for tobacco, which they preferred to everything, besides a number of young females, who were retailing, from small bags hung round their persons, the different animals they had collected the same morning at ebb-tide among the coral reefs.

One of the white settlers offered his services as guide, to pilot us up the Roankiddi river as far as a village of the natives about two miles inland, where the chief of the nation dwelt, and several American missionaries had formed a settlement. Before reaching the main stream, which is about 100 feet wide and is densely wooded on either side, we had to pass various small branches and canals, which appeared to be artificially constructed, and wind about in a succession of extraordinary meanderings beneath an elastic covering of conical mangrove roots. For about a mile inwards there was nothing but dreary, swampy, unlovely mangrove forest, after which the vegetation on either shore began to assume an unusually variegated but thoroughly tropical appearance.

Palams, breadfruit trees, pandanus trees, papayas, *calacias* [sic],¹ *Barringtonias*, were the chief representatives of this abounding forest flora.

The animals on this island seem to be less numerous and less varied; there are no large ones at all. Of doves, as also of sand-pipers and parrots, we saw some very beautiful species, of which the fowling-pieces of our sportsmen furnished numerous specimens for our zoological collection. All along the bank of the river and around the hills lay scattered at will, under the shade of the most beautiful and abundant vegetation, the dwellings of the natives. Near where the pretty Roankiddi falls into the sea, rises on the left bank the handsome mission house built of wood, which serves the missionaries for school, church, and residence in one. Close by is a stone building, which serves as a larder. Unfortunately, the sole missionary, Mr. Sturges of Pennsylvania, was absent on a tour of inspection, and only his assistant (a native of the Sandwich Islands, who had received his education in the States) was at home with his family. A third missionary, also a native of the Sandwich Islands, lives at what is called Foul-weather [Metalanim] Harbour, where he also occupies his time with meteorologica observations.

The mission, which has been in the island since 1851 [rather 1852], is supported at considerable expense. A schooner, the property of the American Missionary Society, keeps up regular communication with the neighbouring islands and the Sandwich Islands, and supplies the missionaries with provisions and other necessaries. These industrious, energetic men have quite recently made experiments in planting several sorts of vegetables, as also tobacco and sugar-cane, nearer their houses, in the hope, if successful, of inciting the natives to similar exertions. The great resources at the disposal of the Protestant missionaries, and the circumstance that they attend to the tempora as well as the eternal weal of their dusky neophytes, exhausting their medical skill in illness, educating their children, ministering to their wants both by advice and co-operation, must be regarded as the main causes of the rapid spread of Protestantism throughout the races of the Pacific Ocean. We have seen missions, of which the schols, places of worship, and dwelling-houses, constructed of iron, were imported from the United States ready made, while the expenses of maintenance were defrayed by an annual grant of 20,000 dollars. What a gratifying contrast to the wretched appliances with which Catholic overseas missions are compelled to eke out a precarious existence!

We landed at a spot where the Roankiddi promised to be navigable for vessels of a better class than the hollowed-out canoes of the natives, and for the remainder of the distance to the chief's residence we followed a foot-path through the forest. Close to the landing-place is a large, hall-like building, which is used as an assembly-room by the natives on the occasion of their festivities. Around the interior of this are ranged couches stuffed with straw for families of rank, not unlike berths round a ship's cabin. The centre of the hall is set apart for slaves and servants, who during these rude ré-unions are busily employed preparing food and drink for strangers. As often as a meeting is deemed necessary, invitations are sent off to the various chiefs requesting their

1 Ed. note: Probable error for "caladia," i.e. root plants.

co-operation. On very important occasions these are intoned through a conch [trumpet]. As soon as all are assembled, the king lays the subject-matter of the debate before them, when every one present is at liberty to express his opinion. Frequently these discussions become very animated, especially when the orators happen to have partaken too freely of Kawa, when only the interference of the less excited chiefs can prevent the disputants from coming to blows. When we saw it, there were in the hall of justice, as it might be termed, a number of huge, lengthy, but elegant canoes, painted red, which gave it rather the appearance of a shed than a festive hal.

The foot-path to the chief's residence led through a most beautiful tropical landscape. The estate of the Nannekin (as the natives designae a king in their own language) was laid out quite in the European fashion, and the entrance was indicated by a wooden gateway. The house itself, a lengthy oblong of wod and cane-work, with a roof of palm-leaves, and built upon a sort of platform of two or three courses of stone, and furnished in every part with numerous large apertures serving as windows, presented from without a very comfortable, even imposing appearance; but the interior was bare, ill-equipped, and sadly out of order. A row of wooden columns, irregularly cut, and partially overed with gay-coloured stuffs, running parallel with the thin expetiro walls, formed a narrow passage, a closer view of which was, however, shut of by cotton hangings stretching across. The clothes and other property of the family hung here at random, suspended from pegs and lines all round the wide hall, and in the middle a hole had been excavated, which apparently was intended for a fire-place. Among the articles of furniture we specially noticed a large iron chest, with iron clampings, and a very singular-looking loom, on which a fabric was being woven in variegated colours. The chief awas not at home, and had to be summoned, his timely absence affording an excellent opportunity for examining the evnirons of the palace a little more closely. In immediate proximity were a number of breadfruit trees (*Dongdong*), the fruit of which forms the staple diet of the natives, and has long been prepared by them in quite a unique manner.

The breadfruit, so soon as it is ripe, is stripped of its husk, and cut into small pieces. These the natives place in pits dug for the purpose about three feet deep, in which they are placed in layers carefully wrapped in banana leaves so as to prevent moisture reaching them. Thus prepared, the pits are filled up to within a few inches of the surface, covered with leaves, and weighted with heavy stones so distributed as to diffuse an equal pressure throughout. Thus each pit is both air and water tight. After a short time fermentation sets in, till the whole is converted into a substance resembling cheese. The original idea of thus storing the breadfruit is said, according to tradition, to have been suggested to the natives by a violent hurricane having at a remote period levelled all the breadfruit trees on the island, thus causing a great famine. The fruit thus treated continues fit for consumption for years, and, despsite its sour taste and nauseous odour when exhumed, it is regarded by the natives as a most palatable and nutritive dish, when well kneaded, placed between two banana leaves, and baked between two hot stones. Besides the breadfruit, the principal article of food in use among the natives are coco-

nuts, sugarcane, yams, pigeons, turtle, fish, and trepang—the sort of sea cucumber of which we have already given a description, and which the natives [sic] eat in the raw state.¹

They also eat taro (*Caladium esculentum*), a beautiful bulbous-rooted plant of the *Aroidæa* family, with its broad elegant leaves, which, together with wild ginger and turmeric (which is used sometimes for food, sometimes for anointing the person, or dyeing their dresses) and the plant they call Kawa [rather Sakau] (*Piper methysticum*), grow in great profusion on the property of the Nannekin.

As in all the South Sea Islands, the juice of the Kawa is used in Puynipet for distilling an intoxicating beverage, which indeed plays a conspicuous part in all their solemnities. But the mode of preparing it is somewhat better calculated to tempt the palate, since it is not, as elsewhere, first chewed by the women, but pounded between two large stones, wetted, and then drawn off in coconut shells. The leading chief is entitled to the first shells of the prepared Kawa, or, if he is not present, the chief priest, who mutters a few prayers over it ere drinking it.

The liquid, as thus procured from this species of pepper, is of a brownish yellow colour, somewhat like that of coffee into which ilk has been poured. The taste is sweet and agreeable, producing a glow in the stomach, and induces a sort of intoxication, widely different however from the form that alcoholic inebriations assume with us. Men in the habit of drinking Kawa neither stagger about, nor speak thick and loud, when under its influence. A sort of shiver affects the whole frame, and their gait becomes listless and slow, but they never lose consciousness. In its best stage, the person affected feels an extraordinary weakness in all his joints; headache and an irresistible inclination to go to sleep intervene, and a state of most complete repose becomes an absolute necessity.

The custom of Kawa drinking is diffused over the whole of the islands of the Pacific. It even appears to have become a necessary of life among the natives of Polynesia, just as betel chewing and palm-wine are to the Malays and Hindoos, opium smoking and samchoo to the Chinese, chicha to the Mexican [rather Peruvian] races, and coca to the South American Indians.

In former times, on certain of the islands, the chiefs had regular watchers, whose duty it was to guard their monarchs from being disturbed when thus reposing. A dog which dared to bark, a cock that was venturesome enough to crow, were forthwith put to death. The too liberal or long-continued indulgence in Kawa seems to generate a peculiar cuticular disease. Inveterate Kawa drinkers seem haggard or melancholy, their eyes are sunk, their teeth of a bright yellow, their skin dry and chopped, and the whole body is covered with boils; but those in whom such sores heal up again, point with pride to the cicatrices that mark where they occurred. The more of these scars a Kawa drinker can show, the higher is his character. Besides producing unconsciousness, Kawa also induces exceedingly erotic dreams.

1 Ed. note: This statement is very doubtful, and may have been due to an error in interpretation.

According to the information which the white settlers gave us respecting the method of cultivation of the soil of Puynipet and its climate, it seems that sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, rice, tobacco, &c., would be certain to succeed. Sugar-cane is found even now in the wild state; and to a certain extent it forms an article of food of the natives, who suck the juice.

The chief of Roankiddi is a handsome young man of lofty stature, strong frame, of dark brown almost bronze skin, and agreeable, winning expression. With the exception of the usual apron of palm-leaves, and a bright red belt, he was naked, and wore a green circlet on his fine, lustrous black hair, and a piece of sugar-cane in his right hand. His arms and legs were very neatly tattooed. He seemed quite to understand the use of a red Turkish fez with blue tassel, which we presented to him, and took from his head its own exceedingly picturesque covering. Having been apprized of the friendly nature of our visit, he begged us to enter his house, which was not so easy a process as it seems, since the only access was by one of the windows, about three feet from the ground. The Nannekin, however, set us the example, and we followed. He first invited us to sit upon European chairs, and ordered his pretty young wife to fetch us coconut milk. It was the first time we had ever tasted the drink of the natural man in the goblet of civilization! How differently did this invaluable drink taste, when quaffed from the fresh green shell, than in the artificial vessel of human manufacture! The natives of Puynipet did not, like those of Nicobar, show their dexterity in opening the young coconut by means of a slash. Here the husk is peeled off, and an opening bored with much trouble till the fluid contents gush out—a process so tedious, and manifesting so little ingenuity, that one would rather expect it to be adopted by a European, who for the first time in his life was opening a coconut, than from a child of the tropics.¹ After the queen had presented with her dainty little hands the coconut drink to the foreign guests, she squatted herself smiling and laughing on the earth beside the monarch, occasionally hiding herself with much natural grace behind her youthful husband, when she could not restrain a burst of mirth at the interest with which we seemed to regard many of the objects in her simple household. Nothing surprised her more than that we should attach such value to soe baskets, plaited work, boxes, &c. as to be willing to exchange articles of European make for them. Like all the other females we saw, the young queen wore nothing but a piece of yellow linen (*likú*), about five feet long, round her loins, which reached to her knees, and was attached by one extremity to the haunch. Her splendid black hair was adorned with a chaplet of yellow flowers, and her body, smeared with coconut oil, was plentifully besprinkled with turmeric (called by the natives *Kitschi-néang*). Her legs and forearms were beautifully tattooed.

The goen, or rather apron, worn by the men is made of the fresh leaves of the coconut palm, which, bleached and cut into narrow strips, are fastened at the upper end with a string, and then adorned with numerous flaps of red cloth. This gown stretches

1 Ed. noteo: The author forgets that the local traditional method was the only one possible for a stone-age people to use. Pohnpeians at that time had been using iron for only one generation.

from the hips to about the knees, and is about two feet long. To be in the fashion at Puynipet, a dandy must wear at least six of these round his body! The ladies of the island stain white calico with turmeric, yellow being apparently the favourite colour of the country. A bright-coloured light handkerchief usually covers the upper part of the body, and they adorn their long beautiful black tresses with the delicate flowers of the coconut palm. On high days the ladies wear red clothes hemmed with white calico. Such of the natives, however, as are converted to Christianity, appear in clothes made after the European fashion, although many a part of dress would still have to be remedied, ere a native of Puynipet or his better half would be presentable in a saloon.

Men and women alike are tattooed from the loins to the ankles, and from the elbows to the wrist. This curious practice is performed on both sexes at from then to twelve years of age by old women, with whom it is a regular profession. The blue colouring matter used is obtained from the abundant nut-like fruit of the *Aleurites triloba*, which they heat on the fire, and then peel off the hard crust which forms upon it. The operation is performed with the sharp point of a species of pine, or with a pointed instrument made from fish-bone, which is placed upon the skin, when it is driven in with a slight blow, till the whole design comes out upon the body. Besides the turmeric already mentioned, we saw but one colouring stuff, dyeing red, which seemed to be obtained from *Bixa Orellana*, and is used by the natives to paint their canoes with.

[Endemic diseases]

Many of the natives are subject to a very disgusting scaly eruption of the skin (*Ichthyosis*), but do not seem to feel any discomfort from it. Some travellers ascribe this to the imoderate use as an article of diet of raw uncooked fish. It is singular that this malady is found on all the islands near the equator, and was also found by Captain Cheyne among the Pellew Islanders. That shrewd observer once had on board for four months a native of Puynipet as servant, whose whole body was covered with this eruption, but who speedily lost every trace of it as soon as his chief diet was salt meat and vegetables. Beside this cuticular malady, the natives are greatly afflicted with scurvy and intermittent fever. Most of their infants too suffer from Yaws¹ (*Framboesia*), a disgusting eruption, called by the natives "Keutsch," which, however, disappears when the child has attained about its third or fourth year. The marks left by this malady when cicatrized might easily be mistaken for those of inoculation.

The Nannekin, although the king of his tribe, nevertheless seemed on the whole to exercise but little influence over his subjects. Thus, for example, we were eyewitnesses of how he vainly attempted to induce two native boys to carry our bananas as far as our place of disembarkation. On the other hand, in all that concerned trading with foreigners he seemed to be thoroughly alive to his own interest. One native who was driv-

1 Yaws is a very common disease among the lower class of the western and eastern coast-population of England. It is unknown almost in Ireland, where the poorer classes rarely eat fish.

ing a bargain with us for something, was informed forthwith of the value which the Nannekin assigned to it.

Money is as yet but little used at Puynipet as a medium of exchange, only the whites resident there and the chiefs take a few English and United States coins; and many a native would generally not part for a silver dollar from an object which he will readily give for a piece of chewing tobacco or a common knife. The most useful articles for barter are pieces of bright- coloured calico, red shirts, hatchets, knives, axes, straight swords, muskets, ammunition, biscuit, old clothes, and tobacco.

Of the latter article American Cavendish or negro-head in longish pieces is the most in repute. The Puynipetese [sic] have no special fondness for cigars, nor do they use pipes, but only chew passionately tobacco. As They are unacquainted with the use of the Betel, their teeth are universally beautiful, and of a brilliant white.

There are on the island five tribes, wholly independent of each other—the Roankiddi, the Metelemia [sic], the Nót, the Tchokoits, and the Awak, none however numbering much above 1500 souls, the most numerous and important being the Roankiddi.

Each king, we are told, has a minister whose power almost rivals his own. Next in rank to the minister are the nobles, who bear the following strange-sounding titles: Talk, Washy, Naneby, Noatch, Shoe-Shabut, and Groen-wani; after these come such as are not of noble birth, but have earned them through illustrious deeds, and have been rewarded with estates. On the death of the king he is succeeded by whichever of his nobles has the title of Talk, the others rising one grade. The monarch has the right of freely disposing of his property. As a rule he leaves it to his sons, but if he have none he usually bequeaths it to the next sovereign. Between the monarch and his courtiers some quaint patriarchal customs prevail. Thus the first ripe breadfruit is brought to the king. Whenever a chief uses a new turtle- or fish-net, the prey during a certain number of days is sent to the king. Another mark of the respect paid to the king, as also by all ranks to their superiors, is to be found in the custom for a native who meets another of higher rank in a canaœ—he cowers down in his own boat till the other has passed by, the two canoes approaching on the side opposite the outrigger, so that the person of superior condition may, if he see fit, satisfy himself of the identity of the other.

The The Awaks and Tchokoits had, at the period of our visit, been at war with each other for six months, and it is significant of the ferocity and courage of both parties, that not a single combatant had thus far been wounded on either side! Their weapons are chiefly spears of hardwood, six feet long, the barb, instead of iron, being made of fish-bones, thorns, or ground ussel- shells, which they throw with great dexterity; also hatchets, long knives, and old muskets, obtained from the whale-fishers in return for yams and tortoise-shell. At present there are about 1500 muskets in all on the island, and each native possesses at least one, some of the chiefs having as many as three, besides ample ammunition. Singular to say, these formidable auxiliaries are rarely called into play in any of their wars, the fatal effect of firearms having contributed not a little to the promotion of harmony and peace between the various tribes! Their warriors are selected from among the most powerful men of the tribe, and as a rule they behave with

much consideration to the women and children, whom they almost always spare. When either party sues for peace, a neutral party is sent to the monarch of the opposite tribe with a few Kawa roots. If these are accepted, the struggle is considered over, and a succession of friendly visits are thereupon exchanged between the chiefs of the two tribes, which are usually followed up by festivities and much consumption of Kawa.

As to the narratives of most earlier travellers that the island is inhabited by two entirely distinct races, the one yellow the other black, we could neither see nor hear of anything which would confirm such a statement. It seemed more probable that the diversity of skin and hair among the various tribes was exclusively caused by a variety of crosses, which are still frequent, and in former times must have been still more prevalent. The present population consists of whites, negroes, and yellow-coloured aborigines, who, as speaking a dialect allied to that of Polynesia, seem to belong to the Malay-Polynesian *stirps*.¹ The present white settlers are English and North Americans; formerly they were chiefly Spanish and Portuguese who traded with the natives. Negro slaves and free blacks have also occasionally visited the island, or have been left there for good and all. These considerations alone suffice to explain certain appearances among the natives, such as brown or yellow skins, with crisp woolly hair, and very full lips, without any more marked characteristics of the Ethiopian race. We noticed one native with woolly hair of a reddish hue, but otherwise of strongly marked Malay features, and on inquiring into his ancestry, were informed in reply that his father was a Portuguese (negro understood), and his mother a native.

The daughter of Doctor Cook, the Scotchman already mentioned, of whose union with a native woman of the island there was issued a handsome well-shaped *mestiza* of a light yellow colour, strongly recalling the stately, elegant quadroons of New Orleans and Santo Domingo, had intermarried with a full-blooded negro of the district of Columbia, U.S., from which resulted a new and entirely dissimilar admixture. Their children had the face of the mother, with the woolly head of the father.

At all events it may be laid down with some degree of certainty, that the aboriginal races, especially those inhabiting the Caroline Archipelago, are not of the Pelagian Mongols, nor are they an offshoot of the Mongolian race of the Asiatic continent, as Leson maintained;² also that Puynipet has not been peopled by the Papuan negroes; that the woolly crisp hair of so many of its inhabitants is mainly explained by the intimacy between the black crews of the whalers (it being well-known that a large proportion of the crews of the American whalers are negroes), some 50 or 60 of which visit the island every year, and often remain for several weeks taking in provisions and other stores.

Puynipet has been for some years past the chief rendez-vous of the whalers in the Caroline Archipelago, because it is of all the islands the most accessible, has the best

1 Ed. note: Latin word meaning "roots". In other words, families of languages.

2 Ed. note: René Primevère Lesson (see Doc. 1824...).

and safest harbours, and because fuel and water are procurable thence in unlimited quantities.

[Description of the natives]

The complexion of the natives is of a clear copper hue, and the average height of the males is 5 feet 8 in.; the women are much smaller than the men, with delicate features and flexible forms. The sons of the chiefs are usually well formed, and lighter in colour than the majority of the population, the consequence of their being less exposed to the weather, and in any part of the world would pass for elegant men. The nose is arched, the mouth wide with full lips and dazzling teeth. The flap of the ear is bored in both sexes, but is rarely much enlarged by artificial means. Both men and women have beautiful black hair, which they take great care of.

The men have neither beard nor mustachios. They eradicate the hair so soon as it makes its appearance on the cheeks by means of mussel-shells, or two little pieces of tortoise-shell sharpened. The women are usually pretty, but as the girls marry very young they soon lose the freshness of youth. Their complexion is much fairer than that of the men. The cause of this is to be found in their wearing a sort of upper robe of calico (a large piece of stuff with a hole in the centre through which to put the head) which thus protects their bodies somewhat from the direct rays of the sun.

[Native customs]

The natives are said to be very temperate and methodical in their habits of life. They rise at daybreak, bathe in the river, take a little vegetable food, anoint their bodies with coconut oil, after which they sprinkle themselves plentifully with powdered turmeric. This done, they address themselves to some simple avocation, which they prosecute till noon, when they once more withdraw to their huts, bathe, and partake of another equally frugal repast. The rest of the day is spent in amusements and mutual visiting. Towards sunset they take a third meal, and as they have neither torches nor artificial light of any sort, they usually retire early to rest, unless fishing or dancing by moonlight.

Much respect and consideration is paid to the weaker sex throughout the island, they not being put to any work which does not come within their regular sphere of duty. All outdoor work is done by the men, who build the huts and canoes, plant yams and Kawa, fish, transport the food from the plantation to the house, and even cook it.

The women are chiefly occupied within-doors, in fishing, or cleaning the vegetables, most of their time being taken up with preparing head-dresses, weaving girdles, sewing together palm or pandanus leaves for clothes, planting elegant baskets, and looking after the house and children.

Never at any time patterns of virtue and chastity, the importation of European trinkets and luxuries of all sorts has greatly increased the spread of immorality among the native women, who are actuated by an insatiate, irresistible craving to possess articles of European manufacture.

[Marriage]

When a native wishes to marry, he makes a present to the father of the girl he wishes to marry; if not returned, it is understood his addresses are accepted. Thereupon invitations are issued to a merry-making, with feast, and dance, and revel, after which the bridegroom conducts his bride to his dwelling. When she dies the widower marries her sister, the brother in like manner being required to marry his widowed sister-in-law in the case of the death of the husband, even though he may happen to be already married. Under certain circumstances a man is at liberty to divorce his wife and take another; a woman, on the other hand, enjoys no such privilege, unless she happen to be of higher rank. The chiefs usually have several wives, polygamy, as among the Mormons, being only limited by the means of providing subsistence. The women are of an unusually gossiping, talkative turn, they are quite incapable of keeping their own secrets, and many a delinquency is generally known at the very moment of its commission.

[Burials]

The funeral ceremonies seem to have undergone some modification since the natives began to have intercourse with Europeans. In former times the dead were enveloped in straw mats, and kept for a considerable time in the huts; through the influence of the missionaries, apparently, they have adopted the European custom of interring their dead in certain special places. On the death of a chief or any exalted person, the female relative of the deceased assemble to mourn for a specific period, and betray their sorrow by loud sobs and lamentations by day and dances by night. The connections of the deceased cut off their hair as a mark of their sorrow. All the goods and clothes of the defunct are carried away by whoever is nearest or first possesses himself of them, and this custom is so universal that objects thus obtained are thenceforth considered as lawful property.

[Religion]

The natives usually pray to the spirits of their departed chiefs, whom they implore to grant them success in fishing, rich harvests in breadfruit and yams, the arrival of numerous foreign ships with beautiful articles for barter, and a variety of similar manners. The priests of their idols profess to be able to read the future, and the natives place the most implicit confidence in these predictions. They believe that the priest is inspired with the spirit of a deceased chief, and that every word they utter when in this excited state is dictated by the departed. When any of these prophecies fail, as is often enough the case, the cunning priest pretends that another more powerful spirit has interfered, and forcibly prevented the accomplishment of what they had foretold.

The religion of this primitive people is very simple. They have neither idols nor temple, and although they believe in a future state after death, they seem to have no religious customs or festivals of any sort. Their notion of a future state is under such circumstances exceedingly extraordinary.

Their abode after death they believe to be surrounded by a colossal wall amid a fathomless abyss, in fact a sort of fortress. The only portal into this Elysian aode is guarded by an old woman, whose duty it is to hurl back into the yawning deep the shadows of the departed, who are compelled to spring upwards from the abyss. Such of the shadows as succeed in eluding the evil spirit and effecting an entrance are forever happy; on the other hand, those whom the malicious female demon succeeds in precipitating into the abyss sink into the region of endless woe and torture.

[Feasts]

The native festivals, as a rule, take precedence of every other business, no matter how pressing. Every year the king visits the various villages and settlements of those of his tribe, at which period the chief festivities take place, the chiefs vying with each other in entertaining him. Enormous quantities of yam and breadfruit are on such occasions cooked two days previous, and Kawa is drunk to excess.

Their dances are far from unbecoming, and are quite free from those lascivious gestures which are so often seen at the festivals of the other inhabitants of the South Sea. The dancers are usually unmarried lads and girls, who stand opposite each other in long rows. While keeping time with their feet to the music, they accompany the dance with graceful motions of the arms and upper part of the body. Occasionally they throw their arms out, snap their fingers, and then clap the hands together. Every movement is performed with extraordinary precision, and at the same moment by all the dancers. Their sole musical instrument is a small flute made of bamboo-cane, the notes of which they draw forth by inserting one end in the nostril and blowing gently, while their hands are busy fingering the holes in the usual way.

Their drum is a piece of hollowed-out wood with the skin of a shark stretched over it, of the shape of a sand-glass. Thi is struck with the fingers sof the right hand, the instrument being hung on the left side. The sound somewhat resembles the Tomtom of the Hindoos. The drummer sits cross-legged on the ground, and accompanes the beat of the drum with apposite words.

[Nanmadol ruins]

As to the monumental ruins of the interior of Puynipet which have never yet been visited and described by scientific travellers, we were informed that they consisted of nothing more than a large number o colossal rough-hewn blocks of basalt in the heart of the forest, near Metelenia [sic] harbour. The simplicity of the native, in the absence of all means of accounting for them naturally, sees in these the grand forms of the spirits of departed chiefs. Experienced travellers, on the other hand, are of opinion that in this primeval forest, where now only rocky débris lie scattered about, there once stood strong fortifications, such as indeed no savage people could have erected, and that the character of the ruins evidences a high state of civilization in those who created them. Some of the blocks are 8 or 10 feet long, hexagonal and must evidently have been brought from some other country, since, with the exception of these, there are no other

stones of a similar description found in any part of the island.¹ Streets are laid out at various points, and the whole settlement seems to have consisted of a range of strongly fortified dwellings.²

These columns and blocks, however, possess a special interest not merely in the history of civilization, but of geology, as a part is at present under water, and can only be reached in canoes, a difficulty which cannot have been in existence at the period of their erection. What once were streets are now passages for canoes, and were the walls, built of massive basalt blocks, to be pulled up, the water would obtain access to the inclosed space. This has induced later geologists to refer this phenomenon to a sinking of the entire group, so that puynipet is perhaps the only spot on the earth where Darwin's ingenious theory of the construction of perpendicular reefs and atolls being the result of a sinking of the soil on which the coral-animal had begun to erect his edifice, receives confirmation from the existence of the remains of man's handiwork within the historic period.

As even the "oldest inhabitants" could give us not the slightest information as to these ruins, and their origin and history are plunged in the utmost obscurity, it seems not improbable that these stone masses were once the fortified retreat of pirates, and were built by Spanish corsairs 200 or 30 years back.³ This hypothesis receives confirmation in the fact that in 1828 or 1840, a small brass cannon was found on a hill in the interior, which was brought home [to England] as a curiosity by H.M.S. *Larne*.⁴ Occasionally, too, at various parts of the island clearings are found some of which are several acres in extent. In one of these, still in existence near the harbour of Roankiddi, the traveller is shown an artificial mound of about 20 feet wide, 8 feet high, and a quarter of a mile long, which has obviously been thrown up as a defence, or else has been the place of internment for such as have fallen in a severe contest.

This conjecture adopted, it follows that the present population is of quite recent introduction, and the rumour of a black race inhabiting the interior must necessarily be treated as a myth.

While we were asking questions and getting up information evening was beginning to draw on, and we could not remain longer on the island, as it was necessary to return on shipboard before nightfall, the frigate having meanwhile been kept cruising under easy sail, about three or four miles off the island. Another reason for our immediate departure was to be found in our narrow flat-bottomed craft, which in any sort of sea-way have some difficulty in escaping swamping. Had the wind during our return voyage

1 Ed. note: There are, notably at Sokehs Rock.

2 Similar ruins are described by Captain Cheyne as having been also found in the forests of Ualan (Strong Island) in the Caroline Archipelago, 5°21'30" N., 163°0'42" E.

3 Ed. note: There are only three possibilities for Spaniards to have reached Pohnpei; 1) the lost ships of ... in 154. (see Doc. ...); 2) the marooned crew members of the *San Jerónimo* at Ujelang in 1566 (see Doc. 1566.); and most probably 3) the lost ship of *Mendaña* in 1595, last seen just south of Pohnpei (see Doc. 1596...). However, the ruins are geologically much older.

4 Ed. note: It was in 1840? (see HM18:...).

freshened ever so little, we should have found ourselves in a serious dilemma. Numbers of herons, white, black, and mottled, were fishing in the shallow water along the edge of the reefs, the sea-raven flew in vast flights among the lagoons, while high overhead the graceful frigate-bird swept along, every now and then darting rapidly down to secure his booty.

[Beachcombers]

One of the whites whom we employed as our guide in the island, accompanied us on board, and asked as his reward some tobacco and clothes, with which he departed much satisfied. In him, too, we observed a marked and quite peculiar shyness, especially when on board the frigate. He seemed as though he dreaded some avenging hand. His glance was timid, his gait and motions betrayed a sense of insecurity, and he might have readily been mistaken for some repentant sinner, who in consequence of some evil deed had fled from civilized society and sought out this distant asylum, where he had scarcely to fear any other persecution than that of his own conscience! Hardly any spot, indeed, can be named more suitable for thus expiating crime than this remote island, where the white man, face to face with nature in a new and unwonted aspect, and at the mercy of a savage people, often deprived for months of the consolations and support of civilization, finds in his solitude ample opportunity to reflect upon the enormity of his guilt, and to mourn over his own evil fortune.

As the west wind, which still blew, effectually prevented the frigate from entering the harbour of Roan kiddi, and there was no reason to hope for any speedy change, our original intention of spending several days there was abandoned, and the same evening we resumed our course for Australia.

As our brief stay of barely five hours on the island of Puynipet necessarily led to our observations and remarks being of the most superficial nature, whereas the island has of late years begun to acquire an unusual importance both in a maritime and a commercial sense, we must content ourselves with referring the reader for a more detailed account to Captain Cheyne's admirable and comprehensive account of the island.¹

...

Our progress now began to be very slow, and the equatorial zones with their vexatious calms, and variable light breezes alternating with violent squalls, became a sore trial for our patience. An unusual and most oppressive heat, from which we vainly sought shelter; tropical rains, which often fell in unbroken torrents for hours at a time, and obscured the daylight with clouds almost as suddenly at times as though there were an eclipse; a long heavy swell, which knocked the good ship about with an unceasing and most disagreeable motion, without nevertheless our being able to advance one single mile in the twenty-four hours; the depressing monotonous flapping and filling of the sails, which, with the rolling and pitching of the ship, now bellied out and then fell

1 Ed. note: He goes on to quote the following passages from Cheyne's book: ref. HM... :- .. [pp. 588-9 = ?]

idly back against the masts and yards, straining the rigging and cordage, and keeping a constant indescribable but most irritating noise—such is a faint sketch of the miseries of voyagers caught by an equatorial calm in a sailing vessel! How one longs for a good hearty storm, if only to drive us out of this truly dismal plight! How in the monotony of such an existence does a quite insignificant circumstance at once assume the proportions of an important event! The most trifling incident on board, the most imperceptible object which becomes visible in either atmosphere or water, attracts universal attention, and gives rise to discussions by the hour. One day some one perceived a dark object floating in the distance; when the frigate got near this proved to be the trunk of a tree, almost 100 feet long, and though at best we could only have used it as firewood, a boat was forthwith manned and dispatched to tow it alongside. A few black Albatrosses suffered themselves to be hauled contentedly along upon the floating trunk, somewhat astonishing us by their being found so near the equator. Only by dint of considerable exertion was the huge unwieldy piece of wood brought on board, where the zoologists got a famous lesson in conchology, from the shell-fish that had fastened on it, and the sailors chuckled with delight at finding some occupation in cutting up the vegetable colossus into sizeable pieces.

At 6:30 p.m. on the 20th September, we crossed the equator for the sixth time in 161°57' E. and in the Southern hemisphere found we still had to contend with calms and contrary winds.

...

L4. The narrative of the geologist, Ferdinand von Hochstetter

Source: Ferdinand von Hochstetter. Reise der Österreichischen Fregatten "Novara" um die Erde (Vienna, 1864-66).

Note: Translated into English by Roland Hanewald.

...

During summertime Shanghai is anything less than a healthy place. The enormous heat, with the thermometer often reading from 90 to 100 degrees F. for weeks on end, between June and July, the moist air during the southwest monsoon season, the vapors rising from the low, swampy ricefields all around—all that causes fevers but mostly dreaded dysenteries. Commonly the ships on the river are much more haunted by these diseases than the people ashore. The **Novara** also experienced Shanghai's unhealthy summer climate to the fullest extent. The sick list grew by the day while the frigate lay at anchor off Shanghai and lastly had about 70 persons down with fever and several with dysentery, among the latter one of our physicians. He luckily overcame the scourge and recuperated on the voyage to Sydney, whereas one seaman succumbed to the disease. He was given a solemn burial at sea near the Carolines. The fevers vanished as quickly as they had come as soon as a fresh sea breeze blew across the decks.

On August 11th, the frigate had left her anchorage off Shanghai. Tied to the steam tug **Meteor** she took advantage of the first high tide to get back into the Yang-tse-kiang



Dr. F. Hochstetter, geologist of the expedition.

and luckily reached the same after being stuck in the soft mud of the Shanghai River for several hours. We still waited there for the mail due from Europe after whose arrival on the 13th, we continued on down the Yang-tse-kiang on the 14th, towed by the **Meteor** up to Gützaff Island. Here we had to anchor and only manage to reac the open sea with a fresh ESE breeze on August 15th.

The eather had peculiarly changed during the past days. Stifling hot days had been followed by a substantial cooling of the atmosphere in the wake of repeated and extremely violent thunderstorms; the thermometer, which had always read between 30 and 34 degrees C., now read 20° C. in the morning and only rose to 25° during the day. The whole sky was covered with gray, uniform clouds, and while we lay in the Yang-tse-kiang it rained almost incessantly. As we sailed down the river, we gradually got out of the overcast, which apparently covered the mainland only. The sky brightened, now turning milky white and turning everything with a thin veil, and because the mirror-like surface of the water reflected the milky-whie sky, seas and sky could no longer be distinguished from each other. In the hazy air both intermingled in such a way as to render the horizon undiscernible. It looked as though we were sailing into an empty void, ghostly even. Ships and junks, whose contorted reflections appeared as dar spots before a white background at a distance, gave a strange impression. As we reached the open sea, sky and water were blue again, but instead of the southwest monsoon which had taken us here, we encountered a high barometer reading (30.100 inches) and a southeast wind gradually veering east and, on August 17th, a steadily increasing northeast which drove us briskly on our southeast course across the China Sea. On August 17th, the sun set yellowish-red, with an almost fair sky but somewhat hazy horizon; "windy" said the commander, as the stars in the nightly zenith twinkling more than usual and the barometer starting to dropo slowly but alarmingly.

August 18th, the birthday of our Emperor and supreme Lord, began with a bright sunshine. The year before we had celebrated this birthday in Brazil's imperial city. This time all preparations had been made to celebrate the day in a dignified manner on the high seas with a solemn service and a festive dinner,, to which the commander had invited his officers. However, nature had other plans in store for us, the better to make the birthday of His Majesty the Emperor one of the most remarkable day in the annals of the frigate **Novara**.

At 6 o'clock in the morning already, the northeast wind was so fresh that the main royals and soon after the topgallant sails had to be shortened. The sea grew by the minute, and when the solemn service was about to begin, the frigate already rolled so badly that that the gun ports shipped water. The service had to be discontinued, as the barometer, restlessly oscillating, kept dropping, slowly but inexorably, and the wind, veering a bit to the north, continually increased in strength, driving single shreds of cloud, as swift as arrows, across the still quite fairly-looking sky. All signs pointed to an incoming storm. The hour of the festive dinner had arrived at 4 p.m. and the party had assembled in the so-called gun-room. But what scenes intervened.

The ship was so terribly hurled to and fro that everything not screwed down or tightly secured was pushed to one side to the other in a chaotic mess, no matter whether they were living beings or inanimate objects. The invited guests themselves, surprised by this formidable rolling, formed a chaotic heap of this description, together with the chairs and chesterfields. Fortunately it turned out during a brief lull that only the chairs and chesterfields had had their legs broken, and that all of us were unharmed. This was the start of the dinner. The wreckage was secured, and the party took position around the large bolted-down table, which of course could not sustain anything but the empty tablecloth, each of us assuming as seaworthy a stance as possible. You will hardly be able to imagine, unless you have experienced similar scenes at sea, how it was possible to dine in such a situation, and a provident housewife would be shocked when told that everything went to pieces in the process. Certainly the birthday of His Majesty has never before been celebrated at so lively a table, and never would the enthusiastic hurrah have been accompanied louder by the thunder of frothing seas and the howling of the storm than on this day aboard the **Novara**. There was a special enthusiasm in the hurrah, which reached its height when the music sounded, stoutly and clearly intoning the beautiful tune of the national anthem above the roaring of the elements...

The storm had fully developed when we rose from the table, but there was more to come. WE soon became convinced that this was no simple gale but that the China Sea, hitherto thus far had treated us mercifully during our voyages across it, in order to maintain its amambiguous reputation, now bestowed upon us a farewell greeting in the form of what the Chinese call a typhoon (i.e. a great wind).

When I went on deck at 8 p.m., there were heavy masses of cloud to the southeast and east, reaching up to the zenith, darker and denser at the horizon, although not black like thunder clouds but gray and whitish-gray like heavy layers of fog or looking like wintry snow clouds at home. Higher up they assumed a more yellowish tinge, terminating at the zenith as cumulus clouds with sharply defined, brightly lit edges. In the western sky low shredded masses of fog and haze went like arrows before the storm from the northeast. The sun set; we proceeded with double-reefed topsails and storm sail across a chaotic sea into that fog-gray, ghostly sky which should enveloped us in a black night. However, the battle plan had been drafted by the ship commander, and with this trustworthy plan we steered toward the menacing monster in order to observe its motions to act accordingly.

Our noon position (27°45' lat. N., and 125°25' long. E. of Greenwich) was not at all a favorable one, but on the contrary, the most unfavorable possible. WE were in the northwest quadrant of the cyclone, whose center—if it moved northwest or west, as is common with China Sea typhoons—threatened to reach us the sooner we directed our course towards the southeast into the broad passage between the Loochoo Islands and the Miyako Islands, which leads from the China Sea into the Pacific Ocean.

The continuously dropping barometer, the elements raging with increasing violence, the consistently sustained wind direction from north-northeast—all of this was ample indication that we were directly aiming at the center of the storm. In order to evade it

from our position, the only possibility was to cross its assumed northwesterly track on a southwesterly course with the purpose of reaching side before its center had advanced too far. At 10 p.m., we consequently changed course from west to south, and on this tack we ran before the wind with just as much sail as we would dare. If the wind should gradually change from east to north and then more westerly, all was won, for we could then hoped to be past the center and gain the southwestern and western side of the cyclone and see our battle plan vindicated. Luckily, the wind changed as we had expected and in accordance with the law of cyclones, and when it had veered to N 1/2 W past midnight, we layed to over the port bow till the following morning, for we could now presume that the center had passed northeast of us.

The night of August 18th to 19th was a restless storm night in the very sense of the word. As long as the frigate sailed before the wind, we rolled terribly to and fro, yet a comforting relative calm set in after we hove to at midnight.

At daybreak (August 19th) the skies were gloomy and darkly fogged over, with clouds suspended low and almost mingling with the terribly agitated sea. It was unearthly in the very sense of the word. Toward the northeast the darker, leaden hue of the more compact cloud banks distinctly marked the position of the typhoon center. I had talked to wave observers during our last year's storm scene at the Cape, but in this wild and confusedly agitated sea no fixed feature could be made out, no prevailing regular sea-way in consonance with the wind that we experienced. The waves criss-crossed in all directions, conical mountains suddenly rose to 20 and 26 feet in height, as far as one could estimate, and then collapsed with equal suddenness. It was the true "pyramidal cyclone sea" which ships getting into the range of these whirlwinds have to fear almost as much as the violence of the wind.

WE were now probably in a more favorable position, but not at all yet beyond the range of the typhoon. All storm phenomena were still on the increase, mainly the barometer, the surest indicator of the vicinity of the center, kept dropping, albeit in an unsteady fluctuating way. The wind had veered to NNW, while we headed SE 1/2 E towards the middle of the channel between the Loochoo and Miyako Islands. The rolling we went through while again running before the wind surpassed anything heretofore experienced. The whole forward section of the ship was under water, the waves crashed onto the deck from all sides and up to the forecastle, which in the case of the **Novara** is 21 feet above the waterline, and even the boats shipped water. At 4 o'clock the barometer had reached its lowest point, reading 29.302 inches (when at 19.9° C.), and from 5 o'clock onward, it showed a tendency to rise again. The typhoon sea, however, only reached its maximum in the evening between 6 and 8 p.m., as the barometer slowly rose again, and, according to our reckoning, we must have been just inside the 120-mile channel between the Loochoo and Miyako Islands. The wind blew with a terrible violence from the WNW (our navigation journal recording its strength at 9 on a scale of 10), in a black night and at 14 knots, with four reefs in our main and fore topsail, and double-reefed foresail, we shot through the passage between the Loochoo Miyako Islands out of the China Sea into the Pacific Ocean. It rained, or rather the singular cloud

covering the sky seemed to reach down all the way to the sea, waves crashed over one another, and once a watery mountain arose, the storm would hit the top of it and tear it into spray. The sea was white foam, the air filled with spray, and from abaft one could hardly discern the fore part of the ship.

The storm, as it made its way across the foamy surface of the water, produced a low, almost metallic sound, distinctly different from the howling and shrill whistling in the rigging. The wind reached such a force that shortening the sails was out of the question without subjecting the crew to obvious danger. WE had to leave it to fate, whether the sails would hold or be blown away. Yet they remained intact and we breathed more freely after this big excitement when, as per our dead reckoning, it looked like we had reached the Pacific Ocean by 8 p.m. The following is how the commander described the nocturnal typhoon scene:

“At daybreak on August 20th, the wind was already WSW, the barometer had risen to 29.500 inches, and although we still had a full-fledged storm, we could be assured of having luckily escaped the range of the cyclone. This became more and more certain as the day progressed. The barometer slowly rose, the wind became SW and then changed to a fresh SW monsoon. The sky also became brighter. WE got out from under the cloud layer of the actual cyclone, and at noon a yellowish sun shone through a light haze, enabling us to fix our position again. Towards evening, some blue sky even materialized, and at sunset the skies once again had the same appearance as on the evening of the 18th. Low, shredded, blackish-gray clouds moved across our masts, but above them we saw an almost fair, quiet sky. The awe-inspiring dark cloud bank of the cyclone was behind us.

Thus, we had been about 48 hours under the influence of the actual typhoon, from 8 p.m. on August 18th until 6 p.m. on August 20th. and nearest its center on the 19th.. WE could not calculate by means of our observations how close the distance had been, but, from the barometer readings we had, we may have passed some 100 nautical miles from its actual center. The center must have advanced quite slowly, which probably can be explained by our having met with the typhoon at a place where it has just started, namely near or over the Loochoo Islands. It was the first typhoon of the year 1858, prophesied wrongly by the North China Herald of Shanghai for a date 14 days too soon, and forecast by the thousand-year Chinese calendar for August 10th. Perhaps news of the typhoon raging at the Chinese coast have been adopted by European newspapers from said paper, and anyone monitoring our voyage with some interest ought to have thought of the **Novara**. I have narrated what we experienced. The mass of the **Novara** had turned gray overnight, gray from the salt crust that covered them all the way up, but they still stand upright. Science has shown us a way to avoid the looming storm, but led by God's hand we happily escaped the danger, unscathed.”

The fresh southwesterly continued and took us quickly ahead along our track. Already in the afternoon of August 26th, we sighted Guam, southernmost of the Maria-

na Islands, and had thus covered, with the help of a typhoon and favorable winds, a distance of 1,800 nautical miles in twelve days.

It was our commander's intention to drop anchor at Umata Bay on the southwestern side of the island. This anchorage however turned out to be so little protected from the fresh SW monsoon, which piled a heavy sea against the shore, that, after we had approached it within 1-1/2 miles in the morning of August 27th, we abandoned our plan to stop there for a few days. After working ourselves laboriously out of shoals and coral reefs, we rounded the south point of the island at noon of August 27th and continued our tack towards the Carolines. Perhaps the Spaniards and Filipinos on Guam still rack their brains to this very day over what happened to the Spanish frigate (for which we no doubt had been taken, due to the similarity of our flags) that had appeared in the morning of August 27th off Umata Bay. This riddle will only be solved when the wife of the governor of the Marianas will have found the long and vainly awaited opportunity of reaching the islands. We had met this lady in Manila and she was familiar with the **Novara's** plan to visit the island of Guam.¹

By August 30th, we had reached the easternmost limit of the SW monsoon in 149°43' long. E. of Greenwich. If a favorable breeze had pushed us forward, we might have reached our next destination, the island of Puynipet in the Caroline Archipelago, in four days, but we only sighted this island on September 15th. As stormy as our passage had commenced, so cheerless were the present calms which caused us to lay about for days on end, even weeks, with limp sails.

...

The island of Puynipet [Pohnpei] in the Caroline Archipelago.

Puynipet, also called Ponape on English charts, is the name of the island we sighted in the morning of September 15th, thus named by the Russian captain Lütke who discovered the island in 1828, and designated it, together with the atolls called Andema and Panguenema (actually Ant and Pakin) by the natives in the near west, as the Seniavin Group, after the name of his ship. The French call the island Ascension.² The natives themselves refer to their home as Bonoabe, which has been corrupted into all kinds of names: Bonibet, Bonybay, Bornabe, etc. The reader is likely to find this island, located in 6°58' lat. N., and 158°20' long. E. of Greenwich, on his chart under the latter name and will thus be able to orient himself as to the remote, seldom visited spot on earth that the **Novara** was headed for.

Without a breadth of air moving, we made slow progress, propelled by a southerly current, but by sunset we could already discern the small wooded and rocky islets north of the island's central mass rising to 2,860 English feet. They are located within the barrier reef that rings the island at a distance of one to two miles, and five miles on the north side. Puynipet is one of the finest examples of a high island in the Pacific Ocean

1 Ed. note: Mrs. De la Corte, however, never left Manila. She committed suicide by poisoning herself, despairing of ever seeing her husband again.

2 Ed. note: Not so. It was so called by American whalers.

which are normally surrounded by a barrier reef. Only Ualan [Kosrae] and Hogoleu [Chuuk] are similar high islands in the Caroline Archipelago, all others being low atoll islands.

Anyone who has a young and fresh mind, an open heart and an open eye, will be able to undergo the sensation of pure, satisfying joy at the sight of grand manifestations of nature; anyone who had been given a lasting impression at the sight of mountains of eternal snow, the endless ocean, or a steaming volcano crater, will comprehend how impatiently and longingly we glanced towards the approaching island, where we would be allowed to look with wonder at the coral structures for the first time with our own eyes.

Puynipet has gained more and more importance to shipping in the Pacific Ocean over the last few years. During the northern winter (from October to March), the northeast trades advance southward beyond the latitude of Puynipet. During this season, ships bound from Sydney to China frequently prefer the Pacific route over the southern track around New Holland, through the Sunda Straits, or the perilous voyage through Torres Straits, calling at Puynipet or Guam to supply themselves with water and fresh victuals and making a good, fast voyage. In this manner the Swedish navy corvette **Eugenie**, in the course of her circumnavigation, covered no less than 5,000 nautical miles from Sydney to Hong Kong in 37 days in November 1852. The island is mostly visited by whalers from December to March, calling at the safe Ronkiti or Lee Harbor at the SSW side of the island in order to overhaul their ships and to supply themselves with wood water, which the island offers in rich abundance. As at the Sandwich Islands, North American missionaries followed the whalers, who brought home with them the most favorable accounts of the island's magnificent nature and its friendly, happy and good-natured inhabitants. Today there are no fewer than thirty Europeans formally residing on Puynipet. Puynipet, and Ualand which is located 300 nautical miles further east, are stations of North American missionaries, who maintain a schooner of their own for regular communication with the Sandwich Islands.

During the night of September 16th a light, northwesterly breeze finally stirred and the next morning we were sailing along the island's west coast headed for Ronkiti Harbor at its SSW side. The high island was clear ahead of us, free of cloud and wooded all over. Only at the northwestern corner, there was a widely projecting bare rock, shaped like a citadel, vertically rising to perhaps 1,000 feet and cut off horizontally at the top. (I later learned that this rock forms a small island by itself, separated by a narrow channel from the mainland and is called Docholoits [Sokehs] by the natives.) The circular coral reef, with its small, low islets, still lay below the horizon. Now, as we gradually approached, single dark dots became visible at the horizon on both sides of the island, gradually growing in number and getting closer to one another, finally looking like a string of pearls lined up in the air just above the horizon. Next to them delicate white wisps of cloud rose and vanished equally fast above the darkly blue-black horizon of the sea, flickering like flames in places. This was the first manifestation of the reef islands and the surf on the coral reef as such, effecting themselves as mirages at a dis-

tance of five to six nautical miles in all such places in all tropical seas where the surface temperature of the water and thus the temperature of the air layer atop it is greater than that of the higher layers of air. As we approached to within two miles the dark dots had melted into coconut palms and breadfruit trees, which grace the outer reef in places; the white cloudlets now were a continuous strip of the terribly frothing white surf, separating the heaving ocean from the lighter, calm as a mirror, water of the wide channel. The latter forms the strange natural passage within the fringing circular reef, enabling the natives to maintain communication around the island in the frailest of craft, always protected from the roaring waves of the ocean. Wherever the channel is deep enough and an opening in the reef permits the entry from outside, it offers a safe harbor for even the largest of ships, like an artificial dock. Puynipet has several such harbors, which, depending on the season and the winds then prevailing, can be safely entered and left by even large vessels. The most important of those harbors are the so-called Weather Harbor in the northeast, the Middle Harbor in the northwest [rather southeast], and the Lee Harbor in the south-southwest. The latter is particularly well situated during the northeast tradewind season, and it is the most frequented also, although the narrow entrance, winding in various directions, is not without some difficulties.

Thronged of marine birds swarmed over the reefs; they were the first living beings noticed by us. It was only when we sailed along the west coast, clear of the northeastern swells and slowly gliding ahead before a light breeze under the protective lee of the island in the totally calm fairway between Puynipet and the atoll islands of Pagenema and Andema in sight to the west of us, that we noticed the natives approaching us in their canoes with triangular sails, emerging from several places in the reef enclosure.

The first canoe that came alongside the frigate carried four natives and a white man, an American having lived on the island for 19 years, who offered to pilot us in. He was followed by like company, and for the same purpose, by a Frenchman, an Englishman, and lastly, by an American negro.

We kept the negro on board to pilot us into Ronkiti Harbor. The American and the two Europeans, derring-do characters and probably beachcombers, soon left us. What dark images of human fate the life stories of the white residents of Puynipet might divulge, who found a safe asylum among the peaceful, friendly "savages" and who concluded their day in a wretched hut in the shade of coconut palms and breadfruit trees at the side of a brown-skinned wife? I believe a novelist may find as much material as a naturalist in Puynipet. I was much more interested in the "savage", kind-looking native than the degenerate, weird European.

It is easy to understand that memories of the Nicobars were rekindled in us and that the Nicobarians gave us a reference for a relative comparison with the Puynipetians. Rightfully so, for both belong to the same ethnic family called the Malay race and inhabiting, in more or less diverging nuances, most of the island world from Madagascar to Polynesia. The natives of Puynipet who came on board on September 16th and all of those we later saw on the island itself appeared to us somewhat darker than the

Nicobarians, their brown color being more reddish. They had black, partly smooth, partly curly, but not at all wooly hair, lively black eyes, somewhat flat noses and thick lips, but clean white teeth, not spoiled by betel-nut chewing. They are all short, stocky figures, not as heavily built and not as well nourished as the Nicobarians; besides, most are affected by disfiguring, repulsive skin diseases, mainly the so-called "fish-scale scab."

The arms and legs of men as well as those of the women are handsomely tattooed. Their only attire is a belt holding thickly-set with loosely hanging coconut fronds, that is, some kind of short skirt down to the knees, which they call *goal*.¹ As picturesque as this *goal* may be, it gives the men an effeminate look. The women often substitute it for a piece of cotton cloth wrapped around the hips, like a Javanese sarong. Their earlobes are perforated on top and below, with the most varied objects put into them, such as cigars, parts of pandanus fruits, flowers, etc. Necklaces fashioned from colorful glass beads are a very popular decoration, to which the women may add a wreath of fresh yellow flowers, nicely framing their black curly hair.

The canoes of the natives are very similar to those of the Nicobaians, namely hollowed tree trunks with an outrigger on one side, of equal construction at both ends, and all painted red. In their center there is some kind of platform (or table), occupying the entire breadth of the canoe up to the outrigger and offering a comfortable place for stretching out. During festive occasions this place is even said to be used as a little dancing floor. Most of the men visiting us on board spoke some words of English; they showed no fear or embarrassment whatever. One of them even gave our seamen some unsolicited help by lending a hand during sailing maneuvers. Since they all belonged to the west and northwest sides of the island, they again left us as we approached the southwestern point towards evening.

There are five tribes under five chiefs on the island, two of which being presently engaged in a warlike feud, which however has thus far remained bloodless. The total population of the island, measuring about 60 nautical miles in circumference, is estimated at 3,000 souls.

We were favored with putting into port on September 16th. Night fell just as we were at the entrance. Dark weather clouds rising at the eastern horizon and soon closing in on us, with sharp wind and torrents of rain forced us to stand out to sea during the night, away from the eerie coral reefs whose presence was announced to us by the muffled sound of the surf breaking on them.

As September 17th broke fair and pleasant with bright sunshine, we were in a position in a position that obliged us to tack some 20 miles against a feeble northwesterly breeze. In this manner the whole day was lost, and when we had finally reached a point at sunset enabling us to move in, night fell again.

So, we only managed to reach the entrance on the morning of the 18th, beteen the small reef islet of Nahlap, lusuriant with coconut palms and breadfruit trees, on our

1 Ed. note: Now written 'koahl.'

port side, and Sandy Island with violently breaking surf and coveed with some shrubs and coral debris only, to the east of our starboard side. But we soon came to a stop again. In order to reach the much safer harbor bay, which lies like an artificially excavated basin at sea level among the coral banks, we had to pass a narrow channel through the reef. Although it was clearly discernible because of the coloration of the absolutely calm water and because of some markers planted there, its direction is westerly at first and then northerly, and thus inaccessible to us with a westerly wind. All we could do was to anchor right on the spot where we were. The anchor dropped in 35 fathoms on bare coral rock. This was an anchorage and a position which we could ill afford to sustain in view of the safety of the ship. In order not to lose any more time with vain attempts to get into port, the commander decided to abandon Puynipet and head for the Solomon Islands instead.

With a heavy heart—I frankly admit it—I saw my hope waning of being able to set foot on the lovely island, among whose magnificent forests, friendly and winsome natives, airy summits and surf-washed reefs I had dreamed to see. With a heavy heart, I repeat, disappointed, I was already watching the preparations being made for weighing anchor when some comfort was at least brought about by the kind invitation of the commander to accompany him for a few hours ashore, until the frigate should have reached the open sea again. Out of the eight days that the original plan had allotted for the exploration of the island, whose natural beauty was all but unknown, only a few hours had remained because of unfavorable circumstances. Allow me to briefly describe what we saw during those few hours that passed so quickly.

At 10 in the morning, the commander left the ship. On the shore of the islands some native huts could be seen under coconut trees. We headed for them, but, after crossing the deep harbor basin, soon found ourselves facing so many shallow coral shoals that we could no longer proceed towards the huts, although we were quite near them. By moving to deeper navigable channels, we got into the mouth of a river further east whose shallow, swampy bottom was covered with a mangrove forest. Attempts to force our way to the huts through the mangrove were futile because the whole area was the most inaccessible terrain imaginable, being paved with the peculiar protuberances of mangrove roots, like pointed pegs. On the other hand, the forest abounded with thousands of birds. Within a short time the commander had shot a large number, among them seven different species, mainly a kind of parrot with a magnificent red, black and green plumage. We proceeded for some short distance up the mangrove forest from which several small side channels branched off, some of which looking artificially made, but because the scenery did not change and no huts could be seen, we turned around and now tried close to the shore, where the water was a little deeper, to try and reach the above-mentioned huts. This was successful.

Several Europeans and natives approached us in a friendly manner, among whom was a Dr. Cook, an American who lives here as a physician. We entered his simple hut. It was only different from those of the natives by its furnishings, a little library set up, and some tables and chairs, it had been woven, native style, rather than constructed,

out of materials supplied by palms and other trees, atop a foundation of piled up basalt blocks. The name of this settlement in Ronkiti Harbor is Rei [rather Roi]. While the natives brought shells, fishes, some fruits, etc., in exchange for tobacco, which they preferred over anything else, I followed a little foot path leading up to some gently rising hills behind the huts.

I was surrounded by nothing but breadfruit and pisang trees, with some black basalt blocks sticking out of the red loamy ground in places and graceful little lizards with sapphire-blue tails shimmering in metallic hues flitting like arrows across the rocks. On top of the hill there was a single primitive hut. The only living beings were a dog, some chickens, and a native phlegmatically resing in the shade and not feeling to rise when the foreign face of a European suddenly loomed before him. Upon my asking for *ked-jiniai*, i.e. fire in Puynipetian,¹ a wrinkled old crone crpt forth from the hut and handed me a glowing ember. The crone received a cigar as a reward, which was promptly lit and smoked with delight. Upon my request for some young drinking coconuts, the phlegmatic master of the hut shouted some words towards the forest, whereupon an answer echoed back and some giggling and joking young girls soon emerged, carrying the desired articles freshly plucked from the tree. plus a long stick of sugarcane and a freshly harvested ginger root. Such were the refreshments given to me, accompanied by much laughter and diverse comments, which I unfortunately did not understand, by the children of the forest standing in not much more than their birthday suits and not shy at all.

TWO small mirrors I had brought along were the reward for the girls, evoling the most exuberant joy. There was no denying the charm of youth of those children of nature, although I must call them anything but pretty.

Because I anted to see in what manner these natives would open a coconeut—the Nicobarrians open them ith a single slash of the saber in their open hand—I asked the phlegmatic chap, who didn't want to move, with pantonimic gestures for this favor. He crawled into his hut and came back with a solid stick sharpened to a point at the top, which he planted into the ground and removed the green husk by hitting the nut upon the cutting edge in a circular motion. When, however, he asked for my geologic hamer to open the hard shell of the nut, I gladly took care of this business for which in all probability he commonly used a rock, because I could not see anything new in this. The nuts were only half as big as those of the Nicobars, but their water was much sweeter and tastier.

I continued on my way and reached some kind of shed, in which four natives were working on a canoe. The axes, or rather adzes, they used for hollowing out a tree trunk were simple European plane-irons, tied at an angle to a wooden handle. Two females kept the men company and amaused themselves and the men by playing some kind of clarinet fashioned from reed, from which they coaxed a variety of amusical sounds. The primitive clarinet was willingly ceded to e for a couple of cigars.

1 Ed. note: Now written "kisiniei."

When I returned to Dr. Cook's hut, I found the company notably increased, mainly women who had shown up, young girls who rummaged forth from little bags they carried, for the benefit of our zoologist, the fishes, shells, trepang, etc. they had gathered this morning during low tide on the coral reefs. They also expected from us foreigners, in a very unmistakable manner, another revenue, less tiresomely earned than by the sale of delicacies and curios collected on the coral reefs, and apparently a much more common custom introduced by the crews of whaling ships. I believe the female population greatly surpasses the male population on Puynipet. This at least may be concluded from the ease at which the Europeans living here get hold of women, and not only one but, as some of those adventurers frankly admitted, three, four, or five at the same time. We had occasion to see several offsprings from those affairs, young fellows whose fathers were whites, and found in the features and lighter skin colors of these half-breeds a remarkable similarity with the Tagals of Luzon, who are nothing but a mixed race of Malays and white blood.

When we asked to trade for some pigs, chickens, bananas and yams, we were referred to the chief of the Ronkiti tribe as the only person in charge of possible acquisition of fresh victuals, and we thus set out for his house, located on the fresh-water river or Ronkiti River, farther inland.

We took the water route and again got into the mangrove channel in which we had been before. A lateral channel led us from the turbid muddy water among the mangroves into the crystal-clear fresh-water river. A charming landscape unfolded before us: a small, clear mountain river, its shore wreathed with coconut palms moving in a refreshing wind. Past this, there were low, gentle hills planted with breadfruit trees, and everywhere huts and dwellings of people peeping through. In the background loomed the dark, tall forest peaks of the island. The main settlement on the river uphill is called Ronkiti.

One should not imagine a contiguous village cluster of huts, but rather of dwellings picturesquely scattered all along the river bank and on the hills, and shaded by the most wonderful vegetation. The first huts on the left bank of the river were pointed out to us as the place of a missionary who, an indigenous native of the Sandwich Islands, happened to be absent in Ualan (Strong's Island). Near a spacious shed shading a several canoes from sun and rain we went ashore on this left river bank and soon reached the place of the chief on a hill overlooking the river and affording a splendid view of the valley, the sea and the island's mountains. The chief was not at home, but was soon fetched. A slim young man with a red belt and the national *goal* slung around his loins, neatly tattooed on arms and legs, with long, flying locks at his temples (we presented him with a red Turkish fez with a blue tassel, which looked very good on him), showed up and invited us into his hut. He squatted down onto a straw mat, while wooden chairs were brought for us; a pretty young woman, also with a sarong around her hips and tattooed like the man, the only wife of the King of Ronkiti, sat down with a pout on the straw mat next to her husband. The commander offered cigars to the chief couple. In exchange we were treated to fresh coconut water, served in glasses. Certainly all of

us looked at this handsome young couple, whose eyes radiated happy contentment and the best of harmony, with pure relish. With visible joy a little brown chap romping about before the hut was introduced to us as the future chief. Our business relative to pigs and chickens was soon taken care of through the help of an interpreter—the American—with the chief giving orders to the natives gathered outside, who by-and-by brought soe pigs and chickens, which were traded for tobacco and old muskets, the most esteemed objects in Puynipet. The natives seem to be quite familiar with firearms. In the chief's hut I saw several double- and single-action rifles, albeit in a very rusty and neglected state. I do not where they get the ammunition for those rigles. The chief's hut differed from the others only by being larger, forming a spacious, elongated rectangle and looking quite similar, with its tall gabled roof, to a European barn. The inner room was nowhere divided by partition walls, and besides straw mats, little woven baskets, bottles, a chest of iron tools, and a most peculiar ancient loom, on which a colorful ribbon was just being made, there was nothing special in the way of furnishings or other objects.

Unfortunately the timie available to us was soon elapsed, for after concluding our business, we had tothink of getting back to the shipo. Accompanied by some native canoeese went down the river and by the shortest way across the river mouth, and soon reached the reef channel. Countless herons, white, black and dappled, were fishing on the shallow reefs; large flocks of gannets flew across the calm mirror of the lagoons, and up on high, frigate birds hovered about, diving like arrows to wherever they espied some prey. At 4 o'clock we were back on board, and at 6 o'clock under sail on a south-eastern tack for the Solomon Islands.

From no shore have I departed with a heavier heart than from Puynipet. The brief visit was long enough to give us an idea of the natural wealth of the charming island. What we heard about other parts of the island, mainly about the area around Weather Harbor, was apt to whet our appetites even more. Ruins of building relics of an unknown people seem to be equally important in terms of cultural history and geology. Where there once were roads, there are now canoe passages; if the walls of large basalt blocks piled up would be broken down, water would penetrate into the rock enclosures. The relics are now in the water, in which state they could not possibly have been when they were built. Perhaps this is the only place in the world where Darwin's [rather Dana's] sharp-witted theory on the formation of barrier reefs and atolls through subsidence of the seafloor, ono which the coral polyp started its construction, may also be proven historically through man-made bildings.

May our sucesors, who will hopefully dispose of steam power, solve this riddle and be more fortunate and more successful than we were!

...

Document 1858N

The ship **Gideon Howland**, Captain **James M. Williams**

Sources: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 330; Log Inv. 1984.

Note: The log covers the period beginning 11 August 1857 until 11 December 1860 when she was taking oil from other whalers before her homeward journey.

Extracts from the logbook

Note: The logbook was not kept by the captain, but by two successive chief mates. Only the name of the second is known; he was a Mr. Durham (see end note).

...
 [To the Pacific Ocean, via the Indian Ocean, up through Micronesia, without making any sighting, and to the northern latitudes. She came down in Oct. 1858 to Maui. IN Decembver, towards the Line, near the Gilberts by Christmas.]

...
 Friday Dec. 24th [1858]

... At 12 o'clock M., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing West about 12 miles off. Ran down close to it and luffed to. The natives came on board. Done some trading with them. At sunset, kept off to the Westward... At 11 a.m., saw Clark's [Onotoa] Island. Ran down to it...

Saturday Dec. 25th

... Laying off and on at Clark's Island trading with the natives. At dark, kept off West by N under all sail...

...
 Monday Dec. 27th

... Saw one ship ... Lat. 00°56' South, Long. 171°29' East.

...
 Wednesday Dec. 29th

... At 9 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island. 4 sails in sight. Spoke the **Joseph Butler**... Laying off and on the land...

Thursday Dec. 30th

... Laying off and on at Ocean Island, trading with the natives. Spoke the **Sea Shell**

and **Young Hector**... Latter part... steering to the Westward...

...

Wednesday Jan. 5th [1859]

... Steering NW... At 4 p.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing NW by N dist. about 20 miles. Kept off to the Westward... Lat. 05°57' North, Long. 160°59' East.

Thursday Jan. 6th

... At 2 p.m., saw MacAskill's [Pingelap] Island bearing NNW dist. about 15 miles...

...

Friday Jan. 7th

... Laying off and on trading with the natives. Got 14 turtle and some fowl...

Saturday Jan. 8th

... Laying off and on at McAskill's Island. At dark, kept off WNW. At daylight, saw Wellington's [Mokil] Island. Latter part, laying off and on. Got some pigs and fowl...

Sunday Jan. 9th

... Laying off and on at Wellington's Island. At dark, through trading and kept off W by N... At daylight saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. Steering down for the land.

Monday Jan. 10th

... Laying off and on at Ascension. The Capt. on shore...

Tuesday Jan. 11th

... At 4 p.m., the Capt. came on board. At 5, kept off NW, made all sail...

...

Tuesday Jan. 18th

... At 3 p.m., saw the Island of Saipan bearing West dist. about 25 miles... Latter part, stood in towards the land. At 10 a.m., lowered a boat and went in shore...

Wednesday Jan. 19th

... Laying off and on, one boat in shore trading. At 4 p.m., came on board. Middle part, laying off and on. Latter part, sent two boats in shore. Brought off 18 pigs...

Thursday Jan. 20th

... Laying off and on at Saipan. At 4 p.m., the Capt. came on board. Kept off SW. Middle part, steering SW. At daylight, saw the Island of Roter [Rota]. At 10 a.m., sent a boat ashore to trade...

Friday Jan. 21st

... Laying off and on at Rotta. At 4 p.m., the boat came on board. Kept off for

Guam... At 9 a.m., the Capt. went on shore. At 12 o'clock, sent a pilot on board to take the ship to Umata to get water...

Saturday Jan. 22nd

... Steering down to Umata. At 8 p.m., came to anchor in 17 fathoms water... Employed in getting water...

Sunday Jan. 23rd

... Employed in getting water. At 5 p.m., finished getting the water and stowed it down... At daylight, got under way and worked up to Apra. At 11 a.m., came to anchor in 18 fathoms water. Two ships in the Harbor...

Monday Jan. 24th

... Sent the Starboard Watch ashore on liberty. The other watch employed in boating off wood...

Tuesday Jan. 25th

... Laying at anchor in Guam. One watch on liberty, the other watch employed in getting off wood...

Wednesday Jan. 26th

... The Starboard Watch came on board. Finished getting wood...

Thursday Jan. 27th

... Sent the Larboard Watch on liberty, the other watch employed on sundry jobs...

...

Saturday Jan. 29th

... The Larboard Watch came on board. The Steward deserted. Shipped 6 natives of Guam which came on board with the watch. At 11 a.m., the Capt. came on board with the Pilot. Got under way and stood out of the Harbor. The Capt. went on shore...

Sunday Jan. 30th

... Laying off and on. All hands on board except the Capt. and Steward.

Monday Jan. 31st

... Laying off and on...

Tuesday Feb. 1st

... At 4 p.m., the Capt. came on board. Brought one passenger to carry to Rota. Tacked ship and stood off shore. Middle and latter parts, working to the windward on different tacks...

Wednesday Feb. 2nd

... Put the Carpenter and Blacksmith on board of the **Northern Light**^FEd. note: The whaling ship, not the merchantman clipper ship. to repair the fore mast; had sprung the head of it...

Thursday Feb. 3rd

... Strong winds from the NE, heading on different tacks... At daylight, the Island of Rotter [sic] was bearing SE dist. about 3 miles. At 7 a.m., the Capt. went on shore to trade for yams, the ship laying off and on...

Friday Feb. 4th

... At 5 p.m., the Capt. came on board... At 7 a.m., the Capt. went on shore. Two boats employed in getting off yams and fruit...

Saturday Feb. 5th

... At 4 p.m., the Capt. came on board. Kept off for Guam... At 7 a.m., the Capt. went on shore at Guam and sent the boat on board. I then started for Umata to get water in company with the **Northern Light**...

Sunday Feb. 6th

... At 2 p.m., came to anchor in 20 fathoms water in Umata Bay, furled the sails and sent a raft of cask on shore... Employed ni getting off water...

Monday Feb. 7th

... At sunset, finished... One man deserted. Supposed that he swam ashore... At 8 a.m., got under way and worked up to Apra...

Tuesday Feb. 8th

... Working up to Guam. At 3 p.m., luffed to off the town and sent a boat on shore... Laying off and on the town. At 12 M., the Capt. came on board. Shipped one man from the **St. George**...

Wednesday Feb. 9th

... Steering W by N under all sail. Gammed with the **Northern Light**... Lat. 14°25' North, Long. 141°05' East.

...

Tuesday Feb. 15th

... Spoke a brig bound to Nangesasy [Nagasaki]... Lat. 20°57' North, Long. 126°38' East.

...

Thursday Feb. 17th

... In company with the **Northern Light** and a Dutch Brig... Lat. 23°11' North, Long. 125°47' East.

...

[To the northern latitudes, down to Honolulu in November 1859. There is a complete break in the log and when the ship leaves, the log is written by another hand, not as good. The ship came down to the Line again, slowly working her way westward.]

...

Wednesday Jan. 4 [1860]

... Gammed with the Ship **Arab**... Lat. 02°51' [S?] Long. 172° West.

...

[The ship stopped at Baker Island.]

...

Saturday Jan. 14

... At 5 p.m., saw Byron's Island bearing W by S dist. 14 miles...

Sunday Jan. 15

... At 7 a.m., saw Clark's [Onotoa] Island bearing NW dist. 20. Kept off ... Lat. 2°06' [S].

Monday Jan. 16

... Working up to Rotch's [Tamana] Island. At 8 a.m., the natives came on board and brought 4 hogs on board and broom stuff and chicken. At 11 a.m., kept off NW by W. 2 ships in sight.

Tuesday Jan. 17

... At 4 p.m., spoke the Bark **Florence**, nothing. At 5 p.m., kept off W... Bark in sight. Lat. 01°32' [S]. Long. 173°35' East.

...

Thursday 19

... Spoke the Ship **California** of New Bedford, 75 of sperm. So ends.

Friday Jan. 20

] ... In company with the Bark and Ship. At 5 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing West distant 30 miles. Luffed by the wind on both tacks... The Capt. went on shore and sent off 2 boatloads of wood and 5 hogs. 3 ships at the island trading.

Saturday Jan. 21

... At 2 p.m., the Captain came on board. Stood to the NNW... Lat. 00°09' S., Long. 169°13' [E].

...

Friday Jan. 27

... At 10 a.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing West dist. 15 miles...

...

Thursday Feb. 2

... At 6 a.m., saw Strong [Kosrae] Island bearing W by S dist. 25 miles and kept off for it. At 10 a.m., a boat came off to the ship with natives. At 11 a.m., kept off WNW.

Friday Feb. 3

... At 10 a.m., saw McAskill's Island bearing W by S dist. 15 miles. Kept off for it. At 12, sent 2 boats in trading for coconuts and got some.

Saturday Feb. 4

... Laying off and on McAskills Island. At 6 p.m., kept off W by N... At 6 a.m., saw Wellington's Island bearing NW dist. 12 miles. At 10 a.m., the Captain went on shore to trade...

Sunday Feb. 5

... Laying off and on Wellington Island getting wood and turtle. Got off 6 boatloads of wood on board...

Monday Feb. 6

... Laying off and on Wellington's Island in company with the **Rapid**...

Tuesday Feb. 7

... Laying off and on Wellington's Island. At 8 p.m., kept off NW...

...

Sunday Feb. 12

... At 6 a.m., saw the Island of Rota bearing W by S dist. 35 miles.

Monday Feb. 13

... Laying off and on Rota, one boat on shore. At 6 p.m., the boat came off with potatoes and kept off SSW. Guam in sight. At 9 a.m., the Captain went on shore. Bent the chains and got the anchors off the bow...

Tuesday Feb. 14

All these 24 hours, fine weather. Laying off and on Guam. The Captain on shore.

Wednesday Feb. 15

... At 1 p.m., the Captain came on board and kept off for Umata Bay. At 6 p.m., came to anchor in 12 fathoms water. At 6 a.m., sent in 2 boats to get water. Got off 250 barrels...

Thursday Feb. 16

... Laying to anchor getting water. At ... a.m., got under way and worked up to Guam [i.e. Agaña].

Friday Feb. 17

... Laying off and on Guam. 5 ships in sight...

Saturday Feb. 18

... Laying off and on Guam...

Sunday Feb. 19

... Working up to Rota on both tacks...

Monday Feb. 20

... At 8 a.m., the Captain went on shore and sent off 3 boatloads of potatoes and yams. At 12, came on board and kept SSW for Guam...

Tuesday Feb. 21

... At 9 a.m., the Captain went on shore and sent the boat off. 3 ships laying off and on...

Wednesday Feb. 22

... Laying off and on Guam. Sent a boat in for the Captain.

Thursday Feb. 23

... At 3 p.m., the Captain came on board and fetched 4 men which he had shipped and kept off WNW...

...

[NOrth to the Yellow Sea, then to the Okhotsk Sea, where the log-keeper changed a third time (July 1860), because "the mate gave insolence and abusive language and wished to arrogate the Command, when the Captain ordered him to his room, until his services was required." The 1st Mate was Mr. Durham. From the signatures of the other officers at the foot of a statement to the effect that Mr. Durham left the ship, it appears that the Captain is keeping the log from now on. The others were: William McGive(n), 2nd Mate; W. H. Allen, 3rd Mate; John William, 4th Mate; George Hewett, Boat-steerer. In October 1860, the ship went to Hawaii, and sailed homeward from there in December.]

Documents 18580

Zealandia Bank discovered by the ship Zealandia, Captain Foster

Sources: Nautical Magazine (1859), pp. 443-444, and (1861), pp. 567-568.

Zealandia Shoal,—Marianne Islands, Pacific.

Note: It had already been discovered by Spaniards, of course, and named Bajo de San Carlos, in 1770.

The following is an important addition to the chart, there being nothing known of this shoal, which we have called after the ship by which it has been discovered.

Ship Zealandia, East Inda Docks, July 6th, 1859.

Dear Sir,

On my passage from New Zealand to Shanghai last December, in command of the above ship, I shaped a course to pass between the islands of Sarigan and Farallon de Torres, (Marianne or Ladrone Group,) that passage by the latest charts appearing clear.

December 3rd, 1858, 4h. p.m. Sariguan Island bearing S.S.W. twelve miles, wind light easterly, ship steering W.N.W. about four knots; breakers reported right ahead; saw two large patches about three quarters of a mile from the ship; altered the course to pass to the northward of them about half a mile, with a look-out from the topsail-yard. At 4.20 p.m. Sariguan Island bore S.b.W. 1/2W. about eleven or twelve miles, and the breakers is one with the island distant from the ship about half a mile. The two patches bore from each other N.b.E. and S.b.W. about a quarter of a mile, with dark water between and all around them, at times breaking heavily.

I regret that the unsettled state of the weather, the lateness of the day, and the risk of remaining in the vicinity of such dangerous neighbours with a dark night coming on, prevented my sending a boat to examine them more closely. I as well as my officers and crew feel confident that dangerous shoals exist as I have described them. Should these shoals not have been reported before, you will by giving them publicity in your valuable work oblige,

Yours, &c.

John Foster, Master of the ship Zealandia.

To the Editor of the Nautical Magazine.

Zealandia Shoal.

We have received the following confirmation of this shoal from its discoverer, Captain J. Foster.

Ship Zealandia, Manila, July 1st, 1861.

In your volume for 1859, page 443, is my report of a shoal in the North Pacific (Marianne Group) which you have named Zealandia Shoal, after the above ship.

On my passage from New Zealand to Hong Kong, 15th of April last, at 10h. a.m., Sariguan Island bearing west, having a steady N.E. trade wind, 7 knots, I determined, if possible, to have another look at the above danger, so shaped a course to bring the two islands (Sariguan and Farallon de Torres) on the reported bearings.

At 3h. p.m. the look-out on the topsail-yard reported breakers ahead: steered to pass about a cable's length to the northward of them, when passing two large patches of black, pointed, and jagged booking rocks were plainly seen, the sea breaking furiously, and at times leaving them dry five or six feet. The water was apparently lower than when I saw the breakers the previous voyage. The rocks were not then visible, or if they had been of coral formation I might have imagined a two years' growth had brought them in sight. The bearings when abreast of the shoal are:—Peak of Sariguan, S.b.W.1/2W., from four to five leagues; Farallon de Torres, N.1/4W., the latter not being in a good position for a cross bearing, more dependance may be placed on the former and assumed distance.

It is surprising these shoals have not been reported before, as this channel must be much used by vessels from the colonies to the China Sea. Should you think fit to confirm my former report of these dangers, by publishing this in your Magazine, do so and oblige,

Your obedient servant,

John Foster.

To the Editor of the Nautical Magazine.

Document 1859A

The schooner Pfeil damaged at Ebon and condemned at Guam

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, September 1859.

Loss of the Schooner Pfeil

The Hawaiian schooner **Pfeil**, of Honolulu, 92 tons, owned by the house of Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst, left Honolulu on a trading voyage on the 17th Nov.. last, under command of Capt. F. W. Danelsberg. On the 29th January, this year, arrived off Covell or Boston [Ebon] Island, one of the Ralick chain. In entering the passage leading to the lagoon, and the wind suddenly shifting, the schooner struck midway on the rocks, where she remained one and a half hours, striking heavily several times. With great exertion of the crew and with the help of the natives from ashore, the schooner was got off and anchored to the leeward of the island. Here she remained three days and was then towed into the lagoon. Left Covell Island on the 19th of Feb. and arrived at Ascension [Pohnpei] on the 27th inst.; left there on the 10th of March; experienced strong winds and a heavy sea, pumping every two hours during the first days, and the leak increasing constantly, steered for Guam, where she arrived on the 16th of March last. A survey having been held the next day, the schooner was condemned and sold.

This intelligence, for which we are obliged to Mr. Stapenhorst, one of the owners, comes by the United States surveying schooner **Fenimore Cooper**, via Hongkong and San Francisco. Capt. Daneelsberg and 3 foreigners of the schooner's crew were still at Guam waiting an opportunity to go to Honolulu; and the 9 Hawaiians of the crew had shipped in different whaleships that touched at Guam and may be expected here in the fall. We might write an epitaph over the good schooner **Pfeil** as one of the earliest pioneers among the islands of the West pacific, but our space forbids it at this time.

—*Polynesian.*

Documents 1859B

The loss of the *Lexington* at Kosrae in April 1859

Note: The ship Lexington had left Nantucket on 19 September 1856. There is no logbook extant.

B1. The news first published in New England

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Journal, Aug. 8, 1859.

Notes: There were similar reports in the Boston Daily Courier, same date, and in The Daily Mercury, of New Bedford, same date also. An earlier report had been printed by the Nantucket Mirror on 6 August; the news came directly from a letter written by Captain Fisher, dated Guam 28 April 1859, and addressed to E. W. Perry, of Nantucket.

Loss of Ship *Lexington* of Nantucket.—

A letter from Capt. Bailey of ship *Vesper* of New London, reports her off Guam, April 18th [1859], with 100 bbls. oil, all well. Would touch at Guam to land the officers and crew of ship *Lexington*, Fisher, of Nantucket, which vessel was lost on Strong's [Kosrae] Island April 1,

B2. The news as published in Honolulu

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, September 1859.

Loss of the Whale Ship *Lexington*.

Guam, April 25, 1859.

Dear Sir:

I take this opportunity of writing you these few lines, to give you an account of the loss of the ship *Lexington*, of Nantucket, at Strong's [Kosrae] Island, on the first of April.

We got under way about half-past 6 a.m., with a fair wind from the westward. Took the pilot on board, and also had two boats belonging to the King and four of the ship's boats towing the ship. When we got in the middle of the passage a strong breeze from the eastward, with a heavy swell, sprung up, and took everything aback. Two anchors were let go, and all sail clewed up as quick as possible, but by the time her anchors fetched up her stern struck the reef. In a short time the breakers were so heavy that it

was impossible for a boat to get alongside to save the crew remaining on board; two boats were broken to pieces and one man got badly hurt in venturing to do so. Those that remained on board were saved by one of the converted natives through the entreaties of Mr. Snow, the missionary, by swimming through the surf with a line to the ship, by which they were all safely hauled on shore.

The King with his boats left us to our fate as soon as the ship struck the reef, but they came back afterwards in canoes and boats, surrounded the ship, plundering the crew of their clothing, cutting holes with their axes in the casks of oil, provisions, and everything they could lay their hands on. They destroyed a vast amount of property, and everything that was portable they carried off and hid in the bush, in spite of all that Mr. Snow and myself could do to stop them.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Snow for his valuable assistance in enabling us to save part of the oil and a few small casks of provisions. If it had not been through his influence with the native who swam to the ship, it was very likely some lives would have been lost, as the reef was crowded with natives, all expert swimmers, and not another man would venture. Mr. Snow invited a number of us to his house, where we were hospitably entertained by himself and his excellent lady during our residence on the island.

I managed, with the assistance of the crew, to save from 80 to 100 barrels of oil,¹ which Mr. Snow has kindly promised to take charge of till he can dispose of it to advantage or ship it to the SANDWICH ISLANDS. I also recovered a few articles of clothing, which I found stowed away in the bush, half a mile from the beach.

On the 10th inst. we embarked on board the ship **Vesper**, of New London, Captain Ballie [Bailey] who very kindly received us on board his ship, and helped us as far as he could to clothing and other necessaries, and made us as comfortable as possible during our stay on board. We arrived at Guam on the 19th inst. in good health.

Captain Brooke, of the United States surveying schooner **Fenimore Cooper**, at present lying here, has kindly promised to take an account of our condition to the authorities at Hongkong.

Yours, &c,

James Fisher, Master.

B3. The case file created in Guam

Sources: Agaña archives (1900); now in LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item 56; cited in B&R 53: 390; 22 leaves, rice paper.

Extract from the case file opened by Mr. James Fisher, Captain of the Anglo-American whaling ship named Lexington, shipwrecked on the coasts of Strong Island, requesting assistance for himself and his crew on the account of his Government, dated Agaña, from 19 April to 21 August 1859.

1 Ed. note: According to Starbuck (page 541) 100 barrels of sperm oil were saved. In fact, 118 barrels were saved and picked up in January 1860 by the Superior (see Doc. 1859K).

To Don Felipe María de la Corte Governor of the Mariana Islands.

Sir:

The undersigned, former Master of the whale Ship **Lexington**, of Nantucket, Mass., U.S.A. would respectfully inform your Excellency that my vessel (above named) was wrecked on Strong's Island, Lat. 5°12' N. sin [=without] E. Long. on the First day of April, by which disaster the vessel and cargo were a total loss. Through the kindness of Capt. Baily Ship **Vesper** of New London, Conn., we have been brought to the port of Guam (Mar. Is.) in a destitute condition. So that in the absence of my Consul for the U. States Government of N. America, I would respectfully pray you receive and provide for as in the manner customary in such cases.

Appended is a list of the officers and crew.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, Your Excellency's Obedient Servant,
James Fisher, Master.

Port of Apra, Island Guam, April 19, 1859.

...

[The file was passed to Dr. George for translation of Captain Fisher's letter into Spanish.]

B4. The odyssey of the schooner Flying Fox, built out of the wreck, and successfully arrived at Hong Kong in June 1860

Sources: Article in the Boston Daily Journal, Aug. 17, 1861; similar reports in the Boston Daily Courier, same date, and in The Daily Mercury, of New Bedford, same date also.

Loss of Whaleship Lexington.

The Hong Kong Shipping List of June 12 [1860] reports:— “Mr. Phelps, chief officer, and Mr. Perry, second officer, of ship **Lexington**, reported lost April 1, 1860 [error for 1859], when going out through the passage from Strong's Island, arrived here today in the **Flying Fox**. The captain of the **Lexington** and all of the crew with the exception of Mr. Phelps and Mr. Perry, proceeded to Honolulu¹ in the Am. whaleship **Vesper**. After remaining a number of months on the island [Kosrae] they built a small schooner which they named the **Flying Fox**, the principal part of her being procured from the wreck of the **Lexington**. Their destination when leaving the island was San Francisco, but not having sufficient sails it was deemed prudent to bear away for China as the NE trade winds were very favorable. When leaving Strong's Island the crew consisted of Mr. Phelps, Mr. Perry and one Kanaka.

During the passage they stopped at Elolo² Island for water, when the Kanaka deserted them. They proceeded on their voyage to this port and arrived safely this morning after a passage of 39 days. Messrs. Phelps and Perry were treated ver kindly by [Rev.]

1 Ed. note: Rather only to Guam, where they were taken to Honolulu aboard the Guam schooner **Secreto**.

2 Ed. note: This must be a typographical error for Rota, as Elato did not lie on their direct route.

Mr. Snow during their stay at the island. When off the Bashee Islands had heavy gales for 5 days, in which the **Flying Fox** proved herself to be a noble sea boat. This singular craft lies off East Point, and is well worth inspection.

Document 1859D

The bark Midas, Captain Joseph R. Tallman

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 881; Log Inv. 3267.

Extract from the log kept by Abel T. Bryant

Note: There is another log kept by I. A. Tuttle, also in the Providence Public Library.

...

Monday the 17 [January 1859]

... Ship steering WSW all sail set, bound to Strong's [Kosrae] Island...

...

Wednesday the 19 [and] Thursday the 20

... Ship steering WNW all sail set. Broke out molasses. Bound to Strong's Island. Latter... made Strong's Island, took the pilot on board, got the chains up and bent them...

Friday the 21

... Came to anchor at Strong's Island and furled the sails. Latter part, laying at anchor at Strong's Island at the South Harbor. The watch fitting the rigging...

Saturday the 22

... At anchor at Strong's Island. Employed at fitting the rigging. Took a raft of acsks ashore. Latter part, lying at anchor...

Sunday the e23

... At anchor at Strong's Island at the South Harbor. Got a raft of water. Latter part, lying at anchor. Most of the crew ashore. The King came on board...

Monday the 24

... Most of the crew ashore, the KING on board. Latter part, lying at anchor, getting off wood...

Tuesday the 25

... Employed n getting off wood. The Missionary on board...

Wednesday the 26

... Got off 2 boatloads of wood and then got the ship under way and stood out to sea with all sail set...

Thursday the 27

... Ship steering W by N1/2N all sail set, bound to Wellington[s [Mokil] Island...

Friday the 28

... Made Wellington's Island. The natives came on board... Lat. 6°30' N. Long. 158°33' E.

...

Monday the 31

... Ship steering NW all sail set, bound to some of the Islands North... Lat. 14°35' N. Long. 152°26' E.

Tuesday February the 1

Ship steering NW, all sail set, bound to the Bonin Isle... Lat. 8°05' [N]. Long. 150°44' E.

...

Sunday the 6

... Saw one of the Ladrone Islands bearing W... Lat. 20°25' [N]. Long. 146°16' [E].

...

[The rest of this log is not relevant to Micronesia.]

Document 1859E

The Amazon, Captain Robert D. Eldridge

Sources: Log 337 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 262; Log Inv. 275.

Notes: A bark of Fairhaven, Voyage 1865-60. The log-keepers, and chief mates, were: Milton Lee (until January 1858); Daniel Scoon (March-Nov. 1858); Jeremy Webquish (Nov. 58-Nov. 59); Ralph Fisk (Nov. 59-3rd).

Extract from the logbook

...

Saturday 22nd [January 1859]

.. Saw the N point of Pitt's [Butaritari] Island bearing NW 3 miles distant...

Sunday 23rd

... 5 p.m., hove to off SW point of Pitt's Island and 2 canoes came off. Lay off and on through the night and in the morning, 3 canoes came off. Got some fowls, coconuts and a hog and steered off SSE. Lat. by Account 2°56' N. Long. by Observ. 172°46' E.

Monday Jan. 24, 59

... Daylight, saw Charlotte [Abaiang] Island bearing ESE. M[erredian], hove to off SW point and a canoe came alongside. Could get no chickens and squared away SSE. Knox's [Tarawa] Island in sight bearing SE by S. Lat. 1°44' N. Long 173°02-1/2' E.

...

Thursday 27th

... 2 p.m., spoke **Mary** of Edgartown. 6 p.m., wore to SE. Daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing SW and steered for it... Lat. 00°49' S. Long. 169°42' E.

Friday 28th

... 4 p.m., passed Ocean Island...

Saturday 29th

... At daylight, saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing W by N. 8 a.m., canoes came off bringing hogs, fowls and coconuts... Lat. 00°30' S. Long. 167°02' E.

Monday 30th '59

... Off and on at Pleasant Island. 4 p.m., finished trading and braced up on Larboard tack. Bought 37 hogs and 2500 coconuts and 4 dozen fowls... Lat. 00°31' S.

...

Friday 4th [February 1859]

... 3 p.m., spoke the **mary**... Lat. by Acct. 2°30' N. Long. by Acct. 164°30' E.

...

Monday 7

... 6 p.m., spoke the **Mary**...

Tuesday 8th

... Daylight, made Wellington [Mokil] Island bearing SW 10 miles distant. Made sail and steered towards it. 9 a.m., Capt. Elridge landed to get some turtle...

Wednesday 9

... Ship off and on at Wellington's Island in company with the **Mary and Delaware**. Got 2 turtles and a lot of bananas. 9 a.m., kept off W1/2N... Lat. 6°48' N. Long. 159°31' E.

Thursday 10th

... 5 p.m., saw Island Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing W by S and steered towards it. 8 p.m., hove to to SE... Daylight, kept towards the land and bent the chains. 9 a.m., anchored in Middle Harbor of Ascension.

Friday 11th '59

... P.M., commenced setting up shooks for water. A.M., Cooper's gang setting up casks. Carpenter's gang on shore getting out an anchor's stock...

Saturday 12th

... P.M., got anchor stock on board and set up shooks. A.M., landed a raft of water casks and cut a spar for a davit and washed lower masts...

Sunday 13th

... Hauled up farther from the lee rocks...

Monday 14th

... A.M., set up shooks and got off a raft of water and painted lower masts.

Tuesday 15th

... P.M., got off 3 boatloads of wood...

Thursday 17th

... P.M., got off raft of water. Observed a total **eclipse** of the moon. A.M., got off 2 boatloads of wood...

...

Saturday 19th

... During the night, Jim and George, two Oahu natives deserted, supposedly by swimming ashore. A.M., received on board 32 bbls. yams.

Sunday 20th

... Ship ready for sea waiting for deserters 6 p.m., caught them and put them in irons. 8 a.m., ran a line to the weather reef, took the anchor, slipped the line, and stood out to sea. Hove to outside and sent in two boats to land the Pilot and bring out the kedge and line. 11 a.m., boats came off. Kept off to SW and made sail... Lat. 6°44' N. Long. 158°16' E.

Monday 21st

... 3 p.m., passed the lee island of the Andema [Ant] Group and hauled up on starboard tack... 6 p.m., took Jim and George out of irons and sent them to their duty... Daylight, saw a small low island bearing NE.¹ Steered NW and made all sail... Lat. 7°25' N. Long. 157°11' E.

...

Friday 25th

... Ship made all sail steering NW. 3 p.m., spoke the **mary** to get some advice for Mr. Webquish,² being sick with a stoppage of the bowels. A.M., Mr. Richmond, Mate of the **mary** came on board and remained through the day in attendance upon Mr. Webquist... Lat. 13°55' N.

'''

Monday 28th

... 6 p.m., spoke the **mary**. 8 a.m., saw the land bearing W by S... Lat. 15°15' N. Long. 146°03' E.

Tuesday March 1st

... 4 p.m., spoke the **mary**. 6 p.m., hove to heading to S, South point of Saypan bearing W by S 8 miles distant. Made short tacks through the night. Daylight, made all sail, kept off towards Tinian. M[eridian], SE point of Tinian bore WSW 2 miles distant.

Wednesday March 2nd 1859

... 2 p.m., landed at Tinian. Got 10 bbls. corn and 5j00 oranges. Lay off and on

1 Ed. note: Oroluk.

2 Ed. note: The new first mate, shipped at Honolulu. Since he was not then keeping the log, the captain must have done so temporarily.

through the night. A.M., got 5 bbls. sweet potatoes...

Thursday 3rd

... P.M., got 5 bbls. sweet potatoes and some fowls. 5 p.m., made sail and kept off W1/2N... Lat. 15°17' N. Long. 143°56' E.

...

Monday 7th

... A.M., broke out meat and repacked it. Found one barrel of home beef spoiled and threw it overboard. Lat. 19°02' N. Long. 135°08' E.

...

[The bark went on to the China Sea. No further mention of the Mate's medical condition.]

Document 1859F

The Kensington, Captain Stetson, visited the Gilberts

Sources: Logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 771; Log Inv. 2739.

Note: The log-keeper was perhaps Benjamin Gladding. The log is badly stained and faded. There may be other logbooks in the Rhode Island Historical Society (see PMB 770 & perhaps 872).

Journal of the ship Kensington under the command of C. F. Stetson

Richard Gould Mate

Benjamin Pease 2d Mate

etc.

...

Monday Apr 4 1859

Commences with a light breeze from E.N.E fair weather. At 7 P.M. saw the land Keesings(?) Island bearing SW distant 10 miles kept the ship of for it[,] took in Stud-ding sail brought the Ship too for the night with the island of ..., with the .. the, got 50 feet to the Current and the Wind ... wore ship round ... Lat. 00.9 S(?) Long 175.37 E.

Thursday Apr 5 1859

Commences with a fine breeze from N.N.E. Course N.W. middle past the same latter just same the land Harbottle [Abemama?] Henderville [Aranuka,] Woodle [Kuria] Island ran handy in a fine canoe came in bound brought a fine Cokenuts and chickens much but a bitch stopt for them kept on our cruise again S. End this day Latt. by 3 miles N Long 173.50 E.

...

Document 1859G

The bark Louisa of New Bedford, Captain William R. Hathaway

Note: This was a vessel of 316-ton burthen. The voyage lasted from September 1856 to May 1860, but the log only covers the period Nov. '57 to March '60. The ship first went to Chili then headed for the Sea of Okhotsk, passing through the Marshalls along the way.

Extract from the log kept by Oliver S. Brook

Sources: Ms. log in the Providence Public Library; PMB 875; Log Inv. 2912.

...

Monday April 4th [1859]

Commences with a fine breeze from the E steering N under all sail[.] nothing in sight[.] we are now in the North Pacific waters bound to the frozen regions of the N. Middle part thick weather. Latter part fine weather with a light breeze from the ENE steering N under all sail[.] nothing in sight[.] employed in fitting a new boat overhead.

Lat per Obs 1°40 N Long 168°35 East.

...

Saturday April 9th

Comences with strong trades from the ENE and fair weather[.] at 6 AM raised Margaretta [Namu] Islands bearing N by W distance 25 miles one of the Ralick Group kept off 2 points steering WNNW under all sail. Middle part the same. Latter part the same[.] nothing in sight.¹

²
...

1 Ed. note: No position given, but 2 days later the ship was at Lat 14°48N and Long 160°17E already.

2 Ed. note: There is a short, anonymous, logbook in the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Log Inv. 2913. The period covered by this log is only from Nov. 59 to May 60.

Document 1859H

The bark Silver Cloud, Captain Frederick Coggeshall

Sources: Logbook in the Kendall Whaling Museum; PMB 840; Log Inv. 4358.

Note: This bark belonged to New Bedford. Voyage of 1856-60.

Extract from the log kept by Hiram C. Borden

...
[The bark came from the Hawaiian Islands.]

...
Saturday January 1st 1859

... At 10 [a.m.], made Wellington's [Mokil] Island bearing N by W distance about 10 miles...

Sunday January 2nd

... At 1 p.m., the Capt. went on shore... Laying off and on in company with the **Thomas Dickason**...¹

Monday January 3rd

... Employed in boating off hogs and coconuts... At 8 a.m., steered W by S... Lat. by obs. 6°49' [N].

Tuesday January 4th

... At 2 p.m., made the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing W by S distance about 20 miles. All hands employed in bending the chains. At 4 p.m., took a pilot. At 5, came to in Middle Harbor with 40 fathoms on chains in company with the ship **Thomas Dickason**. The Bark **Warren** in harbor...²

1 Ed. note: Of New Bedford also, Capt. Henry Plaskett, voyage of 1856-60 for which there is no logbook extant.

2 Ed. note: The Warren of New Bedford also, Captain Preserved Wilcox, voyage 1855-60 for which there is no logbook extant.

Wednesday January 5th 1859

... All hands employed in harbor duties...

Thursday January 6th

... The watch employed in stowing water. The Starboard Watch on shoer.

Friday January 7th

... The Larboard Watch on shore.

Saturday January 8th

These 24 hours, fine, pleasant weather. At 7 a.m., the Bark **Warren** weighed anchor and stood to sea...

Sunday January 9th

... The Starboard Watch on liberty.

Monday January 10th

... All hands employed in getting wood and fitting rigging. The ship **Gideon Howland** and **Bowditch** off and on.¹

Tuesday January 11th

... At 11 a.m., the Bark **Tempest**.²

...
Thursday January 13th

... The Ship **Northern Light** off and on.³

...
Wednesday January 19th

... All hands employed on board and ready for sea but windbound.

Thursday January 20th

... At 6 a.m., the Pilot came on board. Weighed anchor and stood outside of the reef. At 9, the Pilot left the ship and one boat in for the kedge and lines. At 11, kept off and ran down the land...

///

Monday January 24th

... At 10 a.m., made the Island of Cypan [Saipan] bearing NW by W distance about 20 miles.

1 Ed. note: For the Gideon Howland, see Doc. 1858N. For the Bowditch, of Warren, there is no logbook extant.

2 Ed. note: A.k.a. the N.S. Perkins, of New London, Captain Allyn; there is no logbook extant.

3 Ed. note: Of Fairhaven, Captain Chappel.

Tuesday January 25th

... Running down the land. At 4 p.m., 2 canoes came off from shore. At 6, steered off for Tinian... Latter part, employed in boating off corn and fruit. Saw several humpbacks. Lowered 2 boats without success.

Wednesday January 26th 1859

... Laying off and on at Tinian. Saw 2 humpbacks, lowered and the Larboard Boat struck the whale, ran out to sea, cut off with a stoven boat, the whale spouting thin blood. At 6 p.m., steered off N by W. At midnight, made the island of Rota bearing S by W distance about ... miles. Latter part, laying off and on.

Thursday January 27th

... Laying off and on at Rota getting yams, hogs and fruit.

Friday January 28th

... Boating off sweet potatoes and other recruits.

Saturday January 29th

... At 5 p.m., the Captain came on board and steered off... At 6 [a.m.], made the island of Guam bearing S by E distance about 15 miles. At 8 a.m., the Captain went on shore. Ending laying off and on.

...

Monday January 31st

... This day exchanged boats with the Ship **Northern Light**.

Tuesday February 1st 1859

... Laying off and on.

Wednesday February 2nd

... Unbent the main sail and reepaired it.

Thursday February 3rd

... Steering NW. Lat. by obs. 15°00' [N]. Long. by Chron. 142°59' [E].

'''

Document 1859I

The Massachusetts, Captain Daniel B. Greene

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; Log Inv. 3162.

Note: The Massachusetts of New Bedford had just been modified from a ship to a bark before this 1856-60 voyage.

Extract from this logbook

...

Friday April 1st [1859]

Saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island and the natives came on board trading. Got about 40 hogs and some coconuts. Took about 40 [!] passengers for Hope [Arorae] Island.

Saturday 2nd

... Hope Island in sight bearing ENE...

Sunday 3rd

At sundown, HOPE Island bears from E to NE, 5 miles distance. Landed part of the passengers. Got fruit and hats & mats.

Monday 4th

Laying [off] and on at Hope Island.

Tuesday 5th

... Steering a course NW... Passed by Clark's [Onotoa] Island. Spoke the Bark **Joseph Butler**.¹ Lat. by Obs. 1°49' [S]. Long. 175°43' E.

...

Friday 8th

... Lat. by Obs. 00°22' S. Long. by Chron. 168°51' E. Passed Ocean [Banaba] Island.

...

[They bypassed the Carolines and Marianas entirely.]

¹ Ed. note: Of New Bedford, Capt. Arthur White, voyage of 1854-59 when she was about to be condemned at Manila.

Document 1859J

The George and Susan, Captain Robert Jones

Sources: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 329; Log Inv. 1934.

Note: The log-keepers are not known, but there were at least three of them.

Extract from the logbook

...
[Around Cape Horn in 1857, to Chili, Hawaii, Alaska and Behring Straits, Hawaii, to New Zealand crossing the equator at 158° W., up to the Marquesas, Hawaii, to N.W. Coast, then Arctic Ocean, back to Hawaii (where the new 1st Mate, G. W. Willfong, was discharged, to the Line. The third log-keeper wrote the following:]

...
Monday 19th [December 1859]

... Saw black-fish and lowered for them but did not strike... Last part, made the land, Hope [Arorae] Island. Got there about 10 o'clock and canoes came off to us.

Tuesday 20

Traded for chickens and hogs. At night, left for Rotch's [Tamana] Island with a party of natives on board... Lat. 2°37' S. Long. 176°34' E.

Wednesday 21st

... Beating up for Rotch's Island... Lat. 2°51' X. Long. 176°36' E.

Thursday 22nd of December

... Still beating up for Rotch's Island. Watch employed in repairing the fore topmast... Stood back to Hope Island and landed the natives again... Lat. 2°45' X. Long. 176°35' E.

Friday 23rd

... Hope Island in sight...

Saturday 24th

... At sundown made Byron's [Nukunau] Island... Laying off and on at Byron's Island... Lat. 1°18' S. Long. 177°34' E.

Sunday the 25th of Decembver

... Off and on at Byron's Island. At sundown made Perote [Beru] Island bearing W distant 2j0 miles... Lat. 00°29' S. Long. 176°37' E.

...

Tuesday 27th

... At 3 p.m., sighted Simpson's [Abemana] Island bearing NW by N distant 25 miles... At 6 a.m., made Henderville [Aranuka] Island. Lat. 00°08' N. Long. 174°38' E.

Wednesday 28th

... At 12 a.m., made Woodle [Kuria] Island. The natives came on board to trade, did not stop long... Lat. 00°29' X. Long. [blank].

Thursday 29th of December

... At 7 a.m., made Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing W. Steered for the Island. Natives came off to trade. Lat. 00°48' S. Long. [blank].

Friday 30th

... Laying off and on at Ocean Island. Natives on board... Getting off wood and trading for fowls, etc... Lat. 00°48' S. Long. [blank].

Saturday 31st

... Off and on at Ocean Island. Getting off wood, etc. At night, kept off and made sail. Course W. Lat. 00°38' S. Long. 169°35' E.

Sunday 1st of January [1860]

... Course W by S. Hands employed in various jobs about deck. Nothing in sight. Lat. 00°38' S. Long. 167°08' E... At 10 a.m., made Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing W by N distant 25 miles.

...

[For three weeks the ship cruised along the Line westward.]

...

Monday 23rd of January

... At 1 p.m., made Greenwich [Kapingamarangi] Island bearing N distant 30 miles. Lat. 00°04' N.

...

Monday 6th [February]

... Lat. 8°02' N. Long. 154°28' E. Last part... at 9 a.m., made Wisart's [Minto] Reef bearing WNW distant 15 miles. Saw a **wreck** upon one end of it. Ran down to it with the ship and sent 2 boats, found that she had been on a long time but could not make out her name.¹ Came on board.

1 Ed. note: She was the Belgian ship Constance wrecked there in July 1858 (see Doc. 1858H).

Saturday 11th

... At 1-1/2 a.m., made the island of Tinian bearing NW distant 15 miles. Stood in to within 6 miles and lay to, heading off shore until daylight. Stood in and anchored about 10 a.m...

Sunday 12th of February

... Saw several humpbacks and put off 3 boats in chase. Did not strike. Came on board again... Last part, the same. Chased humpbacks but without success.

Monday 13th

... Still lying at anchor. Hands employed painting ship & getting off potatoes... At daylight, got under way... Beating up for Saypan.

Tuesday 14th

... At 6 p.m., anchored... Lowered 3 boats for humpbacks, but without success. Came on board again.

Wednesday 15th

Commences with fine weather and a strong breeze from the Eastward. Doing nothing in particular... Latter part... chased whales without success...

...

[In fact, they chased whales every day for the next 10 days, but without success until the 10th day when 2 were taken. No more luck for the rest of their stay at Saipan.]

...

Thursday 1st of March

... At 4 o'clock p.m., got under way and steered SW by S... At 8 o'clock a.m., went ashore at Rotta. Employed in getting off potatoes, etc.

Friday 2nd

... Laying off and on at Rotta. Employed in getting off recruits...

Saturday 3rd

... At 5 o'clock p.m., left for Guam steering SSW, the wind NE... At 10:30 p.m., made Guam. Lay off and on till morning... Latter part, the same. Laying off and on the town...

Sunday 4th of March

... Bound to Umatac for water in charge of the Pilot, Captain ashore at Guam. At 4:30 p.m., came to anchor in Umatac Bay and furled the sails... Employed in getting off water...

Monday 5th

... Hands employed in stowing down water... Getting off water and stowing down...

Tuesday 6th

... At 4 p.m., got under way bound to Guam [i.e. Agaña] for the Captain... Laying off and on at Guam.

...

Friday 9th

... Ship laying off and on at Guam. 5 ships doing the same; 3 arrived today... Last part... too rough to land.

Saturday 10th

... Laying off and on at Guam under double reefed topsails. Too rugged to land...

Sunday 11th

... Latter part, moderate. Sent a boat ashore...

Monday 12th of March

... Laying off and on the Harbor. Sent a boat inside on board the **Rousseau**¹ and got 2 coils of Manila tow line. Came on board again... Laying off and on the town...

Tuesday 13th

... At 4 o'clock p.m., the Captain came aboard. Left the Island steering NW. At sundown, saw sperm whales and lowered 3 boats but it came on dark and we lost sight of them and came on board...

Wednesday 14th

... Gammed with the Ship **Harvest**, Capt. Manchester...

...

[Up to the Yellow Sea bound further North to the Japan Sea, at the port of Hakodate (Hokkaido) in July 1860, to the Ohkotsk Sea, to Hawaii, then to New Zealand crossing the Equator at about 158° W., towards Cape Horn and home.]

1 Ed. note: Of New Bedford, Captain Paul Green. There is no logbook extant covering that part of her voyage.

Document 1859K

The Montreal, Captain Sowle, whaling in the Marianas in 1860

Sources: Log in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 352; Log Inv. 3373.

Note: It appears that the logbook was kept most of the time by the third officer, who has remained anonymous. The Captain's full name was Nathaniel W. Sowle.

Extract from the logbook

...
[To the South Atlantic, Cape Horn, South Pacific, North Pacific (N.W. Coast) via Hawaii, Behring Strait, Maui, then California, Alaska, Hawaii again, to Palmyra Island and towards Micronesia, where she arrived on the last day of 1859.]

...
Saturday 31th [December 1859]

... At night hove the ship to. Supposed to be near the latitude & long. of Pitts [Butaritari] Island (saw no land)... Last part, thick squally weather. Saw land to SW dist. 10 miles: Put the ship for the North port. Ran close to come on. Bad weather, put off to W by S. No good observation today.

...
Wednesday 4 [January 1860]

... Last part... ship steering W by N1/2N expecting to make Hope [Arorae] Island...

Thursday 5th

... Last part... saw Strongs [Kosrae] Island bearing W distant 14 miles. Made sail and steered for the Weather Harbor. 11 o'clock a.m., one boat from Ship **Superior** of New Bedford reported getting 118 bbls. oil picked up on shore from the wreck of the **Lexington**. One boat on shore with native pilot reported Ship **Vesper** being here.

Friday 6

... 2 p.m. put the ship off W by N, fresh breezes and all sail out... 10 o'clock a.m., made Makassers [Pingelap] Island. Stood in to lee of the island. Set colors for natives to come off. 12 M., one canoe came with 5 natives, brought 2 turtle and a few other things. Thus ends.

...

Wednesday 11

... Last part... expects to make land, Tinian, one of the Ladrões Islands. Saw nothing. The watch employed in washing bone, spinning yarn and cleaning irons. At 12 M., saw one of the islands, found the distance to be [too] great [to] get time to do anything. Kept off for Guam. Thus ends.

Thursday January 12th

... Ship steering W by S for Guam. 2 islands in sight. Shortened sail. 8 p.m. hauled aback to lay until morning. Middle part, ship laying aback off the Island of Rota. Last part fresh breezes from NNE. Put off the Waist Boat to take the Capt. on shore. Off and on...

Friday 13th

... Ship off and on at the Island of Rota, Ladrões. 3 p.m., 2 boats came off loaded with pigs and oranges, etc. Hoisted up and squared away for Guam. At night, hauled up the chains, took in sail and hauled aback, heading off shore. Middle part, ship laying off and on at Guam. Strong trades well to North. Last part, fresh trades, ship steering in for the harbor. 9 a.m., took pilot, squared away for the harbor. 11 a.m., dropped anchor in the harbor, paid out 66 fathoms chain, furled the sails, put off our [boat] to take the Capt. and pilot on shore. Set the people all to washing off rust outside.

Saturday 14

... The ship in the port of Guam. All hands employed in cleaning ship and painting iron. Sent off a raft of casks on shore. The wind blew very strong. Got up all the casks out of the hold. The Capt. up town.

Sunday 15th

... Put off the boats, sailing. Several boats came from shore.

Monday 16

... All hands employed in wooding and watering ship. The Capt. came on board with all his come dentry [sic] from shore.¹ Left at night.

Tuesday 17

... All hands watering and wooding. Put off 3 boats of goods sold up town. All well.

Wednesday January 18

First part, strong gales and continued squally all day. All hands wooding and watering ship. The Capt. came on board to get some small things on shore. At night, squally.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the Spanish word "Comandante," or Commissary.

Gave the ship 12 fathoms more chain.

Thursday 19

... Sent the 2 bbls. bread, other sundry on shore. The people all wooding and watering. One kanaka sick.

Friday 20

... Sent off a boat for the raft of water. Capt. came on board. Got the last raft of water. Blew hard all day.

Saturday 21st

... All hands wooding and painting ship. Afternoon, the Ship **Jason** of Haba [Hâvre] came in port.

...

Monday 23

... The Ship **Jason** in port.

Tuesday 24

... All hands employed in painting and wooding. Got off all the wood and finished painting inside.

Wednesday 25

... All hands employed in painting and cleaning up the decks. Sent a boat on shore to strip broom stuff.

Thursday 26

.. The brig belonging to this place left for Hong Kong.¹

Friday 27th

... The ship waiting for potatoes. One French ship in port.

Saturday 28

... Boats went in shore for potatoes. Brought off two cart loads 500 each. The men & boatsteerers made a revolt but was soon put down.

Sunday January 29th

... Saw one Barque, American colors, steering down for Umata, watering place. All hands on board & boat sailing.

1 Ed. note: That would have been the schooner *Secreto*.

Monday 30

This morning fair weather. Nothing particular to do. Took one boatload potatoes on board. Two priests and the Commissary came on board to visit.

Tuesday 31

This morning light winds. The Pilot came on board. 10 o'clock a.m., got under way and left the Harbour of Guam. Saw the Barque **Dromo**, Capt. Cole, bound in.

[Note in margin:] Left the port of Guam in all its glory (no pasabla).

Wednesday Feb 1

... The ship beating up to Rota. The people employed in various jobs...

Thursday 2d

... Ship beating up at night. Fetched close to leeward of the Island of Rota. Middle part, light winds from Eastward. Ship keeping close to the land. Last part, ship close by the land, the Island of Rota. Put 2 boats in shore for recruits. Got off two boatloads of yams & pigs & coconuts.

Friday 3rd

... 2 boats in shore for recruits. 5 p.m., boats all came off, put off a boat for the Captain, 4 boatloads in all of recruits. Squared away to NW steering NW under short sail...

...
[To Okinawa area, then Japan Sea, the Arctic until October 1860, then there is a break in the log, to Hawaii (Jan. 1861), toward the Line.]

Monday 21st [January 1861]

... At 4 a.m., sighted Hope [Arorae] Island. At 6 shortened sail & hauled aback the head yards... 6:30, a boatload of natives came on board and remained all night. These 24 hours close with pleasant weather and some 200 natives on board who brought off a few mats & hats for trade. Lat. 2°40' S, Long. 176°32' E.

Tuesday 22nd

Ship laying off HOpe Island with natives on board. Three natives who belonged to this Island but were shipped at Honolulu deserted in the canoes which were alongside. We shipped 10 more and took leave of the rest & at 6 gammed with the Ship **Othello**, Kilmer, Master, who reports nothing since leaving Honolulu. We lay aback till 3 p.m., braced forward, and at 7 hauled aback off Rotches [TAmána] Island when the natives came on board with a few mats & hats and a few fowls. So ends this day with natives on board and Ship **Othello** close to[,] trading. Lat. 2°30' S, Long. 176°00' E.

Wednesday 23d

Pleasant weather with a fresh breeze from NE. Ship laying off Rotches Island with

natives on board. Shipped one native here. By M[eridian] obs. Lat. 2£33' S, Longitude 174°18' [E].

Thursday 24th

... Ship under sail in company with Ship **Othello** steering WNW for Ocean [Bana-ba] Island. Captain Kilmer on board the **Montreal** gamming till 8 p.m...

...

Sunday Jan 27th

... At daylight, saw Ocean High Island and steered for the Lee point. Plenty of natives came off and the Capt. went on shore but could get no hogs or fowl of any consequence. So ends. **Othello** in company.

Monday Jan 28th

... At 5:30 p.m., kept off for Pleasant [Nauru] Island, **Othello** in company. Took 4 passengers on board that were blown from McAskill's [Pingelap] Island they belong as we are going to stop there for recruits...

Tuesday Jan. 29th

... At daylight, saw Pleasant Island bearing to the Northward. Ship ... beating up to the land...

Wednesday Jan 30th

... Ship on different tacks beating up to Pleasant Island. **Othello** in sight... At 7 p.m., saw light on shore. Ship on the Eastern tack. Hard work to beat up to windward against the current in these latitudes. Latter part, a boat coming off from the island.

Thursday Jan 31st

... Ship on different tacks. Employed trading with the natives for hogs, etc. Horrible weather all the end. Canoes going and coming. Saw two ships this day, one the **Othello** and the other a stranger showing American colors, bound to the Westward...

Friday Feb 1st

... At 5 p.m., kept off to the NW. **Othello** standing on the Eastern tack...

...

Tuesday Feb 5th

... Filled the scuttle butt with water... At 6 p.m., made McAskill's Island, shortened sail, and luffed to on the Northern tack with head yards. Stood on short tacks through the night and at daylight kept off for the Island. AT 10, a boat came off and the Capt. went on shore. So ends. Employed trading for coconuts and chickens and wood.

Wednesday Feb 6th

... At 6:30 [p.m.], finished trading and kept off for Wellington's [Mokil] Island. At

11:30 p.m., hove aback for the night, broke out molasses. At daylight, kept off again and made Wellington's Island. Capt. Sowle went on shore and bought hogs, coconuts, etc. So ends laying off and on. No natives on board.

Thursday Feb 7th

... At 7 p.m., finished trading and kept off for Ascension [Pohnpei]. At 9, split the main topsail... Middle and latter, very strong trades. Ran way round the Island. Two canoes came off; got no trade. Saw two ships to anchor in the Middle Harbor, **Harrison** and **Magnolia**. So ends.

Friday Feb 8th

Gales as usual. At 5 p.m., hauled out for Saipan, steering NNW...

...

Tuesday Feb 12th

... At 6:30 p.m., took in all light sails. At 12 M[idnight], hove aback for the night, Island of Saipan distant 10 miles. At daylight, kept off for the anchorage but did not succeed in reaching it as the wind left us. So ends this day with light trades, standing in for the land, all sail set.

Wednesday Feb 13th

First part, light trades. Standing in for the anchorage. At 5:30 p.m., took in all light sail, and rounded the reef to stand in for the anchorage. A boat with some Spaniards came off and told us we were in far enough. At 6:30, came to anchor in 16 fathoms, and furled sails. At 4 a.m., lowred the boats, and at 9, the Mate's Boat struck a humpback cow and calf. Turned then up and commenced towing. Ends with the boats towing.

Thursday Feb 14th

Moderate trades. At 5 p.m., got the whale alongside and set the watches for the night. At 4 a.m., lowered away again. At 12, Capt. Sowle informed me that the 5th officer, Mr. Smart, was going to steal a boat and take the Carpenter Devoll, Smith, Lawrence¹ and one or two men from before the mast and run away. This man Smart had been treated so well by Capt. and myself that I could hardly credit it, but found it to be too true! We confined him in irons and he afterwards owned it to the sailmaker, the other scoundrel. We kept [him] at duty under strict watch. This day, the **Florence** came in and anchored.² Ends with the boats whaling.

Friday Feb 15th

Boats whaling all these 24 hours without success. Capt. cut the whale in that was

1 Ed. note: Lawrence Lopez (see below).

2 Ed. note: Of Honolulu, Captain Spencer, listed as having sailed from Honolulu on Feb. 10 [sic], 1861, in Hegarty's "Return of Whaling Vessels" (1959). She must have left on the 1st instead, as it takes more than four days to go from Honolulu to Saipan.

alongside. Saw but one or two whales.

Saturday Feb 16th

Boat whaling part of this part but seeing nothing came on board. Employed boiling. The **Rousseau** came in and anchored.

Sunday Feb 17th

Boats off a little while this morning and then went on shore and got off coconuts, hogs, etc. Finished boiling.

Monday Feb 18th

Boats off a little while this morning. Saw nothing. Went after recruits, etc. Brought off 3 loads of coconuts and 4 of wood. So ends.

Tuesday Feb 19th

Boats still getting off recruits. Came on board 3 or 4 times with coconuts and wood. So ends. No whales.

Wednesday 20th

Boats still getting off recruits. At 2 p.m., took our anchor in company with the **Florence** and bore up for Tinian. 5:30, the Capt. went on shore, could not get anything, so bore up for Rota. So ends. Hove aback at 12 p.m.

Thursday 21st

Fine trades, and weather. At 10 a.m., Capt. went on shore, could not get anything, so fore up for Umata. Stopped about an hour at Guam [i.e. Agaña]. Boat came on board but had nothing. So ends.

Friday 22nd

Fine trades and fine weather. Running down the island for Umata. At 10, saw the pilot boat coming off and hove aback for him. **Florence** close to. So ends.

Saturday 23d

At 1 p.m., pilot came on board. At 3, anchored in 16 fathoms and furled the sails. At 4, commenced preparing to get water. Strong squalls through the middle part. Latter part, calm. All hands employed variously. **Florence** at anchor. Nothing. So ends.

Sunday Feb 24th

... Took a raft on shore...

Monday Feb 25th

... All hands employed getting off wood, water, oranges, etc. At 5 a.m., missed one

of the boatsteerers, named Lawrence Lopez. Could not find him. So, reported him on shore to the Captain of the Port who set the people on shore on track. So ends.

Tuesday Feb 26th

Hands employed as usual, fitting the ship for sea. At 10 this morning, the First Officer, Mr. Greene, had a few words with Mr. Hoxie, the 2nd officer, about the ship's duty not getting on right. When Mr. Green told him to shut up his noise as there was strangers on board, Mr. Hoxie made some reply about sticking a knife into Mr Greene, who not seeing him take the knife out of his pocket, took hold of him. He then made a cut at Mr. Greene with the knife, and Capt. Spencer of the **Florence**, seeing it, caught hold of Mr. Green and shoved him away and received the knife in his own arm, opening it from the elbow to the wrist. Mr. Hoxie then threw the knife overboard. Capt. Sowle, hearing the noise, ran on deck and seized him and then drove him into his room. This is the same man that the Spaniard stabbed since we left Honolulu, and whom Capt. Sowle kept confined for the doing n double irons between decks and Mr. Hoxie then thought there could not be enough done to him and now turned around and cut up the same caper himself. The fast is he has not been any good to the ship since he joined her, and once before he was very saucy to Capt. Sowle at his own table, and he let it pass. For this scrape, he says himself he deserves anything the Capt. is a mind to do to him for it, and cried and begged of him not to put him on shore here, on account of some capers he cut up here when he was in the **Rapid**, at the house of the Capt. of the Port, who being here at the occurrence informed Capt. Sowle of it.

At 5 p.m., the news came off from the town that they had caught the boatsteerer Lawrence and that he would not come on board the ship.¹ Capt. Sowle immediately manned a boat and started to head him off from going to town. He having told the Soldiers that he would not go to town until he saw the Governor after a travel of about 40 miles, Capt. Sowle came up with him, Capt. Spencer being with Capt. Sowle. He said he would not go on board the ship and then drew a large bowie knife, about 19 inches long, and made towards Capt. Sowle. In stepping back, Capt. Sowle stumbled into a ditch and injured himself severely so that he will be laid up for a month. Capt. Spencer, seeing Capt. Sowle fall and seeing the scoundrel with a knife, drew and stopped him from going towards him when he was down. The Spaniards then seized him and after a severe struggle secured him and brought him on board the ship where he was confined in double irons. Capt. Sowle's arm swelled to a frightful state. We sent for a Spanish Doctor. So ends.

Wednesday Feb. 27th

This day finished wooding and watering and recruiting ship. Spanish Doctor came on board and looked at the Capt.'s arm, said it was a frightful bruise but no bones

1 Ed. note: This man, Lorenzo Lopez, was a negro (see below) and probably from the Cape Verde Islands.

broke. Still swelling worse. Mr. Smart, 5th officer, still confined but not very penitent yet.

Thursday Feb 28th

Fine weather. All hands employed seriously.; Capt.'s arm no better; gets worse if anything.

Friday March 1st

At 1 a.m., took our anchor in company with the **Florence** and stood out to sea, beating tack & tack to Guam. At 10 a.m., Capt. Spencer came on board off the Harbor and then proceeded to town. Capt. Sowle's arm being so bad, he could not go. Capt. Sowle let Mr. Hoxie go to duty today, he feeling very bad and promising to do better. So ends.

Saturday March 2nd

Laying off and on at the town... Some visitors came off from shore. Mr. Smart and the boat-steerer still in irons.

Sunday March 2nd

At 4 p.m., finished business and hauled sharp on the wind, and made all sail for Rota and Saipan to get our potatoes, etc. from the **B[enjamin] Rush**... At daylight, Island of Rota off the weather beam. Standing up for the island, tack and tack. So ends.

Monday March 4th

... At 3 p.m., Capt. went on shore but could not get any corn, got some ducks and chickens. At 7 p.m., bore up for Saipan... Saw 2 ships at anchor at Saipan, and the **Emily Morgan** under way, making short tacks for the anchorage.

Tuesday March 5th

At 5:30 p.m., came to anchor in 17 fathoms of water and furled sails. Latter part, two boats whaling and teh rest of the men doing ship work. **Ben Rush** and **Amock** [sic]¹ at anchor.

Wednesday March 6th

Boats whaling without success, there being very few whales. Got some corn, and sweet potatoes. Hands employed variously.

Thursday March 7th

Two boats whaling all day without success, whales being scarce. The rest employed in ship's duty.

1 Ed. note: Or Averick, or something like it. My guess is that she was the Emily [Mrgan].

Friday March 8th.

All the boats off this day. At 10, Starboard Boat, Mr. Hoxie, struck. Turned her up and commenced towing. So ends. Boats towing.

Saturday March 9th

At 5 p.m., got the whale alongside and commenced cutting. Took in head gear and set watches for the night. At 4 a.m., sent 2 boats off whaling, and kept 2 to cut the whale in. As the Captain's arm does not get better yet where he was hurt in the chase after the nigger at Umata.

Sunday March 10th

At 11, boats came on board, saw nothing. Finished cutting and cleared up decks. Charles Smith, one of the men that was implicated in the stealing of the boat with the 5th officer, Mr. Smart, has given up work, says he has got the rheumatism; wants to get clear of the ship, more than rheumatism. Sent the boats off again. So ends. Began and finished boiling.

Monday March 11th

Boats came on board without success. Cleared up decks and got off some coconuts and potatoes. At 5 a.m., sent the boats off again.

Tuesday March 12th

At 1 p.m., the Waist Boat, Mr. Hoxie, struck. Turned him up after a long run and had to get the ship under way to get him and cut him in. Took him alongside. At 8 p.m., cut her in and got back to the anchorage at 12 M[idnight].

Wednesday march 13th

Fine weather. At 5 a.m., sent the boats whaling. Off all day without success. So ends.

Thursday March 14th

Boats whaling part of this day. Saw few whales. Got some coconuts, fowl, hogs and wood. So ends.

Friday March 15th

Boats whaling part of these 24 hours, without success. Took off more hogs from shore. So ends.

Saturday March 16th

Boats off whaling. At 9 a.m., 4th officer, Mr. Williams, struck. Turned him up and commenced towing. Ends with the boats towing.

Sunday March 17th

Boats still towing against strong tide and winds. At 3 a.m., boats left the whale, came to the ship and took the anchor. At 10, got the whale alongside and commenced cutting. So ends.

Monday March 18th

At 10 p.m., finished cutting and started the works. Made sail and working back to the anchorage. Employed boiling.

Tuesday March 19th

At 10 p.m., came to anchor near where we were before. At 5 a.m., sent the boats whaling, without success. Employed getting out water, coffee, rice, etc. etc.

Wednesday March 20th

Strong winds. Boats whaling all these 24 hours without success.

Thursday March 21st

Boats whaling. Mr. Hoxie struck. Got stove, cut the line off.

Friday March 22nd

Whaling without success. Bought corn, potatoes and coconuts.

Saturday March 23rd

Calms. Whaling all the day, without success.

Sunday March 24th

Calms. Boats whaling without success. Whales shy and scarce.

Monday March 25th

Boats whaling without success. Came on board and commenced stowing oil. So ends.

Tuesday March 26th

Two boats whaling. The rest stowing oil and water.

Note: On a promise of being a good man, and not cutting up any more capers, Capt. Sowle let Mr. Smart out of irons.

Wednesday March 27th

Boats whaling. At 6:30 a.m., 4th officer, Mr. Williams, struck. Cow and calf killed and commenced towing. So ends. Boats towing.

Thursday March 28th

At 3:30 p.m., got the whale alongside and cut him in, and commenced boiling. 2

boats whaling, without success.

Friday March 29th

Boats whaling. Boiling and doing other necessary work. Boats, no success.

Saturday March 30th

Boats whaling these 24 hours without success. Whales very scarce.

Sunday March 31st

Boats whaling all day without success.

Monday April 1st

Boats whaling. Saw few whales and scarce.

Tuesday April 2nd

Boats whaling. Saw no whales, came on board. Employed variously.

Wednesday April 3d

Sent 3 boats down to Tinian to see if they [could] catch a whale. Ends with the boats off.

Thursday April 4th

Three boats still off. At 9 a.m., took the anchor and stood towards Tinian. At 12, saw the boats under the land and ran for them. So ends.

Friday April 5th

At 3 p.m., boats came on board. Saw few whales. At 7, kept off for Guam... At 11 [a.m.], the Capt. went on shore at Guam. So ends. Laying off and on.

Saturday April 6th

Laying off and on at Guam. At 5 p.m., Capt. came on board with corn and rice, and hauled to the Northward. At 9 a.m., passed Rota... Ship by the wind NNE.

Sunday April 7th

... At daylight, Tinian and Saipan in sight...

Monday April 8th

... At 6 [[p.m.], sighted the anchorage at Saipan and saw the **Ben Rush** at anchor. Took in light sails and stood on shore. Tacks between the Islands... At daylight, close to the anchorage. Saw a cow and calf, lowered 3 boats and brought the ship to anchor.

So ends. Boats whaling.

Tuesday April 9th

Boats came on board at 5:30 p.m. and lowered away again at 5 a.m. but no success. Wind right and whales scarce. Capt. went on shore and got more hogs.

Wednesday April 10th

Boats came on board, saw no whales. Middle part, calm. At 6:30 took our anchor and stood down towards Tinian. Sent the boats on shore. Saw nothing. So ends.

Thursday April 11th

Boats in shore. Saw nothing. Capt. went on shore, got some hogs and hens. At 7:30 p.m., bore away for the NW... Saw the Island of Agrigan to the NNE. Lat. by Obs. 15°45' N, Long. by Obs. 145°29' E.

Friday April 12th

... At 8 p.m., passed the Island. Saw another Island to the NNE... [Next morning] Two Islands ahead... Two more Islands further to the Northward.

Saturday April 13th

First part light trades. Three boats landed on one of the islands. Got a couple of hogs and some coconuts. Saw a humpback cow and calf, chased without success. At 7, bore away for one of the other islands, distant 20 miles. Middle part, ship on short tacks. Latter part, made the island of Pagan. Saw whales, lowered. All bulls. Could not strike and came on board. So ends.

Sunday April 14th

At 12 M., 3 boats went in shore, captain in one, after hogs. Saw a cow and calf. Starboard [Boat] struck, killed, took them both alongside and cut them in. At 10 a.m., boat started in after hogs again, Captain also. Saw another cow and calf and the Bow Boat, Mr. Williams, struck, turned her up and commenced towing. So ends.

Monday April 15th

At 4 p.m., took both cow and calf alongside and commenced cutting. Finished at 3 a.m. and set the watc. Ship on different tacks, standing in for the land, distant 12 miles. Employed boiling. So ends.

Tuesday April 16th

Light trades and pleasnt all the first part. Ship on short tacks, standing for the land. At 6 p.m., took in light sails and hove aback for the night. At 7 a.m., 4 boats sent in shore. Saw plenty of whales. Bow Boat, Mr. Williams, struck calf, got hold of the cow.

Killed them both. Calf sunk. Commenced towing. So ends, with the boats towing.

...

[Four more whales were killed over the next three days.

...

Saturday April 20th

... At 6:30 a.m., 4 boats went in shore. Saw no whales, went on shore and got some wood and cocouts... Coming off, the Larboard Boat picked up the calf we sunk the day before, took her alongside and cut him in. So ends.

Sunday April 21st

... Kept off N1/2E for Grigan [Agrigan], and commenced stowing down. At 7, hove aback to weather of hte Island. At 6 a.m., lowered 4 boats and went in shore. Saw no whales and landed. Got a few hogs and some coconuts. So ends. Boats still on shore.

Monday April 22nd

All 4 boats came on board. Kept off to the North and West. At daylight, steered N, made some more Islands. Hauled in for them... Found by observaton that the situation of these Islands are all incorrect...

Tuesday April 23rd

... At 6 p.m., passed close to small islands [Mayg]... Latter part, more small islands close to [Uracas]. Lowered a boat. Capt. went on shore and loaded with eggs.

[The next day, the ship's position was Lat. 22°02' N., Long. 143°52' E. Then they headed for the Bonin Islands, the Arctic where they cruised until October 1861, back to Hawaii, then home.]

Document 1859L

The ship St. George, Captain Josiah C. Pease

Sources: Ms. in the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 831; Log Inv. 4432.

Extracts from the log kept by Captain Pease

...

[The St. George went whaling in the Okhotsk Sea in 1858.]

...

Sunday 16 [January 1859]

These 24 hours commenced with light breeze & fine weather steering to westward at sundown luffed to wind to North at 11 wore ship to South at daylight saw Ocean [Banaba] Island 15 miles off Capt off for it at 10 AM went on shore Latter lying off & on so ends.

Lat about 00°55 South Long by Chr 169°35¹

Monday 17

These 24 hours commenced with some squalls of rain Lying off & on at Ocean Island got 3 Boat loads of wood at 4 PM Capt off N.W at sundown luffed to wind to North under top sail middle & latter very squally latter steered to Westward under double reefs saw nothing so ends.

Lat 00°20 South Long 165°23 East

...

[Next page badly microfilmed, overexposed. However, they saw Nauru on Wednesday the 19th]

...

Tuesday 25

These 24 hours commenced with squally weather wind from NE steering NW middle part the same latter part fresh gale under dougle reef fore & main close reef miz. top-sails jib & mainsail furled at 11 AM saw Ascension [Pohnpei] Island at 12 in the land 10 miles off saw one ship so ends.

Lat 6°45 North Long 158°20 East

1 Note in margin: Ocean Island laid down 55 miles too far to the Eastward on the Chart.

Wednesday 26

These 24 hours commenced with a fresh gale steering to the westward along the land middle & latter steering NW saw nothing fresh gale with squalls so ends.

Lat 8°30 North Long 156°38 East

...

[Apparent omission of faint pages in the MCF. Next entry is for February 20th, while the ship was at Guam.]

...

Sunday 20 [February 1843]

Lying at Anchor at Umatac Bay getting water Lost 2 men by Desertion James Hughes & Manuel Havier (?) at 7 PM got under way Layed off & on through the night Latter part sent a Boat on shore heard nothing of the runaways so ends.

Lat 13°27 North Long 144°45 E

...

[The ship went to the Okhotsk Sea, before circling clockwise back to the Gilberts.]

...

Sunday Dec 25

These 24 hours commenced with light airs from Eastward steering to WSW middle part with some rain swualls at daylight saw Hope [Arorae] Island got some hats & mats steered for Rotches [Tamana] Island the Chart out of the way 40 miles to Eastward by Chronometer.

Lat 2°32 South. Long 177°67 East.

Monday 26

These 24 hours commenced with fine weather & light breeze from NE steering to Westward at 2 PM saw Rotches Island at 4 PM got some hogs & fowl at sundown kept off W by S middle & latter steering to westward strong breeze from North saw nothing so ends.

Lat 2°24 South Long 174°31 East¹

...

Thursday 29

These 24 hours commenced with fine weather & light breeze steering to Westward at sundown saw Ocean [Banaba] Island Luffed to wind aback at daylight kept off for the Island at 10 AM went on shore got the taboo off plenty of Natives came on Board got about 500 fowls & about 500 Cocoanuts so ends.

Lat 00°50 South Long. 169°50 East.

...

Monday 9 [January 1860]

These 24 hours commenced with moderate trades & fine weather steering NW by W middle part the same Latter squally at 11 AM saw the Island of Saypan so ends. Sailed

1 Note in margin: Rotches Island, took 3 Natives from this Island to go in the Ship.

25 miles off. No Obs.

Tuesday 10

These 24 hours commenced with good weather & light breeze steering for the weather port of the Land saw one ship steering the same at sundown luffed to wind a back middle part the same latter kept off in company with the ship **Washington** at 10 Am came to Anchor in 14 fathoms water. Latter saw one Humpback[,] Washington Boats struck but lost him so ends.

Wednesday Jan 11

These 24 hours good weather saw no whales still at anchor so ends.

Thursday 12

These 24 hours strong winds & some squalls of rain saw one whale could not strike so ends.

Friday 13

These 24 hours strong winds & squally saw nothing so ends.

Saturday 14

These 24 hours squally with a long swell saw one whale off shore so ends.

Sunday 15

Strong wind with heavy squalls saw one whale off shore saw one ship to leeward under short sail so ends.

Monday 16

All these 24 hours Blowed a gale from NE saw two sshaes the **Washington** set 2nd Anchor, had some heavy squalls so ends.

Tuesday 17

Blowed a gale with a plenty of squalls.

Wednesday 18

Blowed heavy with squalls saw nothing.

Thursday 19

Strong Strong wind with squalls saw several whales off shore did not Lower so ends.

Friday 20

Blowed a gale with squalls saw one ship pass by looked like a French Man so ends.

Saturday 21

These 24 hours strong wind with squalls saw one whale off shore & one French Ship.

Sunday 22 [no entries for the following 3 weeks.]

Tuesday, March the 13 1860

These 24 hours fresh trades steering to NW under all sail so ends.

Lat 14°45 North Long 142°38 East.

Wednesday 14

These 24 hours moderate trades with some rain squalls steering to NW saw nothing employed in ships duty so ends.

Lat 16°32 North Long 140°56 East.

...

[The ship then went to the Yellow Sea, to the Sea of Japan, the Okhotsk Sea, then South on the way home.]

Documents 1859M

U.S.S. Fenimore Cooper, Captain Brooke

Notes: Voyage from Honolulu to Hong Kong, via Johnston, Taongi and Guam.

M1. Visit to Johnston Island and Taongi Atoll

Source: Article in the Boston Journal, Nov. 23, 1859.

After leaving Honolulu, the **Cooper** ran to the southward and westward as far as the position assigned to the northernmost island of the Radack group, and cruised about for a considerable time in search of sundry shoals and rocks which had been reported as occurring in that locality. None of these were found. Bad weather having at length set in, the course of the vessel was directed to the northward, calling at Johnston's Islands in Lat. 16°23' N, Long. 169°31' W. These islands are described as being surrounded with a reef about 10 miles long by 5 miles broad, on one side of which are a couple of low islets. It is somewhat difficult of approach, but susceptible of being made accessible with little labor.

The slopes of these islands are covered with guano, and were found to be in possession of parties from California. Some ten persons having with them a field piece, were residing on the larger island to look after the interest of the concern. They were living in houses made of gunny bags stretched on poles. Light and airy habitations for a warm climate, and a sparse population, says our writer,¹ but rather too open in texture for densely inhabited neighborhoods, abounding in inquisitive old ladies. These men seem to thrive well, despite the barrenness of the spot on which no tree occurred to break the monotony of the scene. The fishing at this island is spoken of as being quite extraordinary. Any desired number of the most varied and beautiful species of the finny tribe being readily captured.

After leaving Johnston's Island, the **Cooper** made, in the beginning of April, the group known as Gaspar Rico [Taongi], which consisted of a reef surrounding some six or seven islands.

Several days were spent in surveying this and in vainly endeavoring to find some

¹ Ed. note: Probably Brooke himself, and not likely the only other officer on board, Lieut. Charles E. Thorburn.

opening in the barrier reef through which the Ship might pass. The surf being so heavy upon the reef no landing could be effected. The writer dwells with enthusiasm upon the exquisite beauty of this clump of islands. It was the finest of the class which they had seen. The reef being well defined, and marking, as with a yellow band, the pale apple green of the shoal water within from the cold blue-black water of the Ocean without. Inside the barrier some of the islands are hilly and well wooded, while a number of high picturesque rocks are scattered here and there. Outside the barrier a tremendous surf was beating, and any number of sharks were constantly playing about the vessel. A pleasant picture to recall, as the writer observes, but somewhat aggravating to men who after having been cramped upon board a Pilot Boat for weeks,¹ were thinking more of having a run on shore than of merely feasting their eyes. The artist of the expedition, Mr. Kern², occupied himself, however, with his pencil with marked success. Lieut. Brooke obtained soundings at a thousand fathoms, close to the reef, and the whole party seemed to feel satisfied that survey of the island was well "worked up."

From Gaspar Rico they stood over to the Mariana group, spending a few days at Guam; thence they sailed to Hong Kong, going through Balingtan Passage. A succession of calms in this vicinity enabled them to obtain, to the eastward of the Passage, a number of capital soundings, in some cases bringing up mud and samples of water from depths of 3800 fathoms. After getting into the Chinese Sea bottom was reached at 900 fathoms, the mud brought up in this instance differed in character from that obtained in the Pacific.

The marked change for the better which had occurred in the appearance of Hong Kong during the last three or four years is dwelt on at length. This improvement is due for the most part to the troubles at Canton, which have driven many persons from that place to seek protection under the British Flag.

After leaving Hong Kong, the **Cooper** would visit the Loo Choo Islands and cruise upon the Japanese Coast, so long as the weather permitted. She would probably pass a portion of the winter in some one of the Japanese Ports, in order to be ready for an early start in the Spring.

M2. The journal of Lieut. John M. Brooke, U.S.N.

Source: George M. Brooke, Jr. (ed.). John M. Brooke's Pacific Cruise and Japanese Adventure, 1858-1860 (Honolulu, UHP, 1986).

Introductory notes.

Lieut. Brooke was born in Florida in 1826 and joined the U.S. Navy at the age of 14. After a few assignments in which he gained practical experience, he became the astronomer and hydrographer with the North Pacific Expedition, aboard the **Vincen-**

1 Ed. note: The Fenimore Cooper was 95-ton schooner.

2 Ed. note: Edward M. Kern, who had previously served on Frémont's Third Expedition to the American West, and had served with Brooke in the North Pacific Expedition.

nes.

Brooke invented a deep-sea sounding device that bears his name. It consisted of a cylinder attached to a weight; when both hit the bottom, the weight disengaged and the cylinder brought back a sample of the sea bottom. Brooke was therefore the first to record soundings over 1,000 fathoms in the Pacific; so it is that he discovered the Marianas Trench, the deepest spot on earth, at 19,800 feet.

The purpose of the Brooke Expedition was, in part, mark the exact location on the charts of islands lying along the route between California and China.

There was a Japanese on board the **Cooper**. His name was Masakichi Heco, but the crew called him Tim. He had been shipwrecked off the coast of Japan in 1850, been rescued by the bark **Aukland** and carried to California, where he learned English.

The **Cooper** had been built as a pilot boat in 1852, and measured 75 feet in length, 20 feet in breadth, and 7 feet in depth. She was named after a U.S.N. midshipman who had also written a novel entitled: *The Pilot*. After crossing the Pacific westward, she was later lost in a storm off Yokohama, and the crew returned to San Francisco aboard the Japanese warship **Kanrin Maru**. Brooke's official report to the Navy was never completed, because the U.S. Civil War broke out in 1861.

Some extracts from the journal

...
[Visit to Taongi Atoll]¹
1 April [1859]

At 10 a.m., the water becoming smooth led us to suspect we were under the lee of the reef [Taongi]. Numerous birds passed us, all going to windward. So instead of standing on in accordance with reckoning and the chart, I tacked to the Northward & Eastward and in a few moments breakers were reported from the masthead, 1-1/2 points on starboard bow. In putting on the bonnet of the jib William] Medkiff [quartermaster] fell overboard; was washed from the bowsprit but recovered himself by catching the bob stay. As we kept under the lee of the reef and continued working up, we gradually raised the islands which are low and long. As far as the eye could reach we saw a reef barring the lagoon which lies to the Westward of the islands. The islands have white sand beaches and are covered with bushes and crab trees. The chain of islands and reefs forms a crescent opening to the Westward, presenting the appearance of a fine bay, The islands lie on the Eastern edge of the crescent (its convex side) which is somewhat angular to the Northward & Eastward. WE discovered a small opening in the reef through which the water was rushing with great velocity. The reef was bare from crescent to crescent. Small fragments of rock which at a distance appear to be ten or twelve feet high but which are really only three or four (looming up) are scattered regularly along the reef, resting upon it. It was low water about. We skirted the reef for several miles, the water as smooth as a mill pond, but there was no sign of an opening sufficiently

1 Ed. note: This atoll was first discovered by the Spanish in 1526, and named San Bartolomé.

large for the vessel. The water within the barrier reef was very bright close to it but towards the islands was darker. About sunset we ran out for the night...

2 April

At daylight nothing in sight from masthead. Stood to the Northward until we got in smoother water. Made the breakers nearly ahead and soon after raised the islands abeam. Stood to the North West extremity of the reef, then skirted it to the South West extremity at a distance of a quarter of a mile... Worked up to boat entrance, hoisted out boat, sounded close to it where we supposed an anchor might find bottom. 30 fathoms, no bottom, right up to the reef. Hoisted in the boat. Stood down near the South West end of reef and sounded. Bottom at 900 fathoms about 3/4 of a mile from the reef... As the whole day was occupied in getting the contour of the reef, etc., there was not time to send a boat on shore as that would have required seven or eight hours. I wished to remain all night to send the boat next day, but as the current sets in addies it was not prudent to remain in the bight all night, and if we went outside we would drift off in the night. The reef was covered at high water so I could not get altitudes for rates of Chronometers which we now require. As we have been out 24 days, and it will be ten days probably to Guam, I can run no risks which might result in injury to our proper work so I reluctantly stood out. There may be guano on these islands but the trees are almost too large for that, ten or twelve feet in height and the birds [do] not appear to be too numerous... Should guano be discovered upon them, a ship channel may easily be blasted through the reef at the present boat entrance. And there is doubtless good anchorage inside. The islands and the trees together are about 20 ft. high... The water was quite blue to the very reef. Sharks abound at the boat entrance. We could with a glass see birds perched in the branches of the trees. The foliage is very gray, a dull-brown tint.

The islands into which Smyth and Kotzebue divide the reef are nothing more than a chain of elevations upon the reef and can scarcely be considered islands. &FEd. note: William H. Smyth was an English naval officer and hydrographer who had made a cruise across the Pacific once. It appears that Brooke did not properly inspect the islets that all lie on the weather side of the atoll.

... 4 April

Cloudy weather with occasional light rain. Wind E.N.E. right aft. Schooner sailing at disadvantage. The want of exercise is telling upon us. We ran nearly over the position assigned Bartholomew and a danger of the Register Chart.¹

...

¹ Ed. note: Bartholomew was, of course, Taongi, misplaced in longitude.

6 April

... In reading Lutke's account of his visit to Guam, I was much interested. Shall endeavor to make observations at the place he made his. The schooner rolls very heavily. I regret that we have not time to sound the Sea...

...

8 April

Occasional light showers. In the evening as I was about to write my notes for the day, the Schooner rolled her lee wale under water and [upon] righting, took on board a quantity of water which came like a cataract down the skylight, flooding the cabin, and wetting me through. The temperature of the air is very equable 80° & 81° [°F] night and day. But sometimes without apparent cause the weather is very depressing while at others it is bracing and pleasant.

Lutke visited Guam in March 1828. He gives a very amusing description of the port of St. Luis D'Apra, the absence of all animation.

9 April

... Should the wind continue fresh we would make Guam day after tomorrow... I am anxious to make observations at Guam; as so many of the older navigators visited that island, their longitudes may be compared.

...

11 April

We had a fresh breeze all night and at (about) one o'clock p.m., made land on the bow, north part of Guam.

12 April.—Guam, Port St. Luis D'Apra

Guam. Port St. Luis d'Apra. WE laid off during the night under mainsail and jib... I stood in soon after sunrise and had worked up to the bar and was standing in to the Northward of Manilla [sic] shoal when we saw the pilot coming off. A French whale ship¹ passed us. Saluted us by dipping her flag. Returned it. The pilot coming on board directed us to fill away which we did. He proved to be a garrulous old fellow who knew nothing about working ship or schooner, singing out, Luff! luff! when he meant to tack. As he knew the way, his seamanship was limited to pointing out the dangers. At first he offered to take us into the inner harbor by Fort Santa Cruz but subsequently told me that it was too cloudy to make the attempt as he could not distinguish the coral patches. He proposed, however, to anchor us close under Cabras Island, which he did, but not without some trouble as he could not tell us what sail to shorten or what we were to do until the thing was required when we judged for ourselves. It was Luff! luft! round, keep off, etc. without regard to sail. However, he was somewhat surprised at the ease with which the schooner worked in. She beat his whale boat which pulled in as the wind

1 Ed. note: The **Jason**, Captain Haché, who was reported there in January 1860.

was ahead, about East. I asked a good many questions based upon LUTke's narrative... [He] asked if I had been here before and wore a puzzled expression for some time. We found a Russian whaler at anchor.¹

...

The old pilot was one of the most talkative men I ever saw. He informed me that the Governor, Don Felipe de la Corte, was at Agaña. Son after anchoring the Capt. of the Port, Don Vincente Calbo [rather Vicente Calvo], came alongside in a whale boat. Apologised for not wearing his uniform, saying that he did not suppose we were a man-of-war. He requested a list of officers, number of crew, where from, etc. Offered me a passage to Agaña in his boat as he was going there... Invited him to breakfast with us... Thorburn asked me when I would return from Agaña. The old pilot remarked I would not return today if I met the Major's daughter, from which I inferred that the Major's daughter was the belle of Guam. About 10 o'clock we started in the boat of the Capt. of the Port for Agaña, Mr. Kern and I, to pay our respects to the Governor. We found our uniforms warm enough. Don Vincente had a package of Sandwich Island papers which we bought. To avoid the wind which blew pleasantly and to clear the coral reef near Cabras Island, we pulled somewhat out of the direct route until we were close to the island in the shoal water which makes rip between the island and the main. Cabras Island is about twenty-five feet in height, more in some parts, and is composed entirely of coral rock. It is covered with wild plants and is almost impenetrable. The rock is much broken—full of fissures—and although a dreary island, there are some picturesque points where the rocks run into the sea and the overhanging vegetation dips into the water... Don Vincente was amused at our admiration of the little picturesque spots which appeared as we pulled along the shore. He pointed out some trees bearing white flowers which he said were gutta-percha trees.² We passed the right extremity of Cabras Island and pulled in to the pilot station [at Piti] where there were three or four thatched huts and a few natives. The beach was low and fringed with cocoa[-nut] trees loaded with nuts. Between their trunks we could see a level ground extending half a mile or so to the foot of the hills which rise in the interior, and resemble those of Japan. The land has a mellow fruitful appearance and there were many very pretty trees, some which resembled pines,³ the wood of which, so Don Vincente informed us, is very hard, adapted for making balls for ten pins.

On rounding Cabras Island we had a very pretty view of the near coast-line. At one point nearly half-way to Agaña are some bluffs of coral rock, reminding one of the palisades of Hudson's River. They are, however, not more than seventy or eighty feet in height... It is said by some of the inhabitants that each of the frequent earthquake shocks which occur almost weekly produce or are attended by a slight elevation of the land... There are some rocks of volcanic, igneous, origin forming ridges, spurs of the main

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the **Turku**, Captain Soderblom.

2 Ed. note: Or Frangipani, or *Plumiera acuminata*.

3 Ed. note: Ironwood, or Casuarina, trees.

ridge of the island. One has been cut for the passage of the road to Agaña. I shall procure specimens of these rocks. From the reddish soil I presume there is some iron in it. Corn and rice grow well, the former has a very compact grain of the finest quality.

We left the boat on reaching Point Diablo which it is inconvenient to round. On the shore is the hospital for the poor, as Don Vincente expressed it.¹ There were only two or three natives in the vicinity and they were not very attractive objects. As the road is fine, we were glad to leave the boat. Cocoa-[nuts] and plantain bananas and breadfruit trees line the way. The former present arcades reminding one of the architectre of the Alhambra. The breadfruit trees are magnificent, their huge grey trunks, stout limbs and large green leaves, hand-shaped, clustered over with great bunches of fruit now nearly ripe. There were a few waving bamboos, and crossing several little bridges of wood spanning slender streams we sometimes had a view of the valleys where reeds and grasses usurp the places of larger plants. It is charming to follow such a road. In one part it skirts the base of a promontory exposed to the fury of the typhoons which sometimes rage in the autumnal months. A reservoir has been built there to catch a stream that falls down the face of the promontory, it is now dry.² A coping of flagstones embanking the road has been nearly destroyed by the breakers rolling far within the outer reef which is about one hundred yards from the shore. On this reef rises a grim rock resembling some monster of the flood; it is called Gapan. We passed several cabins or huts, board structures raised three or four feet from the ground on posts and thatched with straw, probably rice straw.³ There were, however, some with stone or plastered walls. Nearly all were surrounded by a light cane or bamboo fence, so light and fragile as to be of little real service unless to mark the boundaries of the court or garden. The sun was quite warm but the light was so agreeable, rendering the scenery so brilliant and yet mellow in the distance, that we bore it cheerfully.

At length we entered the village of Agaña. The streets are nearly kept but the houses are so slight that one can hardly realise that it is a permanent establishment. The houses are all neatly fenced in with bamboo slips thrust into the ground and interwoven or lashed to transverse pieces. Continuing on in the principal street we passed the house [of] Don Vincente's father, the Commissaire,⁴ and soon reached the palace which fronts to the North on the plaza and is supported by the *cuartel*⁵ and church on the right. A sentinel in uniform stood at the door which is on the ground so that one has to pass as it were through the cellar to enter the house. The Palace is quite an ancient building and presents no architectural beauties, being simply a rectangular structure covered with heavy tiles of red clay. Beneath the eaves there is a gallery or balcony on which one may enjoy the air. The floors are of a dark and durable wood, the walls colored

1 Ed. note: The leper hospital at Adelup Point.

2 Ed. note: Because all its water was diverted to supply fresh water to Agaña, by means of a line made up of bamboo pipes.

3 Ed. note: Not very probable, as *nipa* was more available.

4 Ed. note: Whose name was Felix Calvo, the Administrator of the Royal Treasury.

5 Ed. note: I.e., the *cuartel*, or military barracks.

with ochre resembling the papered walls at home. Semi-partitions divide this hall of a house into apartments. Stout beams cross at intervals overhead to enable the building to withstand earthquakes. Ascending to this part of the building we were ushered into the public hall where we found cane chairs and settee, a table covered with English and American newspapers, a few books, periodicals, etc. In a few moments the Governor entered and the Capt. of the Port introduced us to him. He was very polite and seemed disposed to facilitate our operations, told me that I might make observations at any point offering advantages, etc. I explained to him the object of our voyage. The governor is about thirty-five years of age and is very dignified, has the appearance of being a man of self control and much intelligence. We found living with the Governor a Capt. Andrews to whom I had been introduced in Honolulu.¹ The conversation was general having reference to surveying, commerce between California & China, submarine telegraphs, the advantages of the islands as a stopping place for steamers, etc. At length, Don Vincente took leave and soon after Capt. Andrews proposed to show us the town, so we bade the Governor good morning and went to the house of Doña Rita [de Acosta], where strangers may find a very good bed and abundant food cooked in Spanish style. A young man, Juan, a sort of universal genius, musician, mechanic and I know not what besides, does the honors. His wife is at this time not visible, having just given birth to a fine baby. We then went to the house of Dr. George, formerly an hospital steward at the Pensacola Navy Yard.² He practises medicine successfully and is doubtless a useful member of the community. The Governor and other officials treat him with marked respect. He has also taken in charge a ship chandlery, originally a branch of the House of Thomas Spencer of Honolulu. The moment that Kern & I saw the Dr. we were both reminded of those characters in Smollet's works and we discovered that we had encountered an original. The Dr. was lame, having unfortunately injured a foot some time ago from the effects of which he still suffers. Dr. George received us very cordially and offered his services. We remained at his house until six in the evening when Capt. Andrews who had been to the palace returned and conducted us to the House of Vincente's father where we were to dine by invitation. The Commissaire met us at the head of the stairs, and soon after Don Vincente came in, accompanied by four sisters, all of them young and pretty. One, Mrs. Marsh, had married an American, commanding a whale ship now daily expected from the Southern grounds.³ She was an interesting little lady, spoke English agreeably, had been to the United States, and returned with a piano and a knowledge of our own home songs & tunes, which she played skilfully. Her sister Ana also entertained us with music...

Reports of sails in the offing keep the house of Don Cabo [sic] in a perpetual flutter. As these were the first Spanish ladies we had seen upon the island, we were struck by

1 Ed. note: Probably the Captain Andrews who had been one of the masters of the Guam-based schooner **Secreto** which had just been sold to Honolulu, and renamed **Micronesia**.

2 Ed. note: Dr. Paul William George had also been surgeon aboard Canadian whalers in the 1840s.

3 Ed. note: Captain William Marsh, of the **Eliza L. B. Jenney**.

the peculiar costume, well adapted to the climate, loose robes of light material prettily colored. These young ladies were totally free from affectation and were as graceful and agreeable as possible. Mrs. Marsh speaks English with hardly a trace of the Spanish accent.

We dined pleasantly, the Doctor Don [?]¹ joining the party, and although he does not speak a word of English, a happy and humorous disposition rendered him a very amusing as well as an agreeable companion... I think the family an excellent one. At 9, we went with Capt. A. to the house of Major [?] where [we] were introduced to his daughters, Augustina and [?]. Augustina played admirably upon the harp. The Governor came in and Capt. Danlesly [?],² the latter an admirer of Augustina to whom he devoted himself during the evening. There was dancing. These young girls were not less agreeable than those of the hospitable Don Cabo. A pleasing custom general among the Spaniards of occasionally presenting to their visitors flowers of sweet odor is a pleasant one and my note book is filled with souvenir fragrances from the fair donors. The jasmine is ... of powerful odor indeed. Don Vincente Cabo had visited England, China, Manilla, etc. We remained until a late hour when, the Governor setting the example, we bid our entertainers good evening and returned to our quarters at Doña Rita's where we slept delightfully, waking with the sun...

The present governor is a man of energy and very just, popular. Removed the ten per cent discount on foreign coin, by which vessels have been attracted. He is an engineer, a lawyer, etc., meeting various qualifications.

16 April

In the evening I determined to visit Agaña as Sunday is a feast day and the padre Father Anozetta [Aniceto Ibañez] has invited us to dine with him.

In coming off from Cabras Island we were overtaken by a heavy squall. Several others followed and I was half inclined to postpone my visit until the next day, but finally made up my mind to start accompanied by Rogier, Ryley and Falk. The air was cool and we took refuge occasionally from the passing showers under the thatched roofs by the way side. A native who came down for some bread in exchange for fowls, accompanied us. I had no small change with me, and he was of some service in procuring coconuts with the milk of which we quenched our thirst. He was a very sprightly intelligent fellow, told me that he had several acres of land under cultivation on which he raised sweet potatoes, etc., that he had tried Irish potatoes in different soils but without success. He procured us some toddy which I had the curiosity to taste; it is the juice or sap of the [coconut] tree collected in bamboo buckets from the tappel branches [rather flower buds], as in the U.S. we collect the sap of the maple. From this juice Arrack is distilled. There are many small stills on the island but the people are not addicted

1 Ed. note: Dr. Vicente Guilló, who arrived at Guam in June 1858 (see Doc. 1858B1).

2 Ed. note: Rather Danelsberg, Captain of the Hawaiian schooner Pfeil, which was in the harbor, about to be wrecked.

to the abuse of ardent spirits. John [Rita's husband] was loud in his praises of the cocoa[nut] tree. It furnished everything. A man with a thousand trees was a rich man. He could build houses, thatch them, and have his toddy every morning and evening. I told him that I had plenty of garden seeds and would give him some which pleased him very much. He said that if I would come next season he would show me the plants raised from such seed as I would give him. The moon came out occasionally and we passed some very romantic spots, winding along among the [coconut] and the bananas. We left the pilot station at 6 p.m., arriving in Agaña at 7:30. The distance is about five miles. I went to Doña Rita's, changed my clothes and called upon the Commissaire who I found at home with his family. They were very kind... [I] remained until nine, heard the bugles in the plaza, took a glass of wine and left, as it was the SATurday evening preceding the holy week (week before Easter). Passed several men riding on bullocks.¹

[The mini-typhoon of 17 April 1859]

17 April

Sunday. MORning, heavy rain. A gale set in during the night. Many houses were unroofed, fences blown down, etc. The people were running about from house to house for shelter, the girls scampering, their skirts gathered up and their long hair flying in the wind. Capt. Andrews came in and at four the Major called when we all went to Father Anizetta's to dine. Entering his house the padre received us at the door very gracefully, doing the honors dressed in white robe and comfortable as possible. We found the governor, his cousin Don Manuel, the Commissaire, ... the Major, a Capt. of Artillery (a Mexican) and several others, [and] our friend, the Capt. of the Port. Dinner was served and an excellent one it was. Soup with barley, macaroni, venison, curried fowls, rice, stews and hashes, peas (imported), bananas, potatos, eggs, duck, turkey, ham, sweet meats, coffee, etc. claret, ale, champagne and some cognac, cordials of several kinds. The party was a very agreeable one and every one seemed well pleased except the Doctor who refused to drink his wine and became the butt of the party. After dinner there was signing (improvising by the governor who was in the vein), guitar playing, etc. We left about 1/2 past eight. I went with Dr. George as he is called, the others to the Commissaire's and the Major's. The storm continued during the night.

18 April

Called on the Governor, Capt. Andrews with us (Kern and I). It was raining very heavily all day, the streets flooded. The weather is very unusual. A schooner in the inner harbor dragged on the reef of Fort Santa Cruz with 3 anchors dry.² The Cooper is all right. I gave the governor some garden seeds. Also made up some packages for the Major, Commissaire and Dr. George.

1 Ed. note: They were returning home from their ranchos.

2 Ed. note: The Honolulu schooner Pfeil, according to Fr. Ibañez' diary, entry of 17 April 1859 (Doc. 1855P). Note that the local date was not respecting the International Date Line yet. Fr. Ibañez says that Brooke lost a boat at that time.

The governor says that the sap of the breadfruit makes good paint oil, the palace doors are painted with it. The windows are glazed with shell, better than glass for hot sunshiny weather. The palace is very old, the floor of dark polished wood.

19 April

There is an American ship off the harbor.¹ The sun comes out. Kern is going up to the castle to make a sketch of the town.² I accompanied Kern to the Castle.

The town of Agaña on the sea shore is situated in the opening of a valley which penetrates the island to the depth of a mile or so... On the brow of the bluff which forms the south side of the entrance is the castle, a dilapidated old structure, Paraiso [?], the walls not more than three feet thick and ready to fall. There are three embrasures commanding the town. The ascent to this old castle is by a path winding among guava bushes, limoncito and coconut. The streets of the town were nearly parallel to the shore and are sometimes flooded with water by heavy rains and occasionally by earthquakes.³

There are thick groves of [coconuts] on the whole Western shore. The reef runs along about 1/2 a mile from the beach, and canoes and boats ply between the breakers and the shore. There is a boat entrance abreast the town but the water is shoal, a deep bight makes in NE of the town and there is a small island there.

The houses of the better sort are of two stories, the lower or basement on the ground, the carriages kept in the hall. Broad steps lead above where the family resides. The furniture is simple, a few prints and Spanish pictures hang on the walls. The houses are tiled, those of the poor thatched. We passed women pounding fruit of the [cycad?] I believe, of which they make flour.⁴

The Commissaire visited us. He says Guam costs the Spanish government several thousand dollars annually. The other islands, having cattle, pay their expenses. November is the month for oranges, those of the highlands best.

Whalers arrive about the 1st of Dec. until latter part of April, 1st of May. Right whalers the last, sperm whalers sometimes in November. Sperm whalers from Japan Sea. The governor says that typhoons visit only Guam & Rota.

20 April

Last night spent the evening at the Commissaire's and the Major's. It rained again this morning, and the clouds are thick. I must go on board. The Capt. of the Port informed me last night that the schooner had dragged. The Governor applied to me to know if I could take away the shipwrecked people.⁵ I answered no, in consequence of the small size of the vessel and the large number of her crew.

-
- 1 Ed. note: She was the **Vesper**, from Kosrae with the shipwrecked survivors of the **Lexington** (see Doc. 1859B).
 - 2 Ed. note: Therefore, the so-called Castle must have been Fort Santa Agueda overlooking Agaña.
 - 3 Ed. note: As a result of the ensuing tidal waves.
 - 4 Ed. note: Cycas, or federico nuts.
 - 5 Ed. note: See previous footnote.

Returned to the schooner, clouds and rain. The schooner dragged ruing the gale and I observed angles... to determine her position... Plotting this position I find that we are between two reefs, one on each beam, of which [one] on the starboard beam is awash, the other about 10 or 12 feet under water. A third reef lies ahead, but it is clear astern out to sea by Point Orote which bears about W by S... There is, so Thorburn told me on leaving the vessel for Agaña, room to swing towards both reefs on the beam, and the pilot who came on board since the vessel dragged into her present position says that it is a very good anchorage. I do not consider it so and hoisted a signal jack at the fore at 2 p.m. for the pilot in order to shift our berth but he has not yet come off. To avoid the possibility of touching the reef on the starboard beam, I have laid a kedge with stout Manilla rope & buoy 100 fathoms on port beam to leeward of the reef. On that side two anchors are nearly ahead. It is probable that we shall lie easily until morning when I shall probably get under way. The weather is better, light breeze from E. and S. Water perfectly smooth 17 fathoms, sticky white bottom...

21 Arpil

At daylight hove up small ... bower, hoisted signal for pilot who came on board. The chain of the small bower is much worn and is hardly to be trusted in squally weather. The windlass is a miserable thing and the constructor at Mare Island should have furnished a new one with new small bower and chain. Got under way under jib & main-sail [and] stood toward Luminan [Reef]. Tacked and came to with small bower in 16-1/2 fathoms water, fine coral sand... The pilot went on shore...

22 April

Went on shore to the observatory on Cabras Island. Set up theodolite... I am disappointed in the weather we have had at Guam. Have seldom experienced more difficulty in getting observations. The atmosphere is very damp, books moulding...

23 April

Fine weather, cumulous clouds. This morning, went to CABras Island, got complete set of deflections and one set vibrations. Saw a lizard with sky-bue tail. Kendall collecting plants... The canoes here have an outrigger... Two proas off the harbor. Liberty men returned; they had a pleasant time. Thorburn & Kern still in town. No drunkenness among the men... Deer in the interior. Beche-de-mer abounds near Cabras Island. Smith caught the largest kind of a pirate crab—blue on back.

24 April

Sunday. REMained on board all day. Fine weather.

25 [April]

Got equal altitudes and determined rate of chronometer... Kern & Thorburn returned, they had some little birds made by the ladies of feathers and sharp claws. Thor-

burn witnessed a cock fight. A brutal affair...

27 April

The pilot came off with 7 Carolinians to dive for wreck of a ship. They could not reach bottom in 22 fathoms. I timed their stay under water: 40 seconds. There were seven diving at once. Afterwards they came on board. They are interesting fellows, their ears cut for bunches of rings for ear ornaments.

27 April

At Agaña. Called on Commissaire & Major, met Governor at both houses... In the afternoon walked out on the road to the Eastward with the Commissaire's family, had a very pleasant walk. The widow accompanied us.¹ The road was very pretty crossing a bridge over a quiet stream, some women washing, [coconuts] overhanging the stream. It was indeed pleasant. The girls were quite gay, amusing themselves ... liners, etc.

29 April

This morning came down with Don Vincente. WERE overtaken by the padre and Governor, both on good horses. Met the Commisaire and Dr. George. All came on board, spending a very pleasant day—the padre and others shooting Sharp's rifle at a target. The Governor said that he would take great pleasure in making a cruise about the Islands in the schooner. He is a very intelligent man, a Colonel of Engineers, and takes much pleasure in talking of our work. I gave him a copy of Duperry's Chart of this Island and a gold pen. Also a number of congressional documents. The party left late in the afternoon... The Governor wishes us to visit him on Sunday. We had last night whilst I was at the Major's a smart earthquake shock. It did not interrupt conversation. The [gecko] lizards chirrup at night in the houses.

1 May

Capt. Marsh arrived, great rejoicings. Xows from Saipan accustomed to the brackish water die on Guam. The society of Agaña is pleasant. I do not know of any other port except Petropavlosk [on Kamchatka] of which navigators have so uniformly spoken in terms of admiration of the kindness and hospitality of the inhabitants. The Governor, Don Felipe Ma. de la Corte, is a highly educated and polished gentleman, Colonel of Engineers and judge. The Second in Command is also an agreeable and hospitable man with four charming daughters. The Commissaire, Don Felice Cabo [rather Felix Calvo], is one of the finest of fellows in the world. His son, Vincente, Capt. of the Port, is quick, intelligent and amiable, enthusiastic & energetic. The girls are modest and kind. Dolores, the second wife of the Commissaire, is also an agreeable person, seconding the Commissaire in his good offices. Fr. Amcita [Aniceto] is a model of a good

1 Ed. note: Not widow in the real sense. Captain Marsh was soon to make his appearance (see below).

fellow. The houses are always open, one is sure of a welcome and a graceful one, a bunch of fresh flowers, a cigar, a chair and companions. Music and dancing, if one chooses. These manners which seem so easy and natural are attractive and I do not wonder that strangers who find themselves so much at home should leave the place with regret. I made many friends there and the parting was painful.

Capt. Marsh brought some fine apples from New Zealand.¹ As they are so rare here I would not accept any.

3 May

Bid good-by to the Commissaire's family. Gave Ana a little sketch. She had presented me a necklace of shells... Captains Marsh & Danelsly [Danelsberg] came down with us. The Capt. of the Port also. They went on board the schooner. About 2 p.m., having settled all our bills, etc. got under way and stood out to sea. Our friends left us outside the bar...²

4 May

I am now steering for a reported reef (doubtful). At noon it was distant 102 [miles]. It is barely possible that we carry the trades to Hong Kong. The clouds are watery & round...

...

9 May

Wind gradually jauling to the Westward. Sun out, irregular hollow sea. Crew using lime juice.³

...

1 Ed. note: His vessel, the **Eliza L. B. Jenney** was to be condemned at Sydney in 1862.

2 Ed. note: In other words, they were brought back by the schooner before the town.

3 Ed. note: At Agaña, Brooke has purchased lime juice from Dr. George for \$7.37, according to a receipt, dated 30 April 1859, to be found in Brooke's Papers.

Documents 1859N

The Florida, Captain Thomas W. Williams

General source: Harold Williams (ed.). One Whaling Family (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1964).

Notes: The Florida was a full-rigged ship of 522 tons, 123 feet in length, 30 in breadth, and 15 in depth of hold, built in New York in 1821. As for Captain Williams, he was born in Wales in 1820 but his family emigrated to the U.S. in 1829. Previous to this voyage, he served aboard the following whalers: Albion, South Carolina, Gideon Howland, Chili, and South Boston, the latter as Master.

N1. Extract from the official logbook kept by Samuel B. Morgan, First Mate

Sources: Log 763 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 301: Log Inv. 1762 (official version).

...

Friday the 11th [March 1859]

... Spoke the Ship **Young Hector** of New Bedford, 18 months out, 430 bbls. sperm

Sat. the 12th

Laying off and on at Ocean [Banaba] Island. The Capt. went ashore and got a few fowl & pumpkins. After he came on board, kept the Ship off NW by N...

...

[The ship went directly to the Bonins, the the Yellow Sea, the Okhotsk Sea, and back to the Caroliens.]

...

Monday the 28th [November 1859]

... Ship steering WNW looking for Wellington's [Mokil] Island. Latter part... At 7-1/2 a.m., made W. Island bearing W by S. At 11, were laying off and on, the Captain ashore.

Tuesday the 29th

... Received on board 2,000 coconuts. Latter part, received on board a Mr. Higgins and about 4,000 gallons coconut oil to the left at New Zealand or where we make a port.

Wednesday the 30th

... Raining hard. The ship off Wellington's Island. Received on board 26 hogs and



Captain Thomas W. Williams and wife.

60 ducks, also 5 green turtles. At 5, squared away for Ascension [Pohnpei]... Lat. at M. 6°51' [N], Long. [blank].

Thursday the 1st [December 1859]

... At 1 o'clock, saw the Island of Ascension bearing W distant 25 miles. At 8 p.m., shortened sail. Latter part, at 10 o'clock, the Pilot came off. At 11, the Ship came to anchor in the Lee Hargbor in 16 fathoms water.

Friday the 2nd

... Furled the sails and made the Ship snug. Latter part, employed drying [whale] bone and rattling down the lower rigging.

...

Tuesday the 6th

Raining hard. The Larboard watch ashore on liberty. Latter part, Larboard Watch came on board. The crew employed cleaning iron work.

...

Friday the 9th

... Cleared up decks and got the ship ready for sea. Latter part, the Pilot came on board and hove short but before the ship could be got under way, the wind died and we did not start her.

...

Sunday the 11th

... Latter part... got the ship under way at 6 a.m. and the Captain took her out. At 10, the Captain & wife came on board.

Monday the 12th

The crew employed getting off coconuts from an uninhabited island. Latter part, employed husking coconuts... Ascension Island still in sight. Lat. 6°35' [N].

...

[The ship went to New Zealand.]

...

Friday the 24th [February 1860]

... The Ship lying off and on at Strong's [Kosrae] Island. The Capt. ashore. Lat. 6°33' [N], Long. by Chro. 163°40' [E].

Saturday the 25th

... The ship lying off Strong's Island until 3 o'clock when the Capt. came on board. Kept the ship away WNW. Latter part, at 10 o'clock, raised McAskill's [Pingelap] Island ahead and at noon were up to it.

Sunday the 26th

... The Capt. and boat's crew ashore. At 5 p.m., the Capt. came on board. Kept the ship WNW. Latter part, lying off and on at Wellington's [Mokil] Island. The Capt. ashore. Sent off a quantity of coconuts.

Monday the 27th

Lying off and on Wellington's Island... At 5 p.m., the Capt. came on board. Kept the ship West... Latter part... saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing S by E distant 10 miles...

...

[The ship did not stop at Pohnpei this time.]

...

Saturday the 3rd [March 1860]

... At 10 o'clock, raised the Island of Guam distant 25 miles.

Sunday the 4th

... At 4 p.m., the Ship lying off and on at Guam. The Captain & wife ashore. Latter part, lying off and on at Guam in company with the **Omega** of Fairhaven and the **George and Susan**.

Monday the 5th

... Latter part... the Ship lying off and on Guam. The crew employed sorting pota-

toes. A Mr. Reynard¹ came on board as passenger.

Tuesday the 6th

... 5 men came on board. The Capt. had shipped them as foremast hands. Received on board several bbls. of sweet potatoes. At 6 o'clock, the Capt. and wife came on board. Kept the Ship away to the Northward. Latter part... the Ship steering WNW in company with the **Omega**...

...

[To Okinawa directly, then the Arctic. In her final season, the ship went directly from Hawaii to the Bonins, bypassing Micronesia entirely. At the end of the voyatge, in December 1861, the ship was sold at San Francisco, her new homeport.]

N2. Extract from the personal logbook of S. B. Morgan

Sources: Log 764 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 301: Log Inv. 1763 (personal version).

...

Friday the 11th [March 1859]

... The Ship steering NW by W. Spoke the Ship **Young Hector** of N.B., 19 months out, 430 bbls. sperm. I went aboard of her and stopped all day. In the afternoon, passed Ocean [Banaba] Isalnd. Capt. Williams went ashore and bought a few chickens.

...

[The ship went directly to the Bonins.]

...

Tuesday the 15th

... In the evening struck a porpoise but lost him. Lat. 8°27' [N], Long. 161°19' [E].

...

Friday the 18th

... Have seen neither birds nor fish during the day nor anything but one vast plain of water. Lat. 14°41' [N], LOnG. 153°16' [E].

...

Monday the 21th

... Mrs. Williams weighed her boy today and he weighed 11 bls. He has got so now that if he thinks he is neglected, he loudens right out and lets all hands know he is around. The 4th Mate has taken his bed on deck 2 or 3 times as he could not get to sleep on account of the young sailor. Lat. 18°26' [N]. Long. 150°00' [E].

...

¹ Ed. note: Hammond, says the personal log, below.

Tuesday the 4th [December? 1859]

We came here last Friday and until today have had fine weather. The crew have been employed repairing the rigging which was badly in need of it as we have been in cold weather so long where the rigging becomes so stiff it is impossible to keep it in repair. Our decks were covered with natives all day long. They bring off such trade as the island affords consisting of chickens, pigs, coconuts, pineapples and bananas. For a chicken or pineapple, ask 1 pipe or one head of tobacco. Mrs. Williams is ashore stopping at the Missionaries. The Missionary residing here now has been here 8 or 9 years and has a single convert yet.

...

Friday the 11th [November 1859]

We reached Wellington's [Mokil] Island... The Captain went ashore and found a white man there by the name of Higgins who had been there 5 years and wish to get conveyance off. The Captain took him on board and also 130 bbls. coconut oil belonging to him for which he gives the Captain 3000 lbs of fresh pork, 70 ducks and 5 green turtles, each weighing about 200 lbs, besides paying freight on his oil. We also got 3000 coconuts.

On the 28th, left W. Island and on the 30th came to anchor in Ascension [Pohnpei]. Laid at anchor at Ascension 11 days, the first 4 days had fine weather after which experienced constant squalls of rain & wind. Whilst lying here, repaired the ship's rigging as much as possible. The natives are very similar to those of other islands in this ocean, living in perfect idleness and ignorance. The weather being warm, they wear no clothing and as breadfruit grows in abundance, also bananas and coconuts and fish are very plentiful all around the island, they are not obliged to work for their food. All the time we lay there, the ship was thronged with them from morning till sundown, when we were obliged to drive them off as they will steal all they can lay their hands on.

As there had been no ship there previous to us for 6 or 8 months, they were destitute of tobacco (their principal luxury) and brought on board a great deal of trade such as hogs, chickens and turtle shell. We bought some 2 or 300 fowls for one head of tobacco each, and hogs at 5 cents a pound, they taking tobacco at 50 cents a pound for pay. There is a Missionary residing here by the name of Sturges. He has his wife and a family of 2 children with him. Mrs. Williams stopped with them while the ship was lying at anchor and enjoyed herself very much. They have been residing here some 8 years but as yet have not succeeded in bringing the natives to a state of conversion. There are many temptations placed before the natives, there being quite a number of dissipated foreigners living among them and ships visiting the Island almost constantly that the missionaries have but little or no influence over them, and are altogether in the most indigent circumstances I ever saw missionaries, but they still persevere and think that the day will come when they can boast of a large number of converts.

I went gunning several times and got from 20 to 30 fine pigeons each time, also a number of fowls. The pigeons are much larger than wild pigeons at home and wild fowl are very plentiful. The pigeons are the fattest birds I ever saw and Mr. Sturges says that

at certain seasons of the year they are so fat that when they get wet they cannot fly and the natives run them down and in that way catch them.

Sunday the 11th [December 1859]

Weighed our anchor and went out of the harbor with a very light wind off shore. The Captain went ashore again and at 10 a.m., came off accompanied with his wife. We then ran down to a small uninhabited island [Ant] about 10 miles distant and got off about 3,000 coconuts. The King of Ascension gave us permission to get all we wanted. I went ashore with 2 boats and loaded them in about an hour. The ground was completely covered with them and all the trees were loaded. After getting on board with the coconuts, the ship was kept away to the Southward, bound for New Zealand....

...

Friday the 24th [February 1860]

... The Ship lying off and on at Strong's [Kosrae] Island. The Capt ashore. Lat. 5°33' [N]. Long. by Chro. 163°40' [E].

Saturday the 25th

Lying off and on at McAskill's [Pingelap] Island in company with the Ship **Josephine** of New Bedford. Both the Capt. and Mr. Higgins ashore. Mr. Higgins can converse with the natives. Otherwise the Capt. would not have gone ashore as it was only a few years ago a Capt. was killed here. They had cause, however, as he came among them and obtained trade from them without in any way compensating them for it. He returned again in about 6 months, when they killed him. They appeared perfectly friendly towards us and quite a number of them came on board the ship. All we obtained from them was a few coconuts & three green turtles. They raise nothing and live in perfect idleness. Coconuts, bananas, yams and breadfruit grow in abundance spontaneously.

Sunday the 26th

Lying off and on at Wellington's [Mokil] Island. Mr. Higgins went ashore with the Captain but found when he got there another man filling his old station and refusing to let him come back. They had some hard words about it and finally came to blows. Capt. Williams interfered and parted them before either one was hurt. The natives were afterward consulted and all were found to be in favor of Mr. Higgins and were willing if he said so to drive the other man off the Island. Whilst lying off there, had a continuation of heavy squalls of wind and rain. One in particular was the heaviest we have had the voyage but fortunately we had but little sail out and it did us no damage. At 6 p.m., we left bound for Ascension [Pohnpei].

Monday the 27th

... At 10 a.m., saw Ascension but as it was somewhat out of our way did not stop...

...

Wednesday the 29th

... Mr. Christy, the 3rd Mate, off duty sick with the rheumatism. Lat. 10°05' [N], Long. 153°08' [E].

Saturday the 3rd [March 1860]

The ship steering WNW with the trades blowing moderate and steady from well aft, the ship going along pleasantly and at the rate of 8 knots... At 10 a.m., raised the Island of Guam ahead and distant 30 miles. At 4 p.m., the Captain & wife went ashore to stop for a day or two, the ship in the meantime being in my charge.

Sunday the 4th

The ship lying off an on at Guam in company with the **Omega** of Fairhaven & the **George and Susan** of N.B...

Monday the 5th

... 5 men came on board. The Capt. had shipped them as foremast hands. A Mr. Hammond came on board to go north with us as passenger. He belonged to a brig that was condemned here some 3 weeks ago.¹ Also received on board about 30 bushels of sweet potatoes. At 6 p.m., Capt. Williams and wife came on board when the ship was kept away to the Northward.

Tuesday the 6th

Gamming with the **Omega** of Fairhaven all day. Capt. Whalon has been on board of us and I have been there. She is 24 monnths out with 1100 bbls oil. The winds are light from NE but steady. We have had to go along all day under easy sail so she could keep us company as we sail much faster than she does.

...

1 Ed. note: Probably the **Hawaii**, although she was put up for sale only later in March that year (according to Fr. Ibañez).

N3. The journal of Mrs. Eliza Azelia Williams

Source: Harold Williams (ed.) "Whaling Wife: Being Eliza Williams' Own Journal of Her Thirty-eight-month Voyage With Her Husband..." in American Heritage, vol. 15 (1964): 64-799.

Extract from Mr. Williams' journal

...

March 7th [1859]

It has been not very pleaaant today. Rather squally. We have had bad weather most all the time. We almost despair of ever getting to the Japan Sea in season.

March 8th.

A very unpleasant day. It has been squally all day and all night. I have just been on deck picking out my pair of Whale's teeth from the lot. I very soon had to come below for an awful squall is close upon us.

March 11th.

We spoke a Ship this morning before I was up—the **Young Hector**, from New Bedford, Capt. Hager. He is a Sperm Whaler. He has been out eighteen months and has 400 bbls. of Oil on board. He came on board of us. He seems a very nice man. Our Mate has gone to spend the day with his Mate, to have a gam as the Sailors say.

A few minutes after we spoke the Ship, land was seen from aloft. We had the Captain to take breakfast with us, and then I dressed the Baby and got him to sleep and went on deck. Ocean [Banaba] Island was all in sight.¹

It is a pretty Island to look at, quite a small one, but all covered with green trees. The most of them, I should think, are Cocoanut trees. The houses are queer looking, very low, the doorway just high enough for them to crawl in on their hands and knees. They are made mostly from the leaves and other parts of the Cocoanut tree, but they never cut them down while they bear. I did not see the Natives, except through the glass. My Husband and the Captain have gone on shoe.

March 12th.

A fine day and a strong breeze. The Ship rolls something considerable today. We have left Ocean Island far behind.

We have about one hundred Chickens running about the deck, that my Husband got from the Island yesterday. We didn't get but a few Cocoanuts. They do not like to part with them. It appears that they live almost entirely on them. They are a very indolent People and do not cutivate their land any of any account. I could not learn that

¹ Ed. note: The baby was aptly named William Fish Williams. He was born in the Tasman Sea on 12 January 1859. As a teenager, in 1874, he was to accompany his father again, aboard the **Florence**, filling the post of boatsteerer (see Doc. 1874A). Later on, he became a civil engineer, and as such he designed the first bridge over the river between New Bedford and Fairhaven.

they raise anything except a few squashes. Their wants are few as they do not care for anything but their tobacco and pipes. They trade their Chickens to the Ships for these.

The Natives usually come off to the Ships, but they did not this time in consequence of the taboo of the King, which is practiced certain times of the year. These Natives do not wear any clothing.

March 15th.

A very pleasant day and a good breeze. Passed Strong's [Kosrae] Island.

March 16th.

We are having fine weather. The wind is fair for us, a strong breeze, going over 200 miles a day.

March 18th.

A very fine day and a good breeze, but very warm. I take the Baby on deck every fine day to take the air. I think he begins to understand when he is going on deck for he looks so well pleased when I am getting him ready.

March 28th.

A very pleasant day, not fair wind. We do not make much headway. My Husband wanted to be in the Japan Sea by the first of April, but we shall not.

April 1st.

A beautiful day. We have had company all day. Before I was up this morning, there was a Sail seen from aloft, and when I went on deck we could see her quite plainly from the deck. We looked at her through the glass a spell. She gained on us, and my Husband thought he would wait until they came up to us, to see who they were. It was the **Arctic**, Captain Philips.¹ He had been to the Sandwich Islands and his Ship is half Clipper. My Husband was acquainted with him, but as to that—the Captains are all acquainted when they meet.

He came on board of us and stayed all day. Our Mate, with a boat's crew, went on board of them and stopped all day. Captain Philips is a very pleasant, agreeable Man, to all appearance. He is bound to the Japan Sea with us. I suppose he will get there first. He has gone on board of his Ship this evening. He brought us some papers from the Islands, some of them New Bedford papers, later news than any we have had since we left home. I had some nice oranges given me. He had his Wife and four Children with him the last voyage.²

1 Ed. note: Of Fairhaven. The original captain, Evans, drowned in New Zealand, and been replaced by Captain Beekman (ref. Starbuck), before this Captain Philips.

2 Ed. note: He could be the same captain as the William D. Phillips who commanded the whaler **Bengal** of New London in 1851-52. I presume that, after learning of the death of Capt. Evans in 1857, the owners of the **Arctic** hired him and sent him to the Pacific to take over the ship.

April 4th.

The wind has been blowing quite fresh the fore part of the day, but this afternoon it has been quite moderate and has been very pleasant while I was on deck. The Boat Steerer from aloft sang out a spout. It was not far from the Ship and could be seen quite plainly from the deck. The Men had quite an argument as to what kind of a Whale it was. They finally concluded it was what they call a Sulphur Bottom. My Husband lowered for it and fired at it with the Bomb lance gun, but did not hit it. It went down and that was the last we saw of it. It made quite a loud noise and looked large in the water.

April 7th.

The wind is blowing quite strong today. The **Arctic** came up with us this afternoon and came across our stern, near enough for us to speak her. Then she came alongside. She looked splendid indeed. The Captain told us that he came very near going ashore the day before, on the little Island we saw. There was a strong current setting in from the land, and it was with difficulty he kept her off.

While I was looking at the Ship, there was a Killer [Whale] playing about in the water and keeping along with the Ship, all the time throwing itself out of water. It was a fine-looking fish and it was sport for me to see him. They are about as large as black-fish and are called the killer, because they kill the Whale, such a monster as it is. It seems they worry the Whale while under water, and when he comes up to breathe, they get on him and cover up his spout hole, so that he can't breathe. Then when he opens his mouth they dart in. This seems a novel way of killing, but that is the way they tell me it is done.

April 8th.

A very fine day and a good breeze. We are in the Yellow Sea now, and will soon be in the Japan Sea.

...

November 14th [1859]

It has been quite pleasant and warm. The Men have been mending sails on deck, and I have had the Baby up there. He has been down on the sail, plying with the ball of twine and getting in the Men's way all he could. He climbs up by everything and will soon walk.

November 15th.

The wind is blowing a gale from the Northwest. The Ship is rolling and I cannot write. The Baby wants very much to be down on the deck playing, and I suppose he wonders why he can't today, as well as any day.

November 6th.

The wind is still blowing a gale, and is increasing, if anything, at least, it blows harder by spells. It has been raining quite hard all night and day, so far. All the moveables that are not made fast stand a good chance of getting jammed some, today.

November 26th.

It has been a very fine day. The Men have finished washing bone. It makes a great show on deck. I suppose that there is about 10,000 lbs. of it.

November 27th.

It is the Sabbath and it has been a very quiet day. Almost calm this morning, but a nice breeze this afternoon. We expect to see Wellington's [Mokil] Island in the morning. We will stop one day. It is so very warm that we can't take much comfort. For my part, I liked the cold weather in the Okhotsk Sea a good deal better than this.

[The Captain's wife went ashore at Mokil]

November 28th.

It has been a very fine day, and I have been on shore, at Wellington's Island, and spent the afternoon. I like it quite well. My Husband took the Baby, and we had a nice walk among the cocconut trees and along the Beach. We got a few shells, but not a variety. The Island, or rather, Islands—for there are three of them, but joined together by a coral reef—are surrounded for, I should think, a quarter of a mile, with a beautiful coral bottom as white as can be. The water has a blue cast. Our Boat could just float, but the rowers got out and waded. It is a nice Beach to get out on. The People all flocked to the Boat to see us, and the Women had a chair inreadiness to carry me to the house but I preferred walking. It was only a step to the house where we went. It belongs to a white Man. He is the King of the Island. The Natives are 150 in number. They have no head from their own People and think a good deal of their King. He has been there 5 years. In the first place, he was left there sick. There was a white Man there as King [then], but he left. They did not like him. This one has a Native Wife and two Children.

The People are quite dark, with black curly hair and very dark eyes. They are not very bad-looking and are kind. They wear very little clothing; the Men, nothing about their shoulders and waist; the Women, a simple sack and short skirt, nothing on their heads, any of them. They are fond of ornaments and make wreaths of flowers for the head, beads about the neck and flowers in their ears. Some of them have stretched the ower part of the ear till the hole is very large, and they roll up strips of bark and leaves as large around as an egg and put it in the hole. It appeared strange to me how the ear could be stretched to such a size. They begin to stretch it when they are nfants.

They all seemed very pleased to see me, particularly the Women. They decked my head with flowers. They were very fond of the Baby and said that they would steal him. They talk but very little English. I think this Man ahs not taught them to speak English much or to read, but he seems very kind to them and they look up to him as being

superior to them. I think that a missionary might do a great deal of good there; but they are so few in numbers, I suppose that is the reason that no-one has been sent there. There are but few huts. They are divided off into families. Several may be living in one House. They are made very simple, open at the sides and thatched with coconut leaves. This nut is very abundant and constitutes the most of their living. There are not many kinds of fruit on the Island. It is a small one. There are a few bananas and mummy apples. The ground is not cultivated. They raise a few HOGs. They live on the nuts. We bought those and a few ducks of the white Man. Arrowroot is found there. It is singular how many useful articles are made from the Cocoanut tree. The Natives make a kind of spirits from the tree. The roots are very strong, and they make a strong cord from them and the bark of the body.¹ The leaves are used for mats, of which they make some very pretty ones—and baskets they make with some ingenuity and taste. They tell me that there is not a part of the tree, from the leaves to the roots, but what is useful.

It looks beautiful to see such a green Island, covered with Cocoanuts as thick as they can stand with their straight tall bodies and handsome leaves coming out in a bunch on the top, with the large nuts in a cluster among the leaves. At Home we don't have the luxury of a nice, fresh picked Cocoanut right from the tree. It is delicious indeed to drink the milk out of the shell. We have a plenty of them on board now.

I believe I have written all that is of interest about Wellington's Island. The white Man, Mr. Higgins, is going with us to New Zealand, and from there he thinks to go Home to his Friends in the States. He takes his oldest Boy with him. He is a bright-looking Boy. His Mother did not show much feeling on parting with her Boy, but they tell me that is the Native's way.

November 29th.

We have a fair wind and expect to see the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] before night. It is very warm and it is not quite as pleasant on deck as it has been, for we have a great many hogs and ducks, also 5 large turtles up there running about, that we bought at the Wellington's Island. The Men try to keep them forward but they will get aft sometimes, and when they do they make the deck quite dirty, though the Officers soon have the Men clean it off nice. We have a great many Cocoanuts on board to keep the hogs on, and some nice fresh ones for ourselves.

[The Captain's wife went ashore at Pohnpei]

November 30th.

Our Ship is anchored in the Harbor of Ascension. The Pilot came off and took the Ship in. It is a nice Harbor when we get in, but somewhat dangerous it looks to me to be; they tell me that it is perfectly safe with a Pilot. They understand the Harbor well and the way in. It is all coral bottom except where we anchor, and coral reefs extending from one Island to another, for there are several of them, all belonging to Ascen-

¹ Ed. note: She obviously misunderstood the explanations she received.

sion. Beautiful green Islets of the Sea they may truly be called, covered with verdure all the year around.

I was truly delighted with the Island. I spent a week very pleasantly with the Missionary Family, the Rev. Mr. Sturges. They are a very good People. I like Mrs. Sturges very much. They have two very pretty little Girls and they were very fond of the Baby and he of them. I enjoyed myself so well there that I hated to leave them. It was pleasant to me to be in such a good family, where God is worshipped and goodness reigns supreme; where God's blessing is asked on the food they eat, and prayers offered at High throne, morning and night, His praises sung, His holy word read and studied, and also taught to the Heathen. They have services every Sunday morning for the Natives in their own language and Sabbath School for all that will attend. They have taught some of them to read pretty well. There are always some to attend the evening prayer meeting and they appear quite devotional. It is very surprising to see such a heathen People go on their knees to a God that they once knew nothing about. Mr. Sturges says that his work is very slow among them, as it appears it is hard to get them interested. He says that he has tried hard to get Nanakin, the Chief or King, interested in the cause of religion, and he thinks that he has succeeded in a measure. I think that will be a great step towards interesting the People, for they look up to him as their head Chief. There is one great hindrance to Mr. Sturges' doing much good to them right away; there are a few Foreigners on the Island and they are a bad class of Men and their influence is very bad among the People. They brought bad habits with them, drinking and smoking. The Natives are very fond of their tobacco and pipes. They distill a kind of Spirits from the root of a tree that grows on the Island. It is intoxicating. They call it Kava.¹ They prefer foreign liquor to their own if they can get it.

They seem a quiet People but there has been a time when they warred together. They are a very indolent People. Their food grows for them in abundance and all they have to do is to pick and eat. They do not raise anything of consequence and the land can be made to raise fine potatoes, corn, pumpkins, and most everything. Mr. Sturges has had a nice garden.

I saw a great curiosity in a tree. One day Mr. Sturges took us all to sail up the river in his Canoe. After we got up a short distance, we all got out and took a short walk among the trees, where we saw a wonderful tree, very large and tall, with the roots standing out of the ground all around the tree for some distance, like boards, about 3 inches thick in places and 3 feet high, some of them growing in odd shapes; one of them very much like an armchair, and one place formed around like a well with a deep cavity in it. We put a stick a good way down. It must be quite deep. It is the most singular tree that I ever saw. All about it were the most luxuriant vines growing from the ground to the top and hanging down in clusters all about the tree. Way up the body are large plants growing, where a little dirt and moisture or moss has collected enough to nour-

1 Ed. note: They, meaning the foreigners who use the Polynesian word for it; the natives call it *ásakau*."

ish it. It is delightful up that river with the Cocoanuts, Palms, and other trees growing along the sides, some in the water, loaded with fruit, and a nice little green Island in the middle of the River. I drank of the nice cool water, picked flowers from the surface, drank the milk of Cocoanuts, and enjoyed it all very much. The Baby was delighted, but bothered Pa continually to put his feet and hands in the water.

They have some very pretty plants and flowers, mostly foreign ones, and there are quite a variety of wild flowers growing on the Island, some very pretty ones. The Natives are fond of dressing their heads with them. There is one kind that is very fragrant—a bright yellow flower, rather coarse. They string them and put them around their heads. If there are a number of the natives in the room, the room will be filled with the fragrance.

The Natives wear but little clothing. The Men mostly wear a belt about the waist with a heavy fringe about a half yard deep hanging from it, and no other clothing. The fringe is made from the Cocoanut, a kind of thin bark fringed out narrow. The Chief, and now and then [another man] I saw with a pair of pants, sirt, or hat on—seldom more than one article on one. They seem to think they are well-dressed if they have on one thing. The Climate will not admit of one's wearing much clothing at any time of the year. Mr. Sturges' Family all go thinly clad. They have induced the Women to dress more than they used to and many of them put a little slip on their Babies. The Women simply wear a piece of cloth, not more than a yard of it I should say, pinned about the hips [and] a handkerchief with a place cut in the center, for the head.

December 11th.

We left Ascension this morning. The Pilot came aboard yesterday to take us out, but he was intoxicated and my Husband did not think it safe to have him. Today he got out without a Pilot. We sent boats ashore to a small Island [Ant] belonging to Ascension, and got them full of Ccoanuts. The KIng told us to go there and get all that we had a mind to. We are now goig direct to New Zealand and are in hopes to get some Sperm Oil on the way there.

...

February 12th [1860].

It has been a beautiful day, with a fair breeze. It is Sunday, and everything is very quiet aboard. Today for dinner we had duck, nice New Zealand potatoes, and duff (which is always a part of our Sunday fare for dinner), with honey for sauce today—which we also got from New Zealsnd. It is quite plentiful there. We are having, also, Peaches and Apples to eat raw or cooked in pies, and preserves, and we have a few eggs every day.

February 15th.

It has been a beautiful day, quite squally in the night but we have had a fine breeze all day... I want something new to write about. I have nothing now but the same thing over and over, unless I give a description of our hog stock, which I might do if I felt

much interested, for it is not to be sneered at. We have about 40 little pigs since we left Ascension, and nice ones, too.

February 20th.

It has been a very fine day with a good breeze. Have had all sail out. The latitude is 2°14' [S] today. We are almost to Pleasant [Nauru] Island but don't think that we shall fetch it. There is a strong current here, heading us off, and the wind not quite fair. The Men have been breaking out the after hold for Molasses, and stowing off again.

February 21st.

It has been a beautiful day and a strong breeze. We will not see Pleasant Island this morning. It was 30 miles to windward.

February 23rd.

It has been a very fine day and a strong breeze. The Men have been busy breaking out the after hold for meat, making rope which they do as well as at home in the rope walk. If they want any small rope for any purpose, they take new large rope and part the strands and lay them up by hand and the reel. It is nice and smooth. They made me a nice, long clothes-line in the same way.

We expect to sight Strong's [Kosrae] Island tomorrow morning.

[The Captain's wife went ashore at Kosrae]

February 24th.

We have had a fine day. Quite early in the morning, Strong's [Kosrae] Island was in sight, and we got ready as soon as we could, to go on shore. There was a strong breeze and it was quite rugged. I was afraid that I could not go, but my Husband came down and told me that he thought it would do for the Baby and me, so we went and we enjoyed it very much. It is a beautiful, green Island, about as large as Ascension, some parts very high indeed. It has one of the handsomest Harbours in the world, a nice harbour for Ships to go in and lay to make repairs, but very bad to get out, some parts of the year. The wind blows right in and it is dangerous getting out. Ships go in sometimes to make little repairs and think of stopping a week or so and are detained a month or two. My Husband, last voyage, put in there to stop a leak in the Ship and could not get out for nearly two months. There is a reef on both sides of the Bay, that makes out a good way, so that the passage for Ships is rather narrow.

When we went on shore, the breakers looked fearful indeed. We went to the Missionary's House and spent the day, Mr. Snow's. It is on a small Island [Lela], a little separated from the larger one [Ualan]. His house is on a point close to the water, a beautiful white sand beach to land on perfectly dry, the water as smooth as a pond. I think it a very pleasant spot where they live. They have a good substantial Native house, much larger and better than the Natives live in, very well furnished, the rooms large and airy.

I liked it all very much. The Baby enjoyed it full as much as I did. He wanted to be running all about the house and on the grassplat with the little Children, a little Girl between three and four, and the Boy, two. I liked Mr. Snow and his Wife very much. She is as lively as a cricket, and both are very social and pleasant. They seem as happy in their distant Island home as it is possible for anyone to be anywhere. Mrs. Snow says she sometimes thinks that her Husband may be taken away first and she left among those half savages for a long time before an opportunity would offer to get away, but she says she doesn't allow herself to think of it often. The Natives are very kind to them; it appears to me, they are much kinder than they are on Ascencion.

We went out in the lot to see their Cattle. I think they have as fine-looking Cattle as I ever saw. Mrs. Snow makes nice butter—and such beautiful milk as she gave us to drink! It was a real treat. They have a good many nice fowl and lots of eggs. She told me she thought she had sent a hundred pounds of butter and she could not tell how many eggs, to the Missionaries on the nearest Islands to them. She gave me all the fresh eggs she could find in the house and in the nests to fetch on board. They gave us books and papers—some quite late ones—which we were pleased to have. WE told them that we were going to Ascencion, and Mrs. Snow sent a letter and a book to Mrs. Sturges.

A great many of the Natives came about the house to see us. They seem to think a good deal of Children. We called on the KING, and he seemed much pleased to see us. Mr. Snow went with us. The King has a nice new house, much better than the houses of the other Natives but made after the same style. Some of the canes were painted red, giving it a showy appearance; also, the twine was red, or some of it, and woven in handsomely. On the ground were canes woven together for a covering, and some seats made from the same material—also the same for a foot-path through the yard to the house. He has hung all about the walls of the house, war clubs, hatchets, and curiosities that he has gathered together, and overhead, fancy Canoes all decorated. They look quite pretty. It made me think of a museum. The whole house, I think, must be in one room. In the centre of the house was a large frame, suspended from the beam, where they kept their food. In the centre of the ground was the place for fire—a square spot about five feet, with stone around it, the fire in the centre. They cook in ovens made in the ground, outside.

When we went in, the King was lounging on a frame with a mat on it—I think it is used for a bed. He had on what was once a white shirt, very dingy then, bound around with red. They are all dirty and slovenly in their appearance. His Wife, or rather one of them, was there—for he has two. One of them was in another house. They had a little Boy with them, perfectly nude.

He has a large feast-house close by, which looks very much like the one I went in on Ascencion.

We only stopped a few moments. They treated us to Cocoanuts, which was the best they had to offer, and some to take away with us. We bade them all good-by and left for our boat. It was getting towards night, and we were in a hurry to come on board. It was quite rugged, and I was glad to get aboard. The breakers looked fearful indeed,

It must be a dangerous place for Ships. Several have been lost on the reef—one last May. In trying to get out, she went onto the reef and went to pieces. No-one was lost. She was the **Lexington**. I saw the timbers and parts of the wreck on the beach.

We were not long in getting to our Ship. OUr boat danced over the waves, and the great rollers came tumbling by us, not forgetting to throw a good deal of water over us. But we are safe on board, and our good Ship is again under way. With tis breeze we shall soon reach Wellington Island.

February 25th.

We have had a very fine day, though it was very showery early this morning. About 9 o'clock the Island called MacAskill [Pingelap] was in sight. It is a pretty sight to see the breakers and the reefs making out so far into the sea—the Ship lyng near enough to the Island in plenty of water, to have a good sight of it, and with the aid of the glass to see the huts back in among the trees, the Natives running about the beach, their canoes all along the beach—the Natives in a perfect state of nudity, their heads the most prominent objects, being as black as Jet.

My Husband has been conversing with Mr. HIggins whether it was safe to go on shore. Some years ago a Ship called there, tge /Captain went on shore to trade with the Natives, and they took some offense at what they thought to be unfairness on his part.¹ When he next touched at the Island, he went ashore in his boat, and as soon as he landed they fell upon him and his Men and killed them all. Mr. HIggins seemed to think it perfectly safe for anyone to go among them that would treat them kindly and trade honorably with them. He thinks them an inoffensive People. There has never been much intercourse with them; but very few Ships have ever stopped here.

However, our boat went on shore, and we watched them and the Natives on the beach with some anxiety, with the glass. We could see when the boat had got nearly to the beach, the Men lay on their oars and were somewhat afraid to land. The Natives seemed equally afraid, for they started back from the beach. The boat immediately landed on seeing them so much afraid, and as soon as the Men stepped on shore, the Natives surrounded them. It made me some anxious, I must confess, to see my Husband in the midst of such a crowd of what appeared to me to be Savages, but we could see that it was all right in a very short time.

Among the attactions of the day was a sail in sight, soon after our boat left. They sung out from aloft, "Sail ho!" and soon I could see over the tops of the trees (for they are the highest objects on the Island) her masts. Soon she came around the point. She looked handsome. She is a clipper, or half, the **Josephine**, Captain Chapman, of New Bedford.

OOur boat has just come off to the Ship, with Coccoanuts, Bananas, Mummy Apples, Turtles, Chickens, and Taro root. Some of the Native Men came, too. I ran below when I saw that they were in the boat, and they came along to the skylight to look down to

1 Ed. note: Captain Obed Luce, of the **Boy** of Warren, 10 years earlier.

see me. They are large, powerfully made Men, all tattooed, which makes them look hideous.

My Husband has just come on board and it is most tea time. We expect Capt. Chapman on board right away, and I must stop writing for now...

Captain C. has taken tea with us and left for his Ship, for the weather looks squally. It is almost dark and I can scarcely see to write.

My Husband says that the Natives are very peaceable. Mr. Higgins could talk with them, and they wanted him to stop and be the head, but he thought he had rather live on Wellington Island. We shall be there in the morning. It is only 60 miles off.

February 26th.

It has been an awful day, indeed. It commenced to be squally in the night, and we ran about 40 miles and then lay back until morning. Saw the land quite early. Had very heavy squalls of wind and rain all the fore part of the day,—one awful one that frightened me very much. Mr. Higgins says that he has never known one so hard since he came on the Island. There was no danger of our going ashore, for the wind was blowing off shore.

Then there was an occurrence that made the day most unpleasant. In Mr. Higgins' absence there had a Man come on the Island and laid claim. He came off in a boat to the Ship and had some hard words with Mr. Higgins, forbidding him to go on shore and stating that he had the first right and best, as he was first on the Island. My Husband would not allow them to have a quarrel on board and hurried them on shore. He then went to attend to his own business. I understand that the two men had a quarrel on the beach and then made it up, or partly so, during the day. Mr. Higgins' Native Woman came off to see the Baby. It rained powerfully and she was very wet, but those People don't mind being wet a bit. They are very fond of Children.

I gave them a few articles, such as would please them, but they think more of pipes and tobacco than they did of anything that I gave them. The Women are immoderate smokers, as well as the Men.

Mr. Higgins has been getting his things on shore from the Ship, and we have been getting Cocoanuts and Bananas from there. My Husband and all hands are wet through from going back and forth. They have now come back for good and we are getting under way.

The Island looks beautiful and greener than ever after the rain on the trees and shrubs.

The **Jesephine** is laying off and on shore; she has not got under way yet.

Mr. Higgins' little Boy cried very hard to come back to the Ship and ran to get into the boat when it came off last. The Dog wanted to come back, too.

February 27th.

It has been an unpleasant day—squally with wind and rain. The fore topsail split and parted the foot rope, and they had to take it down to repair and put up another.

We expected to have gone to Assencion this morning and spent the day with Mr. Sturges' FAmily, but it was so thick this morning that we could not see land far off, and when we did see it, we were some few miles to the windward of it, and very bad weather, so we had to give up the idea of going there this time. We have letters for Mr. Sturges from Mr. and Mrs. Snow.

February 28th.

Another unpleasant day—frequent squalls of wind and rain, not heavy though. Have not seen the **Josephine** since we left Wellington Island. It is quite unpleasant below. Just at this time, the warm weather has caused the Ship to bilge, and our nice new white paint is about as black as if it had been painted that color. It also causes a very disagreeable smell, and to make the matter worse, it is such bad weather on deck that we must stay below—and worse still, have the skylight on.

The Men on deck have been opening Cocoanuts all day for the hogs.

March 3rd.

It has been a beautiful day. Guam is n sight. It is a large Island. We are now getting ready to go on shore and spend the night. We want to get some Men from there if we can.

[The Captain's wife went ashore at Guam]

March 6th.

It has been a beautiful day. We have been on shoe at Guam and spent two nights and a part of two days. Had a very pleaaant time and returned towards night yesterday. My Husband shipped 4 Men and has the Second Mate of a Brig that was condemned here not long ago. He is going NORTH with us, to see if he can't get a chance on board of some Ship up there.

When we came down to come off, one of the Men had not got there, and my Husband stopped to get him and came in the other boat. I came right off with the Second Mate¹ and Capt. Whalon came with me (of the Ship **Omega**). She has been laying off and on with us. We did not go into the Harbour to anchor. There were a number of Ships laying there at once. They all stopped at the same house that we did.

Now for a short description of Guam. It is the only Spanish Port that I have been n, and I felt somewhat interested as well as amused. Though the People are under Spanish government, there are only two or three real Spaniards on the Island. They are all half [-breeds]. The Natives are called Chemoras [Chamorros]. The Governor is a tru blood from Spain. There are two families besides that, who are of the quality, and they feel themselves such. We visited them. They called on us as soon as we got to our boarding-house, and invited us to come. One is the Commissary's Family (Chief Magistrate)

1 Ed. note: George Silvia by name.

[Calvo]; the other they call the Major's FAmily. There are about a dozen young Ladies in the two Families, and they are very dressy and gay. They do no work but a little embroidery and play the piano and dance, which they are exceedingly fond of.

We were invited to take dinner with all the Ship Masters at the Commissary's house, and they made a grand dinner. I could not begin to tell the different dishes that were set before us—roast pig, duck, chickens, beef, venison, cooked in all ways, wines and liquors in abundance. At last, coffee and dessert. There were three Priests at dinner—Padres (that is Fathers with them). At home we would call them hardly Priests, for they look on sins lightly and partake as freely of sins as any of them. As I look at it, Sunday is a holiday with them. They all go to church, or mass, in the morning early, and stop a spell. The rest of the day is spent in music, dancing, drinking, and worst of all, cock-fighting. The Priests go and make bets. They are great card players.

I did not go to Church. My Husband went, but it was so early that I could not leave the Baby—but their performances are just like all the rest of the Catholics. I had a chance to see some of them in the street, as it was Lent.

I was sitting in the plaza looking around, and right in front of the house the People belonging there were erecting a little house, a few feet square. They stuck 4 poles into the ground and covered them over the top and sides with matting made from the Coconut leaf, and the same on the ground. On the inside was pinned up all around gay calico, and there was a small table in the center, covered with a bright red cover and a white curtain around it. When this preparation was all over, I saw the Women come to the house and take two images, one of Christ and the other the Virgin Mary. They then placed them on the table and put wax candles in them. I looked on, wondering what that meant, when I cast my eyes around and saw a number of the same had gone up within a few minutes all along the road. I asked the Woman of the house what was going on, and as near as I could understand her Spanish and poor English mixed up, it ws to honor Jesus Christ, as it was Lent. Shortly the Military came in sight with their band, then a long procession of Men and Women, mostly Women, dressed in their best—the Women with gay skirts, and a food many of the younger ones with white waists and handkerchiefs over their heads—some quite handsome ones, embroidered.

They were following an image, set up in a frame carried by 4 Men, that they called Jesus Christ. It was as large as a Man, with long flowing hair, a crown of thorns on the head, a cross on the shoulders, bright red garments on—and black like themselves. In front of the little houses with the images, they halted and turned the large one face to the small ones. Then the Poeple knelt down on the ground and chanted over something, got up and crossed themselves, and passed on to the next.

But of the Island. It is beautiful and green, and quite large. There must be a good many inhabitants, for this little town is thickly settled, with quite regular streets and houses quite near on both sides of the way; the houses are low, homely and rather poor—mostly of wood and thatched the same as those at the other Islands. The best houses are of stone, large and airy, but all low. They have heavy shocks of earthquakes there. The People thorw themselves on their knees till the shock is over.

On the Island they raise yams, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, corn. They have nice sweet Oranges, Limes, Bananas, Mummy Apples and Breadfruit. Of the Animals, the principal ones seem to be the Bullocks. They look queer drawing a load, one yoked to each team, a queer-looking little team. The [water] Buffalo, too, they use in the same way. The carts make me think of the emigrant wagons I have seen at home. I saw a few horses about.

It is quite dangerous going on shore in a rough time, when the wind is blowing strong outside. There is a long reef that makes across by the town, and about a quarter of a mile from the beach. The breakers look grand but fearful. The great body of water rushes wildly over the rocks. It was quite rugged when we went in, but my Husband used a great deal of caution, and I did not know the danger until it was all over. There were a great many People on the beach, and among them Capt. Whalon. He had watched us with a good deal of anxiety, when he saw that there was a Lady and a Baby in the boat, for he had just had a boat capsized there, and some came near being drowned. It broke the boat a good deal.

March 8th.

It has been quite pleasant with a good breeze. Have lost sight of the **Omega**; have not seen her since the day that the Captain was aboard of us. She is a dull ailer, and this Ship sails first rate.

Saw a wchool of Black-fish this morning, and lowered 3 boats for them. Got quite near, but did not get any.

March 10th.

It has been a fine day. There is a heavy swell on, and once in a while a sea comes over. I was this morning siting on the Booby hatch with the Baby, and a sea came over in that place and covered us allover, wetting us to the skin. It is the first time I ever got served so since I have been on board the Ship. I had to take off everything from us both and wash the salt water out of them.

March 11th.

I am anxious to see the **South Boston**. I expect that Captain Randolph has letters for us, as he is right from the [Sandwich] Islands.¹ He has brought his Wife with him, too, and I shall have the pleasure of seeing her and that little Boy Baby. We heard from them at Guam. Capt. Whalon has been in company some weeks at Saipan and Ascension with them. have just been n deck to see a fine sight. There are quite a number of Dolphins swimming about the Ship. They are the handsomest fish that I ever saw. They turn quite a good many beautiful colors under the water—gold, green, and a splendid blue. They are quite a large fish. Some of the Men tried to catch one. They got a hook in one, but it tore out and they lost it.

1 Ed. note: Captain Williams was her former master.

...

Epilogue.

After one last season in the Yellow Sea, etc. the **Florida** finally ended her voyage when she reached San Francisco on 26 October 1861. But not before a second child had been born during the voyage, a little girl named Mary, who was destined to make four voyages with her father. The ship was sold to San Francisco, and continued whaling in the Arctic from that port after the Civil War, when Captain T. W. Williams was again her master. During the Civil War, Capt. Williams was Master of the **Jireh Swift** which was captured by the **Shenandoah** in the Arctic. Then he was in charge of the **Hibernia**, the **Monticello**, the **Florence** (see Doc. 1873I), the **Clara Bell**, and finally the **Francis Palmer**. The last voyages were all out of San Francisco and the whaling ground was the Arctic Sea.

Documents 18590

The Belle of Fairhaven, Captain Roswell Brown

Note: The Captain's wife was on board.

O1. News sent from Guam

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Journal, Aug. 5, 1859.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Brown of barque **Belle**, of Fairhaven, reports her at Guam, March 19 [1859], having taken 59 bbls. sperm oil since leaving the Sandwich Islands, would sail same day for Bonin Islands to cruise. Also reports arrived at Guam, March 18, ship **Arctic**, Phillips, Fairhaven, nothing since leaving Sandwich Islands.

O2. Extract from the logbook kept by John W. Smith.

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 311; Log Inv. 567.

...

[In May 1858, this bark went from the Sandwich Islands directly to the Bonin Islands, where they met the **Eliza L. B. Jenney**, Captai Marsh¹, the **Helen Snow**, the **Sea Breeze**, the **Mercury**, the **Norman**, the **United States**, the **Henry Taber**, and the **Emily Morgan**. Also, on Tuesday 22 June 1858, "at 9 a.m., spoke a Guam schooner, come up here fishing and after turtle..." On 22 July, they bought 25,000 cigars from the Jenney. On 21 August, they "saw two comets... one bearing NW, the other NE... Lat. 31°23' N., Long. 162°54' E." In September, they went to Maui where they shipped 300 bbls. of oil by the **Washington** of Boston. Then the bark went to the Line.]

...

Friday 14th [January 1859]

... At 2 p.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island. At 3, hauled off shore, heading N, the canoes coming off... Latter... the land in sight and plenty of canoes. So ends. Lat. 1°56' S, Long. 176°52' E.

1 Ed. note: Captain Marsh's wife was on board, sick. She was Carmen Calvo, of Guam.

Saturday 15th

... At 7, tacked ship. Rotch's [Tamana] Island bearing WNW 10 miles off, heading N by E...

Sunday 16th

... Clark's [Onotoa] Island bearing WSW 15 miles off...

Monday 17th

... Clark's Island in sight. At 4 p.m., the canoes came off with hats, mats and so forth. At sunset, drove them off, heading S and E by the wind... Latter, laying off Clark's Island trading...

Tuesday 18th

... At 2 p.m., drove the natives off. At 3, picked up 4, their canoe swamped. At 5, carried them ashore. At 6, the boat came off, braced forward heading N and E by the wind... Lattr, kept off NW. At 10, canoes came off at Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island, trading. So ends. Lat. 1°36' S, Long. 174°54' E.

Weednesday 19th

... Laying off and on at Drummond's Island trading. At 6, kept off WNW... At noon, Henderville [Aranuka] Island WNW 5 miles off. Simpson's [ABamama] Island ahead 15 miles off.

...

Friday 21st

... Simpson's Island 5 miles off, 2 canoes came off...

Saturday 22

... Set 2 natives ashore on Simpson's Island that came from home in the ship...

...

Saturday 29th

... At 2 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] High Island right ahead... Latter, heading NW, Ocean Island bearing NNE 6 miles off at noon...

Sunday 30th

... Ocean Island bearing N 15 miles off. The Cook did not get his duffs done. So, the Capt. shook him a little.¹

...

Wednesday 2nd [February 1859]

... Saw the land off Weather Beam. Heading west, one sail in sight.

¹ Ed. note: Plum duff was a customary dish on Sunday aboard U.S. whalers.

Thursday 3rd

... One sail in sight and the land bearing ENE 20 miles off... [Lat.] 00°57' S, [Long.] 168°52' E.

...

Saturday 5th

... Sat. night, the Capt. asked Mr. Bridges what made him so slack about his duty. He dropped some hints that Mr. Lewis had been interfering with his watch, about their not relieving the wheel quick enough. So, the Captain called all of us officers in the cabin and talked the matter over. So it rests at that. So ends...

...

Monday 7th

... Pleasant [Nauru] Island in sight bearing S 20 miles off...

Tuesday 8th

... Trading at Pleasant Island for hogs. ONE sail i sight... Latter, a sail in sight, Pleasant Island bore (5 Point) ESE 8 miles off. So ends. WE got 5 thousand coconuts this day.

Wednesday 9th

... Had a gam with the Barque **Empire**. Ship **Hobomok**, the **Eliza Adams** in sight close to the land...

...

Friday 11th

... 2 sail in sight... At 9 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island 15 miles off. So ends. One sail off the Lee point.

Saturday 12th

.. At 1 p.m., the Capt. went ashore at Lee Harbor, Strong's Island. At 5, came off and got up chains and went in. Dropped both anchors. Liked to of, got on the reef, run lines, hove up. At 7, got up and dropped the anchors again. There is one Barque in here, the **Ripple**, and the **Eliza Adams** laying off and on. At 9 a.m., the **Adams** came in. At 11, the **Daniel Wood** came in. Employed stowing off after hatch. So ends. The **United States** came off the harbor and the Capt. came on shore. She is bound to Guam. Jack Perry let a hand spike go in the fore hold on Manuel been(?) and I slapped Jack's face. Manuel is off duty with a lame back. Got off 2 boatloads of wood.

...

Tuesday 15th

... The **Ripple** sailed at 4 p.m...

...

Thursday 17th

... Got 2 boatloads of wood, some iron poles. The **D. Wood** and **E. Adams** sailed this afternoon.

...

Saturday 19th

... At 5 a.m., weighed anchor and went to sea, steering W by N1/2N...

Sunday 20th

... At daylight, saw MacAskill's [Pingelap] Islands. At 9 a.m., went into the reef with 2 boats to trade, the natives did not come off, and kept W by N1/2N...

Monday 21st

... p.m., saw Wellington's [Mokil] Island. At 6, it bore NW 5 miles off... At daylight, saw Ascension [Pohnpei] Island. At 10 a.m., the pilot came off. At 1/2 past, he went ashore again. At 11, the Capt. and Lady went ashore. 2 sails in sight.

Tuesday 22.

... Laying off and on at Ascension. At 5, the Capt. came off. Kept off WNW, made all sail...

Wednesday 23

... Saw a large tree roots up... Lat. 9°00' N, Long. 154°30' E.

...

Sunday 27th

... At 3 a.m., saw the land. At 12, dropped anchor in Apra Bay, Guam. There are 6 ships laying here. The **Daniel Wood** came in about 1 p.m.

...

Wednesday 2nd [March 1859]

... Watch sent to town for 3 days. Watch on board setting up shooks¹ and other work.

...

Saturday 5th

... Watch came off at 9 a.m. At 11 a.m., the Starboard Watch went ashore for 3 days.

...

Thursday 10th

... Painting ship, tarring rigging. Got off some potatoes and other work. The **Cicero** sailed today... The Brig **Kaui** came in yesterday.

Friday 11th

... Got off 29—53-lbs potatoes and other work. The **Splendid** of Cold Spring [N.Y.] came in.

1 Ed. note: That is, assembling staves and hoops into barrels.

Saturday 12th

... The **Ripple** went outside. We had the Ladies down from the town as party...

...

Monday 14th

... The **D. Wood** and **E. Adams** sailed...

Tuesday 16th

... The **Washington** came in this morning. The third mate took his traps ashore.¹

Wednesday 16

... At 3 p.m., weighed anchor and stood out to sea. At 4, passed the **E. Adams** and **D. Wood**. At 6, anchored at Umata after water. At daylight, sent a raft ashore. Got off 190 bbls water, took 14 butts ashore...

Thursday 17th

... Got off a raft of water. Stowed the butts we had ashore and other work...

Friday 18th

... At 4 p.m., weighed anchor and stood up to the Harbor. At 5 a.m., the Capt. went ashore to the town. The **Monmouth** and **Arctic** are laying off and on in company with us...

Saturday 19th

... Laying off and on off the town. Got 4 spars out of the **Monmouth**... The **Splendid** came out and up off the town.

Sunday 20

... Laying off and on at the town. At 5, the Capt. and lady came off, heading N by the wind. Shipped 2 boys, one boatsteerer, and two foremast hands...

Monday 21st

... Sypan [Saipan] close, at daylight ESE 15 miles off, at noon 2 miles off.

Tuesday 22nd

... At sundown, Sypan bore NE 15 miles off. At 8 a.m., dropped anchor in Sypan. At 9 a.m., lowered 2 boats for humpbacks. At 10, one boat struck. At 11, the ... struck him. At 3 p.m., another boat struck and he ran out to sea and had to be cut. At 8 p.m., took on alongside. WE have struck 3 and towed one.

¹ Ed. note: "Traps" means 'clothes' in American slang.

Wednesday 23

... At 6 a.m., commenced cutting. At 1/2 past 10, got him in. At 11, lowered boats. At 4, one boat struck a calf and killed him with the iron. Hauled up and struck the cow and she went 2440[?] speed. At sundown, cut and came on board. Got supper and started fires.

Thursday 24th

... At 8 a.m., lowered 2 boats after whales. At 5, they came on board with no fish. At 2 p.m., finished boiling...

Friday 25th

... At 7 a.m., lowered all the boats. At 9, the Waist [Boat] struck and parted line and went on again and darted but did not get fast. At 5 p.m., another boat struck and all struck one whale and a calf. At 7, the cow sank and took a line with her. Hauled the calf up and cut off and let him follow his mother. At 5 a.m., the boats got on board. Got 2 boats stove. Broke one boat down hoisting her up. She had too much water in her...

Saturday 26

... Mending boats and getting ready to try the fish again...

Sunday 27

... One watch went ashore in the morning, came off to dinner. The other went ashore after dinner, came off at sundown.

Monday 28

... At 8, lowered 3 boats after whales. At 10, one boat struck and drew. Employed repairing casks and mending boat. All on board sick [for] eating fish. Caught a turtle.

Sunday 29th

... Went ashore after grass and some stick to make barrier off.¹ Mending boat. Stowed the oil between decks...

...

Friday 1st [April 1859]

... Employed fitting a NW Boat for the Starboard cranes. Got off some ironwood, grass for the cow, and other work...

Saturday 2nd

... 2 p.m., weighed anchor and went to sea...

1 Ed. note: To feed and enclose a cow on shore (see next entry).

Sunday 3rd

... Saw Volcano [Asuncion] Island bearing E 50 miles off... Lat. 19°25' N, Long. 144°50' E.

...

[Off whaling near the Bonins until July, then another season in northern waters. By the way, the cow purchased in Saipan was landed on Peel Island in May.]

...

Wednesday 2nd [May 1860]

... 2 sail in sight. At 11 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] ahead..

Thursday 3rd

... Steering WSW for Ocean Island. 2 sail in sight. At 4 a.m., spoke the **E.L.B. Jenney** At 8, 2 boats went ashore to trade. At noon, they came off with a little broom stuff. The **E. Mason** was off there.

Friday 4th

... Steering W by N for Pleasant [Nauru] Island in company with the **Jenney**... Lat. 00°44' S, Long. 168°50' E.

...

Sunday 6th

... At 11 a.m., saw Pleasant Island bearing WSW... Lat. 00°19' S, Long. 167°26' E.

Monday 7th

... At 5 p.m., the canoes came off at Pleasant Island... trading for hogs and cocoanuts.

Tuesday 8th

... Laying off and on at Pleasant Island. At 4, we got through, heading to W...

...

Sunday 13th

... Steering NW by W in company with the **Jenney**. One other sail and Strong's [Kosrae] Island in sight... Lat. 04°53' N, Long. 162°29' E.

...

Wednesday 16th

... At 6 p.m., saw McAskill's [Pingelap] Island bearing NW by W 12 miles off... At noon, the island bore NW 8 miles off...

Thursday 17th

... At 2 p.m., a boat came off of the island. At 3, the **Jenney** came along, had a gam.¹ Steering NW1/2W... Latter, squally. Sighted Wellington [Mokil] Island...

1 Ed. note: I suppose to please Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Marsh.

...

Friday 25th

... Steering W3/4N. The **Jenney** in sight. At midnight, saw the land. At 7 a.m., the pilot boarded and at 1/2 past we kept off for Umata. At noon, we were off there...

Saturday 26th

... At 2 p.m., dropped anchor at Umata. Got a raft ashore. At daylight, got off some water...

Sunday 27th

... At 9 a.m., weighed anchor. At 12, anchored in the Harbor.

Monday 28th

... Sent a raft ashore and the Watch...

Tuesday 29th

... Getting off wood...

...

Friday 1st [June 1860]

... Got off a raft of water...

Saturday 2nd

... Got 3 cords of wood, 1 ton of potatoes. The **Jenney** sailed.

...

Tuesday 5th

... At 3 p.m., weighed anchor. At 6 a.m., sent 3 boats in to the town and at 12, the Capt. and lady came off. Heading N. We left 6 men, 3 discharged, 3 Kanakas and their names are Butler Bill John Peman, a Peruvian.

...

Thursday 7th

... At 10 a.m., the Capt. and lady went ashore at Rota. Laying off and on.

Friday 8th

... Laying off and on at Rota. At sundown, the boat came off with some hogs and yams... At 7 a.m., 2 boats went ashore. At 12, they came off with some hogs and yams.

Saturday 9th

... Laying off and on at Rota. At 5 p.m., kept off S by W for Guam. We took the priest as passenger going to Guam after runaways. At daylight, the boat went ashore. At 10, she came off with the runaways, seized them up to glog them but they begged so hard that concluded to let them off and see if they behaved thereafter...

Sunday 10th

... Laying off and on at Guam. At 1/2 past 7 p.m., the Capt. and lady came off. Made all sail heading N by W... Lat. 18°10' [N], Long. 141°54' [E].

...

[To the Bonins and the start of another season. The bark was often in company with the **Jenney**.]

...

Sunday 21st October 1860

... At 3 p.m., saw Pith [sic = Butaritari] Island ahead. A Brig in sight...

Monday 22nd

... At 4, passed the South point of Pith Island... Lat. 1°48' N, Long. 171°15' E.

...

Thursday 25th

... At 2, saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island right ahead. At 6, a boat came off from shore to trade. She stopped all night. Middle, on different tack. Latter, trading. So ends.

Friday 26th

... AT 2, we left Pleasant Island steering S by W... Lat. 2°16' S, Long. 164°47' E.

...

[The bark went toward New Zealand waters where she cruised until April 1861.]

...

Sunday 19th [May 1861]

... At 4 p.m., sighted HOpe [Arorae] Island... At 5 am., the Capt. called me to take the watch for he had been on deck and found them all asleep, no man at the wheel. Sent the 4th Mate below. Passed Clark's [Onotoa] Island. So ends. Lat. 1°26' S, Long. 178°30' E.

Monday 20th

... At 1, saw Simpson's [Abemama] Island, bore WNW 8 miles off... Lat. 00°23' N, Long. 174°30' [E].

Tuesday 21st

... At 5 p.m., hauled aback. At daylight, saw Charlotte's [Abaiang] Island. At 9, the Capt. went ashore at Happy Ann [sic]. So ends.

Wednesday 22nd

... Laying off and on at Happy Ann. At 3 p.m., the boat came off and the Missionary¹ came on board. At 5, kept off... Lat. 2°39' N, Long. 172°06' E.

...

1 Ed. note: Rev. Bingham.

Monday 3rd [June 1861]

... At 12, saw the island of Guam. At 7, we were off the town. At 9, one watch went ashore to come off again at 5. So ends.

Tuesday 4th

... Laying off and on. At 6, some of the watch came off, some of them stopped ashore, the Carpenter Roy Reynolds, Jim, Harry Fiddler did not come off. Latter, at 9 a.m., the other watch went ashore. An American Brig touched here this morning. At 11, the men that stopped, in the jail, came off..

Wednesday 5th

.. Laying off and on at Guam. At 6 p.m., the watch came off. Got off a 90 of sugar and so forth...

Thursday 6th

... At 6, Capt. and lady came off, bade adieu to Guam. Shipped 2 white men, 4 Guam men...

...

[The bark went for yet another season near the Bonins, where five men were sick with measles and one with shingles. Then they went to Yedo, i.e. Tokyo, Bay, and from there to Honolulu (Oct. 1861), southward to Samoa (Dec.), Norfolk I. (Jan. 1862), and home.]

Documents 1859P

The story of Father José Palomo, first Chamorro priest

P1. His story, as told to Lieut. Safford in 1900

Source: Lieut. William E. Safford's notes and papers in LC Mss. Division, Washington.

Extracts from Safford's notes.

[p. 462]

Padre José Palomo

Padre José writes me:

“I was born on the 19th of October 1836 and baptized on the 23th following,¹ with the names José Bernardo Palomo y Torres. I was brought up almost as a cenobite in his cell and had but little liberty according to your American standards and you may say that I was enslaved; but I bless that thrall[-dom] and thank my parents for it.”

“Fray Pedro León del Carmen taught me some things; and after the small-pox, in 1856, deprived me of my parents, I went in 1858 to Manila, and in January 1859 I passed to Cebu to see my bishop, who ordained me on the 11th of December of the said year; and five days afterward he gave me the nomination of assistant (coadjutor) of the priest of Agaña. I sailed for Manila which I reached on the 1st of January 1860, and returned to Agaña on the 17th of September of the same year.”

“In 1865 I was named parson of Saipan, which position I remained two years, after becoming again assistant at Agaña. In 1883 they gave me the title of parson of Saipan and in 1887 I was transferred to the parsonage of Tinian till 1891, when I returned to Agaña. In 1893 I was appointed parson of Agat and six months thereafter I was transferred to the incumbency of Rota and in 1895 I returned to my original post of assistant, until June of the year before last [1899], wherein Padre Francisco [Resano] had to surrender this parsonage to me.”

“My teacher, Fray Pedro León del Carmen, was a real and perfect monk Agustino Recoleta, like all the other friars since the expulsion of the Jesuits, fulfilling the divine

1 Ed. note: By Fr. Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo (see below).

commandments ^& his vows. He was sent hither as an assistant, lived here as though in a cell of his own monastery, no woman entered his loves; all...

[5-1/2 lines hard to decipher]

[p. 464]

“he said: I had no cause to thank him, that he was only complying with the dying entreaty of my late teacher, his beloved director.”

Padre Pedro León del Carmen died January 30, 1856, when Father Palomo was 19 years and 5 months old.

[p. 234]

October 19, 1836.—Birth of José Bernardo Palomo y Torres. He was the son of Don Silvestre Inocencio Palomo y Rodriguez, whose valuable assistance to the governors of the Marianas is from time to time mentioned in the archives. Don Silvestre as “Ayudante Mayor de la Dotación” [Senior Adjutant of the Garrison], with the rank of Captain. He knew the Spanish language better than any other Chamorro, and took pains to have his son José educated. He was devoted to the interest of his fellows...

...
The mother of Padre José was the daughter of the Sargento Mayor Don Luis de Torres, who had served also, as well as his father, Don Francisco Reglo de Torres, as Capitan del Campo (Mayor of the Town), a position ...

...
Don Luis de Torres moved ... Orote Peninsula and built a wall of masonry across its neck, .. enclosed for his cattle and other quadrupeds...

[lines required]

[p. 396]

This [Orote] peninsula had been the property of the Sargento Mayor Don Luis [sic] de Torres, the father of Don Luis de Torres and father-in-law of Don Silvestre Palomo. The Sargento Mayor had built the stone wall across the neck of the peninsula to serve not only as a boundary of the property but as an enclosure for his animals. Don José Palomo, the parish priest of Agaña, son of Don Silvestre writes me that “a despotic governor seized the land because my grandfather, having the ... of his family, did not yield to the whims of the despot. Don Silvestre and wife together with Don Luis de Torres obtained a new grant to the peninsula and repaired the walls built by my grandfather to protect their cattle, houses and swine; but another governor dispossessed my parents of the peninsula, giving as a reason for his decision the enctive (?) that agriculture was to be preferred to the breeding of animals.”

[p. 396, cont'd]

January 30, 1856.—Death of Fray Pedro León del Carmen. He was Father José Palomo's instructor and friend. When he died he begged his confessor, Fray Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, that he would do all he could to make a priest of his pupil José. This Padre Ibañez promised him. Fray Pedro lived a holy and exemplary life. When he died, Father Palomo was nineteen years and five months old. The student was ... Padre Ibañez and ... sent to Manila...

...

[p. 398]

The Palomo Family

Don Silvestre Inocencio Palomo was returning from his third trip to Manila [in 1856]. He was descended from a Spanish ancestor born in Mexico. His wife was the daughter of the Sargento Mayor Don Luis de Torres, the friend of Kotzebue and De Freycinet; she was a study of piety, education, and kindness of heart. His son, Padre José Palomo writes:

“When my father came home and felt the first assumptions of the disease, he called the priest, to be shrived [i.e. to go to confession] and he prepared for the other world, and asked that he might be isolated.”

He was taken to a ranch with secluded valley on the right of the road to Sinahaña, his family(?) being prevented from following him, by order of the Governor.

Padre José writes concerning the wife of Don Silvestre: “My mother was a woman superior to many Spanish, who reared me up with an iron rod in one hand and a cake in the other. Every morning at four o'clock she awoke and took me to church and before going to bed she taught me to say the rosary or some novenary and night prayers, as was her family's want. She never repeated a behest, for she exacted obedience at once, and allowed me to go to but certain houses and to associate with but few relatives. She received the holy communion not seldom, and was so charitable that the people were ready to follow her will as though it were the order of the gobernadorcillo. She knew Spanish, English, and some French, was able to figure and make mental calculations, and ...

P2. Padre Palomo centenary [in 1936]

Source: Article in the Guam Recorder, October 1936.

Note: The author of this article is not mentioned.

The Venerable Padre José Palomo y Torres was the first, and thus far, the only Chamorro to acquire the status of priesthood in the Catholic Church. He was born in Guam, 23 [sic] October, 1836. His father was Don José Bernardo Palomo, and his mother, Doña Rita Torres, was a descendent of Don Luis Torres, the Spanish Sergeant Major of whom Chamisso, Freycinet, d'Urville and Gaudichaud speak with great respect in the narratives of their voyages.

His early years were devoted to study under the direction of the Augustinian Missionary, P. Pedro Leñ del Carmen, of whom he always spoke with greatest affection. Gifted as he was with a special aptitude for languages, he perfected his English, French and Spanish at an early age and seized every opportunity to speak them with whatever visitors came to the Island.

Both his parents died during the small-pox epidemic of 1855, after which the young Palomo, feeling himself called to the priesthood, went to Cebu where his religious education was continued and his ordination effected. Later his travels in Spain, France and England¹ so added to his breadth of vision and understanding that he was able to administer wisely the affairs of the Parish Church of AgaÖa for many years, and especially during that difficult period of the early days of American Occupation. His action at this time so pleased the Pope that he honored the then aging priest with the titles of Monsignor and Domestic Prelate of the Pope.

Father Palomo was a student of Greek, Latin and Spanish literature and did much for his own native language by his ability as a writer. His Chamorro version of the Catechism has had five editions and is in use in the church schools here. He wrote a small volume of religious poems in Spanish, called "*Ratos de Ocio*," [Leisure Hours] published here by Butler and Sanchez in 1912.

For many years Padre Palomo had special authority under papal dispensation, to perform the rites of confirmation and such other duties as are usually assigned to a Bishop. These duties often called him to the two other inhabited islands of the Mariana group, Rota and Saipan. Very often it was necessary for him to make the voyage to Saipan (120 miles) in a native dugout canoe.²

He was awarded the Royal Cross of Beneficence by the Spanish Government and was given a gold crucifix by Kaiser Wilhelm II. His Golden Jubilee, 1909, was the occasion of his being elevated to the rank of Monsignor.

Padre Palomo was a member of the *Junta* (appointed by Captain Taussig of the U.S.S. **Bennington**), who were to assist Don Joaquín Perez in the administration of the affairs of Guam shortly after the seizure of the Island by the U.S.S. **Charleston** in 1898. The *Junta* was composed of, [quote] "Rev. José Palomo y Torres, the venerable priest of Agaña; Don Juan Torres y Diaz, one of the most intelligent and reliable citizens of Guam; Don Vicente Roberto y Herrero, descendant of a Spanish Governor; Don Luis Torres y Diaz; and Don Antonio Martinez, one of the most enterprising and intelligent natives, descendant of an officer who came to Guam from Mexico," (Safford Notebook of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam). Padre Palomo was a close friend of Lieutenant William Safford, U.S.N. and rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the book above quoted and also "The Flora and Fauna of Guam" by the same author.

1 Ed. note: He never travelled to Europe.

2 Ed. note: Rather, a Carolinian sea-going canoe.

In the parochial archives of the several parishes of Guam there are found innumerable records bearing the signature of Padre Palomo. It is estimated that in the records of the church in Agaña his name appears more than a thousand times. The Naval Government of Guam chose to perpetuate his memory by naming in his honor one of the public schools, that in the San Antonio district of Agaña. The Guam Teachers Association dedicated to his memory the lights at the four corners of the Plaza de España. One of the longest streets in Agaña also bears the name of Guam's most beloved citizen, of whom it is said no unkind criticism has ever been made. His compatriots preserve a grateful memory of his devotion to his religion and to his people.

P3. Historic Documents

Source: Article in the Guam Recorder, July 1838.

Note: The certificate of ordination and the information contained in this article have been furnished by Father Pastor de Arráoz of the Cathedral of Agaña.

Translation of the certificate of ordination of Father Palomo, by Father Sylvester, Cathedral of Agaña [in 1936].

169We, Frater Romualdus Gimeno, D.D., of the Order of Friars Preachers, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See Bishop (of the Diocese) of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, of Ceby, Royal Councillor, etc.

“To each and all who may peruse these presents, made known and bear witness that on the third Sunday of Advent, the eleventh day of December, in the year of OUR Lord 1859, at the occasion of conferring major orders in our episcopal chapel, we deemed properly and canonically prepared to be promoted, and so promoted, to the holy order of priesthood, our beloved son in Christ, the Deacon Josephus Bernardus Palomo, born in the City of Agaña, Marianas Islands, of our diocese, baptized and confirmed, the legitimate son of Silvester Ignocencius Palomo and Rita Torres, his spouse, inhabitants of the city aforementioned,—after having examined and approved, and found eligible in accordance with all the requirements laid down in the decrees of the Council of Trent, and according to the form of procedure enjoined by the Bull, *Speculatores Domus Israel*, of Innocent XII, of happy memory, and the latest, of Innocent XIII, namely, *Apostolici Ministerii*, having granted dispensations from the observance of interstices¹ and the impediment of age (eleven months).²

“In witness thereof, we have ordered these presents to be executed with our signature and seal, and to be signed by the undersigned secretary.

“/s/ Fr. Romualdus, Bishop

1 Ordinarily there is a period of three months (interstice) between the conferring of successive orders.

2 Ordinarily the age required for ordination to the priesthood is 24 years.

NOS D. D. FRATER ROMUALDUS GIMENO,
 Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum, Dei, et sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ gratia, Epis-
 copus Sanctissimi nominis Jesu de Zebù, Regisque Conciliaris etc.

Universis, et singulis. præsentis Litteras inspecturis notum facimus,
 et attestatur, quod Nos, Anno à Nativitate Domini. Nostri Jesu Christi
 millesimo octingentesimo quinquagesimo nono, die vero undeci-
 ma Decembris Domini. 5^{ad} Adventus in sacello nostro
 Episcopali majores _____

Ordines celebrantes, Dilectum nobis in Christo filium D.
 Josephum Bernardo Calomo, Diaconum promotum, in
 Civitate (vulgo) Agaña in Insulis Marianis nostre Diocesis
 natum, baptizatum et confirmatum filium que legit. P. Petrus
 An. Ignacius Calomo, et D. Rita d. No. P. S. conf. prædix. Civit. notol.

Examinatum, et approbatum, atque in omnibus requisitis juxta Sancti
 Concilii Tridentini Decreta, et servata forma Bullæ Innocentii felicitis
 recordationis Papæ Duodecimi incipientis: *Speculatores Domus Israel;*
 et novissimæ Innocentii Decimertii scilicet: *Apostolici Ministerii;* idoneum
 repertum, dispensatis interstitiis, et undecim mensibus quæta,
 ad sacrum Presbyteratus ordinem _____

rité, et canonicè duximus promovendum, et promovimus. In quorum
 fidem præsentis litteras nostra manu, sigilloque munitas, ac per in-
 frascriptum Secretarium subscriptas jussimus expediri. Dat. ut supra.

Fr. Romualdus Episcopus.



De mandato Illmi. Domini mei Episc.

Reg. Lib. 2^a fol. 236^{to}
 Arch. 2^a p. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Typ. Colleg. Sti. Thom. sub D. E. Ramirez.

Certificate of Ordination of Padre Palomo, Guam's first native priest.
 Similar certificates were previously awarded to him in Cebú when he received the orders
 of Sub-deacon and Deacon. All these and other documents concerning him are
 in the Archives of the Cathedral of Agaña.

“By order of His Excellency the Bishop.
/s/ Laureano Rivera, Secretary.”

Career of Padre Palomo.

On the opposite page is a photograph of a previously unpublished document, the certificate of ordination of José Palomo Torres, the first native of Guam, and the only one until June 11, 1938, to be ordained to the priesthood.

Born in the city of Agaña, Guam, on October 19, 1836, José Palomo Torres was baptized on the 23rd of the same month by Padre Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, Curate of the church of Agat. His parents were Don Silvestre Inocencio Palomo and Doña Rita Torres, who both died in the terrible smallpox epidemic of 1856.

Padre Palomo received his early religious education under the direction of Padre Pedro León del Carmen, Curate of Inarajan, and upon the latter's death, which occurred just after the typhoon of September 23, 1855, he continued his studies under Padre Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, the Curate of Agaña.

At the end of 1858 or the beginning of 1859 he left for Cebu, Philippine Islands, where he was confirmed by the Bishop of Cebu on April 28, 1859. During the same year he received the four minor orders on June 18, the order of sub-deaconship on June 26, and that of deaconship on September 24. He was ordained a priest on December 11, 1859. During his studies at the Seminary of San Carlos of Cebu, he was not required to take the examinations ordinarily required of a scholar.

According to the “Chronicles” of Padre Ibañez, Padre Palomo arrived Guam September 17, 1860, in the schooner **Fidelidad** to take up his duties as “Coadjutor” of the city of Agaña. The Governor of Guam at that time was Don Felipe de la Corte y Ruano Calderó. Padre Palomo served the people of Guam from 1860 until his death in 1919. He assisted in the preparation of various books upon the Chamorro language and the history of Guam *The Chamorro Language of Guam*, by William E. Safford (W. H. Lowdermilk & Company, Washington, D.C., 1909), is dedicated to him.

Padre Palomo was a man of great piety and splendid moral reputation, uncensurable and of saintly habits. When he remained the only priest in Guam, upon the departure of the Spanish Augustinians in 1899, he was authorized by the Bishop of Cebu to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in all the Marianas Islands.

He was made a *Caballero* [Gentleman] of the Order of Beneficence, with cross of the third class, by King Alfonso XII of Spain, as a reward for the assistance he gave to Spanish exiles during the Spanish civil war of 1875. He also received from Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany a golden crucifix. But his greatest honor was on the occasion of his golden jubilee as a priest, when he was created Chamberlain of His Holiness *Extra Urbem* [Beyond the City (of Rome)], with the title of Monsignor, in recognition of his faithful services to the Church.

P4. Father Palomo applies for his first pay, in October 1860

Source: PNA.

Original text in Spanish.

Secretaria de Gobierno, Sección Negociado

Exmo. Sor.

El Gobernador P.M. de Marianas por su oficio fecha 26 del mes proximo pasado, remite á V.E. el expediente promovido por el R. P. Cura de la Ciudad de Agaña Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, en solicitud de que se le abonen 60 pesos de asignación para un Coadjutor asignados por Superior decreto de 29 de Noviembre de 1856, y para cuyo cargo ha sido nombrado el Presbitero Don José Palomo; el Administrador de Hacienda dice en su informe que dicha asignación no figura en el presupuesto de aquellas islas para el corriente año de 1860; y el Gobernador manifiesta que no existiendo la iglesia de Pago y suprimido aquel pueblo, por traslación de su escasísimo vecindario á dicha Ciudad, han cesado por completo las razones que motivaron aquella asignación, que fueron el atender comodamente ú la iglesia y feligresía del expresado pueblo de Pago, que hoy no existen, y considera por tanto que ni la asignación para el Coadjutor ni los 60 pesos para el culto, deben satisfacerse.

Nota.

Estando en oposición el informe del Gobernador con lo prescrito en los art. 2 y 3 del Superior decreto conformativo fecha 29 de Noviembre de 1856, pues que al suprimirse por el [art.] 1 de ambos la Parroquia de Pago quedando su iglesia y feligresía anexas á la de Agaña se asignan por el [art.] 2 al de la Ciudad 60 pesos anuales para pago de un Coadjutor, que ya en el día existe, opina el que suscribe debe pasar el incidente con el expediente mencionado al Señor Asesor general de Gobierno, ó lo que V.E. mejor estime.

Manila 31 de Oct. de 1860.

Excmo. Sor.

Pedro Lacumbre

Translation.

Office of the Government Secretary, Clergy Section.

Your Excellency:

The Political and Military Governor of the Marianas, in his letter dated 26th of last month, remits to Y.E. the file opened by the Rev. Fr. Curate of the City of Agaña, Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, requesting an allowance of 60 pesos for a Coadjutor, as assigned by superior decree dated 29 November 1856, given that the Priest Don José Palomo has been appointed to fill that post. The Administrator of the Treasury says in his report that said allowance does not appear in the budget of those islands for the current year of 1860; and the Governor explains that, since the church of Pago no longer exists and

the village itself was suppressed, on account of its having too few residents, who were moved to said City, there are no longer any reasons for that allowance which was meant to attend comfortably to the needs of the church and the faithful of said village of Pago, as they no longer exist, and therefore neither the allowance for the Coadjutor nor the 60 pesos for the rites should be satisfied.

Note.

Since the report of the Governor is in contradiction with Articles 2 and 3 of the superior decree of 29 November 1856, since the Parish of Pago was eliminated, with its church and faithful transferred to that of Agaña by Art. 1, it also assigned to the Parish of the City of Agaña the 60 pesos per year for the pay of a Coadjutor, whose post is now filled. Therefore, the undersigned is of the opinion that this note is to be forwarded, along with the file, to the Government Attorney, or whatever else Y.e. may judge better.

Manila, 21 October 1860.

Your Excellency,
Pedro Lacumbre

Summary of the rest of the case file.

On 26 November, the file was passed to the Government Attorney who stalled, asking for the opinion of the Intendent. Again, on 31 January 1861, the Attorney advised that, the sums required for the stipends of the priests of Agaña and Saipan not being in the budgets for the last year, such stipends would have to fall upon the general treasury funds, that the case would have to be studied again in view of the superior decree of 19 November 1856, as Fr. Ibañez was not allowed extra pay under the title of Military Chaplain of Agaña

The file went back to the Intendent where the case was to be decided. The file does not contain any follow-up documents. Perhaps Fr. Palomo got his first pay in 1861.

 Document 1859Q

Census of population and territorial wealth for the Marianas in 1859 and 1860

Source: PNA.

Note: I have changed the presentation of this table, interchanging rows with columns, etc. No data appeared for Tinian, so it was eliminated. It is obvious that the animals on Tinian, Pagan and Agrigan were not inventoried, and neither the Carolinian canoes in Saipan; too bad!

General summary of the number of inhabitants and territorial wealth of the island of Guam for 1860, in conformity with the reports from each settlement, and compared with last year's figures.

	Agaña	Inarajan	Merizo	Umatac	Agat	Rota	Saipan	Totals.		Diff.
								1859	1860	
A) Population:										
1) Inhabitants (see Note 1):										
Males	1303	45	46	38	126	124	164	1726	1846	-330
Females	1570	52	58	49	152	170	125	2127	2176	+49
Children	829	16	40	22	69	60	87	1071	1123	+52
Total	3702	113	144	109	347	354	376	5374	5145	+52
Married couples	190	20	18	15	118	59	88	736	509	-227
Births	151	6	10	6	18	10	5	200	206	+6
Deaths	80	4	4	2	5	25	...	67	120	+53
Marriages	14	...	...	...	4	...	...	38	18	-20
Foreigners	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	1	-12
2) Buildings:										
Houses	608	20	26	17	58	92	91	1099	912	-167
Huts	413	16	20	10	36	69	...	546	564	+18

	Agaña	Inarajan	Merizo	Umatac	Agat	Rota	Saipan	Totals.		Diff.
								1859	1860	
B) Products:										
1) Cattle:										
Horses	19	...	...	...	1	...	...	23	20	-3
Mules	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	+1
Donkeys	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	+1
Goats	571	...	...	...	1	...	...	1044	572	-472
Water buffaloes	195	...	...	...	4	...	...	192	199	+7
Cows	886	28	19	16	78	...	...	1129	1020	-109
Pigs	1989	187	852	39	312	288	...	3560	3667	+107
Fowls	21383	639	566	201	2020	865	...	17061	25674	+8613
2) Plantings:										
Corn planted (gantas)	2517	47	41	37	184	65	...	1906	2891	+885
" harvested (cabans)	7604	192	659	78	731	89 ...	8522	93	53	+831
Rice planted (gantas)	702	203	135	10	186	86	...	1339	1322	=17
" harvested (cabans)	806	395	576	25	347	245	...	3055	3394	+339
Tubers planted (x1000)	522	6.9	6.3	65	189	166	...	1563	1012	-550
" harvested (quintals)	15348	308	79651	7800	3430	14658	...	39459	121195	+81736
Mongos planted (chupas)	51	1	3	2	5	5	...	129	67	-62
" harvested (cabans)	26	...	1	...	1	2	...	36	32	-4
Tobacco plants (x1000)	496	2.1	4.6	0.76	21.5	8.0	...	284	533	+248
" harvested (quintals)	568	4	10	5	23	8	...	1034	1618	+584
3) Fruit trees										
Banana (x1,000)	66.8	6.0	60	2.5	8.0	5.5	...	108.8	148.8	+40.0
Pineapple (x1,000)	90.3	1.2	6.8	6.1	1.9	3.5	...	56.2	109.9	+52.7
Citrus	7321	172	6400	165	500	1177	...	9223	15735	+6512
4) Plantations:										
Palms, for mats, etc.	6715	596	5840	60	358	1714	...	10940	14783	+3843
Bamboo (shoots)	642	...	3	...	2	...	...	468	647	+172
Nipa palms (plants)	2062	180	2870	5	...	...	...	3244	5215	+1971
Sibucao [sappan] (plants)	61268	...	...	...	78	...	...	2688	61346	+58658
Coconut (plants)	119851	2278	4661	4300	4775	38864	...	123913	170731	+46818
Manila hemp (plants)	748	6 ...	...	57	...	1457	811	-646		
Sugarcane (x1,000)	311	2.9	5.8	0.8	15.7	2.3 ...	60.2	391.4	+331.1	
Cotton planted	29236	660	8580	2020	7835	432	...	1428	68763	+67335
" harvested (@)	4	17	20	...	...	1	...	12	42	+30

	Agaña	Inarajan	Merizo	Umatac	Agat	Rota	Saipan	Totals.		Diff.
								1859	1860	
5) Industrial:										
Stills, coconut oil	35	1	2	2	...	...	...	37	40	+3
Sugar mills	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	5	-2
Forges	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	+0	
Lime kilns	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	32	+18
Craft--boats	3	...	...	...	6	...	...	9	9	+0
Craft--sailing canoes ...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	3	+1
Craft--rowing canoes	23	...	2	...	7	31	...	58	63	+5
Fish traps	51	...	4	1	6	39	...	82	101	+19
Fish-nets	63	...	7	8	8	8	...	112	94	-18
6) Arts & crafts										
Smiths	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	+0
Carpenters	14	...	...	...	...	8	...	20	22	+2
Masons	13	...	1	...	...	4	...	27	18	-9
Shoemakers	17	...	1	...	...	...	...	17	18	+1
Tailors	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	+1
Silversmiths	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	6	+2
Tanners	4	...	3	...	...	...	...	8	7	-1
Dyers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	-3
Spinners	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	83	11	-42
Weavers	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	15	2	-13
Rope makers	...	...	6	...	...	76	...	89	82	-7
Palm nurseries	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	29	13	-16
Saddle makers	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	+0
Turners	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	+0
Barbers	6	...	3	...	...	...	...	3	9	+6
Embroiderers	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	+1
Lantern makers	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	+1
Mat makers	1	...	...	...	...	93	...	115	94	-21
Cigar wrappers	1	...	...	...	...	28	...	48	29	-19

Agaña, 31 December 1860.

Felipe de la Corte.

Notes:

1. The total number of inhabitants of Saipan Island is the same number as 1859, because the nominal rolls and other documents corresponding to 1860 have not been received.

2. [Emigration:] In this report, there appears a considerable decrease of 330 males, because we removed all those who appeared before in the rolls as being aboard whaling ships since the first time they came to these islands and whose existence and whereabouts are unknown; therefore, these supposed inhabitants do not exist and their number amounts to 386, so that an apparent decrease of 330 today really means an increase of 56.

Document 1859R

**Misadventures of some sailors at and near
Pohnpei**

Source: Article in the Mercantile Gazette and Prices Current, San Francisco, Feb. 28, 1861.

Whalers.

Per **Naiad**, at this port Feb. 21 [1861], from Bartholomew Bay.—June 28th [1860], off Ascension Island, spoke whale ship **General Williams**, Fisk, 6 whales; reports having lost his first mate, Mr. Silva, and one of the crew, about Dec. 1st, by the upsetting of a boat at Ascension Island.

Same day spoke whale ship **Cambria**, Pease, 3 whales; Capt. Pease brought on board a deserter from whale bark **Isabella**; her boat had upset on the night of January 25th [1860], about 24 miles below Ascension Island; he was the only one saved of a boat's crew of five men who had deserted from the ship; had been two days without food and water.

Document 1860A

Reverend Dr. Gulick's descriptions of Micronesia—Part 2: 1860-62 “Lectures on Micronesia”

Sources: The Polynesian (Honolulu), 1860 & 1861; reprinted in the Nautical Magazine in 1862 (pages 169-182, 237-245, 298-308, 358-363, 408-417), and in the Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society in 1944.

Note: Only the first three lectures were delivered before an audience—two at the Front Street Church in Honolulu, and one at the Bethel. Many of Dr. Gulick's facts were incorrect; however, some are left as is, to show that he was a possible source of errors for later writers; the true facts can always be found in their chronological place in the HM series.

Extracts from these lectures.

LECTURE 1 — THE LADRONE AND CAROLINE ISLANDS.

1
...

LECTURE 2 — PONAPI AND THE PONAPIAN

Ponapi, also called Ascension Island, is perhaps the third in importance of the "high" or basaltic groups of the Caroline or West Micronesian Islands. The centre of the island is in lat. 6°55' N. and long. 158°25' E. It may have been first seen by Quiros in 1595, on his voyage to the Philippines from Santa Cruz, after the abandonment of the unfortunate attempt to settle there. M. de Freycinet supposes that the island seen to have been Hogoleu, but the description given seems to be that one large island with a circumference of thirty leagues, which much better corresponds to Ponapi than Hogoleu, to which M. Duperrey inclines.

Subsequently to Quiros, the island was no doubt occasionally seen, but not reported. There is a native tradition of a boat's company having landed on the south side of the island, who had such peculiar skins they could only be killed by piercing their eyes. They were probably Spniards clothed in mail. Several accounts speak of ships having been seen, when they were supposed to be islands rising up out of and subsiding into the sea. Such phenomena were much feared, and while they were in view people fled from the shores and the priests drank *ava* for the "spirits'" interposition until the

1 Ed. note: There are too many factual errors and inconsistencies to be worth reproducing here.

dreaded objects disappeared. Twenty years ago there was in the Metalanim tribe a figurehead much resembling that of a junk, and the natives told the whites who saw it that it belonged to a vessel wrecked here, which first brought fowls to the island, and even to this day they give the names of the foreigners who landed from the vessel. One old chief of the Kiti tribe, not long since deceased, when but a young man, with more than usual boldness, went on board a passing vessel and received a China bowl and a copper tea-pot, which have been seen by an Englishman still resident on the island. A few Spanish silver coins and a silver crucifix were a few years since discovered in the vaults of the celebrated ruins at Metalanim. A pair of silver dividers was once found in the ruin of an old house at Kiti, and inland from there a brass cannon was some time since discovered and taken from the island. Yet Ponapi cannot be said to have been discovered till Lutke, of the Russian corvette **Seniavin** first saw it, Jan. 2d, 1828.

...
Few of the island races have a more pleasing physiognomy than the Ponapian. There is something in the sprightly eye and the refined features of many of them that differs much from the gross, unmarked animality of a large number of the inhabitants of Oceania. The men dressed in their skirt of the leaflets of the cocoanut, neatly bleached and attached to a string tied about the hips, exhibit their whole body, of which they are in general justly proud. The human frame is seldom seen to better advantage than when a Ponapian stands firmly erect on the quivering prow of his slight canoe, fearless and proud as a captain on his quarter-deck, his eyes peering the waters ahead, and every muscle tense, in readiness to launch a long, spear-like stick held in one hand, and poised on the opposite forearm at some inhabitant of the deep. Nor are the attractions of the females at all inferior. Not that all are beauties, but many are of a high order of grace; their former order of dress consisted of only a piece of cloth about the hips.

There is, as many have remarked, a great variety of countenance. One is often reminded of some familiar face in the distant home-land of the white man. The high forehead, large in the region of causality, the delicate eye-brow, the piercing black eye, the long slender aquiline nose, the thin, expressive lip, and gently rounded chin, are not uncommon, particularly among the younger and more delicately raised. The complexion of many, especially among the females, is frequently of a light olive color, scarcely deeper than that of many a brunette. This appearance is heightened by daily applications of the expressed juice of the turmeric tubers, which, combined with long, jetty tresses tastefully knotted up, and retained by a fragrant wreath, prepared by the gently tapered fingers of the beauty herself, completes the beau ideal of a Ponapian nymph.

The children are often remarkably attractive. The thin, pale skin, the bright, dancing eye, the exquisite mould of body and limb, with the instinctive grace, guiltless of bashfulness even when nude, makes one's heart yearn to guide them to something higher and purer than they can possibly receive from dark-minded parents.

But to be more particular and to state the more generally prevalent characteristics:

The hair of the Ponapian is jet black, generally quite straight, but often quite curly, and occasionally very much so. His skin is that which I should think properly called

copper-colored. It may be of a slightly lighter shade than is the prevalent one through Polynesia, but M. Lesson's term "citron-yellow" is too strong either for the inhabitants of this island or of the other Micronesian groups, though, when protected, the complexion does indeed lose its deeper tints, as is also true of all the Malayo-Polynesian races.

And, to complete the parallel, there are individuals, born before the discovery of the islands, and not in the slightest degree more exposed than the mass, whose skin is so very much darker as to suggest the possibility of a negritic infusion from the large Melanesian islands so few degrees to the south. I cannot think these varieties of tint anything more, however, than that which is always found in the different members of almost every race, and particularly those of the Pelagian family.

In stature the Ponapian is slightly below the European average, which comes, as in the New Englander, from a shortening of the leg. There are many large, strongly built men, but the prevailing type of that of wiry agility. It think it palpable that the size of the males in particular is decreasing from contact with civilization.

The cerebral developments are good. The frontal region seldom retreats in any marked degree, and is often finely protuberant. The parietal diameter is, I think, rather small and the anterior posterior somewhat prolonged, yet not so decidedly as to require that they be termed more than slightly prognathous.

There is something pleasing in the general cast of their countenances. The jet black eye, the regularly formed face, but slightly broader than with ourselves, the nose somewhat heavy, low and coarse, though but seldom repulsive, the perfect teeth, and the small, delicately attached ear, save when artificially deformed, is the portrait of an islander possessed of more than usual attractiveness and intelligence.

The mental characteristics of these people are as favorable as their physical. Like their bodies, their minds are more quick and sprightly than strong and forcible. There is very little of that stolidity so frequent among the degraded races, and very little of that power found among others. Their temperament is mercurial. In matters of any interest at all to them they readily acquire knowledge; as, for instance, the acquisition of the English language. Very many of them are quite familiar with that sailor's "lingo," which is almost the only one they have heard. Those few individuals who have been to sea are among the very quickest of islanders in picking facts and making themselves useful. They are usually favorites wherever they go abroad from their native island. In teaching them to read, though there are various grades of sprightliness and readiness, there is a general quickness of apprehension that makes the task most pleasing. In training the youth to domestic services, they find scarce any difficulty in performing all the various duties of cooks and stewards, the only drawback being that all but invincible independence of feeling which seems to be a servant for anyone toward whom they can contrive to exercise any feeling of equality. The processes of education have not yet been carried sufficiently far to test the supposition, but there is no reason to suppose that this readiness will extend to the abstruse sciences; probably, as in all similar races, their minds stop short of the deeply ratiocinative.

It is hardly just to decide upon the full power of the native mind from the generation now on the stage, so greatly deteriorated from contact from the civilized world during now nearly thirty years. Being so small a body of people, they have very severely felt the full stream of foreign contaminations, and have not had the requisite vigor for reacting under it. The process of decay has been very marked during the last seven years. Occasionally even exhibitions are however made of no contemptible power and ingenuity; but it is the evidence from former times that is conclusive of no mean measure of enterprise and ability.

The largest of their present canoes will carry from ten to fifteen men, but during the generation before their discovery their larger craft as well deserved the name of proas, as do those now made at the Marshall and the western Caroline Islands. There still remain a few fine specimens of native architecture in a large feast house and royal dwelling or two; and the finish of very many of their houses speaks of more than ordinary nicety and mechanical resource; but the exhibitions in this line are very much less remarkable than formerly, both in magnitude and finish. An examination of the so-called "ruins" on Ponapi demonstrates that this people had originally no slight measure of laborious energy. And the voyages they once performed to Mokil, Pingelap, Ngatik, and perhaps even to Kusaie, tell of bold nautical knowledge and enterprise, not a whit behind that of the [other] Micronesians.

Morally, the Ponapian has many pleasing characteristics, though dashed by defects and obliquities that inevitably establish the unity with the human family in other zones.

It may quite safely be said that they are destitute of pure moral principle. When truthful, honest and virtuous, it is because present interest constrains; and generally the strongest of even present interests will not secure such high principle action. Their minds have but the smallest traces of that magnanimity so often the attribute of savages. All is contracted, like their island itself. Liberality in sharing food is forced upon them by Nature's liberality in giving it; but in little else is generosity seen. Gifts are, it is true, constantly with great prodigality, but they are either semi-forced contributions to a superior, or even larger returns are without fail to be expected. There is a something that can be hastily termed, transparent candor and openness of character, incapable of deep, dark crimes, necessitating concealment; but that they cannot keep secrets comes from a want of mental character sufficient to retain them. All seems loosely bound, and a secret escapes simply because there is no mode of detaining it. They are affectionate and kind within the bounds of close relationship, but outside of it their hearts are in general callous as those of the so-called civilized worlds that visit them, from whom they have learned to be especially unkind and unsympathizing to all foreigners. Their minds are extremely prone to suspiciousness and displeasures, but there seems to be no basis for the darker shades of sullen moroseness, and consequently they are placable, and their alienations are healed with comparative ease, only however to disengage the mind from other frivolous contentions. Seldom do we hear of ferocious revenge, but the art of contriving adroit slights and insults is carried out to a very considerable perfection. The Malayan trait of deception is carried on as far as their loose characters permit. They

might be termed a cheerful people, agitated by no fervent passions, but there is a constant simmering of low intrigue and jealousy through every grade of their limited society, that as effectually destroys the exuberant effervescence of pleasure as of deeper passion.

Let us look at infancy and childhood. But imagine a babe, unceremoniously born in the corner of an unpartitioned hut. During the first moments of its life, it feels the application of a dirty, moist sponge, and is shortly taken, probably by the mother herself, to some neighboring pool or stream. Further imagine its earlier months nakedness in the naked arms and bosom of its mother, no process of nature concealed, no desire unrestrained. As it needs grow past the supplies of nourishment its mother affords, imagine that mother filling her mouth with pure water, or water of the cocoanut, and then applying her lips to those of the child, gently squeezing the fluid into its passive organs, each intermission being a notice to the child that now is the time to swallow the amount received. If it be something more substantial the child is supposed to need, a yellow plantain is judged peculiarly healthy. It is chewed by the mother or nurse, and then passed by a similar process into the child's mouth. Still further imagine this child advancing in years, humored in all its whims, crawling then walking in nothing but Nature's costume, in unrestrained acquaintance with the instincts and necessities of both the human and brute creation. Picture it the subject of some ill-tempered disciplinary blow, sprawling on the ground, and venting its anger in outrageous screeching while one of the parents probably takes its part, and upbraids the other who administered the blow. Many a day will that child have nothing to eat till its parents have returned from fishing or from feasting. Imagine then this "father of the man," searching the beach for some sweet-morseled slug or shell-fish, or wandering into the neighboring "bush" after some crab or bird or berry. But see it squat like any beast, and tear or pound its prey to pieces as it has seen its parents do; then see it chewing or smacking its lips over the raw quivering fish, or over the slightly roasted crab, parts of which yet struggle on the smoking childish fire. Or again imagine it now that its parent is about to kindle an oven far towards noon or near evening after we should call a fast of several days. The child is now six or eight years old, and if a boy, can begin to render considerable assistance in all the lighter departments of labor. The fire being kindled and the fuel arranged by older hands, the younger ones may assist in piling up the stones over the woodo. The stones are blackened by the smoke of many fires, and of course hands and feet and any parts to which they are applied, are begrimed with the tokens of a coming meal. The stones being sufficiently heated, all hands are in requisition, first to pull the pile to pieces and removed the unconsumed sticks, then to spread out the stones, and arrange the food on them, and finally to cover the whole with leaves and grass. Our ideal youth is probably by this time thoroughly besmeared. He may possibly rinse himself in some puddle or stream, but much more probably you will find him returned to his sports, or bestreaked with smut, sitting under the oven shed, perched on a stone or log, regaling himself on the delicious vapors that are fast causing the se-

cretion of gastric fluids in delicious expectancy of the half of a bread-fruit or the end of a yam.

Many a phase of Ponape infancy must be left untouched but the above may furnish some glimpses of that initiatory period during all the important elements of its education are received. This period passed this mind is forever brutish. As well change the Ethiopian's skin as reconstruct its mental and moral, not to say physical condition. Raw fish will ever after be for it the choicest of delicacies, nudity its natural habiliment, and sensuality its involuntary temper. Its naked-bosomed mother will indeed ever be something object of instinctive affection, but how different from that refined homage the child of civilization pays her.

*"Pictured in memory's mellow glass, how sweet
Our infant days, our infant joys to greet!"*

But awful chasms separate the retrospective joys of a Ponape savage from those of a Henry Kirke White. Let the philanthropist and the friend of "missions" but vividly realize the heathen's infancy, and his wonder will cease that generations must lapse ere a race can be civilized, and his interpretations of missionary reports will be rendered much more rational. How difficult is it generally for the missionary to report any progress without conveying to his patrons and readers the idea of a much higher rise in the intellectual and Christian scale than at all comports with fact, or with what is possible in those whose whole infancy has been but an arid blank, a period of gross animality. A rise of a degree is reported, and each reader fixes the point from which the rise took place according to the measure of his knowledge of the heathen's degradation. Even the missionary himself almost invariably places it too high, and is consequently often miserably disappointed in his protégés. The homoe Christian thinks himself very sagacious in putting the level of heathen degradation at freezing point, while he who studies heathen infancy in its native hovel, reduces the point to zero of Fahrenheit, and even his estimates frequently prove all too sanguine, so difficult is it to plumb the depths of degradation from the heights of Christian civilization. As in the earlier "deep sea soundings," our plumb lines part, or the specific gravity of the nether waters interrupts the lead's descent, or the deeper currents sway our lines.

LECTURE 3 — KUSAIE AND THE KUSAIEN

Kusaie, or Strong's Island, is the most eastern of those islands which may be comprehended in the Caroline Range. It is a basaltic island in lat. 5°20' N. and long. 163°10' E.

Let us suppose ourselves approaching it for the first time from the northeast, as our missionary company did on the 21st of August 1852. Three small peaks appear, so far apart it is difficult the impression that more than one island is seen. But gradually as we approach the whole is united in one. Our winds are light, and we advance but slowly.

Sabbath morning we awake with the island only fifteen or twenty miles distant. The whole landscape is flooded with hues of deeper green. Such a perfect garment of vegetation we never before saw thrown over connected hills and vallies. The sharply serrated hills, stretching a distance of fifteen miles from north to south, some of which are near two thousand feet in height, are romantic in verdure even up to the greater part of the precipitous faces of the basaltic pinnacles. Unaccustomed as our eyes then were to such tropic scenes, the apparition of Kusaie on a peaceful Sabbath morning was like a glimpse of celestial hills.

*“Nor painter's art nor poet's skill can tell
Half the enchantment of that vision bright,
When first your green shores swell upon the sight.”*

Ere long a whale-boat approaches with a white man in its stern and six or eight nearly natives seated on its gunwales, keeping admirable time with long, narrow paddles. They are soon aboard of us. Their dress is a *maro* woven from banana fibres. In stature they are generally small. All the features of their countenance are small and rather delicate. Their color is a light copper. Their eyes have a slightly oblique and sunken position, which immediately reminds one of the Chinese; and their long, fine, black hair, all drawn backward and tied upon itself in a large knot on the back or side of the head, still further heightens their Chinese appearance. As on most of the Pacific Islands, there are individuals of a darker cast and coarser hair. Their ears are small, but the lower lobe is perforated, and flowers, with other fragrant substances, such as tobacco pipes, are worn in them. A few perforate the upper rim of their ear, as a more convenient place for the tobacco pipe they almost invariably carry with them. Though ignorant, degraded and naked, they are among the most pleasing of savages.

At four P.M., we are brought safely to our anchor in the so-called Weather Harbor on the north-east side of the island. A number of natives come off and loiter familiarly about our decks. Very many understand our common sailor's English, and speak it with much distinctness. Within a few rods of us to the north, the King's houses close to the beach peer out from under a cocoanut grove, exhibiting the huge Kusaie roof, with its ridge peculiarly concave upwards, and here and there around the bay the white glimmer of thatched roofs is seen amidst the deep green that mantled the whole amphitheatre.

The idea that the harbor is but a large extinct, and partially submerged crater, greatly enhances the interest of a scene already surcharged with novelty. Whether it has been in the first instance, during some of its earlier eras, a submarine volcano, afterwards elevated to the regions of day, and denuded in the process, and has again undergone a partial subsidence, during the coral element was developed around and in it, must be left to others for final adjudication.

The rampart of basalt towers, with its sharp serrations so near on the south, and the hill of Lella [Lelu] and Mount Buache press so close on the north, while the lower mural line connecting them can be traced over the tree tops in the west, shutting off the later rays of the sun as the eastern spur of the southern mountains does its earlier, one feels when safely moored in the placid lagoon, whose shores wave with a many-leaved thicket, and whose shoaler waters ripple over gardens of coral, that Nature here admits of a more than usually near approach to her maternal bosom. After floating uneasily for weeks on the restless sea, our vessel seems to fold its wings and nestle down like any sea-bird upon the placid lagoon, thankful to the Beneficent One who elevates such rocky battlements among the waves by a mechanism that witnesses to his omnipotence.

How wondrous the chemistry, how countless the ages, required for crumbling these compact submarine rocks, that when first elevated above the denuding flood must have been more barren and naked than even an aerial crater! Upon what tablets shall we find the annals of the various successive acts that here called into being the high-waving forests and all the members of the lower thickets, the entangling vine and the shining mosses, and that gave life to so many of the lower orders of animal nature!

In the rich vegetable mould that has accumulated around the once bare basalt luxuriate several species of the terrestrial pulmoniferous shells. Very many molluscous shellfish crawl over the coralline wainscoting of this marine palace, a part of whose adornment they have from the beginning been; while others borrow in the acrid mud along the shore, and still others accomplish a life-long bath in the springs and streams that must have drenched the earliest of their race.

Many a sprightly crab rattles its shelly limbs over the pebbles of the shore and the rocks of the upland, dodging into its burrows and meeting in crustaceous assembly under the gentle moon, as did its progenitors on this their Eden, where the mandate was first laid upon them to "be fruitful and multiply." So do the various spiders here spin their web and watch their prey, as did their Kusaian Adams and Eves. Here the house-fly has buzzed, certainly, ever since fish began to decay and breadfruit to ripen. Generations upon generations of the consciously degraded cockroaches have with unceasing devotion accomplished their tasks; while the raptorial dragon-fly has glared upon its minute prey as its organic law required. Black, green, striped and speckled lizards have dashed upon the rustling sachusetts leaf-bed, climbed the dizzy trees, and basked on the sunny slopes of their rocky homes. Sea-birds have for ages each morning sped arrow-like to fish on the distant horizon, and have nightly flocked babbling homeward to their undisturbed eyries in the tops of the sea-loving mangrove. Beautiful

oceanic pigeons have cooed love to their mates with unfailing fidelity since the fifth Kusaian creation day.

...

Ages lapse... At intervals of generations a wondrous apparition with mast and sail is wafted past them, which so fires the imagination of some daring mind that he prophecies future intercourse with a race navigating the sea in canoes destitute of outriggers. And lo the wizard proves a seer!

In 1804 Capt. Crozer [rather Crocker] discovers [sic] Kusaie and reports it to the civilized world as Strong's Island, after the then-Governor of Massachusetts.¹ In 1824 the French commander Duperrey visits Kusaie and thoroughly explores it.

Among the earlier of these long anticipated objects of Kusaian prophecy is the schooner **Waverly**, Capt. Cathcart, fitted out from the Sandwich Islands, and who in the winter of 1835 anchored probably a few rods from where we now lay. She is welcomed with eager curiosity and generous hospitality. But hush! Can you not even yet hear echoing round this enchanted valley the screeching horror of murdered white men and the yelling triumph of yelling savages? Kusaian friendship is horrid mockery—this beautiful landscape is red with treachery. A few months later in the same year Capt. Stock [rather Scott] in the small trading schooner **Honduras** lost his life in this harbor. All but two of his crew were killed, who effected their escape in the vessel to Ponapi.

Oh for an avenging sword! Yet hold! Your attention but for a moment for a few lines regarding the **Waverly** in the language of the of a more recent Kusaian King not engaged in the affair. "White man want to get gal go aboard ship. King no like. In night white man tke plenty gal go board ship. In morning kanaka go board ship; every kanaka,² big island, small island, all go and kill every man board ship. White man kill some kanakas; then kanakas take chests, small things ashore; then set fire to ship; burn sails, rigging, spars, casks, everything belonging to ship. Every white man was killed."

The Sabbath past, we will accompany the missionary company on their visit to the King and their ramble on shore.

Close to the shore near which we lay was the King's enclosure, made of rattan-like reeds, within which ere several large houses. At the door of one of these we found King George awaiting our arrival. As we each in order shook his hand, he stood about this door for a few moments and were then asked to enter by another. We took our seats on a number of forerign chests arranged on one side of the apartment.

The King's proper name was Keru. His native title, the Kusaian term for King, is **Tokesau**—a term found in various parts o Micronesia, sometimes even applied to a Deity. The title of George, by which alone he will descent to after times, came from foreign flatterers such as are ever ready to infest even a court of naked savages. His reign must have commenced in 1837 or 1838.

1 Ed. note: Capt. Crocker arrived after some Frenchmen had already been there.

2 Ed. note: Including the narrator, of course.

Our eyes rapidly indulge their curiosity in glancing around the room, which constitutes the whole house. The frame is of large side posts of mangrove projecting about five feet above the ground, on which a largely disproportionate roof is erected, principally of hibiscus wood, and made to curve upwards at the two ends. It is thatched with a species of palm. The sides of the house between the posts are closely filled with slats or laths of hibiscus very neatly tied one above the other, slightly lapping. In the center is a square fireplace, slightly lower than the surrounding floor of reeds regularly bound together. There is a very pleasant air of neatness and taste about the whole. The fastenings of cord, so very numerous and conspicuous, are rendered quite ornamental by using alternately black and white cordage. Valuables of native origin may be seen on long shelves along the sides of the room. There are woven maros, and pearl fish-hooks, and pieces of tortoise-shell, and stone adzes, and singular ornaments of shells to be carried on the canoes of chiefs.

Several guns stand conspicuously on one side, and a lantern, a few watercolored prints, a cocoanut dipper, a lamp and other such articles as form the furniture and decorations of a vessel, stood or hung in different parts of the room, arranged with the evident intent of exhibiting King George's foreign wealth Solomon might have exhibited his peacocks and monkeys from Tarshish.

Having successfully accomplished the missionary object of our visit, which have been recorded in the *Missionary Herald*, we asked permission to look about. First we entered the King's cooking or feasting house—a very huge building after the general model, where fifteen or twenty men were busily engaged over the various niceties of a Kusaie meal, the great staple of which is breadfruit prepared in all the various ways that an ingenuity with few appliances, for long centuries confined to a few such channels of enterprise, has devised. The next house within the royal enclosure, made of high reeds and floored with the same, was where the dead body of the King's daughter was kept, who died three months before. Ten women, the King himself told us, as he escorted us about the premises, watched and anointed the body, and kept up a fire day and night. He requested us not to pass before the front door of the house, and his whole aspect in speaking of his bereavement, which he did in broken English, was with a refined sadness that quite won our hearts. The usual custom is, after death to anoint the body with cocoanut oil, then carefully to wrap it in mats and bind it from head to foot with colored cordage. Within two or three days it is buried in a grave and left for about three months, when it is dug up, the bones carefully washed and tied together and then sunk in a particular spot in the waters of the harbor. During the period of embalming and watching, all the high chiefs live and eat in the King's yard. It was from the King's special affection for his daughter that she was kept unburied.

It was about noon when we bade King George "good morning," to visit Kanker, his eldest son, and wander among the wondrous scenes of Lela.

From M. D'Urville's reports and from the accounts of sea captains we had received glowing ideas of the architectural exhibitions on Lela; we were to find a native city handsomely laid out, with paved streets, and at frequent intervals handsome piles of stone-

cut masonry. On the contrary, we found nothing but muddy paths, zigzagging hither and thither over rubbish and stones. There were many stone walls three or four feet high, evidently of very recent origin; and scattered among the groves were indeed evidences of ancient labor consisting of artificial islets, built up above high-tide level, and almost cyclopien lines and enclosures of stone walls. Banyan-like trees had in many cases sent their roots into the very center of these structures, and from some spots the stones have been entirely removed. A line of stones, varying in height in different parts, surroundse a considerable portion of the central hill of Lela. Not far from the King's and his eldest son's residences are several enclosures about two hundred by one hundred feet, with walls twenty feet high, and in some places at the foundations twelve feet thick. We partially traced at least one very much larger but less perfect enclosure. The walls are built of basaltic stones occasionally filled with coral. Some of the rocks are very large irregular masses, while others are beautifully pentagonal prisms. There is not the remotest trace upon any of them of a stone-cutter's adze. Along the south-western shore are a number of canals communicating with the harbor and in which the sea ebbs and flows. The sides of the canals are in some cases crumbled, but bear evident tokens of having been artificially built; and the islets themselves are evidently in a considerable degree artificial, composed principally of coral stones, the rubbles perhaps of the canals themselves. These canals intersected each other, and so formed islets, on at least one of which is found a towering stone enclosure. Mangrove trees have in many cases choked up these watery courses, and with other kind of trees on the islets have nearly buried the whole in a shade most congenial with the thoughts excited by these relics of a dimmer age than that which we might hope had now dawned upon them

King George afterward informed us tht these walls were built by the former inhabitants. Many of the larger rocks were brought from the main island on rafts. When we asked how such heavy blocks could be elevated so high, he replied they were rolled up from one level to another on inclined planes of logs and stones. As to their uses, he said the wall about the hill was from defense from aggressors from the main island, and that many of the remaining walls were in honor of the dead. Nothing could be more probable and satisfactory; nor could anything could be more improbable or unsatisfactory than to import a company of buccaneers, or any civilized people, to build what could not be at all to their purpose, nor to the credit of their architectural talents, and what it would have been morally impossible for them to have done. The inhabitants of Kusaie are even now skilled in wall building. We were told that one of their most decisive evidence of their public grief is to rebuild the wall about the premises of a bereaved chief; and to this day the chiefs are buried in one of the ancient enclosures, as though they were the mausoleums of the great. Possibly they may in the first instance have been built about royal residences, and on the decease of the builders have become their magnificent sepulchres, though the analogy of present Micronoesian custom decides against it.

The heart is deeply stirred on penetrating these damp thickets to find beneath coconut, breadfruit, orange, banyan and other unknown varieties of trees, such worthy

memorials of rude, by-gone ages when human force was no small element in diversifying the bowl of this romantic crater. No wonder the living descendents of such efficient ancestors walk proudly in the shadow of such greatness—a greatness vastly more overpowering to them than us, but respectable to any who consider with what meagre appliances these Kusaien Sennacheribs and Pharaohs executed their despotic wills. How interesting to find posthumous fame as potent on an island for ages separated from the mass of humanity as in any crowded center of empire—to find it as true in a savage, as a civilized race that

*“When souls take fire
At high presumptions of their own deserts,
One age is poor applause; the mighty shout
The thunder by the living few begun;
Late time must echo; worlds unborn resound.”*

The foreigner is tempted to suppose the present inhabitants uninterested and totally ignorant of the origin of these structures; and though it must be confessed his interest partakes of the stolidity and frivolity of his whole mind, it is an error so to skim the surface as to be unconscious of the many links drawing them into daily contact with their mighty progenitors. All these illustrious dead are *anut*, spirits, more or less operative on the interests of their descendants. They must be respected; great care must be taken not to offend them. Some of the most potent of them are daily remembered in prayer and religious forms, and are at stated seasons honored by laborous offering at or near these wondrous, roofless tombs.

Thus do these people worship in common with all Micronesians. They do indeed recognize and worship very many self-originating deities, supreme over some one or other realm of nature. But those which are palpably but deceased ancestors are sometimes so highly exalted in the minds of their successors they are called self-existent; and the worship paid both classes partakes of the same general nature; certain peculiar objects, generally singular rocks, being elected as the points to which they direct the ceremonies intended for the more purely self-existent divinities. The line of demarkation between the two classes of spirits is by no means a palpable one and but little of error will be committed in speaking of their religious system as ancestral, mingled with the fear of imaginary deities, with innumerable superstitions, beliefs in incantations and processes of divinations.

During our ramble we saw the feminine costume of a strip of cloth, five or six feet in length and nine inches broad, woven like the men's maros from banana fibres, and wound about the hips. Their hair is long, and their ears are enormously bored, so that whatever natural beauty she may possess, and however the nakedness of the men may be tolerated, the females of this island repel every virtuous mind.¹

The respect paid the king on this island is excessive. All bow low in his presence and approach him on their hands and knees, even his own son; and none dare raise his voice

1 Ed. noteo: Because their breasts were exposed.

above an undertone. He is never looked at directly by those at whom he is looking; and all business as he passes.

On a succeeding day several of our number started to visit the Lee or West Harbor going by the northern shore, and returning by a direct line across land, enjoying the tramp along and in the mangrove swamps and over the coral flats, and then homeward through the dripping forests brilliant with flowers and vocal with the cooing of pigeons. It was at the Lee Harbor that the American whaleship *Henrietta* [sic] was cut off in 1842.¹ This also was, it is said, the consequence of foreign crime in ravishing daughters and wives, and detaining them on board.²

This was the 1st, however, of these deeds of violence on Kusaie. Vessels soon found the natives had "learned better" than to refuse them their females, and they more and more resorted there till the establishment of our mission in October, 1852, when the Rev. Mr. Snow took a post he still maintains. The open unblushing vice of former days on board vessels has ceased on Kusaie. It need not be more than remarked in view of the late discussions on this subject that this open permission, and even desire for, females on board ships for sin, is still practised in many of the darker ports of Micronesia, and is bringing on other islands the same sad disaster already brought on Kusaie. It is this permission of open vice on ships which it seems to me should be distinctly told the public, when still practised.

The population of Kusaie was in 1852 estimated at 1,200 or 1,300. It is now only about 700. The whole population seems saturated with the disease which is the wages of sin, and it is still rapidly on the decrease. The heart-sickening details given by their missionary should be read, to excite all in this Christian community to sympathy and action for him and his people.

There is much that can be done by every Christian in praying for mercy on Kusaie. There is much that may be done for Kusaie by each, virtuous member of society in this large sea-port [i.e. Honolulu] in resolutely countenancing only virtue. There is much also for public men in Honolulu to do for Kusaie, and all Micronesia, in holding before the sea-faring world the fact of the existence, even in our Pacific Ocean, of a Higher Law on the subject of morality than any dictate of human expediency or pleasure.

1 Ed. note: Rather, it was the English whaleship *Harriet*.

2 See *Friend*, November, 1854.

LECTURE 4 — THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

This archipelago has, for the last thirty-years, been the least known and the most dreaded of the Micronesian islands. It lies in the angle between the Caroline Islands to the west and the Gilbert Islands to the south. Its various groups range from lat. 4° to 12° N. and from long. 165° to 172° E.

Two lines or chains of islands, lying nearly parallel to each other, and running north-west and southeast, are included the name Marshall Islands. The more eastern is the Ratak, and the western is the Ralik. Each chain numbers fifteen low coralline islands. Several of these islands are very small, without lagoons; but the greater number are fully formed atolls, and some of them are of immense size.

It seems to me next to certain that Alvaro de Saavedra, in 1529, visited islands in both the Ralik and Ratak chains, when on his attempted return to New Spain from the East Indies via Papua. When steering east-north-east from Papua, or as the Spaniards called it, the Island of Gold, they came to a group of small islands in 7° N. They were inhabited by natives of a dark color, who wore beards, and whose bodies were marked as if with an iron. In consequence of this marking, which was undoubtedly tattooing, and of which this is the earliest notice I have seen, the islands were called Los Pintados, or Islands of the Painted People.

The reception of the Spaniards at this island was too hostile for comfort, and they passed on to the northeast thirty leagues, when another group of low islands was seen, the inhabitants of which received them so kindly that the voyagers named their discovery the Good Gardens. The inhabitants of this group were light colored like those of the first, and like them were painted or marked. The women, it is said, appeared beautiful; they had long black hair and wore coverings of very fine matting—a description that answers well to the females of the present day on the Marshall Islands, and to no others of the Micronesian Islands. It is further recorded that their canoes were made of fine wood, which is at certain seasons drifted there—a fact which is still to be observed on the Marshall Islands, though the principal wood used in building proas is the breadfruit. The natives supplied their visitors with two thousand cocoanuts, which next to the pandanus, is the staple of all the low islands.

This Saavedra was he who first suggested the idea of a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, and who, had he lived, seriously intended attempting its execution. His grand, but perhaps impracticable purpose, was however frustrated by his death only a few days after leaving the Good Gardens.

More than two centuries passed before these islands were, so far as we know, again visited. In 1767 Capt. Wallis, of the English Navy, discovered two groups in the northern extreme of the Ralik chain, which is supposed to be the Pescadores found on the [Spanish] charts by Anson, who passed near this region in 1742 on his way to Tinian of the Ladrone Islands. These groups are undoubtedly the Ailingenae and Rongerik of the natives, and the Rimski-Korsakoff Islands of Kotzebue.

In 1788 the ships **Scarborough** and **Charlotte**, under the command of Capt. Marshall and Gilbert, of the English Navy, returned to China from Port Jackson, where

they had been to commence the first English colony in Australia, and on their route they struck first on the northern portion of what has since by Krusenstern, been called the Gilbert Islands, and then upon the eastern chain of what, by the same authority, has been called the Marshall Islands. The report of these discoveries were given by Governor Philips, who accompanied the expedition, but it is said by Findlay to have been a "loose account," and did not add materially to a knowledge of the inhabitants.

In 1792 Capt. Bond discovered two of the Ralik Islands, and in 1797 Capt. Dermott still another. Capt. Bishop, of the *Nautilus*, in 1799, passed several of the Ratak Islands seen by the last voyagers, and discovered one or two not before reported. In 1804, the English *Ocean*, and again in 1809 the brig *Elizabeth*, saw several of the middle Ratak Islands. But of all others, the most important name connected with Marshall Islands is that of Kotzebue, of the Russian Navy.

In May, 1816, Kotzebue first saw the closely connected groups of Taka and Utirik, while on his way to the north. In January succeeding, after recruiting at the Sandwich Islands, he again visited this region and discovered and thoroughly explored the greater number of the Ratak Islands. In October of the same year, he again returned directly from the north to these islands, and added still another group to his discoveries, so leaving only the three southern atolls of the range unexplored. In October, 1825, on his second voyage, he again visited these islands and added to his former explorations the four most northern groups of the Ralik Islands, the most eastern and western of which may be called discoveries, though he made most singular and confusing mistakes in giving the native names—mistakes never before noticed, and which long perplexed the writer of the present paper, who feels that he is able for the first time to present a tolerably correct chart of the Marshall Islands. The data upon which this chart is based are collected in another paper and will in due time be published.

Kotzebue's merits in connection with the Marshall Islands are very considerable. He first gave an account of the inhabitants, in a graphic narrative that correctly depicts the islands and the external life of the inhabitants, so far as he had time for observing it. His reports of their habits of thought and feeling, were, as a matter of course, far too highly colored and very defective. The efforts made by himself and the celebrated naturalist, Chamisso, who accompanied him, to introduce new plants, and so add to the limited resources of the people, were certainly very commendable, but nothing ever came of them, from the innumerable rats, and the ignorance of the people, and above all from the utter incompatibility of the soil with foreign vegetables.

But a few months since, I saw a native of the Ratak chain who told me of the visit paid their islands long ago by a ship whose commander was named Tobu—undoubtedly Kotzebue—and he correctly named to me the islands visited by him. The same name also occurs in some of the songs of even the Ralik islanders.

It seems unnecessary, for the sake of enhancing Kotzebue's merits, to claim for him the discovery of the greater number of the Ralik Islands, as was done by Krusenstern, and to suggest that Captains Marshall and Gilbert discovered the Ralik range. Though there are many discrepancies hard to reconcile, it is but just to recognize the prior claims

of the English navigators, and to acknowledge that Kotzebue first definitely located them on our charts.¹

The next source of information regarding the Marshall Islands was in 1824, when a part of the crew of an American whaleship **Globe** mutinied and landed on Mili, or the Mulgrave group, which is the most southern of the Ratak Islands. A few of the crew regained the vessel and navigated her to the Sandwich Islands.² In December, 1825, the United States Schooner **Dolphin**, having been sent for that purpose, arrived off the island and took Lay and Hussey, who were all that remained of the mutineering company. They subsequently published a narrative of their residence on Mili. The mutineers were killed by the natives in revenge for their brutal treatment of the females they took for wives. In 1858 the Rev. Mr. Doane visited this group, and the spot where the **Globe** was anchored, together with the islet where the mutineers lived, were shown him.

In 1824, Capt. George Ray discovered Ebon, or Boston Island, the most southern of the Ralik Islands. It was in 1824 that Capt. Duperrey passed Mili, and also touched at Jaluit of the Ralik Islands. Again in the years 1829, 1831, 1832 and 1835, Captains Chramtschenko and Hagemeister, and Shans, of the Russian Navy, passed several of the central Ralik Islands. But notwithstanding these many visitations the Ralik Islands are yet most incorrectly represented on all our charts—which comes principally from the reports not having been implicitly followed by the compilers of our charts.

Events of violence commenced in the Marshall Islands in 1834, when Capt. Dowsett visited the so-called Piscadores.³ Here his boat's crew was cut off while he himself had gone inland, holding friendly intercourse as it would seem with the natives of the village. Those left in command of the vessel became alarmed on seeing the skirmish on the beach, of which the Captain was probably ignorant, and immediately putting to sea, returned to the Sandwich Islands. The same year the **Waverly** was fitted out from Honolulu to search for Capt. Dowsett. On arriving at the island the name of Dowsett was found cut on trees, and garments of his were found. The natives seemed to wish to say that Capt. Dowsett had gone to sea, but the Captain of the **Waverly** very rashly, and we must say, cruelly, fired upon them, killing many, and otherwise injuring them. From there the **Waverly** went to Ponapi, and thence to Kusaie, where she was cut off. Capt. Dowsett's fate has never been ascertained. It has been reported that he was alive on the Ralik Islands as late as 1843. But it seems to myself most probable that he reached Raven Island [Ngatik] in his boat and was there killed, according to a report published in *The Friend* of January, 1853.⁴

In 1845, Capt. Cheyne, of the trading schooner **Naiad**, passed Ebon or Boston Island. He detected the natives stealing, and used what was probably undue violence, when they became exasperated and showed fight. A severe tussle ensued, in which one

1 Ed. note: It would even be more just to recognize the prior discoveries of the Spanish in the northern islands.

2 Ed. note: Rather, they headed for Chile.

3 Probably Rongelap.

4 Correctly *The Friend*, December, 17, 1852, p. 92.

person was killed on the spot, and another, a nephew of the highest of the Ralik chiefs, was so severely wounded he died soon after reaching the shore. It seems probable that the natives cherished revenge for this during many years. A whaleship was nearly taken near Namorik (Baring's Island) about this time, and two whaleboat's crews, who had lost their vessel, came on shore at Ebon and were all killed. Toward 1850 one or two whaling captains endeavored to establish a coconut oil trade with the Ralik Islanders, but never came completely under their power. In October, 1852, the schooner **Glen-coe**, of San Francisco, came from Ponapi to Ebon, and most imprudently anchored just under its lee. The vessel was "cut off," and every soul killed.

In December of the same year, Capt. McKenzie, of the trading schooner **Sea Nymph**, also of San Francisco, but last from Ponapi, anchored in the lagoon of Jaluit or Bonham's Island. He one day incensed a chief by rough abusive conduct, who avenged himself by stimulating his relatives and attendants to kill the captain the next time he landed and to murder all but one of the crew.

The Rev. Dr. Pierson, of the Micronesian Mission, touched at several of the Ralik Islands in 1855, while cruising with Capt. Handy of the bark **Belle**. The subsequent year a party of Ralik islanders drifted 350 miles westward to Kusaie, and there became further acquainted with Dr. Pierson, and desired that he would go and settle among them, on the Ralik Islands, to which they in a few months returned in proas of their own construction. In 1857, the Rev. Messrs. Pierson and Doane removed to Ebon, and there the latter of these missionaries still lives, successfully reducing the language to writing, and preaching the gospel to those whose hands have so recently been brued in the white man's blood.

This people, the history of whose contact with the civilized world, has been thus briefly given, do not probably number about 10,000, 6,000 perhaps in the Ratak chain and probably 4,000 in the Ralik Islands. And yet almost every one of their thirty atolls is inhabited, from which it may be gathered that the islands are sparsely populated. Yet intercourse with a considerable portion of the inhabitants is secured by taking a permanent station, for they roam in their proas from island to island of their respective ranges. There is comparatively little intercourse between the two principal chains, but a very considerable portion of their time is spent by the inhabitants either in voyaging or preparing to voyage within their own ranges. Since the time of Kotzebue, almost the whole of the contact with the so-called civilized world, has been enjoyed by the Ralik islanders, who now pride themselves upon being best posted regarding the whole outer world. Yet I recently saw a man from the more northern Ralik Islands who had never seen a white man before us on Ebon.

Nominally each range is subject to a high chief, or more properly to a chiefish family. But several of the southern Ralik Islands are now independent of their feudal head, who lives on Aurh. So also in the Ralik chain, the four northern islands are held by a very slight cord of dependence. And even where the authority is most potent, it is not of a very palpable character to one looking for the kingly tyranny on many Pacific is-

lands. There is oppression, and outrage, and cruelty, but it is rather the petty usurpation of individuals and families, than the systematic grinding of a despotism.

It is interesting to find the same clans here that is found in all the Caroline Islands of which we have a definite knowledge. Many of the clans are different, but several are the same as those found westward, though with different names. There is the same law, which counts descent by the mother rather than the father. As in the most of the Caroline Islands, one clan furnishes the chiefs of real blood, and another embraces the sons of these true chiefs. This comes from a true chief not being allowed to marry into his own clan, into that to which his children ought to belong. Different clans have the supremacy in the different ranges, and it is possible for different islands of the same range to acknowledge different clans as paramount, from which it may be seen how difficult it is to properly apprehend, and how much more difficult to accurately state, the political affairs of this people.

The language of the two ranges is substantially the same, though there are dialectic differences. And though the vocabulary of this language differs from any spoken in the Caroline archipelago, its grammatical construction bears the most striking similarity to those westward, as has been shown by the Rev. Mr. Doane, in a valuable paper on this subject, in *The Friend* of Feb., 1860.

In physical appearance the people are not unlike the Caroline islanders, as described on Ponapi and Kusaie, save perhaps that they are a little coarser and more vigorous in their manners, and perhaps also a little darker complexioned. Their male dress of a skirt of hibiscus bark, and the beautifully ornamented mats worn by the females about their hips, render them very decent in their externals. They seem more excitable and mercurial than any of the Caroline islanders we have met; but this comes in part from their slight contact as yet with foreign vice and disease. It is sad to be obliged to report that disease is now being rapidly introduced among the Ralik islanders, by whaleships passing the islands, and who now begin to venture to permit natives with females on board their vessel. The strength of the race will ere long be sapped. How sad that the safe residence of missionaries among them should be the cause of attracting physical and moral death to their shores! How difficult to sustain hope in one's heart when planning for the elevation of a people, whose contact with the representatives of civilization, serves, with but few exceptions, to render their diseases more deadly and their vices more vicious!

Like all the Micronesians, this people are worshipers of self-existent deities and also respecters of the spirits of their ancestors. They have the reputation among the islands to the west, where they are frequently drifted, of being exceedingly skilled in every kind of incantation and necromancy. They are, if possible, the most superstitious of Micronesians. Their mythological tales are exceedingly numerous, and of interest in showing the range of ideas possessed by a people inhabiting so unfavorable a locality. And it must be confessed they betray no intellectual poverty as compared with their brethren in any part of the Pacific. The missionary finds no less mind and material to work upon than among the inhabitants of higher islands. Mr. J. D. Dana's supposition to the contrary.

Great taste is shown in the embroidery of their beautiful mats. Their houses are scarcely more than roofs supported on posts, with a floor on a level with the eaves, forming a loft where treasures are kept and where men and chiefish women may sleep. But in the construction of their proas, their greatest talent displays itself. Many of these are of great size, capable of carrying 50 to 100 men in the open sea. One side is flat or perpendicular, while the other is convex. The outrigger is attached to the convex side of the canoe. The canoe or proa is thus very sharp not only at the two ends but along its whole keel. It settles deeply into the ocean, and by carrying its outrigger to windward, its flat side is to leeward, thus enabling it to hold its own as scarcely any civilized vessel can. It, therefore, sails very close to the wind, and with its tri-cornered, or mutton-leg sail, it beats rapidly to windward.

They provision these proas with cocoanuts and preserved breadfruit and pandanus, and taro and water, and can, when occasion requires, by their skill in fishing and catching water, sustain a voyage of several months. This explains the almost fabulous accounts of their drifting three, four and five months without seeing land; and goes far in explaining the mode in which those and other Pacific islands were first populated. The Marshall islanders are probably the greatest voyagers now remaining in the Pacific Ocean. A party of them this year beat back to their homes from Wellington's Island [Mokil], which is nearly 600 miles to the west, and that without any of the appliances the educated navigator would consider indispensable. Their passion for voyaging will yet facilitate the spread of the Gospel among them. They have a very accurate knowledge of the islands of their own seas, and a wonderful tact in navigating. They even construct rude maps by which they retain and impart knowledge regarding the direction and relative distances of the various groups. These maps consist of small sticks tied together in straight or curved lines, intending to represent the currents or waves to be met, while the islands are to be found at certain points where these lines meet. The construction of these maps is a secret which the chiefs would retain for themselves; and the individual who first divulged the art to us, though the husband of a chief, was threatened with death.

Most appropriately do this people plant paddles about the graves of their more illustrious dead. Nothing on these islands is more interesting than a visit to the desolate cemeteries, under the towering cocoanut trees, where paddles in various stages of decay lift their blades among the coarse vines and scattered shrubs, while scores upon scores of fearless rats perform their gambols before your eyes, or squat like squirrels as they watch your movements. Very many of the dead are not buried, but are sent to sea, with various religious rites.

It was in December, 1859, that I first landed on Ebon, and there I spent seven of the pleasantest months of my life.

To one whose experiences had been on the high basaltic islands of Micronesia, there was something romantic in a residence on this gem of a coral island, under the groves of towering cocoanuts, pandanus, and breadfruit. For, strange as it may seem, they not

only all grow more stately here than on the more highly favored islands, but the coconut and pandanus are far more productive.

The pandanus in particular assumes a character on a coral island that would hardly be expected from anything seen of it in other situations. It is an interesting fact that has escaped the transient investigator, that the fruit of the pandanus is of vastly more importance to the inhabitants of such islands than the celebrated coconut. Even on the comparatively unproductive King's Mill (or more properly) Gilbert Islands, they can use up the greater part of their coconuts in the manufacture of oil still subsist luxuriantly on the drupes of the pandanus. On the Marshall Islands, where the breadfruit and jack-fruit (or *numic* breadfruit) grow so luxuriantly, this is still more emphatically true. As Mr. Dana, of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, is greatly mistaken when he speaks of this fruit as "a sweetish, husky article of food, which, though little better than prepared corn stalks, admits of being stored away for use when other things fail." The drupes of several varieties of the pandanus are really luscious, and are probably much more nutritious than sugar-cane. There are several months of each year when it is in season that natives eat little else, besides preparing large quantities of it for future use. This article as prepared on the Marshall Islands is an admirable one, very palatable, and one which a foreigner readily becomes fond of. It is put up in large rolls and wrapped in the leaves of the tree, then bound very tightly and very nicely with cord, and may be kept thus many years. It is not injured by exposure to the weather, or even by long submersion in the ocean. It is, therefore, an admirable preparation to take to sea. The tree itself often grows as high as the coconut. Its straight, tough trunk is used on the Gilbert Islands in preference to any other kind of wood in building their largest and finest council houses. How opposite are these facts to the assertion in the Penny Cyclopaedia, that the pandanus is useful to man in no way but by furnishing material for thatching!

The mission premises occupy the northern point of the principal islet of the Ebon cluster, curving around the southern end of the lagoon. The lagoon itself is not far from circular; only about six miles across. It is one of the prettiest and cosiest in all Micronesia. Nothing is more picturesque of its kind than a view from the lagoon shore of the mission station, not a dozen rods from the houses. The white sand beach curves beautifully to the south and east and then to the north. The reef continues completely round to the north, and supports several islets along its course that in the distance are black with heavy growths of coconut and pandanus. The lagoon thus enclosed is perchance enlivened by the sails of many fishing canoes, while, here and there along the beach, lie the larger proas waiting the day when they shall be launched for voyaging in the outer ocean. This inner beach is the highway and the commons, where old and young pass back and forth, and gambol as merrily, or mayhap, as savagely, as the crabs that burrow in its sands.

A poor, squall-beset mariner, obliged (as was a recent Captain of the **Morning Star**) to lay off and on, shut out from this coral sanctuary, this magic betel built among the waves with almost invisible hands to the praise of our wonder working Maker, may be excused for comparing it to "a dismal cellar—even the rats not wanting"; but to one

privileged to daily exchange the pleasant "*I iokwe iuk!*" *I love you*, with the friendly natives, to eat of the deliciously prepared bread and jack-fruit, to chew their juicy pandanus drupes, to sip the sweet sap of their cocoanut trees, or drink the cool water of the nut—to one who has wandered through the groves, who has lived beneath them, and been nightly hushed to sleep by the murmuring of breezes high in the leafy world above—to one who has laid his hand on ocean's main as it rolled up to the outer beach bringing its rich varieties of marine life, or who has by twilight paced the inner beach as star after star came twinkling from the upper deep over Micronesia's scattered gems, so happily reflecting their upper glories—to such a one, Ebon is an oasis of delight on the watery waste, a liberal and delightful "home on the rolling deep."

When Dana says: "The coral island in its best condition is a miserable residence for man," he transcends the experience of one who has lived on Ebon.

During all the winter there were but about 500 people on the island and no high chiefs, nearly 800 having left in September, 1857, for the northern islands of the range in a fleet of forty proas. They did not return till the 11th of March, 1860.

The missionary is the sole representative of civilization on the Marshall Islands, and is yet the eighth wonder to the inhabitants. His house is the great centre of attraction; it is the lodge, the lecture-room, the lyceum, the store, the market house, the exchange, and even the hall of whatever legislation there is. The reinforcement of 500 who just arrived in the Northern fleet poured in upon us, crowding our houses, stunning our ears, peering into our rooms, offering all kinds of island trade, and giving us ample opportunity for doing good actively and passively.

A couple of days later a great dance came off in honor of, and with the hope of benefiting the health of two sick chiefs. A concourse of perhaps 600 assembled under the magnificent breadfruit grove just outside of the cocoanuts that line the whole lagoon shore of the island. Some sat, some stood, while others availed themselves of whatever stumps or canoes afforded a slight elevation.

A band of thirty women, sitting in a row, commenced by a fierce rub-a-dub on shark-skin headed drums in the shape of rough hour-glasses.

Soon Kaibuki, the so-called king, darts from among the crowd into the open space before the drummers. He wears the Marshall Island fringed skirt which is made to bulge out by a pile of pandanus leaf hoops surrounding the body just below the waist, after a fashion, so far as I am informed, not yet devised by the opposite sex in civilized lands, but which we must not despair of being adopted even in *Hawai nei*—after it shall have been decreed from Paris! His head and the enormously distended lobes of his ears, are decked with flowers, and bunches of feathers are fastened to his arms and hands. He immediately throws himself into most astounding postures; he has commenced repeating a song, and the effort is to do it in the most unnatural and horrible way possible. He shouts, screams, screeches, hisses out his whispered words, rolls his eyes, dances, prances, hops, jumps, and most horribly contorts his face, while every muscle in his body quivers first with force and finally with natural excitement. The delighted audience follows every motion and thrills under the dreadful bedlam of the principal actor

and of the multitudinous drummers, as those of other lands do under the enchanting powers of a Rachel or a Picolomini.

A few minutes, however, exhausts him, and he retreats backward off the arena. Another takes his place, after whom other performers come on by twos and threes, from the toothless man of gray hairs to the little urchin yet unaccustomed to dress of any kind, but who is to-day covered with the skirt of hibiscus bark, and ornamented with lilies and chicken feathers. The space is at last entirely vacated. All the performers, numbering about fifty, now collect in a solid phalanx, and come forward together, Kaibuki at their head. A slow treading accompanying by wild singing, advances them to the centre. Here they form in line and surpass themselves in all the horrors of simultaneous screaming, gesticulating and contorting of faces. Our head ache and our nerves grow tremulous under the aggravating of discord of human voices and dolorous drummers. But they have reached the end of their drama. One by one they stagger from the line, till Kaibuki alone remains standing, who suddenly makes his salaam to us and asks "*E moneki?*—Is it good?" to which we respond by a non-committal Ebonite English "good morning," and as polite a bow as our rusty manners allow.

A few minutes later and the crowd has hold of long ropes attached to a huge proa which they are about to haul up on to the sandy beach. Many apply their backs directly to the canoe on either side at both ends of it, and a score of more naked boys are at the outrigger. All is ready. Kaibuki commences an inspiring song and dance appropriate to the grand occasion. He acts like a madman frightened at the hideous monster towering above him. While he whispers and hisses his words through a frightful mouth and capers about, throwing a part of his shirt over his head rolling his eyes all but inside out, the excited company are uttering rhythmic groans as a part of them sway on their ropes, and others slightly raise her by pressing up with their backs. The proa slowly advances up the slope. But Kaibuki's voice fails him, and another takes his place, and then another, and finally Namaith, the King's niece, and the most influential woman in the Ralik Islands, advances, and if possible out-does the rest, ending with slapping a handful of sand into her own streaming face and eyes and then capering about even more outrageously than before. The proa is fairly beached, and we return to our homes, more deeply impressed than I can readily tell with the deep shades of darkness about the Marshall islanders' mind.

In March Mr. Doane's infant son died. While he yet lived, the King's only living brother came with evident good-hearted joy, holding a piece of pandanus leaf, which by the projection of an end after being deftly folded indicated the child would not die and felt hurt that his prognostications were disbelieved. The evening after its death, Kaibuki, the hard-hearted savage, came with his four wives and his attendants and wished to see the corpse. He had given the child a native name, and shown it many attentions, as the first white child born not only on Ebon but in all of the Marshall Islands. There it lay, more placid than for many an hour before. The chief, who had often torn his subjects apart limb by limb, entered the room in a most subdued manner, and sitting down by the corpse which the parental love almost dreaded to expose to foreign

eyes, unfolded two most elaborately embroidered mats. With the gentlest murmurings of affection he spread them over the loved one, then, covering his eyes, burst into tears. This touched the parental heart; the tear founts unexpectedly filled—the father was unmanned.

An older brother of Kaibuki not arriving as was expected, a fleet of fifteen proas, loaded with provisions, started on the 25th of April for the North. July 2d, after an absence of only about five weeks, they returned, some of the fleet having been as far north as Wotho, or Schanz Island, a distance of four hundred miles. Immediately on the arrival of this fleet there was a fresh rash of petty trading in mats, pearl hooks, shells, corals, sponges, bananas, breadfruit, jack-fruit, fowls and cordage. It was hard to say no, and harder to say yes. The last remnants of old iron, rusty pieces of wire and old hoop, stray fish-hooks, files, old gouges and chisels, remnants of cloth, old bottles and vials, etc. were thankfully received, unless there existed a suspicion that better bargains might be made, in which case there was sharp haggling as by any Yankee peddler, often mingled with genuine Irish blarney. Indeed, had not the **Morning Star**, our missionary packet, arrived the second day after, we should have been unable to sustain the siege, for our ammunition ran short.

Mr. Doane each Sabbath preaches at the mission station to an attentive congregation, averaging about a hundred, and also about seven miles distant to a congregation of about fifty. A primer of over sixty pages has been printed with our own hands, and a number are gradually learning the high art of reading. There are none in whom we rejoice as converted, though there is one concerning whom we hope. The good work progresses on the Marshall Islands, but an unconceivable amount of labor lays before the missionary.

LECTURE 5 — THE GILBERT ISLANDS

The history of discovery in this archipelago is briefly, and sufficiently for our present purpose, given in a paragraph by Findlay in his *Directory of the Pacific Ocean*. The first island discovered was the easternmost, Byron Island, so named from the commander, who saw it June 3, 1765. The next were the northern groups discovered by the ships **Scarborough** and **Charlotte**, commanded by Captains Marshall and Gilbert. There is a loose account of this discovery given in Governor Philip's voyage in 1788. The next authority in order is a chart contained in Dalrymple's *Collection*, drawn by Roger Simpson and George Bass, officers of the **Nautilus**, under Capt. Bishop (in 1799). In the *Table of Positions*, by John Purdy, is an account of some of the islands seen by the brig **Elizabeth** about 1809. In 1824 Capt. Duperrey visited and explored many of them; but by far the most complete account of them is given by the account of the United States Exploring Expedition (1841).

It was Krusenstern who gave the name of Gilbert to this large group, and who subdivided it into the three groups of Scarborough, Simpson and Kingsmill, the last name including Drummond's Island [Tabiteuea] and all to the south of it, then very uncertainly known. In Commander Wilkes' *Narrative* the name Kingsmill was improperly extended to the whole group, and since then this has been its usual designation by Americans and American authorities.

This group consists of fifteen, or perhaps more properly sixteen, low, coral islands, only two of which are destitute of lagoon. It was the ten most northern islands that were explored both by Duperrey, and Capt. Hudson, of the United States Exploring Expedition; yet the remaining islands to the south are now scarcely less known, even geographically, from their waters having been the resort during the last twenty years by the captors of the whale; and our knowledge of the whole group has greatly increased. Since the visit of the United States Exploring Expedition those islands have grown into some importance to the civilized world from their production of cocoanut oil. Very many sailors have at different times resided on shore—not an island of the group but has thus been thoroughly explored—and there are several who seem to have made their home there, particularly one respectable trader of rapidly increasing wealth, named Randall.

On the 6th of January, 1844, the **Columbia**, Capt. Kelley, New London, was wrecked on Nonouti (Sydenham's Island). The ship's company were roughly treated, but all were taken off in safety twenty-three days after. January 8th, 1848, **Triton**, Capt. Thomas Spencer, of New London, was very nearly taken by the natives of this same island under the leadership of a Portuguese. The Captain and a boat's crew were detained on shore under very aggravating circumstances, but the Portuguese having been killed in the attempt to take the vessel, their lives were spared and they effected their escape, with the consent of the natives, on the 19th of the same month, a very full and interesting account of which was published in *The Friend* of September and October, 1848.

In 1850, the **Flying Fox**, Capt. Brown, was wrecked on the same obnoxious island. One of the mates, named Walker, with the cooper and eight white men of the ship's company, and a Rotuma native, made the passage to Simpson's Island [Abemama].

They were engaged in trade for cocoanut oil, ere many months the cupidity and ire of the natives were roused and every one of the foreigners were killed, since whiche no white man has been allowed to reside among them.

The whaleship **Ontario**, Capt. Slocum, of New Bedford, was wrecked on Pitt's Island [Makin] in January, 1852, but through the influence of Capt. Randall, resident there, no lives were lost, and much even of the oil was saved. In August of the same year the same island was visited by the Protestant missionary company, then on their way westward to establish themselves on Kusaie and Ponapi.

In November, 1857, a mission station was taken on Apaiang, or Charlotte's Island, by Rev. H. Bingham, Jr., and a Hawaiian associate. In September, 1860, a second station was taken by two Hawaiians on the neighboring island of Tarawa. The language has been reduced to writing, and a number of children are fluent readers. But the desire for knowledge has yet to be awakened in the minds of the masses, and the missionary's heart longs for more definite evidence of an evangelical acceptance of a Savior by anyone of that numerous people.

Nothing is more remarkable at the Gilbert Islands to one who has visited other parts of Micronesia than the great number of the people. Elsewhere the sparseness of the population is painful; but here the overflowing swarms are continually surprising one. The smallest of the atolls, Peru, whose diameter is not more than about two miles, has a population of from about 1,500 to 2,000, and Aranuka has 1,000, while Tapiteuwea has from 7,000 to 8,000. In almost every other part of Micronesia the houses are scattered, and if there are what may be called villages, they are but small collections of houses and in no very close proximity to each other; while here, the habit is to concentrate in towns, where the houses are as nearly as close relation to each other as possible. These villages are—as is almost invariably the case on the low, annular islands—on the inner or lagoon shore; and as one lays at anchor within the collection of low, white-roofed houses stretching along along the cocoanut groves, may be seen every few miles, the canoes sheds first, in a row along the beach, and then the dwellings, which are nothing more than roofs, standing promiscuously just behind, usually with a large council-house in the midst.

On landing, the swarms of children, guiltless of clothing, are perfectly surprising to one who has mourned over the desolations on Ponapi and Kusaie. The numbers of old men and and women also are among the most pleasant objects seen, even though we know that the old women are the drudges. So prolific are they as yet on the greater number of the islands—so uncontaminated with foreign disease—that their population is deliberately limited by practicing abortion to prevent too great a number of mouths—a reason denied by Mr. Hale. Their numbers are also shown by the sanguinary nature of their battles. The accounts given by Wilkes, on the authority of his informants, are doubtless correct. Since the establishment of our mission on Apaiang a party of more than one thousand came ove from Tarawa. Many were slain on the flats while attempting to land; others were taken alive and held as slaves; while hundreds fled in their proas

and were never heard of—their houses stand to this day empty along the northern shores of Tarawa.

By far the greater half of the population of Micronesia is congregated on this group. There may be twenty or twenty-five thousand on the whole of the Ladrone and Caroline Islands, which added to the ten thousand of the Marshall Islands make perhaps thirty-five thousand; while on the Gilbert Islands there are forty-five or fifty thousand. I give the numbers as I received them but a few weeks since from Capt. Randall, whose acquaintance with the group exceeds that of anyone else.

Makin and Butaritari (Pitt's Island) ..	2,000
Marakei (Mathew's Island)	2,000
Apaiang (Charlotte Island)	3,000
Tarawa (Knox, properly Knoy's Island)	3,500
Maiana (Hall's Island)	4,000
Kuria (Woodle's Island)	1,500
Aranuka (Henderville's Island)	5,000
Apamama (Simpson's Island)	5,000
Nonouti (Sydenham's Island)	6,000 to 7,000
Taputeuwea (Drummond's Island) ...	7,000 to 8,000
Peru (Francis Island)	1,500 to 2,000
Nukunau (Byron's Island)	5,000 to 6,000
Onoatoa (Clerk's Island)	4,000
Tamana (Rotcher's Island)	3,000
Arorai (Hope Island)	2,000 to 2,500

	50,500 to 54,000

In physical appearance this people are darker and coarser as a whole than the more western inhabitants of Micronesia. They are also a larger race, some of the chiefish ones being very corpulent, equalling in size with the ancient chiefs of Hawaii. This is all the more remarkable from these islands being the more barren of the atolls of Micronesia. The cocoanut and pandanus, and a few laboriously taro, are the only vegetable productions, while the greater number of the low islands of the Marshall and Caroline archipelagoes produce taro, breadfruit and jack-fruit in considerable abundance. It is probable, however, that these remarks apply rather to the inhabitants of the islands to the north of the equator, which is the portion that has fallen under my personal observation. Mr. Hale, of the United States Exploring Expedition, speaks of the natives of Tapiteuwea as of "middle size, well made and slender... The usual height is about five feet eight or nine inches, but we saw many who were considerably below this standard. There are none of those burly persons among them who are so common in the Sandwich and Society islands, and we did not see one instance of obesity."

Nothing that I have seen would widely separate the Gilbert Islanders from the other Micronesian races. There is the same slightly aquiline nose and prominent cheek-bones

and chin, and the same well developed cerebrum, particularly in the frontal and coronal regions. The hair has the same fine glossiness, and often curls. Yet it must be acknowledged that the Micronesian delicacy and perfection declines as we proceed southward in the group; and their language, both in its vocabulary and grammar, as was to be expected, has a greater affinity with those of Polynesia than any of the other Micronesian tongue.

In manners and customs the people exhibit something of the same coarseness betrayed in their physical developments. The males go naked, save when they hold or rudely tie a small mat about them with a piece of rope or rope yarn stolen or begged from some ship. The matured females wear a cocoanut leaf fringe about six inches wide. They are pre-eminently indelicate and indecent, possessing very little, if any, of that refined gentility found on Ponapi. Many of their customs regarding the dead are abominably filthy and disgusting, such as preserving them for days or weeks and carefully daubing over themselves the froth and ooze from the mouth of the deceased. A wife will frequently for weeks after the death of her husband continue to sleep beside the corpse under the same coverlid; and a mother will sometimes carry the body of her infant about with her till it falls to pieces, and then she will cleanse the bones and carry them. Indeed, it is common to preserve the bones, particularly the skull of the dead, and carry them about, at times carefully anointing them with oil, and even sharing food with them.

Heathenism is here seen in some of its lowest and most disgusting forms; though it may be said in alleviation that there is little of that deliberate cruelty and none of that religious sacrifice of life found in many of the groups of the Pacific. Their religious rites differ in no material respects from those already described in connection with other groups. Stones, the incarnations of deities, are found everywhere, some of which are so noted as to be the recipients of gifts of food and to receive the prayers of certain priestly ones.

On the greater number of the islands, particularly on those south of the equator, what government there is is of a very democratic nature. A man is of importance in proportion to the amount of land he possesses and the number of slaves he owns. Each headman is the representative of a family of brothers, sons, etc. who are more or less dependent upon him, and who are always ready to support him. The state is thus divided into large families, each jealous of the other and ready to thwart the ambitious pretensions of any one of their number. On some of the islands, however, a particular family has, by a series of fortunate events, either in peace or war, or in both, so extended its relations as to be paramount; and its patriarchal head is consequently the king of the island. Yet there may be other families so powerful on these same islands as to prevent the establishment of a monarchy. The nearest like kingship is exercised on Apamama, including the two dependent islands of Kuria and Aranuka. On Apaiang a similar power is rapidly rising. On Maiana, Tarawa, Marakei and Butaritari there are nominal kings, but their power is far from absolute.

The explorers of the United States Exploring Expedition judged the inhabitants of the islands south of the equator to be less amiable and kindly dispositioned than those to the north; while Capt. Randall quite reverses the statement, and thinks the southern islanders much the cleverest and best natured. It is probable that the degree of government has something to do with the different judgments, and that the tendency to monarchism is greater in the more productive, and consequently more luxurious, islands of the northern portion.

The capacities of this race are developed in three principal directions; in the securing and preparation of food, the erection of houses, particularly of their noble council-houses, and in the construction of their proas and the navigation of them.

So limited are the resources that a very considerable degree of ingenuity is called forth in securing their food from land and sea, as on the Marshall Islands by far the most important article of diet is the pandanus fruit. This is eaten raw when ripe, and even when green; it is also cooked and eaten fresh; and is also prepared with great labor for long preservation. The cocoanut furnishes them with the meat and water of the nut at every stage of its growth. From the meat of the nut thousands of barrels of oil are yearly manufactured by their own hands and sold to traders, who take the most of it to Sydney. The meat of each nut is scraped by hand and exposed to the sun for two or three days, when it is pressed under a long, rude lever acting on a transverse log. Agents for the traders are found on each island, who pay the natives principally in tobacco and firearms.

The cocoanut tree also furnishes from its flower-stem with a delicious sap that forms a most nutritious and healthy drink, especially for the children, who frequently get little else of aliment for days together. This sap ferments and intoxicates, often producing untold mischief and misery. And from it also, by boiling, they prepare a delicious syrup, which they keep in cocoanut shells hung up, frequently by hundreds, in their houses, and which they mix with water when their appetites or hospitality demands something especially delicate.

But the cultivation of the taro makes the largest demand on their time, strength and ingenuity. First, trenches or patches are dug down through the sand and stones to the underlying reef rock. The fresh water oozes into these ponds in sufficient quantities to nourish their coarse, large-leaf varieties of taro. But the next step is to secure soil for it to grow in. For this purpose it is brought in baskets from wherever found, sometimes from miles distant. Frequently the soil is first sifted to separate the worthless particles of stone. Even leaves of certain trees are carefully gathered and picked to pieces and then placed about the taro roots to assist in forming a little soil. An almost uncalculable amount of labor is thus spent on each root, and yet it is sufficiently raised in enough quantities to be considered a luxury. Much of it is very coarse and unpalatable, but there are most admirable varieties, and some grow in the course of years nearly to the size of a barrel.

In catching fish they are, as might be expected, remarkably expert, much of their sustenance coming from the sea. Probably which that I have seen on Ebon would be noth-

ing strange of this people, by necessity so ichtiophagous. A flying-fish was one day seen darting about on the flats near our house, here the water was not more than one foot in depth. Two youth darted out like arrows and commenced throwing stones, that fell beyond the fish, and still frightened it stil nearer the shore. After having for a time in this way worried and partially fatigued the fish, the chase commenced. The fish's constant effort was to regain the deep water, which its two pursuers as persistently defeated; for, strange to say, the poor fish seems not to be able to use its wing-like fins save in the fathomless main. In less than ten minutes the fish lay passive in the hands of these expert fisher-boys. I have seen a school of two or three hundred bonitos driven on shore and speared with such consummate skill than scarce an individual fish escaped.

Their council and dance houses loom up in the distance, the most prominent of all other objects on shore. Many of them are over a hundred feet long, nearly fifty feet wide, and thirty to forty feet high. They are nothing more than immense roofs, reaching to within three feet of the ground, their eaves resting on large coral slabs. It is here they congregate on every public occasion, in tumultuous rabbles of delight or anger. Here every public measure is carefully discussed, and here they dance and revel sometimes for many continuous days and nights.

Their proas are as admirable as those of the Marshall islanders, the only important difference being that the keel is curved upfore-and-aft so as to form the segment of a circle. A canoe without its outrigger when looked at from one side is consequently the shape of a gibbous moon. At certain seasons they devote days to sailing miniature canoes, the bodies of which are only about eighteen inches long, and the sails nearly two fathoms in length, and whose speed is at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles an hour!

It may be gathered from such facts that they are an active, intelligent race, and that nothing in their intellectual parts need deter us from attempting their civilization. Their language, though, of course, destitute of innumerable terms for physical objects they have never seen, is not found more deficient as a vehicle for moral truths than the mass of uncultivated dialects, and is probably more full in the necessary terms than many. In coming from the other portions of Micronesia here we detect a greater difference lingually than the other two dialects with which we are acquainted. In the first place there is a far less variety of vowel sounds; and the palatal consonants *ch*, *j*, and *sh*, with the dental *th* and *s* so frequent in the north and western groups, are unknown here. It is this fact that admits of Hawaiians acquiring this dialect so much more readily than any other of Micronesia. An article is found here elsewhere in Micronesia unknown. Yet in the use of suffixed or inseparable pronouns, which is the great peculiarity of the Micronesian dialects, this dialect is Micronesian.

...

Document 1860B

The Maria Theresa, Captain Coop

Sources: Log in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 325; Log Inv. 3053.

Note: This logbook is bound with another logbook, also kept by Captain Coop, when he was mate of the Euphrates, in 1854-57.

Extract from the logbook of Captain Henry J. Coop

...

Thursday 19 [January 1860]

... Ship **Oregon** in company...

Friday 20

... At daylight, kept the ship West 1/2 South for Baker's Island. At 8 a.m., sighted the Island bearing West by South 1/2 South. At 10 a.m., a boat came off bringing Watson of Ship **Flying Dragon** & the Capt. of Ship **J. Bradley**, both ships being moored, one of them loading [guano]. Soon after, Mr. Charles Judd came on board and stopped until 2 p.m. and then left for the shore, it being some five miles off then, being a current setting Westward. Lat. at 2:30 p.m. 9 miles North. Long. 176°26' West by Chronometer, being about right by this Island.

...

Sunday 22

... This day, we have lost sight of our partner, Ship **Oregon**. Lat. 1°43' S. Long 178°07' West.

...

Friday 27

... Spoke the **Oregon** & Capt. Tobey told me of their boats striking a 50-barrel whale which stove 4 boats... Lat. 2°09' South. Long. 178°21' E.

...

Sunday 29

... We have been going to the South & Westward looking for Byron's [Nukunau] Island & at noon, were on the place where one of the Islands as laid down, the North Eastern one on the charts. Lat. 1°19' South. Long. 177°44' East.

...

Wednesday February 1, 1860

... At 10 a.m., sighted Hope [Arorae] Island. Lat. 2°39' S. Long. 176°51' [E].

Thursday 2

... At daylight, Rotch's [Tamana] Island in sight to the SE. Wind being well to the N, stood in to the Island. The natives came off but little or nothing to trade with. All we got from them was some broom stuff and some fowls. Lat. at 3 p.m., 2°23 [S]. Long. 175°50' [E]... Ship ega **Oregon** in company.

Friday 3

... At 5 p.m., sighted Clark's [Onotoa] Island. At daylight, Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island some 7 miles to windward. The natives came off and brought fish, fowls, mats and a few shells. Ship **Oregon** in company. Lat. 1°29' South. Long. [blank]

Saturday February 4, 1860

... Ship laying with the main topsail aback under the lee of Drummond's Island. Here we got some fowls, fish, coconuts, broom stuff and some mats for tobacco & pipes. At 6 p.m., kept the ship off WNW. Ship **Oregon** in company. At daylight, kept W. Lat. 1°05' South. Long. 173°26' East.

...

February 8, 1860

... At 6 a.m., sighted Ocean [Banaba] Island ahead. At 11:00 a.m., Ship under the lee of the Island. The natives would not come on board, the King having put on a taboo. Lat. 52 miles South. Long. 169°40' East by my Chronometer, some 12 miles to much West according to Ocean Island.

Thursday 9

... Ship under the lee of Ocean Island. The natives would not come on board. Soon after noon, Ship **Rousseau** of New Bedford came round the point of the Island. Captains Tobey & Green came on board and we all three kept off W by N by compass for Pleasant [Nauru] Island... Lat. 3 p.m., 32 miles S. Long. 167°49' E by Chronometer.

Friday 10

... Daylight, sighted Pleasant Island & kept the Ship for it. Ships **Oregon & Rousseau** in company. At noon, down under the lee of the Island. A man by name Steward came on board to trade.

Saturday February 11, 1860

... Ship laying off and on at Pleasant Island. This afternoon, bought 24 hogs & 2500 coconuts. Three of the crew, John MacDonald, William Smith & John Hope deserted from the Ship in some of the native canoes. I went on shore & by giving one lox of tobacco containing 130 lbs. caught all three & got on board at 8:30 p.m. At 10 a.m., hav-

ing paid the natives & finished, left, steering by the wind heading NW by N by compass. Ships **Oregon & Rousseau** in company.

...
Wednesday February 15. 1860

... At daylight, sighted Strong's Island bearing West. Kept the ship for it. At noon, a boat came on board with a Pilot to take the ship to the South Harbor. This day, one partner, Ship **Oregon**, has left us. Got some longitude which gives my Chronometer some 14 miles too much West.

Thursday 16

... Ship running down on the SE side of Strong's Island to the South Harbor. When we got to the mouth of the harbor, the wind would not let us head in. The passage being very small, there was not room to work the ship in. So, I have given up the idea of going in at all & shall proceed to Guam & there do the work that is necessary to the main topmast cross trees. At sundown, ship off the Eastern Harbor when I shall lay off and on till the morning to take on board a man by name Burns as 4th Mate. 7 a.m., Mr. Thomas Burns came on board in a shore boat. At 8, kept the ship away Southward to go around the Island. At 11:00 a.m., got to the leeward of the Island and kept her NW by W by compass... Lat. noon 5°28' N. Long. 162°56' East.

Friday 17

... At 9:30 a.m., sighted McAskill's [Pingelap] Island bearing SW. Kept the ship for it... Lat. at noon 6°23' North. Long. 3 p.m. 160°55' East.

Saturday February 18, 1860

At 1 p.m., lowered the Starboard Boat & I went in shore. I did not like the looks of the natives. I did not land. I saw nothing but coconuts. The natives came off n the water but I took good care that they did not get round the boat. At 3 p.m., kept the ship WNW... At daylight, sighted Wellington's [Mokil] Island. At 10 a.m., lowered a boat and went in shore.

Sunday 19

Ship laying off and on at Wellington's Island in company with Ship **Rousseau**. This afternoon got off 1550 coconuts. Ship laid off and on all night. During the forenoon, got off 450 more coconuts, a large green turtle and 100 dried flying fish. At noon, left the land and kept the Ship W1/2S by compass. **Rousseau** went off to the NW.

Monday 20

... At 4:00 p.m., sighted the Island of Ascension. Hove to until daylight & then sailed along the South side of the Island. In the Lee Harbor, Ship **Rapid** lay at anchor. Two canoes came off to us. In one of them came the Pilot but I would not go in for fear of

losing some of the crew. At noon, a group of islands in sight a little on our lee [Ant]. Lat. noon 7°05' [N]. Long. 2:40 p.m., 157°57' [E].

...

Saturday 25

... At 7 a.m., sighted Rota Island to the NW. At 8, sighted Guam bearing W. At noon, Ship 6 miles NE of the NW point. At 3 p.m., took a Pilot. At 5 p.m., came to anchor in Apra Harbor, in 25 fathoms of water & 50 of chain. Seven vessels at anchor. This day contains 36 hours.

Sunday 26

[The logbook is blank until March 7.]

March 7th

This day the Larboard watch's liberty was up. The watch came on board excepting Thomas Payne & Hannibal Paty.

[blank until March 14]

Wednesday March 14, 1860

... The Pilot down from Town to take her out with orders to Mr. Braley to work the ship up abreast of the Town & send the boat in for me. The ship did not get up off the town until it was too late to send a boat & that night at 10 p.m. found that the ship had been set on fire. By great exertion, the officers & crew put the fire out, after nearly burning through the lower deck, four casks, one Carling & one & half inch into one of the beams. The fire was made some 8 feet abaft the after cumings of the fore hatchway. Before I came on board Mr. Braley found out the men that set the ship on fire, namely William Smith, Pedro Santo & [blank].

Thursday 15

At 1 p.m., I came on board, made all sail and steered towards Umata to get water. At 5 p.m., came to anchor in 10 fathoms of water and 60 of chain.

Friday 16

This day employed getting off water. At 4 p.m., Barque **Oscar** came to anchor & reports the fire on board the Ship **Rapid** being put out & of a great deal of damage being done.

Saturday 17

This morning got a small and last raft of water and at 10 a.m., got under way. At dusk, Ship 2 miles to leeward of the Town. Laying off and on intending to go on shore in the morning to find out if they have caught the two men that deserted.

Sunday 18, 1860

At 9 a.m., I left the ship with the Bow's Boat for the shore. In going in the passage between the reef, the surf upset the boat. By this accident, I lost a bag containing 60 dollars and came very near losing my life, the ship's papers and all my clothing. Joseph Hatch deserted from the boat.

[blank until 21st]

Wednesday 21

Not having caught the three men that deserted, I have shipped all that I could get in their places, that is three boys, natives of this Island of Guam and at 1:00 p.m., got on board. This day contains 12 hours.

Thursday 22

... Sailed along towards the Harbor & laid aback waiting for Ship **Rapid** to come out of the Harbor which she did [at] about 4 p.m. Then, we both started steering NW by compass. Latter part, weather the same. After breakfast, gave John HOpe a good flogging.

Friday 23

... This day took the men that set fire to the Ship out of irons & sent them to their duty. Latter part, Ship **Rapid** gone out of sight ahead. Lat. 3 p.m., 15°56' N. Long. 142°03' East.

...

Monday 26

... At 10 a.m., sighted a reef. At noon, we were abreast of it. It was some 3 miles round it. It [is] just level with the water and there is only one stone above water, about as large as our try works. The latitude was at noon 20°25' [N]. The reef is laid down in 20°21'. My long. was about 136°20' at noon, some 30 miles westward of where the reef is laid down on my charts. Kept the Ship W by S to pass clear of another reef which lies 50 miles to the W a little NORtherly of the one we have seen.¹

...

[To Okinawa, Hakodate (Japan), the Ochotsk Sea, where the log ends on 24 August 1860.]

1 Ed. note: There is only one reef in that neighborhood whose name is Parece Vela, or Douglas Reef, or Okino-Tori.

Document 1860C

The William C. Nye, Captain Sowle

Sources: Ms. 256 (N934) in the Baker Library, Harvard; PMB 729; Log Inv. 4932.

Extract from the logbook

...

Thursday March 8th [1860]

... Latter part saw Hope [Arorae] Island. The canoes came alongside. Bought some fowl and hogs. So ends. Lying off and on. Lat. 02°43' S. Long.

Friday March 9th

Lying off and on. Two boats sent in ashore. [The sea] being so rugged, they did not land. They came aboard... Latter part saw Rotches' [Tamana] Island. Braced forward and stood up towards it. Three canoes came aboard. So ends. Rotch: Lat. 02°48' S., island bearing N 10 miles distant.

Saturday March 10th

... At 12 o'clock, the canoes left us and went ashore...

...

Thursday March 15th

... At 10 p.m., saw Barings [Namorik] Islands... Lat. 05°19' N. Long. 168°27' E...

Friday March 16th

... Canoes came alongside with a few coconuts... Lat. 06°15' N. Long. 168°15' E.

...

Sunday March 18th

... Middle part, Charles Pressens(?) fell from the Fore Top Gallant Yard... broke one arm and split his head open. Latter part, at 1/2 past 9 p.m., he was committed to his ocean burial. So ends this day. Lat. 09°00' N. Long. 165°26' E.

...

[The ship went straight north as far as 60° N and down again to southern latitudes in October 1860. The last journal entry is 18 April 1861.]

Document 1860D

The Corinthian, Captain Valentine Lewis

Sources: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB ?; Log Inv. 1247.

Extract from the logbook kept by Sylvanus P. Tallman

...
[The logbook begins with the ship being already in the Arctic in 1859. She then went to Maui, in November 1859, then South to the Line.]

...
Sunday 1 April 1860

... 3 p.m., saw the land, Ocean [Banaba] Island... Lat. 00°33' [S]. Long. 170°55' [E].

Monday 2

... The ship laying off and on the Ocean High Island trading for fowls and hogs. The natives came on board trading. We got some hogs. So ends this day. We took our departure from the island at 4 p.m., steering N by W. Lat. 00°48' S. Long. 170°49' E.

...
Tuesday 10

... 5 p.m., saw the land, one of the Steve's(?) Islands... Lat. 8°42' N. Long. 166°50' E.¹

Wednesday 11

... 7 a.m., saw the land and kept off W by S and made sail. 8 a.m., the natives came aboard but brought nothing but a few fish from Margaret [Ujae] Island... Lat. 09°37' [N]. Long. 165°58' [E].

...
[She bypassed the Marianas and Japan to return to the Arctic, etc.]

1 Ed. note: Perhaps Lae.

Document 1860E

The Moctezuma, Captain Tinker

Sources: Log 825 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum: PMB 694; Log Inv. 3329.

Note: There were three different log-keepers; the second one, corresponding to the dates below, is anonymous.

Extract from this logbook

...

[Coming from the Hawaiian Islands.]

...

Saturday Apr 14th [1860]

... At 1 p.m., luffed to off Covell's [Ebon] Islands. Took 3 natives on board for seamen...

...

Wednesday 18th

... At 2 p.m., saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing W by N. At 5 p.m., took a pilot and at 8 a.m., came to anchor in the Lee Middle Harbor.

Thursday 19th

Pleasant weather. Ship lying at anchor in Ascension Island. Busy trading and performing various duties. Middle part, same. Latter part, heavy showers of rain...

Friday 20th

... Trading with the natives...

Saturday 21st

... Trading with the natives...

Sunday 22nd

... Busy trading and performing other duties...

Monday 23rd

... Got off the raft of water. Employed filling tank...

Tuesday 24th

... Shipped Rarotonga men for the season. Employed variously as required.

...

Sunday 29th

... Boatsteerer Charles Williams deserted, swam ashore...

Monday 30th

... Shipped 3 men for the season...

May 1st, Tuesday

... George Roland and Jack, seamen, deserted...

Wednesday 2nd

... George Roland, deserter, brought back. Shipped John Rookh as boatsteerer for the season...

Thursday 3rd

... Jack, deserter, brought back...

...

Monday 7th

... At 5 a.m., commenced heaving up. At 6, heavy squalls of wind and rain. At 11, got under way, wind NE, pilot on board. At 12, discharged pilot. Ship heading by the wind to the W...

...


[Soon the heading was changed to N but the Marianas were

1860F


p. 210

GLIDDEN & WILLIAMS' LINE

FOR SAN FRANCISCO.



To Sail on or before **TUESDAY, Nov. 2.**



THE BEAUTIFUL FIRST CLASS CLIPPER SHIP

INDUSTRY

ROBERT H. WATERS.....COMMANDER.

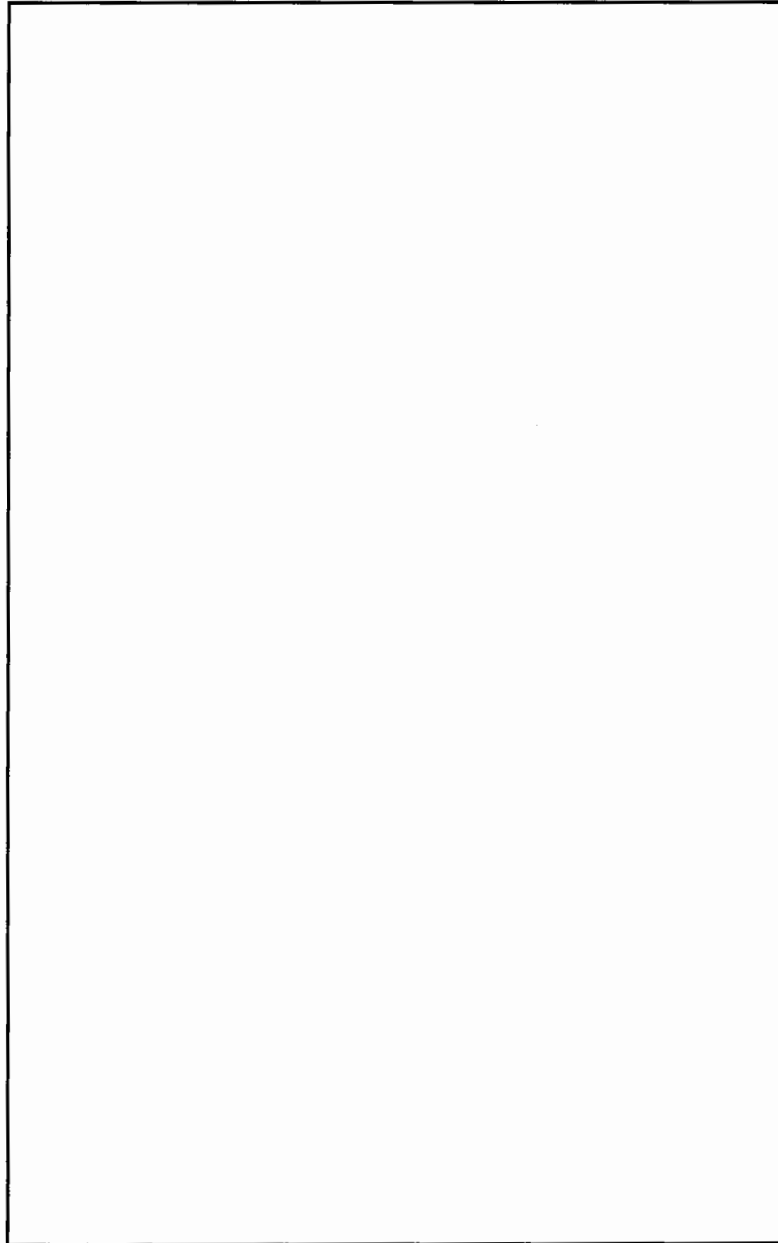
This vessel is by same builders and of same model as the celebrated Clipper Ship "Flying Mist." Shippers will find her a most desirable conveyance. Capt. Waters is late of the "Eagle Wing," and of much experience in the trade.

The celebrated Extreme Clipper Ship "FEARLESS," so well known to the trade, will follow.

FOR FREIGHT OR PASSAGE APPLY AT THE
California Packet Office, 39 Lewis Wharf.

Agents at San Francisco, Messrs. Flint, Pasha & Co.

← 1859-60



Note 1860F

The clipper ship **Industry**, Captain R. H. Waters

Source: Disbursement book formerly owned by Captain Water, now in the Peabody Museum in Salem.

Editor's notes.

While on a voyage to Canton, via San Francisco, this ship sailed by Guam in May 1860, Manila, and Hong Kong. The proof comes from her accounting books, but there is also an account written by one of the passengers on board, according to Mr. Philip S. Thayer whom I met at the Peabody Museum in the 1980s.

The **Industry** was built by James O. Curtis at Medford, Mass., in 1858. Her capacity was 1670 tons, length 179 feet, breadth 35 feet, depth 23 feet. She had two decks, 3 masts, round stern, and a figurehead.

The master, and part-owner (1/16 shares), was Captain Robert H. Waters. The other owners were: George B. Chase and Theodore Chase.

The disbursement book used by Captain Waters contains accounts when he served aboard the following ships: Bark **Imaum**, Bark **Terror**, Ship **Eagle Wing** (1857-58), and **Industry** (1859-60), the last two at least as Master. The **Imaum** may have been the same as the Imaum of Muscat, a trading ship of 344 tons, that was travelling between London and Melbourne in 1843 (ref. Nicholson's Log of Logs, vol. 1). There was a Australian whaling barque named **Terror** in the South Seas, between 1848 and 1853, but this may be irrelevant. However, Captain Waters was probably an Englishman as he kept his accounts in pounds sterling.

Extract from the disbursement book

...	
Bought at Guam	
6-1/2 Bbls. Potatoes, Sweet	12.50
8 Pumpkins	1.00
5 Fowls	2.00
6 Bunches Bananas	1.50
2-1/2 doz. Eggs	0.75
1 doz Cocoanuts	0.25

£ @ P/ 4-1/2	£ 4. 0. 0 [=]	----- 18.00
Pilot	1. 0. 0	
Charge	£ 5. 0. 0	

...

Ship "Industry" and Owners in account...

1860 May: To Account Disbursement at Guam ... £ 5.00

 Document 1860G

Carolinian drifters from Woleai to the Philippines, circa 1860

Source: F. Jagor. Reisen in den Philippinen (Berlin, 1873); translated as: Travels in the Philippines (Manila, Filipiniana Book Guild, 1965).

Jagor's travels in Samar, Philippines

Original text in German.

...

ZWANZIGSTES KAPITEL

Reisen in Samar, fortsetzung.

In Guíuan erhielt ich Besuch von Mikronesiern, die seit vierzehn Tagen beschäftigt waren, bei Suláangan auf der schmalen Landzunge SO. von Guíuan nach Perlmuscheln zu tauchen, und eigens zu dem Zweck die gefahrvolle Reise unternommen hatten.

Sie waren aus Uleai (Uliai 7°20 N. 143°57 O. Gr.) in fünf Booten, jedes mit 9 Mann Besatzung ausgelaufen, jedes Boot enthielt 40 Kürbis voll Wasser, Kokosnüsse und Bataten. Jeder Mann bekam täglich eine Kokosnuss und zwei in der Asche der Kokoschalen gebackene Bataten. Sie fingen einige Fische unterwegs und sammelten Regenwasser auf. Bei Tage steuerten sie nach der Sonne, Nachts nach den Sternen. Ein Sturm zerstreute die Boote. Zwei derselben gingen sammt der Mannschaft vor den Augen der Uebrigen zu Grunde, nur eines, wahrscheinlich das einzige gerettete, erreichte zwei Wochen nach der Abfahrt Tandag an der Ostküste von Mindanao. In Tandag blieben die Leute zwei Wochen, verrichteten Feldarbeit für Tagelohn und fuhren dann nordwärts die Küste entlang nach Cántilang 8°25' N., Banóuan (bei Coello irrthümlich Bancuan) 9°1' N., Taganáan 9°25' N., von da nach Surigáo an der Nordspitze von Mindanáo und dann mit Ostwind in zwei Tagen gerade aus nach Guíuan.

...

Translation.

...

CHAPTER XX**Travels in Samar (cont'd)**

In Guiuan I was visited by some Micronesians who, for the last fourteen days, had been engaged at Sulangan on the small neck of land southeast from Guiuan, in diving for pearl mussels (mother- of-pearl), having undertaken the dangerous journey for the express purpose.

They had sailed from Uleai (Uliai, 7°20' N., 143°57' E. Gr.) in five boats, each of which had a crew of nine men and carried forty gourds full of weater, with coconuts and batata [yams]. Every man received one coconut daily, and two batatas, which they baked in the ashes of the coco shells; and they caught some fish on the way, and collected a little rain water. During the day they directed their course by the sun, and at night by the stars. A storm destroyed the boats. Two of them sank, together with their crews, before the eyes of their companions, and of these, only one—probably the sole individual rescued—two weeks afterwards reached the harbor of Tandag, on the east coast of Mindanao. The party remained at Tandag two weeks, working in the fields for hire, and then proceeded northwards along the coast to Cuntilang, 8°25' N., Banouan (called erroneously Bancuan by Coello), 9°1' N.; Taganaan, 9°25' N.; thence to Surigao, on the north point of Mindanao; and then, with an easterly wind, in two days, direct to Guiuan.

...

[The rest is irrelevant, as it is a historical repeat of story from Father Cantova's times.]

Document 1860H

The bark *Gratitude*, Captain Davis

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 331; Log Inv. 2082.

*Note: The bark *Gratitude*, of New Bedford, Captain William Davis, Jr., voyage 1858-62. The logbook was kept by at least three men; the man keeping the log in 1860 is anonymous; in 1861 it was D. B. Fraser; later, it was A. Peters.*

Extract from the logbook

...
 [The bark went direct to the Arctic and stayed there until October 1859, when she went to Hawaii, then to Hong Kong via a detour to the Line, and Micronesia.]

...
 Friday Jan 13 [1860]

... At daylight, saw Rotch's [Tamana] Islands bearing SSE dist. 12 miles, heading to the N & W. Spoke the ship **California** of New Bedford. At 10 a.m., saw Clark's [Onotoa] Islands bearing NW dist. 15 miles... Lat. 2£08['] S., Long. 178°44' E, 4 p.m.

...
 Sunday Jan 15

... At 3 p.m., saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Islands bearing E by N dist. 14 miles... At 9 a.m., saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Islands bearing N dist. 10 miles... Lat. 00°0' S., Long. 174°02' E, 4 p.m.

...
 Thursday Jan 19

... At 7 a.m., saw the Island, Ocean High [Banaba] Is., bearing SW dist. 20 miles. Steered NW...

Friday Jan 20

... Sent two boats ashore for wood and took 4 boatloads on board... Laying off and on at Ocean High Is... At 7 a.m., sent two boats on shore for wood and took [?] boatloads...

Saturday Jan 21

... At 1 p.m., steered W by N carrying all sail... At 9 a.m., saw Pleasant [nauru] Island bearing SW...

Sunday 22

... At 1 p.m., sent two boats on shore for wood and took four boatloads and traded for 29 hogs and 2500 coconuts... Latter... employed in trading for hogs and coconuts...

Monday Jan 23

... At 1 p.m., steered NW carrying all sail...

...

[The bark crossed the Carolines without seeing any of them.]

...

Friday Feb 3

... At 8 a.m., saw the Island of Rota bearing WSW...

Saturday Feb 4

... At 1 p.m., sent a boat on shore to trade and brought off 1,000 lbs of yams and 100 lbs of sweet potatoes... Latter part... took two boatloads of yams and sweet potatoes on board...

Sunday Feb 5

... Trading 4 boatloads of yams and sweet potatoes and bought two pigs... Middle... steering W carrying all possible sail...

...

[The bark reached Hong Kong on 24 February, then went on to Hakodate (Japan), back to the Arctic for another season, down to Honolulu in October 11 1860, where all four mates and one boatsteerer were discharged. The new first mate and logkeeper was named D. R. Fraser. The bark went back to the Line in December 1860.]

...

Sunday December 17th/60

... There is 7 of the crew down with the venereal. There is none of the number off duty... Lat. obs. 5°39' N. Long. per Chr. 158°58' W.

...

[They met the ship **Othello** near Enderbury Island.]

...

Thursday January 11th/61

... At 8 p.m., saw McKean's Island bearing W dist. about 10 miles. At 10 p.m., the Captain went on shore... Laying off and on to leeward of the reef. Lat. obs. 5°38' S.

Friday January 12th/61

... At 1 p.m., the Captain returned to the ship. Made all sail steering SW. At 5 p.m., saw sperm whales. Lowered 3 boats without success not getting to the whales till dusk. They were going slowly to the SE... Lat. obs. 4°15' S. Long. per Cr. 174°10' W.

...

Monday January 15th 1861

... All sail set heading to the NE. Goo guide us to the whales. Lat. obs. 4°09' S. Long. per Cr. 172°28' W.

...

Thursday January 18th 1861

... At 11 p.m., saw McKean's Island bearing SW... All sail set steering SW. Lat. obs. 5°55' S...

Friday January 19th 1861

The old song over again. NE wind with clear weather. All sail set steering W. AT 2 p.m., Capt. Eldridge, Governor of McKean's Island, came on board. Ship laying off and on. Dusk, the boat returned to the Island. Furled all light sail, heading to the SE... Lat. obs. 4°22' S. Long. by Cr. 175°55' W.

...

Friday January 26th/61

The usual amount of NE winds with good whaling weather. All sail set and there is a number of bright eyes looking for whales... Employed sorting and picking over our potatoes. They are in a sad state... Lat. obs. 1°29' S. Long. per Cr. 175°26' W.

...

Monday February 4th 1861

... Two months from the [Sandwich] Islands and we have not got our hundred barrels of oil... Lat. obs. 2£48' S. Long. per Cr. 179°48' W.

...

[Change of date upon crossing the 180° meridian.]

...

Friday February 9th 1861

... Dawn, Hope [Arorae] Island bore WSW dist. 7 miles. At 8 p.m., the natives came on board and done a little trading... All sail set heading NNW. Lat. obs. 2°34' S. Long. per Cr. 176°45' E.

...

Tuesday February the 12th 1861

This day is a sample of the wind and weather for the past two months. No whales to be seen. This is poor fishing and what will become of us. God only knows.¹ At dawn, Simpson's [Abamama] Island bore WSW dist. 10 miles. All sail set steering W... Lat. obs. 00°15' N. Long. per Cr. 175°50' East.

Wednesday February 13th/61

... We are steering among a group of small islands. They appear to be connected by a number of shoals. At 4 p.m., got clear of them and set all sail heading SE... Lat. obs.

1 Ed. note: This is as good a time as any to state that the fishery was depleted; after all, this is the year that most Yankee whalers stopped fishing, the year of the Stone Fleet (see Doc. 1861...).

1°37' S.

Thursday February 14th/61

... This is the most barren piece of the Ground that we have been over. There is nothing alive in the shape of a fish... Lat. obs. 2°47' S. Long. per Cr. 175°54' E.

...

Monday February 18th/61

... At 11 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing W by S dist. 20 miles...

Tuesday February 19th/61

... AT 1 p.m., the Captain went on shore and the natives came on board. Received 3 boatloads of wood. At dusk, the Captain returned, set all sail heading North. There is a current setting to the West at the rate of 2 miles per hour. Employed sawing and stowing wood... Lat. by obs. 00°34' S. Long. per Cr. 169°08' E.

...

Sunday February 24th/61

... There appears to be a 3 knot current setting to the W... Lat. obs. 2°31' S. Long. per Cr. [blank].

...

Tuesday February 26th/61

... At 4 a.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SSW dist. 20 miles... At 8 p.m., the natives came on board to trade. Bought 3 hogs and a quantity of conuts... All sail set heading SE.

...

[The log changes hand once more, because the Captain "sent the Mate, Fraser, to his State Room on account of his intolerable conduct to Capt. and damning the orders given by the Capt." He was not officially replaced by A. Peters until ready to leave Guam on March 21st.]

...

Monday March 4th

... At 8 a.m., saw McAskill's [Pingelap] Island bearing W by S, by compass. At 10, luffed to under the lee of it and spoke Hero of Oahu and boarded him with a boat and found there was nothing to be had at the island. At noon, kept off NW by W. So ends. Mate off duty.

Tuesday March 5th

... At 2 p.m., lost sight of McAskill's Island. At 8 p.m., shortened sail for the night and luffed to the wind on Larboard tack, making 4-hour tacks through the night. At daylight, steered off our course. At 6 a.m., saw Wellington's [Mokil] Island bearing NW. At 9 a.m., luffed to unnder the lee of it. A boat came off to us with one white man and some natives, then went on shore with 2 boats after coconuts and hogs. So ends. Lying off and on. Mate off duty.

Wednesday March 6th

... Lying off and on at Wellington's Island trading for hogs, turtle, and coconuts. Sold Bow Boat. At 4 p.m., steered off WNW and set all sail. At 7 a.m., put a new boat on the bow cranes. So ends. Mate off duty. Lat. 7°47' N. Long. 157°26' East.

...

Monday Mrch 11th

... At 8 a.m., saw the Island of Rota bearing WSW. WE steered W by S At 10 a.m., saw Island of Tinian bearing North. So ends. Mate off duty. Lat. 14°15' N. Long. 145°35' East.

Tuesday March 12th

... Steering W by S for Island of Rota. At 4 p.m., we lyed off and on through the night. At 7 a.m., Capt went ashore with boats to trade for hogs and yams. So ends. Mate off duty.

Wednesday March 13th 1861

... Lying off and on at Rota trading for hogs and yams. At sundown, kept off SW by W by compass for Guam under whole topsails. At daylight, raised the Island to windward of us. We fell to leeward. Latter part, beating up for Guam. ONe ship in sight working up. At noon, south Point about 6 miles off, Umata Bay bearing East. Found this Chronometer 30 miles to Eastward of the Island. So ends. Mate off duty.

Thursday March 14th

... Beating up to Guam. At daylight, we was [sic] off the town. At 8 a.m., Capt. went on shore. Got off one boatload of sweet potatoes. AT 7 a.m., Capt. told the Mate, Fraser, to go to his duty. He refused and said he would not do any more duty aboard the ship. Capt. then broke him of his capacity as mate or as being of ship's company. So ends. Ship **Emily Morgan** lying off and on.

Friday March 15th

... Lying off and on at Guam getting off potatoes, yams, bananas and fowls. Ship **Emily Morgan** in company. Latter part a German brig came in.¹ So ends.

Saturday March 16th

... Lying off and on at Guam getting off recruits. Latter part, went to Umata to get water. At 10 a.m., came to anchor with small bower in 12 fathoms water. Fort with flag staff and a large house on the beach one point open to the North. Ship **Arab** was at anchor. We took a raft of casks ashore for fresh water. So ends.

1 Ed. note: Most likely the brig **Kohola**, Capt. Corsen, although she could have been the brig **Hero**, Meyer, which was at Guam in April.

Sunday March 17th

Lying at anchor at Umata. Weather squally with frequent showers of rain. First part, got off 100 bbls water and 2 cords wood. At dark, set the watch for the night, an officer and boatsteerer to stand together in the night. Anton Silas deserted. Middle and latter, nothing going on. At 11 a.m., **Emily MOrgan** came to anchor.

Monday March 18th

Lying at anchor. First part, nothing doing. Latter, stowed away the water. In the night, three men ran away, Lewing Cross, José Delgado, José Nariana. At 10 o'clock, got under way and stood to sea. So ends, Apra Harbor bearing East dist. 3 miles.

Tuesday March 19th

... Cruising off North side of Guam carrying single reefed topsails. Land in sight...

Wednesday March 20

... Cruising off North side of Guam. Land in sight. Waiting to apprehend four deserters...

Thursday March 21st

Ill Lying off and on at Guam. Capt. on shore shipping men. Shipped second Mate and two men. We caught Anton Silas and brought him aboard. At 2 p.m., D. B. Fraser went ashore and took his things in a shore boat. Mr. A. Peters acting as mate hereafter from this date.

Friday March 22

... Lying off and on at Guam. Capt. and boats crew on shore. At 5 p.m., came aboard and brought off two men and second mate we had shipped, then steered N with all sail set. Latter, painted Starboard Boat. So ends, North Point of Guam bearing SSE, the Island of Rota in sight bearing E by N. So ends. Lat. 14°13' N.

Saturday March 23rd

These 24 hours calms and very hot weather with a cat's paw¹ occasionally. Watch seriously employed about the ship. So ends. Rota bearing SE by S dist. 18 miles.

Sunday March 24th

... First part, saw the Island Sypan [Saipan] to Eastward. S ends. Lat. 16°01' N. Long. 144°55' E.

1 Ed. note: A light breeze that ripples the water.

Monday March 25th

... Around the horizon, three of Ladrone Islands in sight. Latter part, one ship. So ends, steering North. Lat. 16°55' [N]. Long. 145°00' [E].

...

To the Bonins, where the bark had little success with shales and was hit by a storm. Then she went up to the Arctic, and later home.]

Document 1860I

The Elizabeth Swift, Captain Josiah E. Chase

Sources: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; Log Inv. 1551.

Extract from the logbook kept an anonymous mate

...
Tuesday Aug 7th [1860]

... At 9 p.m., saw the land, the South side of Baker's Island or New Nantucket. At 11 a.m., Capt. Chase went on shore. The remainder of the day laying off and on the land with a boat's crew on shoe. Ships **Gazelle & Japan** in sight. Lat. 00°14' S. Long. 176°25' W.

Wednesday Aug 8th

... At 2 p.m., Capt. Chase came on board & kept the Ship off to the South in company with **Gazelle & Japan**. Lat. 00°14' S. Long. 177°44' W.

...
Thursday Aug 16th

... At 9 a.m., saw Hope [Arorae]...

Friday Aug 17th

... At daylight... Rotch's [Tamana] Island under the lee 10 miles dist. At 9 a.m., finished cutting [in 2 whales]. 3 boats of natives came off to trade. The remainder of the day employed clearing up the decks. At noon, started the works. The land still in sight to the westward. Lat. 2°37' S. Long. 176°02'30" E.

...
Tuesday Aug 21st

... The crew employed washing their clothes...

Wednesday Aug 22nd

... Capt. Chase & officers searched the forecandle in order to find some stolen tobacco belonging to one of the seamen...

...

Sunday Aug 26th

... At 9 a.m., an old sow brought forth in the shape of two pigs. A black-and-white one thus far is doing well... Lat. 00°07' S. Long. 179°18' E.

Monday Aug 27th

... At 10 [a.m.], spoke Ship **Japan**...

Tuesday Aug 28th

... Steering to the North in company with Ship **Japan**... At 9 a.m., saw land to the Westward, Byron's [Nukunau] Island. At 11 a.m., Ship within 2 miles. The natives off trading. Lat. 1°29' S. Long. 176°23' E.

Wednesday Aug 29th

.. At 5 p.m., saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island. At 7 saw a shoal of whales going quick to the windward. Lowered the boats in chase till noon, without success. Ship **Japan** in sight.

...

Saturday Sept. 1st

... Steering in for Perote [Beru] Island. At 2 p.m., several canoes came on board... At noon, the Island of Perote still in sight to the S & E... Lat. 00°47' S. Long. 175°39' E.

...

Thursday Sept. 6th

... At 10 a.m., saw land to the westward, Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island. At noon, 10 miles distant.

Friday Sept. 7th

... Steering to the NW along the land... At 8 a.m., saw Sydenham's Island to the NW.

Saturday Sept. 8th

... At 3 p.m., saw land, Henderville's [Aranuka] Island to the NW... Latter part... Ship laying off and on the land trading with natives for hogs & fowl. Lat. 00°xx N. Long. 173°13'30" E.

Sunday Sept. 9th

... Ship laying aback at Woodle's [Kuria] Island, trading with natives for hogs and fowls. At 3 p.m., got through & started off to the SE... Lat. 00°50' S. Long. 173°00' E.

...

Wednesday Sept. 12th

... At 10 a.m., saw the land to the NE, Woodle's Island.

...

Friday Sept. 14th

... At 4, spoke Brig **Camilla** of Auckland.¹

Latter part... Steering to the South in company with Brig **Camilla**. Capt. on board trading for clothing, shoes & paint oil & other articles. Lat. 1°16' S. Long. 172°14' E.

Saturday Sept 15th

... Steering to the SE in company with Brig **Camilla** of Auckland, N.Z. ... Latter part... At 7 a.m., saw the Brig to the westward. Lat. 2°57' S. Long. 171°49' E.

...

[One year later...]

...

Saturday, Aug 9th [1861]

Wetting the hold. At 5 a.m., spoke Ship **Gay Head** of New Bedford... Lat. 00°12' S. Long. 179°19' E.

...

Tuesday Aug 12th

... At 4 p.m., saw land to the NW, Byron's [Nukunau] Island, one of the Kingsmill Group... At 10 a.m., saw land, Rotch's [Tamana] Island. Kept the Ship off for it.

Wednesday Aug 13th

... At 2 p.m., within 3 miles of the land, hauled aback & let the canoes come alongside to trade for hats & mats. Watches employed in wetting the hold... A native stowed away on board from Rotch's Island. Lat. 3°05' S. Long. 176°26' E.

Thursday Aug 14th

... At 9 a.m., saw Rotch's Island. At 10, saw Hope [Arorae] Island... Saw a sail off Rotch's Island.

Friday Aug 15th

... At 4 p.m., saw Clark's [Onotoa] Island... At daylight, kept the Ship off for Clark's. At 10 a.m., hauled aback for the canoes to come alongside to trade.

Saturday Aug 16th

... Ship steered off to the leeward of Clark's Island in order to come to an anchor for to trade for molasses. At 6 a.m., came to anchor in 8 fathoms and furled the sails... Taking off molasses. Rec'd on board 2 tons or thereabouts of coconut oil belonging to Capt. C. A native joined the Ship by the name of Harry.

¹ Ed. note: Nicholson's Log of Logs has one HMS *Camilla* identified in 1856-57 as perhaps belonging to N.Z. Perhaps she is the same ship.

Sunday Aug 17th

... At 6 p.m., got under way & steered off to the NW. At 9 p.m., saw Drummond [TABiteuea] Island. The remainder of the day steering along with the land.

Monday Aug 18th

... Laying off & on Drummond's Island trading with the natives for molasses. At noon, North end of the Island 2 miles dist. Lat. 00°45' S. Long. 173°53' E.

Tuesday Aug 19th

... At 1 p.m., saw Dydenham's [Nonouti] Island to the NW...

...

Wednesday Aug 20th

... All hands employed breaking out the hold in order to find a leak in the oil but found no leak of consequence...

Thursday Aug 21st

... At 6 a.m., saw Pitt's [Butaritari] Island... Lat. 3°12' N. Long. 173°04' E.

Friday Aug 22nd

... Ship laying off the South end of Pitt's Island. Capt. C. went in shore & returned at 2 a.m., then kept to the NW along with the land... Lat. 4°10' N. Long. 172°21' E.

...

Tuesday Sept. 2nd

... At 7 a.m., saw land to the westward, Ocean [Banaba] High Island... Ship steering in for the land.

Wednesday Sept. 3rd

... At 2 p.m., Capt. CV. went in shore to trade for hogs and fowl. At 5 o'clock returned with 8 pigs & 6 fowls. Several canoes of natives came on board... Lat. 00°22' E.

...

Monday Sept. 8th

... At 4 p.m., saw land to the NW, so called Hunter's [Kili] Island & one of the Covel [Ebon] Group... Lat. 5°42' N. Long. 168°07' E.

...

Sunday Sept. 14th

... Henry Brotherton, a seaman, off duty with the clap.¹

...

1 Ed. note: A case of venereal disease.

Document 1860J

The Eugenia, Captain Solomon F. Hamlin

Sources: Logbook in the Falmouth Historical Society; Log Inv. 1662.

Note: The log was usually kept by the Mate, a Mr. Baker.

Extract from the logbook

...

Thursday Aug 16th [1860]

.. At 3 p.m., raised Baker's Island. At sundown, got down to it. Two ships there for guano, also the **Brig Josephine** bound to Honolulu in which we sent letter. The Capt. went on shore a few minutes. Found Capt. Breebe [sic] there; ship gone on, left him.¹ Lat. 16 miles N., Long. 176°20' W.

...

Saturday Aug 25th

... At 2 p.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island off the lee beam, ship heading South. Saw 2 ships. At 4 p.m., gamed with them, the **Atlantic** 26 months out, 650 Sperm, **Cornelius Howland**, Capt. Dougherty, 16 months out, 600 sperm. Sold Capt. Dougherty 100 pounds of white lead, 160 pounds of tobacco. At 9 p.m., broke up the gam and steered to the North... Lat. 1°12' S. Long. 177°00' E.

Sunday Aug 26th

... In company with the **Cornelius Hawland**. At sunset, gamed with her... Lat. 1 mile South. Long. 177°13' E.

...

Tuesday Aug 22th

... At 9 a.m., raised Perote [Beru] half point on the weather bow. The **C. Howland** on our weather quarter. Stood up to the Island, one [where] we were visited by a great number of canoes. Perote, one of the King Mill's Group, Island of hats. At 6 p.m., gamed with the **C. Howland**. At 8, gave up the gam and worked to the windward tack and tacked through the night... Lat. 1°15' S. Long. 176°14' [E].

...

1 Ed. note: Probably Captain William S. Beebe, of the Bark Alice (see Log Inv. 220).

Thursday Aug 30th

... Sighted Drummond's [Tabiteuea] & Sydenham's [Nonouti] on the lee beam... Lat. 1° S, Long. 175°01' E.

Friday Aug 31st

... At 9 a.m., raised the **Cornelius Howland** boiling. At 10:30, raised Simpson's [Abamama] Island... Lat. 28 miles N. Long. 174°21' [E].

...

Thursday Sept. 5th

... At 12 M, raised Simpson's island ahead. Lat. 00°00. Long. 173°36' E.

...

Saturday Sept. 8th

... At 9 a.m., raised the **Cornelius Howland**. Gammed with her. She has seen whales twice since we last saw her. Took one that made 30 bbls... Lat. 1°50' N.

...

Tuesday Sept. 11th

... At 12 M, raised Ocean [Banaba] Island one point on the lee bow heading SSE. Stood up to the Island. Found the **Corneliue Howland** there. A few canoes came alongside but brought no trade... The Capt. and Charles, boatsteerer, off duty sick. Lat. 45 miles S. Long. 169°58' E.

...

Thursday Sept. 13th

... At 9 a.m., raised Pleasant [Nauru] Island ahead... At 12M, got down to the Island in company with the **Cornelius Howland**. The natives came off in great numbers. Bought 4 pigs. At 4 p.m., left the Island... Lat. 30 miles S. Lat. 167°14' E.

...

[After a cruise in southern waters, the bark came back to the Line Iss. and the Gilberts.]

...

Tuesday Aug 20th [1861]

... AT 3 p.m., raised Perote [Beru] on the weather beam. At 5 p.m., gammed with the **Addison**, 14 months out, 130 bbls.

...

Thursday Aug 22nd

... Laying under the lee of Perote all day trading for hats with the natives, in company with the **Addison**. In the afternoon, gammed. At 4 p.m., down tacks and stood to the North.

...

Sunday Aug 25th

... At 8 a.m., tacked to the North. Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island bearing SW dist. 15 miles... Lat. at 4 p.m., 4 miles N. Long. 177°39' E.

...

Tuesday Aug 27th

... At daylight, Simpson's [Abemama] Island in sight bearing W dist. 16 miles. At 8 a.m., were boarded by canoes. Found trading brig **Freak**, Capt. Fairclough, lying at anchor. At 11 a.m., kept off and ran down to Henderville [Aranuka]. A few canoes came off with a few shells. At 2 p.m., boat went on shore. Bought 3 pigs, one hatchet a pig, plenty of hogs on the Island. The landing is on the South side of both the above-named islands... Lat. 10 miles N. Long. 173°34' E.

Wednesday Aug 28th

... Lying off and on at Woodle's [Kuria] Island. Got 12 pigs, 2000 coconuts... The trading Brig **Sharllt** [sic = Charlotte?] of Bremen arrived and anchored. Sold her one bbl beef, 8 empty bbls, 193 pounds bread. AT dark, down tacks and steered to the South... Lat. 2 miles N. Long. 173°0' E.

Thursday Aug 29th

... The Capt. Charles Peru, well and on duty. Steward sick and off duty. Capt. painted his room...

Friday Aug 30th

... Spoke the **Gazelle** of New Bedford, Capt. Baker, 48 months out, 1500 [bbls] sperm... Lat. 30 miles S. Long. 171°45' E.

...

Friday Sept. 7th

... **Gazelle** in sight. Ocean [Banaba] Island in sight in the morning bearing W dist. 25 miles.... Lat. 10 miles S. Long. 170°05' E.

...

Monday Sept 9th

Fine weather. AT Ocean Island trading, in company with the **Gazelle**. Traded for 14 hogs, 30 chickens, a lot of broom stuff. At dark, took in sail and stood to the North... Lat. 45 miles S. Long. 179°50' E.

...

Thursday Sept. 12th

... Steered North all day. Bent a new spanker [sail]. Killed 2 pigs. **Gazelle** in sight. Lat. 50 miles N. Long. 169°37' E.

...

Wednesday Sept 18th

... Gammed with the **Gazelle**. Mr. Baker [the Mate] came on board at midnight.

Thursday Sept 19th

.. At 6 p.m., raised Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SSW... Lat. 30 miles S. Long. 167°06' E.

Friday Sept 20th

... Lying off and on at Pleasant Island in company with the **Gazelle** and **Gay Head**. Got off 16 hogs, 3 boatloads of wood, 2000 coconuts, 10 bbls coconut oil. In the evening, gammed. Lat. 35 miles S. Long. 167°10' E.

...

Note 1860K

**Ianthe Shoal confirmed by barque Nile,
Captain Destin**

Source: Nautical Magazine (1861), p. 166.

Ianthe Shoal,—Caroline Islands.

The following extract from the log of the barque **Nile** confirms the existence of the Ianthe Shoal; but the position given by the **Nile**, although agreeing in longitude differs in latitude.

Barque **Nile**, Destin, reports:—"Left the Sea [sic] October 1st; had moderate weather down. February 9th, in lat. 5°31' N., long. 145°42' E., at 6.15 p.m., passed over a sunken reef, with very little room to spare, the rocks being plainly visible on each side of the vessel, and the man aloft reported breakers on one side. The barque was before the wind at the time, and was only two minutes between the rocks. She was heading in the sun glare, which prevented the earlier discovery of the danger."

As nothing is more likely than that this shoal may extend even thirty miles South of its latitude in the chart, which is so much to the northward of this, the mariner will be cautious in its vicinity.

Document 1860L

Mutiny aboard a mystery ship at Majuro, in the 1850s

Source: Chapter IV of Louis Becke's Notes from my South Sea Log (London, Laurie, 1905).

The Unknown Ship of Maduro Lagoon

The great atoll of Maduro is one of the Marshall Island Archipelago in the North Pacific, and consists of a number of low-lying, narrow islets, densely clothed with coco-palms, and connected with each other by the coral reef which encompasses the noble lagoon. At the present time [1890s] it is German territory, and its Malayo-Polynesian native inhabitants are under the “fatherly” care of a few of the Kaiser’s officials, who rule them with a rod of iron, and make them long for the days of a few years ago, when the now expelled English and American traders dwelt among them in happiness and peace.

On the eastern [rather northern] side of the atoll there is a broad ship passage into the lagoon, and near this entrance is a wondrously beautiful and well-wooded island called Karolin,¹ about three miles in length and one in width. In the native language Karolin eans “Peaceful Sleep,”² and it is indeed a place where one can sleep peacefully, lulled by the murmur of the surf on the outer reef, and the soft rustle of the palm fronds as they sway gently to the almost sleeping trade wind at night.

I know the island well, and love it, for it has many happy memories for me.

When I first visited Karolin—I was then engaged in trading on the main island of Maduro—I was surprised to find that although the island was so fertile it was uninhabited, although it contained everything to make it attractive to the native mind—many thousands of coco-palms, all richly fruited, groves of pandanus and jack-fruit [rather breadfruit] trees, and acres of ground covered with splendid arrowroot plants. Yet in former years it had been densely populated, as was shown by the trunks of what had once been extensive plantations of bananas, and of a vegetable named *puraka*, stone-lined wells, and the coral foundations of hundreds of houses, now overgrown with creepers, vines and jungle.

1 Ed. note: Also known as Catalin, or Luella. Mar 13-14 in Bryan’s Place Names.

2 Ed. note: It is the name of the atoll that means Sleep.

At that time I was unable to speak the Marshall Islands language, and could not, therefore, learn from the natives the reason of their desertion of such a beautiful spot: and, indeed, to all my inquiries I had but mystifying answers. One was that Jibberick (the king of Maduro) did not wish any of his people to live there, as they might be surprised by a war party from the neighbouring atoll of Ahrnu [Arno] and cut off; another was that the island was unhealthy (a pure fiction), and a third that all the fish about the reef of Karolin were lightly poisonous—this was certainly true. A fourth reason was that the king liked to have all his subjects settled near him on his own islet of Egit, and a fifth that Lailik, the chief of the town in which I lived, and the king's successor in the event of his death, had quarrelled over the ownership of the island, and had agreed to leave it uninhabited, though twice every year they sent a fleet of canoes there, manned by some hundreds of natives. They stripped the coco-trees of their nuts, divided the produce between them, turned it into oil, and sold it to the white traders. This latter story I believed to be the true one.

Lailik and I were good friends. I had so happened that two years before I came to Maduro I had rendered him a good service. He was voyaging from Maduro to Milli Lagoon in his great double canoe with seventy people, when they were first overtaken by a hurricane, which nearly wrecked them. Then followed a calm of thirteen days, during which many of their number perished from hunger and thirst. The vessel in which I was supercargo met them two hundred miles out of their course, and I gave the survivors water and provisions, and many months afterwards Lailik and his people returned safely to Maduro.

A few days after I had settled on Maduro as a trader and had been warmly received by Lailik, another event occurred which made him more grateful. His second wife (he had three), a young and graceful woman named Nadup, had a severe attack of ophthalmia, which I was able to cure by a simple solution of nitrate of silver.

With the old king Jibberick I was not *persona grata*, having offended him by selling some arms to his hereditary enemies of Ahrno. It was no use my explaining to him that my employers' interests had to be considered, and that my instructions were to sell arms to anyone who could pay for them, and also that he himself had bought rifles and ammunition from both my predecessors and myself. The old man sulked, and one day when I sent him a present of a small keg of salt beef he returned it to me—subjecting me to about the greatest insult he could devise, for to decline a gift of food is regarded as a serious matter by all Malayo-Polynesians.

One day, shortly after Lailik's wife's eyes were better, I asked him to tell me the real reason why no-one lived on Karolin. He hesitated a few moments, and then told me that the island "was full of ghosts"—haunted, and that for many years it had been impossible for anyone to sleep there at night, and that even in the day-time these ghosts had appeared, walking about in the jungle or sitting on the beach on the inner or lee side of the island.

—"Have you seen any of these ghosts, Lailik" I asked.

—"Yes," was the emphatic reply, "twice have I seen one of them when I was a boy.

Once it was at sunset, and I saw the ghost come out from behind a big *gur* (banian tree) and walk towards the beach. The second time I saw the same man swimming close to the shore. I knew him by his red beard.”

—“A red beard?”

—“Aye, even so—a red beard, for it was the ghost of a white man,” was the quiet response.

I looked at Lailik steadily, and his eyes met mine unwaveringly. He was a strikingly handsome man of about forty years of age, with a jet-black beard.

—“You doubt me,” he said, “and it gives me no surprise. Yet to no other white man would I speak as I now speak to you, for you will not laugh, nor tell me that I am lying. But it is true. There are many ghosts on Karolin—ghosts of white men who died there before I was born. Many people have seen them. Many have seen the man with the red beard, who carries a cutlass in his hand, and many have seen the ghost of a *Shina*¹—a man with a long tail of hair hanging down his back, and his garments red with blood, for his throat is cut, and with one hand he seeks to stay the blood. And there are other ghosts of white men. But it is hard for me to speak of these things.”

—“Lailik, you can trust me. What you tell me no-one shall know. It will be hidden in my heart. I shall speak of it to no-one.”

Again he hesitated, but after some more pressing he told me the whole story of a tragedy that had been enacted on Karolin during his father’s life-time, and when there were no Europeans resident on Maduro. I listened to him intently. That he believed that he had actually seen a ghost there was no doubt, and equally there was no doubt in the imaginative minds of many others of his people that they too had seen the disembodied spirits of a number of white men, who had all met with a violent death in the space of a week or so. The aversion of all the natives to speak of the tragedy to any white man was easily explainable, for they feared that they would be regarded as murderers, and their villages destroyed and burnt, and themselves killed by an English or American ship of war. In those days the people of some of the Marshall Islands had earned for themselves an evil reputation for the cutting off of whaleships and trading vessels, and the massacre of their crews, and when they were punished for their misdoings it sometimes happened that absolutely innocent communities were shot down with the guilty. Naturally, therefore, the people of Maduro kept the story of what had happened on Karolin to themselves, and, indeed, destroyed all traces that would lead to its ever coming to light.

As nearly as possible I will repeat Lailik’s own words. He told me the story when he and I were alone, fishing in the lagoon. We paddled out from my own station directly across the atoll for a distance of eight or nine miles till we were within rifle-shot of the white beach of Karolin with its fringe of lofty coco-palms.

After we had lowered our mat sail, and anchored and eaten, Lailik pointed out to me the dark green tops of a grove of jack-fruit trees near the centre of the island, and

1 Chinaman.

asked me if I knew the place.

—“Yes,” I replied, “I have twice shot pigeons there. There are a lot of very high trees growing out of the banks which surround an old *puraka* plantation.”

He nodded.

—“Aye, and in between the butts of the trees, deep down in the ground, lie some of the white men—others went into the bellies of the sharks. No-one of us will take bread-fruit from these trees now, even if there was a famine in the land. Did you ever hear of Lol, son of the brother of Jibberick?”

I shook my head.

—“Lol was a very strong and daring young man. He feared nothing, and jested always at sacred things and the gods. One day there came to Maduro a great canoe from Milli Lagoon with a hundred people in it. They came as friends to stay two months. Among them was a young woman named Le-juan, and she and Lol became lovers, and there was talk of marriage, and preparations were made. Now, by reason of the continual feasting that had happened for many weeks, all the ripe jack-fruit had been eaten, and there were none left but those that were ripe and falling from the grove on karolin, which no-one dared to gather. Le-juan, who was incensed, said that to be without jack-fruit at her wedding feast was an insult. She did not know why no-one dared to pluck the fruit from those trees. Then Lol told her and she called him a coward.

—“That night he came to me and said: ‘To-morrow I go to Karolin to get jack-fruit for my wedding feast. I fear nothing.’ So, he took a canoe and went alone after sunrise. We could not stay him, for he jeered at us, and when he did not jeer he cursed, and Le-juan stood near and laughed, and gave him words of encouragement. He hoisted his mat sail, and set off, beating against the wind, and long before the sun was in mid-sky he landed on the beach, just there before us. The night came, and he did not return. In the morning seven young men, of whom I was one, went to seek him. We found his canoe on the beach, and a little higher up on the bank was Lol. He was lying on his back, dead. His hands were clenched and his eyes wide open, and his face was bad to look upon, though in life he had been a handsome man. Although he was so godless, he had many friends, and because of his death we took the girl Le-juan and strangled her—for she had caused it. Her own people were not angry because we did this. They knew it was right and proper, for why should a silly girl bewitch and destroy a strong man? And she died with but little pain and much honour; for those who strangled her were chiefs’ wives, and it was done as she slept.”

—“Perhaps it was as well, Lailik. Such women as was Le-juan bring much trouble upon men by their beauty. Now tell me why the ghosts haunt karolin.”

— O —

—“This thing happened when there were many hundreds of people living on Karolin, in one large village under my father, who also ruled at Molok” (the large town in which my trading station was situated, and which was ruled by Lailik)—“how many hundreds I do not know—perhaps ten. One morning, when the rain came down very heavily and the wind was strong, a ship swept in through the passage. She was *kátoa*

(full-rigged) with yards on all three masts. When she was well into the lagoon, and in smooth water, she came to the wind, and waited as if expecting a pilot. So my father and his brother, who could both speak English, went off in a canoe, and the captain made them very welcome, and asked them to take his ship to an anchorage. This they well knew how to do, for my uncle had been to sea in an American whaleship for many years, and was a good sailor-man. When the ship was safely anchored, close to the beach of the little bay on the north end of the island, the captain was very pleased, and my father and his brother were taken into the cabin and given grog to drink, and present of a musket with fifty bullets, and a can of fine, black powder.”

“He told them that the ship came from Sydney, and was going to Manila with a rich cargo, and he had put into Maduro to fill the water-casks, and also to repair the bowsprit, which had been injured in a storm and was loose. He had been told of Maduro by another ship captain, who said that the passage into the lagoon was safe, and the people could be trusted not to try and take the ship. In the cabin, lying on a soft couch in the stern, was the captain’s wife, and seated by her were her two daughters; the captain told my father that his wife was ill, and that he was glad that his ship would be in smooth water for six or eight days so that the sick woman could be rested. In a little while the bats were lowered to get water from the four wells, which were in the village. They are but small wells, as you know, and the sailors grumbled at the water, which was just a little brackish, and the captain told my father that his men were a lazy and orthless lot, and that when he got to Manila he would send them all to prison, for they were continuously rude to him and his officers, often refused to work, and had threatened him with violence. The man who was most mutinous of all he pointed out—he was very tall and strong, and had a great red beard which hid his chest from view.ø

“Towards the everning the captain asked our people if they would lend him a house wherein his wife and daughters and he might sleep at night, for the cabin of the ship was very hot, even with the great stern ports open, and the sick woman longed to rest on the land. My father and our people were pleased, especially the women, who clapped their hands with delight, for but very few of them had ever before seen a white woman, and in a little while the whole village was in commotion, the women and children running to get fine mats to lay upon the floor of the house my father had pointed out to the captain. It stood just above the margin of the beach, under the shade of two great bread-fruit trees, and, the ground being high, the wind blew about it more than any other house and made it cool. At the back was a grove of plantain, and in front was a wide open space covered with fine pebbles, which was always kept clean and free from dead leaves.”

“Before sunset the three white ladies came on shore, and the two girls laughed at the manner in which our young women surrounded them as thy stepped out of the boat. Many of them touched their hands, their hair, their feet, and kissed their clothes, for they had never before seen such a beautiful sight as these two white English girls, who were tall and stright and so like each other that only their father and mother could have discerned between them; and the captain, who laughed continuously at the way in which

his daughters were worshipped, told my father they were *masaga* (twins). One was named Marie, and the other Toarisi [Theresa?], and in a little while they let some of our young girls put their arms round their waists, and so all together they came to the house, the sick woman being carried on a litter by four sailors. Everything that we could offer in the way of food was taken to them, until at last the captain prayed us to send no more; and then, because he was grateful, he brought on shore a whole unopened case of twist tobacco, and gave it to my father to be divided among the people.”

“For two days and nights the captain—who was an old man—never left the house, except to go outside and smoke, for his wife did not get better, but lay and moaned, and sometimes laughed and sang, and the two girls, Marie and Toarisi, wept silently as they sat beside her, for her sickness was so great that she did not know them. On the morning of the third day, the Captain came to my father, and said, ‘I pray you that no noise be made near the house, for my wife sleeps, and the fever that has run so long in her veins abates.’”

“Soon after the ship’s bell had struck eight times, the second mate came on shore and begged the captain to come quickly to the ship, for the man with the red beard and five other sailors had taken a keg of rum from the cabin in the night, and had become drunk, and beaten the Chinese steward, and struck down the mate and third mate with belaying pins, so that they were then as dead men. As the second mate spoke in whispered tones to his captain, the sick woman awakened and stretched out her hands, and cried out loudly, ‘Dick, Marie, Toarisi, come quickly, quickly, for I am leaving thee.’¹ And as her hands fell, and they gathered about her, she died.”

“The captain and the second mate stayed a little while with the dead lady, and then left her with the two girls. Then they went on board with ten strong young men of the village, and bound and put in irons all the crew, who were dulled with liquor, and attended to the first and third mates and the Chinese steward. Then the captain told the boatswain that he must take care of the ship until the morning, as the two officers were too badly hurt to stand, and that he (the captain) was leaving five or six of our young men to help him watch the men in irons, and see that they did not break their fetters and do further mischief. Then he loaded the wounded officers’ pistols—they each had two—and placed them beside their pillows, and told them to shoot dead any one of the sailors who might force his way into the cabin. After this was done he took ten rifles from where they stood around the mizzen mast in the cabin, and put them into the boat, together with plenty of powder and ball; the rest of the rifles, and all the cutlasses, he carried into the mates’ cabins. Then he returned to the shore with the ship’s carpenter, who was a man of Shina like the steward. The carpenter brought with him planks and tools, and by noon he had made a coffin for the dead woman, and our people dug a grave under a grove of *kul* (pandanus-palms)² and lined it strongly with smooth slabs

1 Ed. note: So, the old captain’s first name was Richard.

2 Ed. note: Not pandanus, as it is *bob* in Marshallese. The word *kul* (now written ‘ghull’, is Carolinian for the Barringtonia tree.

of coral stone. Then at sunset four of our young men lifted the coffin, and the captain and his two daughters and the carpenter followed, and after them came all the people in the village, walking very slowly and sadly, for they were grieved to see how the girls wept. The old man read from the book, and then when he had finished he motioned to some young women to lead his daughters away, back to their house, and then when the grave was filled in he followed them, and all three sat there together in the darkness for many hours. Then the lamp was lit, and they slept.”

“Just at dawn broke the people in the village were awakened by the sound of shots on the ship, and then by wild cries, and running to the beach, together with the captain and his daughters, they saw two of the five men who had been left on board to guard the officers swimming to the shore and as they swam they were fired at by the sailors; the ship was so close to the beach that they soon reached it, and then, unhurt, ran up the slope crying for my father. ‘The white men have broken their bonds,’ they cried, ‘and have killed the two officers, the boatswain, the man of Shina, and our three comrades, with axes.’ As they spoke the mutineers ceased firing with their muskets, and gathered together on the after deck, and began to drag about and load four brass cannons that were there—two on the lower and four on the upper deck.”

“‘Tell all your people to run to the right and left away from the houses,’ cried the captain to my father and his brother, and then he and his daughters and the Shina carpenter (who had slept on shore) sped to their house, which was very exposed, and quickly gathered together the guns and bullets and powder that were there, and began to run with them to where there was a high bank covered with *ku* trees. Just as they neared the top and were descending to safety on the other side, one of the cannons on the ship was fired and hundreds of round iron bullets swept around them, and the captain and carpenter both fell. Before any of our terrified people could go to their help the girls had carried their father behind the ridge, then they went back for the carpenter, and then again for the guns and ammunition. They were brave girls, and they gave our people courage.”

“‘My father’s leg is wounded with a bullet,’ cried Toarisi to my father, ‘is there anyone among you who can help me stay the blood?’ But the old man bade her have no fear, as the wound was not a bad one, and then, as it was being bound up, he directed my father what to do and how to beat off the mutineers should they try to land. As he was speaking three more cannons were fired into the village, and the bullets and square bits of iron tore through the sides of the houses and made a great noise like the breaking of trees in a high wind. But no-one was hurt, for all had fled from the houses as they had been told. ‘From here we can shoot them down with my rifles,’ cried the captain to the chiefs, ‘bring quickly some coconut logs and lay them on the top of the bank so that we can lie behind in safety. have no fear; trust to me. My daughters can shoot well. But let no-one show himself, but keep behind the bank. How many of you have muskets, and know how to use them?’

“Our people had but four, and they were so old and foul that the captain said they were better without them. The rifles which he had brought on shore were a kind none

of us had before seen. They each had four chambers, which went round like those of a revolver, and they fired long, heavy bullets.”¹

“As quickly as possible we raised a heavy barricade of coconut logs on the top of the bank, and whilst this was being done no more cannons were fired from the ship, for the mutineers had gone below to the cabin, and none of them could be seen. But the captain told us he was sure that they knew what was being done. ‘They have gone below to get grog to drink,’ he said, ‘and it is in my mind that presently they will load the eight cannons with round shot and fire them at us. But no-one of us can be hurt if ye all obey me. And I will take a bloody revenge upon these cruel murderers,’ and his eyes, which were blue, and under heavy white brows, flashed with rage.”

“All this time the two girls were sitting beside the carpenter, who was dying, for many bullets from the first cannon had entered his back and gone into his bowels, and as the girls put water to his mouth the captain’s dog—a great, fierce animal—came over to the dying man and sought to lick away the blood from his wounds.”

“Presently the murderers came up on deck again, dragging with them the bodies of those they had slain, shouting out curses to the captain, and telling him they would soon have his daughters to entertain them. They threw all the bodies overboard save that of the Shina steward—who was a man they hated. This they took, and, although the man’s throat was cut, they put a rope round his neck, and with much singing and jeering hoisted it to the end of the main yard of the ship, so that it could be well seen from the shore. Then the man with the red beard hung a board over the side, with writing upon it in large letters, and the two girls, as they saw it, covered their faces with their hands and wept, for the words were foul and shameful to them, and their father set his teeth and cursed, yet although his hands gripped his rifle he would not fire. ‘If I kill but one of them now, as I could easily do,’ he said to my father, ‘the others may slip the cable and let the ship drift before the wind far out into the lagoon, and then make sail and escape, and I should lose not only my revenge, but my ship as well. And they have too many arms for us to try and re-take the ship just now. Let us watch and wait.’”

“The captain was right, as you shall see presently. After they had thrown the bodies of the murdered men overboard to the sharks, they loaded all the eight cannons and began firing with round balls at the houses in the village and the great canoes on the beach. The canoes they soon destroyed, and some of the people wept with rage when twenty or thirty great cannon balls destroyed ten ocean-going canoes that each carried a hundred and fifty people, and had each taken two whole years to build. As for the cannon shot that passed through the houses, we did not mind, for they hurt no-one, and houses are easy to build. But when the shot crashed into, and utterly destroyed, the great canoes, it was as if they went through our hearts, for what is an island people like us without a fleet to fight in time of war, and to voyage to other lands in time of peace?”

“After the mutineers had destroyed the canoes, they turned the cannons on the barricade we had made, and fired many shots, all of which struck the logs and made a great

1 Ed. note: Possibly Gatling guns, an early form of machine guns.

noise, but did no harm. Then they seemed to tire of further firing, for they could see no sign of life anywhere about the village, and gathered together on the after deck, and ate and drank, and presently two of them went aloft and scanned the shore closely, trying to discover what had become of our people and the captain and his party. When they descended to the deck again they joined the others, and they talked together, and then all of them but Red Beard left the poop—some going forward to the windlass, and some aloft to cast loose the sails.”

“‘Shoot those who are aloft,’ cried the captain to his daughters, as, dragging himself to the barricade, he rested his rifle on the topmost log and fired at four of the men who were in one of the yards; but his aim was not good, and although he fired four times quickly no-one of the sailors was hit. The girls Toarisi and Marie knelt beside him, and each fired, and two of the men fell from the yard upon the deck, and all the people of the village shouted. And again they fired, and a third man for a moment stood erect on the foot-rope, and then swayed and fell backward; the fourth ran down the rigging and hid under the bulwarks.”

“‘Quick, girls, quick!’ souted the captain, ‘get these people to help thee up into the branches of that tree, and shoot at those who are forward. Haste, haste, lest they slip the cable and the ship drifts out into the lagoon, for the breeze strengthens.’ The tree of which he spoke still stands—it is a lofty jack-fruit—and the two girls, who were as strong and active as men, scarce needed any help to clamber up into the thick branches, where at a height of six fathoms from the ground they had a clear view of the ship’s decks, and in a little while they began to fire at the men who were gathered about the windlass, seeking to unshackle the chain cable. Two of them fell and lay still upon the deck, and the others fled and ran below to the cabin, the girls firing at them as they ran. Red Beard was the last to descend, and presently he came up again with a musket, and, taking shelter in the companion, pointed his gun at the thickly-leved tree. But ere he could pull the trigger one of the girls fired, and he fell headlong down the steps. It was thought he was killed, but afterwards it was rfound that the girl’s bullet had struck him on the top of the shoulder and passed through without breaking any bones.”

“‘Till long past noon the two girls, together with those of our men who had muskets, remained in the tree, and whenever one of the mutineers showed his head out of the cabin they all fired together. And as they sat and watched, my father and his head men and the captain held council as to what should be done, for the old man feared greatly that when darkness came on the mutineers would slip the cable and so escape. And then he offered a rich reward to my father if he would lead thirty of his men, and capture the ship as soon as it became dark. My father shook his head.”

“‘It cannot be done. We have now no canoes, and to swim off would mean to meet death half-way. See,’ and he pointed to the fins of many sharks that swam to and fro, ‘teh sharks have already eaten the bodies of those cast overboard, and look for more. See how they gather beneath the body of the dead man who hands from the main yard. It is because that they note and smell the few drops of blood that must still be falling upon the water. And even if we had canoes, what could our men, who have no guns,

do against even but a few men on the ship, who have small guns in plenty and eight big cannons as well?"

"As the sun began to lower the old man's spirits were greatly vexed, for he feared to lose his ship in the night; and heedless of danger, and wounded as he was, he crawled to the top of the barricade of logs, and sat and gazed at the ship which lay very silent and quiet on the water. Presently one of his daughters came down from the tree and sat beside him, and they talked earnestly together. Then, at their bidding, the other girl, Marie, came down, and all three carefully drew the charges from their pistols, and from that of the dead carpenter, and reloaded them again, and made other preparations in silence. My father asked the captain what it was that lay in his mind. 'This!' he replied; 'I have lost my wife, and it is better for me and my daughters that we should all die together if I am to lose my ship as well, for then would we be cast out upon the world in poverty. Now, I pray you, get your young men to build me a raft strong enough to carry us to the ship when it is dark.'

"'What would you do?' asked by uncle Ru. 'What business is that of thine!' cried the old man fiercely, 'thou and thy people are too cowardly to help me and two girls to take my ship from half-a-score of drunken men, so we shall try to do it ourselves. Build me the raft—and thou shalt be well paid.' Then, to the shame of the young men, a girl named Najin rose and said, 'I cannot fight, but I and my sister will go with the white girls and paddle the raft.'

"A silence fell upon the people, and then, for very shame's sake, four young men stood up, and, without a word, began to tie up their long hair on the tops of their heads, as is the custom when we go to fight. 'Give us swords,' they said to the captain; 'we, too, will go with thee. But our spears are of no use, and we cannot fire guns.' 'Good,' cried the old man, 'thou art brave fellows, and I shall do well with thee,' and his daughters brought four sharp cutlasses and placed them in the hands of the young men who were now pleased and proud, for each of the girls kissed them on the cheek."

"Planks of bread-fruit trees were quickly got together, and carried to a place half-a-league away from the village, where they were lashed together and made into a raft, in readiness to launch when it was dark, for it was the captain's design to paddle it far out into the lagoon and then turn and board the ship from the side from which the mutineers would look not for danger. When the men, carrying the planks for the raft, had gone, the captain opened six bottles of grog and gave some each to all that cared to drink, and then, through my father, told the four young men who were coming with him on the raft what to do when the ship was reached. 'Follow my daughters,

he said; 'it is in my mind that thou wilt find all the sailors in slumber or off their guard. But, if it is not so, and they are awake, they will besober enough to make a strong fight. If they yield, bind them with the strip of green bark thou art taking with us on the raft; bind them so tightly that they cannot free themselves; if they do not yield, kill them. The swords I have given thee are sharp, very sharp. But, although I cannot walk strongly, ye must, first of all, put me on the deck, so that I can see what is being done.'"

"A little before sunset, as we watched, the mutineers suddenly came on deck from

the cabin, and with loud cries and curses began firing their muskets at the village and the barricade. 'Let them fire,' said the captain to my father; 'the more they fire now the better it will be for us to-night.'"

"Then the mutineers, some of whom were staggering about the decks, half-drunk, began to load the cannons again under the direction of Red Beard, and although the two white girls could have easily shot at and killed them, their father stayed their hands, for he desired no more blood to be shed—even that of the bad man, Red Beard. But Toarisi said some words to her father, whose face was white with pain of his wound, and he said, 'As you will, Toarisi. I must save our good ship, which is our home and all to us.'"

"As darkness came on, rain clouds gathered to windward, and this pleased us greatly, for the rain would hide the raft from the vision of the mutineers. And then, as the first rain squall came roaring and hissing over the sea and tore through the trees on the land, the two girls, their father, the girl Najin and her sister, and the four young men, set off through the palm groves to where the raft lay, the old man being carried in a little of boughs. It was still raining when they came to the raft, and quickly in the darkness it was launched, and the nine people left the shore. When they had paddled a little while the old captain changed his plans, and made direct for the ship, for the rain squalls were so fierce that he was afraid that they might drive the raft so far into the lagoon that they would be unable to paddle against them and approach the ship from the other side. Very carefully they paddled straight to the ship, peering through the blinding, driving rain, and presently they discerned her. She had swung round to her anchor and was lying head on to the shore, and the raft came under her bows very gently and was made fast to the guys that run from the dolphin-striker, as you call it, to the sides of the bows. For a while they all listened, but heard no sound from the decks. Then the white girl Marie, and Najin, and two of our young men, very gently clambered up and looked over the ship's head down upon the main deck, which was running with water, pouring out through the scuppers. No-one was to be seen, but from the companion there was a dull shaft of light, blurred by the rain, coming from the cabin, and presently they heard the voice of a man singing."

"The girl Marie leant over the bows and called softly to her father, who was then helped up on deck, and quickly taken to the companion door. He had a pistol in one hand and his own sword in the other—not a cutlass, such as common sailors use, but a long, thin knife in a fine, black leather sheath, with a hilt like that of the swords of the man-of-war officers who now come to Maduro—covered with wire of gold."

"'I keep guard here,' he said to his daughters in a whisper; 'no-one of those men shall pass me.' Then the man who had been singing when the raft came to the ship ceased, and there was clapping of hands and clinking of glasses heard, and Toarisi crept to one of the open flaps, and, kneeling, peered down, with a pistol in her right hand. Then, with her left hand, she motioned to those beside her to keep away, and be silent, for the man with the red beard was speaking. 'Let us cease this foolery,' he said, 'and see to the ship. My wound burns like fire, and we must not delay. So let us drink once more, and

then to work and slip the cable, so that we can get away from here. Sorry am I to lose the two girls, but it cannot be helped. Six of you presently go aloft and loose the fore topsail, then come down and hoist and sheet home, together tiwh some of the head sails, so that, when the cable is lipped, the ship cants to the north. The lagoon is wide and clear of danger, so when we are well out I shal heave to until daylight, so that we can beat through the passage. To-morrow is time enough for us to count and divide the money in the iron box.”

“The girl Toarisi whispered all this to her father, who told her what to do, and she and her sister crept up to the skylight, and just as Red Beard rose from his seat, glass in hand, and cried out ‘Good luck to us!’ Toarisi fired, and the bullet entered his stomach, and Marie shot another man, who was young and handsome, through the chest, and then again they fired—for their pistols had two barrels—and two other men fell, either dead or wounded. In an instant wild cries and groans arose, and the mutineers who were not hurt seized some loaded pistols which lay on the cabin table and fired wildly up throught he skylight, but their bullets hit no-one, and as they ran hither and bhither around the cabin the captain gave Marie his pistol, and she, fearless of danger and mad with rage, ran down the companion steps and shot dead a man who was rushing up cutlass in hand.”

“The cabin was well lit, and the girl Najin saw all that was happening, and she afterwards told my father that when the man whom the girl Marie had shot fell back dead upon the cabin floor the captain called out and asked the others if they would yield. They hesitated, and again the girls fired, and then the men ran, some into the side cabins and closed the doors, and others down into the lazzarette by the hatch under the cabin table. The four young men followed them, and the captain, first reloading the pistols, told them to break open the doors with axes.”

“Kol them all,’ he said. It was soon done. One by one they were dragged out and killed, either by pistol-shot or cutlass-thrust. Then the lazzarette hatch was put on and secured.”

“As for these three fellows down there, they can do no harm,” said the captain, ‘we have them like rats in a trap.’ Then he turned to Red Beard who was sitting on the floor, groaning with pain. ‘Thou dog,’ cried the old man fiercely, ‘dost still breathe!’ and he thrust his sword twice into the man’s heart.”

“Then he bade Marie light and hoist a lantern on the fore stay to let the people on shore know that all was well. The girl Najin went with her to help, and all the others stayed in the cabin, and the captain then gave the girl Toarisi some wine, and he and the otehns drank grog, for all were very wet, as well as weary. Presently the captain bade the young men carry the dead men up on deck and cast them overboard. The sight of so much blood terrified Najin’s sister, who ran out of the cabin and went forward to be with her sister and the white girl, who were getting ready the light. This was how her life was saved.”

“After that no-one knew what happened in the cabin. But the girl said that just as she reached the fore part of the ship, and was speaking to her sister, she thought she

heard the sound of a shot from the cabin, and then in an instant the ship trembled, and with a sound of thunder a mighty pillar of flame leapt up from the stern, and all the after deck was thrown high in air, and the blast of the wind that it caused blew the three girls from off the upper fore deck into the water, half stunned and bruised, and when they reached the beach they were all but exhausted, and had to be lifted up and carried to the bank."

"As the people on shore ran hither and thither in great alarm, not knowing what to do, flames burst out all about the after part of the ship, and burst with great fierceness, spreading everywhere, although it still rained a little, and the vessel still rode head to wind. In an hour she was ablaze from one end to the other, and then all the rigging and sails caught, and the lagoon became as light as if it were broad daylight."

"All this time the body of the man whose throat was cut was still hanging from the yard arm, but the flames crept along and caught the block through which the rope was passed, and the dead man fell into the water and sank. Before this two of the eight guns which had been loaded went off, and three of our people who were gathered on the beach were killed by iron bullets, and many wounded. Some cried out that the guns had been fired purposely, but the white girl Marie, who was weeping as she watched the ship burn, said that everyone on board was killed, and that the cannons went off because of the fire which encompassed them. And this indeed was true, for had there been any one man alive and moving about the decks he would have been seen from the shore, because of the great light. And Marie told us that in the lazarette were more than a score of barrels of powder, and many kegs of leaden bullets, and it was her thought that the mutineers who had fled there had perhaps broken a barrel of powder to load their pistols, and that her father, hearing the noise, had lifted the hatch and shot down to terrify them."

"All through the night the ship continued to burn, and towards dawn, after the fore and main masts had fallen, red pillars of fire, into the water, there was another, but much smaller, explosion in the hold amidships. It rent the sides of the ship asunder, and she sank quickly.; And in the morning naught was to be seen but bits of charred timber, and some of the uncharred portions of the after part of the ship, which had been blown in the air at the first. But there were still many sharks."

"For two months the girl Marie lived with us, always very quiet and sad. Then, to our great sorrow, she sickened and died, and was buried with her mother."

— O —

Here Lailik's story ended. I asked him many questions, and gathered from his replies that the ship must have been a vessel of about 800 or 1000 tons. She had painted ports, and carried studding sails. One thing that had impressed the natives was the beautiful decorations of the main cabin. Between each state-room, he said, the sides were lined with mirrors, "a fathom high and half-a-fathom wide—very beautiful and set in squares or gold" (gilded frames). Then in the captain's own state-room were many pictures of ships, painted by the girls Toarisi and Marie. Another thing that the natives well remembered was that, besides the captain's dog, the boatswain had a very savage bull

dog—an animal of a breed they had never before seen—and that the creature howled very much when the captain, his wife and daughters, came on shore, for he was much attached to the girls.

Editorial comments.

Should this story by Louis Becke be taken as real history? I doubt it, if only because there are a number of inconsistencies in the above story, which is supposed to have happened in the 1840s, or 1850s. For one thing, I do not believe that two Marshallese chiefs could have been shipped aboard whaling ships then, to be returned home, with a knowledge of English: I have found no logbooks mentioning visits of U.S. whaling ships to Majuro at any time. For another, the native words used by Becke are not in the Marshallese language; I do not know what they are...

Well then, if there is some basis in fact, it would appear that a large ship was lost at Majuro, which was owned in large part by the captain himself, an old man with a sickly wife and two daughters, who had sailed from Sydney and were on their way to Manila and beyond.

The disappearance of such a large ship, presumably English, and her valuable cargo, would have attracted attention in Australia, at least, but someone must first have to report them as overdue. Some ships that have disappeared without a trace and were presumed lost, and with Australian connections, are given by Nicholson's Log of Logs (vol. 1, p. 351), but not one of them was lost in the 1850s.

One potential candidate is found in a Canadian logbook, that of Benjamin Doane who left the Canadian whaler **Athol** at Sydney in February 1848,¹ to sign on, temporarily, aboard the **Hudson**, of Liverpool, Captain Pines, who had a wife and four daughters on board, also three of his sons, but at least one of the latter, who had been acting as mate, left him before the ship sailed. The ship was loaded with a cargo of wool, for London. The captain is described as "not only henpecked, but very much chickenpecked as well." If this is the right ship for our story, it was indeed fortunate that Doane foresaw trouble and withdrew in time. He says: "the real reason for my refusal was that my sympathy for him (Capt. Pines) was changing to contempt, and resentment of his grumbling would make trouble. I could foresee that it would never do for me to sail with him." On 16 March 1848, Captain Pines hired a new mate and "shipped a cast-away crew from a Bremen whaleship... Only two of them could speak English." It is quite possible that one of these German sailors had a red beard. Therefore, if the merchantman **Hudson** of Liverpool was ever declared missing in 1848 (check Lloyds), she could very well be the mystery ship of Majuro lagoon.

1 Benjamin Doane. *Following the Sea* (Halifax, 1987).

Documents 1860N

Various ship reports for 1860 and 1861

N1. Wreck spotted on Minto Reef in February 1860

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, Nov. 1, 1860.

Ship **George and Susan**, Jones, reports:—In February [1860], discovered the wreck of a merchant vessel on the S.E. point of Wishart's [Minto] Reef, Caroline Islands. Nothing remained but the bow and head-gear, chains and anchors. She was a vessel of about 350 tons. Took her head-pump and bell on board.¹

...

N2. Ships reported at Guam in February 1860

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Traveler, May 31, 1860.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Harding, of ship **Carolina**, of New Bedford, reports her at Guam February 26th, having taken 40 bbls. sperm oil since leaving Sandwich Islands, bound to Eastern Japan, and Ockotsk Seas. Reports at Guam barque **Robert Morrison**, Tilton, New Bedford, 115 sperm since leaving Sandwich Islands; ships **Chandler Price**, Holcomb, of New Bedford, 60 sperm since leaving Sandwich Islands, **Gideon Howland**, Williams, New Bedford, 60 sperm, since Sandwich Islands, **George Washington**, Brightman, Wareham, nothing since leaving Sandwich Islands.

N3. The Norna, lost at Oroluk

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, Sept. 2, 1861.

We have been favored with the following report from Capt. L. Meyer, of the Hawaiian Brig **Hero**, from Guam, under date of 20th April [1861]:

¹ Ed. note: She was probably the Belgian **Constance**, wrecked in 1858, not the Italian **Sofia** wrecked in 1854.

Capt. Wilson, with his wife and child, his first officer and six of his crew, arrived at Guam, after having been six days in an open boat on their passage from the Caroline Group, where they had lost their ship, the **Norna**, under English colors, on the Borde-laise Reef. The **Norna** was bound from Sydney to Hong Kong, with a load of coals. Capt. Wilson reported two other vessels as being lost on an island near the Carolina Group, but did not know their names.¹ The Governor of Guam intended to despatch a government vessel then in port to rescue the crews of the wrecked vessels.

N4. Ship Eliza L. B. Jenney damaged at Guam in September 1861

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Journal, Apr. 5, 1862.

Ship **E.L.B. Jenney**, Marsh, of Fairhaven, arrived at Sydney, N.S.W. Jan. 1 [1862], for repairs, having been on a coral reef at Guam Sept. 26, 1861, while in charge of a pilot, causing her to leak badly and otherwise injuring her. On account of the expenses of repairs, the ship was condemned after arrival at Sydney, and the oil (about 1100 bbls. sperm) was sold at 70 £ per ton. The **E.L.B. Jenney** belonged to the estate of Gibbs and Jenney of Fairhaven, and has been absent since Nov. 11, 1856, and had taken about 2000 bbls. sperm oil during the voyage. The ship and outfits are insured in New Bedford for \$25,000; the catchings are insured \$10,000 in Boston, and \$10,000 in New York.

¹ Ed. note: The **Sofia** and the **Constance**.

Document 18600

Floor plan of the royal house at Agat, Guam

Source: PNA.

[Caption: Floor plan drawn by Juan de León Guerrero.]

Explanation.

The house is built of ordinary masonry in the whole of the lower story. For the upper story, the exterior walls are of the same masonry and the inner walls of masonry and wooden partitions. The roof of the House is of tile upon wood [slats]. The gratings and the doors and windows and balcony work of the room on the upper floor are of wood.

The kitchen and the walkway leading to it from the House are of masonry and the roof of thatch.

The upper floors are of wood.

Document 1860P

**The Marengo, Captains Weld & Eldridge,
1860-62**

Source: Logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 875; Log Inv. 3010.

Note: Until November 1860, the captain was Frederick A. Weld and the logbook was kept by the Mate Henry Elridge, then he became captain.

Logbook kept by Henry Elridge**Extract from the loogbook**

...

Saturday April 14th [1860]

... Saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing N by W dist. 15 miles... Lat. by Obs. 2°46' S. Long. by Chro. 177°00' E.

Sunday April 15th

... Steering WNW. 3 p.m., saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island bearing NNW distance 12 miles... Latter part... several canoes came off from the Island. Traded with them for broom stuff, etc.

...

One sheet has been cut out from the manuscript. It covered the dates 17-28 April. According to The Friend (Honolulu, Dec. 1860) she put in at Ebon on 22 April and stayed around for a day or two. She then went towards the Bonin Islands, passing by Marcus Island on 2 May. After a whaling season, she ended up in New Zealand. She then crossed the equator at 163° E, on the way to the Japan Ground again.]

...

Tuesday April 16th

... Steering NW by N, saw an Island [Molil] to the North of us... Lat. by Obs. 7°43' N. Long. by Chro. 159°50' E.

...

Tuesday April 23rd

... Steering NW by N... Saw an Island by the name of Alamagan and one other, name not known... Lat. Obs. 17°54' N. Long. by Chro. 145°47' E.

...

[After another season of whaling, she was back in Micronesia in 1862]

...

Tuesday January 1st 1862

... Steering NW 2 p.m., saw a strange sail and Byron's [Nukunau] Island. 6:30, spoke her, the **Isabel** of New Bedford. The natives came on board from the Isle and traded with them for hats. Lay off and on through the night. Latter part, steering to the N, plenty of natives on board of both sexes. Got broom stuff, coconuts, hats & mats, etc. etc. Discharged George Bridges, he wishing to go on shore. So ends. Mr. Mead quite well, I believe.

...

Tuesday Jan'y 14th

... Saw [blank] [Makin] Island. At Meridian, tacked to the SSW. Lat. obs. 2°55' N. Long. by Chro. 172°25' E.

...

Friday Jan'y 24th

... 2 p.m., saw Woodle's [Kuria] Island ahead... Latter part, heading to the SE. Saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island and passed to the westward of it. Capt. no better. Lat. obs. 50 miles S. Long. 174°12' E.

Saturday Jan'y 25th

... Saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island to the Eastward. Latter part... saw Sydenham's Isle. Lat. 47 miles S. Long. by Chro 173°50' E.

...

Friday Jan'y 31st

... At 1 p.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island to the westward. Steered for it. At 4 p.m., luffed by the wind for the night... Latter part, kept off for the Island and passed all around it. No-one came on board... Capt. about the same.

...

Monday Feb 3rd 1862

... Steering W... Latter part, saw Wellington [Mokil] Island & ran for it. At Meridian, a boat came off from the Isle.

Tuesday Feb'y 4th

Lying off & on trading for pigs, 1 turtle, coconuts, fowls, ducks, etc. etc. etc. 6 p.m., kept off for Ascension [Pohnpei]... 7 a.m., saw the Island. 10, took a Pilot. At Meridian, came to anchor in Middle Harbor and furled the sails. From this time up to Wednesday the 18th, we lay at anchor getting wood & water, some yams, coconuts, fowls, etc. Had 4 men run away. Shipped one boatsteerer and 2 foremast hands. Opened 1 cask of flour, 4 bbls beef & 2 bbls pork... At 10 a.m., on the 18th, took our anchor, and at Meridian discharged the Pilot. Capt. went on shore to try to catch the runaways.

Wednesday Feb'y 19th

... Standing off from the land. Middle and latter part, laying off and on. Capt. on shoe.

Thursday Feb'y 20th

... 4 p.m., boat returned from the shore with one of the deserters... Latter part... Capt. went on shore again to see if they had caught the runaways & found it was no go. At Meridian, came on board without them and kept off & left them behind. Lat. obs. 6°45' N. Long. by Chro. 157°40' E.

...

Friday Feb'y 28th

... Steering NW by N... 9:30 [a.m.], saw the Island of Gregan [Agrigan], one of the Ladrone Islands. At Meridian, close in shore. Lat. obs. 18°43' N.

Saturday March 1st 1862

... 1 p.m., lowered 3 boats for humpbacks...

Sunday March 2nd

... 5 p.m., took up the boats. No fish...

...

Tuesday March 4th

At 1 p.m., sent 1 boat in shore to trade for hogs & 2 boats after whales. The boats returned, no fish. Got 20 hogs from the shore for trade... Latter part... steering as near as we can for another Island.

Wednesday March 5th

... Lowered 3 boats off the Island off Pekan [Pagan] for whales. At Meridian, not returned.

Thursday March 6th

The boats in chase of humpbacks but could not catch any. At 4:30, came to the Ship... Latter, 3 boats went in shore. Saw very few whales and them very shy. Went on shore and got a good lot of coconuts for the hogs & others.

Friday March 7th

Came on board and steered for Gregan. Latter part, the boats went in whaling. Could not get a whale and landed for coconuts.

Saturday March 8th 1862

Landed for coconuts. Middle part, calm and the Ship some distance of shore. The boats did not come off. At 8 a.m., the boats came on board with 3 loads of coconuts. One ship in sight.

Sunday March 9th

First part, strong breezes. Beating up to the Island. Middle part, the same. Latter part, strong breezes. Lowered 3 boats & chased but no go. At Meridian, took up the boats & steered SSE.

...

Wednesday March 12th

... Kept off for Pekan. Saw a Bark.

...

[They went back to Pagan, then continued whaling further north until they decided to go home. The last entry in the logbook is dated 26 October 1862]

Document 1861A

The log of the Lady Leigh, Captain Woodin, 1861-63

Source: Original in the Crowther Library at the State Library of Tasmania, #C2409.

Notes: The logbook was kept by Captain Edward Woodin himself. His Chief Mate was a certain Mr. Barber. For previous voyages, see the documents regarding the Eleanor, Betah, and Eliza Jane. Woodin was from Hobart Town, Tasmania. In 1861, he was already 60 years old. He was a religious man and no-one did any work for him on Sundays; that is why, hardly any entries for Sundays have any meaningful contents.

Extracts from this log of the schooner Lady Leigh from the Moluccas to the Pelew Islands

...
[The log begins at Singapore with the ship bound to the Moluccas in February 1861, then to Palau.]

...
Schooner Lady Leigh from the Moluccas to the Pelew Islands.

...
Monday 8th of April 1861

At 2 a.m., moderate breezes & variable. At 4 a.m., do. weather. At 6 a.m., squally & variable with rain. At 7, light airs with heavy rains. At 8 light breezes with dark cloudy weather. At 11 squally with heavy rain in all, made sail. At noon light breezes & cloudy w[eather].

Obs. Lat. 7°29'47" N. Long by DR[=Dead Reckoning] 136° E.

Tuesday 9th April 1861

... At noon, light airs. No observation. Lat. by D.R. 4°40' N, Long. by D.R. 135°36' East. At 2 p.m., light winds and cloudy. At 4 p.m., calm. At 6, light breezes and cloudy. Made 2 islands [Sonsorol] bearing ESE dist. about 7 leagues. Midnight, tacked to the North E.

Wednesday 10th April 1861

The Islands we made are not down in the charts nor in the Epitome[.] we made the

southernmost in Lat 5°54 N and Long by DR in 135°17. At 2 a.m., steady breezes & fine clear weather. At 4 a.m. do. weather. At 5 steady breezes. Tacked to the Southward and Eastward to get a sight of the islands. At 9 a.m. made the Islands bearing to ESE to ENE dist about 6 leagues. Finding we could fetch the Leeward Island without losing time, at 10 a.m., we bore up for the Pelews. At noon, steady breezes. Obs. Lat. 7°1'4" N. Longitude by D.R. 138°5'1 East. At 4 p.m. steady breezes & fine weather. At 6 p.m. do. weather. At 8 steady breezes & cloudy. Lat. by mer[idian] alt[itute] of the Planet Jupiter 7°4'1" N. Midnight moderate breezes & cloudy.

Thursday 11th April 1861

At 2 a.m. moderate breezes ... At noon... Obs. Lat. 7°7'40", Long. by D.R. 137°37'...

Friday 12th April 1861

... At noon... Obs. Lat. 7°16' N., Long. by D.R. 136°12' East...

Saturday 13th April 1861

... At noon, do. weather. Obs Lat. 8°50' N. Long. by D.R. 135°46' East... AT 8 p.m., do. weather. Obs. Lat. by mer. alt. of the Planet Jupiter 8°2' N...

Sunday 14th April 1861

... At noon, steady breezes and fine, clear weather. Obs. Lat. 7°45' N., Long. by Sun and Moon 131°21' East. This is the first opportunity we have had of obtaining the Long. by lunar distance since the observation taken on the 4th...¹

Monday 15th April 1861

... At noon, squally with rain. Lat. by D.R. 7°11' N., Long. by D.R. 132°5' East...

Tuesday 16th April 1861

... At noon, moderate and variable with a turbulent cross sea. Obs. Lat. 7°15'36" N., Long. by Sun dan Moon 131°55' East...

Wednesday 17th April 1861

... At noon, moderate and cloudy with a turbulent sea. No observation. Lat. by D.R. 8°14' N., Long. by D.R. 131°51' East...

Thursday 18th of April 1861

.. At noon, steady breezes and fine clear weather. Spoke a Barque bound to Shanghai, six months from London, name unknown but noticed Plymouth on her stern. Obs. Lat 9°37'50" N., Long. in by D.R. brought us from the Lunar dist. 132°17' East, agreeing within 4 miles with the Barque and chos. [i.e. chronometers] that departed from Lon-

1 Ed. note: His longitude was calculated wrongly; it was 4° too far East.

don, and passed us at noon. At 2 p.m., steady breezes and fine clear weather ...

Friday 19th April 1861

... At noon, do. weather... Obs. Lat. 8°52' N., Long. by D.R. 133°15' East...

Saturday 20th April 1861

... At noon, strong brezes and squally... Long. by D.R. 133°36' East...

Sunday 21st April 1861

... At noon, moderate and cloudy. Obs. Lat. 7°54'23" N., Long. by D.R. 134°(?) East...

Monday 22nd April 1861

At 1 a.m., squally with heavy rain. At 2:30 a.m., light, variable winds. Tacked(?). At 4, do. weather. Set all sail. At 6 a.m., moderate breezes and dark cloudy weather. Tacked to the Eastward. Made the land, bearing from SE to East. At 10, fresh breezes and cloudy. At noon do. weather. Obs. Lat. 7°59'5" N., Long. by D.R. 134°5' East. At 1 p.m., had thick rain, in top gallant sail(?) and gallant top sails. Clewed down the top-sails and m[jizzen] sails. At 2 p.m., moderate. Made sail. At 4 p.m., made the Kyangles [Kayangel] Is. bearing ENE from the top sail(?) Reefs from South to E by N. Tacked to the Southward. At 8, moderate breezes and clear. At 9 p.m., hove to with the vessel's head to the SE. Midnight, fresh breezes and clear.¹

Tuesday 23rd April 1861

At 2 a.m., moderate and cloudy. At 4 a.m., do. weather. At daylight, made sail. Stood to the Northeastward, tacking occasionally working along the Kossall [Kossol] Is. towards the Harbour of Iboukith [Ngabuked].² At noon, squally in top galland sails and galland top sails. At 2 p.m., fresh breezes and squally weather, mostly from the ENE. Tacked occasionally off the reefs. At 4 p.m., do. weather. Received a visit of a canoe with the natives of Iboukith in her who came on to find my vessel. The natives of Corror [Koror] who intended to attack the vessel at the instigation of Captain Andrew Cheyne commander of the **Black River Packet**, which vessel with the Schooner **Acis** is laying in the Harbour of Corror. This is the 2nd time the natives of Corror have threatened to attack and burn our vessel. The last attempt was on 17th of last number [i.e. 1860]. At 10 p.m., strong breezes and cloudy. Working up behind(?) the reefs ...-ing ... weather. The natives of Iboukith inform me that Captain Cheyne swayed with the King of Corror to capture or drive my vessel off the coast.

E. Woodin, Master of the **Lady Leigh**.

1 Ed. note: Captain Woodin approached Babelthuap from the NW, came through the North Entrance and headed for the town of Ngabuked located on the West side of Babelthuap, at the neck of the Arekalong Peninsula.

2 Ed. note: Apparently, the people of Koror referred to that district as Ngaraard.

Wednesday 24th April 1861

At 2 a.m., strong breezes and squally from the ENE. Tacking .. off the northern reef. At 4 a.m., strong breezes and clear. Working up along the northern reefs. At 6 a.m., do. weather. Employed working up to the entrance of the Harbour of Iboukith. AT 8, do. weather, do. employed. At 10 a.m., fresh breezes and squally. Passed through the outer reefs. Noticed a number of canoes working up to the Northward, evidently Corror canoes. At 11 a.m., anchored in 24 fathoms mud with the small bower and 50 fathoms of cable. Furtled sails. At noon, counted 32 sailing canoes and 10 war canoes approaching the vessel. At 2:30 p.m., John Davey and resident of Corror came on board, and advised me to move my vessel up to the harbour of Corror to prevent bloodshed. I informed him I had nothing to do at Corror. I had come to Iboukith to pay the chiefs what I was indebted to them. The Corror chiefs in charge of the canoes sent John Davey again to me to inquire whether I would go to the Anchorage off Ememalongway [Almongui] and had then to tell him to tell the chiefs of Corror that it was my intention to remain at Iboukith until I had discharged my debts. Besides, we were in want of water and provisions and were not in a fit [condition] to go to sea again. John Davey then said: There will be a fight. I answered I could not help it. I was taking a cargo and was bound to get it whenever I could do so by fair means. About 4 p.m., noticed a good deal of fighting between the Iboukith and Corror war canoes. At 5 p.m., noticed that our friends the Iboukithians drove the Corror fellows away and we believe the latter had some of their number killed and wounded. It is the opinion of the natives of Iboukith that Captain Cheyne is the principal cause of this sad affair. I am well aware that Capt. Cheyne has done such mischief among other poor natives at different islands where he has been trading. Midnight, squally with heavy showers of rain.

E. Woodin, Schooner **Lady Leigh**. Laying in the Harbour of Iboukith, Pelew Islands.

Thursday 25th April 1861

First part squally with strong breezes from the ENE. At 10 a.m., weighed and worked up the harbour through the shoals. At noon, squally. Anchored in 25 fathoms mud with the small bower and 50 fathoms of cable. At 3 p.m., unbent sails and stowed them below. Sent down the royal and top gallants. Got the topsail yard fore and aft and fore yard up and down the mast. Unwore the running gear and prepared the vessel for towing into the inner harbour.

Friday 26th April 1861

Fresh breezes and clear weather throughout from the ESE. At 10 a.m., weighed and proceeded to the inner harbour in tow of six war canoes. At noon, increasing breezes with a strong ebb tide. Making little progress. Cast off the canoes and anchored in 19 fathoms mud. At 2:30 p.m., moderate breezes, ebb tide slackening. Weighed and proceeded in tow of the war canoes. At 4 p.m., cast off the canoes and anchored in the inner harbour with the best bower in three fathoms mud, and carried the stern anchor out to

the sea to steady the vessel for the night.

Sarurday 27th April 1861

Moderate breezes and fine, clear weather throughout from the ENE. Employed moving the vessel head and stern, with the vessel's head to the ESE. Laid the best bower out to the ENE with 25 fathoms, stern to the SE with 45 fathoms cable, small bower to the bow with 35 fathoms cable and 45 fathoms of small bower chain to a Norman(?)¹ SW. Cleaned ship.

Sunday 28th April 1861

Commences with moderate breezes and fine pleasant weather until 5 p.m. [sic], squally with heavy showers of rain. At noon, noticed a number of sailing and war canoes approaching the vessel, the former to the number of 22, the latter 8, all apparently well manned, and from the information of our friends here, state that all those canoes were from Corror and that Capt. Cheyne had incited them again to attack our friends and endeavour to drive us away, in fact to prevent us from trading with those natives at Iboukith. At 4:30 p.m., the hostile canoes retreated, dispersed and returned home without attempting anything. Our friends showing such a determined front, no doubt detained them, and fortunately no collision took place as was anticipated, for had such been the case, we feel certain that a great loss of life would have taken place. How much it is to be deplored to think that an educated man and one who calls himself a gentleman and a Christian should set these poor natives at war against each other, and only because they wish not trade with him or countenance his base purposes.

E. Woodin.

Monday 29th April 1861

Commences with hard squalls, heavy rains, lightning and thunder, mostly from the SE. People employed sending down the top mast rigging and overhauling it.

Tuesday 30th April 1861

Comences with hard squalls and heavy showers of rain, frequent lightning and thunder mostly from the SE until 7 a.m., moderate and cloudy. People employed about the topmast rigging and repairing sails.

Wednesday May 1st 1861

First part, calm and cloudy. At 11 a.m., fresh breezes and squally with heavy rain from the SW. People employed repairing sails and re-serving the topmast rigging.

Thursday 2nd May 1861

Light breezes and fine weather throughout from the ESE. People employed repair-

1 Ed. note: Some kind of an anchor, possibly its brand, or maker.

ing sails. Today we have been informed by the chiefs of this place that Capt. Cheyne, not being satisfied with the result of the 24th of last month, offered to leave the King of Corror the guns of the **Black River Packet** and Schooner **Acis** to enable him (the King) with a large force to attack our vessel and drive us away, and coerce the natives of this place into his (Captain Cheyne's) views, but it appears that the King of Corror would not listen to Capt. Cheyne's proposals, but told him [that] the natives of Iboukith were his friends and that he the King did not wish to put the lives of his subjects in jeopardy, as they had already lost some of their number to gratify Capt. Cheyne. It appears also from the informatin we have received that Capt. Cheyne lost his temper and struck the King of Corror for not acceding to his ("Capt. Cheyne's) wishes and that the chiefs of Cooro are highly incensed(?) at Capt. C.'s conduct. It is further reported that in consequence of the insult offered to the King of Corror, the chiefs have taken some goods by force from Capt. Cheyne's store which we believe is situated on the Island Malacca [Malakal] in the Harbour of Corror.

Friday 3rd May 1861

Fine, pleasant weather throughout, mostly from East to ESE. People employed repairing sails, cutting firewood on shore for curing the bêche-de-mer.

Saturday 4th May 1861

Fine, pleasant weather throughout from NE to ESE. People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, cleaning ship, repairing sails, etc.

Sunday 5th May 1861

Light winds and variable with clear weather throughout these 24 hours.

Monday 6th May 1861

First part, light breezes from the ESE veering at noon to the SSW with partial showers of rain. People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Tuesday 7th May 1861

Light breezes and fine weather throughout, mostly from the ENE. People employed cutting firewood, repairing sails, etc.

Wednesday 8th May 1861

First part, light breezes from the ENE veering at 11 a.m. to the SE with squalls and frequent heavy showers of rain. People employed at most useful.

Thursday 9th May 1861

First part, squally with heavy showers of rain from the SSW veering at 10 a.m. to the ESE with fine, pleasant weather. People employed on shore cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer.

Friday 10th may 1861

Moderate breezes and fine weather throughout from the ENE. People employed on shore cutting firewood for curing *bêche-de-mer*, repairing sails, etc. This evening we have received a report that Captain Cheyne, who is still at Corror, had to pay the King and chiefs a large quantity of trade before they would allow the **Black River Packet** to depart. The fine was imposed by reason of Capt. Cheyne's pulling the earrings out of the King's ears and tearing away the lower part of the ear. We have also a report that Capt. Cheyne advised the chiefs of Corror to make another attack on the people of this place and burn down our drying house and the schooner if possible because we will persevere and continue trading at this place.

Saturday 11th May 1861

First part, moderate breezes and fine weather from the SW veering at 11 a.m. to the SE with squalls and rain. People employed cutting firewood, cleaning vessel, etc. We have [received a] report this morning that a number of war and sailing canoes belonging to Corror are rowing(?) about to the SW, evidently with the intention of preventing the natives of this place from fishing for *bêche-de-mer*. AT 10 a.m., six war and 25 sailing canoes, all well manned, left here to preserve(?) their fishing, determined to make every assistance, should the Corror natives offer to molest them. The natives of this place still persist that Capt. Cheyne is the prime mover of all this intended mischief, notwithstanding he has been [at] Malakal at Corror. The natives of this place inform us that they never had a quarrel with the natives of Corror before, and that they are all closely related to each other.

Sunday 12th May 1861

Moderate breezes and cloudy with heavy rain throughout from the SSE.

Monday 13th of May 1861

First part, moderate and cloudy with heavy showers of rain from the SSE veering at 11 a.m. to the ENE with fine weather. People employed cutting firewood, repairing sails, etc.

Tuesday 14th May 1861

Fine, pleasant weather throughout from the ENE. People employed cutting firewood, repairing sails, etc.

Wednesday 15th 1861

First part, squally with heavy rain from the SE veering at noon to the SW with fine weather. People employed cutting firewood for curing *bêche-de-mer*, repairing sails, etc. Today we are informed that the **Black River Packet** and Schooner **Acis** left the Harbour of Corror, the former vessel for Singapore, the **Acis** with Capt. Cheyne on board and 12 Corror natives bound to the Island [of] Yap. The chiefs of this place are

of the opinion that Captain Cheyne has acted imprudently in taking the Corror natives with him to the Island [of] Yap, as they fear some treachery is in view, in consequence of the insult Capt. Cheyne practiced upon the King of Corror. We know well that some years ago, the principal chief of Corror sent over to Yap, and incited the natives of that island to cut off a Spanish vessel that was trading there, because the Commander would not come to Corror, and we know for certain that all the crew except two was massacred, the brass guns and several other articles are now at Corror, and we know also that Capt. Cheyne in the year of 1848 while in command of the Brig **Naiad**¹ fired upon the natives of Yap, through some misunderstanding which we have reason to believe was about the females. It was reported that a number of the natives were destroyed. Whether such was the case we cannot say positively but we know for certain that Capt. Cheyne was under the necessity of leaving the place instantly, but not without some of the crew being wounded. WE are of the opinion that Capt. Cheyne is very likely to get into trouble on that island.

Thursday 16th May 1861

MOderate breezes and fine, pleaaant weather throughout from the Eastward. People employed cutting firewood, repairing sails, etc.

Friday 17th May 1861

Moderate breezes and fine weather, mostly from the South. People employed cutting firewood and repairing sails, etc.

Saturday 18th May 1861

First part, squally with heavy showers of rain from the SW veering at daylight to the ESE with fine weather. People employed cutting firewod, repairing sails, etc.

Sunday 19th May 1861

First part, calm and cloudy. At 9 a.m., fresh breezes from the NW veering at 2 p.m. to the SW, at 4:30 p.m. to the Eastward with heavy squalls and deluge of rain continuing throughout the night.

Monday 20th May 1861

First part, squally with heavy rain showers South and ESE. At noon, clean weather with moderate breezes from the Eastward. People employed cutting firewood, curing bêche-de-mer, repairing sails and taking in bêche-de-mer.

Tuesday 21st May 1861

Fresh breezes and fine pleasant weather throughout from the ESE. People employed cutting firewood, curing bêche-de-mer, repairing sails, etc.

1 Ed. note: He was in command of her only between 1843 and 1845, then in the **Starling** in 1846-47.

Wednesday 22nd May 1861

Commences with moderate breezes and fine weather from the ESE. People employed cutting firewood, curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same below.

Thursday [23rd May 1861]

Fresh breezes and squally weather throughout with heavy showers of rain from the ENE. People employed as most useful. We have [been informed] today that Capt. Cheyne has put back to Corror with the Schooner **Acis**.

Friday [24th May 1861]

Moderate breezes and fine weather, mostly from the ESE. People employed repairing sails, stowing away firewood for sea service.

Saturday 25th May 1861

Squally weather with heavy rain throughout from the ESE. People employed as most useful, cleaning vessel, etc. We have been informed today that [the] **Black River Packet** put back very leaky.

Sunday 26th May.

Fresh breezes and squally weather with heavy showers of rain from the ESE.

Monday 27th May 1861.

... People employed cutting firewood, repairing sails, etc.

Tuesday 28th May 1861.

... People employed repairing sails, cutting firewood, curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Wednesday 29th May 1861.

... People employed repairing sails, cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, receiving the same on board, and stowing it away. We have received notice to prepare for a night attack from the natives of Corror, Enalongway [Almongui], and Emiluke [Aimeluk]; they have formed a plan to surprise the vessel, burn our drying house, secure the Chief Mate and Will Ishman(?), the European Resident at this place.¹

Thursday 20th May 1861

... The appearance of the hostile natives last night, we are of the opinion the weather was not favourable for their threatened(?) surprise. At 4 p.m., two canoes from Enalongway came with peace offerings to the king of this place. The chiefs who have

¹ Ed. note: Semper makes no mention of a white man with that name, except for one named Simpson, but he did not live at Aibukit. It is hardly believable that Woodin would have written Peter Johnson in that manner; to clear this point, I would have to check the manuscript again.

come with this offering report to us that Capt. Cheyne has returned with the Schooner **Acis** and that the Barque **Black River Packet** has put back to Enamalongway very leaky and that everything is removed from the Barque to the Schooner, we suppose to lighten the Barque to enable to find the leak. People employed about the sails, curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Friday 31st May 1861

... People employed about the sails, curing bêche-de-mer, procuring bamboos for building divisions in the hold, etc.

Saturday 1st June 1861

... People employed repairing sails, curing bêche-de-mer, stowing the same in tanks, leaning ship, etc.

Sunday 2nd June 1861

... Today the natives report that the **Black River Packet** has sailed for Singapore and that the Schooner **Acis** now under the command of Capt. Cheyne is laying at anchor at Enamalongway, which place is about 32 miles to the Southward of this port.

Monday 3rd June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for sea service, repairing sails, etc.

Tuesday 4th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for sea service, curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Wednesday 5th June 1861

... People employed as most useful, curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Thursday 6th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer and making one hatch tarpaulin.

Friday 7th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Saturday 8th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood, repairing bags for bêche-de-mer, cleaning vessel, etc.

Sunday 9th June 1861

...

Monday 10th June 1861

... People employed on shore at the drying house, receiving bêche-de-mer on board, and stowing the same.

Tuesday 11th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, receiving the same on board and stowing it and stowing it in tanks.

Wednesday 12th June 1861

... People employed on shore at the drying house and preparing and stowing oil casks on board. Received 55 gallons of coconut oil.

Thursday 13th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for the drying house, stowing bêche-de-mer. Received 55 gallons of coconut oil.

Friday 14th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for the drying house. At 1 p.m., 4 war and 13 sailing canoes passed to the Northward. It is reported that Corror and intend with the assistance of the natives to the northward to make an attack on our vessel and this place.

Saturday 15th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for sea service, stowing bêche-de-mer and firewood away, cleaning ship, etc. At 6 p.m., a chief of the 1st grade came on board and advised us to keep a good watch and be on our guard for the natives of Corror intended to attack us at night.

Sunday 16th June 1861

... No appearance of the hostile natives last night, but we are informed that [they] made an attack upon a small town dist. about 6 miles N.E. of the vessel but was driven back by the Iboukith people.

Monday 17th June 1861

... People employed receiving bêche-de-mer and stowing away the same. Received a quantity of firewood for sea service. During the night, we have had on board a strong guard of natives well armed to defend the vessel in the event of the hostile natives making an attack.

Tuesday 18th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer.

Wednesday 19th June 1861

... At 7 a.m., all the hostile fleet of canoes passed up to the Southward. Fortunate-

ly, by keeping a strict watch upon their movements they have not been able to do any mischief. Their intention was no doubt to capture some unfortunate individual and decapitate him, and return to Corror with great glee. People employed cutting firewood for sea service.

Thursday 20th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for sea service.

Friday 21st June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood, curing bêche-de-mer and stowing the same in the after hold.

Saturday 22nd June 1861

... People employed at the drying house and stowing firewood on board.

Sunday 23rd June 1861

... Our friends on shore have advised us to keep a strict watch during the night as they fully expect an attack on the vessel and themselves by the natives of Corror.

Monday 24th June 1861

... People employed at the drying house, receiving cargo and firewood for sea service, stowing cargo, etc. At 10 a.m., a number of war and sailing canoes passed us to the northward. We suppose they are concentrating their forces. We have had a strict guard of natives well armed on board all night. Our own force is very small for we have three men unfit for duty. However, should the natives of Corror attack us, we will place ourselves in the hands of our maker and all will go well. We have ever treated the natives of Corror with kindness and our fault with them is no trading with their people. We are of the opinion that we have a right to trade anywhere among these islands so long as we deal fairly with the natives.

Tuesday 25th June 1861

... People employed taking in and stowing bêche-de-mer. 3 men sick, viz. Marshall, Matthew and Charles. At 10 a.m., the Corror war and sailing canoes passed us to the southward. At 6 p.m., the natives reported to us that it was the intention of the hostile natives to attack us tonight in three divisions, one division from the southward, one from the northward and one overland from the eastward. We have made every preparation to defend our vessel and our drying house on shore, as the enemy has said they will burn that down if possible. To lose our drying house would be a great loss to us. At 7 p.m., the King of this place sent on board twenty of his best men well armed and to remain on board during the night. With this force and our lean means, we apprehend we have not much to fear.

Wednesday 26th June 1861

... People employed taking in and stowing bêche-de-mer and firewood for sea service. The enemy did not make their appearance last night as was expected but they are still hovering in our vicinity.

Thursday 27th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood, taking in bêche-de-mer and stowing it away. The enemy did not make their appearance as expected.

Friday 28th June 1861

... People employed taking in bêche-de-mer, stowing the same away, cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Saturday 29th June 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, receiving and stowing away the same. We learn that the hostile natives have returned to Corror sadly chagrined on account of their utter failure.

...

Monday 1st July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer.

Tuesday 2nd July 1861

... People employed as most useful.

Wednesday 3rd July 1861

... People employed scraping the bulwarks inside, stowing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Thursday 4th July 1861

... People employed scraping the bulwarks inside. Marshall sick.

Friday 5th July 1861

... People employed as most useful.

Saturday 6th

... People employed scraping the bulwarks, taking in cargo, etc.

...

Monday 8th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, scraping bulwarks.

Tuesday 9th July 1861

... People employed supplying the drying house with firewood, scraping bulwarks

and taking in and stowing bêche-de-mer.

Wednesday 10th July 1861

... People employed scraping the bulwarks inside, taking n bêche-de-mer, etc.

Thursday 11th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for sea service, etc.

Friday 12th July 1861

... People employed scraping the port bulwarks inside, cutting firewood for drying bêche-de-mer, etc.

Saturday 13th July 1861

... People employed delivering firewood to the drying huse, cleaning ship, etc.

Sunday 15th July 1861

...

Monday 16th July 1861

... People employed breadking out the fore hold, restowing water casks, receiving and stowing bêche-de-mer.

Tuesday 16th July 1861

... People employed in the hold stowing firewood and bêche- de-mer.

Wednesday 17th July 1861

... People variously employed curing bêche, etc.

Thursday 18th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood, etc.

Friday 19th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewoos for curing bçche-de-mer and for ship's use.

Saturday 20th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood, etc.

...

Monday 22nd July 1861

... People employed getting timber to make new cat heads, cutting firewood, caulking the decks and waterway seams, etc.

Tuesday 23rd July 1861

... People employed as most useful.

Wednesday 24th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer, caulking the waterway seams and deck on the starboard side.

Thursday 26th July 1861

...

Friday 26th July 1861

... People employed cutting firewood for ship's use, taking in bêche-de-mer in casks in the forehold, etc.

Sunday 28th July 1861

... People employed stowing bêche-de-mer in casks and stowing them in the fore hold.

Tuesday 30th July 1861

... People employed crossing the lower and top sail yard, getting the top mast rigging over and setting up the same, caulking the foecastle decks, etc.

Wednesday 31st July 1861

... People employed sending up the main top mast and fore top gallant mast, setting up jib stay and guys, caulking the main deck on the port side, filling and starting the water casks on shore to cleanse them.

Thursday 1st August 1861

... People employed about the rigging setting the main sail. On examining the main masthead, found it was very rotten on the starboard and port sides of bounds.

Friday 2nd August 1861

... People employed sending up fore top gallant mast and rigging, taking in firewood for sea service.

Saturday 3rd August 1861

... People employed sending down the main top mast and fish the head of the main mast.

...

Monday 5th August 1861

... People employed securing the fish on the head of the main mast, setting up the main rigging, filling up the fresh water for sea service.

Tuesday 6th August 1861

... People employed about the rigging, picking oakum and on examining the main

boom, found it very rotten.

Wednesday 7th August 1861

... People variously employed about the rigging, getting firewood on board for sea service, killing and curing pigs for sea service.

Thursday 8th August 1861

... People employed curing pork for sea service, scraping the main mast, fishing and scraping the main boom which is very rotten about 12 feet on the upper part from the sows(?). At 4 p.m., crutched the main boom.

Friday 9th August 1861

... People employed scraping the main mast and fore mast, varnishing the main boom, getting fresh water, starting and cleansing the water casks, etc.

Saturday 10th August 1861

... People employed about the rigging, scraping jibboom and bowsprit, varnishing the foremast, filling up the water casks for sea service, cleaning vessel, etc.

...

Monday 12th August 1861

... People employed moving running gear, scraping jib-boom and bowsprit, setting fore rigging, filling and stowing fresh water for sea service.

Tuesday 13th August 1861

... People employed about the rigging, taking in bêche-de-mer, a large quantity of tarrow [taro], 39 pigs for sea service and filled up the freesh water for sea service. Mr. Tuao, a Spanish subject, came on board as passenger to Manila.

Wednesday 14th August 1861

First part, light winds from the SE veering at 11 a.m. to the NW with moderate breezes and fine, pleasant weather. People employed bending sails and preparing vessel for sea. Received a large quantity of tarrow and 2 pigs. At 2 p.m., unmoored and proceeded in tow of 8 large canoes. At 5 p.m., cast off the canoes and anchored with best bower and 30 fathoms of cable in the fairway in 67 fathoms mud. Peter Johnson, a shipwrecked seaman, a native of Sweden, came on board as passenger to Manila.¹

Thursday 15th August 1861

Fresh light breezes and cloudy weather from the northward. At 7 a.m., weighed and proceeded through the shoals in tow of 16 large canoes. At 1 p.m., cast off the canoes

1 Ed. note: The so-called shipwreck occurred when one of Captain Woodin's former ship ran aground in Palau, says Semper in his book.

and made all sail with a light breeze from the southward. At 2:30 p.m., cleared the Southern Pass. At 4 p.m., light baffling winds, vessel heading around the compass. At 5:30 p.m., a light breeze from the SSE. Made all available sail steering NW by W & W 3-1/2 knots. At 6:30 p.m., the Northern Island of [the] group [Kayangle] ENE, the most western South, from which we take our departure. At 8 p.m., light winds 2-1/2 knots NW by W & west. At 11 p.m., Do. weather 3 knots NW by W & W. At midnight, moderate breezes and cloudy from the SSE 3-1/2 knots. This log contains 24 hours and ends at midnight to commence the sea log.

Schooner Lady Leigh from the Pelew Islands towards Manila.

...
 [The first Philippine island was sighted on 27th August. The schooner was then leaking and being "pumped every hour." They stopped at Burias Island for temporary repairs, and finally arrived at Manila on Saturday, September 21st, 1861. The schooner anchored in the Pasig River. "The whole crew refused to do any more duty wanting(?) to be paid their wages, which was granted."]

...
 Monday 11th October 1861

... Finding no employment for the vessel, paid all the crew off, except the Chief Mate, boy and cook, and laid the vessel up.

...
 Thursday 19th December 1861

Prepared a crew for a voyage to the Pelew Islands and back to Manila. Employed taking in trade for the Islands such as iron pots, earthen jars, ironmongery, etc.

Friday 20th Dec. 1861

... Employed taking in stores for sea service. The crew having signed articles, have to be on shore until Monday 23rd....

Tuesday 31st Dec. 1861

... At 5:30 p.m., Port Officer visited and cleared the vessel...

...
 [Upon sailing from Manila, the schooner was found to be so leaky that they had to stop to find and repair the leak.]

Schooner Lady Leigh from Manila towards the Pelew Islands 1862.

...
 [There is a break in the log at this point. On February 25th, they passed Cape Espiritu Santo, and on March 22nd, they sighted Angaur Island, Palau.]

...
 Saturday 22nd March 1862

At 2 a.m., light breezes and fine, clear weather. At 3 a.m., made the island [of] Angaur bearing west dist. about 2 leagues... At daylight, moderate and cloudy weather to

the North Eastward. At 9 a.m., passed through the channel between Angaur and Pillelew [schooner heading NNW]. At noon, light winds and fine weather. Obs. Lat. 7°8' (?) N., Long. in per chr. 134°19' East. At 4 p.m., light breezes and fine weather. Wind to the Eastward. At 8 p.m., tacked to the northwest. Midnight, moderate breezes and fine weather.

...

[The schooner was heading north on the west side of the Palau group.]

...

Monday 24th March 1862

... At noon, steady breezes, tacked to the northward, off the reefs about 1 mile west of the Island [of] Babelthouap...

Tuesday 25th March 1862

... At noon, fresh breezes and clear weather to the northward. Off the reefs, 1 mile. At 1 p.m., tacked to the eastward. At 1:30 p.m., through the reefs that entering the harbour of Iboukith. At 3:30 p.m., anchored in 8 fathoms mud in the outer harbour of Iboukith with the small bower and 30 fathoms of cable. Furled sails...

Wednesday 26th March 1862

... Employed unbending the small sails, sending down royal and top gallant yards and top gallant mast. At 1 p.m., moderate and clear weather. Hove and proceeded into the inner harbour. At 2 p.m., anchored in the inner harbour in 4 fathoms and with the best bower and 25 fathoms cable. Received a visit from the King Mad of Iboukith.

Thursday 27th March 1862

... Employed unbending sails, removing running gear, spreading the awnings, landing cattle and water casks.

Schooner Lady Leigh laying [in] the Harbour of Iboukith Pelew Islands.

Friday 28th March 1862

... Employed clearing the hold, landing water casks and filling them. **Dr. Semper**¹ left the vessel to reside on shore. Received one pig from the King.

Saturday 29th March 1862

... People employed discharging ballast to lighten the vessel to find the leaks.

...

Monday 31st March 1862

... Employed discharging ballast.

1 Ed. note: A German scientist on a visit to Palau (see Doc. 1862A & B.).

Tuesday 1st April 1862

... People employed discharging ballast.

Wednesday 2nd April 1862

... Employed mooring the vessel head and stern alongside the North Bank in 2-1/2 fathoms at low tide, the best bower to the westward with 35 fathoms cable, small bower on the port quarters to the SE with 40 fathoms cable, stern chain of 40 fathoms out on the starboard quarters to the NE, fast to a Norman storm anchor on the starboard bow to the NW on the Bank with forty fathoms of cable.

Thursday 3rd April 1862

... People employed overhauling and securing(?) stores and noticing(?) of them, repairing sails, etc.

Friday 4th April 1862

... People employed as most useful.

Saturday 5th April 1862

... People employed landing iron pots, filling up a store house, etc.

...

Monday 7th April 1862

... People employed clearing the ballast out of the after hold.

Tuesday 8th April 1862

... People employed discharging the ballast, etc. Sent Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, to Corror, in one of the Iboukith canoes, to fetch Juan Garcia the Interpreter of the Schooner **Acis**, Capt. Cheyne having detained him on board of that vessel. The said Juan Garcia having been lent to Her M[ajesty] Steam Sloop **Sphinx** for an Interpreter to proceed among the Philippine Islands and from them to the Pelew Islands.¹ At the latter place the officer of the **Sphinx** promised to have Juan Garcia at the harbour of Iboukith, but on the arrival of H.M. Steam Sloop at Corror, Juan Garcia was kept there, and we were informed that Capt. Cheyne keeps him on board the Schooner **Acis** notwithstanding Juan Garcia desired to be returned to this vessel on our arrival in this Port.

Wednesday 9th April 1862

... People employed trimming the ballast out of the after hold, landing Dr. Semper's goods, etc. At 2:30 p.m., Mr. Barber returned from Corror without Juan Garcia. Mr. Barber reports that on Tuesday coming, he went on board the schooner **Acis** and on seeing Capt. Cheyne passed the usual respectful compliments, and then inquired if Juan

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1862C.

Garcia was on board. Capt. Cheyne said: "Who are you. I don't know you." Mr. Barber answered: "That is strange, Capt. Cheyne, when you know me well and you know also that I am Chief Mate of the Schooner **Lady Leigh**, and I have only come on board of your vessel at the request of Capt. Woodin, and if you will have the goodness to inform me where the man is, I will feel greatly obliged." Capt. Cheyne answered: "He is not here. I do not know where he is." Mr. Barber said: "The Chiefs of Corror has [sic] just told me the man is on board here." Cheyne answered with an oath: "That is a lie and you are a liar," and immediately sent the Chief Mate and all hands aft, the Mate, Mr. Baker, twice in the presence of Capt. Cheyne and the crew struck Mr. Barber a violent blow with his fist on the left side of Barber's face, following him up and repeating the same on the right side of his head which felled him to the deck, raising a large contusion on the right temple besides injuring the left jaw which prevented Mr. Barber from masticating for several days. Such ruffianly usage is without a parallel when no offence was given, but such treatment is quite characteristic of the miscreant Cheyne, even the poor natives were quite astonished to see Mr. Barber so barbarously treated.

Thursday 10th April 1862

... People employed picking oakum. Carpenter making main gaff.

Friday 11th April 1862

... People employed landing goods for trade, discharging ballast. Carpenter removing copper to find a leak about 4 feet below the bends on the port side in midships.

Saturday April 12th 1862

... People employed discharging ballast, cleaning ship, etc.

...

Monday 14th April 1862

... People employed discharging ballast, repairing the main sail and shaping panhar(?) blocks.¹

Tuesday 15th April

... People employed repairing the main sail, etc.

Wednesday 16th April 1862

... People variously employed preparing to careen the vessel.

Thursday 17th April 1862

... People employed repairing sails and making a capt [capstan?] to careen the vessel down to.

¹ Ed. note: To make pulleys, to careen the ship.

Friday 18th April 1862

... People employed repairing sails and cutting spars, etc. This morning or during the night, those who had the watch either conveyed him on shore or allowed Unio [Junio?], a Manila man who had brought on board (\$26) twenty-six dollars from Juan Garcia to be given into the hands of Capt. Woodin, the above-mentioned sum being advanced cash to the said Juan Garcia at Manila for this present voyage, the said Juan Garcia being lent to Her M[ajesty] Steam Sloop **Sphinx** as an Interpreter at the Pelew Islands, and on the departure of the **Sphinx**, Juan Garcia was to be left at Iboukith when on the arrival of this vessel, he, Juan Garcia, was by his own request to join again to complete the voyage agreeable to contract, but Capt. Cheyne of the Schooner **Acis** has thought proper to detain him on board of his vessel at Corror. Capt. Cheyne knows well that Juan Garcia belongs to this vessel.

Saturday 19th April 1862

... People employed repairing sails and as most useful.

...

Monday 21st April 1862

... People employed repairing sails, caulking round the staunchions, shaping blocks, etc.

Tuesday 22nd April 1862

... Employed securing mast and preparing to careen the vessel. At 6 p.m., Juan Garcia joined the vessel. He reports that Capt. Cheyne would not allow him to depart to join the vessel until he refused to do any other duty on board the **Acis**.

Wednesday 23rd April 1862

... People employed preparing to careen the vessel.

Thursday 24th April 1862

... Employed building a floating stage to careen the vessel down to.

Friday 25th April 1862

... People employed securing the masts and building a floating stage.

Saturday 26th April

... Employed discharging ballast and making a floating stage.

Sunday 27th April 1862

... At 10 a.m., received a visit from the King of Corror and chiefs. The King and chiefs declare that they never advised the Commandr of Her M. Steam Sloop **Sphinx** to attack the natives of Iboukith but that Commander acted solely on the false suggestions of Capt. Cheyne of the Schooner **Acis**.

Monday 28th April 1862

... Employed preparing to careen the vessel.

Tuesday 29th April

... Employed careening vessel. At 5 p.m., carried away the purchase fall, eased the vessel up.

Wednesday 30th April

... Employed landing stores and the whole of the ballast as we found yesterday the vessel had too much weight in the hold for careening.

Thursday 1st May 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out port ashore exposing the bilge amidships. Found several of the planks that copper was rubbed off were worm eaten completely through which has been the cause of the vessel making so much water.

Friday 2nd May 1862

... Employed repairing the vessel's port bilge by replacing the worm-eaten planks.

Saturday 3rd May 1862

... Employed repairing and caulking the bilge where the copper is rubbed off. At 6 p.m., eased the vessel up.

Sunday 4th May 1862

...

Monday 5th May 1862

... Employed careening vessel keel out the port side to examine the keel and larboard strake. At 5 p.m., finding the vessel making a great quantity of water, obliged to ease her up and on examining the bends and top sides on the starboard side, found several bad leaks.

Tuesday 6th May 1862

... Employed repairing and caulking the top sides and bends, repairing sails and trading for bêche-de-mer.

Wednesday 7th May 1862

... People employed cleaning the limbers,¹ cleaning the hold and trading for bêche-de-mer.

1 Ed. note: Floor timbers near the scupper-holes.

Thursday 8th May 1862

... Employed cleaning the limbers, repairing and caulking the top sides, trading with the natives for bêche [-de-mer].

Friday 9th May 1862

... Employed caulking top sides and bends, repairing sails and trading with the natives for bêche-de-mer.

Saturday 10th May 1862

... People employed picking oakum, repairing sails, caulking the bends and top sides, cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer and trading with the natives. We have [been] informed today by the natives that the cook of the Schooner **Acis** (laying at Corror) has deserted, as also Mr. Baker, Chief Mate.

Sunday 11th May 1862

... People on shore on liberty.

Monday 12th May 1862

... Employed repairing sails, caulking top sides and bends on the starboard side, trading, and picking oakum.

Tuesday 13th May 1862

... People employed repairing sails, caulking the counter, picking oakum and trading for bêche-de-mer.

Wednesday 14th May 1862

... People employed repairing sails, cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer and trading with the natives.

Thursday 15th May 1862

... People employed repairing sails, picking oakum and cutting firewood for curing bêche-de-mer and trading.

Friday 16th May 1862

... People employed repairing sails, picking oakum and trading with the natives.

Saturday 17th May 1862

... Employed repairing sails, etc.

...

Monday 19th May 1862

... People employed repairing sails, picking oakum and trading with the natives.

Tuesday 20th May 1862

... People employed as most necessary.

Wednesday 21st May 1862

... People employed picking oakum, etc.

Friday 23th May 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out on the port side to complete the repairs of the port bilge. At 6 p.m., heavy rain and squally. Eased the vessel up.

Saturday 24th May 1862

... Barometer falling. Made the best preparation for a strong gale. At 5:30 p.m., barometer down to 29.50 [inches of mercury], gale increasing with heavy rain and blowing west and WSW. At midnight, blowing a strong gale with frequent heavy gusts of wind with a deluge of rain.

Sunday 25th May 1862

Commences with severe gales with occasionally severe gusts of wind and heavy rain. At 2:30 a.m., barometer down to 29.40, wind varying between NNW and WSW. Evidently a cyclone is passing to the NW of us and at no great distance, for we have had for these last three days a low barometer with dark heavy ill-defined clouds in the northern horizon. At 6 p.m., barometer 27.50, continued heavy gales with a deluge of rain. At midnight, wind veered to the SW but continuing to blow a heavy gale with every moment then severe gusts of wind. Barometer 27.41(?) .30. We experienced no weather approaching to this in May 60 nor May 61.

Monday 26 May 1862

Commences with hard gales and strong squalls and heavy rain. At 10 a.m., wind veered to the SSW and moderated. At 2 p.m., wind veered to South with light breezes and constant rain. People employed picking oakum.

Tuesday 27th May 1862

First part, calm with dark cloudy weather with frequent heavy showers of rain. At 10 a.m., strong breezes from the SE. Barometer 29.60.5. People employed repairing sails.

Wednesday 28th May 1862

... People employed remooring the vessel.

Thursday 29th May 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out to repair the fore foot. At 5:30 p.m., finding we could not keep the vessel free by bailing with buckets, eased the vessel up.

Friday 30th May 1862

... Employed repairing sails, landing provisions, and trading with the natives for bêche-de-mer.

Saturday 31st May 1862

... People employed repairing sails, falling a tree to repair the fore foot, trading with the natives and cleaning vessel.

...

Monday 2nd June 1862

... People employed repairing sails, drawing and knotting yarns and trading with the natives.

Tuesday 3rd June 1862

... People employed repairing fore top sail, trimming a piece of timber for a new fore foot and trading with the natives.

Wednesday 4th June 1862

... People employed repairing sails, drawing and knotting yarns, preparing a piece of wood for a new fore foot, trading with the natives, etc.

Thursday 5th June 1862

... People employed repairing the fore top sail, drawing and knotting yarns, preparing a piece of wood for the fore foot and trading with the natives. This morning, on telling the crew to their duty, found the carpenter missing. It appears he deserted the vessel during his watch between 1 and 2 a.m.

Friday 6 June 1862

... People employed repairing the fore top sail, drawing and knotting yarns, etc. At midnight, the carpenter was brought on board in irons by Mr. Barber, the Chief Mate.

Saturday 7th June 1862

... People employed repairing sails, cutting firewood, trading with the natives, cleaning vessel, etc.

...

Monday 9th June 1862

... People employed repairing the stay fore sail, making spun yarn, etc.

Tuesday 10th June 1862

... People employed careening the vessel keel out to repair the fore foot. At 6 p.m., eased the vessel up.

Wednesday 11th June 1862

... Employed repairing stay fore sail, making spun yarn, trimming a piece of wood for the fore foot and trading with the natives.

Thursday 12th June 1862

... People employed about the rigging and trading with the natives.

Friday 13th June 1862

... People employed as most necessary.

Saturday 14th June 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out to fit and bolt on the fore foot. At 6 p.m., eased the vessel up.

...

Monday 16th June 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out to work at the fore foot. At 6:30 p.m., eased the vessel up.

Tuesday 17th June 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out to secure the fore foot. At 6 p.m., squally with heavy showers of rain with the wind at SE. Eased the vessel up.

Wednesday 18th June 1862

... People variously employed about the rigging, forging copper bolts and spikes to secure the false keel, etc.

Thursday 19th June 1862

... People employed making spun yarn and forging copper bolts and spikes to fasten the new false keel, etc.

Friday 20th June 1862

... People employed making spun yarn and gaskets, forging copper bolts and spikes for fastening of the new false keel, trading with the natives, etc.

Saturday 21st June 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out [to] make good the false keel and repair the copper. At 5 p.m., eased the vessel up.

...

Monday 23rd June 1862

... People employed making spun yarn, forging copper bolts and spikes to fasten the new false keel.

Tuesday 24th June 1862

... At 1 a.m., Rose, seaman, and [blank] the carpenter deserted the vessel¹ taking away 2 oars, a large bamboo stage and quantity of boards belonging to the vessel. Employed making spun yarn...

Wednesday 25th June 1862

... At 5 p.m., the wind suddenly to the SW with S & W squalls accompanied with heavy rain. At midnight, do weather, Aneroid Bar[ometer] 27.60.

Thursday 26th June 1862

... We are informed the two deserters have been seen at Arekalong about 7 miles to the north of this harbour. People employed as most useful.

Saturday 28th June 1862

... Employed careening the vessel keel out to complete and finish the work about the main and false keel. At 6:30 p.m., completed all the repairs, eased the vessel up.

...

Monday 30th June 1862

... Employed sending down the running gear and trading with the natives.

Tuesday 1st July 1862

... People employed taking in ballast and fitting a new fore stay.

Wednesday 2nd July 1862

... People employed taking in ballast, fitting a small gun for the long boat, etc.

Thursday 3rd July 1862

... Employed taking in ballast, trading with the natives and fitting a gun slide in the boat.

Friday 4th July 1862

... Employed taking in ballast and fitting a new fore stay, etc.

Saturday 5th July 1862

... Employed taking in ballast, sending up the courses and top sail yard, cleaning vessel, etc.

...

1 Ed. note: From then on Captain Woodin had to do his own carpentry work, according to Semper.

Monday 7th July 1862

... Employed trimming ballast.

Tuesday 8th July 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Wednesday 9th July 1862

... Employed at various jobs.

Thursday 10th July 1862

... Employed serving the fore stay, etc.

Friday 11th July 1862

Calm and cloudy throughout. Employed about the rigging and trading with the natives. At 9:30 a.m., the Master [i.e. himself] and boat's crew proceeded to the northward in search of the two deserters and trading with the natives.

Saturday 12th July 1862

... Employed as most necessary. Master and boat's crew not returned.

Sunday 13th July 1862

... Master and boat's crew not returned.

Monday 14th July 1862

... Master and boat's crew not returned. A Spanish Schooner arrived at Corror with Triay on board.¹ by Manuel Escudé Bartolí (Barcelona, 1885).

Tuesday 15th July 1862

... Employed as much useful. Master and boat's crew not returned.

Wednesday 16th July 1862

... Employed as most useful. At 1:30 a.m., the Master and boat's crew returned without capturing the deserters.

Thursday 17th July 1862

... Employed taking in ballast and dunnaging(?) the bow sprit.

Friday 18th July 1862

... Employed making spun yarn between decks.

1 Ed. note: This was the **Cervantes** with Captain Antonio Triay who was about to be made "king" of Palau, according to later press reports (see pp. 85-86 of the book entitled: "Las Carolinas").

Saturday 19th July 1862

... Employed replaning the deck and trading with the natives.

...

Monday 21st July 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Tuesday 22nd July 1862

... People employed cutting firewood and trading with the natives to the northward.

Wednesday 23rd July 1862

... Employed setting up all the bowsprit gear, fore stays and trading with the natives.

Thursday 24th July 1862

... Employed trimming ballast and trading with the natives.

Friday 25th July 1862

... People employed getting firewood, collecting ballast, etc.

Saturday 26th July 1862

... People variously employed about the rigging and trading with the natives.

Sunday 27th July 1862

... At 10 a.m., sent Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, and boat's crew to Corror to ascertain whether a schooner lately arrived in that port from Manila has any letter or parcels for Dr. Semper.

Monday 28th July 1862

... Mr. Barber and boat's crew away to Corror.

Tuesday 29th July 1862

... At 2(?) a.m., Mr. Barber and boat's crew returned from Corror but no letters or parcels for Dr. Semper on board. The Schooner **Acis** is to sail in about 5 days bound for Manila. People employed cutting firewood for sea service.

Wednesday 30th July 1862

... Employed trimming ballast. At 11 a.m., sent the Second Mate with letters to Corror to the care of his cousin who is a seaman on board the schooner **Acis** as we have no confidence in the Master or officers of that vessel.¹

1 Ed. note: This man's name was Mariano (see below) and he was Semper's cousin-in-law, i.e. the cousin of his Filipino fiancée, Ana. The letters were addressed to Moritz Hermann, Semper's brother-in-law in Manila, as Semper says himself in his book.

Thursday 31st July 1862

... People employed getting in wood and water on board and the vessel's sails and trading with the natives.

Friday 1st August 1862

... People employed as most useful.

Saturday 2nd August 1862

... People employed as most useful.

Saturday 2nd August 1862

... People employed as most useful.

...

Monday 4rd August 1862

... People employed as most useful.

Tuesday 5th August 1862

... Employed as most useful. At noon, dispatched Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, and boat's crew to Artinal [Melekeok] on the east side of the island to trade at that place. Sent several letters to Manila given to the care of Mariano, seaman, on board the Schooner **Acis**.

Wednesday 6th August 1862

... Employed trading, etc.

Thursday 7th August 1862

... Employed trading with the natives.

Friday 8th Aug. 1862

... Employed trading, etc.

Saturday 9th Aug. 1862

... Employed trading, etc.

...

Monday 11th Aug. 1862

... At 1 a.m., the boat returned from Artinal, left Mr. Barber at that place to trade. Employed breaking up the floating stage.

Tuesday 12th Aug. 1862

... Received from Dr. Semper 7 boxes and 2 baskets of shells.¹

1 Ed. note: Previous to his trip to Kayangle Atoll.

Wednesday 13th Aug. 1862

... Employed breaking up the floating stage and taking in oil casks. At 10:30 a.m., sent the 2nd Mate with boat's crew to Artinal.

Thursday 14th Aug. 1862

... Employed making a main gaff and trading.

Friday 15th Aug. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Saturday 16th Aug. 1862

... Employed making the gaff and trading.

...

Monday 18th Aug. 1862

... At 5 p.m., the boat returned from Artinal with a quantity of bêche-de-mer, some fowls and 3 pigs.

Tuesday 19th Aug. 1862

... Employed scraping and fitting the main boom and as most useful.

Wednesday 20th Aug. 1862

...

Thursday 21st Aug. 1862

... Employed fitting, scraping and crutching the main boom and trading with the natives to the northward.

Friday 22nd Aug. 1862

... Employed cutting bamboos for dunnage and trading. Noticed a **comet** bearing N by W.

Saturday 23rd Aug. 1862

... Employed removing the caboose¹ and caulking the deck, cutting bamboos, etc.

...

Monday 25th Aug. 1862

... Employed as most useful and trading.

Tuesday 26th Aug. 1862

... Employed wedging the foremast and trading.

1 Ed. note: A caboose is a pantry or store-room.

Wednesday 27th Aug. 1862

... Employed as most useful and trading.

Thursday 28th Aug. 1862

... Employed caulking the deck, about the rigging, cutting bamboos for dunnage, and trading.

Friday 29th Aug. 1862

.. At 5 a.m., sent the 2nd Mate with boat's crew to Artinal with trade and stores to Mr. Barber, the Chief Mate.

Saturday 30th Aug. 1862

... Employed replacing the caboose, cleaning the vessel and trading.

...

Monday 1st Sept. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Tuesday 2nd Sept.

... Employed as most necessary and trading.

Wednesday 3rd Sept. 1862

... Employed new coating the foremast and trading.

Thursday 4th Sept. 1862

...

Friday 5th Sept. 1862

... Employed tearing oakum and sundries, and trading with the natives.

Saturday 6th Sept. 1862

... Employed as most useful and cleaning vessel.

...

Monday 8th Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking the bends and top side on the port bow. At 5 p.m., the 2nd Mate and boat's crew returned from Artinal with bêche-de-mer.

Tuesday 9th Sept. 1862

... Employed at sundries. At 3 p.m., sent the Second Mate and boat's crew with goods to Artinal.

Wednesday 10th Sept. 1862

... Employed as most necessary, and trading.

Thursday 11th Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking the top port sides and bends.

Friday 12th Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking top sides and bends on the port side and repairing the copper.

Saturday 13th Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking top sides and bends and repairing the copper on the port side and trading. Barometer 29.85.

...

Wednesday 17th Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking top sides and bends, repairing the copper on the port side and trading.

Thursday 18th Sept. 1862

... Employed as most useful. Barometer 29.45.

Friday 19th Sept. 1862

...

Saturday 20th Sept. 1862

...

Monday 22nd Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking the bends on the port side, curing bêche-de-mer and cutting firewood.

Tuesday 23rd Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking the port bends.

Wednesday 24th Sept. 1862

... Employed caulking the port bends, shifting a piece of the lower struts of the bends abaft the main chainwale,¹ and trading.

Thursday 25th Sept. 1862

... At 5 p.m., increasing breezes and squally. At 6 p.m., strong gales with dark cloudy threatening weather. Made everything as snug as possible. Aneroid barometer 28.50. At 7 p.m., increasing gales with severe squalls. At midnight, continued strong gales. Barometer rising.

1 Ed. note: Or chain channel.

Friday 26th Sept. 1862

... Employed as most necessary.

Saturday 27th Sept. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

...

Monday 29th Sept. 1862

... Employed picking oakum.

Tuesday 30th Sept. 1862

... Employed picking oakum and trading. At 9 a.m., sent two of the crew in a canoe to Artingnal [sic].

Wednesday 1st Oct. 1862

... Employed as most useful and trading.

Thursday 2[nd] Oct. 1862

... Employed as most necessary and trading.

Friday 3rd Oct. 1862

... Employed caulking the bends on the port side and trading.

Saturday 4th Oct. 1862

... Employed as most necessary.

...

Monday 5th Oct. 1862

... Employed caulking the bends on the port side.

Tuesday 7th Oct. 1862

... Employed about the bends caulking and repairing the long boat, curing bêche-de-mer, etc. At 11 p.m., frequent lightning round the compass.

Wednesday 8th Oct. 1862

... Employed about the bends, trimming the ballast and preparing the hold to take in cargo.

Thursday 9th Oct. 1862

... Employed cutting firewood, weighing and packing bêche-de-mer and repairing the bends on the port side abaft the main chainwale.

Friday 10th Oct. 1862

... Employed assorting [sic] and packing bêche-de-mer and stowing tanks in the hold,

etc.

Saturday 11th Oct. 1862

... Employed cutting firewood, stowing tanks for receiving bêche-de-mer, caulking the port counter, etc.

...

Monday 13[th] Oct. 1862

... Employed assorting and taking in bêche-de-mer, caulking the port counter, etc.

Tuesday 14th [Oct.] 1862

... Employed taking in bêche-de-mer.

Wednesday 15 Oct. 1862

... Employed cutting bamboos for dunnage, taking in cargo, repairing the bends, etc.

Thursday 16th Oct. 1862

... Employed assorting bêche-de-mer, cutting firewood, stowing cargo, cleaning pearl shells and repairing the bends on the port side.

Friday 17th Oct. 1862

... Employed assorting and stowing bêche-de-mer, cleaning pearl shells and repairing the bends.

Saturday 18 Oct. 1862

... Employed cleaning pearl shells, curing and assorting bêche-de-mer, repairing the port bends, etc.

...

Monday 20th Oct. 1862

... Employed assorting and trading for bêche-de-mer.

Tuesday 21st Oct. 1862

... Employed taking in and assorting bêche-de-mer, repairing the bends on the port quarter.

Wednesday 22nd Oct. 1862

... Employed assorting and taking in bêche-de-mer, repairing the bends.

Thursday 23rd November [sic] 1862

... Employed assorting and curing bêche-de-mer.

Friday 24th Oct. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Saturday 25th Oct. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Monday 27th Oct. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Tuesday 28th Oct. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Wednesday 29th Oct. 1862

... Employed cutting firewood, drying bêche-de-mer, etc.

Thursday 30th Oct. 1862

... Employed taking in and stowing bêche-de-mer.

Friday Oct. 31st 1862

... Employed taking in bêche-de-mer, cutting firewood, caulking the port bends.

Saturday 1st November 1862

... Employed taking in bêche-de-mer, cutting firewood, etc,

Monday 3rd Nov. 1862

... Employed as most necessary.

Wednesday 5th Nov. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Thursday 6th Nov. 1862

... Employed assorting and curing bêche-de-mer, taking firewood on board. At 6 a.m., Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, returned to Artinall by canoe. At 5:30 p.m., Dr. Semper returned from Corror.

Friday 7th Nov. 1862

... Employed repairing the copper on the starboard side, taking in firewood for sea stock.

Saturday 8th Nov. 1862

... Employed repairing the copper on the starboard side, taking in and stowing firewood, etc.

...

Monday 10th Nov. 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Tuesday 11th Nov. 1862

... Employed repairing the copper on the starboard side, and conveying bêche-de-mer from the east side of the island. At 11 a.m., Mr. Barber returned from Artingal. Dr. Semper sailed to Pelliliu in a native canoe.

Wednesday 12th Nov. 1862

... Employed curing bêche-de-mer and stowing firewood in the hold, etc.

Thursday 13th Nov. 1862

... Employed taking in and stowing bêche-de-mer, etc.

Friday 14th Nov. 1862

... Employed taking in and stowing cargo.

Saturday 15th Nov. 1862

... Employed caulking the waterway seam on the port side, shifting a piece of plank met(?) to the waterway seam on the port side abaft of the fore rigging, taking and stowing cargo, tearing oakum, etc.

...

Monday 17th November 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Tuesday 18th Novwmvwe 1862

... Employed tearing oakum, caulking the waterway seam on the port side and taking in cargo.

Wednesday 19th November 1862

... Employed caulking around the stanchions aft on the port side, taking in cargo, etc.

Thursday 20th Nov. 1862

... Employed caulking the topsides on the port side in midships, assorting and drying bêche-de-mer, etc.

Friday 21st Nov. 1862

... Employed taking in and stowing cargo, caulking the deck and assorting bêche-de-mer.

Saturday 22nd Nv. 1862

... Employed tearing oakum, assorting and curing bêche-de-mer, etc.

...

Monday 24th Nov. 1862

... Employed taking in cargo, cutting firewood, shifting a plank in the port bends on the port side.

Tuesday 25th November 1862

... Employed as most necessary.

Wednesday 26th November 1862

... Employed as most useful.

Thursday 27th 1862

... Employed caulking the bends and top sides on the port side, taking in cargo and firewood.

Friday 28th November 1862

... Employed taking in firewood and argo, caulking the top sides, etc.

Saturday 29th Nov. 1862

... Employed taking in cargo and stowing away firewood for sea service, caulking the port top sides, etc.

...

Monday 1st December 1862

... Employed assorting, taking in bêche-de-mer, caulking the top sides, etc.

Tuesday 2nd Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting and packing bêche-de-mer, and caulking the top sides.

Wednesday 3rd December 1862

... Employed assorting bêche-de-mer, etc.

Thursday 4th December 1862

... Employed assorting, curing, taking in bêche-de-mer, etc.

Friday 5th December 1862

... Employed assorting and taking in bêche-de-mer, caulking the port top sides, etc.

Saturday 6th Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting, taking in bêche-de-mer, and caulking round the stanchions and leading them on the port side aft.

...

Monday 8th Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting bêche-de-mer, taking in and stowing the same and replacing the port wash strake.

Tuesday 9th Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting and curing bêche-de-mer and collecting bamboos, etc.

Wednesday 10th Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting bêche-de-mer and collecting bamboos, etc.

Wednesday 10th Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting bêche-de-mer, building a pig sty, stowing water casks, etc.

Thursday 11th Dec. 1862

... Employed taking up the bowsprit gear, fore and spring stays, blacking the bends on the port side. The natives report that there is a great quantity of bêche-de-mer on the east side and nearly opposite to where our vessel lays.

Friday 12th Dec. 1862

... Employed assorting and curing bêche-de-mer, drawing and knotting yarns and making foxes.¹

Saturday 13th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, scraping and blacking the bends on the port side.

...

Monday 15th Dec. 1862

... Employed tarring in and taking up the main rigging, caulking and painting the long boat.

Tuesday 16th Dec. 1862

... Employed taking in bêche-de-mer, taking up the rigging, caulking and repairing the starboard counter.

Wednesday 17th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging.

Thursday 18th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, caulking and repairing the starboard counter. At 7

1 Ed. note: A nautical term meaning 'whipping lines.'

a.m., despatched Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, to Artinall for live stock for sea service.

Saturday 20th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging.

...

Monday 22nd Dec. 1862

... Employed rattling the rigging, seaming and caulking and painting the starboard side, aft of the main shrouds. We have [received a] report today from the natives that the Schooner **Acis** has put back to Corror, she having been out five days endeavouring to make a passage to the Island Yap.¹ They report also that the vessel has met with some damage.

Tuesday 23rd Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, procuring firewood for sea service, caulking, blacking and painting starboard top sides and bends. Dr. Semper still absent. At p.m., we learn that the Dr. is at Pellilew.

Wednesday 24th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, covering the top sail hoop on the main and fore mast, caulking, scraping, blacking and painting the starboard top sides and bends.

Thursday 25th Dec. 1862

... Employed as most useful. At 2:30 p.m., two canoes belonging to Corror with about 5 men in each captured a poor fellow belonging to Anchool [Angol]² speared him and cut his head off, leaving the body on the beach in sight of our vessel. Really those Corror natives are a notorious set of assassins.

Friday 26th Dec. 1862

... Employed drawing and knotting yarns, picking oakum, etc.

Saturday 27th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, caulking, scraping top sides and bends on the starboard side. At noon, Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, returned from Artinall with 20 pigs, a quantity of tarrow and 1 jar of molasses.

Sunday 28th Dec. 1862

... We have [received] a report today from the chiefs of this place, that Dr. Semper is detained at Pellilew, in consequence of the King of Corror threatening to burn the

1 Ed. note: The young German, Alfred Tetens, was in command (see his autobiography, Doc. 18.62L.

2 Ed. note: On the Arekalong Peninsula, D-1j in Bryan's Place Names.

town of Pellilew down, if any of the natives attempted to convey Dr. Semper back to our vessel, and this threat from the King of Corror as stated by the chiefs of this place is committed at the vile suggestion of Captain Cheyne.

Monday 29th Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, caulking, scraping and painting starboard top sides and bends.

Tuesday 30th Dec. 1862

... At noon, hearing of opportunity to address Dr. Semper, sent letter by way of Ar-tinal.

Wednesday 31st Dec. 1862

... Employed about the rigging, and searching for a leak on the port side below the water line, but did not find it.

Thursday 1st January 1863

... Employed setting up the fore and spring stay, top mast and jib stay, caulking and repairing the bends on port bow.

Friday 2nd January 1863

... Employed raising running gear, overhauling the top sail yard and lower lifts rat-lings and repairing and caulking the starboard bend round the bows.

Saturday 3rd January 1863

... Employed about the rigging, caulking and repairing the bends on the port bow, cleaning vessel, etc.

...

Monday 5th January 1863

... Employed about the rigging and preparing the vessel for sea, caulking and repairing the bends on the starboard bow.

Tuesday 6th January 1863

... Employed about rigging and taking in fresh water for sea stock, repairing the starboard bends on the bow, caulking and scraping top sides, etc.

Wednesday 7th January 1863

... Employed filling up fresh water for [sea] service, stowing cargo, repairing and caulking the bends on the starboard bow and the Schooner **Acis** left for Yap.

Thursday 8th January 1863

... Employed about rigging, repairing the starboard bend.

Friday 9th January 1863

... Employed putting in chafing mats, etc.

Saturday 10th January 1863

... Employed putting in stakes along banks of the channel to haul the [vessel] out by, caulking the bends on the Starboard bow.

...

Monday 11th January 1863

... Employed taking in live stock and vegetables for sea service, caulking the starboard bends on the luft [sic] of the bow.

Tuesday 12th January 1863

Moderate breezes and cloudy weather from the east. Employed unmooring the vessel and warping out to the outer harbour. At 5 p.m., anchored in 5-1/2 fathoms mud, with the small bower, and 35 fathoms cable. Received a quantity of pigs and tarrow as a present from the chiefs.

Wednesday 14th January 1863

Fresh gales and squally weather throughout from the N.E. Employed filling up the fresh water, taking in vegetables and live stock and about the rigging.

Thursday 15th January 1863

Commences with strong gales from the ENE with frequent squalls and showers of rain. Employed sending up the top gallant mast and about the rigging.

Friday 16th January 1863

Continued strong gales and squally weather from the ENE. Employed bending sails, cleaning the copper and putting on chafing mats.

Saturday 17th January 1863

Commences with strong gales and squally weather. Employed as most useful. At 1 p.m., moderate. Weighed and warped the vessel about 1 mile. At 8:30 p.m., squally, anchored in 7 fathoms mud.

Sunday 18th January 1863

Fresh gales and squally weather throughout from the NE.

Monday 19th January 1863

First part, moderate and cloudy from the eastward... At 10 a.m., weather NE blowing a fresh gale with frequent severe squalls accompanied with heavy rain. Employed as most necessary, and examining the small channel to ascertain whether it was navigable for the vessel. Found the channel to be perfectly safe with a backing wind and a good lookout aloft, even for large vessel.

Tuesday 20th January 1863

Commences with strong breezes and squally weather mostly from the NE. Employed about rigging and preparing the vessel for sea.

Wednesday 21st January 1863

Commences with fresh breezes and squally weather from the NE. Employed warping the vessel out of the narrow channel. At 5 p.m., strong breezes and squally. Anchored in 17 fathoms mud and moored with the stream anchor and kedge. Today we have had the assistance of six war canoes, 2 from Artinal, 2 from Caslow [Keklau], 1 from Galapan [Gelep], 1 from Iboukith but with all this force they were not able to tow the vessel.

Thursday 22nd January 1863

Commences with strong breezes and cloudy weather from the NE. At 6 a.m., weighed and commenced warping out of the channel. At 10 a.m., six war canoes took the vessel in tow. At 11 a.m., the natives of Iboukith noticing a large flotilla of war and sailing canoes from Corror coming to attack this town, cast off to intercept them. At 11:30 p.m., strong breezes and squally. Finding we could make no progress, anchored with the small bower and 35 fathoms cable in 14 fathoms mud and sand.

Friday 23rd January 1863

Moderate breezes and fine from the NE. At 7 a.m., weighed, made all sail. At 9:20 a.m., passed through the reefs and proceeded to the Island Pillilew to receive on board Dr. Semper and his attendant Gonzales.¹ We have learned from good authority that [the] King of Corror sent notice to the natives of Pillilew [that] if they attempted to convey Dr. Semper to our vessel while laying at Iboukith, he, the King of Corror would send an armed force down to Pellilew and destroy their town. We are also informed that Capt. Cheyne suggested this vile idea to the King of Corror for the chiefs of Iboukith assert that the King of Corror would be only too glad to get Dr. Semper away from Pillilew, without our vessel going to that island to receive the Dr., and we know from experience that the Corror chiefs are always inimical to any vessel touching at Pillilew.

E. Woodin

At 6:30 p.m., moderate and clear southward of Pillilew S by E westward of the reefs NNE to N by W1/2W. Shortened sail and stood off and on during the night. Midnight, moderate and cloudy. This log contains 24 hours and ends the harbour log to commence the sea log.

Saturday 24th Jan. 1863

Moderate breezes and cloudy. Tacking occasionally. At 4 a.m., do. weather. Tacking occasionally. At daylight, moderate and fine. Made sail and stood in for Pillilew.

¹ Ed. note: Enrique Gonzalez, a Filipino mestizo (see Semper's book).

At 8 a.m., shortened sail and lay the vessel to about 25 miles offshore. At 3 p.m., arrived Dr. Semper and assistant on board. Made all sail with a moderate breeze from the NE.

Schooner Lady Leigh from the Pelew Islands towards Manila.

...
[The schooner made Batey Island, Samar, on 29 January, and arrived at Manila on 8 February 1863. The bêche-de-mer was packed in 300 bags and delivered to Messrs. Tilson Hermann & Co. On 20 February, "Mr. Barber, Chief Mate, left the vessel by mutual consent. Nothing further is said about Dr. Semper. As for the interpreter, Juan Garcia, he left the vessel with the port officer as soon as it anchored off Manila. From Manila the **Lady Leigh** went on to Shanghai, where she was at the end of this logbook, in July 1863].

Epilogue.

According to notes found in the Crowther Library of Tasmania, it appears that Captain Woodin, at Manila in April 1863, shipped a new crew; some of the men came from the **Osprey** of Singapore that had been wrecked. Captain Woodin later sold the Schooner **Lady leigh** at Hong Kong and purchased the Barque **Caesar** in August 1863. The logbook of this 1863-65 voyage from Hong Kong to Macao, Singapore, Penang, Bassein, lower Burma, Singapore, Hong Kong, Panay, Philippines, is in the Crowther Library (C2406, C2390, and C2376), according to Nicholson's Log of Logs. Captain Woodin employed German mates, Malay sailors and Chinese tradesmen. As a true sailor, Woodin died at sea between Malaysia and Australia, in 15 March 1866. He was 65 years old.

Document 1861B

Constitution of Palau and other documents of 1861

Sources: Carl Semper's book entitled: Die Palau-inseln (Leipzig, 1873); and its translation by Mark L. Berg (Guam, MARC, 1982); report of HMS Sphinx, 1861; PCAA's History of Palau, vol. 2.

B1. Petition of the Chiefs of Corror to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

To the Right Honourable Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Petition of Abba Thulle, King of the Pelew Islands, and the chiefs of Corroar.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Lordship's Petitioners are the King and chiefs of a Group of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, called by the natives Pellow, and discovered by the English on the occasion of the wreck of the E.I.C. Packet "Antelope" Captain Wilson, in the year 1783, Abba Thulle and the chiefs of Coroar acted very hospitably to Captain Wilson and his crew; and they built a small vessel at Orolong, in which they went away from these Islands. The King's nephew Prince Lee Boo, went to Macao in the vessel, and from that to London, where he died.

In acknowledgement of the hospitality of Abba Thulle and his people to the shipwrecked crew of the **Antelope**, the East India Company, or British Government, sent Lieut. McClure from Bombay to Coroar with a most handsome present, consisting of muskets, powder, hardware, some fine cattle; and a great variety of useful articles, also plants and seeds of fruit trees. For this great kindness and condescension, the people of Coroar have ever felt grateful. Lieut. McCluer resided at Coroar for a considerable time, and made a survey of the group.

Your Lordship's petitioners have great pleasure in acquainting your Lordship, that from that time to this, no aggression has been committed on Coroar by any white man, nor has any of the Coroar people committed the least aggression on any vessels that

have visited Coroar.¹ Our intercourse has been peaceful throughout, and Coroar has always been an asylum for shipwrecked people.

Your Lordship's petitioners are however grieved to say that the inhabitants of Pilleu have obtained a quantity of muskets and ammunition from passing ships, and rebelled against your Lordship's petitioners lawful authority, having killed and wounded some of their people about two years ago, when sent there to disarm them, and they are at present dangerous to ships passing the group, as they would not hesitate to cut off a vessel if they had an opportunity.²

Also, the inhabitants of a district on the north part of Babelthouap, named Nirrath,³ of which the chief town is Iboukith [Ngabuked], have rebelled against your Lordship's petitioners, in consequence of a Hobart Town Schooner having gone there to trade,⁴ contrary to your Lordship's petitioners' laws. She went there last year in September, and returned again to that district on the 23rd of April last. Her master has again incited the people to defy your Lordship's petitioners' authority, and has now supplied them with firearms. On hearing of her arrival your Lordship's petitioners sent a force to Iboukith, to prevent the people obtaining arms from her, but the Iboukith people fired on them, also a white man named Peter Johnson, a sailor, who lives at Iboukith, fired on your Lordship's petitioners' people several times with a swivel gun (mounted on a canoe) that the Master of this schooner had given him, so that they were forced to retreat, and your Lordship's petitioners feel very much pained and humiliated at this defeat, and grieve to think that Englishmen should try to make a revolution in the group, as your Lordship's petitioners have always been their friends, and protected their ships and lives on all occasions. And your Lordship's petitioners have great fears that their success may embolden other districts on Babelthouap to rise against them, so that your Lordship's petitioners are at present in a hopeless condition, and are afraid that the rebellious districts may gain the ascendancy, in which case there will be no more safety for ships or shipwrecked people on this group. Three other districts on Babelthouap, namely Urrakalong, Artingall, and Eye Ry, have obtained arms and ammunition from passing ships, and may, if not disarmed, cut off vessels.

As your Lordship's petitioners are powerless and helpless against their own subjects, and any other power that may think proper to subdue them, they earnestly pray your Lordship to take the Pelew Islands under the Protectorate of the crown of Great Britain, and assist them to disarm the rebellious districts.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Craftily stated, because Spanish ships that did not want to visit Koror were cut off, at Yap, as a result of a bribe paid by Koror.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was a false accusation, as Dr. Semper has proven.
 - 3 Ed. note: Ngirrarth, or Ngarard, now called Galalud District.
 - 4 Ed. note: A reference to the Schooner Lady Leigh, Captain Woodin.

And your Lordship's petitioners make this appeal, with all humility, to their ancient friend and benefactor, England, and trust she will not allow their feeble and tottering Government to be utterly annihilated.

And your Lordship's petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c &c &c.

Abba Thulle [Ibedul] — King.

Eareyekalow [Ngiraikelau] — Prime Minister.

Arrakooka [Rechucher] — Successor to the King.

Earatagagee [Ngiratechekii]. Cloutrow [Klotraol]. Arramuggiel [Ngirameriil]. Ruppasack [Rubasech]. Aragasuewang [Rekesiuang]. Earamareel.¹ Earatakamthing. Arakakamuur. Akcoukle [Kltnguul]. Okerthou. Muthalo. Kathalby. Aramarang. Atharby. Owkell. — Chiefs.

I, John Davey, a native of Brighton, England, certify that this is a true and faithful translation of what King Abba Thulle, and the chiefs of Coroar, desire Mr. Bheyne to write for them to the British Government. I have been residing on the Pelew Islands for the last twenty five years and thoroughly understand the native language. The King and chiefs have signed their names by marks in my presence.

John Davey — Interpreter.
Coroar, Pelew Islands, May 7th 1861.

Witnesses

A. Cheyne, owner of the British Barque "Black River Packet" and British Schooner "Acis."

James Lord Wilkinson, in charge of Malaccan.²

— O —

1 Ed. note: May be same man as Ngirameriil above.

2 Ed. note: Or Malakal, E-7 in Bryan's Place Names.

B2. Treaty between Koror and Captain Cheyne

1. A Treaty of Commerce between Abba Thule, King of the Pelew Islands and the Nobles of Corror on the one part and Andrew Cheyne, owner and commander of the British Barque "Black River Packet" and proprietor of the Island of Malaccan, Pelew Islands, on the other part.

Article 1.—King Abba Thule and the undersigned Nobles of Corror hereby grant the said Andrew Cheyne, his heir, successors and assigns the sole and exclusive right and privilege of purchasing all the biche de mer, tortoise shell and all other marketable productions of the Pelew Islands now worth exporting, or that may be raised from the soil hereafter, such as coffee, sugar etc. for five hundred moons, reckoning from the date of this Treaty. At the expiration of this time this Treaty may be renewed or the trade declared open, as may be most advantageous to the Corror Government.

Article 2.—Whatever unoccupied lands the said Andrew Cheyne or his aforesaid requires for cultivation, shall be sold to him or them at a reasonable price.

Article 3.—No land shall be sold or leased to any Foreigner except the said A. Cheyne and his aforesaid, nor shall any vessels be allowed to trade at any part of the Pelew Islands except those belonging to him or his aforesaid, nor shall any Foreigner be allowed to reside on any of the Islands of the Pelew Group, except those in the employ of the said A. Cheyne.

Article 4.—Andrew Cheyne shall be allowed to have an establishment at Aramanewie¹ as formerly and to purchase land there and cultivate it.

Article 5.—A. Cheyne binds himself and his aforesaid not to dispose of Arms or ammunitions to any of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands except to the Corror Government.

Article 6.—Any seaman or labourer in the employ of the said A. Cheyne, absenting themselves without leave or deserting from his vessels or his service are to be apprehended and delivered over to the said A. Cheyne, or the Captains of their respective vessels. Seamen deserting from other vessels, which may visit Malaccan Harbour are to be sent on board their ships, and will not be allowed to remain on this Group on any

1 Ed. note: Same as Almongui, or Armlimui, now written Ngeremlengui, D-9f in Bryan's Place Names..

pretence whatever, except in case of illness, when A. Cheyne will take charge of them and forward them to a civilized part when well.

Article 7.—Any natives of the Pelew Islands desirous of entering the service of the said A. Cheyne or his aforesaid are to be allowed to do so, without let or hindrance on the part of the King of Corror Government and they are to be paid fair wages for their labour, no part of which is to be taken from them by the Corror Government and they shall be at perfect liberty to leave the service of the said A. Cheyne or his aforesaid, when their term of service expires. It is clearly understood, that such natives although in the employ of A. Cheyne, are still subject to the native laws of the Pelew Islands.

Article 8.—Any foreign runaway sailor or sailors or other foreigners now living in the Erkelthow¹ District or any other Districts who by preying on the ignorance or credulity of the Corror Government or people, tell them falsehoods with the view of injuring the lawful trade of the said A. Cheyne at these Islands and which will also indirectly injure the Corror people or interfere in any other way between the said A. Cheyne and the Government or people shall, on proof of the same, be expelled from the Group.

Article 9.—King Abba Thule and the Nobles of Corror hereby promise, that in the event of quarrels arising between their Government and the Rulers of other Districts, the matter in dispute is to be referred to the said A. Cheyne for arbitration, who will hear both statements and give his decision in a just and impartial manner, which the Corror Government hereby bind themselves to abide by, and in no case are they to resort to hostilities, unless in case of armed rebellion.

Article 10.—The inhabitants of Pillelew (Peliliu) having procured a supply of arms and ammunition from passing ships have thrown off their allegiance to the Corror Government and shot some of their people, they are therefore at present a set of armed lawless ruffians, dangerous to ships passing the south end of the Group, as they would not hesitate to cut off a vessel, would they get a favourable opportunity. As the said A. Cheyne can have no guarantee for the safety of his property on Malaccan, while they remain so, King Abba Thule and the Nobles of Corror hereby promise to take effectual measures to have them disarmed, and brought under proper legal authority, the same as formerly.

Article 11.—Should any natives of the Pelew Islands attempt to capture any vessel passing this Group, or kill any shipwrecked people, that may be cast on these Islands in boats or otherwise, or kill any foreigners, the parties guilty of the same shall be pun-

¹ Ed. note: Or Ngarkldeu, i.e. Koror and vicinity.

ished with death by the Corror Government and the town to which they belong utterly destroyed. And the King and Nobles of Corror hereby promise that all shipwrecked people shall be hospitably treated and handed over to the said A. Cheyne at Malaccan.

Article 12.—King Abba Thule and the Nobles of Corror hereby bind themselves, their heirs and successors, to aid and protect the said A. Cheyne, his ships, people, land and trade, whenever called upon to do so from all attacks or aggressions whatever.

Article 13.—Abba Thule and the Nobles of Corror hereby bind themselves and their successors to abide by the annexed Constitution and Regulations for the Government of their people and protection of trade.

Article 14.—A. Cheyne agrees to give King Abba Thule and his Government all the aid and assistance in his power to enforce due observance of the annexed Constitution and Regulations, to support the lawful authority of the Government and to assist in every way to promote the civilization, peace and prosperity of the people.

Article 15.—In consideration of these concessions A. Cheyne agrees to pay the Corror Government Ten p. cent duty on the value paid by him for the produce purchased from the Corror people; also 10 p. cent on the price paid for the production of all other Districts, one half of which is to be paid to the Corror Government, and the other half to the Governor of the District.

Article 16.—And the said A. Cheyne further engages that in consideration of King Abba Thule and his Government assisting him with men to cure biche de mer at Yap and granting him protection while there—Yap being subject to Corror—to pay the Corror Government 10 p. cent on the value of the goods paid by him to the Yap people for the marketable productions of that Island.

Article 17.—A. Cheyne agrees that so soon as his means will allow he shall provide a competent instructor for the Corror people and King Abba Thule and the Nobles of Corror hereby promise to grant him an allotment of five acres of ground at Corror for a house and garden. In the meantime A. Cheyne shall do all in his power to instruct and assist the people to cultivate the ground, so as to develop the resources of these fertile Islands.

Article 18.—We Abba Thule King of the Pelew Islands and the undersigned Nobles of Corror, hereby declare that we have not received any goods, money or article whatever from the said A. Cheyne, or from any other person, as an equivalent for granting or to induce us to grant him these concessions, but that it is entirely our own free act and deed, done in the belief that by having a fair and regular system of trade estab-

dience to be paid them by our subjects, are to remain in full force and are in no way to be altered.

Article 4.—The laws for carrying on the Government and deciding all matters of importance by the King and Nobles in council, shall remain in full force.

Signed as above.

Regulations.

1. Having entered into a Treaty of Commerce with Capt. Cheyne owner and commander of the British Barque “Black River Packet” and proprietor of the Island of Malaccan, we Abba Thule and the Nobles of Corror hereby decree, that for the protection of trade and the security of our Government, no person or persons on the Pelew Islands are to trade or barter with any ship, or go on board any ship or vessels, other than those belonging to the said Capt. Cheyne, and all that biche de mer collected and cured at the Pelew Islands together with tortoise shell and all other marketable productions at present worth exporting, or that may be at any future time worth exporting, or that may be raised from the soil hereafter, such as coffee, sugar, must be brought to Malaccan for sale and sold to the said Capt. Chayne and his Agent for the time being and to no other person whatever. And we make known to all men, that no part of the earning of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands shall be taken from them by the Corror Government, Capt. Cheyne having in the Treaty of Commerce agreed to pay us a duty of 10 p. cent on all the marketable productions of the Group. Those found in trading with other vessels, or other persons will be heavily fined, the amount to be fixed by the King and Nobles of Corror in council.

2. For the better security of our Government and fulfilment of the said Treaty of Commerce with Capt. Cheyne we also decree, that a Corror Noble or Chief shall be appointed Governor of Pillelew and that effectual measures shall be taken to disarm the inhabitants, who are at present a band of lawless ruffians, dangerous to ships passing near Pillelew—and bring them under proper legal authority the same as formerly.

3. Erturo (Aituro), a Noble of high rank who is now Governor of the Arramanewie (Armlimui) [Almongui] District, shall hold that appointment during his lifetime.

4. A Corror Noble or Chief shall be appointed Governor of Eye Rye (Eirei), [or] Arakaumully District [Arai], to prevent the people obtaining arms from passing ships and for the protection of trade.

5. Should the present Governor of the Ngirrarth District (Aibukit) [Ngebuked], and who is a Corror chief,¹ fail in making his people carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Commerce made by us with Capt. Cheyne, or allow his people to obtain arms or ammunition he shall be succeeded by a more competent person.

1 Ed. note: This was a lie, according to Semper (see Doc. 1862A).

6. A Corror Chief shall be appointed Governor of the Urrakalong [Arakalong, or Ngerechelong] District, to prevent the people obtaining arms from passing ships and for the protection of Trade.

7. No foreigner, Manila man or white man residing in these islands shall be allowed to distil spirits from the cocoa nut toddy, or in any other way. On proof of his doing so, he shall be fined, and repeating the offence he shall be expelled from the Group.

Signed as above.

Earatogagee [Ngiratechekii], Noble.

I, John Davy, hereby declare that I have faithfully and truthfully interpreted the above Treaty of Commerce to the King and Nobles of Corrr, that they thoroughly understand its nature and contents, and that they have signed their names by marks in my presence. I have been residing on the Pelew Islands for the last 25 years, and thoroughly understand the native language.

Signed John Davy.

Signed James Lord Wilkinson, Witness.

Document 1861C

Shipwrecks at Oroluk Atoll

Source: Article in the Nautical Magazine, Feb. 1862.

Note: The proper names of the two ships in question is the Norna, and the Constance.

The Loss of the Barque "Norma" [sic].

[We preserve the following account of disaster in the dangerous Caroline Archipelago of the Pacific, as it may meet the eye hereafter of those who are not only concerned in it, but have had a share in the sufferings to which it refers.]

Annexed if a copy of two communications forwarded to Lloyd's by the agents at Liverpool, relative to the loss of the English barque *Norma* [sic], Wilson, from Newcastle (N.S.W.), for Hong Kong, on an uninhabited island in the Pacific Ocean, known as St. Augustine; but as regards the fate of the crew nothing is known.

H.M. sloop Pioneer, Hong Kong, October 19th, 1861.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the request which it contains, I have the honour to forward you, for your information, the enclosed papers, together with a copy of the record which it covered, and which was found by me on the island of St. Augustine on the 26th ult., when in search of the party of which the writer was one.

I am, &c.,

H. H. Reilly, Commander.

To Messrs. Carne, Newton, and Co., Liverpool.

St. Augustine, or Meartlean [sic]¹ Island and Road, North Pacific Ocean, 7°11' N., 155°18' E., August 19th, 1861.

This is to be left in the S.E. end of this island, in a white glass bottle, under the ship's name, *Norma*, nailed to a tree.

We leave this island about this date in a boat which was built on this island by twenty-two hands of the barque *Norma*, lost on the reef twenty-four miles E.S.E. from this, on Sunday night, the 31st of March, 1861. We arrived at this island, in all thrity-one hands, in one longboat and two smaller ones, on the 7th of April; and on the 17th of April Captain Wilson, wife and child, the chief officer (Mr. Robinson), one sailmaker, two quartermasters, and two Lascars, left this in the longboat, taking all sextants, chronometers, and compasses, leaving nothing in case they were lost. They went away with the intention of going to Guam to get assistance for us, the other boats being too small to carry all. We have now been in this island better than four months, living on cocoanuts and wild fowl and turtle, which were to be had plentifully, but this last month there has not been any. We are going to try and reach the Pelew Islands if we can (God willing), having heard nor seen any person since the longboat left. So much for captain's promises and pride of English captains. A nice idea of the brave,—first to leave the ship and first to leave the crew!

On the reef, about fourteen miles from where the *Norma* was lost, is the wreck of a large Belgian ship—the *constant*, of Antwerp—lost about the 7th of July, 1858, from Sydney (N.S.W.) to Manila.²

The *Norma* was from Newcastle (N.S.W.) for Hong Kong. We left [Newcastle] on the 4th of March, 1861. Her owners are Dent and Co., Hong Kong. If this record should be found, the finder (God willing), if he get on shore safe in a Christian country, forward it to Dent and Co. they would much oblige. We had to break up one of the small boats for nails. She was quite rotten.

This is written by Robert Nixon Tweddle, late second officer of the barque *Norma*, on behalf of J. H. Foreland, carpenter, George Edwards and Isaac Ceffic, quartermasters, and eighteen Lascars.

1 Ed. note: Misprint for Meaburn, shown near San Augustin on Norie's chart, and as Jane I. by Horsburgh (see Doc. 1841H). San Augustin Island is the correct name given by its Spanish discoverer.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1858H3.

Document 1861D

HMS Sphinx, Captain Brown, on a cruise to the Carolines

Source: Sir Edward Hobart Seymour, Admiral, RN. My Naval Career and Travels (London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1911).

Extract from Lieut. Seymour's biography

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CHAPTER IX. HMS SPHINX...

Wreck of the Norna.—Pelew Islands.—Mariana Islands.—Shanghai...

On leaving the **Waterman** I went to the **Princess Charlotte**, the ship of the senior officer at Hong-Kong, to await passage to the flagship then at Shanghai, a vacancy having occurred on board her and the Admiral kindly appointing me to fill it.

While thus waiting I was employed running gunboats about on various errands, which I liked.

...

Just at this time orders came from the Admiral to send the **Sphinx** on a cruise to the Caroline Islands to try and rescue a shipwrecked crew, whose history so far as then known was simply as follows.

An English barque called the **Norna** had sailed from Australia for Hong-Kong with a cargo of coals, and had run on shore on the St. Augustine [Oroluk] reef,¹ latitude 6° North and longitude 158° East, and become a wreck. The captain, first mate, and some men had escaped in the long-boat and reached Manila, whence news came to China. The second mate and remainder of the crew were left on the reef.

On hearing of this our Admiral had sent a ship, the **Pioneer**, to look for the men left behind. She reached and searched the reef, but found no men there, only a record in a bottle saying what had happened and that they also had left the reef in a small boat. The **Pioneer** returned to Hong-Kong, but the Admiral was not satisfied and so sent the **Sphinx** for further search.

1 On the same reef a few years before [1858] the **Constance** of Antwerp was wrecked. Her crew got away in two boats, one of which having killed and eaten two of their shipmates.

At this time that ship's Commander had just been invalided home, and her First-lieutenant was very ill. So the senior officer at Hong-Kong ordered me to go in her, against my wish, as I wanted to join the flagship, where fighting the rebels was going on. In the Navy one has to obey the last order, so I joined the **Sphinx**. She was a paddle-wheel sloop of six guns.

From Hong-Kong we went to Manila, and then searched the Eastern Philippine Islands for the missing men; thence going to the Pelew Islands, a most interesting group.

In 1783 the **Antelope**, an East India Company's ship, was wrecked here, and the King, AbbeThule [sic], let his son, called Prince Le Boo [sic], be taken to England, where he died. In return for the kindness of the natives to the **Antelope's** crew, the company sent a present of cattle, pigs and fowls, which had greatly increased in numbers. The cattle were almost wild. The name of the islands is from Palos, the Spaniards giving it on account of the tall straight trees.¹

Arrived at Corror Island, where the King lives, we at once began friendly relations with him. He knew nothing of the men we looked for, but his quondam subjects at [Ngabuked] Babelthuap Island, the largest of the group, led by a Manila trader² had revolted; and he knew not if our missing men were there or not.

When the King returned our Commander's visit, he came in a large war canoe, and dressed in a very gaudy uniform, looking like that of a Spanish Colonel.

Soon after the King landed, our Commander did so, and surprised his Majesty reclining, by the side of the road, in a state of nature, his uniform lying near, and trying to get cool. Still 'such divinity doth hedge a King' that his courtiers stood respectfully round him.

So to Babelthuap we went in our boats, our acting-Commander, Ralph Brown by name, and myself. This was a few days' pleasant expedition. The natives at once began hostilities, which lasted two days, fighting in boats and up the creeks; but the **Norna's** men were not there. On our return to Corror we were received with honour.³

In Oceania city banquets and royal decorations exist not, but the extremes of tropical hospitality were extended to us; till with much regret we had to eave these most friendly people.

[John Davey's story.]

Our interpreter was a man called John Davey, who had been a seaman in a brig trading to the Matilotas [Ngulu] Islands, not far off. When leaving all hands except two got

1 Ed. note: Palos means Masts, in Spanish.

2 Ed. note: He means Capt. Woodin, whom he had met in Manila, because Woodin had provided him with a Palaun-English interpreter, Juan Garcia, a Filipino. At Koror, Capt. Cheyne saw to it that John Davey replaced him.

3 Ed. note: He does not say why, because that would be to admit that he had been fooled into doing harm to Koror's enemies.

into a boat to tow the brig out. The natives saw their chance and boarded the vessel, leaving the boat's crew no option but to pull to sea for their lives. They reached the Pelew Islands, and afterwards all but Davey left in a passing trader, but he having a native wife, and still more being tattooed all over, decided to finish his life here.¹ His case is nearly parallel with that of Gonzalo Guerrero, in Yucatan, related by Washington Irving.

Trade to the Pelew Islands was small, and chiefly for *beche de mer* and tortoise-shell. The former is a sea slug, about six inches long, found on the coral reefs. They are cut open and dried, and then taken to China, where they are esteemed a delicacy.

I am sorry to say that a few years after our visit a white man was killed in these islands,² and a man-of-war was sent to investigate the matter. Her captain had no good interpreter, but was full of zeal.³ It was evident a white man had been killed, and as something had to be done, he had our dear old friend Abbe Thule (still the title) shot. I fancy this is not the first time zeal has outrun discretion!

From the Pelew Islands we started eastward, having an almost continuous easterly wind to contend with. Expecting this we had brought many axes. We now called at various islands, and when we did so landed our men and cut down trees, and brought off wood till we could only just move along the deck; then went to sea, and burnt the wood mixed with coal, but it was soon expended, and after that we sailed only till next time.

In this cruise we did what is very interesting but equally rare now, viz. called at islands where there was no trace of their having had intercourse with Europeans. These islands were mostly roughly indicated on the chart, but that was all. Some were small atolls, with only twenty or thirty people on them. Their food was fish, fowls, cocoanuts, truffle in season, and some vegetables.

Sharks are very plentiful in the Caroline Islands. At one place we caught several, and one day I remember hauling one in, and on cutting him open we found three fins, and the tail of one of his relations inside him, and not yet digested. They belonged no doubt to some caught and cut up that morning.

At the same place I and the paymaster of the ship nearly came to grief. The wind was blowing off shore, and to leeward two or three miles off was a small island. We started in a skiff under sail to run down to it, which was no doubt rash of us.

The wind got worse, we could not return, but got through the fringing coral reef and landed. When we tried to return our boat began to fill, as soon as her nose was outside the reef. Thinking of the sharks we just succeeded in re-landing, wet through, which, however, in the tropics matters little. We took off our clothes to dry them, and as night came on went to sleep. Ultimately we were rescued by a large boat from the ship.

1 Ed. note: The year that Davey's brig was cut off at Ngulu is about 1836. Davey was born in Plymouth, England.

2 Ed. note: He refers to the year 1866, and Captain Cheyne, whom he had met at Koror.

3 Ed. note. The ship and captain were **HMS Perseus**, Captain Stevens, and the interpreter was the same, John Davey.

My companion, one of the best messmates I ever had seemed fated. He was drowned in the Woosung River, below Shanghai, with others, their boat being swept by the current into a stake fishing-net.

At last we reached the Hogolu [Chuuk] Islands, and as one morning we closed the land saw a boat running off to us under a canvas sail. Great excitement prevailed. She came alongside with two or three of the **Norna's** men, and this story. They had run westward before the wind, and at an island east of this had landed for water, and the natives had seized some of their crew, but these few had escaped and got on here. As the distance was not many miles,¹ and rescued the few survivors of the capture, and taught their captors a lesson.

The kind natives of Hogolu were rewarded; and having got all the **Norna's** crew who survived, we bore up for Hong-Kong, *via* Guam, in the Mariana Islands.²

Guam Isla Cara, I will never call these islands by their old Spanish name of 'Ladrones' (*excepto del corazon*).³ Magellan discovered these islands in 1520 [rather 1621]. But the days are long past when Doctor Samuel Johnson could write of such:

No secret island in teh boundless main,
No peaceful desert, yet unclaimed by Spain.

Buam now [in 1910] flies the Stars and Stripes, and America seems inclined to reciprocate the claims once made on her by Iberia.

In Guam few horses existed, and we often had to put up with oxen, not only to drive, but to ride. We spent but too few happy days there in the society of some charming Spanish ladies, with whom more than one of us fell in love, and a longer stay must have meant marriage.

I will say no more, except that we left Guam with the greatest regret, and finally reached Hong-Kong nearly out of both coal and provisions. But our work had been well accomplished, and our able acting-Commander was promoted.

On our return—we were four and a half months without any news of the world—we heard of the sad death of the Prince Consort, then four months past, of the beginning of the great Civil War in the then Dis-united States of America; and of how nearly the **Trent** affair had produced war between us and the Federal Government.

On leaving the **Sphinx** I went to Shanghai by P. & O. Steamer and joined the **Impérieuse**, Admiral Hope's flagship, and my former vessel, as a mate. She was lying off the Settlement, and very exciting times were passing.

...

1 Ed. note: Perhaps only as far as Kuop, because, if it had been Nama, they would have gone with the ship.

2 Ed. note: They were reported in Apra Harbor by the whaler John P. West at the end of March 1862.

3 Ed. note: He must have had a love adventure there, as it calls the island "dear island, where the Ladrones, or thieves, steal only your heart."

Note 1861E

Spanish ships based at Manila in 1861

Sources: Guía de forasteros de 1861, and Montero y Vidal's Historia general de Filipinas, v. 3, p. 328.

List of the ships, their names and capacities

Ship name	Type	Guns	Crew Size
Scipión	Brig	12	112
Laborde	Urca	2	64
Narváez	Corvette	3	122
Don Jorge Juan	Steamer	6	145
Reina de Castilla	"	2	86
Elcano	"	2	73
Escaño	"	2	59
Magallanes	"	2	75
Malaspina	"	2	64
Santa Filomena	Schooner	2	98
Constancia	"	2	76
Valiente	"	2	76
Animosa	"	2	75
Pasig	Packet boat	0	17
N. S. del Carmen	"	1	37
Trueño	"	0	37

Note.

In addition there were 17 or 18 gun-boats purchased in England in 1860, and 26 *fa-lúas*, or launches, The transport **Patiño** was soon to arrive to add to this list of major vessels.

Document 1861F

Remarks upon the Atoll of Ebon, in Micronesia

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, November 18, 1861.

Letter from Rev. E. T. Doane, dated 16 August 1861

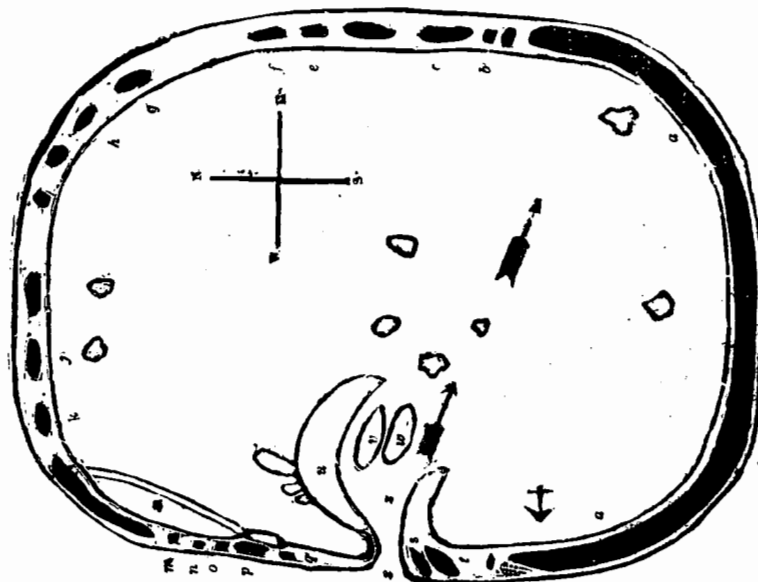
We shall begin our remarks upon the Atoll of Ebon by referring in a general way, first, to that section of Micronesia which embraces it, known as the Marshall Islands. The name is that given by Krusenstern in honor of Capt. Marshall who made the first discoveries there in company with Capt. Gilbert. The discoveries date back seventy-two years; the first island was seen in 1788, the last being discovered only in 1824.

The whole group lies within the longitudes 166° and 172° east, and 4°39' and 12° north latitude. Of the atolls of the group, some are large, measuring forty, fifty, and sixty miles in circumference, while others are mere bank-reefs, two or three miles in circumference. Of the large islands, we may mention Jaluit or Bonham's, Rimski-Korsakoff, or Rongerik and Rong-lab, and Mille or the Mulgrave Islands. Of the mere bank-reefs, we may mention Kili or Hunter's and Lib or Princess Island. And we would here remark, perhaps no group of the Pacific presents a more tangled mass in the nomenclature of its islands, than does the Marshall Islands, and especially the Ralik range. Some of the terms we have given above may perplex the reader as he attempts to trace them out on ordinary charts.

The Marshall Islands are divided by a deep sea about one hundred and fifty miles wide into two chains—the Eastern or Radak, and the western or Ralik. Their general bearing is N.W. and S.E. The Eastern chain possesses thirteen atolls and the western sixteen. The general features of these atolls are similar to those of most coral islands. They are low—the reef-rock in none probably measuring more than ten or twelve inches in elevation. In form, however, there is much diversity. Mille or Mulgrave island is nearly a parallelogram; Majuro or Arrowsmith, is oval; Ebon circular; while Jaluit or Bonham's Island and Ailinglab-lab or Elmore Islands, and many others, are without any definite forms.

The atolls vary in fertility. Those south of 8° north latitude possess, from all native accounts, the most fertile islets and the most available soil. Their fertility may be accounted for from the fact, that more rain fall upon them. They are more affected by the

The Atoll of Ebon, at Marshall Islands.



a, Ebon; b, Dile; c, Eniaithok; d, Kermkumlab; e, Eri Mon; f, Remrol; g, Kole; h, Minlak; i, Enear; j, Enikaiori; k, Riri; l, Toko; m, Bikri; n, Bivill; o, Aneming; p, Enilu; q, Iu; s, Jurith; t, Eni Armith; u, Worai-thok-thok; v, The Komil; w, Morelab. Mission Station opposite the anchor.

equatorial belt of "constant precipitation" which is ever oscillating backwards and forwards over them. Dead leaves and wood rapidly decay.

It is an interesting fact, anomalous to the general features of coral islands, vide Dana's *Coral Islands*, p. 24—that the *leeward side* of these islands possesses the largest body of land. Indeed the windward side of many of these islands is entirely destitute of land—or possesses it only in small islets. On Mille or Mulgrave Islands and Majuro, Arrowsmith, Jaluith, Bonham's Islands and Ebon islands which the writer has visited, this is emphatically true. The windward side of Majuro is possessed only of small islets, while the leeward side is one continuous strip of land, twenty-five miles long. Jaluith is much like this; perhaps, however, it has not so continuous a piece of land on the leeward side—though there is here the most fertile soil. On Ebon this is likewise true.

An explanation of this fact may perhaps be found in the strong winds—the "N.E. trades" sweeping with all their force for one half the year over these reefs. These strong winds and the heavy sea they raise, tend to sweep off the material which might accumulate there; and bearing some portion on across the lagoon to the leeward side is there lodged, and helps forward most rapidly the accumulation of the "beach formation."

The fact has been stated, that the northern atolls of the Marshall islands are rather subsiding than otherwise; vide Dana's Coral Islands, p. 134. It may be asked, is this not rather apparent than real? May not the small amount of wooded land found there—for this is the basis of this statement—be owing rather to the heavy seas and winds which there prevail? The natives ever speak of the heavy winds of that latitude, 12° N. Islands have been desolated by them. We feel disposed to offer this as a solution of the fact.

Another fact, we would state as common to the whole group—is the existence of large ship-channels on almost every side of the lagoon. Mille possesses four large ones—three of them, and one, the largest of all, on the windward side. Jaluith has its reef pierced by as many—and much in the same position. While Majuro has its channel on the windward side only, and Ebon on the leeward, we cannot speak of more from personal observation—though the natives say the other islands ipossess many channels and in much the same position of those above mentioned.

With these remarks upon the general features of the Marshall islands, we proceed to remark upon the atoll of Ebon.

The position of this atoll is 4°39' north latitude, 168°49'30" east longitude. This is the position, from the anchorage of the **Morning Star** in the Lagoon. The atoll is the most southern one of the Ralik range. It was discovered May 25th, 1824, by Capt. George May [rather Joy] who named it Boston Island. In 1834 [rather 1831] Capt. Covel thought it a new discovery, when it took his name, by which it is often called. The atoll is nearly circular and measures some twenty-five miles in circumference. Except the passage on the west side of the reef, there is no other, not even a boat passage, in the whole circumference of the atoll. The reef, however, at full tide, can be crossed by native craft. There is a tradition that once a passage existed, of sufficient capacity to admit ships, on the N.E. side, and that it was destroyed however by some powerful spirit, in his rage, and the present passage opened.

The natives possess also an interesting tradition concerning the existence of *a high island as having once occupied most of the lagoon*. It is said that tall hills, covered with bread-fruit and cocoanut, reared themselves where now the flats in the lagoon exist. It is said also that what must then have been the barrier reef possessed land, which is now Ebon islet. The present passage is twelve or fourteen fathoms deep, and at the inflowing and outflowing of the tide has necessarily a very strong current, being the only outlet for the whole lagoon—when the waters are lower than the reef. As it flows in against a strong wind, its presence may be traced quite across the lagoon, from the ripple of the waters and the white caps. The reef-flats near the passage in the lagoon are being covered with sand and other coral debris—the nucleus of some future islet. The small coral patches in the lagoon are all covered with a few inches of water at low tide.

Ebon is the largest islet on the reef, as shown on the accompanying sketch—and gives name to the whole atoll. Its length from point to point is about eight miles. A singular feature is found upon it, a ledge of coral conglomerate. The map by the sing presents its position. On the north end of the islet it projects itself free from all soil or sand; and its course as marked, can easily be traced by its repeated outcropping. The land which

lies on the sea side is of considerable more recent formation than that on the lagoon side. The difference is very perceptible. The ledge or embankment was formed, no doubt, mainly from the wash of the lagoon. This is seen from its lamination sloping that way. It undoubtedly served an important purpose in catching and holding the finer materials thrown up from the lagoon.

At the S.W. head of the islet the surface is quite uneven,—hills and vales in miniature form and size show themselves. They are formed no doubt by the drift of the sand—blown up into little hillocks. From its elbow round to the N.E. point the islet possesses but little soil. It is however covered with a quite heavy growth of bushes and trees, all possessing a very rich and deep green color—and this is indeed characteristic of the foliage of the whole island. It has none of that sickly yellow, half nourished hue, which we find upon many coral islands—those especially of the Kingsmill group. On Ebon all the growth is beautiful. There is soil and rain enough to nourish well the tropical vegetation.

[The flora of Ebon Atoll]

I have not been able to obtain an exact classification of the plants of this atoll. More than fifty distinct species, however, will be found. We will mention some which enter chiefly into the support of native life. The *Artocarpus* is represented by some eight to ten varieties, one, the *A. integrifolia*—and the rest *A. incisa*. The *Pandanus odoratissimus* is represented by some twenty varieties. Its fruit enters largely into the native food. It is prepared in large rolls enclosed with its own leaf,—and may be kept for years. The cocoanut (*Coco nucifera*) is represented by some ten varieties distinguished only by the nut. Two varieties of taro (*Arum esculentum*) is quite plentifully grown. It is raised in large beds prepared somewhat for it. These beds differ from those found on the Kingsmill islands. They are not as there, excavations carefully worked out and good soil prepared and worked in. They seem in a measure to be natural excavations, perhaps the sunken hollows between hillocks. These hollows with some little preparation would answer the purpose:—at least their origin at this day is unknown. If a native be asked concerning them, he invariably refers them to the work of spirits. Around the margin of these arum patches, are grown bananas in quite plentiful crops. And the larger islets have just sufficient to raise oranges and figs, which the missionaries are now growing.

[The fauna of Ebon Atoll]

This atoll is the home for a few varieties of birds. But in this feature of the island, the contrast is as wide between the “low coral” island and the “high volcanic” one—as between their natural features. The high islands of Micronesia are largely supplied with the feathery tribe,—but this atoll can claim only a very few birds—and with two or three exceptions these are all water fowl. There are a few *Columbidæ*, *Carpophaga oceanica*, which manage to elude the keen search of the natives. These birds are occasionally heard cooping away in the tops of some quite isolated bread-fruit tree. A *Cuculus* gives forth occasionally its sharp whistle—and these, with the addition of another

land bird whose species I have not been able to learn—are all the feathery songsters this atoll can claim.

The shores of the reef at low tide, and the bare rocks, are a little enlivened by the brown and white Heron. Small flocks of snipe (*Scolopax*) gather on the sand bars—or single individuals are running along the beach picking up food. An occasional plover (*Charadrius*) is to be seen. Sea swallows (*Sterna stolidus* and *Sterna Miratia*) are skimming the waters of the lagoon or resting on the beach. A Booby (*Lula*) now and then is seen sailing over the island. His home is unknown to the natives. His want of caution is clearly seen in the easy way a native will ascend a tree in which the bird is roosting and with a slip-noose capture him. An interesting explanation of the origin of the single variety of the (*Cuculus*) given by the natives—so skillful has this bird been in concealing its birth-lace. As the natives find it only full grown they say that it is born and nourished in the clouds and falls to the earth of full aize.

At least five species of reptiles are found on the atoll. Four are of the *Lacertinidæ*!—and one, *Geckotidæ*. The Gecko readily domesticates himself, and lives upon the house flies and gnats he finds. The *Lacertinidæ* find their homes on trees and bushes.

The varieties of insects are interestingly numerous. It might seem as though these atolls, so comparatively recent in their origin, would be but feebly represented by any varieties of animal life. But the entomologist will find here not an uninteresting field of study. The most common kind of insect is the parasite *Pelliculus*, disgustingly numerous in the heads of natives. A large-size *Libellula*, dragon-fly, is quite numerous, and a few of the diurnal and nocturnal *Lepidoptera* are found. Of ants and mosquitoes and flies there are large swarms. Of the *culex* there is probably a new kind, which might be called *diurnal culex*. They are very small and almost as numerous as those more commonly seen at night. Of *Scolopendra*—Centipedes—there are many to be found and of rather formidable size, though we rarely hear of their biting anyone.

There are several varieties of spiders. The scorpion, though found on the atoll, is small and harmless.

The *Crustacea* are numerous on land and in the water. We seem to have a great abundance of the *Paguridæ*—hermit crabs. I have thought they were more numerous on these coral islands than on the volcanic ones.

The *Mollusca* are abundant. Some rare specimens are found. The orange cowry is common to some of the lagoons. Zoophytes also are numerous, as would be supposed in these waters. A valuable and quite abundant sponge is also found in some of the lagoons in the Marshall islands.

It will be noticed, on the reef of this atoll, that besides the islet of Ebon there are nineteen others. All of them are much smaller than Ebon, though for their size they are equally fertile. Some of them seem to be veritable fairy-lands—so soft is the green grass which covers them—and the deep shade of the interlaced bushes and majestically tall bread-fruit trees, throwing out their long sweeping arms like the monarch oak:—

“Who has ruled in the green wood long.”

In the growth of some of these islets, we have perhaps some interesting facts con-

nected with the rate of growth of islets or coral reefs. **Bikri** is an islet containing not more than an acre of land. A few Pandanus self-sown from seed washed there by the waters of the lagoon or sea, have taken root. And there are a few bushes,—a variety which I have noticed as growing only on the frontier soil of an islet—soil which is but little more than sand. From the leaves of these bushes and Pandanus, soil is very slowly forming. But *the present age* of the islet is, as stated by a native, who saw it when only a sand bank washed by the tides—some *thirtyfive years*. He remembers it when a boy as only a sand bank. Now it has a little soil and few bushes. The islet **Nanming** he describes as once only a sand bank. It is now about the same size and condition as **Bikri**. These facts are not stated, of course, as definite for determining the rate of growth of coral islets—for into such a calculation many other circumstances might enter, such as the position of the reef for catching and holding the washed-up matter, &c. But we may learn from the facts here given, that the growth of land, like the growth of the reef-rock, *is very slow*.

Near the southern extremity of **Toko** (opposite x on the map) some thirty-five years since, there was a passage sufficiently large to let a proa pass over the reef between what was then two islets. Now that passage has been filled up, and large bushes grow there. The only tree of any size is the cocoanut and Pandanus, which have been planted. The fact that we would state as illustrative of two points—one bearing on the fact we have just referred to—the rate of growth of an islet—and the other, that large islets are made by stringing as it were, together several smaller ones. It may be questioned whether a large islet, say some two or three miles long, is one continuous production; it was rather formed by several smaller islets becoming attached and the whole in time becoming one large islet. This fact I think can be clearly proved to have been the case with the growth of the islet of Ebon. There are several spots which may be indicated as the *welding* points of small islets. These places are usually narrower, and less overgrown with bushes and trees, and possess a thinner soil than other parts of the whole islet. Then again there are places which are *expanded*, just as if they had been the central nuclei of the islets. These are heavily wooded—have large bread-fruit trees and other trees of apparently an old age, growing upon them. We have reason to believe that all the islets of this atoll will in time be thus united, and thus the whole reef possess, so far as it goes, one unbroken chaplet of vegetation.

We are now deeply interested in watching the formation of *sand banks* at one or two points. As yet they are shifting about—as the winds and seas prevail for a given time from any quarter; they are as yet covered by high tides. One of these sand banks is between **Eni-armeth**, and the northern point of Ebon. We may not live to see it, but we believe that this sand bank will yet become fixed—will enlarge itself—catch some floating seeds and appropriate them and then there will be another green islet on the reef. This will again expand itself and become the connecting link of Ebon and Eni-armeth—thus completing the length of the green band of this Ebon islet on its northern extremity.

Ebon Atoll, Marshall Islands, Micronesia.

Aug. 16, 1861.

Document 1861G

The Stone Fleet of 1861, and the beginning of the end for the whaling industry

Source: Pardon B. Gifford's "The Story of the Stone Fleet" in a book entitled: Famous Fleets in New Bedford History—Stories of Wooden Ships and Iron Men (New Bedford, ca. 1933).

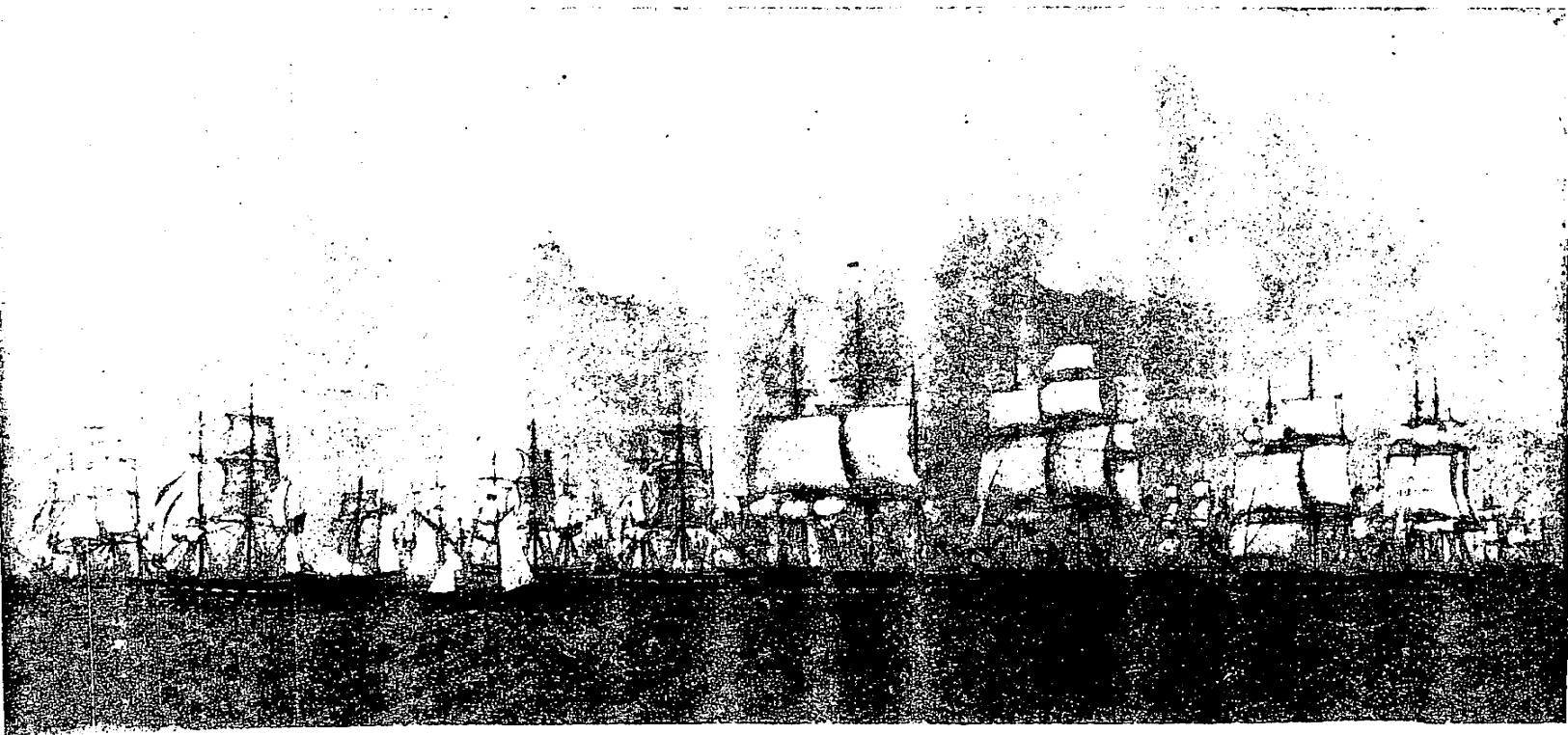
The Story of the Stone Fleet

“View of the Stone Fleet, which SAiled from New Bedford Harbor, Nov. 16, 1861,” is the title of a colored lithograph which is found hanging on the walls of many New Bedford homes. But the old pictures are growing scarce as the old homes are broken up, and the rising generation hardly knows the significance of the title.

“What is the Stone Fleet?” is the common question asked by persons who see the picture and are attracted by the spectacle of a fleet of crowded ships. It is a diverting story in which New Bedford whaling ships, masters and sailors, playing an important part.

In the latter part of the year 1861, soon after the outbreak of the rebellion, one of the chief annoyances to the Federal cause was the constant blockade running of southern ports. Let the navy of the north watch and guard those narrow channels as might be with the few serviceable ships at command, the sharp and speedy blockade runners would slip through with stores for the southerners and exports for foreign lands.

Some genius in the Navy Department finally evolved the plan of sending down a fleet of stone-laden ships from the north, sinking them in the inlets, and thus closing the channels. The scheme was readily adopted, and upon Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was placed the burden of putting it into execution. Bids were invited, and a contract for furnishing ships and stone was awarded to a New York man, who in turn placed it with Richard H. Chappell, of the New Haven shipping firm of Williams, Haven & Company. Mr. Chappell was an old-time correspondent and friend of the local firm of I. H. Bartlett & Sons, and with the extensive shipping of New Bedford in mind, he turned to them for assistance in raising the fleet. And thus it happened that New Bedford became the rendez-vous. Another reason was that New Bedford had just then experienced the blow of adversity which was surely but gradually to drive her shipping from the seas. The old whale-ships were lying several tiers deep at the whar-



*The Stone Fleet of 1861. (From
Dartmouth Historical Sketches, No. 44.)*
Old

ves, awaiting purchasers. There was no need for them in the waning industry, and rather than let them rot, their owners stood ready to sell.

Mr. Chappell was under contract to furnish forty-five vessels to the United States Government. He sent agents up the coast, and this district was left to the Bartletts to look after. So it happened that New Bedford furnished twenty-four vessels of the number required.

The work of assembling the fleet occupied two months, and the wharves were alive with gangs of workmen engaged in fitting the vessels for their final voyage. The Bartletts leased four wharves north of Union Street, and as fast as the ships were purchased they were berthed and prepared for their last mission. The vessels were sold as they returned from their last voyage, with all the whaling gear aboard. The activity of the agent in purchasing the vessels was a mystery at first, and the destination of the vessels aroused much speculation. The Bartletts bought all the vessels offered.

Among the craft purchased was the **Margaret Scott** a vessel which had been seized a short time previously by a United States marshal on the grounds that she was being fitted for a voyage in slave trading. Her commander and owners were found guilty of the charge, and the **Scott** was sold at auction by United States Marshal J. S. Keyes and acquired for the Stone Fleet. The old bark **Potomac** was so old and rotten that she was mere cement in places, yet she brought a good price because she was copped fastened; and even after she was purchased the Bartletts were offered a bonus of \$1,000 for their bargain.

Some deals were made under unique conditions. For instance, in buying the ship **Frances Henrietta**, Mr. Bartlett was one entire night dickering with her owners, and the deal was not closed until two o'clock the next morning. In the case of the **L. C. Richmond** and **Courier**, Charles L. Wood asked Mr. Bartlett if he wanted any more vessels and that if he did he could have the two for \$5,000 each. Mr. Bartlett said he would look the **Richmond** and **Courier** over and let Mr. Wood know after dinner. Right after dinner he went to Mr. Wood and said: "I will give you \$4,000 each for the vessels." In two hours the ships had changed hands. The [24] vessels purchased [in the New Bedford area] by the Messrs. Bartlett were as follows:¹

1 Ed. note: Those with an asterisk are confired as having visited Micronesia.

Name	Owner	Price
* Amazon , Fairhaven	H. A. Church	\$3,570
Valparaiso	William Hathaway	\$5,500
* Edward	J. A. Beauvais	\$4,000
Archer	E. W. Howland	\$3,360
* Margaret Scott	U.S. Marshal	\$4,000
* Herald	E. W. Howland	\$4,000
* Courier	O. & G. O. Crocker	\$4,000
* L. C. Richmond	J. B. Wood & Co.	\$4,000
* South America	W. O. Brownell	\$3,600
* Potomac , Nantucket	I. & P. Macy	\$3,500
Majestic	S. Thomas & Co.	\$3,150
* Kensington	D. B. Kempton	\$4,000
* Rebecca Simms , F.H.	Jenney & Tripp	\$4,000
* Harvest	S. A. Mitchell	\$4,000
* Leonidas	R. Maxfield	\$3,050
* Maria Theresa	T. Nye, Jr.	\$4,000
* India	B. F. Howland	\$5,250
American , Edgartown	John Baylies	\$3,370
William Lee , Newport	P. G. Monroe	\$4,200
* Mechanic	O. Reed	\$4,200
* America	I. Howland, Jr. & Co.	\$5,250
* Garland	Rodney French	\$3,150
* Cossack	C. Hitch & Son	\$3,200
* Frances Henrietta	Wm. G. Pope	\$4,000

The preparations of the ships was under the supervision of the Bartletts. Captain Rodolphus N. Swift was the general agent, and Captain James B. Wood and Fred A. Stall were assistant agents. The wharves were alive with gangs of workmen. About 7500 tons of stone was finally required for ballast and to ensure a ready sinking of the vessels.

New Bedford wharves had seen some activity, but not such a continuous stir and bustle as ensured for six or eight weeks. As finally fitted each ship had only accommodations to furnish reasonable passage to the officers and crews to the rendez-vous, only enough sails to get them there safely and expeditiously, no chronometers, and only one anchor and chain. All the gear purchased and not actually needed for the expedition was piled up in open squares on the wharves, and later sold at auction. Many were the bargains secured by local whaling men.

As fast as each ship was emptied, she was fitted for convenient scuttling. About two inches above the light water line a two-inch hole was bored in the counter, running completely through the side of the vessel. Into this from each side was inserted a plug turning a loose fit and provided with a flange head sufficiently large to close the opening.

These two plugs were bolted together by a bolt passing through the centre, held by a head on the outside and by wrench nut on the inside. At the proper time the nuts were unscrewed by the wrench made on them, the bolt knocked out and the two plugs were allowed to fall out and let the water pour in.

James Duddy furnished the stone for filling the ships. He started into the country, and soon had all the farmers tearing down walls and loading stone on drays.

...

[Most of the ships of the stone fleet were sunk at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay.]

Document 1861H

The bark Stafford, Captain Obed Pierce

Sources: Ms. in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 957; Log Inv. 4444.

Extracts from the log

[After reaching New Zealand, via the Indian Ocean, the Stafford of New Bedford headed for the Line in April 1861, then fell back to Samoa, before returning to the Line in September.]

...

Thursday Sept 5

Begins with strong E winds and rough heading SSE Saw nothing Middle part squally Latter part saw Byrons [Nukunau] Island and ran down close to and hauled aback A great number of natives came off Bought hats mats broom stuff and various other articles and left the island at 12.

Latt 1°26 S. Long 176°23 E.

...

Thursday Sept 12

Begins with good breeze from the E.S.E. and fine weather heading S. Watch employed in setting up mizzen stay Middle and latter parts strong wind and good weather Raised Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island at 7 and ran down the shore.

Latt 1°12 S. Long. 174°44 E.

Friday Sept 13

Begins with strong E. wind and fine weather Ship running down the land At 2 canoes came off with some trade laid aback till 4 and then braced forward heading S.W.[by] E. Middle and latter parts wind & weather the same Watch employed in setting up backstays.

Latt 3°15 S. Long 174°21 E.

..

Monday Sept 16

... At daylight ship within 2 miles of Drummond Island reef kept her away N.W. 1 canoe came alongside.

Latt 27' S. Long. 174°27 E.

Tuesday Sept 17

Begins with squally weather ship running down the weather side of Sydenhams [Non-outi] Island At 4 3 canoes came off to trade AT sundown double reefed the topsails and luffed to heading N.N.E. Middle part wore ship 2 times Latter part saw Simpsons [Abemama] Island Henderville [Aranuka] and Woodles [Kuria] Island ship running for Woodles. No Obs.

Wednesday Sept 18

Begins with strong E wind and fine weather ship laying off and on at Woodles Island Starboat went ashore to trade for Hogs and fowls Came on board at 5 and filled away heading S.S.E. They asked so much for their things that did not trade Middle and latter parts light & wind and fine weather Saw Halls [Maiana] Island Watch employed in mending jib.

latt 41' N Long. 173°07 E.

Thursday Sept 19

Begins with light E.N.E. wind and fine weather Saw Halls and Knox [Tarawa] Island Kept the ship off and ran off to the leeward Watch employed in mending jib Middle part tacked heading S.S.E. At 1 wore ship heading N.N.E. Latter part fine weather Watch setting up back ropes.

Latt 1°21 N. Long 172°51 E.

Friday Sept 20th

... Saw Knox Island... Lay off and on at Knox Island...passed to the leeward of Charlotte [Abaiang] Island.

Latt 2°10 N Long 172°10 E.

...

Sunday Sept 22

Begins with strong E wind and rugged Ship laying off and on at Pitts [Butaritari] Island Bought a lot of fowls and coconuts. Came on board at 5 with the Capt of a Sydney brig to whom we sold a box of tobacco Middle part stood on northern tack Latter part fine weather.

Latt 4°43 N Long 173°20 E.

...

Tuesday Oct 1

... Saw Simpsons Hendervilles and Woodles Islands.

Latt 10' N Long 173°44 E.

Wednesday Oct 2

... ship running down between Woodles and Henderville Islands...

Latt 1°06 S. Long 173°38 E.

... [The ship left Micronesia without much whale oil...]

Document 1862A

Karl Semper's 10-month stay in Palau

Sources: Karl Semper's book entitled: Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1873); and its translation by Mark L. Berg (Guam, MARC, 1982).

Editor's comment: In reading Semper's descriptions of Palauan customs, the reader should keep in mind what the earlier History of Micronesia series says about the customs of the ancient Chamorros of the Marianas. I have found a great similarity between them, more so than I had imagined.

Synopsis of his interesting book about Palau

Chapter 1.—From Manila to the Palau Islands.

Karl Semper was 30 years old when he reached Palau in March 1862 aboard the schooner **Lady Leigh**, Captain Edward Woodin.¹ He had first contacted Captain Andrew Cheyne, owner of the bark **Black River Packet**, when the latter visited Manila with a cargo of trepang, or bêche-de-mer, from Palau, but the two men could not agree. It was by pure chance that he later met with Woodin and arranged to make a voyage to Palau, along with two assistants, Alejandro, his Tagalog servant, and Enrique Gonzalez, a Filipino mestizo, or half-breed, who was also an artist who was paid by Semper to make many sketches of Palau people and scenes.² The so-called expedition was to last for four or five months, but it lasted over one year.

Captain Woodin, an Englishman from Tasmania, was a good-natured person, not at all like his rival, Captain Cheyne.

The small 110-ton schooner had left Manila on the last day of December 1861. This ship was so worm-eaten and leaky that they had to make two long stops for repairs on Burias Island and at Palapag, in northern Samar. Woodin's Chief Mate (Semper calls him the Helmsman) was an Englishman named Barber. The rest of the crew were mostly Manila men, that is, Filipino sailors. One of the passengers aboard was named Peter Johnson, a Swede and long-term resident of Palau. Also returning to Palau was a young Palauan named Cordo, who was from Aibukit [Ngebuked], a town situated on the west side of the "neck of Palau", better known as the Arakalong Peninsula. The people of Aibukit were then at odds with the people of Koror, and each town had his European

1 See the logbook of this ship, in Doc. 1861A.

2 The whereabouts of his drawings, and watercolor sketches, in addition to Semper's diaries, and a large collection of artifacts, must still be somewhere in Germany.

ship captain as defendor: Aibukit had Capt. Woodin, and Koror had Capt. Cheyne.

It was not until the end of February that the **Lady Leigh** definitely left the Philippines and made a zigzag track towards Palau, on account of the contrary winds and currents. On 22 March, they sighted Angaur and approached Peliliu, in order to hear the news. The Peliliu people greeted the ship with shouts of "Cabel Mul,¹ because, besides trepang, he also dealt in coconut oil. "Baber," and "Piter," It was with dismay that those on board received the news that, in Captain Woodin's absence, an English warship, the **HMS Sphinx**, Captain Browne, had visited Koror and been induced to attack Aibukit, where much damage had been done by English guns, rockets and grenades. In the affray, most of the sailing and war canoes belonging to Aibukit were stolen by other Palauans.

1 That is, Captain Woodin, also known behind his back by the name of Era Kaluk [*Ngiracheluch*], which means "Mister Oil."

Chapter 2. — First Stay Ashore.

Most of the Palauan men were dark-brown bodies, but they were often covered with yellow-red curcuma, or turmeric, powder which they considered beautiful make-up. Their hair was frizzy, black tied at the back of the neck in a short braid; this was topped with a three-pronged comb. Their facial features were Papuan in character, and a few had noses like European Jews, which are sometimes also seen among the Melanesians of New Guinea. There were also other men with Malay-type faces and smooth hair.

The highest-ranking man in Aibukit was named Mad, a title which means Death.¹ The second-in-command was named Krei. Cordo, the young traveller, was the latter's adopted son. Mad, and Krei, were surnames as well as titles. Krei, who became Semper's protector, acted as the general and field marshal, as well as Director of Public Works. There were also a Treasurer, named Inateklo. These upper chiefs, called *Rupack*, were all members of the council of chiefs. There was a second-order of chiefs, or chieftains, called *Kikeri rupack* [*kekerei el rubak*] which means "free-men", and there was a third-class, the commoners, called *Armeau* [*remeau*]. Each chief (upper or lower class) had some followers, organized into a club, and possessing a *bai*, or club-house, the so-called *clöbbergöll* [*cheldebechel*] where the chiefs spent most of their time in idleness. In fact, each district, made up of a few villages, formed a mini-state by itself. In other parts of Palau, the names and titles were different, but the functions similar. As a result of former wars, some districts were subject to another. Hence there were autonomous, and semi-autonomous, but no real independent district, except Koror, which became so after the visit of the first Englishmen in 1783, led by Captain Wilson, which the Palauans still remembered² Because of the presence of the two English sea captains, the districts on Babelthuap Island were arranged into two political groups, centered on Koror and Aibukit respectively. The same scenario had played itself earlier, at the time of Captain Wilson, when the two alliances were centered at the Koror and the Artingal, also known as Melekeok, Districts. As for the Kayangle Atoll at the northern end of the Palau Group, it was still independent, or at worst, neutral, although Koror pretended to control it, as they did with Peliliu and Angaur at the south end.

Now then, when a district assumed a subordinate status to another, its upper-class chiefs filled the posts of lower-class chiefs in the council of chiefs of the capital town. For instance, the Arda of Rallap [Galap] matched Mad in Aibukit, but at Aibukit he assumed the title of Albro, the third or fourth after Mad.

In the evening of his arrival, Semper was already exploring his surroundings. On 26 March, he moved his things ashore, and got to know the local canoes. All canoes, he

1 So says Semper. The word is also a reference to dying, and killing; he, of course, had the authority to impose the death penalty for most crimes, but the criminal could always redeem himself, if he had money to pay a fine instead.

2 Palauans called Captain Henry Wilson, Cabel Wils. By the way, Captain Cheyne was called Cabel Schils (in German) and that would be pronounced Cabel Shills, in English. The titles were traditional, but had been so for only a few centuries; for instance, the Abba Thule, or Ibedul, of Koror at the time of Semper was only the ninth by that name.

says, are called *amlai* [*mlai*] regardless of use or size, and have no outriggers. Only the largest war canoes had an outrigger. After surveying the damage done by **HMS Sphinx**, and collecting information over a period of four months, he wrote a report about the incident.

The report was entrusted to the care of a Filipino sailor aboard Captain Cheyne's ship and smuggled to Manila. Semper's brother-in-law in Manila, Moritz Hermann, saw to it that it was translated into Spanish and published there in the local newspaper, the "Diario de Manila." It reads as follows:

Report of Dr. Karl Semper on the destruction caused by HMS Sphinx at Aibukit, Palau.

"The following tale needs no comment. It contains a description of the most important moments of the attack of an English warship, *HMS Sphinx*, upon a peaceful village in northern Babelthaub, to which, as it appears, the captain, R. Browne, was regrettably instigated solely by the charges of Captain Cheyne, of a man whose long trade in the Pacific will hopefully soon and forever come to an end. I collected these findings during my now four-month-old in the attacked and partly destroyed village, though I reserve an express guarantee of the complete correctness of them, and I publish them only partly to bring to the attention of the appropriate authorities the rash and inhumane dealings of the commander of the warship and partly to contradict a possible report from Cheyne, because experience has taught that whenever he pulled into an English port a completely distorted representation of the events on the islands he visited appeared in the papers."

"In the month of October [rather December] 1861, the English ship *Sphinx* anchored in Coröre harbor. Sent by the admiral of the naval station at Hong Kong on a peaceful mission—to search for lost sailors.¹ She also had orders to stop at the Palau Islands. In Manila, Captain Woodin had given up his second mate² and sent him with, instead of the ailing captain, the acting first lieutenant as translator, with the express wish to land him at Aibukit where he—Woodin—himself intended to go back to later with his ship. As it seems, Captain Cheyne's intrigues, about whose extent naturally only a little was learned, sufficed to get Captain Browne, again acting as commander, not only to ignore the promise given by the first lieutenant as commander, but also to wage an expedition against Aibukit, whose nature was said to have been wholly aggressive. At the instigation of Captain Cheyne, Captain Woodin's mate was, against Woodin's express wish, left behind in Coröre, and instead of this man, who still would have honored the English flag although he was a Spanish mestizo, an Englishman named Davis [rather Davy] acted as translator; he had lived for nearly thirty [rather 25] years here, was, unfortunately, an instrument of Captain Cheyne, and sought, under the protection of Eng-

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- 1 Those of the **Norna**, shipwrecked at Oroluk, whose crew were lost, except for the Captain's boat that made it to Guam, and later Hong Kong.
 - 2 The name of this man was Juan Garcia (see below).

lish weapons, his and probably others' vengeance."

"One day near noon, three boats from the warship, apparently armed with four eighteen-pound guns, appeared at the entrance to the small channel at Aibukit; Captain Cheyne's boat with his crew and Coröre warriors had joined them in Aracalong, a village about four miles to the north. He himself decided it best to keep away from the shooting. Near the entrance to the channel almost enclosed by an artificial wall of stone at a place known as Auru, the first shot, apparently blind, fell but more accurately shots followed quickly and not in the customary intervals. Meanwhile the soldiers landed at Auru, where not a solitary villager was seen, and went to the summit of Aibukit under Davis' direction and equipped with a gun fired it occasionally at the village of Atraro where they were opposed by the villagers. Soon the villagers fled, and Davis set fire to the whole of Atraro; he led the soldiers back to Auru where a house was burnt down, then they walked over the previously mentioned stone wall to Ungeläl on the northern side and over the hills to Eijül where they apparently received a sterner welcome than at Atraro because they did not succeed in seizing the village that day. They retreated and pulled back to Aracalong as night fell."¹

"On the next day at 10:00, all four boats returned to Ungeläl, where a house belonging to the village chiefs was burnt down, then a part of the soldiers following Davis set off over the hills for Eijül. This time they captured Eijül, most of which was burned to ashes. While this happened, a few boats travelled up to the innermost eastern corner of the small channel between mangrove bushes constantly firing their guns, where they discovered several houses as well as a canoe house. Here they were fired upon by a small cannon commanded by Mariano, a Filipino from Luzon, which threatened to sink the boats at any moment. Houses were also burnt here. Although the English tried, as it seems, to pull the canoes away from the burning canoe house, their humane gesture toward the Aibukit people was abortive since nearly all of the rescued canoes were later stolen by men from other villages. At this point, the boats returned once again to Aracalong, where the persistent Cheyne was waiting."

"On the third morning, the boats landed at Auru, and only then did Captain Browne act as negotiator to Aibukit with the request that Captain Browne be permitted entry to the village. Fearing that their main village might also be razed, the villagers, who by this time had ample reason to distrust Davis, refused this request. A large group of young, well equipped young men had come to Aibukit from all friendly villages; they had placed their few guns at the most important points at the direction of the previously named Mariano; they quickly threw up stone barricades, sent their women and children into the hills, and equipped themselves for a mighty resistance. There is little doubt another English attack would have had an unlucky fate. Luckily, it was not attempted. Davis returned without permission, but accompanied by a chief who offered Captain Browne a large piece of the indigenous money as a token of peace

1 The villages of Auru, Atraro, Ungeläl and Eijül no longer exist; they were abandoned perhaps at this time.

according to local custom. Afterwards, the English returned to Aracalong from where Cheyne had apparently disappeared.”

“On the fourth day, Captain Browne, Davis, and two other men went into Aibukit where they were greeted by one of the chiefs. After an inspection of the village and an exchange of friendly assurances between himself and the head chief (Mad), who gave him a number of pigs, they were back to Auru. In the meantime, people from Aracalong or Coröre had set fire to Captain Woodin’s house in which were about 250 piculs of trepang and a significant amount of property. This was the thanks which Woodin received for releasing his mate from service for several months in the hope of contributing as much as he could to the success of a humanitarian mission! Instead of an apology or explanation for this, he only received an order from Captain Browne to seize Mariano upon his return and turn him over to the authorities in China or Manila in order that Mariano might give an account of firing on the English flag.”

“Upon our arrival in March 1862, nearly everything was as it was on the day after the battle. Everywhere traces of fire, the houses destroyed, the few canoes partially broken and lying on the ground, trees splintered by shots—all in all, a scene of destruction. This misfortune had so badly broken the spirit of the villagers that only now (July), almost ten months later, are they beginning to raise their heads again. It is still remarkable to me now that no-one was injured on either side, although a shot tore the captain’s coat and a cannon ball was supposed to have torn off a piece of board from his boat. The English fired probably eighteen pound grenades and a number of two-and-a-half or three-inch rockets, one of which passed through Krei’s house, nearly hitting his head and emptying its deadly contents out the other side. More than fifty pieces from these rockets are supposed to have been found and, in addition, a number of partly shattered grenades.”

“To many Europeans, accustomed to the horrors of European war, a two-day battle in which no lives were lost may not appear to offer sufficient cause for the complaints I make. I feel it is useless to say more to them. But for all humane, honorable people, the reading of this event should cause them to blush because of this European brutality. Little or no excuse can be offered, even if it can be assumed that the three shots were fired for the purpose of raising the national flag and even if Captain Browne was deceived by the assurances of Cheyne, and probably the false oaths of the long-time residents Davis and Simpson, to mount an attack—all of this can be explained but not excused. It was not his duty to go to war in the case of a man whose statements were only supported by two partly-savage Englishmen, and improper consideration of the three shots, if they had been fired, cannot justify the attack since one must bear in mind that one had to deal with islanders unfamiliar with European ways. Even if the islanders fired the first shots, there are ample grounds for excusing this since Cheyne had for a long time threatened the people of Aibukit with a battle and a visit by a warship because they refused to fish for him. And as Cheyne’s boat approached with the three others apparently for Aibukit, the report was brought, perhaps deliberately or not, that Cheyne really had come now to attack them. This, it seems to me, gave enough of an

excuse (judging by local custom) to the people of Aibukit to open fire.”

“We call the ocean that washes these islands the Pacific. But just as its powerful waves can throw the largest ships over the reefs of its atolls into the lagoons sunk below sea level, it soon becomes calm, removing all traces of the accident—so the story is not heard of turmoil among its inhabitants, of the cruelty committed among themselves, of the cruelties inflicted from time immemorial by Europeans. We whites do not appear in the best light. Wherever there is conflict between coloreds and whites, a mistake on our side was the least; more often, it was the cruelty of the sailors, probably most often common greed, which summoned it forth. I am familiar with dark pages in the biography of a man who is still alive, who, in the hope of receiving plentiful cargo in return for his kindness, took a number of armed people to another island in his ship, where they, treacherously brought in, caused a terrible bloodbath among the inhabitants, including women and children. A pig was his entire take. Such stories abhor publicity; but if they should come to the attention of honest people, it is their duty to speak out as loudly as their voices permit. May mine not go unheard.”

“Aibukit, 12 July 1862.”

Until a house was built for him, Semper lived in the large house belonging to Krei and other first-class chiefs. Life there was boring, as the chiefs “almost always slept and did nothing for most of the day.” The only other people with whom he could talk to were the young concubines who were also living there, according to custom. They were often visited by other concubines serving in the club-houses of the men of the other two classes. These girls were Semper’s first teachers of the Palauan language. After a few days he could make small talk with the ordinary people of the village.

Upon visiting houses, he was always offered sweet toddy to drink.¹ When he visited Mad, he met a young man who was to become his best friend, on account of his intelligence, curiosity, and good character ; his name was Arakalulk.² After the two men struck a deal, Semper had no difficulties finding other local servants, even some men from a club to build him a house of his own design by the seashore facing west and in sight of the schooner; it was located at some distance from the village of Aibukit, not far from Auru. The place was already named Tabatteldil. \$F *Te bad el dil* which means a rock resembling a woman, I think. So, from then on, he became officially known, not longer as Doctor, but as Era Tabatteldil³ and he took his place in the council of chiefs, where he was readily admitted because the chiefs were trying to persuade him to stay permanently in Palau and protect them with his two weapons, a double-barreled rifle (a French-made breech-loading Fauchaux), and a revolver. His house resembled a *bahay kubo* or bamboo hut in the Philippine style; it was built on piles three feet off the ground, the floor was made of split bamboo, as were the walls and partitions. The

1 This is called *eilaut* [*llaot*] in Palau.

2 To anticipate the story, Arakalukl (his name would be written Rechelulk nowadays) was later to become Mad himself and to greet the German Government officials after 1898.

3 *Ngiratebadeldil*, or the Man from Tabatteldil.

roof was made of the local pandanus-leaf shingles. This house was ready for him to move in, which he did, on 10 April.

He had no sooner settled in that, on 17 April, he noticed many canoes from the south lying close to the **Lady Leigh**. It was Ibedul who had come to visit Captain Woodin to invite him to move his ship to Koror; the captain refused. Next, Ibedul visited Aibikit and offered his enemies peace and friendship, along with a large piece of local money, which had to be accepted, in order to avoid a new war. When Ibedul visited Semper's new home, on 29 April, he was not shy in asking for specific gifts, a knife and a flint; the so-called flint was a modern fire-making kit, a steel flint with a long piece of tinder. The ebbing tide forced him to leave soon after that, but before he did, he invited Semper to visit him in Koror.

At the beginning of May, Semper began his researches in earnest. He first learned about the local money.

Palauan money.

The most valuable category is *brack* [*berrak*]. It was said that there were only three or four pices in the whole island group. Next in value came the *pangungau* [*mengungau*] which was a red stone resembling jasper, which the owner's wife wears proudly around her neck. The third-rate money was the *kalbukup* [*chelbucheb*] appears to be agate in cylindrical form. These three kinds are always in the hands of chiefs and never in the hands of commoners, who may have access to the four lower-grade kinds of money, which are used in everyday trade, to wit: *kaldoir* [*cheldoech*], *kluk*, *adelober* [*delobeche*], and *olelongel*.

To give an example of the value of this money, the top bead is the price that a chief has to pay to get a new canoe. The last two are in the form of pieces of clear or green glass; one such piece can only buy a bunch of local cigars or a bunch of bananas.

Semper noticed that Palauans were reluctant to add to their money supply; normally no new money beads from foreign manufacture could be recognized, but a few people collected small, unique, items, such as the broken handles of Chinese ceramic pots, as items to trade with. The origin of this money was unknown; the natives said that it came from their gods...

Without exception, no matter what shape the pieces of money had, they all had a cylindrical hole drilled through them.¹ The hole was used to pass a string through, to enable the owner to secure his money, either by wearing it around his neck or to prevent the beads from passing through his loosely-woven plaited basket, or handbag.

Marriage, divorce, and the life of the women.

A woman became properly married only after she had been purchased from her father. However, she herself often sought to find a "protector" of her own choice. Di-

1 Rather a cylindrical cone-shaped hole drilled on two sides that met in the center—a marvelous achievement for stone-age people to have done.

voiced was easy and was usually instigated by the wife, when she became dissatisfied with her husband, accusing him of unfaithfulness, etc. which was most always true, since he had access to the club-house concubines—according to custom. Women admitted to Semper that the women were often enough the initial cause of their husbands' unfaithfulness."

The woman sought a new husband **before** leaving the previous one. It was not unusual, says Semper, for middle-aged women to have had three to four husbands. Most women were tolerant of the concubines because they too had been concubines when they were learning the duties of womanhood by staying a few months in some club-house of their own clan/district, or in some other. Such girls always brought a large piece of money home to her parents, after such an outing, and it was not long after that she got marriage proposals. Once married, she became known as So-and-so's wife, and lost her own former name.

As for the children, the divorced man always kept his own children, because he was more or less sure that they were his. However, there was a system of adoption in place, one that removed the potential discrimination on the basis of legitimacy. To avoid this, Palauan families exchanged children regularly and treating the adopted ones exactly the same as their brothers and sisters.¹ Some married women even returned to live in the club-houses, because they liked it that way. If her husband still cared enough, he could pay the chiefs to get her back.

In 1862, this system was considered unchangeable by Palauans, as it was customary, it was *mugul* [*mekull*], that is, proper behavior, and that was that.

Chapter 3.—I Pay for my Experiences.

Semper found out that, in imitation to the men, women formed their own societies, with their own leaders, but the women did not have to participate in any *corvée*, or public work, such as canoe-building, house-building, fishing expeditions. Another difference was that the women did not have to spend the night in their own club-house.

White men were called *lakad-ar-angabard* [*lechad-er-ngebard*], which means "people of the west," that is, westerners. Foreign residents in Palau were allowed to ignore the local customs, and most of the laws.² They were allowed this freedom by the islanders because the latter believed that all trade, and its benefits, would cease, if the whites were not allowed their regular freedom. However, some local customs had to be adhered to, out of necessity; for instance, if a white man had gone around naked, as the

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- 1 The disadvantage of this system was that one was never sure who the real fathers were, and the possibility of consanguinity was always present within a particular district. That is possibly the origin of the custom of arranging the so-called kidnappings of girls from one district to serve in another.
 - 2 The death penalty could never be applied to the whites; Captain Cheyne was a rare exception, as he had himself agreed by contract to respect local laws, in his Treaty of Commerce. After Ibedul was executed in turn, all whites became immune, no matter what.

native men did, the savages would soon have lost respect for him.

Semper had a constant stream of visitors who wanted to see his wonderful instruments, telescope (of his theodolite), microscope, his pocket watch (that had a small god inside), his chest of personal belongings (if not locked), even his bed (which was raised off the floor), etc.

When Semper presented a gift of a sack of rice to Krei's wife, he created a small scandal, as a matter-of-fact gift was not the custom,¹ and this particular one was considered too valuable... The discussion between Arakalulk and Semper about this matter lasted hours, according to local custom. He was peeved, mostly because he had not been consulted beforehand.

Palauans had learned to love rice, from Manila, By the way, Semper's only farming experiment was made with his last sack of unpolished rice; however, as soon as the rice appeared out of the ground, it was eaten by the multitude of rats populating the island.²

Capt. Woodin had promised to promise Semper with a boat and crew to allow him to collect samples on the reefs, but the old man was so busy, since his carpenter had deserted him, and had to make his ship repairs by himself. Semper pitied the old man. He says: "From Tabatteldil I could see the old man working on the keel under a thin sail cloth that barely protected him from the sun's heat. He sawed, drilled and hammered from early in the morning until the sun went down." So, Semper had to rely on local resources for his visits to the flats and reefs. He was mostly interested in the fauna of Palau, since he was a zoologist by profession. He learned that individuals, or families, had their own **totem animals**, which they could not kill themselves, though their neighbors could. The totem animals³ he mentions were: the sea snake, the rayfish, the dove, and even the sea-cucumber, or trepang (*bêche-de-mer*).

The national food of Palauans was taro. Their favorite seafood was the mussels from the swamps; after came the tridacna mussel, or *kin*, whose shell was then well known in Europe as a font, or container for holy water.

The stone age in Palau lasted until the second decade of the 19th century. Before that, their adzes were made with a stone, or of shell; the stone was basalt, from the east coast of Babelthuap Island, and the shell was from a thick *kim* clam. In Semper's time, such ancient adzes had become sacred and were stored away and considered family heirlooms; and everyday adzes had the usual handle made of candlewood, but the blade made with an imported steel chisel.

Semper observed the process of catching and preparing trepang, or *bêche-de-mer*, for exportation. The local fishermen searched the reef flats for this animal. When a sufficient supply had been collected in their canoes (they were cleaned of their intestines on the spot), the load was taken to temporary huts on the seashore, where the sand was removed from them and they were thrown into a cooking kettle until the mass was

1 Gifts to one's host were made only upon arrival and/or departure.

2 The same plague, and difficulty of new crops, existed in the Marianas.

3 He calls them *kalid*, which means 'sacred', he says, but the proper word for 'holy' is *chedaol*, then and now.

about a foot over the top of the kettle. Then taro leaves in several layers were laid over the whole and the fire was built underneath the kettle. Since the kettle contained seawater as well, the steam from it cooked the animals which shrunk quickly. This cycle is repeated, with fresh water, until the trepang has reached its minimum size, when it has become uniformly dark brown or gray. It is then dried in the sun, or preferably in a drying-house where fire and smoke completes the process. As a matter of fact, the native fishermen would dry them in the sun, pack them temporarily into average baskets weighing 25 pounds, and deliver the baskets to Captain Woodin's drying-house. There, Barber and Johnson would receive the trepang, inspect it for quality (and to remove the stones that tricksters often put into the baskets as well), weigh it, and offer trade articles in return, such as pots, kettles, gunpowder, pearls, hardware items (made of iron, naturally), etc. After final drying and sorting, the trepang was packed, usually into casks, loaded and stowed on board ship by the crew. The firewood for the drying-house had to be cut by the crew also. This drying-house was called *camarin*, the Spanish word for 'shed'. During the whole season, Barber and Johnson (hired by Barber) lived with their women in a part of this shed, along with their numerous women. Johnson, the local white resident, had four.

Men's or women's clubs from other villages sometimes came to Aibukit on official, or state, visits, which were called *klökadauel* [*klechedaol*]. These were always formal affairs, with banquets amply supplied with taro and coconuts. There were many such visits during Semper's stay, as he provided the main attraction, with his long-sleeved white shirt and white pants, and a helmet-type hat permanently on his head (even inside the club-houses, such an impudent mannerism, but one that was tolerated, as only a small god could act that way). His long red beard was the most important subject of conversation... His refusal to be tattooed was another. One day, his hat became the subject of conversation: he was asked why he had two noses (the front part of his hat being one). He removed it temporarily and placed it on top of the head of an older, high-ranking woman, to make her laugh, as she remained somewhat aloof. He caused a scandal, and soon learned that "it was taboo in the highest degree for anyone to place something on her head."

In general terms, the life of the natives was one of idleness. They simply could not comprehend why the white men wanted to work, and make them work, all the time, when life was meant to be lived in a relaxed fashion, with daytime siestas, etc. Even commoners tried to avoid chores as much as possible, with every possible excuse.

Occasional sexual encounters could be arranged by the mere blinking of an eye, or by the secret passing of a roll of dried banana leaf, normally used to wrap tobacco for cigars.

On the night of 17 May and during the 18th, a strong monsoon wind arose from the west, accompanied by heavy rains; this lasted until 23 May. After that, Semper began a trigonometric survey of the local coastline and reefs, first establishing a base line on the beach and using his theodolite to measure angles to landmarks. Over the water, he had signal flags placed on top of rocks that were not submerged at high tide.

Semper noticed that some small articles, such as pocket knives and pearls, were missing from his chest. His suspicion fell on a young Palauan named Cosole, whom he unwisely accused of theft, since there were no proofs, only strong suspicions. As soon as Mad heard of it, he immediately pronounced the death sentence upon Casole in the name of the Council of Chiefs. He had to be ransomed by his father paying a large sum of money. It was a long time before this man could be reconciled with Semper.

Chapter 4.—I Become Self-Sufficient.

One day, Krei's wife presented Semper with a middle-aged woman who wanted to marry him, meaning, to recruit him as her protector, so that she could divorce her husband. Semper refused. The two women tried to convince him to allow the woman to stay just one night, but Semper already knew that she would have been considered his official wife from then on, even if she had gone away thereafter, to sleep with others. In that too, he was firm, resisting the temptation; he had to displease Krei's wife, his local 'mother.' Apparently, the would-be wife appeared very excited at the prospect, and was sexy, indeed, though she was as old as Krei's wife.¹ He was scolded with the remark: "You westerners are queer. You have to have your own way."

"Here, as everywhere," says Semper, "marriage costs much money. So, I did not get married."

My friend Arakalulk spent so much time with Semper that he began to understand that not all white men were about money and earthly treasures. He began to praise the white race even more now, since in the past he had known it only through capable sailors and traders, with access to god-made objects such as fine weapons and iron utensils, etc. His patience and desire to learn were evident, as he sat on the floor next to Semper's table, while the latter was preapring and dissecting specimens, looking at them through the microscope, making drawings in his note books, packing them away, etc. He asked so many questions and received so many answers and explanations that he finally got a clear idea of what would happen to such specimens when they would reach Europe, for a better understanding of how lands had been formed, sailors could avoid shoals, etc. Semper was happy to teach him, since the man was so naturally endowed; in turn, he would willingly reveal all the secrets of Palauan culture.

Although the flow of materials to Semper's table could have suffered during a period when Mad's sister was dying (his servants had to absent themselves), they had provided him with enough things, such as jelly-fish and night snails, to keep him busy until 14 June. Naturally, Semper had to attend the feast that followed the woman's burial.

It was on that occasion that Arakalulk finally revealed the reason why he did not wear the *klilt* on his forearm, though he claimed to be of high rank. The *klilt* is one of the first vertebrae of the dugong, or sea cows. Semper says: "A district buys it with much trejpang from [Filipino] sailors, who occasionally bring it in from the Philippines." Only the high- and low-ranking chiefs can wear it. Commoners, men and children can never

¹ Ed. note: Between 35 and 40, while Semper was 30 years old.

wear it. As for his friend, the bone had been taken away from him by an uncle, because the uncle did not want him to succeed Mad for some political reason.

Semper also learned that the rifle he had given to the club that built his house had been claimed by Mad as his legitimate tribute.¹

Chapter 5.—Travel.

On 15 June, Semper visited the village of Kroll.² It was a two-hour journey on foot over the hills and across the neck of the peninsula to the east coast. From the top of the hills, they could see Ngriil³ but they could not go safely there, as it was part of the enemy district of Arekalong. Roll was a village in ruins. While talking about Captain Wilson, who [in 1783] had caused the beginning of the decline of the Artingall District, the conversation shifted to the book about him that was kept in Koror, and the way Palauans also had of communicating at a distance, by means of knotted cordlets (more about this later). The conversation took a turn and Arakaluk said: “Do you know, Doctor, that our people lie very much and tell many stories, which then make their way through the entire group and which most people believe? Now the people of Coröre always say Ebadul is king of all Palau. But that isn’t so. Even the English believed it. They also maintain that their state is the most powerful, but that isn’t so either.”

The next trip was to Rallap⁴ on 21 June. That too is located on the east coast. There Semper studied the tides and noticed that the waves hit the coast directly at high tide. He began a survey of the coast and reefs, but he soon ran into trouble when the people stole his flags, or white calico cloth, right before his eyes, to be used by them as new *hussaker* [*usaker*], or loin-cloths. Somehow, it was Semper’s fault for wasting such good cloth... He packed his instruments and went back home, to plan a trip to Kayangle Atoll in the north end of the group.

On 2 July, everything was ready, and he went again to Rallap, the departure point for a canoe trip northwards. It took a couple of days of trying to row through the surf and across the eastern reef before they succeeded, and raised the sail.

Chapter 6.—Kreiangel.

They followed the Kossol Reef and landed at Kayangle Island proper⁵ after a long one-day journey. Once there, he observed the trees: Kayangle had the regular *lius*, or coconut trees, the *calebingl* [*chebingel*], or papaya trees, the *maduch* [*meduu*], or breadfruit trees, but no *tu*, or banana trees, nor *bua* [*buuch*], or areca nut palms, and had to

1 Ed. note: So it was in the Carolines, when a man had to yield a gift he had received from a European to his chief. This custom was a law in Kosrae at contact (1824).

2 Ed. note: Angol, D-1j in Bryan’s Place Names.

3 Ed. note: D-1h in Bryan’s Place Names.

4 Ed. note: Galap, D-2b in Bryan’s Place Names.

5 Ed. note: B-1 in Bryan’s Place Names.

get these items by trading with Arekalong.

Semper took time to survey the reefs, sounded the lagoon at many places, etc. until his assistants refused to do any more (to them, useless) work. He had to give us the idea of sailing even more northwards as far as the Aruangel [Ngeruangel] reef and islet.¹ In the center of Kayangle Island, there was a pool of fresh water. This water became brackish only after a long period of drought.

Next he visited the next island to the south, named Nariungs [Ngeriungs], separated from Kayangel by a channel (dry at low tide). No-one lived on that island.

On the morning of 6 July, his birthday, Semper became moody and had a bout of homesickness.

A club from Koror had arrived three days before Semper. They had been after women for their club-house. The people arose one morning to see so many of the young girls gone, including the chief's daughter. This chief vented his anger on Dr. Semper who had nothing to do with it. He began to abuse him, calling him a *dangeringl ladak* [*dengerenger al chad*], or foolish man, for braking several taboos. This was the first time that a Palauan had criticized him so directly for not following the local customs, for instance, asking people "What's your name?" for walking erect and wearing a hat in the club-house, etc. Semper's answer was also to the point: a chief from the west does not have to follow local customs...

The story of the Manila ship that was cut off at Yap, in 1836.

At Nagariungs Island, Semper was shown where the Manila ship had anchored when a crew of Manila men collected trepang over a period of one week; that had occurred in the mid-1830s. The east coast of the island has the form of a crescent. The lagoon there is accessible through an artificial channel cut across the reef. Water depth at low tide is at least 1-1/2 fathoms. The Manila captain was after trepang (balate in Tagalog). The place where his *camarín* has stood were shown to Semper, who thinks that the channel across the reef must have been cut by the Manila men, since it was so straight and it was again almost entirely filled up.² During this visit, the Kayangle people acquired calico, pots, knives, hachets, even a few rigles and gunpowder. The Koror chiefs learned about this and an intrigue developed. They sent a messenger to tell the Spanish captain that the Kayangel people had accepted a bribe and agreed to cut off his ship, so that he was better to go to Koror. He went to Yap instead. Koror immediately sent canoes to Yap, with real bribes this time, and the Yapese did cut off the Manila ship

1 Ed. note: A-2 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: Probably not, as such artificial channels existed at other places throughout Palau.

and massacred everyone on board, except a boy.¹

By the way, Palauans were acquainted with Yap, which they called *Bölulakap* [*Belulechab*], which means Island of Ashes, an apparent reference to volcanic eruptions on that island in historical times.

The Yapese have their own money, discs of aragonite found [in southeastern] Babelthuap. The larger the discs, the greater their value. Ibedul sent one such large disk to Yap to buy their piratical services. "An islander cannot resist a bribe of a piece of local money," concluded Dr. Semper. He had heard about this story before, from Captain Woodin.²

While on Kayangel, a companion of Semper, named Aideso, ".an alert, handsome young man," found a lover, who immediately was considered his wife. Unable to pay a dowry-type of fine, he was arrested, and another man had to pay to have him released. The father of a girl always tried to find a husband for her from a wealthy family, because any future dispute between the couple could be twisted as the husband's fault, and his father (always responsible for his son's actions) would appease him with money... Semper use the occasion to mention that the highest fines are for crimes against married women. If a married man surprised his wife with a lover, he could kill the lover on the spot... Prisoners were always killed.

Chapter 7.—False Hopes.

Back home in Tabatteldil, he learned from Capt. Woodin that the collection of *bêche-de-mer* did not go well. He told him that he had gone to Arekalong in his boat, that he had gathered the chiefs together and gave them a scathing speech; Semper adds that the speech could not have been very effective, because Woodin "could not speak Palauan." Apparently, Woodin had made a five-day tour of Babelthuap, without incident, before returning to Aibukit.³

A Spanish ship had arrived at Malakal, and the rumor said that there were letters for Semper. He convinced a villager to go there and bring his mail back, but there was nothing for him on board that ship.

Captain resumed the work on his ship, pounding nails despite the driving rain, etc. While Semper was busy with his microscope, he says, the hammering and sawing sounded like music to his ears.

1 Ed. note: I was never able to find out the name of this ship, or captain, in Spanish archives. There may even have been two such Spanish ships cut off at Yap, before they stopped visiting that island. In the 1840s, other Manila men visited Koror and carried on a successful trade, before the arrival of Captain Cheyne. There are no official records of such voyages either. They were all private ventures, and carried out in secret perhaps, the better to preserve good sources of trepang for themselves, just as they had done 10 years or so earlier with the sandalwood in Fiji.

2 Ed. note: Captain Cheyne himself had published the story as he had heard it both in Yap and Palau (see Doc. 1841R where the story of Lorio, the Filipino survivor is narrated).

3 See entries from 12 to 16 July in his logbook, where he does not give any details about this excursion, other than he did not find his runaways.

One day Arakalulk told him the **myth about the creation of Palau**.

Once upon a time, only Angaur showed above the water. One day a woman named Akuab became pregnant, and she grew so big that she soon burst. The pieces of her body were scattered over the ocean, and formed the islands of Palau. Her head formed Aracur Island in the north, Her neck became Arekalong. Her chest former northern Babelthuap, and her tits can still be seen in two hills near Melekeok, while her belly formed southern Babelthuap. Her lower limbs formed Koror, the Rock Islands, and Peleliu.

As for the gods, they look them upon the earth every night with their eyes, the stars. One day, a chief went up to heaven, stole the eye of one of these gods, brought it back to earth; the original Palauan money was made from this eye. That is why money is so valuable...

He was also told another legend, about a great flood—a universal tale.

He was also told about the only survivor of a recent drift voyage from Celebes, in a boat that had landed at Almongui.

By September, Semper's supply of imported food had run out and he had to eat local food every day. His stock of writing paper was also becoming small. His house was fast becoming leaky. Another depressing discovery was that people had stolen part of his belongings; in spite of the heavy penalty for stealing, there were some who did so, when they thought they could get away with it, and escape the punishment.

Chapter 8.—Era Tabatteldil.

One day, Semper was having his breakfast of *döllul* [*deluul*], or roasted taro, and drank sweet coconut juice, when the conch shell trumpet was blown, to announce the sighting of three large war canoes and a few small ones. Those men came from Almongui, a village allied with Koror. Semper was considered a local chief, and he was sitting in the senior club-house when red-painted men approached. They were led by Aituro, their chief, who made a speech in which he related that he and his men had just won a battle against Melekeok, after which they had been feasted at Airai, Koror,, and Aime-liik. They were on their way to Arekalong, and wished to be feasted at Aibukit. Mad refused to entertain them, and proclaimed that they were friends with Milekeok. Threats of war did not move the people of Aibukit. After more futile talk, the local chiefs, with Era Tabatteldil (Semper) in tow, made their exit from the club-house, while Semper made sure that his double-barreled rifle was accidentally revealed on the way out.

After a while, Semper was so bored with the long wait for the schooner to be made ready, he conceived of a trip to Kocor, to return Ibedul's visit. In the meantime, the chief of Melekeok, an old man, died a natural death, and many people made the trip from Aibukit to that town on the east coast. Meanwhile, Captain Woodin announced that his ship would be ready in fourteen days. The trip to Koror would have to be done quickly, and there was no time to attend the funeral at Melekeok.

Chapter 9.—Trip to Cörore.

Semper had already been told about the small islands near Koror, the *kokeal* [*ocheall*], or rock islands. Taking that he might be detained in Koror and be prevented to return to Aibukit, he packed his chests and instruments and took them on board the **Lady Leigh**, on 29 October.¹

He sailed at noon on 30 October for Koror, spending the night on the west coast. The next day they arrived at Koror and Semper made his way to Aidil [Idid], Ibedul's house. This house was located on an elevation with a large square in front; most of the square, however, was occupied by the graves of his ancestors. He became a guest at Aidil. On a tour of Koror, he noticed an enclosure surrounding a grassy meadow where hundreds of cows were grazing, left at the islands by Captain Wilson, he was told.²

Early the next morning, Semper was taken to Ibedul's club-house where he found him working at making rope. They both went to his house to have a look at Captain Wilson's book (about his visit to Palau in 1783). While leafing through this book, a packet of manuscript documents fell out. This was a copy of the Constitution of Palau, as written by Captain Cheyne the year before. Semper quickly copied these texts into his notebook.³

He had no sooner finished this task when two white men walked in and greeting him with the words: "Buenos días, caballero!" [Good morning, gentleman!] These words came from the (unnamed) Spanish captain of the **Pelayo**, and a young German, named Tetens, newly-hired by Captain Cheyne as Chief Mate of the schooner **Black River Packet**.⁴ From Tetens, Semper learned that his letter about the Sphinx incident had reached Manila and been published in the "Diario de Manila." The Spanish administration intended to do nothing about it, but his letter had amused many white residents of Manila for a while...

Tetens was told about the so-called constitution of Palau, and asked if he would like to become Prime Minister, if Cheyne became King? He replied that he was not a politician, just a seaman.

In the meantime, some Koror men had punched a hole in the bottom of the Aibukit canoe.

While waiting for a new mode of transport, Semper witnessed a dance that was the culmination of a two-month-long ceremony, paid for by Aituro, the chief of Almongui, in order to woe the gods in favor of a cure for his sick wife.

After another canoe was provided by Ibedul, Semper went to visit the rock islands, which he found fantastic, from the point of view of a geologist. In passing Malakal Island he saw a sugarcane field and Cheyne's large house, built in the Filipino style, high

1 Strange, but Woodin does not mention this in his logbook entry for that date, although he does mention his return from Koror.

2 They had been given by Captain MacCluer instead.

3 Reproduced as Doc. 1861B.

4 The schooner was named *Acis*, not *Black River Packet*.

up on a hill facing the harbor, where an entire fleet could lie at anchor.

Chapter 10.—Return to Aibukit.

Semper hurried to Aibukit on 6 November, to arrive before the deadline imposed by Captain Woodin for his departure. By 5 p.m., his canoe was already there, but he found the good captain still hammering in his ship. He had found another leak... The departure date was pushed forward another 14 days.

Semper then decided to make a trip to Peliliu in the meantime. Before he could leave, Krei offered him his daughter in marriage, in a last-ditch effort to convince him to remain in Palau. No deal. Semper had told him many times that he wanted to return to the west as soon as possible.

Woodin and Semper arranged for a pick-up in Peliliu, in the eventuality of his return being prevented, which it did. Before leaving for Peliliu, Semper made the rounds of all his friends to say good-bye. Saying good-bye to Arakalulk was the most difficult; the latter promised to prepare some presents and load them aboard the schooner (more about these later). To all, Semper said: "I'll never forget you. Gonzalez make drawings of all of you for that reason. I'll write a book, just as Cabel Wils did." Mad and Krei took leave of Semper by making long speeches.

Arakalulk presented Semper with a 'letter' of introduction, Palauand-style, to his friend in Peliliu, named Tomué. The letter in question consisted of a tortoise-shell awl to which had been tied two short threads, tied together by a few knots. They represented a message to the effect that Arakalulk and Semper were bound together as brothers, which implied that Tomué should also treat him as a brother.

When Semper left Tabatteldil for the last time, he passed by the schooner, once again lying on her side and her captain hammering at her bow. The canoe stopped at a west-coast village called Tamadé [Ngetmedei] for the night. When he was having breakfast the next morning, two chiefs from Emungs [Meuns] arrived with a message from Ibedul: he had to stop at Koror.

They escorted him there, but he was soon able to get permission to continue his trip south, which he did on 17 November.

[Description of Captain Cheyne]

While there, he heard a lot of things about the conduct of Captain Cheyne, who had not yet paid for his purchase of Malakal Island, who was a coward because he did not fight with them, although he was their ally, who led a scandalous wife with a harem of eight or more young women, while he exhibited to them all at once, etc. We no longer know what to do about him, they said.¹

Semper had first met him in a street of Manila. The man was tall, big, with a prominent aquiline nose, and long blond hair. His eyes expressed a mixture of cowardice and arrogance at the same time—cunning would be more like it.

1 They later murdered him.

On his way south, Semper made a detour to Urulong [Ulong] Island, where Captain Wilson had stayed for a some time in 1783. He inspected the island, and attempted a landing on the west coast.¹

Soon they were on their way through the vast lagoon, making a brief noon-time stop at Eimeliss [Ngemelis] Island.² By sunset, they landed on the SW coast of Peliliu, at the village of Argeutel [Ngerekiukl]³ This was the village of the Peliliu man who had guided Semper on this trip.

Chapter 11.—Peleliu.

News of Semper's arrival quickly spread throughout Peliliu. One of the first visitors was Tomué, Arakalulk's friend, who was given the "letter". It took him some time to read it; other helped him to decipher the knots. He finally understood it, because he greeting Semper as a friend and brother, *sakalik* [*sechelik*], and requesting him to follow him to his house in Nasiass [Ngesias].⁴ Everywhere could be seen signs of a large population in the past. Nasiass was a large, well-kept, village when the tiny houses for their gods wore a fresh coat of red paint. One of the most important islander was **the priest**. His house was octagonal in shape, and decorated with red, white, yellow, and black colors—an extraordinary sight in Palau. While ordinary Palauan houses had no partitions, this one had a house within a house, the inner house being that of the gods... The priest was said to be next in line for the post of village chief. The present chief was the only stingy person in the place.

The next day, 20 November, Tomué led his visitor to the village of Orocoll [Ngercholl],⁵ one of the villages on the northwest coast. The trail over the hills was narrow, full of pointed rocks, steep in places, and tiring. Despite abundance of rain, there were no stream anywhere, as the ground was very porous.⁶ Semper and Gonzalez ended up with bleeding feet that kept them indoors for a few days. So it is that Semper lost his last pair of shoes; from then on, he learned to walk barefoot. His last suit of clothes, a full-sleeve shirt and long pants began to show holes at the elbows and the knees... But a beachcomber he was not.

Orders had been received from Ibedul not to let the visitors leave Peliliu, unless it was for Koror. They realized that they had become in effect a pair of prisoners of war.

Idleness was very much a way of life in Peliliu. Relaxing, or *di medil* (taking it easy), was their game. The women of the place informed Semper that, during the week of the

1 This was the wrong side, as Captain Wilson had chosen a small cove on the SE side.

2 A small island, G-15 in Bryan's Place Names.

3 I-16 in Bryan's Place Names.

4 An inland village higher up, I-17 in Bryan's Place Names, northeast of the place where they had landed.

5 I-19 in Bryan's Place Names.

6 One is reminded of the modern phosphate mines that were set up there later on.

next full moon, there would be nightly dances taking place at Alamau. Semper participated in such games and learned how to dance the rat dance.

At the beginning of December, he started to worry about the **Lady Leigh** and whether or not she would ever appear offshore. The local people explained to him their many legends, as portrayed on the carved wooden boards under the eaves of their club-houses. He also learned a great deal about the social life of the women, as he accepted the invitation of one of their clubs, called Inatoluk, situated at the harbor of Nasias.¹ His new girlfriends had painted themselves bright red, to express their joy. They presented him with gifts of tortoise-shell ladles, saying that such were their own money, shile the glass money, or beads, were for the men.

The good people of Peliliu made everything they could to make the life of their "prisoners" as pleasant as possible. On 8 November, a letter from Cabel Mul [Woodin] arrived; it said that the good captain could not leave Aibukit until 17 December at the earliest. His ship repaired were finished, but the bêche-de-mer had to be dried again...

In the meantime, a young Palauan named Inarratbac became his fast friend in Peliliu. With him, he covered the rest of the island in all directions, so that, on 17 December, he discovered a hidden village in the interior, named Acholabölu [Bkulabeluu], but the sound of the surf could still be heard from there.

Tension mounted, as he became worried about his ship. Tension mounted among the islanders as well, as he witnessed the first serious fight between two Palauans. Rage blinded them as they tried to hit each other with their chisel axes, but they were separated in time. Bloodshed was only prevented by the use of force, he wrote.

The first day of January 1863 came, and still no ship. One year exactly had elapsed since his departure from Manila.

Chapter 12.—Peleliu (continued).

A new excursion was required. Semper decided to go to visit the chief of Ardelollec [Ngeredelolk].² This village, which now had only eight houses, had been a powerful village in the past. The ruins of a stone fortress could be seen near the harbor. The chief was apparently a wealthy man still. His house was famous far and wide for its unusual size and construction; its floor and side walls were made of planks, not split bamboo, and the painted beams passed right through its interior, just as in the club-houses. This village used to be the school where chiefs from all over the Palau Islands came to learn politics.

Suddenly, the chief noticed that Gonzalez was making a sketch, and he asked to see it. Recognizing his head, he asked the reason why he had been decapitated. So incensed was he that he threw Gonzalez out of doors... After an explanation on the part of Semper, the artist was told to draw the man complete, which he did very quickly; this time the chief was satisfied and asked permission to keep the sketch—which was granted.

1 Named Gnebungel, apparently.

2 I-8 in Bryan's Place Names.

Back at the home village, an interview with the priest then followed. The man had disguised himself as an old woman, but Semper was not fooled by this in the least. The priest hid himself behind a curtain and began to question him in a high-pitched voice, but it was all nonsense.

Gonzalez had also been adopted by another women's club. Presently, each club composed a song for their favorite. Semper's song began with a description of him as "a frigate bird swooping down from the cliff in the evening"...

One Palauan custom that was further explained to Semper had to do with the husband not sleeping in the same house as his wife and children; the couple could only meet in the daytime, but they were supposed to ignore each other's presence when they met casually along the footpaths, etc. However, when they met at night, they did so in the little red houses of their gods.

When Semper explained European customs, Palauans always stated that their own customs were better... In fact, they were very restrictive customs, that allowed no deviations, and ruled all aspects of their social organization, in spite of the appearance of individual freedom.

On New Year's Eve, the village discovered that the entire club that had befriended Gonzalez had disappeared during the night. It was soon found out that a club of men from Eimelik had come for them, as pre-arranged, and the secret had been well kept indeed. Twenty young women were now gone from the sight of their parents and friends. One of these girls had been Gonzalez' lover, and he was heart-broken about his loss. In fact, he had almost agreed to marry her, and remain in Palau forever...

Semper now saw the natives in a new light. They seemed to be motivated by base motives and self-interest a lot more than he had imagined at first. Profit, nothing more, was their main motive. The girls would return with money, a few months later.

Apparently, some men from Eimelik who were present at the previous full-moon frolick had secretly given a rope-message to one of the girls, with knots the number of which meant the number of days before they would come to get them. Well, all the women had run away like this at least once in their life. It was custom! It was traditional for the girls of Nasiass to go to Eimelik; those of Argeutel, Orocol and Ardelollec went to Koror, while those of Koror went to Rallap [Chelab], and all for a period of about three months, during which time they learned to serve men and become obedient to them. Besides, they each returned with a piece of money for their parents.

In actual fact, none of the women of a club could stay behind, because they would be rebuked by their own father, as being a useless being who would not find a husband easily later on, etc. So, the apparent kidnapping of young women was something that was well organized indeed. Individual freedom was highly restricted by custom, not by law. Semper concludes by saying that outsiders would scarcely believe this possible of a so-called primitive people.

Finally, another letter arrived from Captain Woodin. He announced that he would come soon. However, the days passed without seeing the ship. One day, a sail was sighted, as she was headed away from the land. Semper rushed with a canoe and chased

this ship until sunset, but the chief on board ordered a return to shore. Lo and behold! The next morning at sunrise, the **Lady Leigh** was hove to in full view of the coast. Final farewells were quickly made, and Semper and Gonzalez finally returned to the west, from which they had come. The date was 26 January 1863.

Chapter 13.—Return to Manila.

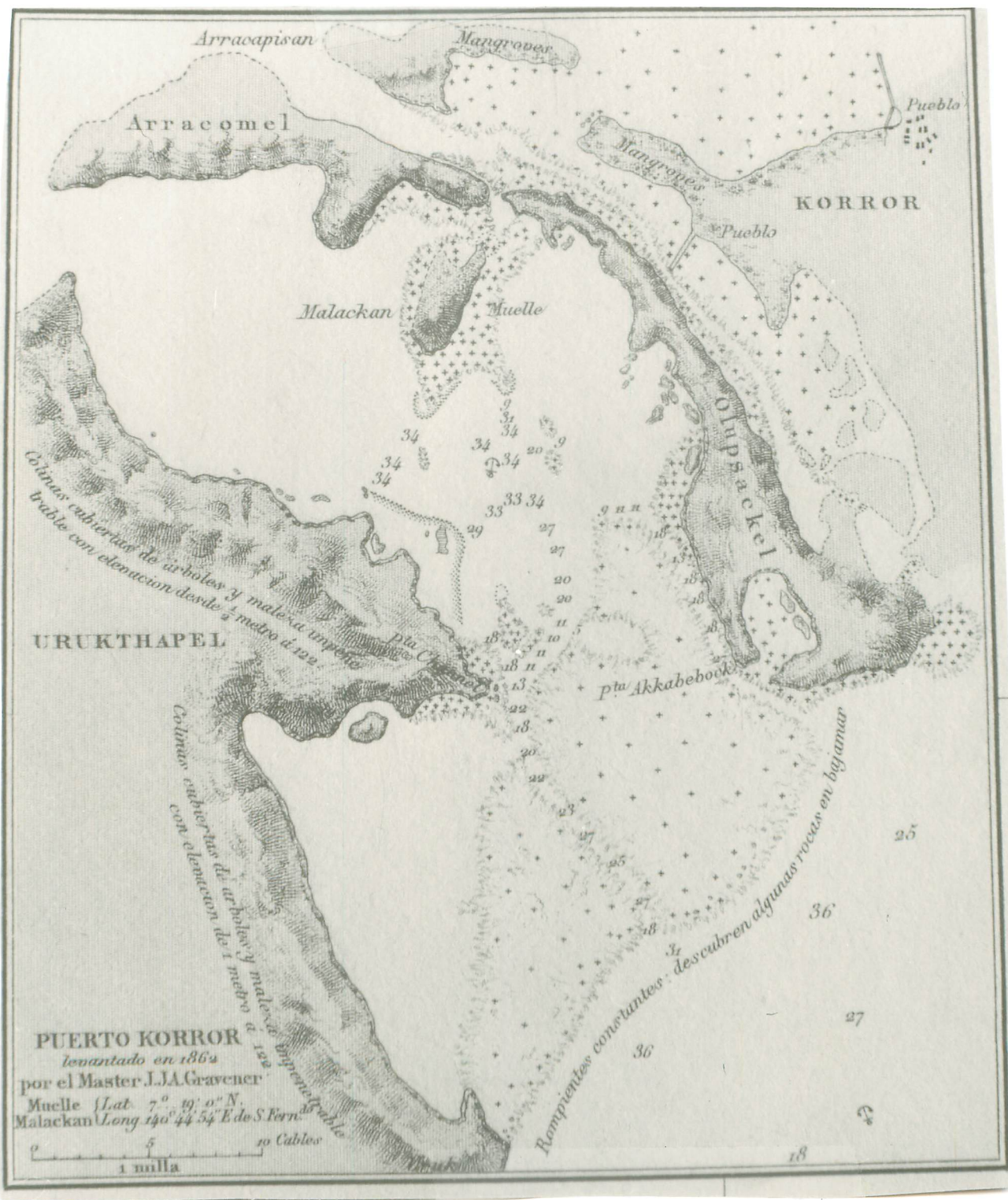
There was a Palauan stowaway on board, a lad from Arbukit named Amelukl. Semper's friend, Arakaluk, had been true to the end. IN the hold of the schooner was a beautiful brand-new Palauan canoe with full rig. Also the story boards of one clubhouse had been sawed off and packed fas well, in addition to many artifacts (stone adzes, etc).¹

It took the schooner only eleven days to reach the Corregidor lighthouse at the entrance of the Bay of Manila. Upon reaching Manila, Juan Garcia was the first one to disappear, in the boat of the Port Officer. Semper was soon reunited with Moritz, his brother-in-law, and Ana, his fiancée, who soon became his bride. Together they went on to Bohol and MIndanao, on another scientific expedition.

As for Woodin, he sold his meagre cargo of bêche-de-mer at a low price. After paying his debts in Manila, he had no money to return to Palau; besides his ship was too far gone. By contrast, Cheyne, who arrived with a full shipload later on, and sold his at almost twice the price. Wooding was a good person, while Cheyne was vastly superior to him in knowledge, intellect and ruthlessness. Sometimes, the bad guys wind, but not this time. As it turned out, the Koror people finally got rid of him, in the only way they knew how—they killed him.

As for the two Palauans brought to Manila by Woodin, one died of sadness and the other returned aboard Cheyne's ship. According to newspaper reports in Europe, Cheyne was killed because he had sold firearms to the enemies of Koror in other parts of Palau. Semper concludes with the following statements: "I am convinced that Cheyne had never paid for his purchase of Malakal Island. I am convinced that he alone bears the full responsibility for his own death."

1 Such items may have been transported to Germany, and might yet be found in and around Würzburg, Bavaria, where Semper spent the rest of his professional life.





Alfred Tiersi

Document 1862B

The voyages of the schooner *Acis*, Captain Tetens, 1862-63

Source: Alfred Tetens. Vom Schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout—Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Capitäns Alfred Tetens... (Hamburg, Niemeyer Nachfolger, 1889); translated by Florence Mann Spoehr as: Among the Savages of the South Seas—Memoirs of Micronesia (Stanford University Press, 1958).

Synopsis of the journals of Captain Alfred Tetens, as edited by S. Steinberg

Note: Thanks to the translator of the English edition for re-arranging the events in more or less chronological order, something that the German editor had neglected (he even remove the dates from Tetens' writings).

Introduction.

Alfred Friedrich Tetens was born in Wilster, Holstein in 1835.¹ So, when he arrived at Palau in 1862, as Chief Mate of the *Acis*, he was only 27 years old. However, he had been at sea since the age of 14, the first time as a cabin boy aboard the *Odin* on a two-year voyage to Brazil and New York. His next ship was an American clipper ship *Congress* making runs between New York and London. In 1852, he returned home, just in time for a voyage aboard the *Winterthur* to Australia, then London. In 1854, he went to Altona (a suburb of Hamburg) to study navigation, and soon obtained a mate's certificate in Denmark, but he had to do his military service in the Danish Navy, which he did aboard the corvette *Najaden* in 1855. Two years later, he was second mate aboard the *Lucy and Harriett*, to India and back to Europe. In July 1857, he obtained his Mate's certificate in London. Soon after that he became first mate aboard the English 978-ton frigate *Palmerston*, a convict ship with hundreds of male prisoners on board, sailing to Auckland. After he obtained his Captain's certificate at the end of 1861, he made another quick voyage to New Zealand aboard another convict ship, the 849-ton clipper *Norwood*, this time to Australia. On the return voyage, he disembarked in Manila, where he met Captain Cheyne. He became chief mate of the his barque, the

¹ Ed. note: Holstein was then part of Denmark; it became part of Prussia in 1864.

Black River Packet, soon taking command of the schooner **Acis**. This first episode in Micronesia lasted one and half years, 1862-63. The partnership with Cheyne was broken by Tetens because of Cheyne's "treachery ... which I unfortunately recognized too late. His friendship was worth nothing, and was only formed so that I might pull the chestnuts out of the fire for him."

The Palau Islands.

The Palau Islands may be considered the most important islands in the Caroline Archipelago, although the number of inhabitants hardly exceed 10,000. Two illnesses affect the inhabitants—elephantiasis and influenza epidemics.

The native Palauans recognize only four points of the compass: northeast, southeast, northwest, and southwest. The last direction, which they call Angebart [Ngebard] and it is also the name they apply to every European foreigner because the first ones they saw had arrived from that direction.¹

At the end of the 1850s, two English captains wanted to control trade with Palau exclusively. Captain Edward Woodin, a truthful, courageous man but of less business acumen, was finally bested by the clever but unprincipled Captain Andrew Cheyne. Cheyne stirred the jealousies between the natives of different districts so cleverly that he used them all in his game for supremacy in trade. The petty wars, rather battles, between natives did not do much harm; after all, there were only one small cannon and a few flintlocks, fired at great distances.² This state of affairs brought about by the "civilized" white man lasted about two years. During that time Cheyne was not idle and unfortunately succeeded in his devilish designs [1860-61]. By chance, the English warship **Sphinx** appeared in the harbor of Koror. Cheyne told the Koror people that he had called this warship to avenge their interests. He also told lies to Captain Brown, the commander of the warship, whose boats attacked the villages in the Iboukith [Ngabuked] District on the north side of Babelthup Island, firing rockets and grenades and

- 1 Ed. note: Two remarks must be made here: (1) the first Europeans did come from the direction of Sonsorol, in 1710; (2) the directions in question are rather loosely called north, east, south, and west respectively, and foreigners are westerners (quite appropriately here also). The twisting of the compass in people's minds is identical to the same phenomenon noted for direction terminology in the Mariana Islands. By the way, in Canada, the direction of the St. Lawrence River valley is considered west-to-east, though it is really SW--NE. Here in Palau, this twisting is even more pronounced (about 70°) counterclockwise, to such an extent that westerners should be called southerners.
- 2 Ed. note: The purpose was to scare Woodin away. By 1862, Woodin had been reduced to one worm-eaten schooner, and the armed scaring tactics on the part of Koror were really unnecessary to achieve that purpose.

burning down property, notably Woodin's trepang-drying house, while he was then absent in Manila.

As Cheyne also went to Manila regularly to sell his products, it was by chance that he met Tetens, and proposed to him a joint venture in the Carolines. After an exchange of confidences—in which Tetens revealed more about himself than Cheyne did—a contract was signed, and Tetens was placed in command of a small but well-built schooner named **Acis** with a scanty crew.¹

When they reached Palau [in November 1862], Cheyne introduced Tetens to Ibedul, by whom he was well received. Tetens loved adventure, and agreed with the idea of the “noble savage”; he did not mind meeting peoples who were still half-savage, and learning from them. He described [the ninth] Ibedul thus.

King Abba Thule was a corpulent, well-fed figure, with dark-brown skin shining with coconut oil, dressed only with a red loin-clth. His long black hair was twisted and held upright by a three-toothed tortoise-shell comb. On his tattooed wrist, there was a bracelet made of a vertebral bone of a sea cow, the so-called *dugong*. Tied to this bone was a cord that secured the hatchet hanging over his left shoulder. In his right hand, he held the traditional pouch, or basket, made of woven palm leaves, which contained small personal items, the most important being betel nuts and a small piece of bamboo holding lime. He was not exactly handsome, but, in spite of the yellowish-green color of this hair, he made a favorable impression. Despite his heaviness, his motions were not clumsy.

Oe day Tetens was again ashore. In the King's house he was surprised to meet an English-speaking European. But the man's accent revealed that he was not an Englishman. He held a large book in his hands, His clothing was much like that of the natives—at least no trousers could be seen on him, as they had been spread out at the entrance to the house, “whether by custom or for some other reason has always remained a mystery to me,ø says Tetens.”²

When the stranger asked who he was, Tetens introduced himself as the “master of the **Acis** and partner of Captain Cheyne.”³ Semper must have been very formal (despite his nakedness) as he introduced himself as **Doctor Semper**. The conversation quickly shifted to German.

Tetens described Semper as an exceptional scientist, one who was interested in everything, not just a narrow field of science. He grasped the political, economic, and social conditions with unusual clarity and could explain the smallest details scientifically. Sem-

1 Ed. note: Since the logbook of the barque Black River Packet ends in 1861, and that the two men travelled together to Palau aboard the schooner *Acis* in March 1862, the barque must have been sold at Manila in order to purchase the schooner. Therefore, Semper is wrong when he first described Tetens as “chief mate of the barque”; he was captain of the *Acis*, and Cheyne was her owner, the intention being that Cheyne would stay at his house at Malakal, while Tetens would be in charge of the trading to the Caroline Islands to the east.

2 Ed. note: They probably had been given up to be washed, and were drying in the sun.

3 Ed. note: Semper forgot this piece of information when he wrote, incorrectly, that Tetens was chief mate of the Black River Packet.

per had already learned everything useful about the islanders' way of life, and he had just discovered the secret and extent of Cheyne's intrigues.

The documents that Semper had found in the book about Captain Wilson were only copies; the originals had been taken by Cheyne to Manila and handed to the English Consul there. If their terms were carried out, Captain Cheyne would become the virtual king of Palau... Thus informed about Cheyne's real character, Tetens was grateful to Semper for such a warning to be careful in his future dealings with the man.

First trip to Yap.

After Dr. Semper left the Palau Islands, Cheyne proposed to Tetens to go to Yap and set up a trading station there. He accepted. An old Englishman named John Davis [rather Davey] accompanied him as an interpreter.¹ Davey had married a native woman when he was still a young man, and was considered by the natives as one of their own. Two Palauan chiefs also went along, supposedly to ensure Tetens' safety.

The trip lasted a long fourteen days. The **Acis** anchored in the roomy harbor of Rull, the capital of Yap. Tetens found the natives to be more barbarous and treacherous than those of Palau. Davey mentioned many ships that had been cut off at Yap, and their crews murdered in the bloodiest fashion. Consequently, he had boarding nets installed on board his ship while there. After a few hours, an envoy came from King Karakok to bid the ship welcome.

In the king's house the chiefs and their wives were present. Numerous servants were kept constantly busy. King Karakok was lean, and was continuously busy either smoking the local cigars or chewing betel nuts, while he sipped fresh coconut milk or fermented toddy. He wore only a loin-cloth and his naked body revealed beautiful tattoos with designs of animal heads, trees, and other handsome designs.

A long exchange took place with Davies. Tetens examined the people present, but he was specially attracted to the womenfolk on his left. Both women and girls wore the same wide skirt made of green and red fibers. The mature women wore necklaces made of black fiber, but the girls wore chains of small shells. Apparently, only married women had blackened teeth. Both sexes, of all ages, were avid smokers. The king's youngest daughter, about 15 years old, did what she could to attract Tetens' attention. Davey informed Tetens that the king had decided to allow him to collect trepang, but do nothing else while in Yap. No white man had ever been allowed to remain on Yap before. All previous traders, and their crews, never left the island alive. He too would be killed, if he did not obey the king. Davey explained that King Karakok had learned about Cheyne and his doings in Palau, the warship and the destruction that had happened, etc. "Only the fact that you are no Englishman, but Era Aleman,² has convinced him

1 Ed. note: Since he had lived in Palau about 25 years, Davey arrived there circa 1837, under mysterious circumstances.

2 Ed. note: Ngira Aleman, Mister German, or a man from Germany.

to trust you. To signify his agreement, Tetens was advised to shake hands with the king, but refuse his offer of betel nut, as this was the local custom.

After this, the Yapese assumed a relaxed attitude; the women let down their hair, the men removed their loin-cloths in order to be more comfortable.

One hour later, a contract was signed by the king and all the chiefs present, and gifts were exchanged, to seal the agreement, and immediately thereafter, a feast and dance took place.

In the meantime, while Davey had gone to the ship to get the presents, Tetens was surrounded and caressed by the women, specially the king's daughter. When, out of a feeling of generosity, Tetens handed her a string of pearls, the whole crowd became overly joyful. When Davey returned, he explained that Tetens had been too generous, given that each one of those pearls would have bought enough food for the ship to last a few days. With no unusual emotion, the interpreter informed Tetens that the result of his gift was that the girl was now considered his property...

Tetens wanted to correct this misunderstanding of the local customs immediately, but Davey informed him that he should surely be killed within the hour, for having so insulted him in refusing his daughter, unless she herself chose to give the necklace back...

The king received iron chisels, fishhooks and clored cloth. In exchanged, Tetens received chickens, yams and all sort of delicious fruits. He remarks that Cheyne was so cheap, or crafty, that had provided him with only shabby trade articles worth 300 marks, in exchange for a shipload of tortoise shell that he received over the next eight months—a value of 18,000 marks.

Before retiring after that first day, Tetens was looking for more presents to give. Any special gift would have to come from his own belongings. He had only a box of wooden matches and a pocket- inife with him at the time. Davey said: "Save the knife for later; the king would give you his youngest wife for that." Terror almost struck Tetens. As he says, he was willing to take tortoise shell, mother-of-pearl shell, and trepang at any time, but not in least bit interested in setting up a household.

When Davey announced that a special gift would be proffered, the house became silent. Then, Tetens opened the match box, took a match and, as sailors do, lit it up with a quick stroke on his trouser leg. When the flame appeared, a thunderous roar arose that exceeded the one that had followed the gift of the necklace.

The second match was used by the king on his own bare leg, without effect. It was only when Davey used it on the nearby skirt of one of his wives that it burst into flame, a motion that the king imitated with the third match.

From then on, use of the matches was the exclusive right of the king, but the owner of that skirt had to be at his beck and call at all times.

The rest of the population had to make fire by the tedious fire-plough method. When at home, a Yapese man considered it disgraceful to borrow fire from his neighbor; he would postpone the smoking of a cigar until he had himself created a fire.

In exchange for Tetens' special gift, the king gave one of his own: two fat pigs that were herded on board with difficulty. Davey was happy at the prospect of tasting pork once again, as he surely used to do during his younger days in England.

Tetens now describes the dance that took place that day. It was only the breasts of the men that were painted cinnabar red, while the females had that red paint all over their bodies. He was to learn only later that such make-up achieved its full effect only in the soft moonlight... The dance itself was a mimic of a battle, with sticks. Only one woman sang, but everyone else took part in the chorus. The dance ended soon after sunset, and everyone went his separate way. I took my leave of the king.

During the hours that followed, Davey explained to me everything that I had seen that day, and more, about the customs of the Yapese.

After Davey went to bed, Tetens was still sleepless. There was silence everywhere over the water, except for the occasional splash of a fish. An unusual sound then struck the pensive Tetens, repeated at regular intervals. Soon a faint human voice was heard. Tetens threw a rope, it was grabbed by a human being. He pulled and, when the head came over the bulwarks, it was Kierko, the king's daughter, who fell in his arms, and fell asleep...¹

The real business started the next day. Drying-sheds with three layers of bamboo were built on the shore and a number of big iron kettles were set up, to take care of the trepang, or *bêche de mer*, trade. Yapese never eat these animals, so that the reefs were teeming with them. The book contains a detailed description of the whole process of catching and drying this sea slug.

With the help of Davey and Kierko, Tetens quickly learned the Yapese language, much to the amazement of the king who could soon converse directly with him. On Yap, Tetens became known as Klow Rupak, which means Big Chief [in Palauan]. On the other hand, Kierko learned so much about European customs that she refused to have her teeth blackened when she reached the marriageable age.

In his vast spare time, Tetens roamed the island in search of adventure and learning, examining nature, agriculture, and all other activities of the natives.

The important natives of Yap lived a life of ease in their harem, spending their days smoking, eating, drinking, and and entertaining themselves in all sorts of ways. As in Palau, there were large, communal, houses, for the unmarried men and their concubine. The marriage game was similar, except for the fact that a newly-married woman who bore no child was automatically divorced and became a concubine once again, and the process was sometimes repeated so often that the parents of the woman became wealthy (from the gifts of the suitors).

1 Ed. note: She had been swimming for 45 minutes to reach the ship, explained Davey later on.

[Head-hunting in Yap]¹

Tetens was returning home after a day's wandering, one day, when a screaming war party of men crossed his path and lowered a long bamboo pole with a bloody head on it. According to Davey, it was the head of some man from an enemy tribe, whom they had killed by surprise, that they would present to their king, who might eventually receive a present from the dead man's relative, to ransom it. When he next saw the king, he tried to explain to him that such was a barbarous custom, but the more he tried, the more he realized that his own head was at risk, if he continued talking that way. That is why he became careful in discussing with them the customs that he witnessed.

The death of a chief who had been friendly with him forced Tetens to attend his funeral, which he describes in detail. Suffice to say that he was not permitted to enter the dead man's house until the third day... The ceremonies went on for many days, in fact, until the whole body was completely decomposed. Not until then was it wrapped in finely-woven mats and placed in a grave which had been dug on a hill. Sone were piled on the grave and the son of the deceased erected a hut nearby, where he was to spend the next 100 days and nights, completely secluded from the rest of the population.

Tetens witnessed another form of seclusion, that of a pregnant woman. For the last four weeks or so of her pregnancy, a Yapese woman had to live alone inside a very small hut over the water, usually without food most of the time, until her baby was born. Only then could she shout, if she had any voice left, to summons the help of the people in the village. The emaciated woman, to whose calls he responded caused him to feel much sympathy toward her.

As for the dead, the Yapese believe that the corpse needs to be fed until his soul has found a place in the holy body of a large lizard or eel; that is why, such animals cannot be harmed by anyone. The sacred animals are kept in pens, and their caretakers, a priest, receives much food from the other inhabitants as a result; besides, they ascribe to the priest power over lightning and earthquakes, and a knowledge of the secret means of ending drought.

Generally, Tetens thought that Yapese customs were often cruel, except for the practices associated with the funerals, which he considered respectful. Tetens did not like the fake friendship proffered by Yapese in general; they tried to please him only to keep something from him. His judgment is a harsh one indeed: "Of all the races of the South Seas, the Yapese deserve the least confidence." Even old Davey sided with the king whenever there was the slightest disagreement. Only his devoted Kierko warned him in time of any planned attack against his person and his ship. Every month, during her menstruation, Kierko lived ashore in a little hut reserved for that purpose. No man can go in, or even near, that special house, where women exchange information about their men, and their plans. Women exercised a great influence over political affairs in Yap,

1 Ed. note: The same custom prevailed at Palau at that time; see Semper's account of how he acquired the skull for his collection.

to the extent that sometimes they took an active part in warlike enterprises. Hence, Tetens was always well informed of what was going on ashore.

Sad, but true, when Tetens announced that he was about to leave the island, Kierko's face became sad, but she showed no other feelings. Within the hour, she had gone back to shore. When Tetens went ashore himself, to bid farewell to the king, he once again saw Kierko, but she was now a married woman; indeed, she had gone straight to a young chieftain who had previously propose marriage—on account of the priceless necklace, adds Tetens.

Return to Palau.

After a stay of eight months in Yap, the anchor was raised. Memory of the beautiful princess soon faded. Cheyne, who had remained behind in Malakal was delighted with the full cargo. However, his life had been threatened there, his house being guarded day and night. He suggested that the two of them should go to Manila and perhaps try another business venture there. Tetens proposed instead to remain in Palau to look after the business, provided he got half of it. Cheyne readily agreed and left for Manila with the schooner **Acis**, for his own personal safety. He would have left the same day of my arrival, had not sunset intervened and made his departure dangerous.

Suddenly alone, Tetens first removed all the defences that Cheyne had put up in and around his house, went swimming and fishing without weapons, and acting unconcerned, until the king's spies did their work. Soon, he received an invitation from the king, which he accepted.

At this important meeting, all the wishes of Klow Rupak were granted by Abba Thule, who complained bitterly about Cheyne's bad conduct, in having sold weapons to the enemies of Koror, thus breaking his promise. The king asked Tetens how they could prevent Cheyne from returning. Cheyne had also lured some of the king's wives and those of some chiefs to his house where he mistreated them until they gave in to his desires.¹ Tetens' safety in Koror now lied in two things: firstly, assuring the king that Cheyne's threat of sending a warship was hollow; and secondly, by emphasizing the fact that his business with the man wa, like the king's, strictly business. To ensure that these arguments would be firmly accepted, Tetens repeated that he was not an Englishman, but a German, and told the king that, although Cheyne would return, the king could prevent him from landing.

Later that day, Toguok, the 20-year-old sister of the king showed up at Malakal with some presents and was admitted into the house, permanently, and, says Tetens, solved my domestic problems.

Toguok was reluctant to learn some European customs, such as eating her meal with Tetens. However, she never accepted to use a plate, or even a spoon. The gods in heaven ate with their hands, was her answer... She preferred to eat out of doors, and even off

1 Ed. note: We learn here that Captain Cheyne was really called by the natives áCabel Schée, not Schils, as Semper wrote.

in the bush, by herself. However, she was a willing teacher of Palauan customs and history.

Now, Tetens turned his attention to agriculture. He planted indigo, cotton, coffee, sugarcane and tobacco. The fields necessary for such plantings were readily given by the king, who would nevertheless sign no piece of paper, on account of his experience with Cheyne earlier.

For sports, Tetens often joined the natives in their fishing expeditions, or went hunting on his own—after the wild cattle that roamed the forest, the descendants of the original cattle sent to Palau by the East India Company.

Toguok refused to eat any of the beef, but accepted the improvised skirt that Tetens jokingly made for her out of the first hide. This gesture had an unforeseen effect. Toguok ran to the village with her new outfit, made out of the skin of an animal that was considered taboo, for them; every woman in the place now wanted this modern piece of clothing. For a while, Tetens' living room was transformed into a popular tailor shop.

One whole ladies' club, called Clöbbergöll, showed up one day, while their men were at home drinking, smoking, or sleeping. The women took Tetens their sacred place, an idyllic bay between some rocks... Perhaps acting on orders from this club, Toguok presently bothered him until he accepted her offer, of a tattoo on his right shin. His reward was the revelation of hidden underwater entrances into beautiful caves among the rock islands. Dim light seaped in through cracks in the roof of such caves. Numberless swallows built their nests among the stalactites. Tetens, who was a good diver, was probably the first European to ever see such marvels. Other caves could be entered with a canoe, with the occupants lying head down; the caves were always a cool refuge during times of hot weather.

Unfortunately for Tetens, upon returning home one evening, he was told that a party of men in war paint had visited earlier and were looking for him, in order to kill him. His visit to the king the next morning revealed no explanation for this sudden turn of events; all trade ceased, even the food stopped coming. He had to go out hunting and fishing alone, while his Malay servant guarded the house.

One day he went unarmed to the shore and was attacked by a party of 15 men. He faced them without fear. One man, uttering a war cry, raised his spear, and was about to hurl it, when Tetens grabbed it with one hand and grabbed the man's throat with the other. With bulging eyes, he let the spear fall to the ground... His companions fled, howling as they went.

Tetens treated his assailant with kindness, but ordered him to follow him to his house. He loaded him with small gifts and asked the reason for his behavior. The man was silent. Even Toguok, who certainly knew the reason for the attack, could not be persuaded to reveal it. Lacking food, Tetens decided to visit the island of Arakabesang, at night, but he was intercepted by war canoes. As soon as he heard the war cry and the spears started flying, he started firing his rifle. Then shots pierced the leader's canoe before the enemy decided to beat a hasty retreat.



Im Zweikampf.

In a duel. (All sketches by G. Schildt.)

Sensing that the attack would be repeated, Tetens used his Triton shell trumpet to summons his friends on the island he wanted to visit, where the men were friendly to him. Soon his signal was answered and out of the darkness their war canoes appeared to pursue the enemy. The next day, they escorted Tetens home, with plenty of provisions.

After fighting a grass fire that accidentally was fanned by the wind, Tetens was left with few European clothes: a pair of red- and-white striped swimming trunks, a marine-blue flannel jacket, and a straw hat was all that was left; the rest was safely aboard the **Acis**. His shoes were gone, and he became accustomed to go everywhere barefoot. His face was now deeply bronzed by the sun. One day he saw his reflection in the water and instinctively reached for his revolver.

He fortified his house and then built a small fort on the highest point of Malakal Island. With much effort, he managed to pull a small signal gun to that spot. The time had passed for Cheyne to return from Manila. Every day the natives became bolder. First they stole his canoe. Toguok became every day more silent and discontented. One morning she was gone... Sad to say, he was not unhappy about the loss of this feminine spy. Despite the constant threats of attack, he decided to use his firearms only as a last resort. With only his faithful Malay servant as a constant companion, Tetens had to live the life of a Robinson Crusoe, a life that he had dreamed to live when a young man, but never one when he was be under constant risk of losing his life to savages. He began to call his servant by the name of Friday.

When the supply of tobacco came dangerously low, Friday became increasingly agitated, until one day he simply disappeared into the night and fog...

Despite his dreadful and desperate situation, Tetens got busy fortifying his house, with two small ship's guns, fully loaded at all times and occupying the lower part of his house, while thick bamboo poles blocked its entrances.

His food was running low. There was only a small pig left on the island and Tetens had to share his last cultivated fruits with the animal. Finally he passed the death sentence on the animal, which he explained this way: even if the meat did not last long, on account of the heat and the lack of salt, he could keep the remaining fruits for himself, and would not starve so soon.

If Cheyne did not show up soon, he planned to escape, but how?

He set to work building a canoe. He became depressed and shed a tear out of loneliness and despair. Finally, he decided that he would survive and live long enough to see his country again.

One evening after sunset, he devised an army of about 100 men approaching. His knowledge of the natives was such that his best defence consisted in frightening them out of their wits **before** they could do him any harm. Unknown to them he could watch their advance and even hear the whispered orders of their leader. Consequently, at the very moment that he knew the war cry was to be shouted, he fired the first cannon (which he had intentionally aimed too high). The result was positive; running, scream-

ing, men fled into the bushes for their own protection. From now on, Tetens could not even sleep at peace.

A few more weeks passed, and he survived with hardly any time to sleep or food to eat. Early one morning, he dragged himself, as was his custom, to the lookout through the roof. Sail ho!

Much too soon he was firing his signal guns and raising his flag. Suddenly the king and his chiefs appeared before his house. He was about to learn the reason for the hostility. Apparently, they had believed a rumor to the effect that Cheyne would never return, as his ship had been burned and he had been murdered.¹ They feared Cheyne, but not Tetens... Now the ship was back, and they needed Tetens' protection, against Cheyne.

Two hours later, the **Acis** came to anchor. Not waiting for a boat, Tetens swam out to the schooner. Departure was hastened and the ship went right back to Manila (in September 1863]. For the present, Tetens had had his fill of adventure. The money earned on the joint venture was enough to allow the two men to part "without bitterness". Tetens went to Hong Kong and assumed command of another ship.

Epilogue.

In 1864, Tetens became captain of the Peruvian ship **Perseverencia** from Hong Kong to Peru with a load of Chinese coolies, who were promptly sold at prices ranging from \$300 to \$700 (pesos, not dollars, I think). Tetens took on a cargo of guano at the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru and was soon sailing southwards to Cape Horn, where a terrible winter storm was encountered, and finally, Rotterdam. The ship was sold and Tetens went back to Hamburg.

In 1865, he obtained another Captain's certificate, this time a German one, and made a deal with the German firm Godeffroy. He was placed in command of the brig **Vesta** and, in June 1865, established a base in Yap, from which he carried on trade in the Carolines until 1868. During this period, he made two voyages to Europe, by way of Hong Kong. An accident with a gun forced him to abandon this way of life, and he went back to Germany, never to return to Micronesia. From 1870 until his death in 1909, Tetens served as *Wasserschout* (a word of Dutch origin meaning a port commissioner) at Hamburg.

The account of his life as captain of the **Vesta** is Doc. 1866A.

¹ Ed. note: Tetens does not say who started the rumor, but it was probably through the divinations of some local priests, rather sorcerers.



Erlöst.

Sail ho! Rescue at last!

Document 1862C

Logbook of the ship Florida, Captain Fish

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 327; Log Inv. 1767.

Note: This was her 11th voyage, 1859-63.

Extracts from the logbook of the Florida, Captain Coddington P. Fish

...
[After three seasons in the Arctic, the ship headed south from Hawaii, towards the Line. Mrs. Fish was on board.

...
Sunday Dec. 29th [1861]
... Running for Hope [Arorae] Island and made Chase's [Tamana] Island. The natives came on board all naked.¹ Lat. 2°18' S.

...
Thursday Jan. 2nd [1862]
... Made Ocean [Banaba] Island. Lat. 00°54' S. Long. 170°13' E.

Friday Jan. 3rd
... The natives came on board but had nothing. Stood on, steering WNW... Lat. 00°59' S. Long. 169°12' E.

...
Sunday Jan. 5th
... Got a few hogs. Latter part, light airs, stood in for the land.

...
Tuesday Jan. 7th
... Sent 2 boats after coconuts. Got a few more hogs and fowls. Latter part, left the land.

...
Tuesday Jan. 14th
... Made MaAllister's [sic = Pingelap] Island... Lat. by Obs. 6°10' N. Long. 160°55' E.

1 Ed. note: Which probably scandalized his wife, who was seeing this for the first time.

...

Saturday Jan. 18th

... Made the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. Got up the chains and bent them. Lat. 6°50' N. Long. 159°01' E.

Sunday Jan. 19th

Comes in with pleasant weather. Took a Pilot at 7 o'clock a.m. and went into the Lee Harbor and came to anchor at 9 o'clock a.m.

Monday Jan. 20th to Friday 24th

Employed in getting off wood and water and stowing down.

Saturday Jan. 25th

... At 5 o'clock a.m., took the anchor and stood out steering WNW with strong trades.

...

Thursday Jan. 30th

... Made the Island of Saypan. Came to anchor at 3 o'clock p.m. Saw several humpbacks.

...

Monday Feb. 3rd

... Saw 4 humpbacks. Chased in vain.

...

Saturday Feb. 8th

... No whales in sight. Went ashore after hogs.

Sunday Feb. 9th

... Pleasant weather. One watch ashore.

monday Feb. 10th

... Saw a cow and calf. Lowered and struck and killed her and took her to the ship and cut in.

...

Friday Feb. 14th

... Saw a cow and calf. Struck, killed and sunk her and lost her.

Saturday Feb. 15th

... Saw a cow and calf. Struck, killed and took to the ship and cut in.

...

Sunday Feb. 23rd

... Saw several whales. Chased in vain. Orin Smith and John Williams off duty, one with a sore foot and the other a sore leg.

Monday Feb. 24th

... Saw a whale. Lowered and struck, killed and took him to the ship and cut in.

...

Monday March 3rd

.. Struck a whale, killed and lost him; parted 4 lines and sunk. Saw 7 or 8 cows and calves.

Tuesday March 5th

... Saw 7 coes and calves. The whales seem to be coming.

Wednesday March 6th

... Chasing in vain. Saw 4 coes and calves .

...

Saturday March 8th

... Saw 2 humpbacks. Chased in vain. Came on board, hove short at 1/2 past 3 p.m. Got under way and beat back again.

Sunday March 9th

Comes in with strong gales and squally weather. Came to anchor at Sypan at 1 o'clock a.m. Blowing hard.

...

Tuesday March 11th

... Saw a cow and calf. Too rugged to lower.

Wednesday March 12th

... Got off wood and stowed it away and smoked ship.

...

[After three days of chasing whales in vain.]

...

Tuesday March 15th

... Got under way and left for good.

...

[The ship visited the Bonins, and Yokohama, before returning home].

Document 1862D

The logbook of the bark *Cicero*, Captain Stivers

Source: Logbook n° 18 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 231, 232; Log Inv. 1054.

Notes: The logkeepers were: up to Nov. 1862, William S. Chadwick, first mate; from Nov. 1862 to Nov. 1864, Captain John R. Stivers himself. The 2nd mate was Joseph M. Tripp; the 3rd mate was Aaron R. Powers. Important: This bark was a Port Lloyd, Bonin Islands, when a Japanese warship was also there, to claim possession of those islands.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Sunday Dec. 29th [1861]

... Saw a ship to windward steering off for us. Hauled aback for him. Lat. 4°24' [S]. Long. 179°55' [W].

Monday Dec. 30th

... Spoke the Barque **Massachusetts** of New Bedford, Green, Master, nothing since leaving the Sandwich Islands. Gammed with her until dark and stood to the North all night. The latter part, she is in sight to leeward. Lat. 3°32' [S]. Long. 179°56' [E].

...

Monday January 6th [1862]

... The **Massachusetts** in sight... Latter part, saw Hope [Arorae] Island.

Tuesday January 7th

Off and on at Hope Island procuring a few recruits, not much as some other ships have been here ahead of us. At sundown, kept away W in company with the **Massachusetts**... The latter part, saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island.

Wednesday January 8th

Off and on at Rotch's Island. Got a few recruits. At sundown, kept away WNW. Took off three Kanakas that wanted to go North. Lat. 1°32' S. Long. 173°21' [E].

...

Friday January 10th

... Touched at Ocean [Banaba] Island. Got a lot of hogs and coconuts. The **Milton**

of New Bedford and another ship, name not known,¹ getting recruits here.

Saturday 11th

... At sundown, kept away W. 3 ships in sight... Latter part... saw the **Massachusetts**. Had taken 60 bbls of sperm since we parted company. Both of us bound to Pleasant [Nauru] Island. Lat. 00°50' S. Long. 168°02 [E].

Sunday 12th

... Latter part, saw Pleasant Island. **Mass.** in sight. Stood in and got a few coconuts.

Monday 13th

... Two canoes came off at noon. Kept away to the westward.

...

[Towards Melanesia for a while.]

...

Saturday March 8th

... Were are now about the center of the New Carolines Group. Have passed some of them but out of sight, being thick and squally, cannot see far. The latter part, passed several in sight [Namanuito]. Two canoes came off but had nothing but a few fish. Lat. 8°48' [N]. Long. 150°09' [E].

Sunday March the 9th

... Passed the last island of the Group at sundown. The **Massachusetts** in company. Steering WNW for the Ladrões Islands. Lat. 11°25' [N]. Long. 149°09' [E].

...

Wednesday 12th

... The latter part, saw it, Tinian Island. At 12 o'clock came at anchor. Saw a ship pass another barque steering for Guam...

Thursday 13th March

... At anchor at Tinian, 2 boats on shore. Nothing doing much, waiting orders.

Friday 14th March

... Took our anchor and beat up to Saipan. Found 4 ships here, **Massachusetts, Milo, Florida, & Navy**. Got off a few potatoes.

Saturday 15th

... Washed Ship and painted bends.

¹ Ed. note: She was the **Isabella**, according to the logbook of the Milton.

Sunday March 16th

Strong trades throughout and rainy. Gave three boat's crews a run on shore. All came off but two. Suppose they have deserted.

Monday March 17th

.. Boats off humpbacking. The Barque **Florence** came in...¹

Tuesday March 18th

... Nothing doing much. Waiting for our runaways... Latter... caught our runaways.

...

March 21st

... Five boats off whaling. Struck one and sunk him...

Saturday 22nd

... Boat parted from the whale. Sharks ate the line off but laid by an anchor near him.

Sunday 23rd

... Whale came up badly eaten by the sharks. Towed him alongside. Cut him in. Turned up 35 bbls.

...

March 26th

... Got under way from Saipan in company with the **Massachusetts**.

Thursday 27th

... Steering North. Passed several Islands of this group.

Friday March 28th

... Touched at Gregan [Agrigan] Island to procure hogs but found them too dear. Lat. 17°41' [N]. Long. 145°36' [E].

Saturday March 29th

Off and on at Gregan. Brought off a boatload of coconuts. Squared away for the Bonin Isles. Lat. 18°45' [N].

Sunday March 30th

... Passed more islands in sight of this Group. Ladrões so-called in Spanish signifies thieves or thievish. Lat. 19°31' [N]. Long. 145°56' [E].

¹ Ed. note: This was the barque Florence registered in Hawaii, Captain Spencer. Another vessel named Florence, a merchantman, and ship-rigged, was in the area four weeks later, while on her way from San Francisco to Hong Kong.

...

[Japanese claimed the Bonin Islands in April 1862.]

The logbook of the bark **Cicero** contains information about this important event, that occurred north of the Mariana Islands. The Spanish, English, or Americans could have occupied them before, but neglected to do so. The islands had been discovered centuries before by Manila galleons.]

...

Saturday April the 5th

... Came at anchor in North Island Harbor of Bonins. Found [out that] a Japanese war steamer had taken possession of the Bonin Group...

...

Monday April 7th

... The Japanese steamer went out. Shortly after, a breze sprang up and went out ourselves. Two ships in sight off shore.¹

...

[The bark went to Okinawa, to the northern seas, and back down to the Line, with tCaptain Stivers as the log-keeper.]

...

Friday 26th [Dec. 1862]

... Steering SSW. Muckie, a Hope Island passenger very sick. Lat. 2°44' S. Long. 168°20' W. [near Phoenix Island]

...

Sunday Dec. 28th 1862

... At 10 a.m., Muckie, a Hope Island native, departed this life. Disease, consumption. He was a passenger for Hope Island. Lat. 4°08' S. Long. 171°46' W.

Monday 29th

... 6 p.m., buried the corpse...

...

Monday 5th [January 1863]

... 7 a.m., lowered for black fish without success. 9, saw Hope [Arorae] Island. Hauled aback at noon to trade for hogs.

Tuesday January 6th 1863

... Ship lying off & on Hope Island. 4 p.m., steering W by S.... 8 a.m., lying off and on Rotch's [Tamana] Island trading for pigs & chickens.

Wednesday 7th

... 3 p.m., squared away to the Westward. Took 4 natives for the cruise North... Lat.

¹ Ed. note: The two ships in question were probably still the Massachusetts and the Navy.

2°22' S.

...

Monday 12th

... 3 p.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] High Island bearing W by N. Latter part, lying off & on trading for pigs & fowls, etc. etc. This morning the Cook refused to obey orders (the Mate's) and laid him in a direct falsehood & told me that he was willing to be punished when he had done wrong. I had the mate put him in irons & put him in the drum for the day.

Tuesday 13th

... Ship lying off and on Ocean Island trading.

Wednesday January 14th 1863

... The Cook still suky & refuses to obey. Lat. 00°40' S. Long. 168°50' [E].

...

Saturday 17th

... At 11 a.m., saw a school of sperm whales to the North of us, also Pleasant [Nauru] Island to the WSW...

...

Tuesday 20th

... At daylight, kept off for Pleasant Island. At 9, the natives came off with pigs & coconuts.

Wednesday 21st

... Ship lying off and on trading. 4 p.m., took a heavy squall from West... Steered off to the Eastward 10 miles...

...

Saturday 24th

... Ship lying off and on Pleasant Island trading for pigs & coconuts.

...

Wednesday January 28th/63

... The Cook acknowledged that he had done wrong and was sorry. Promised good behavior in future and returned to duty... Lat. 1°33' N. Long. 167°16' E.

...

Sunday February 1st

... 10 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing W dist. 18 [miles]... Lat. 5°12' N. Long. 163°40' E.

Monday 2nd

... Cruising to windward of the Island.

Tuesday 3rd

... Passed along the South side of the Island. Saw nothing but porpoise. Landed at S. Harbor. Got a few yams. Middle and Latter Parts, steering off to the Westward.

Wednesday 4th

... 4 p.m., saw McAskills [Pingelap] Id. Passed it at 6... At daylight, saw Wellington's [Mokil] Island. Took a passenger to land at Puonypete [sic = Pohnpei].

...

Friday February 6th 1863

... At daylight, saw Puonypete. At 8 a.m., Pilot boat came off and took our passenger on shore. Ship steering along the land to the Westward.

...

Friday 13th

... At sundown, saw Seypan bearing W dist. 35 [miles]... Latter part, kept off for the land. At 12 Meridian, anchored and furled sails.

Sat. 14th

... Employed fitting head gear.

Sunday 15th

Fresh trades, pleasant. Nearly all hands ashore on liberty.

Monday 16th

... Crew employed fitting and setting up fore rigging.

...

Friday 20th

... This morning, sent off 2 boats after humpbacks. Larboard Boat struck and turned him up. Took him to the Ship at noon and commenced to cut at sundown. Lashed down for the night.

...

Sunday 22nd

... Sent off 2 boats whaling. Waist Boat struck and took him to the Ship...

...

Wednesday 25th

... Employed coopering casks. One boat getting wood. 2 p.m., finished trying out.

...

Friday 27th

Pleasant all this day. Finished stowing down oil & boating off corn and potatoes from shore. Three men off duty with Ophtalmia.

Saturday 28th

... 10 a.m., got under way. Took 3 passengers for Guam. Sundown, touched at Ti-

nian for raw hide. All night, steering a course for Guam.

Sunday March 1st/63

... At 12 Meridian, Guam bearing SSW dist. 7 miles. Ran in near the Town, landed passengers. Ship lying off and on.

Monday 2nd

... Ship steering for Umatac Bay. Employed getting casks ready for water.

Tuesday 3rd

... At daylight, kept off for Umata. 9 a.m., anchored and furled sails. Afternoon, took raft of casks ashore.

...

Thursday 5th

... Employed filling and bringing off water. Water hard to get as we have to roll casks a long distance.

Friday 6th

... Employed stowing water and bringing off potatoes and yams. Starboard Watch on liberty.

Saturday 7th

... Ship ready for sea but I am confined below with Ophtalmia. Larboard Watch on liberty.

Sunday 8th

... Nearly all the crew ashore. My eyes still very bad.

Monday 9th

... At 8 a.m., got under way, Ship working up towards Agaña...

Tuesday 10th

... Ship lying off and on the town. Shipping hands.

Wednesday 11th

... 2 p.m., came on board with green hands shipped here. Kept Ship off NW...

...

Tuesday 17th

... Ship steering NW by W1/2W... At 11 a.m., passed a reef not laid down on my

chart. Lat. 20°22' N. Long. 136°08' E.¹

...

Monday 11th [January 1864]

... 1 p.m., saw black fish. Lowered the boats, struck one, killed him. Sharks ate him nearly all up. Cut from him and let him go. Lt. 2°04' S. Long. 178°05' E.

...

Thursday 14th

... 1 p.m., saw HOpe [Arorae] Island. 3 p.m., canoes came off. Bought a few hogs. 4, braced forward. Steered Ship NW... Ship beating up Rotch's [Tamana] Island bearing NW dist. 15 miles.

...

Thursday 21st

... Daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island. Stood in and traded for coconuts and chickens. At noon, squared away to W. Lat. 50 miles [S]. Long. 169°39' [E].

Friday 22nd

... Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing @ by N 15 miles. 10 a.m., hauled by the wind to the Northward...

Saturday Jan. 23rd 1864

... Ship lying off and on at Pleasant Id. trading for pigs and coconuts.

Sunday 24th

... Ship lying off and on the Isle & trading. Sundown, hauled on a wind to the North... Lat. 1°02' N. Long. 167°10' E.

...

Saturday 30th

... Ship under all sails steering NW... At daylight, saw a small island to windward. 7 a.m., saw land to the Westward. Natives came on board; called the Island Ujai [Ujae]. Ends, Ships running along some reef. Ten islands in sight. lat. 9°00' N. Long. 166°02' E.

Sunday January 31st

... Ship steering NW. 4 p.m., passed the NW end of a group of Islands not laid down on my chart... [Wotho] Lat. 9°57' N. Long. 164°12' [E].

...

Monday February 8th 1864

... At midnight, saw Saypan bearing W by N dist. 10 miles. Daylight, kept off for the passage. 10 a.m., anchored to leeward of the Island in 10 fathoms water. Crew em-

¹ Ed. note: The longitude could be 137° as it is written over thus. The position given indicated this as Parece Vela, or Okina-Tori.

ployed tarring lift and foot ropes.

...

Wednesday 10th

Strong gales continue from N with passing rain squalls. Crew employed fitting rigging and overlauling potatoes.

...

Friday 12th

... Ship at anchor. Plenty of humpbacks about the Ship. Too rough to send off boats.

...

Sunday February 14th 1864

Heavy gales from tN with much rain. 8 a.m., let go 2nd anchor... Blowing very heavy in squalls. Bark **Hudson** dragged about 2 miles along shore...¹

Monday 15th

Gale continues from N with passing rain squalls. Ship lying with 2 anchors ahead and 90 fathoms on Starboard chain.

...

Thursday 18th

... Employed repairing windlass and beating off land...

Friday 19th

... Boats employed bringing off wood and stowing it away during the night.

Saturday March 20th 1864

... Ship at anchor. Boats employed bringing off wood and corn.

Sunday 21st

... Nothing doing today

MOnday 22nd

... 5 a.m., sent off 3 boats whaling. Saw several. Could not strike. Came on board at night.

...

Tuesday March 1st 1864

... Boats off whaling. 10 a.m., 3rd Mate struck a humpback calf. The Hawaiian's boat struck the cow, killed the calf accidentally. The other boat's line parted his line. Lost the whales.

¹ Ed. note: This bark was been sold to Honolulu in 1863 and she had already been renamed **Hae Hawaii**, but I suppose that the word Hudson still appeared on her boards.

Wednesday 2nd

... Boats off whaling. 9 a.m., 3rd Mate struck and got stove slightly. At noon, turned up the whale close to the breakers and several boats came on board. Got under way, 2 p.m., took him alongside. 3, anchored and commenced to cut.

...

Tuesday 8th

... Sent off boats, without success...

...

Thursday 10th

... Employed bringing off wood and potatoes.

Friday March 11th 1864

... Two boats in shore bringing off potatoes.

Saturday 12th

... At 10 a.m., took our anchor. Stood to the North under easy sail. Shipped one man here...

...

Document 1862E

The logbook of the bark **Massachusetts**, Captain **Daniel B. Greene**

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library: Log Inv. 3163.

Notes: This voyage lasted five years, 1860-1865. Captain Greene went on board the first Japanese warship that visited the Bonin Islands in April 1862.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Sunday Dec. 29th /61

... At 11:30 a.m., spoke with the Bark **Cicero**, Capt. Stivers... Lat. 04°22' S. Long. 179°38' W.

...

Monday Jan. 6th '62

... The Bark **Cicero** in company. At 5 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing WSW dist. 20 miles. At 6 p.m., luffed to the wind. At 4:30 a.m., steered for the Island and by 9 a.m., up to the land, standing off and on the rest of the day. Lat. 02°41' S. Long. 176°27' E.

...

Saturday Jan. 11th '62

... At 2:30 p.m., saw Ocean's [Banaba] High Island bearing about N dist. about 30 miles. Steered for it. At 6 p.m., steered W by N. Saw a sail steering to the Westward... At 10 a.m., spoke with the Bark **Cicero**, Capt. Stivers... Lat. 00°50' S. Long. 168°12' E.

Sunday Jan. 12th /62

... All sail set steering WNW for Pleasant [Nauru] Island in company with the Bark **Cicero**. At 6 a.m., saw the Island. Steered for it and by 11 a.m., up to the land and commenced trading for recruits... Lat. 00°35' S.

Monday Jan. 13th /62

... All sail set standing off and on at Pleasant Island for recruits...

Tuesday Jan. 14th /62

... All sail set, course SW in company with the Bark **Cicero**...

...

[On to Melanesia, then up through the Carolines.]

...

Monday March 10th /62

... At 6 a.m., saw the Bark **Cicero** for the last time to the Southward. The latter part, blowing a moderate gale with squalls. Lat. 13°26' N. Long. 157°33' E.

Tuesday March 11th /62

... At 9:30a.m., saw the Island of Saypan bearing NW dist. about 15 miles. Steered for it...

Wednesday March 12th /62

... At 2 p.m., came to anchor in 16 fathoms water with the port anchor. Five ships in the harbor. The latter part of the day, employed in getting wood and setting up the head stays...

Thursday March 13th /62

... Employed in getting wood and sweet potatoes. At 7 a.m., saw humpbacks. Lowered the 3 larboard boats. The Waist Boat struck and the iron broke and we lost him.

Friday march 14th /62

... All hands employed in getting wood and potatoes. Finished and the ship eready for sea...

Saturday March 15th /62

... At 6 p.m., took the anchor and made all sail and steered SSW for the Island of Guam. Three passengers on board for Guam. At 10 a.m., saw the Island to the Southward. Steered for it.

Sunday March 16th /62

... At 2 p.m., lowered the 3 larboard boats for humpbacks but without success. At 3 p.m., anchored in 16 fathoms water with the port anchor, 75 fathoms chain out. Sent a raft of casks on shore for water and by 7 p.m., had them in on deck. At 6 a.m., lowered for humpbacks but without success...

Monday March 17th /62

... All hands employed in getting water and fruit...

Tuesday March 18th /62

... Finished and at 9 a.m., took the anchor, made sail and steered for the town. The passengers that we brought from Saypan and two from Honolulu went ashore and that leaves us with 33 men all told...

Wednesday March 19th /62

... The Ship standing off and on the Island of Guam, the Capt. on shore. At 8 a.m., took the Cooper on shore to discharge, sick, with a swelling on his side. So, that leaves us 32 men all told...

Thursday March 26th /62

... The Bark **Martha**, Capt. Cornell in company. Capt. Greene on shore...

Friday March 21st /62

... At 11:0 a.m., Capt. Greene came aboard with 11 passengers for Saypan. Steered by the wind heading N by W...

...

Sunday March 23rd /62

... Working the ship towards Saypan... Tinian in sight...

Monday March 24th /62

... All sail set by the wind working the ship towards Tinian...

Tuesday March 25th /62

... All sail set steering towards Tinian. At 2 p.m., anchored in 17 fathoms water with the port anchor...

Wednesday March 26th /62

... At 1 p.m., took the anchor and made sail and steered for Saypan. At 5 p.m., anchored in 16 fathoms water. At 7 a.m., lowered for humpbacks but without success...

...

Friday March 28th /62

... At 1 p.m., took the anchor and made sail and steered N in company with the Bark **Cicero**. Seen several islands the latter part of the day... Lat. 17°25' N. Long. 145°27' E.

Saturday March 29th /62

... All sail set, course N. Saw several Islands. At 8 a.m., Capt. Greene and Capt. Stivers went on shore at one of them [Agrigan]... Lat. 18°47' N. Long. 145°34' E.

Sunday March 30th /62

... The Bark **Cicero** in company. Several islands in sight. Lat. 19°36' N. Long. 145°18' E.

...

Thursday April 3rd /62

... At 6 p.m., spoke with the Ship **Marengo**, Capt. Eldridge... Lat. 24°19' N.

...

[Japanese warship met at the Bonins]

Tuesday April 8th /62

... At 8 a.m., lowered a boat and went on board a Japanese man-of-war. She was from the Bonin Islands bound to Jedo [Yedo, or Tokyo]... Lat. 27°26' N. Long. 142°16' E.

...

[In the Arctic, the First Mate was put off duty for beating a man, even after the Captain had ordered him to stop. The Capt. himself kept the log until Hawaii where another 1st mate was shipped. The bark went through the Gilberts without sighting any of them, then crossed the Carolines without reporting any sighting either.]

...

Thursday March 26th 1863

... At 9 a.m., sighted Saypan. At 3 p.m., came to anchor in 12 fathoms water, furled sails, and made everything snug...

Friday March 27th 1863

... Crew employed in bringing off and stowing down, potatoes and other supplies...

...

Sunday March 29th 1863

... At 5 p.m., took up anchor and got the Ship under sail... Ship heading SW.

Monday March 30th 1863

... The Island of Guam in sight. Hauled on the wind and stood up for Umatac Bay...

Tuesday March 31st 1863

... At 7 p.m., anchored Ship in Umatac Bay. The crew employed in rafting off fresh water and stowing down the same...

...

Thursday April 2nd 1863

... This a.m., finished getting off water. At 4 p.m., took up anchor, got Ship under sail, and stood up for Guam [i.e. Agaña], where we arrived at 9 a.m. Capt. Greene went on shore, the ship laing off & on...

Friday April 3rd 1863

... The Ship laying off and on, under prudent sail, at Guam. The crew on ship's duty...

Saturday April 4th 1863

... At 5:30 p.m., Captain Greene returned on board, made all prudent sail, the ship steering NW... Lat. 14°31' N. Long. 143°16' E.

...

[They bypassed the Bonins. The Coast of Japan was sighted on 22 April. The Captain took up the log again in Hakodate until they reached Hawaii in Dec. 1863. As they were late to begin the next season, they went directly to the Marianas.]

...

Friday February the 12, 1864

... At 8 a.m., made the Island of Guam bearing WN [sic] dis. 15 miles.

Saturday February the 12, 1864

... AT 2 p.m., set the signal for a pilot. Could not get one. At 3, came inside fo the reef in the harbor. In tacking ship, split the fore topsail and went on a coral reef. Some of the seamen(?) came up alongside and lifted the ve.ded(?) tge dredgda?)¹ boats came on board. 4 p.m., we got the ship off & came to anchor in 20 fathoms of water. Found the Ship not leaking...

Sunday February the 14

... At 4 p.m., let go the chains, unbent and paid out 70 fathoms on each... The latter part, a bliny(?) a typhoon... paid out on both chains 100 fathoms on one, 90 on the other. The reef a slicer(?). One ship left off...

...

Monday February the 15

... At 8 a.m., the Capt. went on shore...

...

Saturday February 20th

... Some employed in gettng off wood...

..

Wednesday February the 24

... At 11 a.m., took a pilot and got under way for Umatac Bay to get water...

Thursday February 25

... At 4 p.m., came to anchor Umatac... At 8 a.m., got a raft on shore for water.

...

Saturday February the 27

... At 4 p.m., got off all the water and got off a bad load of wood...

Sunday February the 28th

... At 1 p.m., got under way from Umata Bay and stowed the starboard anchor...

1 Ed. note: There is some bad penmanship at this point, no doubt because of the stress.

Monday February the 29

... At 4 p.m., the Island of Rota bearing SE dis. 20 miles...

Tuesday March 1st

... The Island of Pickan [Pagan] bearing SE dis. 20 miles...

Wednesday March the 2

... At 8 a.m., lowered, went in to the Island of Pigun [sic]. Saw 2 himpbacks. Could not get & went on shore. Got a boatload of coconuts. The Island of Brigun [Agrigan] bearing NE dis. 25 miles.

Thursday March the 3

... At 8 a.m., came to anchor to the Isalnd of Brigun. Employed in getting off recruits...

Friday March the 4

... Sent 2 boata's crews on shore a quantity(?) hogs. At 8 a.m., the boats came off with 37 hogs...

Saturay March the 5, 1864

... At 8 a.m., the boats came off with 34 hogs...

Sunday March the 6

... At 9 p.m., the boats came off from the shore with 33 hogs. A.M., the boat went on shore to get more hogs...

Monday March the 7

... At 7 a.m., the boat came off from the shore with 24 hogs. At 8, got under way fro Bigun..

...

[To Japan, then the Arctic, then the South Pacific and home.]

Document 1862F

The logbook of the ship Milton, Captain Charles Halsey

Source: Log #262 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 255, 685; Log Inv. 3292.

Note: Captain's Halsey's wife was on board for part of the voyage. The 1st Mate was Dewitt Barrett. The 2nd Mate was Charles H. Miller.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Saturday January 4th 1862

... At 10 o'clock, raised Hope [Arorae] Island. Lat. 2°48' S. Long. 176°55' E.

Sunday January 5th 1862

... Laying off at Hope Island trading with the natives for hogs, chickens, coconuts, etc. At 4 o'clock, the natives went ashore and we started SW... Lat. 2°48' S. Long. 175°40' E.

...

Thursday January 9th 1862

... At 7 o'clock, raised Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing WSW. Lat. 00°56' [S]. Long. 169°36' [E].

Friday January 10th 1862

... At 1 o'clock, hauled aback at Ocean Island. Natives came on board. We bought a few chickens and at 3 o'clock stood off to North. At 4 o'clock, tacked ship, stood in towards the land. Last part, laying off and on at Ocean Island trading for hogs and chickens.

Saturday January 11th 1862

... At 3 o'clock, finished trading and steered to the N. Saw Bark **Cicero** and **Isabella** laying off and on. Last part... steering by the wind to N, Bark **Isabella** in company. Lat. 00°05 [S]. Long. 169°24' [E].

...

Tuesday January 14th 1862

... At 9 o'clock, raised Covell's [Ebon] Island. Lat. 4°.39' N. Long. 168°59' E.

Wednesday January 15th 1862

... Steering WNW. Spoke Ship **Desdemona**. Covell's Island in sight. Canoes came alongside.

...

Tuesday January 28th 1862

... At 12 o'clock M[eridian], raised Roter [Rota], one of the Ladrone Islands. Steered W by S. At 2 o'clock, raised Guam... Last part, stood in to the land and at 11 o'clock took a pilot...

Wednesday January 29th 1862

... At 2 o'clock, came to an anchor in the Harbor of Guam 20 fathoms water. Last part, Larboard Watch went ashore on two days liberty. Starboard Watch employed in getting wood.

...

Friday January 31st 1862, in port.

... At 6 o'clock, the liberty men came on board. Last part, Starboard Watch went to the town on two days liberty. Watch on board finished getting wood, 6 cords, and took on board 20 bbls sweet potatoes.

...

Tuesday February 4th 1862, in port.

Employed in getting ready for sea. At 2 o'clock, took our anchor... Steered... to N and E...

...

[To the Yellow Sea, Japan, Okhotsk Sea, Hawaii, then straight back to the Yellow Sea via the Northern Marianas.]

...

Saturday January 31st [1863]

... Steering W. Island Gregan [Agrigan] in sight. Lat. 18°41' [N]. Long. 146°15' [E].

Sunday February 1st

... At 4 p.m., went in shore to see if there were any pigs to be got....

Monday February 2nd

... Employed getting off hogs, coconuts and fowls. At 4 p.m., steered W... Lat. 16°42' [N].

...

Document 1862G

The bark Martha, Captain John B. Cornell

Source: Logbook kept in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 347, 348; Log Inv. 3090.

Notes: Vol. 2 covers the 1862-63 period. At first, the First Mate was a Mr. Gifford, but was replaced for a while by James M. Russell. However there followed problems with the crew in Hawaii, with men in jail, other deserting. A semi-illiterate man took over the log; name not given. The bark went to California in January 1861, back to Hawaii, to the Okhotsk Sea, back to Hawaii, then to the Gilberts.]

Extracts from the logbook

...

Monday Jan. 27th [1862]

... At 5 p.m., raised land ahead, Byuron's [Nukunau] Island. At sunset, took in sail... Latter part... laying off and on Byron's Island...

[Vol. 1 ends, Vol. 2 begins]

...

Sunday Feb. 4th

.. At sunset, shortened sail for the night. Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island in sight. Lat. by Obs. 5°01' S.

Monday Feb. 5th

... Cruising about here looking for a sperm whale... Lat. by Obs. 5°40' S.

...

Saturday February 10th

... At 10 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island and steered for it. At 1 p.m., was up with it. Luffed to and lowered the Starboard Boat and landed a native of the Island that we had as passenger from Capt. Green of the **Rousseau**.¹ Lat. by Obs. 35 miles South.

...

Wednesday February 14th

... At 11 a.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island and steered for it. At 1 p.m., was up with it. Traded for a lot of hogs and some coconuts. Lay off and on for the night.

¹ Ed. note: The Rousseau had visited Banaba in February 1860.

Thursday February 15th

... Got a lot of hogs today and some coconuts & 8 boatloads of wood. So ends the day steering by the wind to the Northward.

...

Saturday February 24th

... At 5 p.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing W by S distant 35 miles...

Sunday February 25th

... Nearly calm. Ship close to the land. At 7 a.m., raised sperm whales, lowered 3 boats but not having any wind, took the paddles. The whales heard them and started to leeward. Kept on chasing. At 10 a.m., we got a light breeze. Waist Boat went on and darted but did not fasten. Whales started quick. Gave them up...

...

Friday March 7th

... At 10 a.m., saw the Island of Guam. At 6 p.m., anchored in the Harbor of Port Apra in 18 fathoms of water.

Saturday march 8

... All hands employed at getting up the tackles and breaking out oil to cooper.

...

Wednesday March 12th

... All hands employed at breaking out and coopering oil. Found some of the Ground tier very rotten.

Thursday March 13th

... One watch ashore...

...

Monday March 17

... All hands came on board today. Smoked ship to kill the rats. Employed at getting wood and some water from shore...

...

Wednesday March 19th

... At 9 a.m., the Pilot came on board and we took the anchor and went outside of the reef and worked up off the Town in company with the **Massachusetts**, the Bark **Isabella**, Capt. Tucker. Laying off and on.

Thursday March 20th

... Laying off and on at the Town getting off a few things, the **Mass.** in company.

Friday March 21st

... At 11 a.m., the Capt. came on board and we stood to the Northward by the wind

heading N by W all sail set.

...

Monday March 24th

... At 4 p.m., saw the Island of Tinian off the L. Bow...

Tuesday March 25th

... Working up to Tinian. At sunset, was handy up to Tinian. Saw the **Mass.** there at anchor. We kept on for Saypan.

Wednesday March 26th

... Working up to Saypan. At 10 a.m., came to anchor. The **Bark Florence** and **Cicero** laying there.

Thursday March 27th

... At anchor at Saypan. At 10 am., saw a humpback cow and calf. Lowered 4 boats and struck them. Both killed. The calf sunk, cow turned up about 7 miles offshore. Got under way and took her alongside and towed her into the anchorage and cut him [sic] in.

...

Saturday March 29th

... At 2 p.m., took the anchor and stood to the Northward by the wind heading N by W.

...

Thursday April 17th

... At 9 a.m., was handy into a small island called the Ass' Ears [Lot's Wife or Sohu Gan]... [At noon,] Lat. by Obs. 32°05' N. Long. by Chro. 127°36' E.

...

Document 1862H

The bark John P. West, Captain Tinker.

Source: Logbook at the Mariners' Museum Library, Newport News, Virginia; PMB 775; Log Inv. 2615.

Notes: The logbook was kept by Captain Daniel G. Tinker himself. His wife and children were on board. This was almost a 5-year voyage, Vol. 1, covering the 1858-62 period, is missing. It is possible that the bark was in Micronesia in 1861 also.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Monday 17 March 1862

... At Meridian, it cleared up. Strong [Kosrae] Island bearing S, the E end 15 miles.

Tuesday 18 March

Thick and rainy. The wind baffling from south to east, main royal out. At 5 p.m., it lightened up, saw the land for a few minutes. Steering W by N1/2N. At 6 p.m., I thought I saw Teyoa [sic] Island bearing NW. Middle and latter hours, moderate, the wind NE, cloudy weather. Unbent the old foresail that came from the Ship **Moctezuma** and cut it up. Bent our old sail. Employed in the rigging.

Eednesday 19 March

... Squally all night. Kept off W by S. At 7 a.m., saw McAskill [Pingelap] Islands. It is a low island thickly wooded over, mostly coconut trees. At 9 a.m., two boats went in shore. There is some 300 men. Saw none of their women. Got only a few fowls and coconuts with abundance. Last year,¹ there was a white man by the name of Higgins which came up from Duperrey [Mokil] Island to make oil but is not here now.

...

Thursday 20 March 1862

Strong breezes and cloudy weather. At 2 p.m., kept off W by N1/2N for Duperrey Islands. At 8 p.m., came to the wind. At daylight, kept off and saw the island 6 miles distance. At 7 a.m., a boat came off with one white man and several natives. The white

¹ Ed. note: So, the bark may have been there in 1861, or else, the captain had heard of this news through other ships.

man's name is Thomas Badger. He has lived here two years; left the Bark **Helen Snow**, Capt. Nye. The man that was on this island by the name of Higgins which went up McAskill's Islands, the natives killed him last January in a row so that is the end of him. So ends on shore.

Friday 21 March

Fine pleqasant weather. ON shore. Got 1 doz. ducks, 2 doz. fowls, 2 thousand coconuts, 10 bbls. taro, 13 doz. bunches bananas, some many apples. He had sold all his hogs; I got only 10 hogs. Bought off him 16 bbls of coconut oil at 10 dollars per bbl in trade. At 6 p.m., kept off NW... Lat. 8°30' [N]. Long. 158°15' [E].

...

Thursday 27 March 1862

Fresh trade winds. At 1:30 off the north point of Seypan [Saipan]. Saw 4 ships to anchor. Got up the chain and anchor off the bow. Came to anchor to the southward of a small island [Mañagaha] off the town. At 4 p.m., the Bark **Florence** [Capt. Spencer], Bark **Martha**, Capt. Cornell, Bark **Massachusetts**, Capt. Green, Bark **Cicero**, Capt. Stivers. In the morning, I went in shore but could not get any hogs. So, I did not make any trade but 3 barrels sweet potatoes. The **Mass.** and the **Cicero** got under way bound to Japan. Employed on the rigging. Got 6 barrels pork from the **Mass.**

Friday 28 March 1862

Fine pleasant weather. Took the anchor at 3 p.m. and kept off SW for Rota. At 4 pm.m, came by the wind. In the morning, ran down to the town on the SW end of the Island. Saw humpback whales. Lowered down the waist boat, struck. The line got fouled, turned over the boat. He struck the calf and called it. The old whale kept clear. So ends. Lost today trade and a whale line.

Saturday 29 March 1862

Strong trades. Three boats down after whales. Finally, they took off. So, I went in shore. They will have a lot of hogs penned up next week. I took on board as passenger the Priest, one boy and a woman. Came up squally. At 7 pm.m, hauled offshore close to the North end of Guam. In the morning, went in shore to the town. Took in Mrs. Tinker and the children.

Sunday 30 March 1862

Fine pleasant weather on shore. Sent off the boat and I remained overnight. There is an English steamer in the harbor.¹ In the morning, went off at 10 a.m. and started for Umata for wood and water. At Meridian, off the harbor.

1 Ed. note: The HMS Sphinx, after the survivors of the shipwreck of the Norna (see Doc. 1861D).

Monday 31 March 1862

Fine pleasant weather. All sail out steering close along the land. At 2:30 p.m., came to anchor in 12 fathoms water in Umata Bay. Made all swings(?) in on the South side of the islands to the westward of them low islands. At daylight, sent in a raft of cask for water. Got off 2 rafts., 160 bbls. One boat went down to them small islands to cut iron [-wood] poles. Bought 10 hogs, 12 bbls sweet potatoes, 2 doz. fowls, 3,000 oranges, 2 doz. bunches of sugar bananas. At dark, all on board.

Tuesday 1 April 1862

At daylight, took the anchor, went up the coast about 4 miles. Sent in 3 boats for wood, 4 cords, 6 loads. Finished at noon.

Wednesday 2 April 1862

Fresh trades about NNE. Working up to Guam [i.e. Agaña] all sail out. Employed in cutting up the wood. At dark, got up of the town. Too late to go in. In the morning, went in shore, landed the trade. Got one boat stove and one boatload of potatoes. Saw cowfish.

Thursday 3 April 1862

Fresh trades. Went in shore with 3 boats. Got off 40 bbls sweet potatoes, 22 hogs, 5 bbls corn, some ducks and fowls. The Bark **Florence** came here today. Capt. Spencer remained on shore, sent his ship to Umata Bay for water with his Mate. At 3 p.m., I came off from shore and startged for Rota.

Friday 4 April 1862

Moderate breezes, all sail out. Middle hours, the same. Latter part, the wind light and baffling, all sail set. Employed in ship duty. Sent in the fly jib for repairs. Saw nothing.

Saturday 5 April 1862

Moderate breezes from the NE, all sail out, by the wind, working up to Rota. At dark, up off the town. In the morning, went in shore to trade. Bought 10 hogs, 2 doz. fowls, 4 ducks, some potatoes and corn, 50 iron poles. They are poverty-stricken here.

Sunday 6 April 1862

Light trades from the NE. At 2 p.m., kept off for Guam. I came off and left a shawl and a vice(?). So, I shall go back for them later. In the morning, went in shore. Came off at noon. Saw Capt. Spencer on shore.

Monday 7 Apr. 62

... At 1 p.m., kept off NW. Made all sail. Saw the **Florence** to the southward of the harbor working up to the town.

...
[The bark headed to Okinawa, etc. They reached Hawaii in November 1862, then headed home. In the logbook of the next voyage, covering the 1863-66 period, there is a list of the whalers burned by **CSS Shenandoah**, e.g. **Hector**, Capt. Chase, **Pearl**, Capt. Thompson, **Edward Cary** of San Francisco, Capt. Baker, **Martha**, Capt. Macomber, **Nile**, Capt. Fish, **Harvest** of San Francisco, Capt. ...?, etc.]

Document 1862I

The Spanish king of Palau

Source: Manuel Escude Bartolf. Las Carolinas (Barcelona, 1885).

The Manila ship Cervantes, Captain Triay

The Spanish King of Palau, circa 1862.

The following anecdote, published by the newspaper *La Crónica* of Cadiz, is a curious one.

“The Palau Islands, which have been discussed so much recently [1885], were surrendered by their king or chief, at the beginning of 1863, to General Echagüe, who was then Governor General of that archipelago. It should be said that the above-mentioned chief was the Cadiz pilot named Antonio Triay. After the death of the king of Palau, he had deserved the succion to the command, as a reward for his good behavior and services rendered to those natives. Mr. Triay returned to Cadiz after he had turned over the said islands to Spain, aboard the frigate **Cervantes**.”

“Upon choosing Mr. Triay as their chief, the natives of Palau delivered to him the family of the former chief, according to their custom. Aboard the same frigate **Cervantes**, Mr. Triay brought his son, a boy of between 12 and 14 years of age. This boy was presented to the Queen Mother, Doña Isabel II, who very kindly sponsored him, and she gave Mr. Triay a commission in the Navy, and appointing him port captain of one of the main ports of Galicia.”

“When the Palau Islands were surrendered to General Echagüe, there was at the time at Manila the very learned Fray Ceferino González, today Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and then a teacher at the College of Santo Tomás; [he recalls that] Mr. Triay was then photographed in the palace of the Captain General, dressed as a chief, and said photograph was distributed profusely in Manila.”

Document 1863A

The logbook of Captain Cheyne aboard the Acis, 1863-66

Source: In the 1980s, the ms. logbook in possession of Sir Joseph Cheyne, Rome; transcript copy in the Micronesian Seminar, Pohnpei.

Note: In April 1863, Cheyne had taken the Acis to Manila, leaving Tetens at Palau. When he returned, he found Tetens in dire straits, and took him to Manila in September (see end of Doc. 1862B). The present log begins with Cheyne's return to Palau once more, to continue for another 2-1/2 years, until he was murdered at Palau in February 1866.

Extracts from the logbook, Nov. 1863 to Feb. 1866

28 November [1863], Manila Bay.

Hauled out of the river, 28 November, 1863. Cleared by customs, Tuesday 1st December.

2 December 1863.

Weighed, cleared shipping. Sails for Pelew Islands.

...

[It appears that Cheyne followed a route southward through the Philippines and around Mindanao.]

...

10	December, lat. by Obs.	5°32' N.	[Long.]
11	"	"	5°20' N. 127°33' E.
12	"	"	5°56' N. 130°58' E.
13	"	"	5°58' N. 133°10' E.
14	"	"	6°26' N. 134°12' E.
15	"	"	6°13' N. 134°57' E.

16 December.

Saw the Pelew Islands. East point of Urukthapel bearing NNW 1/2 W 30 miles. 11h. entered Malackau Roads. Arrakooker, and several Coroar chiefs visited Ship.

17 December. [written across]

Abba Thulle's wife's servant "Fish Hook" was placed by the King in charge of my house. He in a short time abandoned it and carried off with him from the house 10 plates, 8 table knives, 8 plated table forks, 8 plated table spoons, 1 tea kettle, 1 coffee pot, the entire five barts of my new iron galley, a portrait of a ship, and other things.

A. Cheyne.

The King has taken back the large canoe he sold me in February last year, and has been making use of her as a wood boat since I sailed for Manila.

A. Cheyne.

17 December. [regular entry]

A.M. northerly winds with rain. P.M. Fair weather. Carpenter employed caulking the pinnace. Some hands cutting firewood on Malackau. In the evening I went on shore to have a look at my house and plantation left in the King's charge in September last, when I took Mr Tetens away from Malackau. I found the house shut up, and learned from Simpson that it had been so during my absence, the [cotton] plantation gone to ruin, and my three years' labour on it destroyed, the coffee plants I had bought from Singapore and which were thriving and bearing berries when I left the house in April last, are all dead and choked with weeds, my fences all destroyed, and I found a pile of them lying in the kitchen as firewood. The sugar cane plantation, the plants brought from Manila and which I took great pains in the weeking of them, etc. are all gone, the natives have treated the plantation as a wrecked ship during my absence and have carried off everything moveable. I shall hold the King responsible for all my losses, as he compelled me to abandon my house & plantation, his subjects having attempted to kill me on several occasions during my stay on Malackau in the beginning of this year.

No chiefs have visited the ship yet, nor have they sent me any provisions as customary in peaceable times at this group.

A. Cheyne.

Friday 18th

Variable winds and fine throughout. I was told in the morning that Abba Thulle & Eareyekalow were coming to visit me. I therefore remained on board to receive them. They however did not make their appearance until 2 P.M. I tried to impress on the King the necessity of fishing for me at once to continue trading with him. He said he would give orders to that effect, and would set the example by going himself to the rocky islands to collect biche de mer. I told him that I had brought a native of ARTingal here in my vessel from Manila that had gone there from Iboukith in Captain Woodin's vessel the **Lady Leigh** and that I demanded safe conduct for him to his native place in accordance with the laws of civilized nations. He promised faithfully to send him to ARTingal.

A. Cheyne

...

Sunday 20th

Southerly winds and fine. No work done. The King visited ship, and took Captain Woodin's ARtingal native to town with him. Peter Johnson slept at Arakapesau last night without leave asked or granted.

A. C.

Monday 21st

Westerly winds and showry. The Coroar people rebuilt the Camarin [shed] on Malackau today. Paid the King for the above 20 Tomahawks, 20 cast steel chisels, 20 Butcher's knives, 4 pieces(72) of Handkerchiefs, 600 white beads, valued here as money, 10 sharpening stones, & 200 fish-hooks. A good supply of fowls brought to the ship for white beads.

Note. 15 pieces of handkerchiefs taken out of a case. This evening a little after dark I observed a canoe alongside waiting, apparently to take Peter Johnson to town again. I ordered her away, & told Johnson that he must not again leave the ship without my permission, on which he became very insolent & insubordinate, and told me he intended to leave the ship as soon as he had worked out his dead horse (meaning his advance) and go to the North Island to live, and told me that I could not stop him from doing so. I advised him not to try it.

A. Cheyne

[Written across:] Chop joined today.

Tuesday 22nd

Westerly winds and fine. When the crew were washing decks this morning I missed Peter Johnson, and told Anderson to call him. When he came on deck I asked him the reason he did not turn out in the morning the same as the others. He was again insolent when spoken to, and instead of assisting to wash decks went to have his tea. I told him that if he repeated his insolence of last night that I would put him in confinement. He replied, "Will you? No, you won't, I should just like to see you try that." Having thus set my authority at defiance in the presence of my Manila crew, I was compelled to comply with his request, and accordingly handcuffed him forthwith, and ordered him to be fed on bread and water, of which he was to have as much as he could use, until he came to his senses, and acknowledge my authority as Master of this vessel, and make an ample apology for his insubordinate conduct.

A. Cheyne, Master.

I certify that the above entries were read over to Peter Johnson.

A. Cheyne, Master.

...

Friday 25th

Northerly winds and fine weather. The Coroar natives put a thatch roof over the forecastle. No other work done being Christmass Day. The natives have brought so many fowls that I am able to feed all hands on them.

Saturday 26th

NE winds and fine weather. Carpenter and the Manila men on shore fitting up batters in the Camarin. John Brown who came down as passenger from Manila with the intention of staying on the Pelew Islands asked me to ship him today as a seaman, which I agreed to, and said I would give him the same wages as the other three Europeans, namely £3,10/ per month. Eareyekalow visited me today.

Sunday 27th

Light variable airs & fine weather. A number of Coroar canoes have gone to Aremanewie to fish for Korum room.¹ Peter Johnson apologised this morning for his insubordinate conduct, & promised faithfully to conduct himself properly in future, and I at once released him from confinement.

A. Cheyne, Master.

Monday, Dec. 28th

Fresh & E. winds and showers. Some Coroar men put a thatched roof over the quarter deck today. The King Eareyekalow and other chiefs visited the ship to-day, also Erturo's family. Things look promising at present, and I hope may continue so. Rain at night.

Tuesday 29th.

S.E. winds & fair weather. The Europeans employed repairing an old mainsail. Carpenter and the Manila men finished fitting up the batters in the Camarin. The King visited the ship and I paid him for housing the vessel, viz. 6 Tomahawks, 6 Butcher's knives, 3 chisels, 100 white beads, 30 fish-hooks, 18 coloured handkerchiefs. Engaged Grass-case and his friends to cut firewood for the Camarin.

Wednesday 30th.

Light variable airs & calms. Hauled the gig up on shore and painted her. Put the try-pots in the Camarin having cleaned and blacked them & cleaned the Camarin and watering place. Arrakooker & other chiefs visited the ship.

Thursday Jan'y 1st 1864

Light N.W. winds and fine weather. Finished painting my house, some hands clearing away the wreck around my house. Every thing I had planted is either carried off or destroyed with the exception of the cocoa-nut plants, and nine apple plants.

...

Sunday 3rd.

Northerly winds & cloudy. No work done. Some of the crew on shore on liberty. The Manila men returned on board at sunset, but John Anderson, Boatswain, remained

¹ Ed. note: I.e. Cheremrúm, or trepang.

at Coroar all night. He clearly understood that he was to be on board by 6 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Monday Jan'y 4th

... The Manila men on shore at the CAmarin preparing bamboo for a fish pen. John Anderson absent without leave. Cloutrow was on board in the afternoon and I told him to tell the King to send Anderson on board. Grass-case came on board at 6 P.M. and said Anderson refused to go on board.

Tuesday 5th

A.M. variable airs & calms. Tarred the rigging & stays. Carpenter employed on shore repairing water casks and making studding sail booms. An entire change has come over the natives since Saturday, as no chiefs of high rank have visited the ship since then nor have they sent any taro. In the afternoon a petty chief of Araka\keth named Eareyebouk came on board, and said the King had sent him with a basket of cocoanuts to tell me that all the canoes that had been at Aramanewie fishing for Korum room, had returned, with poor success, and that he the King wanted to know when I would purchase their biche de mer, and sent an empty bottle for rum. On inquiring about John Anderson, Eareyebouk said the King had told him to take him on board, and that he agreed to go, but on walking down to the landing place, a Manila renegade living on shore named passeio took him away from him. This Passeo was connected in a murdr committed here in 1845, of which I can produce clear proof, & being in consequence afraid to go back to Manila has been living here since, and has great influence over this wretched savage King by professing to be a prophet and frightening him. He preys on the credulity of these wretched savages by making them believe that the Spirit of our Saviour enters into him. What a blasphemous wretch!

A. Cheyne

Tuesday 5th, continued.

On hearing Eareyebouk's statement, I sent Mr. Simpson & Fredereick Garraway to Coroar to bring Anderson on board. They returned at 5 P.M. bringing Anderson with them. Simpson says they found him in the second Arrakooker's house along with the Manila renegade named Passeo. Anderson came down to the Canoe quietly when he was told that I had sent them to bring him on board.

Wednesday 6th

Light N.E. winds and fine weather. Carpenter making studding booms on shore, and Manila men as yesterday. John Anderson returned to his duty. The Europeans repairing a Mainsail. The King visited the ship to-day, and brought 2 piculs of Kake¹ & Korum room with him, and I got one picul from a small chief.

¹ Ed. note: Perhaps this was Kukáu, or taro.

Thursday 7th

... Purchased six piculs of Kake & Korum room to-day. The King and Eareyekalow visited the ship, and informed me that a Yap canoe had arrived at Coroar this morning, and that her companion (there being two) had gone to Iboukith.

Friday 8th

... The King, Erturo and other chiefs visited the ship. Purchased 5 piculs of Kake & Koram room. This morning the Artingall native I brought from Manila came on board with a private note from Peter Johnson, Captain Woodin's man that lives at Iboukith. The following is a copy of it as near as I can make out his meaning, it being written in broken Engoish, he being a Swede. Viz:—

"Dear Captain, will you please come down to Iboukith, I can give you 200 picus biche de mer. If you cannot bring the ship please bring the boat, as the King wishes to be friends with you. Dear Captain, and wishes you to come down in the boat and he will make a camarin for Biche e mer. Please write to me and tell me whether you can come or not. Please do not tell the natives that I wrote you. I remain,

.X X X

King of Iboukith.

...
[A routine set in, with the Manila men continuing to work on the fish-pen, the Europeans working at the rigging, and the chiefs visiting with trepang for sale, etc.]

...
Saturday 16th

... Purchased six piculs of Korum room from Arawanewie people. James Gibbons,¹ who has been a frequent visitor since my arrival, came on board to-day, & appeared inclined to be insolent. He has been very civil since my arrival, until to-day, and I have said nothing to make him change.

...
Tuesday 19th

... George Smith came on board this evening and said he found he could not live on Malackau & begged me to allow him to come on board the ship to live, which I agreed to. This man and John Brown came down with me from Manila as passengers intending to settle at the Peleu Islands, but they now find that the natives do not want any foreigners to settle here, which I told them before leaving Manila...

...
Friday 22nd

... Carpenter on shore planting coffee. Manila men at the fish-pen. Europeans clearing and re-stowing the hold. The King has not visited the ship since the 14th, nor has he sent any thing to the ship since that time, nor has James Gibbons repeated his visit. I know of no reason why the King should act thus, as I have said nothing to offend

1 Ed. note: A black man of West Indian origin.

him, unless he has been over-ruled by his advisor, James Gibbons, who went away displeased because I did not ask him to dinner in the cabin along with Simpson.

Saturday 23rd

... Carpenter finished planting the coffee. Manila men finished making the fish fence. Europeans employed variously on board. The King & Coroar chiefs visited the ship, and brought 4-1/2 piculs of very inferior biche de mer worth at Manila \$48, for which they wanted me to give them the war rockets as payment. The Rocket tubes and rockets were ordered from London and cost me upwards of 800 dollars, as the Invoice can prove. Now they evidently must have been put up to this by James Gibbons, or they never would have thought of making such an unreasonable demand. I, of course, refused to let them have them, but I gave them 400 rounds of rifle cartridges and 1000 musket caps.

...

Friday Jan'y 29th

... Engaged Maitrow to stay on Malackau to watch the coffee I have planted. Purchased three piculs of biche de mer.

...

Thursday [Feb'y] 4th

Light variable airs & fine weather. Employed cleaning firewood. Landed some more ballast. Etched a boat-load of firewood from Arakapasan. Brought the new cooking caboose on board from my house. On overhauling it, I find the firebars have been stolen, although it was left in the King's charge. As the King was on board to-day, I requested him to have it restored. The Coroar people have been stealing fish out of the fish-pen every night since it was finished. The King told me yesterday that he knew the Coroar people had been stealing the fish. He is as big a thief as any of them, and will not give me any protection whatever. He merely tells me to produce the thieves and he will fine them, knowing very well that I cannot do so. Purchased two piculs of biche de mer.

...

Tuesday 9th

... Employed getting ready for sea. Received in loan from Mr. John Davey 120 axes, and from Mr. John Simpson 30 axes.

Wednesday 10th

Light easterly winds and fine. Shot a bullock and salted it. Purchased some pigs.

Thursday 11th

Light northerly winds & fine weather. At daylight took the thatched roofs down, and sent the thatch on shore. Unmoored, took the gig on deck, and got ready for getting under way, but the breeze was not strong to go out in safety, as the tide runs strong in the passage through the barrier reef. Purchased three piculs of biche de mer. Sent the fresh beef on shore to be dried over a fire on the batters. The King, Erturo and other

chiefs were on board. James Gibbons tells me that he had heard from the Yap men that it was the intention of the Ile Ile [Lei] people to cut us off at Tomeel [Tomil] last voyage, and Erturo advises me to be on my guard this time.

Friday 12th

A.M., light northerly winds & showery. At 10, weighed, and twoed out round Malackau spit. 11:30, made sail & stood towards the passage in the reef. 0h 30m P.M. got clear out to sea. P.M., light westerly airs. When abreast the outer reef, Eareyekalow came on board, and brought Aramangasow with him to go to Yap in the vessel. 4h, Eareyekalow left the ship. 8h, Coroar beore W.N.W. distant 8 miles. Midnight light airs from West & clear. John Davey and John Simpson residing on the Peleu Islands, are on board to assist me in getting a cargo at Yap. No agreement made as to wages.

A. Cheyne

Note. I engaged Maitrow, a Malay to remain at my house during my advance at Yap & attend to the coffee I had planted, also to replant the bananas, & repair the wreck of the plantation. A. C.

i gave Eyeuke the keys of my house, he having promised to take care of it & the fishpen. A. C.

...

Thursday Feb'y 8th 1864 Latitude by Obs. 8°16' N., longitude by Obs. 140°12' E.

A.M. Fresh breeze & clear. 3h, tacked to the N.W. 6h, saw Phillip's Islet [Sorol] bearing NW by W. 8h, hove to under the lee of S.E. islet & was boarded by two canoes carrying eleven men. When we made sail one of the natives refused to go on shore, & said he would go to Yap in the vessel. 10h30, passed the NW Islet. The islets are small, low, about 5 miles apart in an ESE & WNW direction & connected by a reef partly dry with sand banks & bushes on it. The reef is crescent shaped, & has some coral patches on the concave side to the southward. The S.E. Islet has a few cocoanut trees on it & is inhabited. At 9 1/2h, made S.E. Islet to be in Long. 140°28' E measured from Malackau 24 miles W. of the chart! P.M., fresh breeze & clear. Midnight strong breeze & clear.

Note. On my arrival at Yap I found the longitude I have assigned to be correct, supposing the South point of Yap to be in Longitude 138°10' E.¹

A. Cheyne

The South point of Yap is in Long 138°10' E measured twice from Malackau pier, and agreeing both times. Malackau pier is in Long. 134°32' E.²

A. Cheyne

Friday Feb'y 19th

Fresh breeze & clear. 5h, saw a fire on the horizon bearing NE by E, hauled up for it, and at daylight saw the island of Yap ahead 7 miles. At 8h, tacked off the NE end

1 Ed. note: He was 6 minutes too far East in this case.

2 Ed. note: He was 4-5 minutes too far East here.

of the Island & hove to for some canoes coming off. At 10h, made sail & at noon entered the passage leading to Tomeel Harbor, made several tacks inside the entrance & came to off Rule [Rull] in 20 fathoms, veered cahin to 50 fathoms, & triced the nettings out. Two of the Tomeel chiefs came on board (the two Tomacks) & went on shore in the evening. Funowy came on board in the afternoon & returned to Gerea [Guror] at 5 P.M. Three of the Coroar men came up in his canoe.

Note. In entering the passage leading to Tomeel Harbor a ship has to steer first NW between the breakers then NNW and North. The passage in the entrance is only 50 fathoms wide, and widening inside to 2 cables or more in places. A. C.

& from 1/3 of a mile within the entrance up to Tomeel harbor there is room for a ship to swing at single anchor. A. C.

P.M. blowing strong from NE, sent the topgallant yard down & housed the main topmast.

...

Sunday 21st

... Tomack came on board to-day, and told me that the people had killed two men belonging to Welloy [Ueloi] yesterday on account of having ordered the Tomeel people off their fishing grounds when I was here last voyage.

Monday 22nd

... A number of Rule people, men, women & children visited the ship, and were very friendly.

Tuesday 23rd

... Warped up to Tomeel and moored off the camarin with 25 fathoms on each bower. Funowy came up from Gerea, & went back in the evening. A number of Tomeel men on board to-day.

Wednesday Feb'y 24th

... At 8 A.M., the King & chiefs of Tomeel visited the ship. Saluted the King, and made them a present. Unvent sails, unrove running gear, and commenced putting a roof over the quarter deck. Sent the try-pots to the Camarin and landed two boats of firewood. A number of natives on board, but no cocoanuts or fowls brought to the ship as formerly.

Thursday 25th

... The natives finished the roof over the quarter deck. The King and chiefs of Tomeel visited the ship. Crew variously employed on board. The King & three Tomacks being the ruling chiefs of Tomeel told me to-day that they intended to go to war with Welloy, the town the two men belonged to, that they killed on the 20th instant and wanted me to join them with two armed boats manned by myself and all the Europeans in the ship. I made them clearly understand that I could not assist them in any way

whatever, as I had come here to purchase biche de mer and not to fight, and that I was liable to severe punishment at by the laws of my country if I joined them in any such enterprise.

A. Cheyne, Master.

Friday 26th

... The natives of Odugor put a roof over the forecastle to-day. At 10, Tomack came on board and said the Tomeel chiefs had sent him to request me to come on shore & to bring plenty of the crew with me, also 4 muskets & ammunition, to be bewitched by the Tomeel priest. There being a number of natives on board I declined going, fearing treachery, but I sent Mr. John Davey together with three Manila seamen, one Manila carpenter & the Pellew native Aramangasou in the boat. The deck crowded with natives during the afternoon & a number of women and children amongst them, all quiet and well behaved. They belonged to Odugor & Eyenooof,¹ & only one Tomeel man amongst the whole lot. Funowy came on board in the faternoon from Gerear along with Ken & Joak. Funowy told me he would not join the Tomeel people in going to war with Welloy, but intended to commence fishing for biche de mer at once for me. He left the ship for Gerear at 9 P.M. and I sent Mr. John Davey along with him, and gave him 12 pots for curing biche de mer, also 2 axes, 3 tomahawks, 13 butcher's knives, 200 fish-hooks, 4 steels,² and a bag of rice for Funoway & the Pelew natives.

Saturday Feb'y 27th

... Early in the morning a number of able-bodied Tomeel men came off to the ship, some in canoes and others on bamboo rafts. As they brought no women or children with them as formerly and had spears in some of the canoes I triced the nettings out and did not allow them on board. They appeared to me to mean mischief. In the afternoon the tree Tomacks came alongside in a large canoe full of men; I admitted them. They said they were going to Rule to organise a force to attack Welloy, and went from the ship to that direction.

Sunday 28th

... A number of Odugor men repaired the roof of the camarin to- day under the superintendence of Big Tomack. The King visited the ship, and was loud in his professions of friendship. He however said the other tribes wanted Tomeel to take the ship last voyage, but he would not give his sanction.

A. Cheyne

Monday 29th

... The Odugor natives finished the camarin, and I paid them 6 tomahawks, 4 chi-

1 Ed. note: Dugor and Inuf.

2 Ed. note: "Steels" could be striking plates to make sparks and start fires.

sels, 10 knives, 5 steels and some fish-hooks for reepairing it. Some Tomeel children on board to-day, and the men that came on board appeared less excited. Some Gergear canoes brought me a supply of cocoanuts.

Tuesday March 1st

... Some natives fitting the batters in the camarin. The King and two Tomacks were on board to-day, also some Tomeel children and a number of men. Purchased a quantity of cocoanuts, yams, sweet potatoes & bananas for handkerchiefs. The carpenter has been off duty since yesterday afternoon in consequence of a severe beating he got from John Anderson yesterday, his face and eyes are very much swollen. I reprimanded Anderson this morning for assaulting the carpenter. He was very insolent and told me he would strike any man that insulted him. Peter Johnson gave a steel to a girl this morning for cocoanuts. On threatening to fine him \$100 according to the articles for trade, he told me that he brought 100 steels from Manila [to] purchase tobacco, &c. The crews of trading vessels not being allowed to trade I ordered him to hand them over to me and he delivered up 78 steels, Frederick Garraway said he also purchased one hundred at Manila to get tobacco & women with, and he delivered up 82 steels, Anderson said he had also purchased a few and gave me ten steels. A. C.

...

Thursday 3rd

... The Tomeel people brought a little Koram room to the camarin to-day. The chiefs of a number of towns friendly to Tomeel came here last night to hold a council of war as to whether they shall fish for biche de mer, or go to war with Welloy and Gasapar [Gachapar]. As no Tomeel chiefs have visited the ship to-day the result of the conference has not transpired. Mr. Simpson, the carpenter and four Manila men slept in the camarin to-night. Funowoy of Ghoroar did not come to the conference, and I have heard nothing from Sacey since he left last Friday.

Friday 4th

... The Tomeel people fishing for Korom room. A number of strangers from the west side of the Island visited the ship in the forenoon, and the King of Tomeel was on board in the evening...

Saturday 5th

... About three piculs of raw biche de mer brought to the camarin to-day. Tomack was on board to-day and said they had decided on going to war with Welloy, but intended to fish for me while making their preparations. Five Tomeel children slept on board to-night.

Sunday 6th

... About 3 piculs of raw Korum room brought to the camarin to-day. The natives have brought no firewood as yet, and we have been obliged to send what we had on

board to the camarín to boil and dry the biche de mer. Crowap told me this afternoon to keep a good watch at night both on board & on shore as the Gasapar people might make an attack on the vessel and burn the camarín. Toreer, Fanow's nephew came up from Ghoroar this evening with some cocoanuts, but brought no word from Davey, nor could he tell me his whereabouts. Peter Johnson wanted liberty to go on shore this morning but I refused complying with his request, as I have learned that when here the first voyage with Mr. Tetnes the crew used to steal the married women, a very dangerous practice amongst savages, and I am determined they shall not have the chance of repeating it this voyage.

Note. The Tomeel children went on shore this evening.

....

Tuesday 8th

... The King of Tomeel & some chiefs visited the ship. The former told me not to allow any canoes alongside after dark, as some evil-disposed natives might set fire to the thatched roofs and burn the ship. A small quantity of Korum room brought to the camarín to-day, but no firewood brought by the natives. The Manila men cutting the mangroves near the camarín to cure the slug with.

...

Thursday 10th

... Ninety nine married women of Tomeel visited the ship to-day. I prepared a dinner and entertained them the best way I could. They went on shore at sunset well pleased with their reception. A canoe came up from Ghoroar in the evening with cocoanuts, but brought no word from Davey.

...

Saturday 12th

... The Yap people are so ignorant and superstitious that they require constant watching as they covet everything they see and even want the coat I wear as payment for cocoanuts. They are also lazy, cunning, and treacherous and their chiefs have but little control over them. In fact every man that has a house is a chief, and they pay no respect whatever to those they call chiefs.

Sunday March 13th

... At 9 A.M. John Davey came alongside in a large canoe full of men from Roonoo [Runu], also two Coroar men with him, Mulwat & Owkeramassik. He said Funow and a number of Ghoroar men were at Roonoo, and that they had commenced fishing for Korum room the day before yesterday. He says the flats are covered with it for miles. In a private conversation I had with him he told me the Tomeel people intended to take the ship last voyage, and that Fadthing the head chief of Ile Ile remained in the camarín for several days to ward Ateobok the Coroar chief's nephew I had with me, and that Ghesoak if Rule told me the truth that Tomeel Wunneau & Ghoroar intended to take the ship when he came on board on the 24th May 1863 at Tomeel. In the afternoon about 20 men came from Oodugor but brought no women or children, and said they

wanted to inspect the ship. Having a suspicion of treachery I did not admit them. One European & a Manila man in the watch during the night.

A. Cheyne.

John Davey left the ship to return to Roonoo at noon.

Monday 14th

... As the Eyenoof people have brought no firewood since our arrival as the chief of that town promised to do, and the weather yesterday and to-day being fine enough to enable them to bring it up, it is my belief that the Tomeel chiefs have prevented them, and as the Tomeel people will neither cut wood nor will give orders to the small towns to do so, it is my firm belief that they are waiting for a favorable opportunity to take the ship. Brought all the cured biche de mer on board from the camarin, also Mr. Simpson and two of the Manila men. I am the more suspicious of the Tomeel people as they have been trying to induce me to send a European to Oodugor to superintend curing biche de mer there, and advising me to send men on shore to cut firewood for the camerin. The Oodugor people know how to cure biche de mer, and they got 4 pots from me on the 10th instant by order of young Tomack. Some Tomeel men came on board in the morning very much excited. Young Tomack & others came on board in the afternoon & promised if I would stay to bring firewood in abundance & fish for biche de mer. I told him I would remain passive and wait to see what they meant, & if they intended mischief I would go away.

Note. On reflection, I think somehow the natives meant to attack the ship yesterday but finding us on the alert they were afraid. What would such a number of armed men want on board unaccompanied by women or children. A. C.

Tuesday March 15th

... At 7 A.M. brought all the biche de mer on board from the camarin and left the Manila man only to take care of the pots. At 8, a number of Tomeel men came alongside but no children, triced up nettings out and allowed none on board except young Tomack. He promised yesterday to send to Eyenoof for firewood, and said the canoes would be here this morning at daylight, but I find he was only shuffling as usual, and I believe by their gestures, conversation and movements that they intended to have attempted the capture of the vessel to-day had I allowed them on deck. I told Tomack to send my large cutter on board that I left in his charge last voyage which he has neglected to do since my arrival and evidently intends to keep her. He said he would give orders to send her on board. last voyage I heard this young Tomack talk to other natives repeatedly about killing me, and it is my firm belief that he intends to do so if he can get a chance. The Tomeel people are treacherous pirates feared and detested by all the other towns of Yap, and would not hesitate to cut off a vessel if they could get a chance. A careful watch kept during the night.

Wednesday 16th

... Early in the morning a number of Tomeel men came alongside, but no children I did not allow them on deck and kept the nettings up. At noon the King of Tomeel & the head chief and two of the Tomacks came on board. I told the King that if the Tomeel people came alongside armed with tomahawks and butcher's knives, I would not admit them, and would go back to the Pelew Islands. He entreated me to remain and asserted that they had no evil intention towards me or the vessel, and would give orders to cut firewood and fish. About an hour after he left Young Tomack came on board & brought a number of little girls with him. I lowered the nettings and allowed the natives to come on board as formerly. They were quiet and went on shore at sunset with the exception of seven children left by Tomack under my charge to sleep on board, as hostages.

Thursday March 17th

... A number of Tomeel men on board to-day also the King and chiefs. They appeared very excited, but as I only admitted those that were unarmed and there being some children with them the day passed quietly. I pointed out clearly to the chiefs the loss of life they would evidently sustain if they made any attack on us on deck, and told them I saw clearly they meant treachery. I told the King also to drop their treacherous designs, and commence again to fish for biche de mer; that I would only admit the men when accompanied by children, and those having knives or bamboo daggers in their baskets would not be allowed on deck. The chiefs made many fair promises, but it remains to be seen how they will be kept, as they are cunning, deceitful and treacherous. All hands constantly watching the natives on deck so as to rush to their arms if attacked. Eight children slept on board.

Friday 18th

... The Tomeel people commenced bringing firewood to the camarin this morning. At noon the King and two of the Tomacks came on board. I made them a handsome present, and repeated the good advice I gave them yesterday. They said the fighting or war party of Tomeel would fish and supply the camarin with firewood. The Tomeel men allowed on board to-day without limit there being a number of children with them. Ateobok a Pelew native came on board to-day from Roonoo, and said Funowy of Gho-roar & his natives were fishing for biche de mer, and that they had got a considerable quantity, the Korum room being very plentiful at that place. He went back in the afternoon.

...

Monday 21st

...The two elder Tomacks came on board in the morning. They said the war party would commence fishing to-morrow. The Tomeel people bringing firewood to the camerin. In the evening they wanted to take all the children on shore, and I was told by a native woman belonging to Eyenooof not to allow them to go as the Tomeel people

intended to attack the ship, either to-night or to-morrow. They however took three away and four slept on board. At 10 P.M.N. loaded the guns, and mounted the two-pounder on the wheel, chain platform. A careful watch kept during the night.

Tuesday 22nd

... At 4 A.M. the Manila man on board from the camarin. In the morning old Tomack came on board accompanied by some of the war party. He said the others were coming to arrange with me about fishing. I told him it required no arrangement. As I am convinced they intended to make an attempt to capture the vessel to-day had I allowed them on deck. I demanded my boat from Tomack, and after a deal of shuffling, they brought her alongside at 5 P.M. half full of water also after a deal of trouble. I got back 6 of the small pots I had given Odugor & Ken at Tomack's request on the 10th instant. Although they have had them for 12 days they have never had a fire under them. At 6 P.M. I made them bring the try-pots from the camarin, took them on board and then allowed big Tomack to go on shore. The young Tomack was on board in the forenoon, but pretended to be taken suddenly ill & went away. Rove the running gear, sent the main topmast up, bent the fore topsail & jib, and pitched the thatched roof over the forecabin overboard.; I was told to-day by [blank] a Tomeel chief that the reason the Odugor Ken and Rule people had not fished was that they were waiting to see what Tomeel intended to do. It is clear the Tomeel people have intended all along to take the ship, which has been the cause of the other towns not fishing. I have now made up my mind to get away from this nest of treacherous pirates as soon as possible. Kept two children on board to-night as hostages. A. C.

Note. It is strange that John Davey has neither written nor sent me any word since he was on board on the 13th instant. He cannot plead ignorance, as he knows every thing that has been going on, and is highly culpable in not advising me of the treacherous designs of the Tomeel people and it is also strange that Funowys sent no person to the ship since the 10th. A. C.

Wednesday March 23rd

A.M. moderate breeze from NNE and fine. Sent all sails, and hoisted the gig on deck. At noon gave the two children a present and sent them on shore. A few Tomeel men ventured alongside in the morning but were very timid. On taxing them with treachery he said (on being assured that I would not injure them) "**it was Yap custom**" Pitched the roof over the quarter deck overboard, bent the mainsail, unmoored and at 1 P.M. made sail and stood out to sea. 1h30, got clear of the barrier, took the pinnace on deck, and stood towards Ghoroar to communicate with Funowys's people. The Tomeel people have kept four pots which they would not deliver up. At 5 P.M. Butoon boarded us off the south end of the reef, and to my surprise told me that Funowys had knocked fishing, and that he & his people together with the Pelew men, John Davey and the biche de mer and pots were coming down to Ghoroar to-morrow. I told him to send the Co-roar men & pots on board to-morrow, as if it came on to blow we should not be able

to hold our own against the current, which is setting strong to the WSW off the South reef. Ship standing to the eastward. The cutter in tow leaking very much, one hand constantly bailing.

Thursday 24th

A.M. moderate breeze from NNE & cloudy. 2h, tacked to the NW. At daylight off Ghoroar. 6h, tacked near the South reef. 7h, Butoon came alongside with a Coroar man named Earabeel. He said all the pots and the Coroar men together with some biche de mer had come to Ghoroar yesterday (a different story from what he told me last evening) and that he wanted to know if they were to come on board to-day. I told him, yes, to bring the Pelew men and pots at once. He said Davey and the remainder of the biche de mer would be down this morning. Working to windward off Ghoroar, but gaining very little on account of the strong current. At 6 P.M. tacked off Ghoroar, and stood to the eastward. Midnight fresh breeze & cloudy with a heavy NE swell. The cutter making a great deal of water, one hand constantly bailing.

Friday March 25th

A.M. light breeze from NNW. 2h, tacked to the westward. At daylight a light air from NW, off Gasapar. Stood towards Ghoroar, and at 10h was boarded by Funowy who brought some biche de mer, John Davey and some of the Coroar men with him. Standing off and on during the day near the barrier reef of Ghoroar. Finished shipping the biche de mer at 5 P.M. having got 45 piculs of Korum room. Funowy went on shore to bring some cocoanuts off tomorrow morning. Five Ghoroar men remained on board during the night. Standing off and on under the lee of the reef during the night. Wind NW, light breeze and clear.

Saturday 26th

Light breeze from the WNW and fine weather. 9 A.M. a number of canoes came alongside with cocoanuts, and Funowy brought me a very large pig. Paid the natives for their biche de mer. At 1 P.M., Funowy, Ken and Soak went to Tomeel to try and ascertain if it would be safe for the vessel to go back there, the wind being foul for Pelew, and the biche de mer shipped yesterday all wet. He returned at 6 P.M., said he had seen the King & Young Tomack, also the leading men of the War party. They appeared ashamed of their conduct, and wished me to go back. Funowy

Sunday 27th

A.M. light breeze from W by S and cloudy. Daylight off Ghoroar, bore away for Tomeel harbour, entered the passage in the reef at 10h and at 10h45 came to off the Camarin, moored with both bowers. 45 fathoms chain on each, in 13 fathoms water.

At noon the King (Faetin) and Young Tomack came on board, and demanded an explanation as to my leaving so abruptly on Thursday last, and declared they had no evil intentions towards the vessel, and begged I would not listen to any reports I might

hear in future as to their evil intentions. I assured them that I came here as their friend and declared that my only reason for leaving was to prevent bloodshed as I was convinced they intended to take the ship. The King was loud in his professions of friendship. A. C.

P.M. out boats and triced out the boarding nettings. Landed some of the Ghoroar biche de mer to be dried, and sent John Davey and the Pellow men to the CAmarin to take charge of it. A. C.

Monday March 28th

... The King & Young Tomack were on board to-day. They say the Tomeel people have got the influenza, and several have died of it, so that they cannot do any thing for me in the way of fishing until the sickness abates. No other Tomeel people on board to-day. Sent the remainder of the Ghoroar biche de mer to the CAmarin to be re-dried. Hauled the cutter on shore on a small island to the westward of the ship to be repaired. At 4 P.M. saw a Brig standing off and on near the barrier reef of Gasapar.

Tuesday 29th

... The brig in sight at daylight off Gasapar. At noon the brig being near the entrance of the harbour I sent Mr. Simpson in the boat to ascertain their wants & offer assistance. The boat returned at 5 P.M., & brought a note from the Captain saying it was the **Water Lily** from London to Nagasaki, Japan, that they had had a long passage & were short of fresh provisions and asking me to supply them with a few fowls & some yams. I immediately sent them all the yams & fowls I had in the ship, also a large hog I got from Funowy. The boat did not return to-night.

Wednesday 30th

... At daylight the brig in sight to leeward off Ghoroar. No appearance of the boat. The brig stood off till noon when she tacked, and fetched to windward of Ghoroar. Observed our boat towing astern. At sunset the brig off the Rule passage in the ref. At 11 P.M. the boat returned on board, & brought me 56 lbs of powder in canisters, 7 lbs tobacco, & 250 cigars as payment for the supplies I sent. Funowy's canoe was up to-day, and Soak tells me they are all laid up with the influenza and unable to fish for biche de mer.

Thursday 31st

... A few Tomeel men on board, bringiog cocoanuts. They say a great number of people are sick with influenza and pleurisy, and several have died of it. The sickness will put an end to all my hopes of getting biche de mer..

Saturday 2nd

... I see clearly that it is no use staying here any longer as the natives are shuffling and lying, and evidfently waiting for another favorable opportunity to take the ship.

The children are not allowed to come on board as formerly, which looks as if they meant mischief...

...

Tuesday 5th

... The influenza is raging all over the island, and a number of people have died of it... Chugarat the high priest of Yap died this afternoon. He was a very old man, feared by all the Yap people, who believe he was possessed of supernatural powers.

Wednesday April 6th

... In the evening Young Tomack and several Tomeel men came alongside with a few baskets of yams and two or three bunches of bananas, as a sea stock from the Tomeel people. On finding that they expected me to give them ten times its value in presents, I refused to accept their present, and dismissed them abruptly. They are a treacherous set of scoundrels and have detained me here week after week with false promises that they would fish, solely for the purpose of watching a favorable chance to capture the vessel, but I have acted with great caution and have eeeeeeeconstantly been on my guard. They ahve over and over again tried to induce me to send some of the crew on shore to cut firewood and cure biche de mer so as to enable them to overpower us on board, but I have been firm and never yielded to their request, which with constant watchfulness has saved us. They say when Chugarat is buried which will be tomorrow evening, the town of Tomeel will be under taboo for fifty days. Made the Latitude of the Camarin Island 9°30' N, mer: Alt: of the sun to-day. A. C.

Thursday 7th

... Took down the thatched roof over the quarter deck, and put it below, bent the mainsail, took the gig inboard and prepared for sea. Funowy promised to bring my pots—thirteen—from Roonoo to-day but he did not come to the ship. Embarked all the Pelew natives from the Camarin, eight in number, being those I left here last voyage. They are at the head of all the mischief & during my absence have incited the whole of Yap against me.

Friday 8th

ENE winds and fine clear weather. HOisted the cutter n deck, unmoored, and at 10 A.M. weighed, made sail, and run out of the harbour. At 10h30 got clear out to sea running along the reef towards Ghoroar which place we passed at 11h30. We saw no native nor canoes on passing Ghoroar. Took the pinnace inboard and stood to the northward to have a look at the west side of Yap. Funowy has kept 13 N° 1 pots.

At 3 P.M. bore away for the Pelew Islands, steering SW by W, wind NE by E. 5h, lost sight of Yap. Midnight steady breeze and clear.

...

Sunday April 10th

... 1h, saw the island of Babelthouap, Pelew Islands bearing from WSW to WNW.

Hove to, head to the eastward. 9h came to an anchor in Malackau Roads in 13 fathoms, veered chain to 50 fathoms & furled sails... I heard Mulwat tell Eyeuke that the Tomeel people intended to kill us all last voyage and take the schooner. It is therefore clear to me that Atcook, Mulwat and teh other six Coroar men were conniving with Tomeel to cut off the vessel, as at that time when questioned by me they always denied there was any danger.

A. Cheyne.

...

Tuesday 12th

... Weighed, made sail and stood in for the passage in the reef leading to Malackau Harbor. The wind fell light as we entered the passage, but veering to the southward of East which enable us to lay through the ship passage in the inner reach. At 2 P.M. came to off Malackau pier in our old berth, moored with both howsers, 45 fathoms on each cable, furled sails, and out boats. Arrakooker & James Gibbons were waiting for us at the entrance of the passage with two war canoes to tow us in if required. This was very kind of the chiefs as I did not ask them to do so, that is if they had no treacherous motive in view?

NOTE. I went on shore to my house in the evening and find the plantation in the same state I left it. Maitron has been living at Simpson's house during my absence, & has done nothing to the plantation whatever. Eyeuke shut up the house, & no one has been living in it. The fish-pen is also gone to pieces. It appears to me that they did not expect us back from Yap. A. C.

Wednesday 13th

... P.M. Abba Thulle visited the ship. I made him a handsome present, and asked him to send the Coroar people out to fish for biche de mer for me. He said he would do so. Davey & Simpson took their things on shore. I gave the King 1 Monkey Jacket, 18 handkerchiefs, 3 tomahawks, 4 knives, 2 cast steel chisels, 1 16- inch rasp, 100 fish-hooks & 1 N^o 1 pot. A. C.

...

Friday April 15th

... Arungoolby, head chief of Eyemaleageic came on board this morning, and said the Coroar chiefs had sent him to demand the two barrels of cannister gunpowder I got at Yap from the Brig **Water Lily**, as payment for putting Atcook and the four Coroar men in irons last voyage, and said that had we been Spaniards instead of English that the Coroar people would have killed us all & destroyed the vessel for daring to do so, and that if the powder was not delivered up they would not fish for me. I told him that I required the powder for the defence of the vessel, and that I would not deliver it up. Eareyekalow came on board in the evening, and I told him what Arungoolby had said. He said, the KING was not aware of it.

On Monday last, I asked Davey if I went into the harbour, whether the Coroar people would fish for me or not. He replied he was certain they would fish if I went in. Gar-

raway heard him say so, but he told George Smith on the passage from Yap a different story that he was sure they would not fish for me if I went in. This is only one instance of the duplicity of Davey. I know of several, and as to his lying propensities, that is well known to all the Europeans on board, who with myself are of the firm opinion that Davey was conniving with, if not inciting, the Tomeel people to capture the vessel and murder us all.

A. Cheyne

I gave Eareyekalow as a present: 1 Monkey Jacket, 1 N° 1 pot, 3 tomahawks, 2 cast steel chisels, 4 knives, 1 16-inch rasp, 18 handkerchiefs, 100 fish-hooks. A. C.

...

Sunday 17th

... Erturo came on board to-day, & said he would try and persuade the Coroar people to go out fishing. I asked him if I went to Aramanawie with the schooner if he would fish for me there. He said he would like to do so, but was afraid of the Coroar people, as they had determined to kill him if the vessel went up there again, & he says the Coroar people are so exasperated about the Pillelew men getting muskets from ships passing, that they are talking about cutting off the first vessel they can get hold of.

A. Cheyne

...

Thursday 31st

... I went to my house in the evening and asked Maitron his reason for leaving the plantation when I sailed for Yap. He said Eyeuke told him the schooner would not return, as Atcook would tell the Tomeel people to murder us all and destroy the vessel. On cross-questioning him, he said Eyeuke told him that we would all be killed except Davey. He being a Pellow man the Yap people would not kill him. He said he was not sure whether Simpson was to be killed or not, but he thought so from what Eyeuke told him. On being told this he thought it useless to do anything to the plantation. He said all the Coroar people were certain we would not return, not only this voyage but also the last.

A. Cheyne

Pascual García, Manila man, has been cutting a poisonous tree on the Rocky Island, named Tungit, the juice of which has touched his face, which is swelling to a tremendous size & closed both eyes.

...

Saturday 23rd

... About 2 P.M. I heard John Brown abusing the Manila steward on the quarter deck, & threatening to knock him down. I asked him what he was making so much noise for, and warned him to let my steards alone. He told me he would make as much noise as he pleased, and that I could not stop him. On ordering him off the quarter deck he attempted to strike me, which I prevented by getting hold of his arms. As he still continued to abuse me I told him he must leave the ship, as he came down here as passenger and was not on the ship's Articles. He said he would not leave unless I paid him four

months wages. I then ordered the Manila men to take him to the Camarin in the boat. He resisted, and John Anderson came to his assistance, and said no Manila man should lay hold of Brown. I pushed Anderson away and told him not to interfere. Brown then went in the boat with his clothes & bedding. After the boat had shoved off, I was told Anderson had gone along with him and had taken his bed & clothes also. I then hailed the boat repeatedly and told them to come back; the two Manila men attempted to pull the boat round, but Brown & Anderson took the oars from them and pulled with all their might to the Camarin. I told Anderson if he did not bring the boat back, I would fire at him, but he paid no attention and went on shore. I followed them to the Camarin in a canoe & took my revolver with me in self-defence. On seeing me coming I observed Anderson & George Smith (the other passenger) arming themselves with sticks to resist me, & when I landed Anderson ran up the hill, and hid himself in the bush above the Camarin. Smith told me he was not afraid of my pistol, & that if any God-damned Manila men laid a hand on them by my orders, he would brain them, or break their arms and legs.

A. Cheyne, Master.

Garcia's face & neck fearfully swollen to-day. He is quite blind. I applied a lotion of equal parts of Hartshorn & cocoanut oil to it. The swelling in Garcia's face is going down rapidly since I commenced rubbing it with Hartshorn & oil. This tree must be similar to the deadly Upas tree of Java & Borneo.

Saturday April 23rd, Continued.

The said three men: namely, John Anderson, John Brown & George Smith, being in a state of open mutiny, I saw clearly that any attempt to secure Anderson would be attended with bloodshed, and therefore desisted, & returned on board. Smith took his clothes & bedding on shore and went to town about 5 P.M. along with Brown and Anderson. Before Anderson went to town he sent Garraway on board to say that if I would pay him down part of his wages in cash, and give him a paper saying I would not again threaten to shoot him, he would rejoin the ship. I told Garraway to tell him that his wages were not due until the voyage was ended, and that I would neither give him money nor sign the paper he demanded, but that I was willing to receive him back on board. To this I received no reply and he went to town along with the other two as I have stated.

Sunday 24th

... A Manila man named Andrùs told me to-day that Anderson said yesterday if I did not pay him his wages, he would set fire to the Camarin & my dwelling house.

A. Cheyne

Monday 25th

...As John Anderson left the ship on Saturday with the clear intention of deserting, and 48 hours having now elapsed without his returning to the ship or Malackau, I con-

sider him a deserter, and that he had forfeited all claim to his wages.

A. Cheyne, Master.

...

Wednesday April 27th

... The King & Eareyekalow visited the ship. They say a good many canoes are out fishing for biche de mer. Anderson and Smith are living at Arakapasan, & Brown in the King's concubine house at Coroar. I asked the King for permission to go to Urakalong in the boat to purchase pigs and cocoanut oil, but he gave me no decided answer. They evidently do not like me to go to any of the other tribes, notwithstanding that they will not supply the ship with provisions themselves. They want the vessel to lay here and give them whatever they covet for nothing. Eyeuke took my canoe to town when I went to Yap, and I cannot get it back, and the King carried off my large canoe while I was at Manila and never returned it. These Coroar people are a set of downright treacherous pirates from the King down. The 17 bundles of new iron hoop they stole out of the Cazmarin last yeat while I was besieged in my house, has never been returned, notwithstanding the threatening letter from the British Vice-Consul at Manila to the King, James Gibbons and John Davey.

A. Cheyne

...

Friday 29th

... Shipped the last of the re-dried biche de mer from the Camarin & withdrew the men. Manila men employed on shore at my house during the afternoon, weeding and repairing the wreck of the plantation. Left a Manila boy in charge of the house. This is the first attempt I have made to retake possession of the house since Mr. Tetens left it last year...

...

Saturday April 30th

... George Smith asked permission to rejoin the ship yesterday as passenger, which I granted, and he came on board this morning with his things...

...

Thursday 5th

... The King and Eareyekalow visited the ship, the latter dined with me. He is about the most sensible chief in Coroar, but notwithstanding that I think he is a sharper I gave him an axe, 50 rounds Minie rifle cartridges & other things. He says he intends to put a stop to the thieving system that has been carried on lately by the Coroar people. I hope he is in earnest & may succeed, but I have little faith in any of their professions.

Friday 6th

... Observed the sun eclipsed in the morning. The eclipse commenced at 6h30 & ended about 9h30 A.M.

...

Monday 9th

... Arrakooker visited the ship, being his first visit since our arrival from Yap. I made him a present of 18 handkerchiefs, 1 N^o 1 pot, 3 tomahawks, 1 axe, 5 knives, 2 chisels, 1 14-inch rasp, 100 fish-hooks, and some percussion caps. He says a great many canoes are out fishing for biche de mer. Some Yap men called alongside in a new canoe they ahve made on their way to the Rocky Islands to quarry and dress a particular kind of stone used as money at Yap. They form it precisely similar to an upper millstone. It is to obtain this stone that they come here from Yap a distance of 220 miles in open canoes, without a compass, at the risk of their lives. They steer by the stars, and if the wind shifts they lay to until it becomes fair again. Numbers of them get lost on the passage, whilst others have made the Philippine Islands.

Tuesday 10th

... Carpenter making new wheels for the 9-pounder gun carriages...

...

Wednesday May 11th

... I received a note from John Brown yesterday of which the following is a copy:

"May 10th.

"Sir, I wish stop on the Pelow for I got no home and I like the place.

(Signed) *"John Brown."*

...

Friday 13th

... A hogshhead of ale drove on shore near Coroar about the 1st of April, while we were at Yap. The King brought the empty cask to me a few days ago but it is unfit for a water cask, the staves being bruised and worm-eaten. It appears to have been in the water for two or three months. It is evident some vessel has been wrecked to the eastward, probably on the Matelotes [Ngulu]. The following are the marks on the head of the cask, by which the vessel it was in may be identified.¹

“.4 \$331 W

“W. Younger

“Abbey Brewery

“Edingburg”

Acis

Malackau

May 12th 1864

A. Cheyne

Saturday May 14th

... Manila men cutting firewood at the rocky islands, and bringing it to the Camarin.

1 Ed. note: The possible result of the shipwreck of the Asterion in 1863, the shipwreck of the Liholiho at Oroluk.

Carpenter making deck buckets. James Gibbons & the King were on board to-day. The King wishes to recall the people from the rocky islands that are fishing for biche de mer, as the Urrakalong prophetess has sent an invitation to the Coroar people to go there to a feast, preparatory to general attack on Iboukith. I see it is useless trying to do any thing here, the natives being so deceitful. They promised me faithfully a few days ago that they would continue fishing for about twenty days longer but no confidence whatever can be put in their promises. Arrakooker had the impudence to ask me to-day to give him the schooner's long boat in exchange for a small boat shaped canoe Passeo has hollowed out of a tree for him. I told him, of course, that I would do no such thing. They are a perfect set of sharks and even want my chest of drawers and camphor wood trunks for nothing.

The King brought 40 lbs biche de mer, for which I paid him 2 flasks of powder, 1 tomahawk, 3 handkerchiefs, 2 knives & a cast steel chisel.

...

Monday 16th

... Found the taffrail decayed in places, took it off this afternoon to be replaced with a new one.

Tuesday 17th

... Carpenter on shore getting a piece of Malavi [molave] wood called here Barse [bars] for a new taffrail. He returned on board at night having cut a suitable tree down & partly squared it...

...

Friday 20th

... The tree cut by the Carpenter for a taffrail is too short. Sent him to the rocky islands to look for a suitable tree. He returned at 5h30 P.M. having cut one of a wood named Thurt,¹ very strong and durable. Two Manila men splitting firewood, others in the Camarin drying biche de mer.

...

Wednesday 25th

... The King & chiefs visited the ship & brought a little more biche de mer of a very inferior quality. I have received in all 4 piculs from them worth at Manila \$10-1/2 per picul = \$42, and for which I have paid them 80 half-pound tins of spring powder, worth in China \$1 per tin = \$80, and 36 coloured handkerchiefs worth 25 cents each = \$9, three tomahawks \$3, and 3 knives at 75 cents each = \$2.25, in all to the amount of \$94.25, therefore the chiefs owe me a balance of \$52.25 on the above.

Thursday 26th

... Carpenter finished the quarter rails, bolted them in their place. Very little biche de mer brought to the ship. They have either got very little, or they are keeping it back,

1 Ed. note: Now written 'dort'. It is the ironwood tree.

as usual.

...

Monday 30th

... We have only got 34 piculs biche de mer since we arrived from Yap, notwithstanding the chiefs' promises. I certainly expected to have got at least 100 piculs by what the King & Eareyekalow told me some time ago, but they are such consummate liars and rogues that they have evidently been deceiving me as usual...

Tuesday 31st

... Rove the running gear, sent the topgallant yard aloft and brought the last of the firewood on board. I see no use in staying here any longer, as we can hardly procure provisions enough for our daily consumption. Only one canoe alongside to-day.

Wednesday June 1st

... Employed getting ready for sea. Received two piculs of Korum room from Erturo in the evening. No chiefs on board to-day, and no taro brought. Received three old muskets from Simpson on loan. Bent sails in the afternoon.

Thursday 2nd

... The King, eareyekalow and other chiefs on board. Purchased four piculs biche de mer to-day. I sent John Brown the following goods [through] James Gibbons as an equivalent for his services on board the **Acis**, namely:—

15 tomahawks @ \$2 ... = \$30.00

36 handkerchiefs @ 25c ... = \$ 9.00

1 doz. knives ... = \$ 9.00

100 fish-hooks ... = \$ 2.00

\$50.00

The King says there is very little more biche de mer to come. If that is the case they have been lying and deceiving me as usual, but what can I expect from treacherous savages?

...

Sunday 5th

... Simpson has requested me to bring him the following things when I return, viz. 5 gallons paint oil, 1 keg of powder, 500 musket caps, 500 fowling piece caps, 1 band saw, 2 bags of small shot, white and blue cloth, 100 lbs soap, 1/2 picul coffee, & 12 gallons of rum, I suppose he wants the above for his trip to Yap?

A. C.

Monday 6th

... Hove the starboard anchor up, and took the thatched roof off the forecastle. I have appointed Pedro, a Manila boy, to take care of my house, boats, and plantation

during my absence. Sent a picul of rice to the house for his use. The Manila men employed on shore during the afternoon filling up sweet potatoes for Pedro's use. Simpson was anxious that I should leave him in charge of the house and plantation, and place Pedro under his orders, but on consideration I think better not to do so, as I know he is hostile to my forming an establishment on Malackau, and wants the whole island to himself.

Tuesday 7th

Light variable airs and calms. At 7h A.M. took the thatched roof off the quarter deck and put it below. Eareyekalow & Erturo came down from Coroar with two war canoes to tow us out but I did not think it prudent to attempt the passage without a breeze, it being spring tides. The chiefs and war canoes went to town in the evening. I gave Pedro 18 handkerchiefs, 3 tomahawks, 7 knives and a lot of fish-hooks to pay for taro. Pedro's wages is three dollars a month.

Wednesday 8th

Light variable airs throughout. At 1h P.M. weighed and towed outside malackan spit. Came to in 15 fathoms water into the outer harbour. Erturo slept on board. Calm & clear during the night.

...

Saturday June 11th

Light breeze from SE and fine. At noon, James Gibbons and Cloutrow came on board with a message from Abba Thulle and the Coroar chiefs in reply to a question I put to the King & Erturo yesterday, as to whether they would allow me to take the schooner to Aramanewie where my land is, to try if the natives there would fish Korum room for me, the wind being foul for getting to sea, and my expenses heavy, having a full crew on pay doing nothing. Gibbons said the chiefs would not agree to my request, as they intended to go to war with Iboukith and would not fish any more. I am now upwards of six months from Manila, and have only got 230 piculs in all, of very inferior biche de mer. My want of success is entirely owing to the treachery of the Coroar people who prevented me from getting a cargo at Yap where the slug was plentiful, by preventing the natives of that island from fishing, and they have incited the Yap people so much against me that it would hardly be safe going there again without a strong European crew.

A. Cheyne, Master.

Sunday 12th

Light variable airs and showery. The King, Eareyekalow, Erturo and other chiefs came on board to-day and said if I would remain they would fish for me. I told them they had deceived me so often that I had no confidence in their promises, but I would remain a day or two to see if they really intended to do so. They went to town in the evening. James Gibbons was the interpreter and said they would continue fishing until

they got me 7 boat loads equal to 200 piculs.

A. C.

...

Tuesday 14th

... As no person has been on board since Sunday, I went to town in the afternoon to see what the chiefs intended to do. I saw the King and Eareyekalow and learned from them that a number of canoes had gone out already to fish for biche de mer, and that Erturo had gone to Aramanewie this forenoon to send his people out fishing. His Majesty did not appear to be in a very good humour, and did not even ask me into his house. I returned on board at 5 P.M.

Wednesday June 15th

... At daylight weighed, warped and towed into the inner harbour. Moored with both bowers off Malackau pier, 45 fathoms chain on each. Unbent all sails, unrove running gear, and put up the thatched roof over the quarter deck. Not a native on board to-day Hauled the gig up at the Camarin.

...

Friday 17th

... At 11h A.M. left the ship in the cutter for Aramanewie. Arrived at Aramatengal at 4h30 P.M., and was well received by Erturo.

Saturday 18th

... At 5h started for Errakalong to purchase pigs for the vessel, arrived at Arabow at 9h P.M. and slept in the King's Pye. Heavy rain during the night.

Sunday 19th

... Visited Earowreakith, the Head Chief or King of Urrakalong, also the prophetess of Abewel, and Akwoang, chief of Mingelakal. The latter chief, who is a dwarf (and only weighs 80 lbs) was barely civil in consequence of my refusing to give him a bag of rice as payment for a pig at Malackau before I went to Yap. Returned to Arabow in the afternoon. Missed my spy-glass & umbrella, stolen through the carelessness of the carpenter last night. The prophetess was very hospitable and accommodating.

Monday 20th

... Went to the Island of Nurrakoor in the boat to take compass bearings accompanied by a picnic party of young ladies from Abewel. Returned to town at 6h P.M. My umbrella was recovered by Earowreakith this morning. Heavy rain at night.

Tuesday 21st

... Purchased a few small pigs at a high price. They will only dispose of the large ones for muskets and powder. Several canoes were out fishing for iche de mer on Sunday & yesterday, and got a good many of the 1st quality on the barrier reef. They seem eager

to get muskets and powder so as to be independent of Coroar; and no wonder, as the Coroar men treat the weaker tribes with great arrogance and injustice, and with them might makes right.

Made the latitude of Arabow wharf 7°46'28" N. Heavy rain all night.

Wednesday June 22nd

... The spy-glass was returned this morning on payment of a tomahawk to the chief for restoring it. At 8h A.M. left Urrakalong, having procured 26 small pigs. Arrived at malackan at 5h P.M./ Found all correct on board. I made the latitude of the Peaked Hill above Aramasaik (Aramanewie) at noon to-day to be 7°36'19" N.

...

[Over the next few days, Cheyne was making surveys of passages, taking soundings, taking bearings, deriving the latitudes of various points, etc.]

...

[Populatin of Palau; terraces]

Wednesday JUne 29th

... At 8h A.M. left Aramatengal for the ship. Erturo took a passage to Coroar in the boat, landed him there, and got on board at 3h P.M. Found all correct.

Note. I have on several occasions endeavoured to ascertain the number of inhabitants on the Pelew Islands. Erturo (who is the most intelligent chief on the Group) appears to me to be the best authority to go by. By his calculation the male from 15 years and upwards do not exceed 2,400 on the whole islands, which I believe to be a fair estimate. The islands are very thinly inhabited, and the population is decreasing fast. Erturo tells me that the Pelew Islanders have a tradition of a flood; that one woman with child escaped by getting on the Peaked hill of Aramanewie, and that the islands were again peopled from the offspring of this woman. All the hills on the Pelew Islands that are clear of timber are terraced and crowned with a square fort, having a deep and wide ditch round it, evidently done by the hands of another race—probably Chinese—long ago exterminated by the savage invaders who now occupy the soil. The Pelew Islanders when questioned about the terraced hills and forts say it was either done by the gods, or by the sea at the flood.

A. Cheyne

...

Friday July 1st

... Erturo, James Gibbons and several Coroar men came on board this morning, and brought 5 piculs of very inferior biche de mer. Neither the King nor Eareyekalow came. Gibbons says they have been told that I gave the Urrakalong people a musket when I was up there, and for that reason the King declines visiting the ship. This is a false statement as I gave them no musket. They have knocked off fishing some time ago by the King's orders. They have again deceived me, but what can I expect from such treacherous lying villains?

Went on Malackau Peak this morning and took a set of bearings. On comparing the bearings with those taken in the boat at the SW point of E... found an error in the compass of 16° westerly variation caused by local attraction. Therefore there must be iron ore in the rocks on Malackau. The summit of the peak is a mass of rock. A. C.

Saturday 2nd

... The King came on board this forenoon along with some Urrakalong men who brought 2-1/2 piculs biche de mer. He is now satisfied that I did not give the Urrakalong people a musket. He gave no decided answer to my enquiry as to whether they would go out fishing again or not. Sent the biche de mer to the Camarin to be re-dried.

...

Monday 4th

... Received from Eareyekalow's club 5 piculs of very inferior biche de mer consisting chiefly of small *blow*/[blaol]. The King, Erturo, Gibbons and others were on board to-day. I told the King that unless they commenced fishing again for the proper kind of slug, and brought what they have in their houses on board, I would leave and try and procure a cargo at some other island. There is not one honest straightforward point about these Coroar natives. From the King down they are a set of swindling avaricious Jews...

Erturo tells me that when the **Antelope** was wrecked on Oulong in 1783 the King & Coroar chiefs wanted to kill Captain Wilson and his crew, but Arrakooker, the King's successor would not give his consent. This alone saved them.

...

Sunday July 10th

... Abba Thulle, Erturo and other chiefs went to Arthkeep to-day to a feast prepared by the King's vile instrument, John Davey, who is in charge of that slave town. I rather think they have gone there chiefly to consult with Davey as to how they should act towards me. The King sent 3 baskets of taro this morning, which was very acceptable as we have had none for two days.

...

Tuesday 12th

SW winds & fine. 10h A. started from the ship in the cutter with 4 Manila men for Urrakalong. At 5h P.M. arrived at Nurrakoor and slept there under a cliff, it being low water. Had a look at the Arthmow passage in passing. There are two passages through the barrier reef 1/3 of a mile apart...

Wednesday 13th

Wind W. squally & fresh. Arrived at ARbow at 1h P.M Visited the prophetess & King Earowreakith, met with a very hospitable reception. Slept in the King's pye at Arabow.

Thursday 14th

Blowing fresh from WSW with squalls. Took bearings at the East extreme of Arabow & measured the pier as a base line, 150 fathoms in length. It formerly extended to the barrier reef to prevent their enemies, the Iboukith people, from getting to Arabow in their canoes but the enemy pulled the outer part of it down.

...

Sunday 17th

NW winds and squally with showers. Went to the Eastern barrier and fixed its position, then to Nurrakoor and observed the Mr. Alt. of sun there. Made the lat. of the NW point 7°49' N.

There are 5 Yapcanoes there waiting for fine weather to proceed to the matelotas [Ngulu]. Learned from the Yap men that the Coroar people have instructed them to cut off my vessel at Yap should I again go there; that no Coroar men will go in the ship, and that they will give the Yap men plenty of muskets for doing so, and that if they do not obey the Coroar chiefs' instructions, they will not get any more stone money.

Returned to Arabow at 4 P.M. Received a present from the chief women of Abewel of 14 small pigs, also cocoanuts and taro in abundance.

...

Tuesday 19th

At daylight light breeze from WSW and cloudy. 7h A.M. left Arabow, and passed Kolekal about 9h when it came to blow fresh, split the mainsail, anchored on the flat & repaired it by the time we had finished the breeze was too strong to proceed, went in a canoe creek at Kolekal and made fast to the mangroves, landed and had breakfast in a canoe shed. Afterwards on walking a few yards inland observed a man armed with spears lurking amongst the trees. On seeing me watching him, he pretended to be searching for something and disappeared. About noon, 4 natives came down to the canoe shed armed with spears, they asked how many men I had in the boat. As I observed something very suspicious about their movements, I went in the boat and loaded the rifle, where I remained. I have a suspicion that they have been instructed by the Coroar people to cut off the boat should she go there. At low water some men came in from the reef having been out fishing and amongst them was an elderly man named Atet who is the head chief of Kolekal. I gave him a little tobacco, which he smoked and then went down the creek to the flat. About half an hour after he was brought into the creek in a canoe, **dead**, having dropped down in the canoe when out fishing. They then commenced blowing the war conch, when we shoved the boat out, and went back to Arabow.

Wednesday 20th

A.M. violent squalls from SW with rain. At daylight light breeze and gloomy. At 9h it commenced to blow and rain and continued so during the day. There are two Ka-leath's [*chelid*] at Urrakalong, both women. They are wives to the God of Urrakalong; one lives at Abewel, the other at Koleakal. It is astonishing the power they have over

the natives; even the chiefs are afraid to offend them. The prophetess of Abewel said this morning that the God of Urrakalong, who is named Eareyedamy, told her last night that he had killed Atet yesterday, because he had not given her presents.

In a conversation with one of the Yap chiefs this morning, he advised me to go to Tomeel, call a meeting of the chiefs on board, and give them presents as follows: To Meyroor a large present; to Tape, Rule, Ghoroar, Ile Ile, & Geleveth a present each of the same value and amount; give each town a musket with ammunition, and Mayroor 4, and other goods to Mayroor in proportion. He says by acting thus, they will all be well peased and get me a cargo...

...

Friday 22nd

Fresh breeze from SSW and clear. 8 A.M. started for Malackau. Had to beat the whole way to Arthmow, which place we reached at 5h P.M. The Arthmow people thought I had a lot of Coroar men concealed in the boat, and formed their canoes in line of battle outside the mangrove bushes, about 400 yards from the boat. The chief's nephew hailed me in English, and invited me to town. I told him to come to the boat, but he said if he did he would be killed by the Coroar men in the boat, and I could not convince him to the contrary. At dusk, the tide having made, I left them, and poled the boat along the shore to Urrgelwung, which place we reached at 10 P.M. Slept there.

Saturday 23rd

Light southerly winds and fine clear weather. Left Ungelwung at 6h A.M. 7 arrived on board at 5h P.M. Found all correct.

...

Wednesday 27th

... Erturo, who has an eye to business, notwithstanding that he is the most straightforward native in the Group, asked me to give him my music box to-day, which I shall be obliged to do, or offend him...

...

Saturday 6th [August]

Light breeze from South & fine clear weather. 7h A.M. started for Malackau, and arrived on board at 2h P.M. Fojnd all correct. No natives have been on board during my absence, & no taro to be procured from the King...

Sunday 7th

Light southerly winds and fine weather. Went to Eyery [Airai] to-day with Erturo in the cutter, and were hospirtably received.

Monday 8th

Light southerly winds and fine. Examined the harbour and reefs in the cutter, and made a rough survey of the place. The entrance to the harbour is 30 fathoms wide. The course in is NNE1/2E and then NW by N. It is a safe little harbour for 2 or 3 small ves-

sels, 2 cables in extent; the best anchorage is in 7 fathoms mud with the house on the pier head bearing W by N3/4N, and the NE or East side of pier Island South. In the entrance the depth is 7 fathoms & when inside 12. 11. 12. 13. 10. 9. 7. Fresh water, firewood, pigs and taro can be obtained.

In the afternoon went to Koykool and had a view of ARtingal & the reefs from the hill above that village. Took bearings of the principal points & reefs. Returned to Eyery, & slept in the chief's pye along with Erturo.

Tuesday 9th

Light southerly winds and fine. Visited Koykool with the Eyery chiefs, and received presents of pigs, fowls, cocoanuts, and taro. Returned to Eyery in the evening.

Wednesday 10th

Light southerly winds & fine. 10h A.M. left Eyery for the ship and arrived on board at sunset. Made a rough survey of the Erkethow passage on the way.

...

Monday 15th

WSW winds and fine clear weather. Took the thatched roof off the forecastle & unmoored.

Tuesday 16th

Light breeze from W by S & fine weather. Took the roof off the quarter deck & put it below, bent the mainsail & topgallant sail. Erturo & Arrakooker came down in the morning with a war canoe to tow us out, but the wind was too scant to attempt it.

Comparison of the barometer & aneroid: Bar. 29.80, An. 29.94 Air [temp.] 87° [F].

Wednesday 17th

Light breeze from West & fine clear weather. 7h A.M. weighed & proceeded in tow of a war canoe and the boat, made sail, when near the passage. 8h30, got safe out clear of the reef. All natives left the ship, in boats, and stood to the southward, taking bearing to test the accuracy of my chart. Fount it pretty correct. At noon Lat. Obs. 7°7'30" N., the small sandy island of Earakong bearing west & Malackau Peak N by W 7/8 W. Steering SE during the afternoon. Midnight light breeze from West and clear.

...

[Cheyne was going towards New Guinea. He visited the islands formerly visited by Tetens: Commerson, Anachoretas, and and Hermit Islands area, and found much trepang on the reefs, but the natives were too afraid and unable to provide provisions to the ship. So, Cheyne soon decided to head for Yap.]

...

Friday Septr 23rd

A.M. unsteady breeze & gloomy to the northward...

Note. I went on deck at 3 A.M. and found Peter Johnson who was in charge of the

watch sound asleep, & no one awake but the Manila man at the wheel. The weather very squally & unsettled.

...

[Drift voyages.—Eauripik]

Wednesday Sept 28th

A.M. light breeze & cloudy. 6h saw the Kama Isles [Eauripik] from aloft bearing NW1/2W distant 10 or 11 miles. Stood towards them. 8h45, hove to off the eastwesternmost islet. Saw some natives on the reef waving a blue flag on a stick. At 10oh two small canoes came off with 6 men, & informed me in the Pelew language that they were Yap men, 16 in number, who had arrived here 2 months ago in 2 canoes from the Island of Samar, where they got drifted in the year 1861 on their return to Yap from the Pelew Islands, & had been at Samar for 3 years. They started from Samar about the 1st of June last on their return to Yap, missed it & had been drifting about for 2 months before they reached this place. They begged a passage to Yap, which I was glad to have it in my power to give them. At sunset 11 Yap men came on board, the other 5 preferring to remain here. They found on arrival only 1 man, 10 women & 4 children inhabiting the Kama Isles. 8h P.M. made sail & proceeded on our voyage. The canoe that brought them went back to the island.

The East & West Islets bear respectively W by N3/4N & E by S3/4S, about 2-1/2 miles distant from each other. The extent of the Group from breakers to breakers E and West will be nearly 3- 1/2 miles. The largest island is scarcely half a mile in length, covered with cocoanut trees, and all sand. The West one about 1/4 miles in extent & is the resort of numerous birds. The easternmost islet is not a cable in extent. It has a few cocoanut trees on it. The natives live on cocoanuts and fish. Made the East extreme in Lat. 6°e40' N. Longitude by chronometer 143°4'45" subject to correction for error of the watch when I get to Yap. Lat. by Obs. 6°41', Long. by Obs. 143°4' E.

...

Sunday Oct. 2nd

A.M. light baffling airs & calms. Midnight light airs & fine. Lat. by Obs. 8°13' N. Long. by Obs. 140°32' E. On arrival at Yap I found the chron. 5' W of the ship (Malackau 134°32") but if Malackau (which agrees with Euripig and the Monjes [at Anchorettes]) is in 134°32', Sorol is in 140°28' and Eauripig in 143°11'45". This is the true position of the said islands.

A. Cheyne

...

Wednesday Oct. 5th

A.M. light breeze & fine weather. At daylight saw the McKenzie's Group [Ulithi] bearing N., distant 4 miles. Hove to near the SW Islet & was boarded by some canoes. Stook off & on during the day trading for cocoanuts, & at sunset made sail & stood to the southward. The natives appear a very quiet & inoffensive race. I allowed them all on deck...

[Fais produced tobacco]

Note. Tromelin [Fais] Isle of the charts is called Wyaye. It produces yams, sweet potatoes, taro & tobacco. MacKenzies Group are all sandy islands & produce no yams or potatoes, nor tobacco. Breadfruit, cocoanuts and fish form the food of the inhabitants.

...

Saturday Oct. 8th

A.M. light breeze & clear. At daylight saw Yap ahead distant 18 miles. At noon was boarded by several canoes off the entrance of Tomeel Harbour. 4h P.M. Funowy & Young Tomack came on board from Gheroar. I told them I was in want of water & provisions, but they did not seem to wish me to go inside. They left at sunset for Gheroar. Gheroar is at war with the adjoining tribe, & they have burned all their houses. Standing off & on during the night...

Fathing, the chief of Mayreur came on board to-day, & said the Tomeel people wished me to go into harbour, & that the Tomeel war party would supply the ship, and collect what biche de mer was left on the reefs for me, provided I gave them the firearms on board...

Sunday Oct. 9th

A.M. steady breeze from ENE & fine. At 11h A.M. entered Tomeel Harbour & moored in our old berth off the Camarin Island with both bowers 45 fathoms chain in each. A great number of canoes followed us in, and during the afternoon we had the deck full of natives all peaceable and well behaved, quite different from what they were when we left in April last. The natives appear as peaceable that I have not as yet put the boarding nettings up, and hope I shall have no occasion to use them this time.

Monday 10th

... In the afternoon the head men of the war party came on board in a very friendly manner, and expressed their willingness to collect what biche de mer is left for me, and furnish the ship with provisions.

Tuesday 11th

... Unrove the running gear, and set up all the standing rigging fore and aft. Sent the boat for water in the morning. In the afternoon the two oldest Tomacks visited the ship, and the Mayreur club commenced putting up a thatched roof over the quarter deck as formerly. A great number of men on board, also several women and children, all peaceable & well behaved. The Yap men that I brought from Euripig went home to-day.

Wednesday 12th

... The Mayreur club finished the roof over the quarter deck, and put one up over the forecastle. Faetin, the King of Tomeel, visited the ship. He told me that when Mr. Tetens was here the first voyage with John Davey as supercargo, that Davey did all in

his power to incite the whole of the Tomeel people against me, and that the Coroar men when in irons last year wanted the Tomeel people to kill us all and take the ship, and again on my return here in February last they still kept inciting the Tomeel people to take the ship, saying that it was my intention to fire on the town, and abusing me in every possible way, also telling them that if they did not kill me and destroy the vessel that I would return and arm the other tribes against them. They appear now to see how they have been duped by the Pelow people, and I firmly believe intend to act right towards me. What a wonderful change the absence of Pelow men in the ship has made. The Tomeel people who were thirsting for my blood six months ago are now as harmless as lambs. The deck full of natives to-day, and a perfect swarm of children amongst them, male & female all peaceable and friendly.

A. Cheyne, Master.

Thursday Oct. 13th

... The Mayreur club repaired the CAmarin, and I paid them this afternoon one musket, some powder & ball for the above, and putting roofs over the vessel. The deck was full of Tomeel men this afternoon, all peaceable and friendly. What a contrast to last voyage! When I had Davey & Simpson for the ostensible purpose of protecting me, but they without doubt came to have the vessel cut off. The King of Rule's son, named Ringenebay, tells me that they intended to take the vessel the two last voyages, but that the only enemy I have now is Young Tomack, who is at Gheroar with Funowy. He says the Coroar people incited this Tomack against me. We have now no boarding netting up, and only three Europeans besides myself on board. Last voyage we mustered eight Europeans, and had to be constantly armed, now it is very different. What villains there are in this world under the guise of friends, and Davey and Simpson are a sample of them.

Friday 14th

... Landed the two try-pots in the morning, and the Mayreur club commenced fishing for Korum Room in the afternoon. They are to cure it themselves and do not want any of my people on shore. Every thing has a friendly and promising appearance now, and I think will continue so.

Saturday 15th

... The Tomeel people fishing for Korum room. Five canoes went to the barrier reef last night & got 280 large biche de mer. At 9h30 P.M., the moon being full, and the sky clear I heard the cries of men near the Tomeel pier calling for assistance, the war conchs sounded immediately to arms, and we heard the rush of the Tomeel men running over the flats, as if fighting. At 10-1/2 noise ceased, and two Tomeel men came on board and told me that two Tomeel men who were collecting Korum room on the flat had been attacked by 10 men in 2 canoes, who had thrown all their spears at them without effect. The men in the canoes escaped and they suppose them to be Gasapar people. This was

a daring thing to come in front of the town in a clear moonlit night.

Sunday 16th

... The King of Tomeel & the two elder Tomacks came on board in the morning to consult with me as to how I would act, if the Gasapar people and their allies made a general attack on the town of Tomeel. I told them I must remain neutral unless an attack was made or meditated on the vessel, and in that event only could I act with them. They were satisfied & went on shore at noon.

...

Thursday 20th

... Funoway returned to Gheroar in the morning. A great number of visitors on board to-day all very friendly. In the evening Fadthing, the chief of Ile Ile, visited the ship. He tells me the Coroar people and Davey amongst the number made all the mischief during the two last voyages, and wanted the Yap people to kill us all and take the vessel. He says now that I have come alone, there is an end of all mischief. Received 80 baskets of yams and potatoes from the Kaneef people as a present for bringing the men from Euripig, or the Kama Isles...

...

Wednesday 26th

... Four Manila men cutting and bringing firewood to the Camarin. Discharged some ballast & dunnaged the main hold. Gave a quantity of goods to the Mayreur club as payment for the biche de mer they have collected and cured since our arrival. Fifty-four tubs of raw slugs brought to the Camarin to-day by the Tomeel people. Faetin, King of Tomeel, the head chiefs of Rule and Ile Ile went to Gheroar to-day to hold a council of war with their allies.

...

Wednesday Nov. 9th

... Some canoes from Ile Ile came alongside at daylight with yams, fowls, biche de mer and Wyaye [Fais] tobacco for sale, which I purchased. Peter Johnson purchased a large cylinder three parts full of tobacco from them without asking permission or letting me know that he had done so, and Frederick Garraway purchased a roll of leaf tobacco also without my permission or knowledge. As tobacco is of great value here at present, the Yap crops having failed, and as those two men signed Articles at Manila not to trade or barter without special permission asked and granted under a penalty of the articles so purchased being forfeited, and a fine of one hundred dollars, I demanded the tobacco from them which they delivered up, and read over to them the above clause in the Articles, & told them that it would depend entirely on their future good behaviour whether I fined them or not.

Andrew Cheyne, Master.

Thursday 10th

... Gave Garraway back the tobacco I seized yesterday and Johnson a portion of

his, as they have none to smoke.

Friday 11th

... Four Manila men on shore cutting firewood. Fourteen tubs of raw slug taken to the Camarin to-day. Every thing going on peaceable and friendly. All the Yap people say the Pelow men were the cause of all the mischief the two last voyages.

...

Rriday 18th

... Four men cutting and bringing firewood to the CAMarin. As the Tomeel people have knocked off fishing, I paid the Camarin men to-day for curing what we have got here (57 piculs).

...

Wednesday 23rd

... The remainder of the Rule biche de mer did not come to-day. Took the try-pots on board and put them below.

Thursday 24th

... Rove the running gear, filled the water up below and various other jobs. The Rule biche has not come yet, owing I am told, to the illness of the King of Rule's wife.

Friday 25th

... I heard from Rule that they want a musket for the remainder of their biche de mer which is the reason they are keeping it back.

Saturday 26th

... No perosn on board from Rule to-day, and no intelligence from Roonoo or Ghe-roar. The King was on board to-day and wishes me to give the Rule people a musket, but the Mayreur war party will not give their sanction. Saky, a Tomeel man, told me last night that the Coroar men I had here with me in the brig **Naiad** in 1843 wanted the Tomeel people to cut off the vessel and murder us all. John Davey was then with me as interpreter and must have known of it, but concealed it from me.

A. Cheyne, Master.

...

[Drift voyages—Moluccas to Ulithi area]

Monday 28th

... Employed getting ready for sea. Bent sails & took the gig on deck. Fathing, the head chief of Ile Ile, brought 5 shipwrecked Malays on board at my request. Four of them were blown off from the island of Siorew [Siao?] in a gale of wind in August last, and drifted or sailed to a small island to the eastward of McKenzie's group called Fais in the charts, and Wyaye by the natives. They were brought here a month ago by some Ile Ile men. The other belonged to a Malay vessel which reached McKenzie's Group, where the greater portion were killed by the natives for the sake of plunder. This man

and three others now at Gasapar were brought to Yap. The Gasapar people do not seem inclined to release the other three.

...

Wednesday 30th

... Received 7 pots from Roonoo, also the pots from Rule. Not able to get out, the wind being foul. At daylight three Malays came on board, having made their escape from Gasapar in the night, and begged me to give them a passage to China, which I agreed to. They belonged to the Malay vessel that had the greater portion of her crew killed at McKenzie's Group, and were brought to Yap by Gasapar people.

At sunset George Smith and Frederick Garraway were quarrelling and inclined to fight, which I prevented. George Smith accused Garraway of being a thief, and shortly after dark Garraway came to me, and said it was true he was a thief, as he stole half a bag of rice from the ship's stores when I was absent from the ship, and gave to John Simpson at Malackau; he said I could imprison him if I liked for doing so.

A. Cheyne, Master.

...

[To China]

Friday Dec. 2nd

A.M. light airs & clear. 10h steady breeze from the northward & clear. Weighed and made sail. 11h got clear out to sea. In boat & stood away for the S. point of Yap. Ringabay boarded us outside the barrier reef, and I gave him 2 old muskets with ammunition.

P.M. 6h, the centre of Yap bore East distant 16 miles. Gave orders to the steward, Francisco Donato, to serve out salt pork to the Manila men tomorrow. A. C.

Midnight fresh breeze & clear, all sail set.

Saturday Dec. 3rd

A.M. fresh breeze & clear. All sail set. The steward, Francisco Donato, disobeyed the orders I gave him yesterday, and gave the Manila men 6 fowls for their breakfast. I told him I should charge him \$1-1/2 for the fowls. A. C.

... Lat. by Obs. 10°53' N., Long. by Obs. 137°6' E.

...

[They passed the Bashi Islands on 9 December, then ran into stormy weather in the China Sea.]

...

Sunday Dec. 11th

A.M. blowing hard with a heavy breaking sea. 4h, took the foresail in, & furled it. 4h30, a heavy sea struck the starboard quarter & carried away the bulwarks & smashed the rail from the taffrail to the main rigging.; Furled the topsail, and hove to under the close-reefed mainsail & fore topgallant staysail.

Noon, strong gales & overcast with a heavy sea running.

P.M. The steward informed me that the whole fowls in the gig—90 in number—had

died through a quantity of water in the boat which no one had bailed out.

Midnight Ditto weather. Lat. by est. 21°40' N., Long. by est. 117°55' E.

...

Wednesday Dec. 14th

A.M. light breeze & cloudy. 7h a Macao pilot came on board. 9h weighed & stood in for Macao Harbour. 10h30 moored in Macao Harbour with both bows.

Noon, went on shore & consigned the ship to E. L. Lanca, Esqur., British Consular Agent.

2h P.M. a cargo boat came alongside. Landed 700 baskets of biche de mer...

[From Manila back to Palau]

Friday Feb'y 13th 1865

A.M. light easterly winds & fine. In boat & got ready for sea. 5h P.M. was cleared by the Captain of the Port and Custom House. Weighed & made sail...

Mr. Bacon [the new Mate] & three seamen shipped here, joined the vessel yesterday. Nigel's wages commence on the 8th.

...

[The schooner sailed by Mindoro, Abblon, Quiniluban, Panay, Negros, MIndanao, Sanboanga, Sarangani, Salibabo, and towards Palau.]

...

Tuesday March 7th

A.M. fresh breeze & cloudy. 2h tacked to the northward. At daylight Angour in sight ahead from aloft. 9h30, rounded the South point of Angour...

Wednesday March 8th

A.M. moderate breeze & clear. 3h tacked to the northward. At daylight saw the land just rising. Noon, abreast of Earakong, the East extreme of Urukthapel bearing North.

P.M. steady breeze & clear. Tacking frequently during the afternoon. 4h30 tacked to the eastward & stood off till midnight. Midnight fresh breeze & cloudy. Tacked to the northward.

Thursday March 9th

A.M. fresh breeze & cloudy. At daylight squally with rain. Noon, entered Malackau Roads standing off & on till 3h P.M. when we bore up for the harbour. 5h came to in 15 fathoms off the Camarin, veered chain to 45 fathoms and furled sails...

Friday March 10th

Fresh NE winds and fair weather throughout. Out boats. Went on shore and had a look at my house and plantation. Found Pedro had kept it in good order. The King visited the ship and appeared friendly. Eyeuke and other Coroar men, also Koback were on board, and appeared pleased to see us back. Hauled the Sampan up in the Camarin.

Saturday 11th

... The King, Arungoolby, Okerthow and James Gibbons were on board to-day. The natives appeared changed since yesterday, being shy and excited. I expected a visit from Eareyekalow and Arrakooker to-day, but they did not come. Gave Arrakooker a double-barreled gun as a present, also powder, caps, &c. along with it.

...

Monday 13th

... The King & chiefs visited the ship. I gave them 16 new muskets in return for 16 old ones given me last year, which I sold at Yap. I also gave them 2000 percussion caps. John Davey, Simpson and Gibbons were also on board. Cleaned the guns and blacked them, dried sails &c. Carpenter repairing the whale boat on shore.

...

Thursday 16th

... Went to Eery to-day on a visit and slept there. I took Erturo, Eyeuke, Korum, & Erturo's son-in-law (an Eery man) with me from Coroar. In the evening in the chief's pye, I overheard a treacherous conversation respecting myself between Eyeuke, Korum & the other men. Eyeuke was planning with the others as to **how they were to kill me**. Eyeuke proposed to spear me at night, or throw me overboard out of the boat on my return to Malackau. Some days ago I overheard the Coroar chiefs on deck talking about taking the ship, & Gibbons told them if they did so, that a man-of-war would search for us.

Friday March 17th

... Left Eery at 9h A.M. and reached the ship at 11h. Employed splitting firewood &c. A large supply of fowls brought to the ship for white beads, four of which purchase one fowl.

Saturday 18th

... The King and Erturo were on board, and informed me that Akalap had sent a message to Urrakalong saying they were desirous to make peace, which I recommended them by all means to do.

Sunday 19th

Light northerly winds and fine weather. At 9h A.M. started for Aramanewie & Urrakalong in the cutter, called at Coroar for Erturo. After we had gone a little way from Coroar, I observed a canoe with a low Coroar chief make sail after us. Erturo said he was going to accompany the boat to Urrakalong, and appeared very fidgetty & uneasy. I asked him if any thing was wrong. He said he did not know, that he was not afraid and that he and I was a match for twenty Pelow men, that if they killed me they would have to kill him too, and that the Coroar people had been talking bad last night. On

hearing this I went back to the ship, and told him to send word to Aramanewie for the chiefs to come down to get paid for the biche de mer I got from them last year. I gave Erturo a double-barrelled gun, a musket, 2 tins of powder & 500 percussion caps and sent him to town in the gig at 7h P.M. James Williams and Charles Robertson on shore on liberty.

...

Tuesday 21st

... Erturo, Abba Thjulle, Eareyekalow and Arrakooker were on board to-day trying to persuade me to remain here and they would collect biche de mer for me, but they are such adepts in trickery and low cunning, and have deceived me so often that I have no faith in their promises, nor do I consider it safe to remain, as I overheard them some days ago planning to take the ship, and James Gibbons who was present, told them that if they did so a man-of-war would search for us. The manila carpenter deserted to-day taking all his clothes & tools along with him. A. C.

Wednesday 22nd

... Finished wooding and watering. Dug up a quantity of sweet potatoes on Malackau and brought them on board. In the afternoon James Williams, an Irishman, was very insubordinate while at work; in fact, he has been so during the greater part of the time since we left manila, setting all authority at defiance, and making use of very bad language which disgusts even the naked savages of the Pelew Islands, and the mate, Mr. Bacon, has lost all control over the crew. This Williams came aft the other day and threatened to knock him down, which he, the mate, submitted to quietly, and when spoken to about it, he commenced crying like a child. The crew are a bad lot, just the sweepings of ships. As it would be impossible for me to make a voyage with the crew in this state, I determined to make an example of Williams, the ringleader, and told Mr. Bacon to tell this Williams that he must either leave the ship or I should be compelled to confine him. He said he would neither leave the ship nor submit to be confined. Mr. Bacon commenced crying and told me if he attempted to secure the man he would get his brains knocked out. The Boatswain refused to assist the mate, alleging that he would get his brains knocked out too, if he interfered and told me it was the mate's fault that the crew were insubordinate. I told them to think the matter over quietly during the night.

Thursday 23rd

Northerly winds and fine weather. In the morning Williams and Markman came aft. Williams said he would take his discharge if I would let Markman go with him as a companion. I told him I had no cause of complaint against Markman and refused to discharge him, unless I could get a substitute. I sent to town to John Brown who left me last voyage to know if he would ship. He came on board at once & I shipped him,

& discharged Williams & Markman according to their request, and paid them their wages in full. Mr. Bacon begged me to allow him to go on shore also, as he said he could not hold his head up before the crew, which I agreed to...

At 3h P.M., weighed, made sail and stood out of the harbour. At 4h30 got clear out to sea. In boat & stood to the eastward close-hauled, wind NNE. Midnight light breeze & clear.

...

Thursday March 30th

Lat. by Obs. 9°11' N., Long. by Obs. 138°20' E.

6h P.M. saw the Island of Yap bearing WSW dist. 15 miles. Shortened sail and stood to the SE.

Friday March 31st

A.M. strong breeze & cloudy. 4h wore ship to the northward and made sail 6 h saw Yap bearing NW by W. Noon rounded the North end of Yap, & hove to off Roonoo [Runu] to communicate with the natives. Several canoes came off during the afternoon. The natives informed me that Tomeel was at war with Gasapar. Sent word to the King of Geleveth [Gillifith] to know if he would allow his people to fish for me. Standing off and on during the night...

Saturday April 1st

Strong easterly winds and hazy. The King of Geleveth's son came on board at 9h A.M. and said the people in his tribe and Roonoo were very willing to fish biche de mer for me. I gave him a musket as a present. Standing off and on during the day between Kaneef and Gheroar. At sunset passed Gheroar & kept beating to windward during the night.

Sunday 2nd

Unsteady easterly winds and showery throughout. At 9h A.M. off the entrance to Tomeel Harbour. Some Tomeel men came alongside wanting me to go to Tomeel with the vessel, but I told them I could not do so, on account of their being at war with Obegole, but intended to go to Rule, to which they were very averse. Funowy of Gheroar was on board in the evening, and said he would fish for me for muskets & powder. He went away at sunset. Standing off and on during the night.

Monday 3rd

ENE winds and cloudy. At 3h P.M. entered Tomeel Harbour. After making a few tacks, came to an anchor off Rule, veered chain to 45 fathoms & furled sails.

Tuesday 4th

... Faetin & the Tomeel chiefs visited the ship. Gave the War party a musket, some

ammunition & caps, also 1 piece Turkey red, 1 doz. chisels, 1 doz. butcher knives, 50 steels & flints, 300 beads & 3 axes as a present. I also gave the King of Ile Ile a musket as a present, with powder, caps and lead. Funowoy of Gheroar came up for pots. I gave him thirteen, also a musket and other things to the same amount as I gave Mayreur this forenoon. At 11h P.M. he left the ship for Gheroar.

Wednesday 5th

... I was told that Faetin & the Tomeel chiefs were at Rule to-day assisting at the roofing of a new pye for Okeragoke. Butoon came up from Gheroar with cocoanuts, and slept on board.

Thursday 6th

... In the afternoon a great number of Tomeel men came alongside, and at the same time a number of canoes came off from Rule full of men. As this looked suspicious I only admitted a few. Faetin took eight pots to distribute for boiling biche de mer.

Friday April 7th

... As the natives appear unsettled I have not yet decided whether I shall remain at Rule or go to Tomeel with the vessel.

Saturday 8th

... The King of Tomeel, Fadthing of Ilele, and the principal men from Mayreur were on board to-day apparently friendly and said if I would take the vessel to Tomeel they would get Geleveth to collect bivche de mer for me, which I agreed to. I gave the King a musket, and some ammunition as a present.

Sunday 9th

... No work done. A number of visitors on board, all friendly. At 4h P.M. observed a fleet of Gasapar canoes go to Obagole; the Tomeel people are expecting an attack from them tomorrow. Rain all night.

Monday 10th

... No attack made on Tomeel by Obadole...

...

Saturday 15th

Moderate breeze from NE and cloudy. Warped up to Tomeel and moored with both bowers off the Camarin with 45 fathoms cable on each anchor. The Tmeel people assisted us to warp up, and appear friendly.

Sunday 16th

... The King came on board this morning, and asked me to fire a gun or two by way of a salute as customary, to shew the Yap people that we were on good terms, which I willingly agreed to...

...

Monday 24th

Employed rattling down the rigging. Gave Geleveth 22 N° 1 pots to boil biche de mer in, also 8 axes and 24 knives. A number of men and children on board, all friendly.

...

Thursday 11th [May 1865]

... Employed repairing sails & clearing the fore hold. Funowoy of Gheroar came up to-day with fowls, & returned in the evening. The Gheroar people killed a man yesterday belonging to Ally, the town the Gheroar people stormed and burnt last year. The Gheroar people are fishing for biche de mer, but they have not got much. I believe the Tomeel people have put every obstacle in their way, aso as to prevent them getting muskets from me as payment for biche de mer.

...

Saturday 13th

... The Mayreur men returned from Geleveth last night, and said the Geleveth people had only got 50 small baskets of biche de mer cured. I expected they had 500 baskets by this time, as they got 26 pots three weeks ago. Probably the Tomell people have prevented them from fishing, thinking they would get muskets as payment.

At 7h P.M. I heard the war whoop and conchs blowing at Tomeel as if the town was attacked, and when the moon rose at 9h o'clock I observed a large canoe inshore of us with 10 men in her lurking along the edge of the reef about 200 yards from the vessel, and remained there till after Midnight when they went slowly towards Broomoo. They evidently intended mischief, but finding us on the alert they made no attack.

Sunday May 14th

... In the morning I sent for the King, & requested an explanation of last nights' proceedings. He said the war chouts & conchs blowing were in consequence of information received from Geleveth last evening that Abalew(?) had killed a man belonging to Okon yesterday morning. Okon being friendly to Gasapar, the Tomeel people were rejoicing at the event. As to the canoe he said she must have intended to attack the ship.

Monday 15th

... Having been here now six weeks without getting one picul of biche de mer, I have made up my mind to leave this at once, as the natives are such a treachjerous lying set that I can put no dependence whatever in what they say. Sent the main topmast and topgallant yard up, and rove some of the running gear.

Tuesday 16th

ENE winds in the morning, and East in the afternoon. The King came on board, and said if I would stay he would postpone the war with Obagole until my departure, and try and get a cargo for the vessel. After some consideration I agreed to do so. He then went to Rule and returned with Okeragoke, to whom I gave a musket as a present, the Rule people having consented to fish. A number of Geleveth men came up from Gheroar all armed and equipped for war. They went away in the evening. At 11h P.M. the watch called me and said there was a small canoe lurking under the bows. On looking with the night glass, I observed it was a bamboo raft with one man on it. He kept coming and going until 3h30 A.M. when he went away. I kept a lookout on the bowsprit until 4h A.M. It appeared to me that he intended to set fire to the thatched roof over the forecabin, as I observed a coconut husk burning on his raft, but he was afraid to approach near enough.

...

Saturday May 20th

... Finished repairing the windlass. The King was on board to-day. The Tomeel people brought 2 pots of raw Korum room to the Camarin to-day. Purchased some firewood from Rule men. The King of Geleveth's son, Lemore, was on board in the evening and said they had a good deal of biche de mer cured. Okon, Lukon and Ally are organizing a force to attack Gheroar.

Sunday 21st

... No work done on board. The Obagole people and Allies made an attack on Tomeel at 1h P.M. but were repulsed without loss on either side...

...

Friday 26th

... Employed variously. Took the Sampan on deck, and shifted some worm-eaten plank in her bottom. A crowd of Geleveth men on board to-day. No biche de mer brought to the Camarin to-day, the Tomeel people being engaged entertaining their Allies, who are having a war dance at Tomeel, at the request of the King...

...

Tuesday 30th

... Shipped from the Camarin 2320 lbs of cured Korum room. Cleared and dunnaged the after hold and stowed the biche de mer there. The different tribes are still at Tomeel feasting and preparing for war. The King was on board yesterday and I urged him to make the Geleveth people bring what biche de mer they have cured so as I may know what they have got.

...

Monday 5th [June]

... Took the try-pot on board from the Camarin, and the last of the Tomeel Korum room—150 lbs. Received 120 lbs biche de mer from Ootolap. Funowy's canoe came up with coconuts and fowls, but did not bring the pots and biche de mer as ordered on

Wednesday last, nor has the Geleveth slug come yet.

Tuesday 6th

... Bent sails, swayed the main topmast up &c. Received 400 lbs biche de mer from Rule, 200 lbs from Odugor, and 400 lbs from Tillingeeth. Also the try-pot from Rule. The Tomeel people say the Geleveth biche de mer is to come tomorrow.

Wednesday June 7th

... Employed watering and getting reedy for sea. Purchased a little biche de mer. The Geleveth biche de mer did not come to-day.

Thursday 8th

... The Geleveth people brought their biche de mer to Kiragay to-day.

Friday 9th

... Received from Geleveth 8316 lbs of Korum room, for which I paid them 5 muskets, 5 tins of powder, some caps & 30 lbs lead, in addition to 2 muskets, 4 tins of powder cartridges, lead, caps, 8 axes & 24 knives paid them before. Stowed the biche de mer in the after hold. Sent Saky to Gheroar with the Sampan to bring Funow's biche de mer up.

Saturday 10th

... Received from Geleveth 3701 lbs biche de mer, and from Funow of Gheroar 5118 lbs of mixed biche de mer. Stowed it in the afterhold. Funow returned to Gheroar at 9h P.M. Heavy rain with thunder & lightning at night.

Sunday 11th

... Cleared hawse, unroofed the quarter deck and bent the mainsail and topgallant sail. A number of natives on board.

Monday 12th

A.M. light breeze from NE & cloudy. 6h A.M. unroofed the forecastle, and unmoored at 7h A.M. A great number of natives alongside with coconuts, potatoes and fowls for sale. At 11h A.M. weighed, made sail and stood out to sea.

P.M. wind light with passing showers. 2h P.M. off Gheroar. The King of Rule's son, Ringenabay with six Rule men came on board as passengers to the Pelew Islands, also a Tomeel man named Fithakaak. 3 P.M. off the south reef, shaped a course for the Pelew Islands SW by W1/2W. At 4h A.M. felt a severe shock of an earthquake, which made the houses in Tomeel dance. The natives made a great noise on shore blowing conchs to propitiate the gods.

...

Thursday June 15th

A.M. fresh breeze from N by E and cloudy 10h saw the Pelew Islands, Urrakalong bearing SW by W 1/2 W, distant 20 miles. 1h P.M. close in shore, off Urrakalong, steering to the southward along the reef for Artingal. At 5h off Artingal, shortened sail and stood off for the night...

Friday 16th

A.M. calm, current drifting the ship to the SW. At daylight off the Horse-shoe reef between Every and Malackau Roads. During the forenoon light variable airs with squalls of rain. At 2h P.M. Simpson came off in a canoe, and informed me that Bacon and the two men that left here had run away with the cutter about 6 days after I sailed for Yap.¹ He said the natives had treated them well, and wanted them to stay until I came back from Yap, but they would not. At 4h came to an anchor in Malackau Roads in 15 fathoms, veered chain to 45 fathoms and furled sails. Heavy rain at night, wind NW. A Coroar man named Eareyhalakie slept on board. He says all the Coroar men went to Urrakalong yesterday on some war expedition.

...

Tuesday 20th

SW winds and fine weather. Dried and unbent sails, down topgallant yard and housed the main topmast, unrove running gear &c. I went to Coroar and waited on the King & chiefs. They promise to fish for biche de mer, and are much more friendly than formerly, and intend I think to act up to their professions this time.

Wednesday June 21st

... The Coroar people repaired the Camarin, and the King and chiefs visited the ship, all very friendly. Thomas Richards, Boatswain, has been very neglectful of his duty for some time past, and insolent and insubordinate when spoken to by me. He repeated his insolence to-day when checked for neglecting his duty, and said it was Brown's place to look after the hold. At dinner time Brown came to me and said he would not remain any longer on board on account of Richards' persecution and jealousy. He accordingly went on shore to the Camarin to assist there. After he left Richards went forward and did not turn the men to after dinner. They did nothing the whole afternoon, and at 8 o'clock, Richards and the crew turned in without setting any watch. I then called all hands aft & asked them their reason for knocking off duty. They said Richards the boatswain had not turned them to, that they were willing and ready to do their duty, that they had no cause of complaint & that it was Richards' fault that nothing had been done. Richards was again insolent when spoken to, and has for some time neglected to

1 Bacon left Malackau on the 29th of March.

keep his watch in harbour from 4 to 6 in the morning.

A. Cheyne, Master.

Thursday 22nd

... Landed the small pots and stored them in my house. Put a thatched roof over the quarter deck to-day. After dinner Richards having repeated his usual custom of not answering me when spoken to on duty, and doing his duty in a most careless manner, I determined to submit to this no longer, and accordingly disrated him, sent him forward and put him off duty. He was again very insolent and made use of threatening language. Simpson repairing the whale boat on shore assisted by Robertson.

...

Sunday 25th

... No work done. Erturo came on board in the morning. He goes back to Aramawie tomorrow as Arbitrator between Coroar and Iboukith. The Coroar men killed an Iboukith man at Kyangle on the 15th instant, made prisoners of the other four & brought them with their canoe, 3 muskets and a woman to Coroar.

...

Thursday 29th

... Remoored in the morning, launched the whale boat & rigged her. Thomas Richards apologized for his unruly conduct and promised to conduct himself properly in future if I would reinstate him, which I did. The natives brought a Thint tree to the Camarin to make a windlass of, the present one being rotten.

...

Sunday 2nd [July]

Blowing hard from SW all day. Started for Urrakalong at 8h A.M. but found the weather too rough to proceed, & cut back. Erturo with me.

Monday 3rd

A.M. moderate breeze from SW & & gloomy. 9h A.M. started for Urrakalong; when abreast of Arthmow a very severe squall of wind and rain came on which obliged us to keep before the wind, passed near Iboukith pier, & reached Nyoungle at 4h P.M. where we remained during the night. [King] Earowreakith joined us before dark & remained.

Tuesday 4th

Blowing fresh from SW with rain. I walked overland to Arabow, and sent Erturo round in the boat. We were very hospitably received by the chiefs. I arranged with them to commence fishing for biche de mer at once, and a few canoes went out this afternoon and returned with good success.

Wednesday July 5th

Moderate breeze from SW, and fine. A good many canoes out fishing for biche de mer. Gave 2 muskets and a double-barrelled gun to the Abewel prophetess and Earow-

reakith the King. At 5h P.M. five canoes came on from Coroar: two belonging to Urrakalong, one to Eyemaleague with Arungoolby the Head chief, and the other two to the Coroar Tateruh club, with Earatereghee and Meliss, the two men who came to my house to kill me in 1863. They were allotted the strangers' Pye, alongside the chiefs Pye at Arabow, where I was staying. By the conversation and excitement among the chiefs it appeared that they were sent up by the Coroar chiefs to kill me. Erturo said to Eyeakath of Engreel, "You should take the muskets from the Tateruh club," and Earowreakith said they should neither have fire, light, or food, and sleep on the floor without mats, that no one should be killed at his place. He said to Arungoolby, "What do you come here with bad talk for," and shortly after I heard him say, that it would be highly wrong (*klow mokool*) to kill me, and, "No, no, no, that is a thing I will never do." The Urrakalong chiefs were very excited, and seemed half inclined to kill the Coroar men for daring to propose such a thing. The night passed quietly. This is only a repetition of Coroar treachery, they are a set of villains from the King down, and deserve to have their town burnt to ashes for their piratical proceedings during the last three years.

Andrew Cheyne

Thursday 6th

Easterly winds and fine. The two Coroar canoes were ordered away by the Kaleth [priestess] and left Arabow at 4h P.M. Arungoolby remained. By subsequent conversation between the chiefs and Erturo it appears a piece of money called a Kalboukith was sent to Earowreakith by Abba Thulle or the Coroar chiefs to allow them to kill me at Urrakalong, which was sent back to Coroar to-day. I also overheard a Koleakal chief, and who is a Coroar man, tell Earowreakith that when I was staying at Koleakal in 1862, purchasing biche de mer, Earakoinaba, a Coroar chief, intended one night to kill me with an iron spear, and that he prevented him from doing so.

A. Cheyne

Friday 7th

... The Urrakalong people fishing for biche de mer. Arungoolby was ordered away by Erturo this morning, and took his departure with a bad grace. In the evening Erturo went to Mingelakal with the chief Akwoang on a visit.

...

Monday 10th

Light breeze from NW, and fine. At 7h A.M. left Arabow, and reached Ungelwung at 2h P.M. Heavy squalls from the westward with rain during the night.

Tuesday 11th

Light breeze from WNW, and fine throughout. Left Ungelwung at 7h A.M. and arrived on board at 1h. Found everything correct, and Simpson at work at the new windlass.

...

Thursday 13th

... Simpson at the windlass. Grass-case was on board in the morning with taro. John Brown left the ship to-day, and went to town.

Friday 14th

... The King and Arungoolby were on board in the morning, and asked me to accompany them to Urrakalong tomorrow, which I declined, not that I suspected treachery, but it would be highly wrong to do so, as they are going there to hold a head dance, which they call Anloyge.¹ On the 14th June last, Eyeuke's club killed an Iboukith man at Kyangle & made prisoners of the other four & a woman, & brought them to Coroar, also their canoe and three muskets. The head of the murdered man was left at Urrakalong on their way back, and they are now going to hold a war dance over it. For this reason I declined going. The prisoners are still at Coroar...

Saturday 15th

... The King went to Aramanewie to-day with a large retinue of Coroar, Eyery and Eyemaleague men. He took the three Iboukith prisoners with him.

...

Saturday 22nd

... The King returned from Urrakalong this afternoon.

...

Saturday 29th

... Employed variously on board. Manila men splitting firewood. One Coroar chief down to-day with Erturo. The King has not been down since Tuesday last. On enquiring the reason I was told that he is angry with me for refusing to join him in an act of roguery. He wanted me when he was down last, to take the old damaged powder they have in Coroar (brought here I believe by Captain McCluer in 1790) and give it to Eyery, Eyemaleague, Aramanewie and Urrakalong as payment for their biche de mer, and to let none but the Coroar people have the good powder on board the ship, which I refused to do. This Abba Thulle is the greatest liar and rogue in the group. It was with his consent and approval that I gave the muskets to the Urrakalong people the other day as payment for a number of pigs they gave me last year and to induce them to collect biche de mer for me, and yet when the other chiefs asked him about it, he denied having any knowledge of it, or of having given his consent. The whole of the other tribes detest Coroar for the unjust and tyrannical sway they exercise., Iboukith was anxious to make peace with them when I returned from Yap, and sent down a large piece of money—through Erturo's persuasion—for that purpose, which Abba Thulle rejected with disdain, and now Iboukith declines to make peace, and Erturo seems inclined to join Iboukith against Coroar.

...

1 Ed. note: Now written 'nglók'.

Wednesday 2nd [August]

... The Manila men at Arakapasan cutting bamboo and Nipa palm to repair the roof of my house.

...

[An historical puzzle—Mystery of the sea]

Friday August 4th

... In the morning a native brought me three bits of dirty paper which he said he had taken out of a bottle he found at the Rocky Islands. On examining it, I found it was three visiting cards with the name "G. T. Burrage" printed on each, and on the back some writing in pencil. The native said there were more pieces of paper in the bottle which he threw away, not knowing it was of any value, and the cards brought are torn through having pulled them out of the bottle with the barb of an iron spear. On one card is "July 16th 1763, on board the Barque **Mary H---** &c" The cards are so much torn that I can only make out a few words, and those containing the information are wanting...¹

...

Monday 7th

... Employed drying biche de mer, and caulking the forecastle's deck. Manila men repairing the roof of my house. Eareyekalow was on board, and brought some biche de mer. The King is sulky, and sends no supplies now. The natives however appear to be fishing steadily, and they bring some slug for sale daily.

Tuesday 8th

... Employed caulking and chunamming the deck. Simpson commenced to make a new boom to-day. The King and ERturo were on board.

...

Saturday 19th

Light SW winds and squally. At 9h A.M. left the ship for Eyery in the gig, and reached there at 1h P.M. Met with a hospitable reception from the chiefs. Slept in the chief's Pye.

...

Monday 21st

Westerly winds with constant rain. Left Eyery at 4h P.M. and arrived on board at 7h30. Found all correct. Procured 15 pigs, 4 goats, a jar of molasses, 5 gallons cocoanut oil, & 10 baskets taro at Eyery.

1 Ed. note: This could have been an East Indiaman on the way to China, in passing to the east of Palau.

...

Wednesday 23rd

... Gave a musket to Eyemaleague to-day with the sanction of Abba Thule.

...

Wednesday 30th

... Employed variously. Simpson putting new battens round the cabin skylight. On Monday last, Ringenebay and two other Yap men came on board to tell me that the Coroar people were talking very bad, and wanted the Yap men to kill me, so that they might get the muskets and powder in the ship. The Coroar people have knocked off fishing for biche de mer some time ago, so that they have deceived me as usual. I certainly thought when I arrived from Yap that they intended to act right this time, but it is not in their nature to do so. Their whole character is a mass of cunning, lying, deceit and treachery.

...

Monday 4th

... Received 11 piculs of very inferior biche de mer from Urrakalong for which I paid two muskets, 4 tins of powder, caps, bullets &c. The King of Coroar, Eareyekalow, and other chiefs were on board to see the payment [being made]...

...

Wednesday 6th

Westerly winds and fine weather. Went to Eyemaleague in the gig and slept in the chief's pye. The Chinese cook and steward deserted to-night. Purchased the whole unoccupied lands of Eyemaleague this evening. A. C.

...

Sunday 10th

Light westerly winds and fine. Sent a quantity of biche de mer to the ship in canoes. Felt a shock of an earthquake at Ungelwung, lasted 15 or 20 seconds.

...

Wednesday 20th

A.M. light westerly airs and calms. 9h A.M. left Ungelwung for the ship with the remainder of the biche de mer, accompanied by Erturo, the Imews chiefs, and a number of Aramanewie men. Had a very severe squall of wind and rain when near Arakapsan, which obliged us to take shelter at Imews. Arrived on board at 5h P.M. Erturo slept on board.

Thursday 21st

... Paid the Aramanewie people for their biche de mer in the presence of Abba Thulle, Eareyekalow, and other Coroar chiefs, in all 36 muskets, 3 double-barrelled guns, powder, caps and bullets. Received 15 piculs of biche de mer from Eyemaleague in the evening.

Friday 22nd

... Paid the Eyemaleague chiefs 7 muskets for the biche de mer received yesterday, with the sanction and in the presence of Abba Thulle and Eareyekalow, also 7 tins of powder, 875 caps, & 280 bullets.

Saturday 23rd

... Purchased some more biche de mer from Eyemaleague this morning, for which I paid 3 muskets, powder &c in the presence of Abba Thulle and with his consent. John Brown rejoined the **Acis** to-night as seaman.

Sunday 24th

Fresh westerly winds and showery. Went to Eyery in the morning in the gig, slept in the chief's pye.

...

Wednesday 27th

Light WSW winds and fine weather. Took the biche de mer to the ship this forenoon in canoes, and arrived on board at 3h P.M. paid 10 muskets to the Eyery chiefs for the biche de mer, also 10 tins powder, 875 caps & 280 bullets. The King and Eareyekalow witnessed the payment. They all went to Coroar at sunset.

Purchased the whole unoccupied lands in the Arakoomoolby District this morning at Eyery.

A. Cheyne

Note. Arungoolby, King of Eyemaleague, told me in his house at Eyemaleague on the 6th instant that the Coroar chiefs told them to knock off fishing for biche de mer about the middle of July, and that being afraid of offending Coroar they were obliged to do so, against their will. The Coroar people has been acting towards me in this way for years, deceiving me, by telling lies, and preventing the other tribes from fishing. The only way to put a stop to this villainy is to arm the other tribes, so as to make them independent of Coroar. A. C.

...

Friday 29th

... Took the try-pots and rockets on board. The King and Coroar chiefs came on board in the afternoon, and I gave them 35 tins of powder, 3 muskets, caps, and bullets for 7 piculs of biche de mer brought at different times. They returned to town in the evening.

...

Monday 2nd

... Employed getting firewood on board. John Davey was on board, paid him in full for services at Yap.

...

Wednesday 4th

... Bent sails in the morning. Employed during the day digging sweet potatoes on

Malackau for sea stocks. The King was on board for a few minutes with James Gibbons.

...

Friday 6th

NW winds and squally. Took the whale boat on board, and the thatched roof off the quarter deck and bent the mainsail.

Saturday 7th

Wind West, light breeze & clear. Dried sails. NOT able to get out, the wind being scant...

...

Monday October 9th

Steady breeze from West and clear weather. Not able to get out. Employed cleaning the copper... José Gonzales, a Manila man who deserted from this vessel in 1862, came on board yesterday, and begged for a passage to Manila, which I agreed to give him. Received 50 baskets of taro from Eyemaleague.

...

Thursday 12th

Blowing fresh from West. Sky cloudy with a hazy atmosphere. J. Anderson, Wilson & Williams on shore on liberty. Anderson returned by himself in a canoe in the evening, and told me that two Arapaketh men took them from FMalackau to the Bullock plain in a canoe, and on landing, the two men attacked him & Williams with spears and chisels (Wilson ran away) and robbed them by violence, taking two flasks of powder from them which they had got from me. He showed me a wound on his leg, where the natives had struck him with a bamboo. He seized their canoe by way of reprisal. Williams remained at Arapaketh, and Wilson went to Arakapasan.

Friday 13th

Fresh westerly winds and cloudy. Not able to get out. The two liberty men returned this morning. Eareyekalow, when he was told of the robbery yesterday, gave the men two flasks of powder from the two they had lost. I sent the canoe Anderson seized back to town.

...

Monday 16th

A.M., calm with showers of rain. 10h calm and clear. Unmoored, weighed, and proceeded in tow of two war canoes to the outer harbour, where we anchored at noon.

P.M. light breeze from WSW, the canoes went to town.

...

Wednesday 18th

Light SW winds and clear. At 9h A.M. weighed & was towed out to sea by three war

canoes. Made sail and stood towards Eyery. At 3h P.M. came to an anchor in 18 fathoms midway between the barrier point of the reef and Eyery Harbour, the end of the reef bearing South. Paid the Eyry chiefs for the land I purchased.

Thursday October 19th

A.M. light southerly airs and clear. Paid the Eyemaleague chiefs for the land I purchased. A great number of Eyery people on board with pigs for sale. At 10h A.M. weighed, made sail & stood out clear of the reefs. All canoes left the ship.

P.M. light westerly airs and fine, standing to the northward towards Artingal. 5h calm, a canoe boarded us from Maleaghoke [Melekeok], and two natives slept on board. Midnight calm and clear.

Friday 20th

A.M. calm & clear. At daylight ARtingal Point (Maleaghoke) bearing W by N, distant 5 miles. A number of Maleaghoke canoes came off in the forenoon and took us in tow, it being still calm. At 2h P.M. came to an anchor in Ewal Harbour in 7-1/2 fathoms water, veered chain to 30 fathoms, furled sails and spread awnings. At 4h the King of ARtingal came on board, and a number of chiefs. Purchased the whole unoccupied lands in the ARtingal District, and paid for it with arms and ammunition. They all left the ship at 5h P.M., except a guard of 20 men left on board to protect the vessel. At 8h the night being rainy I dismissed the guard, and sent them all on shore, except the King's son (named Yealick) who slept on board.

Saturday 21st

Light variable airs with showers. The King of Iboukith visited the ship, together with the King and chiefs of Artingal, and I presented each King with a double-barrelled gun and a musket, also caps and ammunition for the same. The ship crowded with men & women to-day, all friendly and honest.

...

Monday 23rd

Light variable airs and calms. Got all ready for sea. The King of Iboukith again visited me. A crowd of natives on board to-day, all friendly and honest. I gave the King of Artingal a Minie rifle tonight, with sword bayonet, wrench, bullet mould, and 200 rounds of cartridges, also 500 caps, as additional payment for the unoccupied lands in the ARtingal District.

Tuesday 24th

A.M. light southerly airs. At 6h30 weighed and was towed out to sea by 4 war canoes. At 8h clear of the reefs. The Kings of Artingal & Iboukith left the ship. Stood to the Northward. At sunset, the North extreme of Urrakalong (mangroves) bore W by S1/4S distant about 9 miles, the mangroves dipping, and Artingal Point SSW1/8W, the extreme point probably not visible, about SSW.

Wednesday October 25th

A.M. light southerly airs and clear. At daylight, Kyangle in sight from the deck bearing W by N1/2N, 11 miles...

Midnight... the sea being very smooth, and horizon clear which shows no [magnetic] variation at the Pelew Islands. A. C.

...

[To Manila]

Sunday Nov. 5th

A.M. light breeze & clear. 9h tacked to the northward. Noon ditto weather. Tacked. P.M. light breeze & fine. 6h saw the Land of Samar to the westward...

Midnight gloomy to the NE. Lat. by Obs. 12°1' N., Long. by Obs. 126°11' E.

...

The ship encountered a furious storm on 7 November, and on 10 November they were still in the neighborhood of Cape Espiritu Santo. A village had been destroyed by the hurricane on Viri Island with "houses blown down & trees stripped of their foliage." They soon passed Capul and passed Calantas Bank. On 12 November they passed between Burias and Masbate. On the 15th they were south of Marinduque. On the 19th they were near Corregidor, entering Manila Bay the next day.]

...

Tuesday Nov. 21st

A.M. light northerly airs & clear. At daylight weighed and made sail. 11h came to an anchor in Manila Bay in 3-1/2 fathoms, and was visited the Captain of the Port, and Custom House authorities.

...

Saturday 25th

Variable winds and fine. Discharged the remainder of the biche de mer.

[The Last Voyage of Andrew Cheyne]

Journal of a Voyage to the Islands of the Western Pacific in the Brigantine "Acis"

A. Cheyne, Commander.

1866

Crew List & Wages

		Advance	Wages
John Brown	Joined Dec. 25th 1865	\$16	\$15
Lewis Taylor	" " 27th "	\$12	\$15
Antonio de la Cruz	" " 16th "	\$30	\$15
Marcelino Barsay	" " 17th "	\$16	\$8
Florencio Nuñol	" " 21st "	\$20	\$10
Basilio Francisco	" " 22nd "	\$20	\$10
Pedro Fernandez	" " 16th "	\$20	\$10
Gregorio Antillar	" " 18th "	\$16	\$8
Alejo Bautista	" " 18th "	\$16	\$8
Manuel Eenteria	" " 14th "	\$16	\$8
Mateo Equia	" " 16th "	\$16	\$8
Nicolas Antonio	" " 18th "	\$16	\$8
Pablo Cubierto	" " 18th "	\$16	\$8
Antonio Alfonso	" " 21st "	\$16	\$8
Epifanio Castillo	" Jan'y 6th 1866	\$10	\$10
Antonino Causus	" " 8th "	\$12	\$9
Román Bautista	" " 6th "	\$12	\$6
Antonio Castillo	" " 6th "	\$2	\$2

Thursday Jan'y 11th 1866

A.M. Light breeze & cloudy. At 9h was visited and cleared by the Captain of the Port and Custom House authorities. 9h30 weighed and made sail...

...

[On 14 January they passed Panay, sighting Mindanao the next day.]

...

Tuesday Jan'y 16th

A.M. steady breeze & clear running along Mindanao...

Basilio Francisco who shipped as sea cunnie, cannot steer, nor does he know the compass. Disrated him.

...

[They passed the Sarangani Islands on 22 January. Two days later, Cheyne ad a good look at the Meangis Islands.]

...

Wednesday Jan'y 24th

... At daylight the Meangis Group in sight bearing SE... Made the large Meangis Island, bearings of Tulour Island in Latitude 4°47' N., Long. 127°20' E. The large island is elevated 200 feet, the others are low,.. The Meangis to the northward and eastward is clear of danger and has only a fringe reef...

...

Sunday Jan'y 28th

A.M. light breeze & cloudy. Noon light breeze & cloudy. 1h P.M. tacked to the eastward. Showery during the afternoon. 4h30 tacked to the northward. 6h saw St. Andrew's [Sonsorol] Islands bearing E by N, distant 8 miles. They are small, low, and woody. The southern one is the largest. Midnight light breeze & hazy.

lat. by Obs. 5°20' N., Long. by Obs. 131°58' E.

...

Wednesday Jan'y 31st

A.M. fresh breeze & cloudy. Noon light breeze & clear. Saw the Island of Angour from aloft bearing E1/4N distant 14 miles.

...

[Last entry made by Captain Cheyne before he was murdered.]

Tuesday 6th [February 1866]

Fresh NE winds and fine dry weather. Employed wooding and watering.

...

[After Captain Cheyne's murder by the Koror people, the **Acis** left Palau and went to Zamboanga, Mindanao, Philippines. One of the crew took this logbook to Manila and handed it to the English Consul, Mr. Webb, who appointed a new captain.]

...

[Closing entries made in the logbook.]

March 17th 1866.

I, Ditley Form, was by Her British Majesty's acting Consul in Manilla, Mr. Webb, appointed as Master of the **Acis**, in place of Capt. Cheyne, who got killed on the Pelew Islands.

March 21st

I left Manilla in the Spanish brig **Salus** for Zamboanga, where the **Acis** at present is.

Names of Towns in the Pelew Islands [in 1865]

Kyangle [Kayangel] consists of 4 islands—the largest is named Kyangle, the others Korak, Arabalas [Ngarapalas], and Naryrings [Ngariungs]. Kyangle is long and narrow & inhabited. Its towns are named as follows: Nartheems; Nartheelung; and Noorooroh, the latter very small. The Head Chief is named Northogor.

Urrakalong [Arekalong] has eight towns named as follows: Abewel [Gatomel], chief town; Eye e boukal [a Jebukul]; Arabow [Ngarabau]; Engreel [Ngril]; Mingelakal [Mangalaki]; Nyungle [Kayungur]; Ar matooker [Ngarametong?]; and Koleakal. The King is named Earowreakith. The God of the tribe, Eareyedamy.

Nirrarth [Ngarard] has eleven towns, named as follows: Iboukith [Ngabuked], chief town; Akalap [Galap]; Akol [Agol]; Kucklow [Keklau]; Owleemah [Oliman]; Nyole; Nutakero [Kulotauk?]; Narakobetah; Narthermah; Neasah; and Oorall. The King is named Amath [Mad].

Arthmow [Ngardmau] has three villages, named as follows: Arthmow; Ungrootoy [Ngurotol]; and Notpong [Ngetbong]. The Head Chief is Abeouik.

Artingal [Ngatelngal] has seventeen towns and villages, named as follows: Narsewil [Ngarsul]; Naranasang [Karagasan]; Narakasow [Alakasoho]; Kysar [Enkassar]; Narrows; Naraweekle; Roobeelah; Maleaghoke [Melekiok], chief town; Nayramis [Ngaremes]; Orooleeah; Oboorock; Ableelah; Ewal; Aramakow; Arakaleuik [Galaukkel]; Nillow; and Nirsingeye. The King is named Arakly [Ngiraklay].

Aramanewie [Almongui] has nine towns and villages, named as follows: Imews [A Imeungs], chief town; Anglabah; Orootaky; Aroys Pelew; Naseeseak; At Mathey; Akumset; Narkilthno; and Aramatengal. The King is named Erturo [Aituro].

Eyemaleague [Aimeliik] has eight towns and villages, named as follows: Narakayeye [Ngarakeai], chief town; Eyemool [Imull]; Amagaer; Eyemeeick; Akelakooie; Nabatheck; Kum Yangil [Kamiyangaur]; and Amothorom [Medorom]. The King is named Arungoolby.

Naarth Pangghas [Ngatpang] has two towns, named Arthobok [Ngardubog], and Emees [Emis]. The Head Chief is named Abergool.

Arthkeep [Ngatkip] consists of one village. The Head Chief is an Englishman named John Davey.

1 Ed. note: The modern way of writing place names (given in square brackets) is taken from Edwin

Arakoomoolby [Ngaragumelbai] has twelve towns and villages, named as follows: Nooroolwong [Ngaruruon?]; Rooshaar [Ngurusar]; Nurseung [Garusuua]; Noroolak; Nodhuel [Ngetil?]; Karow; Eyery [Airai], chief town; Norddsoom [Nordueis]; Eyewy; Koykool [Goikul]; Amathal; and Kasakang [Ngasagang]. The King is named Eeara Keth [Ngiraketh].

Erkelthow [Ngarkldeu] has ten¹ towns and villages, named as follows: Coroar, chief town; Eye e boukal [A Ie bukul]; Arakamy [Aragamaye]; Arabothel [Arabodoru]; Arakapasan [Arakabesan]; and Amews [Meiungs]. The King is named Abba Thulle [Ibedul].

Pelelew [Peleliu] has five towns and villages, named as follows: Naseeass [Ngasias], chief town; Narthololok [Ngardololok]; Narakol [Ngalkol]; Narkayookle [Ngare-keukl]; Na Opkool a Pelew [Bkulabeluu]. The King is named Kongeatuh.

Angaur has three villages, named as follows: Nar a pelow; Aroys; and Aramassik. The Head Chief is named Owgner a pelow.

1 Ed. note: Only six are named in the transcript.

Expenditure of Muskets (1865)

Given at the Pelew Islands [at Koror (see below)] ...	33
[Given at Yap:]	
Geleveth [Gillifitz]	1
Tomeel [Tomil], Mayreur [Mareur], club	1
[Chief] Funow of Gheroar [Guror]	1
Factin for Tape	1
Funow of Gheroar	1
Mayreur for roofing the deck	1
Mayreur for the above (extra)	1
Mayreur for Falaynick	2
Mayreur for Richards ¹	1
Mayreur for Brown	1
Mayreur for Anderson	1
Mayreur for Wilson	1
Mayreur for Robertson	1
Mayreur for China Cook	1
Mayreur for Campbell	1
Mayreur for Steward	1
May 4th Ile Ile [Lej] for fowls	1
Mayreur for fowls	1
Butoon of Gheroar	1
Funow of Gheroar	1
Geleveth	1
Factin	1
King of Rule [Rull]	1
White Tomack	1
Klow Tomack	1
Geleveth for Biche de mer	5
Young Tomack	1
Laky and Camarin men	1
Funow of Gheroar	2
Kayneck (Priest)	1
Williams and Markman	2

[Sub-] Total	72

¹ Ed. note: These Englishmen were crewmembers.

Muskets given at the Pelew Islands, July 1865.

To Urrakalong	2
To John Brown, wages	3
To the Queen Pelung	2
To Arthkeep ¹	1
To Eyerye [Airai]	2
To Eyemaleague	1
To Urrakalong	2
To Karnel and Clubagole	1
To Aramanewie [Almongui]	37
To Eyemaleague	10
To James Gibbons ²	1
To Eyery for biche de mer &c	14
To Monkey Tee women ³ for biche de mer	1
To Coroar chiefs for ditto	2
To Eyemaleague for Issamie	1
To Coroar chief women for pigs &c	1
To Eareyebouk for firewood	1
To Eyemaleague women	1
To Owkorang & friends	1
To Eyery for land &c	12
To Eyemaleague for land &c	11
To King of Iboukith	1*
To Artingal for land ⁴	12*
To Artingal for sundries	7*

	127

[Sub-total] at Yap and Coroar	72

	199
	====

1 Ed. note: Village owned by John Davey.

2 Ed. note: West Indian negro who later became Ibedul.

3 Ed. note: A women's club of Koror.

4 Ed. note: These 20 muskets 'sold' to Koror's enemies are probably the excuse used by the people of Koror to murder Captain Cheyne.

Document 1863B

The clipper ship **N. B. Palmer** sailed by **Sonsorol**

Source: Captain Charles Porter Low. Some Recollections ... 1847-1873 (Boston, Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1905).

Note: Captain Low successively commanded the clipper ships Houqua, Jacob Bell, Samuel Russell, and N. B. Palmer, in the China trade.

Extract from the biography of Captain Low

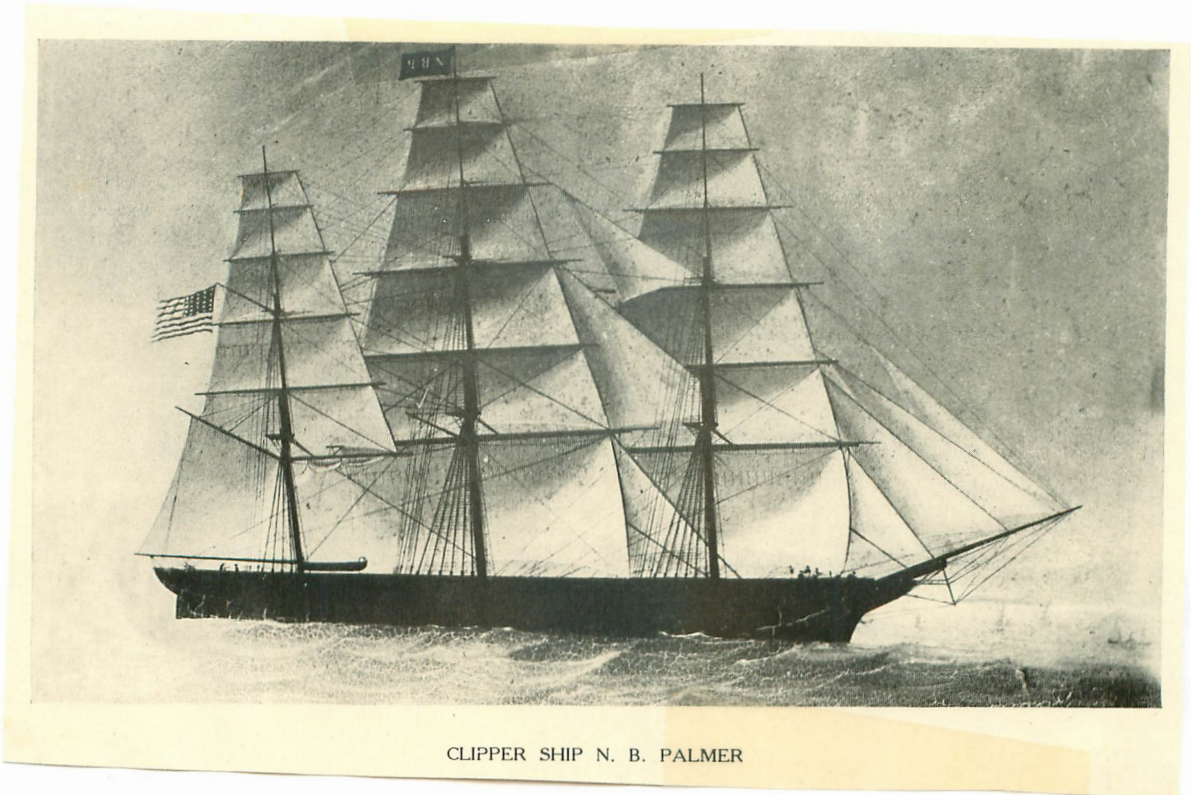
...

A steamer had been built at New York to be sent to China. She was set up and then taken apart, and the **N. B. Palmer** was to carry her. All the woodwork and all the machinery we got below decks, but the huge boilers were to be taken on deck. They weighed twenty tons each, and the main deck had to be shored up from the keelson, and the between-decks strengthened. When the ship was ready, the floating derrick came alongside with them and it was beautiful to see these immense boilers lifted and landed just in the bed prepared to receive them. They were nearly eight feet above the rail, and the smoke-stacks reached half way to the main-top. I did not like such a deck load, and thinking of the long run in the Indian Ocean before the westerly gales and of the ship's rolling for days and weeks, I could not avoid anxiety as to what would happen if those immense weights should break adrift. However, they were lashed securely with chains and wedged most carefully. They were to go to China, and I was to be the Captain of the ship to take them there, and I made the best of it. We had for passengers Captain McDonald, who was to have charge of the steamer in China, Mr. Laing and his son, engineers, three carpenters and machinists to put the boat together [again] and four missionaries with their wives, quite a full cabin. Some of my Lascars had been enticed away, and as no white sailors would ship with them, I had to take black sailors, and I had nine men as black as they are made.

Being ready for sea we left New York on the twenty-fifth of October, 1862, with a light northerly wind hauling to the eastward, which ended the next day with a fresh gale with heavy rain...

November twenty-sixth we made the Brazilian coast, near San Miguel...

December first, passed within six miles of Trinidad...



On the fifteenth of January 1863, made the Straits of Allas and at two P.M. came to anchor in Bally [Bali] roads. We found the American ship **Rapid** badly on shore and half full of water. She was loaded with coal, and if we had been in ballast I could have made a good deal of money by taking it to Hong Kong, as the ship and cargo were to be sold for a mere song. At the request of the Captain, I took the crew on board as passengers to Hong Kong, but they had been on shore too long and had taken the deadly Java fever, and three of them died before we reached the Pacific Ocean, and if it had not been for the care and medical skill of the missionaries who nursed them, I believe all of them would have died, for every one was taken sick. Fortunately none of my own crew took the disease.

January the twenty-fourth, came to anchor in Cajeli Bay for water. It was just about fifteen years since I first anchored in this bay to get water and spars, after being distasted in the Indian Ocean in the ship **Houqua**, on my first voyage as Master, and I found many changes. There was a new governor and no one who remembered me, but we were cordially received by the Dutch governor, and myself and all the passengers were dined and feasted by him and his household. We were there two days, and as it rained heavily, it was tedious work taking the water casks on shore and towing them back to the ship. On the twenty-sixth of January we took advantage of the land breeze and at ten P.M. sailed out of the harbor.

For three days we met light winds and calms and on the fifth of February we were becalmed off St. Andrews [Sonsorol] Island, latitude 7° north, 132° east longitude. Some fifteen or twenty canoes, with nearly one hundred and fifty natives, all naked and tattooed from head to foot, surrounded the ship; but I would not allow one of them aboard, and as I had a big crew of Lascars and negroes, we were enabled to show a row of faces from the bow to the stern. We bought all their yams and fruit and most of them left. There was one boat, however, that kept by us and begged for tobacco. A plug was hove overboard and the whole crew jumped after it. The steward then brought up an old white hat and threw it over, and they went after that. Soon one man stood up in the canoe with the hat on his head and quite proud of himself. That was all he had on. Then some one threw over a pair of drawers, another an undershirt, till at last the whole crew stood up in the canoe, each with an article of dress on, forming one of the most comical sights I ever saw. I have always regretted that I had no camera to take a photo of them.

We soon got a fine breeze and went on our way, and on February fourteenth took a pilot and anchored in Hong Kong, one hundred and twelve days from New York, a very good passage by the Eastern route...

The [re-] building of the steamer progressed so rapidly that before we sailed again, two months from the time we began to unload, she was launched, and christened the **Thomas Hunt**. Of course, it took many months to finish her deck and cabin fittings. She was a very pretty boat and did good work carrying passengers between Hong Kong and Canton. There being no chance for a home cargo it was resolved to send the **N. B. Palmer** to San Francisco with tea, rice and sugar, freights being very good...

Note 1863C

Peruvian slavers active in the Gilberts

C1. Historical notes

Source: Doug Munro. "The Peruvian Slavers in Tuvalu, 1863: How Many Did They Kidnap?" in the Journal de la Société des Océanistes (Paris), 90:1 (1990), 43-46.

...
The trade lasted one year, 1862-63.¹ There were fifteen ships involved, most of them registered in Peru, but only four Captains were Peruvian citizens...

About 300 natives were "recruited" in the Gilberts, while 10 times that number were taken from Polynesia as a whole. The following vessels, which are known to have visited the Ellice [Tuvalu] Islands, were:

- Barque **Dolores Carolina**, Captain Altuna;
- Barque **Honorio**, Captain García y García;
- Barque **Polinesia**, Captain Bolio;
- Barque **Adelante**, Captain Grassau.²

C2. Intelligence published in Honolulu

Source: Article in The Friend, November 2, 1863.

Importation of Polynesians into Peru.

A few months since the startling announcement was made, that an extensive importation into Peru of Polynesians as laborers, was in active operation. Some reported that those engaged in the business were conducting it in a favorable manner, and took some but with the consent of the laborers, but other reports made known a different state of affairs. It was exceedingly difficult to obtain correct information upon the subject.

By a late vessel from California, there came to Honolulu a Peruvian Consul-General for Polynesia, His Ex. Manuel José Palacios, accompanied by his Secretary, Mr. Miller, (a nephew of General Miller, late British Consul at Honolulu.) These gentlemen are commissioned by the Government of Peru, to collect information respecting Polynesians.

1 Ed. note: Chinese coolies were thereafter brought to Peru to work on various plantations there.

2 Ed. note: This barque at least is known positively as having visited Beru Island, according to Maude's book: Slavers in Paradise.

sia in general, but particularly relating to the transportation of the natives of Polynesia to Peru. From Mr. Miller, we have learned some facts relating to this important subject, which we are confident will be interesting to our readers.

The following is a list of vessels which have been engaged in the trade:

BARKS—*Adelante, General Prim, Carolina, José Castro, Rosa y Carmen, Rosa Patricia, Serpiente Marina, Teresa, Empresa, Honorio, Carolina Paut.*

BRIGS—*Mercedes A. de Wholey, Guayas, Misti* (formerly a Chilean brig of war, sold in Tahiti, called Ancud), *Trujillo, Apurimac, Barbara Gomez, Guillermo, Elena Elisabeth, German, Bella Margarita, Micaela Miranda.*

SCHOONERS—*Manuelita Costas, Jorge Zahra, Lahora, Cora, Hermosa Dolores, María del Rosario, Cornelio.*

It is estimated that more than 2,000 kanakas, or Polynesians, have been transported. Some estimate as high as 4,000. The first vessel engaged in the business was the **Adelante**, which took away 200. She was followed by the **General Prim** and **Jorge Zahra**, which took away about 280. These three vessels belonged to the firm of Egarte & Santiago. It is said that no violence was used in obtaining these cargoes. They were obtained at Penrhyn, Rieson, and Easter Islands.

The **Rosa y Carmen, Carolina, José Castro, Cora, Dolores, Guillermo,** and **Rosa Patricia** visited the Easter Islands. According to the statements of the seamen of the **Cora**, the Captains not being able to obtain natives by fair means, landed 80 armed men under command of the Captain of the Spanish bark **Rosa y Carmen**. They attacked the natives, and killed, at the first volley, seven of the islanders, when they seized and took to Callao two hundred.

The bark **Empresa** visited the Marquesas Islands. The Captain and supercargo invited a chief and his family on board to dinner, when the surgeon of the vessel drugged some wine with opium. This having been drunk by the natives put them to sleep, when they were secured and taken to Huacho, where they were sold. The Sandwich Island missionaries on the Marquesas Islands have written to Honolulu upon this subject, and their testimony has been procured by the Peruvian Commissioner. Our missionaries state that a vessel came to the island of Fatuhiva, but they could not obtain the name. It was the **Empresa**. We would add that the Peruvian Government has issued an order to arrest the master, supercargo and surgeon of the **Empresa**, and the natives of Marquesas have been returned.

The schooners **Apurimac** and **Manuelita Costas** were wrecked at Humphrey's Island, but their crews were saved. The Captain and supercargo of the **Serpiente Marina** were attacked by the natives of the Gambier Islands with sticks and stones. The supercargo was wounded.

The French Protectorate Government of Tahiti, has seized the **Serpiente Marina, Mercedes A. de Wholey, Misti, Cora, Guayas,** and **Barbara Gomez**, but the two latter were permitted to continue their voyage, but the others were condemned. Captain Umbaso and Mr. Biron Lee Knapp, of the **Mercedes**, have been condemned to 10

years imprisonment. The **Cora**, **Misti** and **Mercedes** have been sold by the French authorities.

So far as answering the object of furnishing laborers for Peru, the whole enterprise is a perfect failure. many have died, and those who survive are useless. The Peruvian Government has prohibited the further importation of kanakas. The Government has already sent back some of the poor people to their homes, and it is reported that others are also to be sent.

Respecting the manner this scandalous business has been carried on, the following statement of A. Unshelm, Esq., Hamburg Consul at Apia, Samoan Islands, will throw some light. It is copied from a communication addressed to the Editor, and published in the September issue of the *Friend*:

“We regret to learn that several vessels bearing the Peruvian flag, had been for some weeks cruising amongst the Samoa and neighboring islands, kidnapping natives. In some instances force had been employed to capture the unsuspecting islanders. On some of the smaller islands, out of populations numbering several hundreds, not more than 15 or 20 people have been left, including the native missionary teachers. One vessel on board of which dysentery had appeared amongst the unfortunate natives, had run down to Sunday Island, in the neighborhood of New Zealand, where having landed the sick, the disease spread so virulently that the white settlers wre nearly all carried off. The few who survived have since removed to this port. The dead and dying natives were left abandoned on the sands of the beach, and the vessel startged to kidnap another cargo...”

...

Documents 1863D

The story of the Maria of Ebon

1. Cruise among the Marshall Islands—Wreck of the “Maria,” of Ebon—Missionaries

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, May 1, 1863; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Marshall 3.

Island of Ebon, Feb. 2d, 1863.

Dear Sir:

Knowing the interest you take in all that relates to the islands of the Pacific, I take pleasure in communicating to you my observations in regard to those I have visited. As you are aware, I left Honolulu on the 31st Dec., 1862. I called at Kauai, where I spent the greater part of a day. From thence I made the best of my way to the Marshall Group, and had for the most part a pleasant run down. In Long. 170° W., Lat. 19°10' N., saw a topmast with crossrees attached to it, which might have belonged to a vessel of 500 or 600 tons.¹

On the morning of Jan. 16th, sighted the island of Arno. The trades were blowing a gale, so that I had no communication with the natives. I ran off and sighted Mediouro [Majuro] at 11 P.M. At 1 P.M. hove to on the west side; several people came off, but did not seem to care about coming on board. I at last succeeded in getting a young chief on board; and after getting the information I wished in regard to our business, I cruised along the reef. As I rounded the S.W. Point, I found a large number of the natives collected, all armed with spears. Coming along abreast of them, they commenced manning their canoes with from 10 to 15 men in each, whilst the crowd on the beach was rapidly increasing. Having a strong breeze and not feeling particularly belligerent, I kept on my way, and soon left them with their kind intentions far behind. From what I saw and afterwards learned from the natives of Milli, I would advise no communication with the shore until one or more of the high chiefs were in safe custody on board.

¹ Ed. note: Other parts of a wreck, probably the same one, were found at Apaiang Atoll later that year (see Doc. 1864M1).

I coasted along the Southern shore until dark, and kept off for Milli. I went through one of the weather passages, and sailed down the whole width of this beautiful lagoon, to the Island of Milli, near the S.W. part of the atoll. I came to anchor in 11 fathoms water, amid a fleet of canoes, with their wild crews in a perfect frenzy to get on board. When I gave them permission to come, the deck was immediately filled. On making known to them our business in their waters, they expressed their delight, and seemed anxious to be on the most friendly terms with us. They are a robust and manly-looking race; I do not think they are inferior to any natives in the Pacific in natural intelligence. The females, as a class, are better-featured and more modest than any I have met. The high chief is a mild, pleasant-featured man, with an honest eye that speaks truth and good will. He is the same one who saved from destruction the **Morning Star**, when Capt. Brown visited the Group in her. The one who planned her capture, is now lying at death's door, from wounds received at Mediouro. About five days before my arrival at Arno and Mediouro, 50 natives of Milli went to Mediouro on a friendly visit. They were kindly received, and feasted for two days. On the second night they were suddenly attacked by the whole force of the island; the fighting lasted for two days and nights, resulting in the death of all but three of the Milli people—the chief above-mentioned, one female and one young native. They made their escape in a small canoe, and got back to Milli. Another brother of the wounded chief was killed in the fight. From all I could learn these two chiefs were savages in every sense of the term, and the inveterate foes of the white man, and have been the instigators of all the attacks on vessels for a number of years.

On the 25th January, having finished my business at this group, I went out the lee passage and shaped my course for Ebon. I will here remark, that of four charts of the Pacific, I do not find the islands I have visited placed in the proper position. I have taken pains to get true positions—have had good weather for lunar observations and have improved every opportunity. My positions agree very nearly with Capt. Brown's. At 8 A.M. on the 27th sighted the Atoll of Ebon—had light winds all the time from Milli. I came to anchor outside, near the mission. At 2 P.M. Messrs. Doane and Snow came on board and received their letters and papers. On the following morning hove up anchor and worked through the passage into the lagoon, and anchored in 15 fathoms water, abreast of the Oil Station. On the 31st I dined at the residence of Messrs. Snow and Doane. My reception was all that kind hearts and pleasant conversation could make it. While I was on shore we had a heavy squall of wind and rain, and as my vessel was anchored close in, I was afraid of her dragging; but after watching for awhile, I saw no change in her position. From this time we had strong winds and heavy squalls, with much rain.

On Sunday, February 1st, Messrs. Doane and Snow came on board. We had Divine Service in the cabin. I was much pleased with their manner of expressing their views—the kind, candid way they exhorted us to assist them in their good work. Their whole proceedings were very pleasant and their remarks free from all unkindness. I cannot help expressing the wish that there were more men like them engaged in the same

cause—men who can take the erring ones by the hand, and without a wound to the most sensitive mind, try to lead them to the same happy port for which they themselves are steering.

With Mrs. Snow I was equally well pleased. Banished from home and friends, and most of the comforts of life, the great heart toils cheerfully on, her whole soul devoted to the cause which herself and husband have chosen. Of her two bright and beautiful children, I can only say they show the teaching and realize the hopes of their kind parents. The two native missionaries here are also entitled to great praise; they are energetic, hard-working men, and seem to be well liked by the natives.

I intend leaving here to-morrow for some of the more northern isles. I would express my thanks to the missionaries here for the unvaried kindness they have shown to me and all connected with the vessel.

[P.S.] Feb. 8th.—Since writing the above, a sad change has taken place: the **Maria**, so long a favorite at Honolulu, is a wreck on the reef, so badly injured that it is impossible to repair her at this place. In attempting to get under weigh on the 4th, she dragged ashore, and in the heavy surf was broken on the reef before we could lighten her to get her ofof. Most of the cargo and provisions were saved. The natives, with the exception of some of the younger ones, would do nothing but steal; and had it not been for the missionaries and the young natives that are under their influence, there is no knowing how disastrous the result might have been.

To Messrs. Doane and Snow and Aea who promptly came to my assistance, I am under tenfold obligations. Without their assistance, much more property would have been lost.

On the arrival of the **Morning Star**, I was kindly assured of a passage to Hawaii, for myself and crew, by Capt. Gelett, for whose kindness and sympathy I am grateful;—also to all on board. Our passage from Ebon to this port was in all respects a very pleasant one.¹

J. T. Blodgett,
Late Master "Maria."

2. The 1865 aftermath

Source: Item 59, Mariana Is., LC Mss. Division.

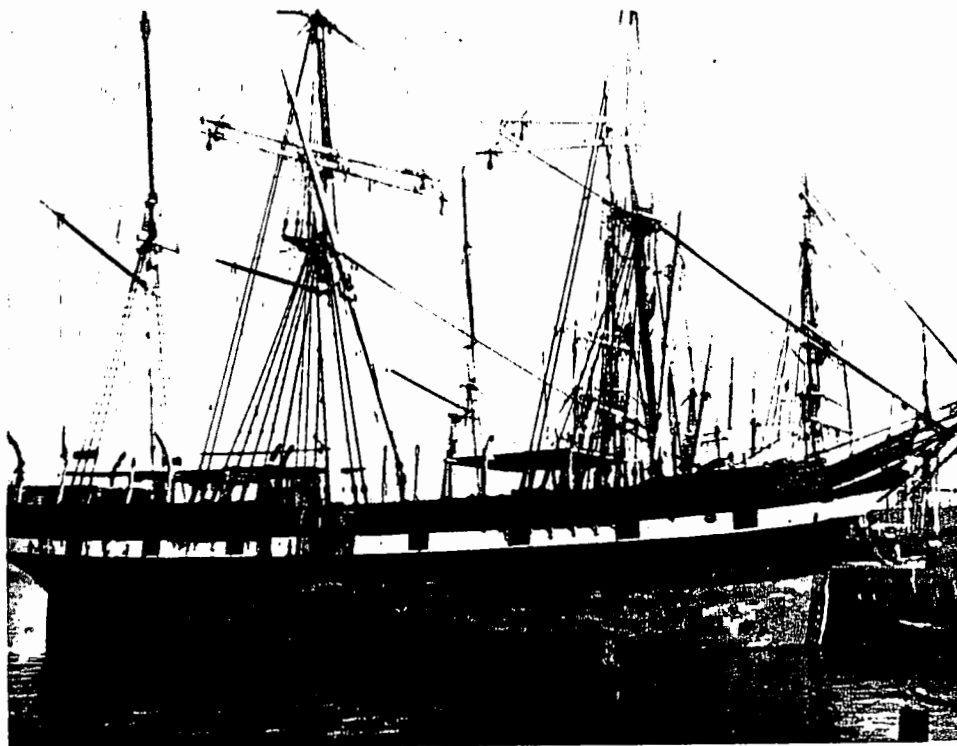
Notes: The ink on this manuscript file is quite faded and nearly impossible to decipher. It is apparent that the Maria was repaired and then made her way to Guam, under Captain Hazard. There she was condemned and sold locally.

¹ Ed. note: This notice was published in May 1863; it appears, therefore, that the Morning Star did indeed make an early trip in 1863, the first of three undertaken that year.

Summary of this file.

Deposition of the Captain of the sloop **Maria**, Captain G. F. Hazard, stating that he needed to repair his ship before he could continue his voyage to the Island of Ebon, or Honolulu. A list of required supplies is given, including food supplies. The cargo of the sloop was mostly coconut oil; there were 16 barrels of such oil on board, a total of 1,187 gallons estimated. The owners of such oil were said to be German traders at Honolulu, Messieurs Hoffschlaeger & Stapenhorst.¹

The sloop was ordered sold at public auction, while the crew and the cargo were to be sent home aboard the first ship that would take them. The sale was set to take place at Government House on the 31st of March 1865. The new owner of the sloop was Richard Millichamp, a resident of Guam, formerly residing in the Bonin Islands.



Bark Lagoda, 371 tons, built in 1826. Ship converted to a bark in 1860. She lasted until 1890.

¹ Ed. note: The same company that owned the Pfeil, the ship that brought Captain Hazard and child back to Honolulu, from Micronesia, in 1866.

Document 1863E

The bark Lagoda, Captain Cranston

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 344; Log Inv. 2787.

Note: The first captain was Z. A. Devoll, but he was replaced by E. H. Cranston before 1862. He, in turn, was eventually replaced by E. Eastwood. The voyage alsted four year, 1860-64.

Extracts from the logbook

...

[A lament from the log-keeper]

Thursday May 15th [1862]

Thirty years ago today, I expect there was a row when I came squeaking into the world but I can tell you how it must have been a cloudy day, for dark has been my life, not to be blessed as others are with a pretty loving wife.

J. C. Vanderipe, Aurora, Cayuga County, N.Y.

Friday May 16th

DEATH: Died of consumption after a short illness a native of Clark's [Onotoa] Island (one of the Kingsmill Group). He died about 1 o'clock last night. He went by the name of Jim Clark.¹

...

January the 17 [1863]

... 5 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island. Bore S by W dist. 15 miles... Lat. 2°00' S. Long. 176°42' E.

...

Wednesday January the 28

... After daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island. Bore NW. 10 a.m., few natives came on board but soon went ashore. Lat. 00°41' S. Long. 169°41' E.

...

Saturday January the 31, 1863

... 6 a.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island... Noon, the natives came on board. Com-menced trading with them...

¹ Ed. note: The approximate position of the bark at that time was Lat. 47° N., Long. 160° E. The handwriting in the log changes in January 1862, when the bark left Honolulu.

Sunday February the 1, 1863

... Ship laying off and on at Pleasant Island trading for hogs and wood, 4 boatloads. 5 p.m., finished trading. All went on shore... Lat. 00°10' S. Long. 166°52' E.

...

Saturday February the 14

... 7 a.m., saw the Island of Pagan. Bore W by N. Kept off for it.

Sunday February the 15

... Saw humpbacks in shoe. 3 boats went in. 4 p.m., got fast. Clark killed him and sunk her. Midnight, left her, went on board. Ship standing off and on...

Monday February the 16

... Ship cruising off Pagan for humpbacks. Seen 6 but no success... 6 a.m., saw the humpback that was sunk. He had come up. Took him alongside...

...

Thursday February the 19

... Ship with all sail set heading for Grigan [Agrigan]. 7 a.m., 3 boats went in shore looking for humpbacks. Saw 3 but no success. Lat. 18°46' N. Long. 145°34' E.

Friday February the 20, 1863

... Ship close to Grigan, the island bearing NNW dist. 5 miles... 7 a.m., Captain went on shore trading for hogs, corn and potatoes...

Saturday February the 21

... Ship heading for Pagan...

...

Tuesday February the 24, 1863

... 6 p.m., hove away for Saypan... Lat. 16°38' N., Long. 145°33' E.

Wednesday February the 25

... 5 p.m., passed close by the Island of Anataxan... Daylight Saypan. 10 a.m., came to anchor in 14 fathoms of water, furling the sails. Sent 3 boats off looking for humpbacks. Saw one cow and calf, struck and killed the cow. Took and commenced towing her.

Thursday February the 26

... **Cicero** to anchor, 2 W[hales] do. 1 sperm.¹ 5 p.m., got the whale alongside. Got supper, set the watch... Latter, daylight, commenced cutting...

...

1 Ed. note: There is a difference of one day in the dates for the two ships in question.

Sunday March the 1, 1863

... Seen 2 cows and calves. Struck one, killed her and towed alongside the Ship. Got supper, set the watch.. Latter, daylight, commenced cutting, 2 boats chasing, struck calf, killed it and let it go. **Cicero** sailed for Guam.

Monday March the 2

... Peter Spaniard, sick, off duty with a lame breast from the 22nd of February. Lawrence, boatsteerer, 34 days off duty with the lady's fever. Ditto one native with lameness in his bones, 4 days.

...

[Whaling continued for a few days.]

...

Saturday March the 7

... Bark **Fanny** came to anchor, 7 bbls sperm.

Sunday March the 8

... 10 a.m., the Bark **Fanny** sailed for Guam.

Monday March the 9

... Got four cords of wood from shore. 3 boats looking for whales. Saw one cow and calf but no success.

Tuesday March the 10

... At 5 p.m., Ship **Navy** came to anchor from Guam, 3 sperm whales 30 bbls...

...

Thursday March the 12

... Ship **Navy** sailed for Grigan [Agrigan]...

...

Saturday March the 14

... Daylight, got under way bound to Pagan...

Sunday March the 15, 1863

... 7 a.m., tacked ship heading East. Island of Anataxan in sight. Bore ENE... Lat. 16°29' N.

...

[They made Japan on 1 April 1863. A new mate was shipped at Honolulu in November 1863 for the run home.]

Document 1863F

Population of Guam, 1863 versus 1873

Sources: Sanchez y Zayas (see Doc. 1864A) for 1863 statistics; Camargo, in Anuario del Depósito Hidrográfico, for 1873 statistics.

	1863	1873	
Agaña & vicinity	4,049	5,055	
Agat & vicinity	378	663	
Umatac	110	157	
Merizo	146	232	
Inarajan	126	276	
	-----	-----	
Sub-total:	4,809	6,383	
	-----	-----	
+ Criminal exiles	---	167	
+ Political exiles	---	22	
+ Carolinians	---	405	(see Notes below)

Guam total: -?-		6,977	
		=====	

There were: 269 Carolinians taken to Pagan in 1866;
 604 Carolinians taken to Saipan in 1867;
 230 Carolinians taken to Tinian in 1869;
 and those of Pagan were then moved to Saipan, and those of Saipan back to Guam,
 where they numbered 405 in 1873.

Documents 1864A

The Spanish Navy corvette Narvaez, Captain Sanchez y Zayas

Sources: Captain Eugenio Sanchez y Zayas, "Océano Pacífico.—Islas Marianas.—Viage de la corbeta de guerra Narvaez desde Manila á dichas islas," in Anuario de la Dirección de Hidrografía.—Parte IV. (Madrid, 1865); translated and published as "Voyage of the Spanish Corvette 'Narvaez' from Manila to the Marianas Islands" in the Nautical Magazine, vol. 34 (1865), vol. 35 (1866).

Note: Captain Sanchez' long report includes two reports by two local missionaries.

Voyage of the Spanish Corvette "Narvaez" from Manila to the Marianas Islands.

As soon as the ship was ready for sea we sailed from Manila, in the evening of November 12th, to execute the commission with which your Excellency had entrusted me.

...

Finding the island of Cuyo in my route, and knowing that there was plenty of stock to be had there at a moderate price, I determined to touch there for some, that the crew might have fresh provisions as long as possible for the sake of health. E there fre anchored at Cuyo on the 14th, in the morning, and embarked fourteen heads of cattle, which cost the trifling sum of eighty-six dollars, and enabled me to give a month's fresh provision to the crew.

On the morning of the 16th we sailed for Zamboanga direct (crossing the Mindoro Sea), and arrived there at midnight on the 17th. Here we remained as long only as was necessary, and left for Isabela on the morning of the 19th, arriving there on the same day. We had cases of cholera three or four days before, which was making its way among the crew.

We now filled up with coal, taking forty-three tons, some of which I stowed in sacks on deck. This done, we sailed on the 25th for the Mariana Islands, helping the sails with our steam all we could.

On reaching the meridian of the Sarangani Islands we had a heavy swell from the N.E., but without any wind whatever. This convinced me that the N.E. trade was well established from the latitude of Cape St. Augustine to the northward; and therefore I decided to adopt a route near the equator between the limits of the trades in the zone of the equatorial counter current to the eastward. We, therefore, made sail to the S.E.,

passing near Isle Ariaga and Salibabo, and entered the Pacific on the 27th at noon, to the south of Kabruan, the southernmost of the Salibabo Islands.

We had economized our coal on deck as much as possible, making it last to the 28th, when only six tons were left; and these were preserved below for any case of necessity or bad weather that we might find on the coast of New Guinea. The fires were put out, and we continued our voyage under sail, having run 538 miles from Isabela with 37 tons of coal, or 14.5 miles for each ton consumed, which is a good result, and nearly double what this vessel had achieved before, showing the advantage of making short passages in this class of vessel.

Availing ourselves of the light winds near the equator, which were generally from the N.W. or N.E., I ran on the parallel of 3°30' until the 5th of December; in which time I had passed the meridian of the Matalotes Islands, and intended to gain our latitude as well as getting to windward. From thence to the latitude of the Carolines, which archipelago I passed between the islands of Sorol and Ulie, I found variable winds, as your Excellency mentioned in your instructions; and with these variable winds, although not fresh, I continued to 9°, where the N.E. trade was well set in. Then on the starboard tack I reached 12°30', and on the morning of the 13th of December, found myself fifty leagues from Guajan (commonly called Guam). We then got up steam, made the land at midnight on the following day, and at daylight on the 15th anchored off Agaña to get a pilot for the port. At half past nine in the morning we anchored at St. Louis de Apra, after twenty-three days fourteen hours passage from Manila, and thirty-two days and a half from that capital.

The arrival of the ship at the Marianas was a matter of great rejoicing. A ship of war, where she may go, is a part of the state to which she belongs, and her flag is one of the royal signals of the protection of the mother country. This vessel under my command was the first which had visited these islands for very many years, so many, indeed, that no-one of the present generation remembers having seen one here before.

The handful of Spaniards here, almost lost in the midst of a vast ocean, with scarcely any communication with the rest of the world, and at so great a distance from their country, were delighted with the arrival of our ship, and the welcome they gave her could not have been more cordial and sincere. On our part we met them with every mark of friendship, and I have the satisfaction of believing that the recollection of our ship to every one in the island. The orders which I received from your Excellency are fully completed there, and our national flag is well established in the Mariana Islands.

From the moment of our arrival I placed myself in immediate communication with the governor, in order to make the most of the time that I might be at the island. He is wretchedly poor, having no other boat or other means of communication than the native canoes, which are made out of the single trunk of a tree, excavated. In these frail things they go out on the sea when it is possible, unless they have the good fortune of some arrival from the Carolines; which are canoes also, but far better made, and which our islanders consider to be fine vessels.

No-one visits the Marianas, excepting perhaps some English and American whaling

ships, which generally touch at Apra or Umatac for water and fresh provisions; but in these matters they have far more attractions in the islands of Japan, New Zealand, and the Sandwich Islands, so that now scarcely a single vessel comes here. The northern islands of the Marianas are scarcely yet explored, and are so entirely unknown that I bring away with me not a little information for the improvement of the charts.

The governor was very anxious to visit all the islands, for, notwithstanding he has been nine years among them, and has made three attempts to do so, he has not been able to get beyond Agrigan, on account of the diminutive size of his craft. Besides this natural desire, an incident occurred which much inconvenienced him and a part of the population. The only vessel in the possession of the whole group is a wretched launch of fifteen to twenty tons, which sailed one day from Agaña to Agrigan, with fourteen or fifteen persons in her. This is now six months ago, and as she has not returned it is feared that something has happened to her, for nothing has been heard of her.

The governor's views being entirely in accordance with my own and the object of my visit, he readily agreed that we should pay a visit to the whole of the group, and pick up any of the shipwrecked crew we might find. But as he could not be ready before the 2nd of January, it was agreed that I should proceed at once to Umatac, to comply with your Excellency's orders.

I left Apra, therefore, for Umatac on the 29th of December, anchored in its roads on the morning of the same day. With the loss of the American colonists, the proximity of the port of San Luis de Apra, an earthquake in 1848, and an epidemic in 1856, Umatac has suffered so much as to be reduced to a wretched hamlet of fifteen huts, formed of wood and coconut leaves, in which 110 persons exist. I also visited Merizo and Agat, places of more importance in its neighborhood, and left Umatac on the morning of the 31st with the view of having a cruise along the shore of the island.

On the 2nd of January, in the morning, we came to an anchor off Agaña. At noon, the governor, attended by the vicar priest of the islands, and some other persons, embarked, and I proceeded under steam to the north part of the archipelago.

As time at my disposal was becoming scarce, and my stock of coal not over-abundant, it was agreed to proceed as far as the Farallon de Pajaros, and then run along the islands under sail from north to south. We proceeded therefore for Rota to our starboard, and were off it at nine in the evening. At daylight passed the little desert island of Agrigan [rather Agrijan], and anchored on the 3rd at 9:30 a.m. off Tinian Isle in the road of Sunjaron.

In this island there is a salt establishment belonging to the governor. Leaving Sunjaron at 2:30 p.m., we arrived at about five at the settlement of Garapan in the island of Saypan. This place is a colony of Indians from the Caroline Islands, formed about twenty years ago by people of Agaña requiring ground on which to reside, their island having been overwhelmed in a hurricane. It contains 435 people, all of them Carolinians, excepting nine, and next to Agaña it is the best settlement of the Marianas. These Carolinians are a fine race of people, being active and well inclined for labour: they have learned how to build their houses, for they formerly lived in caves, and at present

Garapan has an aspect of symmetry, cleanliness and order not to be found in other parts of this archipelago. In fact, they are superior people, excellent sailors, keeping up communication with their native islands by means of boats, which they manage most dexterously, especially keeping them on an even keel when under an accumulating pressure of their sails. At night they even shape their course by the stars, as well as by the direction of the wind, like the Greeks in the time of Homer. They are, moreover, good husbandmen, have got the island of Saypan for the most part under cultivation, and there is no doubt that as the population of the Caroline Islands progresses, the Mariana Group will profit thereby very largely. These people are yet in their primitive garb, that is to say, they go quite naked, but ornamented with necklaces largely provided with pendant stones, the produce of the beach. However, on the evening of our arrival, perhaps out of respect to the governor, some of the principal persons among them were attired in a manner which was probably dictated by their own ideas of decency.

I remained at Garapan only on the night of the 3rd, but the priest and his party remained for the purpose of baptizing and uniting certain parties in marriage, for in Garapan there is no resident curate, from the want of such a person not having been known.

On the morning of the 4th, I continued my voyage to the northward, the islands there being all inhabited [sic]. In the course of the day we passed the Farallon or peaked islet of Medinilla, also Anatajan and Sariguan Islands, west of us. On the 5th we also saw the islands of Guguan, Alamagan, and Pagan, so called by the natives and also by the Spanish chart of 1812, notwithstanding other charts call them Farallon de Torres, isle of Gugan, and Alamagan, by which these two last have exchanged names, and I perceived that a fourth island called Pagan by the officers of Mr. Freycinet's expedition and situated by the French north of the group, in latitude 18°15' N., has no existence, which confusion of names and the addition of this island has occasioned an uncertainty as to the position of the three which do exist, causing them even to be laid down incorrectly. In the extract from the narrative of the voyage are some further observations respecting them, and I forward to your Excellency ample details relating to them, from which no doubt will remain as to their identification.

As the pilot boat, to which I have alluded, and where she had gone to were unknown (for she was to go to Agrigan to make a small salt establishment), it appeared to me proper to make some inquiry for her at that island, and this I was more induced to do from seeing a light there as we approached the shore. I stopped therefore at seven in the evening, as near to the island as I could, and sent a boat on shore, in which the governor went accompanied by an officer of the ship, while I remained on board. The boat returned about ten with good accounts.

In Agrigan there was found a portion of the crew of the launch, consisting of nine persons, who had been left there to commence the salt establishment. The boat had sailed for Isle Pagan, where she was wrecked on the 9th of August [1863]. One of the wrecked crew had constructed a canoe from the trunk of a tree, and had gone in it to Agrigan to give an account of the wreck, crossing a distance of forty-two miles with oars, over a sea which, although it is called the Pacific, was anything but that. He said

that two men were drowned, but that three others were still at Pagan. Those at Agrigan had meanwhile built houses, and as the island abounded with cattle and domestic animals, they were by no means badly off. They were promised to be taken back on the return of the ship, for they required some time to prepare their things, and I therefore sailed the same night in prosecution of my voyage.

On the following morning (the 6th) we saw Isle Ascension, to the east of which I passed at a very short distance, having first ascertained that there are no such islets as those called the Mangs, Mangas, or Monjas, represented on some charts fifteen miles to the S.S.W. of Ascension. Those must be the Urracas Islets, which are to the N.N.W. of them, about the same distance, being a mistake in the diary which Mr. de La Pérouse sent to France from Kamschatka. In the course of the evening we observed the Urracas, also not far from us, and which are obviously the remains of a large extinct volcano.¹ The rocks which are placed round them in some charts have no existence. On the same day in the evening we passed round the island called the Farallon de Pajaros, which is as large as Agrigan, Sarigan, Guguan, and others of the Mariana Group, and having besides an active volcano rather less than that of Ascension. Nor does this Farallon throw out any rock off its shores as represented in all the charts. And this Pajaros, like Urracas, far from being dangerous to the navigator, is of great service to him as an excellent mark and easily recognized from afar.²

Pajaros is the northernmost island of the Mariana Group, and from thence I had necessarily to return, for I had no time for visiting the Bonin Islands, as I so much wished to do, for that group from its position is likely to have considerable influence over the Spanish archipelago. We therefore laid our ship's head to the southward, and the wind being fair we banked up our fires and made sail.

On the following morning, the 8th, we passed Urracas to the west and sufficiently close to look at the interior of the island. In the evening we passed West of Ascension, a short distance, and in the course of the night we should have been wrecked on the Mangs, if they had been in existence, for I passed over their position and the reefs laid down, and was satisfied they were nowhere except on the charts. On the morning of the 9th we anchored off Agrigan. I took on board the ten shipwrecked seamen who were on the island, as well also as much of their establishment as was convenient, and on the morning of the 10th we sailed for Pagan to pick up the remainder of the crew that were wrecked. arriving off Pagan at sunset, we discovered by a signal where they were, and on sending a boat on shore she returned with five men, nearly naked, one of whom was a European.

However, they were the remainder's of the launch's crew, and happily the reported death of two of them was false. They had been on the island since August, an island which is not more than eight miles long, and has three active volcanoes on it. On seeing the boat arriving, they threw themselves into the water and swam towards her, fearing

1 Ed. note: These were, in fact, the Maug Islands.

2 Ed. note: Farallon de Pajaros is just another name for Urracas.

that she should go away without our seeing them, and they got to her with everything they had—which was about as much as they brought into the world—full of the miseries they had suffered, and their alarm on seeing the vessel edging away after standing in shore, which I was obliged to do to find anchoring ground.

I therefore left this part, departing from Pagan at eight in the morning of the 11th. On this and the following day I passed along the west side of Alamagan and Guguan (of which in the latest charts the first is called Guguan and the second Farallon de Torres), passing as near to them as I could. The Spanish chart of 1812, constructed by Don José Espinosa, shows two or three rocks between Guguan and Sarigan, the correct position is difficult to know from its small scale. Those rocks were omitted in the chart of Mr. D'Urville of the *Uranie*, in Mr. Freycinet's voyage of 1819, from which all the later charts are made. In my opinion, the French officers believed that the Isle of Guguan was a bed of rocks laid down in the Spanish chart, because they gave this island the name of Farallon de Torres, after the Governor of the Marianas at that period. The French constructed the plan of the islands north of Tinian under sail, on leaving the group to pursue their voyage after being detained eight months at Guguan [rather Guam], never moving from it during all that time for want of provisions. No doubt they thought that Guguan was meant for those rocks, concluding naturally that Alamagan was Guguan and that Pagan was Alamagan.

Thus they appeared on their charts and were described with those names. but to the north of Pagan an island was wanted, which was the Pagan of their chart. In a calm day they imagined that they saw one through fog and laid it down on the chart, giving the name of Pagan, and, besides this, marking rocks about a mile to the south of it. In fact, Mr. Freycinet says he saw Pagan through the mist, as appears in the voyage of the *Uranie*, and *Physicienne*, as well as in Findlay's *Pacific*.

As the French work is the only one there is on the Mariana Group, the said rocks of the Spanish chart between Guguan and Sarigan remain omitted until lately. The chart of the British Admiralty (Pacific, 5th sheet) shows a reef north of Sarigan, called the Zealandia, lost in 1858, and lately the French translation of Horsburgh's *Directory* (edition of 1860) says that vessel saw two rocks with breakers, giving their position by bearing and distance from Sarigan. The existence of these breakers is not to be doubted. The wrecked sailors which I had on board were all but lost on them in the month of July last, and tell me there are three rocks about the size of a boat occupying a space about the length of a ship, awash with the surface. They are known to the natives by the name of the Torres Rocks, because the Governor of the Marianas has the account of their position and gave it to the whalers who came to Apra.

As Torres was Governor of the islands when Mr. Freycinet was here, it is most probable that he also gave it to the French, and it is more than probable that they are the same rocks as are shown in the Spanish chart of 1812, with a slight difference of position.

I intended to look for them on the 12th, the day when I passed between Guguan and Sarigan under sail. In the morning I was on a wind about ten or twelve miles from the

place where, according to the men on board, they were to be found, and near that laid down by the *Zealandia*. The wind falling light, the fires were lighted about two, but they had been busy about the steam machinery, and a slight accident delayed it until five, so that we were looking for the rocks till it became dark and we were obliged to discontinue our search, and not only that, but the time being at hand for my return to the Philippine Islands, I could not afford to lose that night nor the day following.

At seven the breeze enabled me to shape my course, passing west of Sarigan, and by the evening of the 13th I dropped anchor off Garapan, in the island of Saypan. On the 14th I found a large spacious harbour, similar to that of Apra, formed between the reefs to the north of Saypan, called by the natives Port Tanapag, and determined the astronomical position of Garapan by observations on shore, and having embarked the vicar priest of the islands, I took my leave of the good Carolinian people (an event celebrated by a ball by the Governor after their own fashion), and at daylight on the 15th took my departure. Passing west of Tinian and Agrijan, on the morning following we anchored off Sosanlago in Isle Rota. Leaving this same evening, and on the morning of the 17th we again anchored off Apra on our return.

The governor landed the same day, with the rest of our passengers; and having fixed my departure for Manila at the expiration of three days, so as to enable me to complete my despatches, on the morning of the 18th we moved to Umatac, to fill up our water, this being much superior to that of Apra.

At Umatac we stopped till the 19th, and returned to San Luis de Apra on the 20th, to obtain the mail for the Philippines, as well as to assist at a celebration of our departure on the part of the governor. And I must report to your Excellency that during our visit to the Marianas we have not only received the most cordial attention from the heads of the government of the islands, but also have met with no less attention from the general society at Agaña; and it is satisfactory to feel assured that the remembrance of our ship will be equally grateful among the Mariana Islands.

During the rapid visit which we have made to these islands I have collected all the accounts relating to them that I considered were of interest; which I shall have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency as soon as I can get my notes in order. At the same time I have availed myself of every opportunity in my power to collect hydrographical matter for the improvement of the chart of these islands, an improvement of which, especially of the islands north of Saypan inclusive, is so much required. This also I shall remit to your Excellency as soon as arranged, in the hope of affording proof of my desire to be of use to the service to which I have the honour to belong.

Finally, I left Apra on the morning of the 21st, at ten, to return to Manila. We had the N.E. trade, and used our sails without the occurrence of anything of importance. On the morning of the 28th, at six, we made the land of those islands, and at 4 p.m. were in the Strait of San Bernardino. Here we lighted our fires, and having seven days' coal on board, embarked no more. We passed Sorsogon, and at 4 p.m. of this day we anchored off Manila.

The vessel has behaved well in all weathers—light winds or gales, by the wind, and

sailing free—and it is my opinion that in this class of vessel (corvette), with a judicious use of steam and sail, very extensive voyages may be made in comparatively little time.

The health of the crew is excellent, and the provisions with which we sailed very good.

...

[Population of the Marianas, 1849 versus 1864]

At present, according to data which I have been able to obtain, and worthy of entire credit, the inhabitants of the whole archipelago now number 5,610.

Distribution of the Population:

		1849		1864
Guam	Agaña	5,620	Agaña	4,049
	Anigua	217	Anigua (included above)	
	Asan	190	Asan (included above)	
	Tepungan	73	Tepungan (included above)	
	Sinajaña	250	Sinajaña (included above)	
	Monmong	102	Sumay	176
	Pago	273	Pago (included above)	
	Agat	287	Agat	202
	Umatac	224	Umatac	110
	Merizo	358	Merizo	146
	Inarajan	356	Inarajan	126
		----		----
	Sub-total:	7,920		4,809
Rota	Rota	382		335
Tinian	Sunharon	40		18
Saipan	Garapan	267		433
Agrigan and Pagan: Wrecked and taken off by the Narvaez ... 15				
	Total	-----		-----
		8,700		5,610

The natives, called Chamorro Indians, are very much like the Tagals and Visayans of the Philippine Islands, although of a somewhat better constitution. Those that live at Saypan, who come from the Caroline Islands, are a robust and vigorous class. The Chamorros, perhaps, are more indolent than the Philippine Indians; but not so the Caroline Islanders, who are naturally active, industrious, and hard-working.

As a general rule, according to information which I have received, as well as my own observation, the Chamorros are much like the Indians of other parts of the world. Idleness is their leading foible; but this defect is amply compensated by other virtues of no small importance, among which soberness and generosity occupy a prominent position. Idleness is, perhaps, as much the inherent nature of the Indian as the colour of his skin. But it may be the effect of the soil where he is born and the necessary consequence of existing causes. The Indian gradually finds that he has other necessities dis-

tinct from those of his nature, and it is quite probable that the energy and activity of the Indian may hereafter compete with that of the European.

The Indian is a child who is nourished by his native isle, and who obtains toys from his tutor, the white man. When he is young, he grows and gets his own education. When he has acquired information, he has become a man, he then has necessities like other men, and to meet them he finds it necessary to work. Such is the uncompromising law of nature, and the Indian is subject to this like all other human creatures.

What it has been agreed on to call civilization is nothing more than the idea of the whole amount of work of which mankind is capable. Work is the immediate consequence of our necessities. The more perfect is the social condition of man, the greater is the work of the individual, and the more civilized the race the larger is the catalogue of their wants, and hence civilization brings with it activity and progress.

The wants of the white man are nearly unknown to the Indian of the ocean world. This being scarcely comprehends in its actual nature what a house is, food and clothing, or what in the moral meaning the words family and religion signify, or in the intellectual meaning what is understood by literature, the arts, and science: and hence originate all their faults. Hence, he has the indolence and want of foresight of the child; hence, he is not educated; hence, he has not the capacity of age; hence, he is idle.

But this is not the place to discuss whether the Indian is a great child, whose tutor does not care that he should be instructed in order that he may not work, or if he be still too young to begin his education. It may happen, however, that by letting him play too long he will grow up in idleness, he will become vicious, and contract habits difficult to eradicate. A race of people may be cast away as easily as an individual, who, if he grows up crooked, it will be impossible to set him straight.

The nations of Europe which possess colonies in Oceania and the Spaniards, may be assured of this truth: that when the Indian is educated and is made a man, when he is instructed and abandons his Indian habits, when he is civilized and contracts the necessities which civilization brings with it, his idleness is a tale of yesterday: the race of the Indian is extirpated from the face of the earth.

...
[There follows a detailed description of the Mariana islands in 1864. It includes two reports written by missionaries, as follows:]

...
[Report of Father del Corral]

The curate of Merizo writing to me on that part of the island says:—

“This town has 32 houses in which there are living 146 souls. The houses are bad, narrow, low, and dirty. Their inhabitants say it is from the scarcity of wood, but I believe the fault lies in their own laziness. According to accounts, the church was built in 1779, according to a stone which has upon it the name of Charles III and that of Padre

Antonio, a Jesuit.¹ That it is the work of the Jesuits there can be no doubt, from other works of the same period. The walls are of stone and the roof of cocoanut leaves. It was burnt in 1858, and with the assistance of the present governor, Don Felipe de la Corte, was restored.”

“The soil of Merizo is fertile in a most extraordinary degree. With four gantas of maize, Indian corn, 28 to 30 cavans are sown. Four thousand souls may subsist, for the fecundity of the ground is so great that a kind of grass or trees deform the town, which would be very handsome, considering its situation on a point which on one side of it has Cocos Island, and on the other the mountains of Guam, called Massey and Ilichu.

The rivers from Ahayan to the boundary of Umata are seventeen, reckoning brooks and mountain streams, the perennial fountains six, the water of which is most exquisite. There are three valleys full of cocoanut trees, betel, and others, and deer and hogs which feed on their produce, and they serve for our own food. The rats, however, are a plague, although not so great as they are said to be, and, in my opinion, there are less of them than there should be, considering the few inhabitants of the town and island.”

“The grain of the island consists of maize, rice, tobacco, potatoes, and other similar produce. The fruits are plantains, cocoanuts, camachiles, achiote, tamarinds, mangoes, and incanias [sic]. The farms have pigs, cattle, fowls, ducks, and peacocks. The field birds are terns, pigeons, ducks, larks, and swallows. The coast is the best possible for fishing. The rivers contain middle-sized eels, trout, barbel, and shrimps. The poisonous reptiles are the centipede and scorpion. Snakes are unknown there. There are no alligators in the rivers, but there are iguanas, but in the sea about the shore there are plenty of sharks.”

“The climate is good, and mosquito few, but the disorders of the people of Merizo are many, in fact too many to name here, and in spite of the numerous infected families there are some almost without any disorder. The Chamorros are more generally carried off by excesses, and sometimes in cases of small-pox by the bad attendance they have. These people are so poor that they do not have even half a rial to pay their padre, and go about very badly dressed. But they are as proud as if they were millionaires, and consider themselves very wise although they actually do not know how to read. The deaths of the past year were five children, and the births fourteen. The town house was built in 1848, Don Gregorio de Santa Maria being governor, and the curate the P. José Ferrer.”

“The curacy of Umata is combined with the spiritual care of Merizo. It has a stone church thatched with straw, a government house, and two bad castles. The climate of Umata is humid and unhealthy, so that the population never increases. In the past year, five were born and five died. The water generally of the rivers and fountains is very good. For fish the people of Umata come to Merizo, and also for seed of palay [rice], as their ground is very limited and is not good. They sow potatoes, &c., and maize, but

1 Ed. note; However, the Jesuits had already been replaced by Recollects at that time. This was the Recollect Father Antonio Sanchez de la Concepción.

they do not reap so much as this port. In fact its riches consist in its port, and this too in spite of the very small number of vessels that touch there. The people of Umata are very few but united. When one of them falls out with one of any other town, if this one should have the misfortune to pass near Umata the people attack him and serve him very badly. This is the custom of the ancient Chamorros, and they alone do so. The population of Umata is 120, and the causes of their sickness are the same as that of Merizo.”

This ecclesiastic, named Faustino del Corral, had resided five years in Merizo, and I have been enabled from my own observation to ascertain that his account of their sickness is by no means exaggerated. They say that their leprosy is not caught by Europeans, but I took good care that none of my crew should have any contact with them in any part of the island.

It may be sufficient to say that here there is no medical man whatever. The only one in the whole archipelago resides in Agaña; nor is there any chemistry [pharmacy] except in the capital. The sick of these poor people remain in their houses attended by their families. There is an hospital at Agaña, but no-one scarcely ever goes to it, from that instinctive repugnance which is so general to an hospital, a repugnance in poor people, and more to be found in the Indian. There is one for incurables established for some time in the island of Tinian, to which they are taken from that of Agaña. It has now only three persons in it, when occasionally in cases of bad times there are three-fourths of the whole population of Inarajan, Umata, and Merizo.

But let us leave these miseries, which are related for the sake of truth, and by being known they may be remedied. To lay open the beauties and conceal the defects may be very well for the sake of making a pretty story, but in treating of a Spanish colony it is right to expose all, specially as foreigners may go there and tell us of them. To suppose is good and right when it is far from being so would be deceiving the government and the country, besides exposing oneself to being contradicted.

[The report of Father Ibañez]

However the interior of the island remains yet to be described, its roads or channels of communication, the land and its natural resources. But I was not much more than a month in the whole archipelago, and to speak of it from my own observations would make me appear as if I desired to be one of those travelers who said that he had gone through the Canary Islands, and afterwards spoke of the hospitality of its people! The padre Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, Vicar Apostolical of the Marianas, who had resided more than eleven years in Guajan, had the kindness of sending me a memoir containing details and accounts of places which it would have been impossible for me to have made from my own observation in the course of my short visit. I shall, therefore, conclude this account of the principal island of the Marianas with the description which the P. Ibañez gives of his territory.

“The principal roads,” says the P. Ibañez, “of the island of Guajan from one town to another are these. Leaving Agaña for the West to visit the Anigua, Asan, and Tepungan, as far as the territory called Mazo, which lies to the N.W. about four miles from the capital, the journey is over level ground, somewhat sandy, but fit for any kind of carriage, and leads over nine wooden bridges of good firm construction. From Mazo, a southerly direction is then leading to Agat, which is about 1-3/4 of a league distant, and from Mazo to Atantano the road is of the same quality but only fit for carriages, and from Atantano as far as Abo, the road passes among thickish woods, fit only for horseback, and from the height Abo, from which the two seas North and South as far as Agat, with ponds in the road in the rainy season. The most part of it lies through the wood, and animals only can take it besides foot passengers. There are also on this road from Mazo to Agat eleven wooden bridges nearly new, but at the entrance of the town, over the River Alluja, there is a bad bridge formed of the trunk of three cocoanut trees, place any how, which the people use with difficulty, and the animals take the river which, except in the rainy season, has but little water.”

“The road from Agat to Sumay goes S.W. to N.W., about four miles. In the fine season it is good, but in the rainy one bad enough. The whole distance lies through wood, sand, and cultivation, but is on tolerably even ground.”

“The road from Agat to Umata runs from N. to S., and is a journey of about three hours. From Agat to the brook of Talaifac, which lies to the westward, several estuaries are met with, and streams running East and West which, although in the dry season are of small or no importance, yet in the wet season are of far more consequence, being then difficult to cross, and when much swollen are impassable. The road is sandy and muddy and near the shore is passable, and the other parts by lanes in the brushwood. The streams of Talaifac and Popolo have bridges of a kind of masonry. The road from Point Chinan to Point Sagua is very fair. The rising at Point Sagua is easy, but the descent to the brook is very steep, and when nearly at all times of the year there is a pond. The brook runs East [rather West], with a deep channel, and the course of the road is between trees high, and clear. Leaving this, the road continues by the side of the hill of Apoya which is very steep, with a broken summit, and all the road very bad. From the Apoya Hill to Point Chiz the road is not good; but Point Chiz, which is of a slimy friable rock, and which is lashed by the waves in heavy seas, it is impossible to pass. But this difficulty may be avoided by taking an old road over it, for although the hill is steep it is short, and the remainder of the road to Seyja [Sehya, Sedyā or Sella] is good. The road from Seyja to Fati [Hati], by which pass the streams of Seyja and Mafuas that run from N.E. to S.W. is good in the dry season, but somewhat difficult in the wet. The rise near Point Fati is very steep, the summit is fair but the descent to the brook Fuja [Fuha] is sudden. This stream, which runs East and West, had a bridge which was destroyed, and the stream must be passed without it, although in the dry season it has but one to three feet of water.”

“From Umata to Merizo is but two miles, and the road leads to the southward. Passing the place where the ships water, the road runs near the foot of the high point Cha-

lan Aniti, of rather steep ascent, and its descent very steep along the extended ridge of the height..."

1

...
 "Between the town [of Agaña] and the beach runs a small river, crossed by two handsome bridges of stone called San Antonio and San Ignacio. The source of this river, which runs East and West, rises from a prolific spring at the foot of the height of Sinajaña, some fifteen minutes' walk from the city. There is another spring in the hill of Pago similar to that of Agaña, and as in the height of Mount Pungue there is an aperture, the depth of which is unattainable; the two springs are supposed to have a subterranean communication. Thus the water that flows in Pago, as well as Agaña, is very pure, and is used for bathing and washing. The greater part of the population of Agaña use various wells in the town. The governor has an aljabe [cistern] and some of the principal persons of the place use the water of the brook of Asan, which is very good water. The people of Agat having a river near them use that of a well, being too idle to fetch it. Those of Umata, Merizo, and Inarajan, use the river, and those of Pago a well."

"Although this island of Guajan is so small it would require an elaborate work to give a description of all the points, hills, and mountains of more or less importance, and, therefore, I confine myself only to note the topographical position of the most remarkable, and their distances from the city, or those places to which jurisdiction they belong. The most important mountains are, perhaps, about 25 or 30 miles from it in the wide sea, being Santa Rosa in the N.E. of the island, and six miles from the city in a direct line; but in consequence of the difficult and winding character of the road five hours are required to reach it. I am informed that the summit of it is extensive and even, and from it there is an excellent view of the whole island. Its height above the sea is not known, nor those of Lamlam and Ilichu.

Mount Lamlam is on the western shore of the island, and seven miles in a direct line from the city, but one has to travel four leagues to get to it. Mount Ilichu is to the S.W., about eleven miles in a direct line from the city; but to go to Umata, seated at the foot of it, Agat is to be passed through, and then it requires eight hours on foot. The whole island is also seen from its summit, and there is a look-out house on it made of straw, from which notice is given of approaching vessels. The mountains of Tenjo, Alifan, Finacresta, also are important, but the above are probably sufficient."

"The **geology** of the island has not yet been studied, and it is therefore not known whether it contains any metals, but the following particulars have been ascertained. Alluding to the roads between the towns that from Inarajan to Pago was mentioned,² which before entering a small wood crosses the brook of Sipal, the water of which is impregnated with iron. In respect to earths, those of various colours may be mentioned at different points of the island, among which the red is most abundant, but that called *cera* [wax] is worthy of especial notice. In the hill of Buena Vista there are some nodules

1 Ed. note: The rest of the road description has been omitted in the published English translation.

2 Ed. note: But not so in the English translation.

of a whitish kind of earth like paste, which on the application of heat effervesces and throws off the earthly part of it, and then assumes irregular lumps which are soft like wax, which when left in the open air indurates very much, and, in my opinion, would form very good crucibles. There is also white lauca and green, and the fomon which is said to resist the action of fire; beautiful crystals also, gypsum, and a kind of diamond, and fragments resembling pumice-stone, and also veins of *carbon de tierra* or *piedra* [anthracite coal or coke].”

“The **conchology** and **zoology** of the island have no attraction whatever; respecting the latter the various classes are so very few and common as to be unworthy of mention. But although these subjects offer no attraction to their followers it is not so with **botany** which has them, for the effect of the rains and the power of sun covers the ground with vegetable productions. Among them the natives find trees for their canoes—the tamarind, bilimbines, and the cocoanut, &c. The principal shrubs are the cotton, guayavas, mangoes, bangoes, Chinese lemons, &c.; and the most notable plants are rice, maize, camote [sweet potato], *suní*, *dago*, *nica mansa* and *cimarron* [both cultivated and wild], mongos, *chuchumecos*, garlic, onions, *berengenas* [egg-plants], tomatoes, peppers, &c. the island exports nothing, for all that is raised is consumed on it; and if in good years passed by whalers from the United States came and took *camotes*, *cajeles* [oranges], lemons, plantains, &c., since the Japanese have opened their ports, vessels are very few that come to these islands, and are like to be still fewer hereafter.”

“Whatever may be the future of these people if ships do not come and things remain as at present, it is easy to foresee it. Whatever may be to be resorted to depends on the government. What is wanted to give impulse to the islands is colonization, which of itself will produce commerce. It is very well known that there are islands about Manila that require settlers; but the geographical position of these islands, I readily believe, gives them a special claim to the attention of government.”

Rota Island.—Notwithstanding its small population, the island of Guajan must be considered as the only settled island of the Marianas group; small as it is, the others are scarcely deserve consideration compared with it. Hence the rest of the archipelago, interesting as they may be in a hydrographic or geological point of view, are unimportant under any other point of view, and consist of almost uninhabited islands.

The commander of the **Narvaez** then proceeds with a description of the rest of the islands of the group, commencing with the southernmost, and proceeding North to Pajaros; and first of Rota.

The island of Rota is twelve miles long and six broad, and the natives call it Luta: so that the name of Rota, by which the island is known, would appear to be a corruption of the native name. It is tolerably high, and in my opinion higher than any of the southern islands; that is, higher than Guajan, Aguijan, Tinian, and Saypan. On its western side, there is a plain, on which stands the town, which is formed by two streets, viz., Sosanlago and Sosanjaya, each of which fronts a shore of the island, which is there extremely contracted; Sosanlago being to the northward, and Sosanjaya to the southward.

It contains 79 houses of cane, thatched with cocoanut leaves, a poor hermitage called a church, a house for the curate, a kind of abode called the *casa real*, and 335 inhabitants, among whom the curate is the only European. The town appears to be without a proper name, but it is called the town of Rota, and by no other.

A vessel may drop her anchor off either of the two streets, which give their names to the anchorages; the northern one being called Sosanlago, and the southern Sosanjaya.

The ground on which the town stands is a very sandy isthmus, which is bad weather is much flooded by the sea. On these occasions the inhabitants take refuge in a cave near Sosanjaya—a part tolerably high, and return to their huts when the storm has passed; which, in order not to be washed away by the sea, are built on stakes, and stand tolerably high. The cave is a very remarkable one: it is full of crystallizations, and its depth is so great that no-one, it is said, has found the end of it. This assertion gains credit from the ground of it being very irregular, full of rocks and deep lagoons; and a person runs a considerable risk in it of breaking his head.

It is said that there is an inactive crater on the summit of the island, the existence of which is very probable, considering the form and nature of the island. However, I have not witnessed it, nor has the present governor of the island either. The mountain which forms the island is terminated by a kind of table summit; and should there really be a crater there, it must have been several centuries since it was in action, for brambles and trees grow on the sides of it up to the summit and on all sides of it. There are numerous monuments scattered on the sides of the mountain, formed of rudely wrought stone, and which appear to be the sepulchral monuments of a people who inhabited the island, not only before it fell into the hands of the Spaniards, but before it was inhabited by the Chamorros.¹

The anchorage of Sosanlago is excessively bad. Near the reef which lies near the shore and close to the breakers, which seem to scarcely leave room for a vessel, there is a narrow part on which she may drop her anchor. The bottom is rocky, with patches of sand, and the depth of water is so irregular, that I have found 14 fathoms at the chains when the anchor was dropped in a depth of about 30. The pilot informed me that there are several of these holes in this part, and that the bottom all around the island consists of sand with coral patches.

The other anchorage—Sosanjaya, to the south of Rota—is quite as bad as this to the North with this difference, that the shore there is of rock and cannot be approached, it being necessary from a vessel anchored at Sosanjaya to bring the boat to Sosanlago, where there is a sandy beach. However, Sosanjaya offers more shelter from N.E. winds; and I think that a vessel of the size of the *Narvaez* requiring to anchor off the island in heavy weather from the N.E. should do so at Sosanjaya, because she will find here more shelter from the heavy sea from which she would be exposed. But if they have to

1 Ed. note: Sanchez is wrong on both counts: the latter stones were pillars of ancient houses, and such houses were built by the Chamorro race itself.

communicate with the shore, the boats will be obliged to round Point Taipingot, making a circuit of three miles, to come and land at Sosanlago.

This anchorage of Sosanlago is the very worst of all I have seen in the whole of the Marianas, and the seaman may depend on it that they are bad indeed.

Point Taipingot is the high promontory which terminates the tongue of low land on which stands the settlement. The point being precipitous and bold close to, vessels may make as free with it as please. But not so with the anchorages; in taking which it is necessary to approach lead in hand, and to drop the anchor according to the soundings, in 14 to 18 fathoms. The reefs of the strand are very dangerous, and require a pilot to find out the channels between them.

[Fr. Ibañez' report, cont'd]

As to the produce of Rota and the pursuits of the native I shall give you an extract from a paper from the Padre Ibañez. To me the people seemed to me of the poorest description, wanting even the commonest things, such as clothes, nails, tools, rather than money in exchange for their fowls, plantains, and oranges, the only things to be found here, not excepting water, which is scarce, and very difficult to embark.

"This island," says the vicar of the Marianas, "somewhat higher here and there than Guam, and very fertile, is well inhabited, and its people cultivate rice, maize, corn, &c., they also make cocoanut oil, rear pigs and fowl, which, after retaining sufficient for themselves, they exchange with the people of Guam for articles of clothing, kettles, and other household matters; besides which, they dispose of their surplus produce to vessels in exchange for necessaries or money. They also follow the occupation of fishing by a method entirely their own, and take abundance of a fish called *achuman*, similar to the herring. Their mode of catching them is well worth describing."

"Those who follow this fishery have a kind of flattish vessel of white stone, which they fill with cocoanut pulp, cut into small strips, and which they cover over with half of the hard shell, which has a small hole in the upper part for the escape of the pulp, the shell being tied down with lines long enough to reach from the bottom to the surface of the water. Thus prepared, the fisherman proceeds in his canoe for the place chosen for fishing outside of the reef, and lets down the vessel with the cocoanut covering, and as the mashed pulp of the cocoanut escapes by being washed out by the water, the small fry of the fish are seen busy in devouring it. The same operation is continued, for fifteen, twenty, or even thirty days, at the end of which time he has succeeded in forming a nursery of young fish. Then the skill of the fisherman comes into play. On his next visit he takes the cocoanut dish in his left hand and in his right hand a net formed like a bag, five feet deep, with a hoop around its mouth, which is five feet across, in which he places the dish, and they go to the bottom. The fish then hasten to their usual repast over the net, in the middle of which is their dish of cocoanut pulp. Then, while abundance of them are thus engaged, the fisherman, who by the clearness of the water can see what is going on, gently draws up the net and encloses a large quantity of fish,

bringing them quietly up to the surface, lands them in his canoe. This kind of fishing employs many of the islanders for the space of five or six months of the year.”

“They have also other modes of taking fish which, while they are as primitive as the foregoing, are no less effectual. One of these is the following:—They employ a certain fish called *lagua*, of a clear light green colour, some three inches or so long and one in girth, and he is kept in a coral enclosure close to the shore, and, moreover, he is secured in his dwelling place by a line being passed through one of his gills. This fish is called by the natives their decoy fish. When they make use of him they have a net of less dimensions than the former, and placing their decoy in it, take him out with their canoe immersed in water, and arrived at their fishing ground they submerge their decoy. Then the first fish that comes makes battle with the decoy fish, which the fisherman perceiving from his canoe, he draws up his decoy fish to near the surface, and then, in the heat of battle between them, the fish at liberty fiercely attacking his decoy, he adroitly introduces a net under them, and the next moment both are in his canoe.”

“There is much ingenuity in these devices on the part of the islanders for taking fish, which forms a portion of their subsistence. They remind us of the Chinese method of employing a bird,¹ taking care, however, from swallowing the fish by simply preventing the distention of the neck that would be necessary to swallow it, by merely securing a ring round it, which completely does away with all power of enlarging for the purpose of satisfying his appetite, the fish being, in fact, wanted by his owners.”

“The town, under the patronage of San Francisco de Borja, is situated on the low ground of the strand, and is divided into two wide clean streets, called Sosanjaya and Sosanlago. It has a parish church of irregular masonry, with a thatched roof, and the usual *casa real*, besides seventy houses of wood, with thatched roofs. It contains 335 inhabitants, whom one the principal inhabitants of Guam visits every two years, and receives twelve reals per month. As the island is deficient of drinking water, the natives form open wells in the town, and if anyone wishes for better, he must obtain it from a brook which is about a league and a half from the town.”

The island of Aguijan is merely a rock about three miles long and half a mile across, very high and precipitous on all sides. It is most difficult of access, for it has no other landing place than a sloping part on its N.W. shore, where one may get on shore in fine weather. The rest of the shore is formed of vertical rocks, and is more than fifty feet high. It is not inhabited, but abounds in huge crabs and crayfish, which are said to attack anyone that lands there.

It is said that this islet was the last of the archipelago of which the Spaniards took possession. The Indians who escaped from the other islands at the time of the conquest took refuge here. They fortified the landing place, and obliged the Spaniards, after several attacks, to haul their vessels alongside the shore and land from the yardarms.

It is quite barren, the ground is rocky, and it is only at its summit there is a little soil,

1 Ed. note: A cormoran.

in which a few cocoanut trees find nourishment on which to grow. Nevertheless, the whole surface is covered with briars, which flourish nearly everywhere under the tropics.

Its approaches are reasonably clear of rocks. On its S.W. side there are three vertical ones, of small dimensions, about a mile from the shore, and connected with each other. Between them and the island there is abundance of depth for any vessel as far as we could see one morning.

The island of Tinian.—Some persons assert that the group of three islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguijan, were the only islands visited by Magellan in his discovery of the group. But this is a mistake, having no foundation whatever for it; for, as I have already stated, the island that he saw was Guam, and that he anchored in the vicinity of Agrigan [rather Agaña].

Tinian has been celebrated during the last century for its fertility and abundance of flocks.

...

[He goes on to talk about the visits by Anson, Byron, Wallis, and Gilbert.]

...

[Latte stones]

Tinian, deserted when Lord Anson saw it, which still continues to be all but deserted in modern times, supports a tolerably large population and to a certain extent civilized. Some monuments are seen there which are not found anywhere else in these islands, nor in any other parts of the world. At a short distance from the landing place of Sunharon, there are twelve quadrangular columns, ranged in two lines opposite to each other, of a pyramidal form, the bases of which are slightly varied from each other. They are 15 feet high, and measure 6-1/2 feet on the widest side of the base, and 4-1/2 feet at the summit. Each of these carries a solid hemisphere of 7 feet diameter, with its plain surface upwards. These pyramids are formed with a composition of chalk and sand, so hard that at first it can be mistaken for stone. Each column is formed of a single piece, and each hemisphere is formed of several parts of the same kind of composition cemented together with it.

These twelve columns are in two lines, six on each side, regularly placed, and forming a kind of street: five of them have fallen down, but the other seven are standing, and their solid construction is remarkable, for none of those that are fallen are broken, and only one or two have lost their hemispherical tops, probably when they fell. Mr. Freycinet supposes that these singular constructions are the remains of ancient buildings, and that the columns supported the roofs of houses occupied by the principal persons of the time. But I think he is wrong.¹

The natives of the archipelago call these ruins the "houses of the ancients," and not only dwelling houses, but where they were buried. The natives have a tradition that the

¹ Ed. note: I think that Freycinet was right.

daughter of Taga, who was a chief of Tinian, was buried there; and that he lived long before the islands were discovered; this same chief being interred in rice. The present governor of the Marianas, Don Felipe de la Corte, acquainted with this tradition, explored the summit of the columns, with the view of examining them as to their being places of burial. The whole of the hemispheres appeared solid, excepting one, which had a cavity about five feet long and two wide, like a coffin, full of earth, in which a small bush had grown. Here he found a jaw bone and two finger joints, which appeared to have belonged to an adult, as much from the size as from two teeth which the jaw bone contained.

The antiquities of Tinian, although the most remarkable, are not the only ones to be found in the Marianas. In Rota and Guam there are also others much of the same kind as well as in Saypan, and even in other islands, although not so high or so remarkable for they are not of stone like those of Sunhahron in Tinian. Although many are of stone, they are not so high, none of them being higher than four to five feet. About Agaña they are all six feet, at a point called Asan. Beneath some of them human skeletons have been found, not lying extended as usual, but sitting in a crouching position, which is the mode adopted in Peru, and which the people of Japan still preserves.

There is no doubt that the antiquities of the Marianas consist of the sepulchral remains of a race long before the discovery of the islands by the Spaniards, and before the race by which they were occupied when Magellan found them.¹

The natives look on all these relics with a superstitious fear, and will not even touch them. The person who opened the hemisphere for Señor Corte, soon after lost his arm from an accident. There was not one of the natives who did not consider that loss to have been occasioned by the exhumation of the bones, by some mysterious connection.

The anchorage of Sunharon, the only one which the island affords, is the very worst that can be imagined. It is an open roadstead, off the S.W. part of the island—in fact, very near its South point. Speaking correctly, it is nothing more than a point of the coast, where bottom is to be found in the season of the N.W. monsoon, and where vessels may get some shelter by dropping their anchors. The bottom is of coral, particularly pointed, in the midst of which some patches of sand are found. From October to June, which is the season of the N.W. winds, well established, they may lie at this anchorage; but in the other four months, from June to the middle of October, in which the opposite winds prevail, it is scarcely possible to lie there from want of shelter.

The shore opposite this anchorage is surrounded with reefs awash with the surface, between which there is a very good channel for boats.

...

Sunharon is the only place where vessels may anchor and have communication with Tinian. The rest of its shore is a vertical rock, and offers no anchorage whatever.

The **Narvaez** remained but five hours at Sunharon. I anchored tolerably close to

1 Ed. note: Modern archaeologists disagree with this point of view.

the reefs three-fourths of a mile from the town (in 15 fathoms, sand and stones), with the finest possible weather and very little sea, having a very good pilot on board, who selected with the greatest care the best anchorage for us. Notwithstanding this, and the short time we were there, the anchor came up with the stock broken, which well bespeaks the nature of the ground.

The well, which was so much approved of by Lord Anson and so much disapproved of by the navigators who followed him, is at a short distance from the landing-place, and is of little consequence, as it is neither worthy of praise nor condemnation. It is like any other well, not deep, with a very wide opening, and is descended by stone steps. In my opinion, all that it is remarkable for is its great age. It is called the Well of the Ancients, and was probably sunk by the same people whose burial-places are met with in all parts of the island, and who no doubt occupied the island long anterior to its discovery.

The town of Sunharon is composed of about half a dozen houses, containing fifteen persons, who form the whole population at present of the island. These persons come from Agaña, and are changed every two years. They are employed in killing black cattle (of which there is an abundance in Tinian),¹ and drying the flesh in the sun (forming what is called Tajea or Tasaje),² sent to Agaña for sale for the support of the leper hospital. The establishment belongs to the governor, and is one of the least productions of the archipelago. This hospital of incurable lepers is on the Eastern side of the island, and at the time of my being there contained three wretched mortals. Fortunately the native Indians have no repugnance to this disorder, and they are attended by the same persons who are employed in killing the cattle, under a principal person, who, for distinction sake, is called the magistrate.

The island of Tinian is very low, having no kind of elevation. However, the presence of the pumice stone, black sand, and scoriæ, which abound in the island, are certain indications of its volcanic origin. The whole Western shore is precipitous, except the part at which Sunharon is situated. The whole island may be passed close to, especially Point Georguan, which I nearly touched in my vessel; but it would be wise to give it a berth of half a mile in passing, since the details of the coast are not entirely known. A short reef extends from its N.W. point. The Eastern shore is even more precipitous than the other, and more exposed to the sea than the Western. Off Point Lalo, on the Eastern side, a reef is reported, but extending only a short distance out; less, indeed, than shown by the chart. For my part, I have never seen it.

Tinian is very well laid down in the chart, and the plan of it, as well as Sunharon Roads, is very good. But more information than we have is required of its Northern side, towards the strait which separates it from Saypan.

1 Ed. note: The English expression "black cattle" simply means domestic cattle, or cows, and do not imply their color, which was, in fact, white.

2 Ed. note: Jerked beef.

The Caroline Islanders.

I will now proceed to narrate an adventure which I had when standing across the group of the Mariana Islands.

Having left our anchorage off Sunharon, the hands were on deck, and we were admiring the panorama which lay before us. On our right was the enormous promontory of Point Lalo, the southern point of Isle Tinian; on our left a wild precipitous rocky shore, full of clefts and fissures, forming huge deep caverns, from which the broken surf resounded as we passed them, although about the ship seemed smooth and calm. before us lay a burning sand, which with the sea reflected the sun's rays unpleasantly to our eyes and nearly blinded us. But we could distinguish two or three small white houses upon it of a humble appearance, and before them was flying a kind of flag (for no town in the Marianas has a national flag), composed of two torn strips of red cloth, from the summit of a bare cocoanut tree, and these streamers seemed to be holding out the arms of friendship to our colours as we approached them. Behind them were the magnificent trees only found within the tropics, extending over the rocks with a luxuriance not to be surpassed, waving their foliage in the breeze as if to welcome our appearance. To the right of Point Lalo was seen Isle Aguijan, like a dark rock, interrupting the line of the horizon, and dropped as it were from the beautiful blue sky; and beneath us the transparent crystal waters, as clear as those of a running brook, enabled us to distinguish anything on the bottom, although the depth was as much as 15 fathoms. and, to complete the picture, over our heads, was the burning sun shining from purest sky, veiled occasionally by a thin white cloud, shedding torrents of light everywhere, and imparting a brilliancy of colour to every object, and lighting them up in a manner that can only be seen within the tropics. It is indeed a splendid sight that is presented to the navigator as he leaves the roads of Sunharon of the Island of Tinian.

As we were contemplating the tiny white houses on the sandy plain before us, and which, notwithstanding their insignificance, are the only domiciles of Tinian, our attention was attracted by a moving object on the plain. Sometimes it appeared like a rock, and at others like a trunk of a tree. Around it there were objects moving from side to side that were evidently persons busy about something. But on applying our glasses, we discovered that the object was a large red canoe, which some men were endeavouring to move to the water. This done and the canoe afloat, her mast was soon up, and on it a wide dark sail was set, and she commenced threading her way among the reefs which lay between the ship and the shore.

This canoe was different from those that are commonly seen in these seas. She was entirely new to us, and of a very curious form. In the first place, her size was far beyond which we had been long accustomed; she appeared to carry a kind of house, or rather a cage, on large wooden outriggers from her side; and lastly, a large sail of matting, nearly triangular and stained red, gave her altogether a most remarkable appearance. She had no resemblance whatever to those seen among the Philippine Islands, nor those on the coast of China, seldom indeed as they are seen there. On her head being directed towards us, we could perceive that the hull was very narrow and little varying in breadth

ahead or astern, and that she carried two outriggers, one from each side. On one was the cage above mentioned, and on the other a huge trunk of a tree, which served as a counterpoise to it. She sailed perfectly upright, without heeling over at all, although there was a tolerably fresh breeze, and neither the cage nor the trunk of tree touched the water. She proved to be a canoe of the Caroline Islands.

When she came alongside, I was at breakfast with some persons in my cabin, among whom was the governor of the Marianas. The canoe could not close alongside in consequence of her outriggers containing the cage and its counterpoise, which kept her off the ship's side, and it was necessary to send a boat to receive from her the alcalde of Tinian (the principal of the few Indians who were there), that he might present himself on board.

I had heard so many extraordinary accounts of the Caroline Islanders, that in my desire to see them, several having come on board with the alcalde, I desired the chief of them to be brought down to the cabin. He descended the ladder slowly, and stood at the cabin-door in a vesture similar to that which our common parent Adam passed in the beautiful garden of Eden; that is, about as naked as when he came into the world. He was tall and stout, with an expressive cast of countenance, rapid in movement, and his oil-coloured skin shone as if it had been polished for the occasion, like burnished metal. There he stood the simple Indian, like one of the original creation, a native of the place such as found by Columbus and Magellan, a person rarely seen in these days. He was, in fact, the first savage, properly so called, whom I had seen in the course of my voyages, which were tolerably extensive.

Being delighted to see him and knowing him now, I placed a chair by my side, and invited him to sit down. The Indian came forward readily, looked at me with most inquiring eyes, and sat down on the edge of the chair; but no doubt he did not like such a seat, for he very soon slipped off it, and quietly sat crouched up on the carpet. The symmetry of the man would not have been envied by the robust and well formed of our day, but even by Hercules himself. The display of muscles was enormous; his whole frame was magnificently formed; and he was, in fact, a handsome model of the old school. He must have been well advanced in years, for his beard was nearly white; but his broad chest, his arms nearly as thick as an ordinary man's thigh, his great stature, his erect body, his quick and penetrating eye, and the rapidity of all his movements, showed that the weight of years was light, and that he was still in the plenitude of strength and vigour. His black thick hair, as strong as that of a horse's mane, contrasted well with his white beard; his skin, anointed with oil and broiled by the sun, seemed to be as tough as a bull's hide: his hard hands and large feet showed that he was used to hard labour; and the whole appearance of the man displayed vigour and robustness of no ordinary kind.

In his ears he wore some enormous stones from the beach, which sounded like bells every time he moved his head, and their weight had stretched the lower part of his ears so much as to make them twice as much as Nature had made them. A narrow girdle went around his middle, and another similar to it about an inch wide, descended from

it, and passing between his legs met the former behind, thus completing the dress of this veritable descendant of Adam. It may be said with much truth that this covering covered nothing; and the man walked about with as little embarrassment and with as much self-possession and dignity as any Roman senator would have done in his flowing robes.

We gave him a glass of wine, which he made but a mouthful of, and being unable to communicate anything but by signs, he very readily partook of anything we offered to him. But the governor pointed out a dish which would exactly suit his taste, and this consisted of rice and curried fowl, which the servant placed by him. This was not to be resisted. The Caroline islander took the dish, placed it on the floor, and eyeing the cover, thrust both his hands into the mass of rice and set to work devouring it with immense satisfaction. I confess that it was delicious to me to look at him; for I almost believed myself to be along with Columbus.

Soon afterwards two other Caroline islanders took up their stations at the door, and sat looking at us with much curiosity. We soon made them come in, and seat themselves on the floor. The dish of rice was passed from one to the other, and all of them partook of it with evident satisfaction, but without any noisy gestures; on the contrary they avoided anything of the kind, and seemed to try if they would pass themselves off as models of propriety.

The last arrived were much younger than the first, but as robust and as strong as he. They were dressed like him; that is, with the ear ornaments and the waist-bands about an inch broad. One of them had his hair tied up upon his head, and was moreover adorned with a collar and bracelets of small stones of divers colours. Both of them had various devices painted on the arms and legs; ornaments of which the first had none whatever, although he was the coxswain of the vessel.

The magistrate of Tinian seemed to understand their language, and served as a very good interpreter. It appeared that they came from the island called Elato, of the Carolines; and the **Narvaez** was the first European ship they had seen. Their object was to trade with other Caroline islanders established at Saypan, and they had touched at Tinian for provision and water, the want of which had obliged them to have recourse to cocoanuts and plantains.

I gave them cigars, which they immediately stuck in their ears. Some coins and other little things given to them were disposed of in the same manner: so that it seems that the ears are, in fact, the pockets of the Caroline islanders.

The breakfast finished, I wished to show them the vessel. Their canoe was secured on the starboard side, lying off with two other Indians in her. One of them, seated in the bow of her under the burning sun, was looking at the ship with astonishment, and I made signs for him to come on board by our boat between his canoe and the ship. He commenced hauling on her rope, as I had pointed to him, but he made shorter work by slipping down into the water, and literally walking to the ship, for swimming seemed to him unnecessary; and he jumped on board without any particular exertion, and stepped out on deck as if he had done nothing extraordinary in giving us a proof of powers which no seaman ever possessed.

[Carolinian canoes and navigation]

In the canoe which lay alongside of us, and which was about thirty or thirty-two feet long and scarcely a yard and a half wide, these islanders had made a voyage of 150 leagues, shaping their course by the sun and the direction of the wind, and at night ascertaining by a cane filled with water if certain stars which they knew were in their zenith; thus braving the fury of the sea and the storms of the ocean. The steersman sits abaft, directing with his foot a kind of rudder and holding the sheet of his sail. This is never made fast; in fact, there is nothing in the canoe to which it could be secured, but it is always held by hand during the whole voyage. When the canoe is capsized—a circumstance which commonly happens—of course the people are thrown out of her; but the kind of cage on the outriggers keeps afloat, for it is not fastened to the canoe, but is entirely free, containing the provisions for the voyage. The crew thus thrown in the water swim easily, right their bark again with the utmost facility—a feat which any good Caroline islander can do alone, recover their cage of provisions, and continue their voyage as if nothing had happened.

Such is the general character of the Caroline natives, as bold mariners as any that are to be found on the face of the globe.

After showing them the ship in all parts, in which they took the utmost interest, and being almost besides themselves before our cabin mirrors, I left them to find their way among the crew and went ashore. Our people gave them presents in plenty, with that open good-nature so common to sailors; in fact, clothed all of them like themselves. On returning on board, I was informed that as soon as they had satisfied by seeing everything, they took their leave with the most grateful acknowledgements. They took off the trousers and shirts given to them, each of them made a bundle of his stock, and jumped overboard from the steps of the side and reached their canoe without them.

The same evening we sailed from Tinian and arrived at the island of Saypan—an island which had been without a resident since the conquest—we now found inhabited.

It is now about twenty years ago that several of the Caroline islanders landed at Agaña, stating that their native island had sunk in the sea; that a great many of their companions had been drowned in consequence; and that they themselves, having taken refuge in the tops of the trees, had taken to their canoes, and were then in search of an island in which to live. The Caroline Islands are particularly low and flat, excepting Yap, as may be seen by the account of the voyage of the Russian Admiral Krusenstern, who visited all of them,¹ and it is even possible that even this was overwhelmed in a hurricane. These natives had come seeking for land on which they might dwell, and they were sent to Saypan, where they became established. At first they lived in the caves of the island, but the natives having instructed them how to build huts, they formed a town on the western side of the island, which town bears the name of Garapan, and I was very desirous to see it.

Accordingly we dropped our anchor off this place shortly before dark, and set out

1 Ed. note: Krusenstern never visited Micronesia. His atlas was based on other people's reports.

for the landing-place. It was my intention to sail again at daylight in the morning, to continue my voyage to the northward in the archipelago, and to touch here on my return. I was accompanied to the shore by the governor and the vicar of the islands, the latter of whom intended to remain on the island until I returned. The islanders being informed that the governor and his friend were coming with me to the island, received us with lights and ceremony. The usual stillness of the island was broken by the sound of a wretched bell, which had been left them by some whaler, and was fixed at the top of a kind of tower formed of canes and planks, and the lights proceeded from some fires lighted on the beach.

At the time of our visit there were 424 inhabitants in Garapan, all Caroline islanders, and nine natives. One of these bore the title of magistrate, and was therefore the representative of its government. Their duties are as easy and simple as the Caroline people are gentle and docile. They have great respect for the ancient people of the islands, who are really in authority; for they settle all disputes, and from their decision there is no appeal. Whenever any uncommon difference occurs, the oldest of these meet together, talk over the affair dispassionately, and give the result of their deliberations. They look on the shedding of human blood with horror, and since Garapan has been in existence there has not occurred the slightest outrage. Docile and anxious to learn, active and intelligent, they know the advantages of social life, and accept the instruction of the native Indian, who stands in the light of governor to them and who is a great man among them. The consequence is that a great part of the island is cleared, and all that is worthy of it is well cultivated; and that Garapan, under the direction of a Chamorro Indian, can boast a cleanliness, a symmetry, and order, that will be sought in vain among even the most important of the Philippine Islands, and next to Agaña is the most important and best-looking place in the whole of the Mariana Islands.

On our arrival at Garapan we were received on the beach by the principal people of the town. They of course consist of those who have clothes to wear. There were *vivas* and shouting; the bell was made to double its vibrations; the fires received a large accession of dry fuel, which extended their lurid glare and lighted the locality to a greater distance; and after the customary salutations (which among the Caroline islanders consist in rubbing noses by actual contact of each, in spite of their having taught the European fashion of shaking hands, for they extend the neck as if asking for a rub of the nose), they lighted large torches made of weeds, and we walked on in procession towards the town.

Our procession was new and interesting from the strange figures by which it was formed. It was formed in two files, and between them were the poor creatures who showed so much joy at our visit, with laughter in their faces while their whole appearance belied the expression. Their clothes from their condition they were evidently ashamed of. We knew that custom made them familiar to them in the absence of anything in the way of fashion. One wore a large shirt over a pair of pantaloons with the honours of service, which nearly trailed part on the ground; another had on a great coat and old pantaloons of coarse cloth, left him no doubt by the mate of some whaler, which

were not a little the worse for wear; another had covered himself as well as he could with a sailor's old flannel shirt, and with no other covering for his person marched majestically before us; another had nothing but a flimsy shirt, and walked with an important air, carrying his torch in his hand; another had no shirt, but a pair of scant pantaloons reaching half down his legs: but they were all persons of importance, however scanty their habiliments.

I must in truth say that several of them were dressed in the style of the Chamorros and Philippine Indians—that is, with pantaloons and white shirts; the latter with the shirt tails flowing, or over all. Over these strange garments, like flags waving in the air, the alcalde wore a frock; so that he was attired in white pantaloons, a shirt over them outside, a frock of black cloth, a hat with an enormous rim, and his cane of office in hand. He was, besides, the only one who wore shoes of the whole procession; and truth compels me to add that, besides being a Chamorro Indian of illustrious descent, and had even been in London, as he was very careful to let me know, his dress was by no means according to his taste. Some days afterwards, having been with me in a boat of the *Narvaez*, that he might show me the port of Tanapag, near our anchorage, he deliberately took it all off, saying it was uncomfortable, and honestly confessed that he was not accustomed to be laced up that way.

I had a great desire to meet with some of these daring Indians who so commonly make the voyage of the Caroline Islands, and the governor sent for one named Arrumiat, who is famed among them as a navigator. He soon appeared, but as naked as he was born; for he had no clothes whatever saving the usual waist-band about an inch wide, and joined our party without giving himself the least concern about his deficiency of dress. Perhaps he felt compassion for the other poor fellows, who, on their part again, were glad to see that Arrumiat was no more dressed than themselves. He walked by the side of the governor during the whole procession, keeping step with us, with head erect, the body stooping, without scarcely noticing any question put to him, and looking neither to right nor left until we had reached the village.

The Caroline islanders are generally tall, so that it was somewhat extraordinary to see in Arrumiat a man of low stature, although like the rest of them strong and muscular. He wore no ornament whatever excepting the stones in his ears; and there were no kind of figures on his skin. His long hair, most carefully cleaned, fell luxuriantly over his shoulders; and, notwithstanding the almost entire nudity of his person, his movements were even graceful and remarkable for decorum, and he conducted himself with an air of gravity and dignity, the result of self-confidence and habit of command.

As above observed, Arrumiat was the most celebrated of the Caroline pilots, and was really well deserving of his reputation. He knew the stars, and could describe their groups. He knew that the pole star was always in the same place, while the others were continually moving around the sky; that the belt of Orion always rose and set in the same parts of the horizon; that the planets were wandering stars, different from the rest, which remained the same in their relative positions. By the rising and setting of Orion he knew the East and West points of the horizon, and the North by the pole star; in

fact, he had a knowledge of astronomy that was an extraordinary trait for a mere Indian. He knew the positions of all the Caroline Islands and part of the Marianas, from Guam to Saypan; and would place them on the table by beans, representing them in their true relative positions excepting in actual relative distance. He was acquainted with our mariner's compass, but he disdained its use among the Caroline Islands as of no service; all of which he would tell me he had in his head, and certainly among them he seemed to be quite independent of the compass.

I could not prevail on Arrumiat to come with me in the ship to the northward among the Marianas, although I promised to leave him at Garapan on my return. Perhaps he might have doubted if he did that he should ever see the Caroline Islands again. I therefore took leave of him with regret, promising to myself that I would see more of this extraordinary people on my return—a people who wear no clothes, study cosmography, and navigate the ocean in craft to which I confess that I should be very loth to trust myself.

The vicar of the Marianas remained at Garapan; and at daylight on the following morning I continued my voyage among the islands.

A week afterwards we again anchored off Garapan, and lay there for 36 hours, both to give some rest to the crew and for the purpose of obtaining observations, as well as to see the Caroline Indians.

We were received without ceremony and quite as if we were at home, the people in their ordinary dress—that is, both male and female as naked as Adam and Eve.

[Carolinian religion]

The Caroline islanders have scarcely any notion of Christianity. A priest some years back was sent to Garapan to give some religious instruction, but it does not seem that he succeeded with these people—his moderate salary 30 dollars the month—and it was found necessary to recall him some short time afterwards. The consequence is that the Carolinians live in our islands as well as their own. Polygamy is allowed, and the men have as many wives as they can maintain. The pilot (I must call him patron [boss]) of the vessel which I fell in with at Sunharon, and who was at Garapan on this occasion, had two legitimate wives. He had left one at home, and the other, who was very young, was with him. They have an idea of the Deity, and even know something about a Trinity. *Alutap* is the first person of their Trinity, seated on an elevated throne; *Lungalen*, the son of Alutap, gives abundance or gives a scarcity of food; and *Olofat*, the son of Lungalen, assumes the form of a dove or that of any animal he pleases. One can hardly suppose that this is really meant for our Trinity, taught them in 1543 by the companions of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, the discoverer of the Caroline Islands, and preserved in this condition at the present day, somewhat modified in passing from mouth to mouth of these untutored savages, who have no idea beyond their wants.

In spite of the neglect in which the Caroline islanders have been left, they show the effects of our customs, carried there by the few Chamorro Indians who live among them. There are some of these islanders at Garapan who comprehended the sanctity of a mar-

ried state and the advantages of a domestic life. These, who to say the truth are very few, have only one wife, who knows and observes the principle that she has but one husband. Gentle and docile, they have submitted to baptism and to be married by the vicar padre, who, during the time he was among them, when the **Narvaez** was in the North part of the group, administered it among them. But he returned to Agaña with the **Narvaez**, and the Carolinians remained alone at Garapan. But neither the baptizings nor the marriages will go for anything while they are left without a tolerant missionary, who would instruct them little by little, leading them gradually to a civilized life, the road of which, however, is full of thorns to the feet of the untutored Indian.

The women use the same dress as the men—that is, collars, etc. of small stones—with the addition of a piece of cloth, which is tied around the hips, that is made by themselves. However, some of them dispense even with this apparel, and move about as their mother Eve did before the fall.

The governor of the Marianas, in his solicitude for the Carolinians, has established a school for boys and another for girls at Garapan, under the management of one of the Chamorro Indians, who was sent there from Agaña. I must confess that tears filled my eyes on seeing these poor creatures writing the language of Cervantes, not on paper nor with pens—for there are no such things in Garapan—but with a piece of cane on the capacious plantain leaf, and to hear their answers to my questions, and serving as interpreters for their parents, who did not understand a word of what I said to them.

The people at Garapan have a kind of building yard, in which I saw two vessels building and several others careening. Here, in fact, the pilots collect together, and there is a school for the young sailor. The trainees who are intended for navigating a vessel have to undergo a regular examination before a meeting of pilots, without whose approval they are not allowed to go on any important voyage to sea.

They make line from the fibres of a tree, whih I believe is the cocoanut, which is first twisted into yarn and then united into cord. They fasten three of these cords to a high point over them, each one of them is taken by a man, and they all twist them till they form a cable so perfectly that no-one would suspect how it is done unless he saw it, but would imagine it was made with the most perfect European machinery. I have seen cables made in this manner 100 fathoms long, each strand being 4 to 5 inches round.

They do not use anchors. When it is necessary for a vessel to do so, one of the crew jumps overboard with the end of the cable in his hand and secures it to a boulder at the bottom. The trouble of lifting the anchor is done away with quite as simply: the Carolinian jumps overboard and tracks the cable to the bottom and loosens it from the boulder or piece of coral round which it is secured without troubling himself about the depth it is in, nor even about the shark which may be prowling about not far from him; in fact, they are capital sailors, and both ingenious and daring.

The vessels at the yard building are about 30 feet in keel, 4 feet in beam, and 6-1/2 to 7 feet deep from the deck to the keel, and draught of water, the same fore and aft, 2-1/2 feet. The stem and the sternpost rake equally, and the bow and the stern are similar in form. There is not a single nail used in building these craft; the pieces of wood are

sewn together with thin but exceedingly strong twine, the holes filled afterwards with a kind of putty. The planks of the frame are less than half an inch thick, and no ribs are used. The whole work is consolidated and strengthened by a strong gunwale of considerable size, and these are connected with each other by thwarts of seats, which are all on the same level. The two sides are not similar in form, one being finer [fuller] than the other. The vessels are, in fact, stem and stern alike, and never go through the process of tacking or wearing. The side which is intended to be windward is fuller or more rounded than that to leeward, nearly in the proportion of three to five, and on this weatherside is the outrigger (or, as they are called in the Philippine Islands, the *batangas*) which is a stout trunk of a tree, which is placed parallel to the keel, carrying at the end two cross pieces, which extend from 8 to 10 feet outside the vessel. On the lee side also, there is a platform outside the gunwale, formed of long poles, on which is placed a kind of box of cane, much resembling a large pannier, in which are stowed provisions, cargo, and even passengers. The crew are generally huddled together in the bottom of the vessel. The mast, which is generally from 22 to 24 feet long, is not placed on the keel, but on the weather gunwale. It is kept in its position by stays, which allow of its being inclined according to the strength of the wind. The sail, of very fine matting and nearly triangular, is spread by two bamboo canes, and is managed by lines from each corner, serving as halyards, tack, and sheet. The rudder is not abaft but on the lee side, and is in the form of a paddle, which, besides directing the vessel's course, serves also (say the Carolinians) to keep her upright, in which consists the art of the helmsman, and which certainly requires no small skill. I have not been able to find out what use this said rudder contributes to the stability of the craft, but the Carolinians say that it is of service, and we must believe them. It is not improbable that their plan is to luff off into the wind on its freshening up, so that the lateral pressure on the sail may be thereby reduced; but at any rate much experience is necessary, and, above all, the greatest possible care to prevent the vessel from capsizing or taking in water over her lee gunwale.

These craft carry from 10 to 12 persons, and sometimes more, who stow themselves away as they can in the body of them. They fill the basket with cocoanuts, and if they ever have a passenger who is not a Carolinian he is also placed in the basket. They cast off their moorings, set their sail, and put to sea. There is nothing to fasten the sheet to, as we have already observed: this is held by the helmsman during the whole voyage, both day and night, let it be as long as it will. Some helmsmen take care to have an assistant if the voyage is likely to be long. If he should let go the sheet and the craft capsizes, the crew take to swimming, like the basket with the provisions. The helmsman rights the vessel—a performance which he manages without any assistance, although I never could make out how he does it; but certainly, the balancing weight being loosened to windward, the craft would right herself or with very little assistance, owing to its form. But once righted the crew get on board again, then pick up their basket, and continue the voyage.

In this way they navigate the wide Pacific Ocean far away from any land. They shape

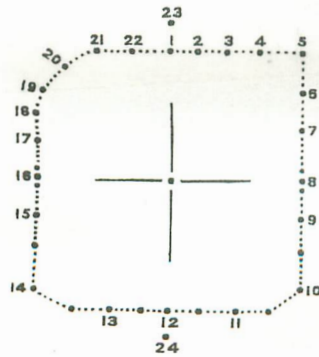
their course by the sun, the stars, the direction of the wind, or that of the waves. If the weather inclines to be foul, the sky becoming cloudy and continuing so for some days, they lay by for the coming storm, and when over the helmsmen tell me that three days are necessary to get to the eastward what they have lost. Then they have recourse to their observations: they fill a cane with water and observe the stars in the zenith, and thence study the position of the vessel. This ascertained gives them their course, and they prosecute their voyage. All this is very extraordinary; but I cannot help thinking that a great many of these craft are lost.

[Carolinian compass]

The names which they give to the points of the compass which they use, according to the statement of a collection of pilots which I assembled, and which was presided over by Arrumiat, will be seen as follows.

A figure similar to this was made with beans on the table of my cabin, and copied by me on paper. The names of the several points were written by me as they sounded in my ears after repeating them several times. I thought that I might have made a wrong figure for the placing of the points, and I corrected it to a more perfect quadrant, but it was not allowed by them, and the figure as it had been was approved. Repeatedly on rounding the corners of the rectangular figure, I was obliged to leave them as they were, and therefore it must be taken as it is.

They divide the horizon into four quarters, or rather perhaps into two semicircles—the Eastern and Western. *Ulewel* is the name of the pole star, and *Mailab* that of the belt of Orion. The three [sic] points with which they represent East and West, they all called *Mailab* and *Tubule Mailab*. Not one of the three has a special proper name; but the name they have is conjunctive. It is worthy of remark that there is no E.b.N. nor W.b.N. In their compass there are points answering to N.b.E., N.E.b.N., and N.E.b.E, but there is no E.b.N., which remains blank. The same occurs in the fourth quadrant, although the points at those angles appear to be the same as our own. Their third quadrant is similar to the fourth, but the second is neither like the first nor any of the others. Their first quadrant is divided into eight parts, for *Tagale mol* corresponds to N.E.; but of these eight, seven only are marked and have names. The others are not similarly divided, but are as represented in the figure. I never could find a reason for this singularity.



Compass Points of the Caroline Islanders.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mai lab Ueluel. | 13. Tubule liup. |
| 2. Tagale mailles pelevant. | 14. Tubule lumur. |
| 3. Tagale olego. | 15. Tubule eliel. |
| 4. Tagale iguelie. | 16. Tubule mailab. |
| 5. Tagale mol. | 17. Tubule ul. |
| 6. Tagale magariguec. | 18. Tubule magariguec. |
| 7. Tagale ul. | 19. Tubule mol. |
| 8. Maitab. | 20. Tubule iguelie. |
| 9. Tagale eliel. | 21. Tubule olego. |
| 10. Tagale lumur. | 22. Tubule mailab pelevant. |
| 11. Tagale liup. | 23. Ueluel. |
| 12. Mailab delub. | 24. Olelup. |

The points 23 and 24 are North and South.

The names absent from some of the points in the lower part of the figure were trusted to memory and were not written. There was some analogy and the northern points, which has escaped my memory.

[Carolinian dances]

We passed the 14th of February at Garapan among the good Carolinians, who, by way of taking leave of us, gave us a ball in their own native fashion.

As the evening came on, all the people of the village cleanly dressed, or rather attired in gala style, came gathering in the square containing the alcalde's residence, which had been assigned for the use of the Europeans. All the natives had painted their persons with a kind of yellow ochre mixed with cocoanut oil, and reflected in the rays of the setting sun as if they were bronzed. Their head-dresses were got up with great care and very elaborately, their long hair being dressed in a crest-like form; others wore it short and curly, and saturated with oil; some had feathers, and others horns of animals on their heads. All the men carried a staff of six or seven feet long with small flat pieces of wood at one end of them, something like what are used for hanging out clothes.

At the commencement of the proceedings there was not a solitary woman present. The men, being divided into two parties, walked about performing various evolutions to a monotonous song, although by no means unpleasant, to which they beat time with their staves. They then joined, forming two columns, and commenced their dance, which consisted of a series of jumping and figures, keeping up the time by knocking their staves against each other. These they managed with great dexterity, striking one end and then the other against those next to them, at the same time changing hands and turning each other and forming themselves into groups with good effect. The performance was on the whole very pleasing, and certainly would have been well worthy the attention of the purveyors of our theatres.

It was a war dance they had performed, and the song accompanying it was a narrative of the glorious feats of the Caroline race, in which they celebrated the bold adventures of their ancestors, their daring voyages, and their important exploits.

While the men were singing and dancing the women were making their appearance in the square by ones and twos from opposite sides of it, and formed themselves in groups. This gave fresh vigour to the performances: the singing was bolder, the dance more vigorous, and even the figures which they performed were more complicated.

Like the men, they were also painted yellow, covered with armlets and collars of small stones, with the hair loose over the shoulders. They were all naked, although some of them had the cloth waist-band descending to the knees, and others had ornamented this excuse for a dress with leaves of the palm. These were the youngest, and certainly their ornaments could not be more fantastical. One among them (and they were above a hundred) came dressed *à la Européenne*, with an old gown of a dirty dark colour, the origin of which might be easily guessed, without any interior linen whatever, the waist-band loose and no fastening, drawing after her on the ground half of her garment, without shoes or stockings, and with an old chocolate-coloured hat, such as are worn with green veils by the English, and this veil flying adrift, rendered the oddest appearance I ever saw. Fortunately the other poor creatures were merely naked, and at least were only to be seen.

Collected in two groups in the middle of the square, each group sang alternately. One of each group led the song and the rest formed the chorus; one party having sung, the other took it up. They were really singing, but it seemed as if their songs were each addressed to the other party; and, in fact, they were so. With a view of encouraging the men in their dances, these ladies had raised a discussion between them on the question of which party of the men had the most handsome among them. The effect was capital; for the dance, which had already lasted an hour, instead of languishing, was kept up with redoubled vigour.

But suddenly the gaities took an unexpected turn. The ladies had been gradually nearing each other, and when well apart appeared to be working themselves up to it. To our astonishment we saw them rush at each other like furies, and commenced biting and scratching. This was too much, and the interference of the men, whether Carolinian or European, became necessary. I had given permission for a good many of

my men to be on shore, and to see the sailors separating the Indian women was the best of the joke. At length by powerful means order was restored, the Carolinians having managed to secure their wives and shut them up in their houses.

Then came the explanations. As the affair of the ladies was open to all kinds of remark in passing from mouth to mouth, it appeared that one of the groups of them resented the observations of the other in finding faults with their ornaments, calling them ugly, and made remarks on their intercourse with the crews of whalers. What was said was received with laughter, but words ensued and the quarrel also.

It was amusing, however, to receive the excuses of the good Carolinians for the accident, and saying that they could never depend on any good from women.

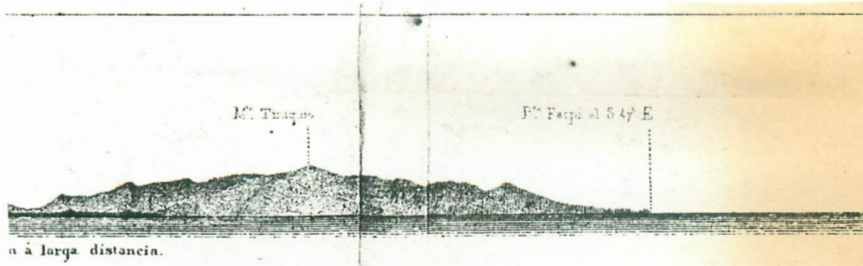
Such was the conclusion of the famous ball, which would leave a lasting impression at Garapan, as it was given in honour of the arrival of the governor of the Spanish frigate.

It may not be out of place here that the **Narvaez** is the first steamship seen by the natives of Garapan. When she appeared on the horizon in the midst of the haze of the evening, with her sails furled and her funnel throwing out a large column of smoke, the vessel going swiftly against the wind, she was looked on as an apparition by the natives collected on the beach. I have not mentioned that it was necessary for the alcalde, who had made a voyage in a whaler, to come and explain to them that what they saw was in reality a ship; for they had determined to take themselves to the interior of the island as soon as the **Narvaez** dropped her anchor off the coast.

The governor, after the ball, gave an invitation to all the people of Garapan in the square in which we lodged; and at a late hour of the night we took our leave of the good Carolinians, who carried us in their strong arms to our boats, ready on the strand, and, launching their own, accompanied us to the ship. There were extra lights, similar to those on our arrival; but the humble bell above mentioned did not repeat its tones of welcome. Other sounds of a more gratifying nature took place instead; and there were the repeated exclamations of the people in wishing us a happy voyage and a speedy return to their island.

...
[The rest of this paper had to do with really detailed descriptions of the hydrographical and cartographical nature of the islands north of Saipan. The errors made by the Freycinet expedition were finally corrected.]

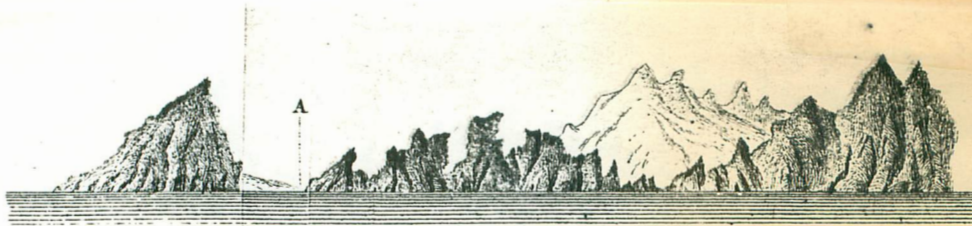
...
The error of the French in taking a cloud for an island which they were looking for on a rainy day is nothing particular. Every navigator knows how common such appearances are at sea, and how easy a mistake of this kind can be made, even by eyes which are accustomed to see lands and clouds in the horizon.



a à larga distancia.



Vista de la Isla Almagon al N. 38° O. dist. de 5 à 6 millas.



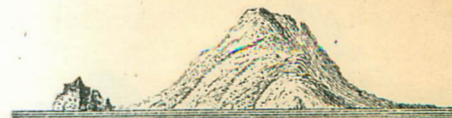
Vista de las Islas Urracas demorando el punto A al N.E.



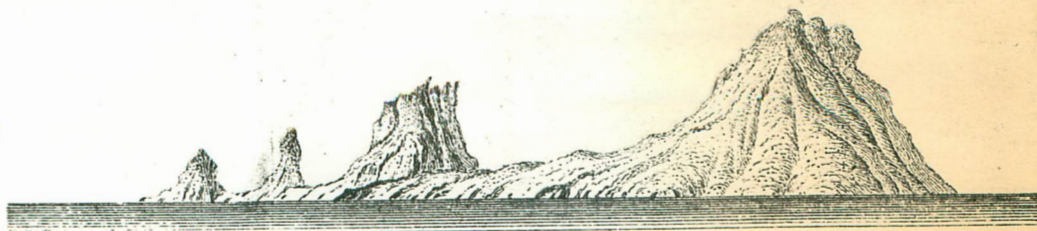
Vista de la Isla Asuncion demorando al E.S.E dist. 2 millas.



Vista de las Islas Uruacas.
tomadas desde el E.S.E.



Vista de la Isla de Pajaros demorando al O dist. 17 millas.



Vista de la Isla de Pajaros demorando al S.O. dist. de 5 à 6 millas.

Document 1864B

The Robertson treasure (cont'd)

The story according to Captain Sanchez

Source: Sanchez y Zayas, Captain Eugenio. "Voyage of the Spanish Corvette "Narvaez" from Manila to the Marianas Islands," in The Nautical Magazine 34 (1865).

Note: For an earlier narrative by Captain Lafond, see Doc. 1822K.

...

Pagan has a kind of celebrity among the Marianas, on account of a treasure which is supposed to be concealed there. The history of it is rather curious, and might form the subject for an interesting novel, of which the out line may be stated in a few words.

About the year 20 or 22 of this century, the governor of the islands being Señor Medinilla, an English schooner arrived at Agaña, with a very small number of hands for her crew. The captain represented that his vessel had fitted out at Sydney at the expense of a person who said that he had a treasure at the Marianas Islands; that he had come to recover it (the person himself being in the vessel); that once when he was at the islands they had attempted to assassinate the captain while on shore in one of the islands, and not having succeeded in doing so, the person had escaped with a boat, in which he had run to the northward in the archipelago. He added that he believed the treasure was concealed in the Island of Ascension [Asunción], where he was with a large amount of money accumulated and some gold and silver ornaments which had been plundered from the churches of a town in South America.

It was said that this man had been in command of an English brigantine, which had anchored in some Chilian port during the war of Spanish independence. The place being on the point of falling into the hands of the enemy, many of their valuables were embarked in her for safety, with all of which the captain sailed one fine night without a word of communication to their owners. One bad deed is generally followed by another. Not trusting his own crew of the vessel, he is said to have hidden the treasure in the Island of Ascension with the help of one of them, whom he assassinated afterwards. He then took his vessel to the China coast, where he set fire to her, and thus got rid of the rest of the crew; and wandering about from place to place, he eventually stopped at Sydney, where he fitted out another vessel and came with her to the Marianas.

Such was the story of the captain of that vessel at Agaña. The schooner was manned by persons of bad character, who looked more like robbers than sailors. Nevertheless she had been allowed to sail, and certified as all right by the authorities at Sydney as

bound for the coast of China. Señor Medinilla, who considered this was an extraordinary affair, determined on detaining the vessel at Agaña, which he did in spite of the protestations of the captain. In Umata there was a merchant vessel of his own which made voyages between the Marianas and Philippine Islands, and he sent her in search of the man who was said to have escaped. This man was eventually taken by the vessel beyond Sariguan in a boat, with which he was running to the northward. He took him on board as prisoner; and being unable to make him confess where he had concealed the treasure, they adopted one of those proceedings which are not uncommon at sea, and the captain in fact gave him a good cudgelling.

He had found sewn up in the lining of his jacket a paper, which said that the plate was in a certain place mentioned, to be found by marks and distances; the former being cut in trees, and the place of landing was in lat. $18^{\circ}20'$.¹ But all this was written in a vague, indistinct way, and wanted something more definite. However, he had confessed on undergoing the punishment that he knew the treasure was in Ascension; he further stated that the captain might take him to that island, and when he was there he would show the place where the treasure lay.

The vessel therefore went to Ascension, and having arrived a boat was lowered. The prisoner being invited to go in her, descended the ship's side as if to do so, but with one foot he pushed the boat aside, dropped into the sea, and never reappeared!

Soon afterwards it was discovered that some heavy weight which were in the vessel were gone, and it was concluded that he had concealed these about his person in order to sink it. Such is the history of this treasure; one which, like every other, has its epilogue.

The paper which had been obtained from this man mentioned the trunks of cocoanut trees in lat. $18^{\circ}20'$. The Island of Ascension is quite deficient of those trees, and there is no island in the latitude mentioned. But in consequence of Pagan having plenty of those trees, it has been supposed that this was really the island. Señor Medinilla sent persons to search, but without success. Other attempts to find it have also been made, but with the same result; and with all the investigation nothing has been discovered. The secret, if one there be, is preserved by a corpse in the sea.

This story is said to be so far authentic, that it cost the governor of the Marianas, as I am told, the sum of twenty-four thousand pounds for injuries which the "English schooner sustained; the proprietors of which vessel claimed the expense of her detention and employment in the business, as having been declared illegal. Such in fact was the final result of the whole affair.

I have had in my possession for some time the translation of the paper in the possession of the Englishman when he was taken, and the instructions which Señor Medinilla gave to the person whom he sent to Pagan to seek for the treasure. These documents were brought on board the *Narvaez* by the present governor of the islands, in case,

1 Ed. note: The closest land is the north end of Pagan, at $18^{\circ}10'$ N.

during our excursions among the islands, we might see anything that would correspond with them.

I must confess that I have not given any attention to the affair. I am rather of an incredulous habit, and I do not believe that a second Monte Christo is to be found in the wilds of the Pacific Ocean. But, having examined the paper, one must believe that the treasure consisted certainly of something, which could not be concealed in Pagan, but might be in Agrigan. Now Pagan has been searched, tree by tree and rock by rock, in this part for forty years without anything having been found; while the desert isle of Agrigan has been frequently visited by whalers, who have gone there to embark pigs and to salt down their fish. It is not impossible that, if ever the treasure existed, it may have been carried off by some whaler. When I showed Señor la Corte that it was more likely the treasure was concealed in Agrigan than in Pagan, he remembered having heard said that a whaler had found a barrel of salt fish in a cave of Agrigan!

This, in fact, was the treasure. A barrel of silver, in money, was what the Englishman hid in one of the northern islands of the Marianas. A barrel of forty or fifty thousand dollars is certainly a treasure for a sailor. It is probable that some one in America entrusted the barrel to the captain of the brigantine, and that he was tempted to plunder it: that would explain the whole history. The rest is most likely an invention, about the church utensils and other valuables supposed to have formed part of it; for if this were true, the proprietors of the church property would have published to the world such a sacrilegious transaction. The tragic end of that man is another proof that the affairs of this world are watched over by a righteous Judge, and that His justice reaches individuals in a manner beyond our comprehension. And I consider that the barrel of dollars by the whaler seems to show that he would be losing time who could persuade himself that there is yet anything concealed, or would give himself any trouble about it.

Document 1864C

A visit to Nauru by the ship *Nightingale*

Source: Nautical Magazine, 1865, pp. 227-231.

The Passage from Newcastle (Australia) to Shanghai.— October to December.

Shanghai, Barque “*Nightingale*,” December 7th, 1864.

Sir,

The following remarks on a voyage from Newcastle, N.S.W., to Shanghai, and more especially respecting Pleasant Island, may not be uninteresting to masters taking the same route at the same time of year; but it remains with you to say whether or not the whole or any part of them are worthy of a place in your valuable publication.

On September 28th we left Newcastle, coal laden for Shanghai, in the barque **Nightingale**. It being too late to take the passage West of New Caledonia, I made as much Easting as possible until reaching the meridian of 171° E, when I stood to the northward

On the 11th of October sighted Hunter Island, bearing W. b. N., ten miles. Had very light winds from N.E. to E.S.E. until the 17th, when I sighted Mitre Island, off the S.E. end of which there was a very strong tide rip, and we were set to the W.N.W. about 1-1/4 knots per hour.

Winds were still from N.E. to E.S.E., with much rain, and lightning every evening till the 24th, when at 5h. a.m. Pleasant Island was sighted on the port bow, distant about five miles. Here we saw several fires along shore, which I took to be occasioned by natives fishing on the reef which fringes the island. Kept away to pass to leeward about three miles off.

As soon as daylight broke (5h. 45m.) we perceived no less than five canoes making for the ship; three under sail and paddles, and two under paddles only. In consequence of the warning¹ contained in Raper (people unfavorable) and also in a work compiled by Andrew Cheyne, *Sailing Directions from the Colonies to China and Japan*, wherein he states that in 1852 a “brig was cut off and all but three murdered,” I deemed it

¹ This warning originated in the *Nautical Magazine*.

prudent to try my hardest to get away from them. So we kept away to obring the wind abeam, and made all sail, ship going about five knots.

But the canoes came up to ous fast, on which we loaded the forecastle gun and a small carronade aft, also got up all small arms and laid them ready for use. At 7h. 30m., seeing that they still gained on us, I fired two guns with blank cartridge; but this did not check their advance.

The breeze now freshened to about six knots, and in a very short time three of the sternmost canoes gave up the chase and made for the island, Still there were two gaining on us fast. I fired a couple of rigles, but they still kept on. When we first made out the natives in them, there appeared to obe a great many more than there really were. At eight o'clock they were so close in our wake that I counted twenty-eight in one canoe and thirteen in the other. The latter slackened speed to allow the large one to approach first.

When quite close, I waved to them to keep off with my cutlass, on perceiving which, they immediately ceased pulling, and appeared quite surprised at the inhospitable treatment with which they were thus threatened. But seeing that they were easily got rid of, I made signs for them to advance, to which they responded with a will. I gave them lines over the stern, and after letting them tow in our wake long enough to enable me to examine the contents of their canoes to satisfy myself that they had no offensive weapons with them, I let them come alongside.

Now a scramble for the deck would have ensued, but for the orders I had given them to remain in their canoes, and seeing how determined I was, they did so without farther trouble. Trading now commenced for omats, cocoanuts, shells, hats, beautiful cable-laid coir fishing lines of all sizes, a few plates of tortoise-shell, which I think good, and a very curious dress made of coir; this appeared as if made for the purpose of protecting the legs and part of the body fromo arrows; it is beautifully made, and reaches from the ankle to the hip, and suspended by braces attached to the dress; it is ornamented with human hair, and in many places also sewn with hair. In exchange we gave them bits of iron hoop, tobacco, old files, biscuit, and old knives. I made a bit of hoop, six inches long, the price of a cocoanut, which seemed to satisfy them. The only other article they asked for was powder, of which I gave but a very limited quantity.

We sent a bucket of biscuit down to the small canoe in exchange for a coir dress; but it appears that the wrong man got the bread and refused to give it up too the owner of the dress. However, I thought it best to stop trading with that boat until we got value for our biscuit. But they did not put up with our neglect long, for in a few minutes they cast off the rope and made for the island. There was an old woman in that canoe, and also the only fowl we saw in their possession.

As I had but one canoe now to deal with, I backed the mainyard, as it was with great difficulty they could keep their canoe from swamping. It is a wonder they did not ask me to do this before, as they appeared much pleased when I stopped the vessel's way. The canoe that had left semed to hesitate now whether to return to ous or not; the na-

tives that were alongside joking and laughing at them, and evidently enjoyed having all the trade to themselves.

Trading now recommenced with a will, and we soon cleared the canoe, on which I ordered them off (as having but one canoe to deal with I had allowed them on deck). They immediately got into their canoe and left without the slightest hesitation, and appeared quite satisfied with their visit.

I never saw a more pleasing cast of features. Their hair was nicely cut, and I observed that three of them had their heads shaved in front, similar to the Javanese; I think they were superiors of some kind, as one of them steered and the others did not pull. They were a fine able bodied set, tall and powerful; had beautiful white teeth. Their dress consisted of a fringe of cocoanut leaves cut into narrow strips, reaching half way to the knee, and was very decent. The woman had the same covering as the men. They were neither tattooed nor painted; I did not observe them chew anything but tobacco, of which they seemed exceedingly fond. Strange to say, they did not ask for anything to eat or drink while on board, nor on leaving the ship, although they were about twelve miles from the island when they left. **The large canoe had no outrigger, but the small one had a double one.**¹ They were built of planks sewn together with cocoanut fibre, and well gummed in the seams.

Just as they were leaving, I heard that three white men were on the island; and from what I could make out, they had come out in the canoes that put back. I could not make out what country they belonged to, or how they came there. The natives all spoke more or less English, and what they did speak was with a very good pronunciation. Their language appeared to be soft, and easily pronounced by us. We detected several Malay words spoken by them. From the total absence of arms of any kind, and the happy good-natured countenances, I should say that whatever they have been they are now to be trusted; but still it is not desirable to go closer than four or five miles to the island, as the chances are that hundreds would collect around the ship, and there would be great difficulty in keeping them from the deck. It appears a beautiful island, and covered with trees. A sand bank seems to rise from the beach, as the summits of the trees may be seen topping over it. This bank must afford them good shelter when visited by storms.

The natives said they had no yams or bananas, but I think they must have misunderstood me, and the reason they did not bring off any was that they had no time to procure any after sighting the vessel. We saw one eat a raw fish (mullet) evidently with much relish. Several natives had suppurating sores about them, looking very like the effects of their contact with civilization (?). Alas! what a pity if such should be the case! How soon they will degenerate from the fine healthy fellows they were to-day to poor wretched emaciated beings, and perhaps die away altogether. I am afraid that most of the islands have cause to regret ever seeing the face of a white man. They were a very dark copper-coloured race.

¹ Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

I made the longitude of Pleasant Island $166^{\circ}58'$ E., which agrees with Captain Cheyne's position. I place reliance in this longitude, as it was but five days since I tested my chronometer by Mitre Island. Raper places Pleasant Island in $167^{\circ}20'$ E. At 2h. p.m. we crossed the equator.

A set to the westward of more than one knot was experienced since leaving Mitre Island, and sometimes it amounted to $1\text{-}3/4$ knots. I may here remark that since leaving lat. 20° S. to the latitude of Brown's Range [i.e. Eniwetok], $11^{\circ}40'$ N., long. $162^{\circ}15'$ E., every evening at sundown a very thick bank of clouds was seen extending from S.W. to W.N.W., presenting just such an appearance as when heavy westwardly winds are about to approach off Tasmania. It would appear quite close, and about 9h. p.m. disappear altogether. We never once had a breeze from the westward, although expecting it every night. May not this be caused by the westerly monsoon in the Java Sea and Torres Straits?

We had much light winds and calms, attended with lightning and heavy rains till reaching 10° N., when we got a pleasant breeze from N.E., varying to East, until November 15th, when I made San Alessandro, one of the Volcano Islands, and then we had variable winds from N.W. to S.W. until passing through Van Diemen Strait on November 30th, with the wind light at East.

Arriving off the Saddle Islands on December 4th, where a pilot boarded me to conduct the vessel to Shanghai. I have learned since my arrival that all the vessels from the Colonies taking the same route, made as long if not longer passage than I did, some of them fast vessels and in ballast. The **Agnes Holt**, a barque about the same size as the **Nightingale**, coal laden, and certainly not a faster sailer, struck off from Brown's Range, crossed the Mariana Group, in lat. $18^{\circ}30'$ N., and made direct for the Loo Choo Group, and still keeping on close hauled on the starboard tack, made Video and beat the whole fleet by about twenty-one days to the Saddle Group. Were I to have the same passage to make again, I should never think of going so far North before picking up Westing.

...

I remain, &c.

Andrew E. B. Brown

Master of Barque "Nightingale," of Melbourne.

To the Editor of the Nautical Magazine.

Documents 1864D

The German schooner Franz cut off at Rongerik

#HEAD2 = 1. First notice of the disaster

Source: Article in the Nautical Magazine of January 1865, quoting The Friend of October 1864.

Schooner Cut off at Rongerik Island.

By the schooner **Abby Forest**,¹ which arrived on Sunday from Micronesia, intelligence has been received of the loss of the Hamburg schooner **Franz**, and the massacre of her crew and passengers, at one of the Micronesian Islands. This vessel left the Amoor River for Honolulu some three years ago, consigned to Messrs. Melchers & Co. of this city. The long absence of the schooner created fears that she had been lost at sea or cut off by savages; but until this arrival no news had been heard from her. The intelligence of her loss is conveyed in a letter to Rev. S. C. Damon from Rev. Mr. Snow of Ebon, from which we extract the following particulars, published in the *Friend* for October.

Ebon, May 19, 1864.

My Dear Brother:—If you have not learned the fact before, let me here communicate to you the sad intelligence that another vessel has been cut off among these islands, and all on board have been murdered. It was some time during the past year [1863], and at one of our northern islands. The native name of the island is Rongerik, lat. 11°26' N., long. 167°14' E. according to Kotzebue.²

The information is from our Ebon natives who have just arrived from the North. They have not been to that island, but have seen natives from there, and obtained many things of them taken from the vessel. They describe the vessel as a schooner about the size of the **Maria**, which was wrecked on this island. They were at anchor in the lagoon, and I think it was the second day after they came to anchor that they murdered them and took the vessel. They did it while part of the company was on shore, murdering

- 1 Ed. note: This may be a supposition by the editor of the Nautical Magazine, from Arrivals information in *The Friend*. Rev. Damon himself, see below, does not give the name of the vessel, but she was the **Pfeil**, because he gives the name of her captain as Danelsberg.
- 2 Ed. note: This position given by Kotzebue corresponds to Rongelap, not Rongerik, but the natives could not have confused the two names.

those on shore first, then those in the vessel. So far as I can learn, there was no provocation whatever for the barbarity. It was solely for plunder. And they were greatly disappointed to find that the things they most wanted were not in the vessel, such as tobacco, hatchets, knives, axes, &c; but on the contrary there was a great deal of clothing, prints, boxes, books, and, I should judge, bar iron for blacksmithing, together with a great many China or Japanese boxes.

But what makes it sadder to us is the probability that there was a missionary family on board, for they speak of one of the company—and he was not the captain—who read from a book morning and evening, and then stood up and shut his eyes and talked, and while he did this all the rest put their heads down and went to sleep, that is, shut up their eyes. The white woman who was on board was the wife of the man who prayed. The flag of the vessel with a name on it is with our chiefs who are now at Jaluit. I have a medicine chest from the vessel with a few medicines in it, and all of them labelled in German. An apothecary's card is on the inside of the cover with the name A. L. Siemens, and Hamburg upon it. This is also in German, stating, among other things, that medicine chests could be fitted out or replenished at short notice and on reasonable terms, with directions in the various languages of Continental Europe.

It is a touching and instructive fact that the natives, either from his teaching or from his praying, called the name of the praying man *Jehovah*.

After they had killed the company they worked the vessel on shore upon the reef and burnt her.

2. Additional information from the original report in *The Friend*.

Massacre of the Crew of Hamburg Schr. "Franz," at Marshall Islands.

The Hamburg schooner **Franz**, Capt. Catenhusenleft [sic], left Nicolaefsk, on the Amoor river, in July, 1861, and loaded with salmon and firewood was bound to Honolulu, consigned to the German house of Messrs. Melchers & Co. Since her departure from the Amoor river, nothing has been heard from her until the arrival of a German vessel, commanded by Capt. Danelsberg, from the Marshall Islands via Guam. The following paragraphs from letters written by the Rev. B. G. Snow, the American Missionary on Ebon, leave no doubt respecting the fate of the captain, his wife, and crew of the ill-fated **Franz**.

Ebon, May 19, 1864.

Rev. S. C. Damon,

My Dear Brother:

If you have not learned the fact before, etc. [Ed. note: As above, until the word "burnt her."]

O how I long to learn more of that ill-fated company and of those dear praying ones. Had they only touched a little farther south, where the influence of the gospel is felt, they would have been as safe as in your own harbor at Honolulu. You, and the readers of the *Friend*, well know how recently the same barbarities were practiced here on Ebon. Now there is gathered here a little church of thirty-three members, with Sabbath schools and day schools and other humanizing, elevating influences. Also on Kusaie, Strong's Island, where I have more or less evidence of some four or five vessels having been cut off and all on board murdered, there is now a gospel church there, to which fifty-eight of the natives had been received. And, as you know, they are trying to perpetuate the blessings of the gospel with no teacher but the great and good Shepherd. I hardly know where you can point to more demonstrative proofs of the divine origin of our holy religion than to what has been and is being wrought upon these barbarous and savage islands.

...
Our work is far from being completed in Micronesia. The recent arrival of twelve proas with their two hundred and sixteen human beings, has brought us a real live Jezebel. She would be glad to wipe every convert from the island if she could. She started the other morning with a torch to burn all their houses. She began at a miserable old house of our poor old Hannah, who has no friends but Jesus and his disciples. While that was burning one of our young men said to her, "Go on, Likwor, they are all your houses, burn them up." This or something else took the thunder all out of the old jade, and she not only stopped, but promised to rebuild it! But they predict something worse than thunder when the next fleet arrives.

Your brother,
B. G. Snow.

In a letter, under a subsequent date, May 25th, Mr. Snow thus refers to the signal-flag of this ill-fated vessel, "a bright young chief, by the aid of the large letters in the Tract-Primer, gave me "FRANS" as the letters on the flag. The colors were red on top, white in the middle, and blue at the bottom, running off to a point.¹ The "bottom" and "top" colors might be reversed as they might not know the "right side up" of the flag."

It is quite remarkable that Mr. Snow should have so identified the letters on the flag, from a native's report, as he had not seen it. The name identifies the vessel beyond all doubt.

We now plead, as we long have formerly done, that the gospel may be preached through all the Marshall Islands. We hope the **Morning Star** may at least cruise among those northern islands. Unless we are much mistaken, this schooner, the **Franz**, was cut off at what are called the Piscadores, where Capt. Dowsett is supposed to have been murdered many years ago.

1 Ed. note: The red-white-blue flag with horizontal bars belongs to the Netherlands.

Document 1864E

Fearful and Destructive Gale in the Tropics

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, October 4, 1864.

In our last issue we reported the loss of the **Lady Washington** at Baker's Island, on the 3d of May, 1 o'clock, P.M. This island lies in 0°13' north lat. and 176°22' west long. The wind blew from the westward with violent squalls in one of which the vessel went down.

The Rev. B. G. Snow, missionary on Ebon, (one of the Marshall islands, lying 4°39' north lat. and 168°50' east long.,) thus writes under date of May 3d:

...
"It came nearest a gale of anything I have seen in Micronesia, (12 years a resident.) It reached its height about noon yesterday. You would hardly know the end of the island. Every green bush and shrub is gone. The water tore everything before it. Up to the time the wind had not varied much from the south. It began now to haul to the west."

Our correspondent proceeds to give an account of its destructive march, tearing down large forest trees, cocoanut trees, houses, the house of the missionary Aea, and the school house, also breaking a fine boat belonging to the missionary. The water approached nearly up to the missionary's house. Having a distinct recollection of the spot, as it appeared in June 1861, we can readily imagine the fearful havoc made by the winds and the tremendous rollers coming in from the sea and rolling upon the land.

[S. C. Damon]

Documents 1864F

News items about Micronesia, with mentions of Guam

F1. Published in Boston

Source: Article in the Boston Evening Traveler, July 1, 1864.

Whalers.

A letter from Capt. Barnes of barque **Ontario** reports her at Guam March 30 [1864] with 550 bbls sperm oil bound to Japan Sea and Arctic Ocean. Hiram Morse, seaman, died Dec. 18 of consumption.

A letter from Capt. Milton of ship **Europa**, N.B. reports her at Guam March 3, having been 200 bbls. sperm since leaving Honolulu.

A letter from Capt. Willis, of ship **Mount Wollaston**, N.B. reports her at Guam March 9, clean bound to Japan.

F2. Beche de Mer shipped to Manila

Source: Article in the Guam Recorder, October 1927.

An Old Shipping Receipt.

Shipped in good order and well conditioned, by "R[ichard] Millenchampœ in and upon the good Ship or Vessel called the "**Siglo de Oro**" whereof is Master for this present voyage, ----- and now riding at Anchor in this Harbor and bound for Manila.

"Eight Hundred Weight of Beche de Mer"

Being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good order and well contitioned, at the aforesaid Port of "Manila."

The Act of God, the Queen's Enemies, Fire, and all and every other dangers and accidents of the seas, rivers, and navigation, of whatever nature or kind soever, excepted unto "G. N. Mitchell" or to "His" Assigns, Freight for the said goods payable in Manila, with primage and average accustomed.

In Witness whereof, the Master of the said ship or vessel hath affirmed to fThree” Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date: one of which Bills being accomplished, the others to stand void.

Dated in “26th. Sept. 1864.”

Weight and Contents unknown to -----.

F3. Published in Honolulu

Source: Articles in The Friend, Honolulu, October 1864.

Notice.

To José Baranas and Doroteo Baranas.

You are hereby notified to appear before the undersigned, who will inform you how to proceed, in order to obtain \$1,116.37 now on deposit for each of you, in the State Treasury of Agaña, Island of Guam.

B. C. Wyllie.

Honolulu, 26th September, 1864.

Editor’s comment.

The sum of money was a large sum in those days. The individuals mentioned may have been Guamanians, perhaps with a commercial interest in the schooner Pfeil. Further information may be contained in the Spanish Colonial Government papers now held in the LC Mass. Division in Washington.

The same page of the same issue of the Friend has this other notice.

Died.

Alapai—July 4th, in Agaña, Island of Guam, Alapai, a native of Honolulu, who, on the 30th of March, had been discharged from the American bark **Ontario**, sick and unable to perform his duty on board.¹

1 Ed. note: For the logbook of the Ontario, Capt. Barnes, see next document.

Document 1864G

A volcano at Ujelang?**Wrong report about a volcano on Ujelang Atoll**

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, May 1, 1864.

Volcano on a Coral Island.

We would call attention to the recent eruption on one of the islets of Providence [Ujelang] Island as referred to in the report of Captain James.¹ It ought perhaps to occasion no surprise that a phenomenon of this nature should occur, but it is very unusual, and we do not remember to have met with any record of such an event. If all coral and lagoon islands are the summits of old craters, then we are surprised that such eruptions do not more frequently occur. Captain James, who visited the spot, informs us that the event occurred only a short time previous to his visit, and that the trees and leaves were scorched with the hot gases, but at present there are no appearances of active fires. The land, embracing a space of three or four hundred feet square, was torn and thrown in every direction, resembling the breaking up of ice on a river in the spring.²

1 Ed. note: Of the missionary vessel MOrning Star.

2 Ed. note. Even the missionaries who were aboard this ship ridiculed Captain James' report. They claimed that the destruction was the result of lightning strikes. They were probably right, as there is no volcanoe at Ujelang.

Documents 1864I

Loss of the Asterion at Baker Island

II. First report received at Honolulu

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, January 1864.

Loss of Ship Asterion.

Sept. 24 [1863], at 3 o'clock, A.M. the A1 clipper ship **Asterion**, of New York, 1125 tons, B. D. Hurd, Master, with a cargo of guano, from Howland's Island, struck on the reef at the N.E. part of Baker's Island, and became a total loss. The crew were all saved, as well as some of the stores, &c.

Nov. 19, Mr. George Ulrick, first officer of the **Asterion**, with six men—James Wilson, Frank Robinson, W. Pike, W. Donnelly, C. Hutchkiss, and S. G. Bolles—left Baker's Island in a whaleboat, for Howland's Island, to induce the schooner **Helen** to come to Baker's Island and take the shipwrecked crew, since which time nothing has been heard of them.¹

II. Notes about the boat's crew of the Asterion

Source: How & Matthews. American Clipper Ships, 1833- 1858; quoting from Capt. W. H. McLain's Reminiscences.

...

On her last voyage, which was destined never to be completed, the **Asterion** reached San Francisco, June 2, 1863, 151 days from New York, Captain Hurd reporting unfavorable weather condition throughout... After loading a cargo of guano at Howland's Island, she was lost Sept. 24, 1863, soon after sailing, on the reef at Baker's Island. Capt. W. H. McLain, in after years one of the most respected and competent commanders in the Pacific and long employed by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was a member of the crew of the **Asterion** at the time of her loss and the following account is taken from his "Reminiscences" published in a San Francisco paper.

¹ Ed. note: If they had simply stayed at Baker's Island, they would have been soon rescued with the others by the **Helen**, Capt. McGregor, which arrived on Nov. 28 and took the remaining survivors to Honolulu.

In 1863, at the age of seventeen, he sailed from San Francisco in the **Asterion**, bound for Howland's Island to load guano. After taking on her cargo and starting on her passage, the ship was lost on Baker's Island, some fifty miles distant from Howland's. The crew had great difficulty in fighting their way through the surf to the beach. A few stores and some wreckage drifted ashore and one of the latter rude huts were constructed. For over two months they dragged out a miserable existence, their principal food being snakes, which they dug from holes in the ground, and sea birds which they caught. A constant lookout was kept for passing vessels and finally a sail was sighted which they were able to signal and which took them off. It was the **Herald of the Morning**, from San Francisco for Howland's Island,¹ and they were taken thence. From there they got to Honolulu,² arriving Dec. 25th.

A Sydney, Australia, newspaper of Feb. 8, 1864, contains the following: "Chief officer Aldrick [sic] and three of the crew of the **Asterion** arrived here yesterday in the **Clarence Packet** from the South Sea Islands; their ship was wrecked on the night of Sept. 24th, on Baker's Island. Mr. Aldrick with six men left in a boat for Howland's Island, to engage a vessel to take the crew and what was saved from the wreck, to the Sandwich Islands. They missed Howland's and were obliged to bear up for the King-smill Group, where they arrived after ten days. Here they found the **Clarence Packet**. Captain Hurd and 17 of the shp's crew had been left on Baker's Island. The ship was insured in New York and had 1600 tons of guano aboard."³

I3. News received three years later from Apaiang, Gilberts

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, April 1867.

A few days since we found in our box in the Post-office, a letter which appears to have been more than three years on its way from Apaiang, one of the Gilbert Islands, to Honolulu. It relates to the loss of the **Arterion**, on Baker's Island, Sept. 24th, 1863. The news is rather old, and hence we shall only insert the following card attached to the letter.

Card.

Apaiang, Dec. 29th, 1863.

Rev. S. C. Damon,

Sir:

I take the liberty of sending you this, trusting you will have the kindness to tender my most sincere thanks, in your widely circulated paper, the "Friend," to the Rev. H. Bingham, as also to Mrs. B., for their kindness and courtesy to me and my boats' crew,

1 Ed. note: Via Honolulu, and from there 12 days on her way to Baker Island.

2 Ed. note: Aboard the Helen.

3 Ed. note: Mr. Hutchkiss became employed by Rev. Bingham as a printer and remained at Abaiang for many months. The other two remaining men waited for other opportunities to go to Honolulu.

upon landing at this island. I can not describe the sympathy they at all times manifested towards us, and their kind attention when so deeply in need of it; and by giving this publicity, you will much oblige the undersigned and your humble servant.

Geo. L. Ulrick, late 1st officer of ship **Asterion**, Chas. Hotchkiss, Wm. Donnelly, James Wilson, Wm. Pike, late seamen on board ship **Asterion**.

14. Lost Boat of the Asterion

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, June 1864.

Off the Harbor of Honolulu, Thursday, May 26th, 1864.

Rev. S. C. Damon,

Dear Sir:

By request of Capt. Willey I write to inform you of the chief officer of the ill-fated ship **Asterion**. I suppose you have the particulars from Captain Hurd up to the time he left Baker's Island. Owing to currents and not having chronometer time, he was unable to find Howland's Island, after trying some fifty-six hours. He then had to do the next best thing, as it was impossible to get back to Baker's. He with the rest of the boat's crew were in the boat nine days, without seeing land, and at the dawn of the 10th they were overjoyed with the sight of land, which proved to be one of the islands of King's Mill Group. I forget which it was. For eight days they had nothing to eat nor water to drink. He was on this island six weeks before he had a chance to get away. At the end of that time a small schooner, which was in the oil trade, touched there. The schooner's name was **Clarence**, of Sydney, and which, after cruising from one island to another, returned to that port, where he (Mr. Alrick) arrived safe and well last February. I was at that time in the American ship **Black Hawk**, Captain Seth Doane. We were in Newcastle at the time he arrived in Sydney. Captain Doane sent for him to come to Newcastle, which he did, and took passage with us from thence to San Francisco, and arrived April 20th, 1864. As soon as we arrived he sent a dispatch to his wife. He had a free passage given him, and left in the steamer for his home and family, the first of this month, and I trust he is now happy with his dear wife at home—so, if you write, he will be there to receive it. He spoke very highly of the treatment he received at the King's Mill Group, and though he should like to live there if he had his family.

Yours respectfully,

William Church.

Chief officer of ship **Lagoda**.¹

1 Ed. note: According to the same newspaper, the American clipper ship **Lagoda** left the next day for Howland's Island.

Document 1864J

Adventures of a boy aboard the whaler **Mount Wollaston**

Source: Hartshorn, O. Experiences of a Boy, By His Father's Son (Newark, Baker, 1910).

Summary of his experiences.

The boy shipped aboard the 350-ton whaling ship **Mount Wollaston**, of New Bedford, Captain J. M. Willis, for a voyage that began in 1862. The ship went by the Canary Islands, Argentina, Cape Horn, Hawaii, then to the Okhotsk Sea, and back to Hawaii, straight to the China Sea, Hokkaido, the Arctic, Alaska, back to Hawaii, where the boy stowed away aboard the **Dreadnought**, but he was discovered. The **Mount Wollaston** went to California, back to the Pacific Islands, passing by the Gilberts, before reaching Guam, where he swam ashore with a Chamorro sailor and another. They were captured by a shore party armed with machetes.

To the Arctic once more. On the way they were chased by the Confederate raider **CSS Shenandoah** and escaped to the Arctic Sea beyond Behring Strait. Once more in Hawaii, in 1865, the boy joined the rest of the crew in claiming that they had been contracted for only three years, and asked to be discharged. The author remained at Honolulu, working at a printing press for a while, then he shipped aboard the **Smyrniote** of San Francisco as an able seaman.

...

CHAPTER XII.

The ship, after leaving the California coast, cruised amongst the various groups of Pacific Islands. The weather was generally fine, and altho the search was for sperm whales, the passing amongst these islands of the sea was impressive and grand. Many were mere coral atolls fringed with cocoanut trees. Many were large and inhabited with gracious savages. Many were mountainous, and some were populated by treacherous natives who had to be avoided. One time, in passing near one of the latter lands, the wind died down. In the distance many war canoes were observed leaving the shore in the direction of the hship. All hands were armed, prepared to give the devils a warm reception. The natives gained rapidly on the ship and all aboard expected lively work in providing them with hospitable graves in the ocean; but luckily, when the rascals got within a few hundred yards of the vessel the wind sprang up and soon the savages were

left jabbering in their boats. They sprang up showing their murderous war clubs, encircled with shark's teeth, and sent many arrows which fell short in the water.

Amongst the islands inhabited by friendly natives, many events happened that gave the crew much enjoyment. The bright sun, plenty of fruit, the hearty *aloha nui* (gracious salutation) of our naked visitors, all made up an atmosphere of bliss. On meeting the long, low boats, generally manned by at least twenty, visiting their friends on other islands, especially if met on moonlight nights, gave a scene of enchantment, all dipping their paddles in unison, chanting in tune a low-voiced monotone that sounded grand as they passed away in the distance. The old man never had any confidence in himself. He would take the sun several times and figure out the results with many misgivings. That he was not correct in his figuring was proven many times during the voyage, as he was continually making land miles out of the true course. One dark, stormy night, when the boy was in the lookout, with no thought of land, a streak of moonlight broke through the clouds, lighting up a rocky shore. The light was for an instant only, but was sufficient to show the terrible danger ahead. A quick cry of "Breakers ahead!" caused the officer of the deck to promptly order the wheel hard up, and the ship turned as on a pivot, her stern pounding an instant in the breakers as she passed out of danger. The old man thought that the ship was sixty miles to the southward of this land. This island was inhabited by cannibals, and if the vessel had run ashore those that escaped the breakers and rocks would have been killed by the natives.

Very often during dead calms in warm latitudes the men would plunge in the water for a swim. One day when becalmed near an island, many of the crew slipped overboard and were gaily sporting around the ship in the deep waters. The boy swam way beyond the rest, when a cry of sharks was heard. Those near the ship soon scrambled aboard. The lad made for the vessel in a vigorous manner. When near he looked up and saw the men looking over the rail in an anxious manner. Two were in the chains and soon as possible grasped the boy by the arms, throwing him over on the deck. It was noticed that the shark's mouth was within an inch of the receding heels. This was a close shave. The next day when down in a boat, a large shark bit off the blade of one of the oars. The sharks have no friends amongst sailors.

At one time during a very heavy gale the ship was laying to and the boy was bying on deck looking upwards. It was very warm altho the crash of the seas and the fierce gale blowing against the rigging made so much noise that one could not hear another speak. Soon the boy noticed a shadowy form coming over the ship, between the fore and mainmast. It was quickly made out to be the jibboom of another ship. She was also laying to. When both vessels yawned in different directions the stranger's jibboom fouled the ship's foremast and was snapped off close to the nightheads. Then both vessels were lying side by side. Without the support of the fore topmast-stay and the forestay, the foremast could not stand in the heavy sea. It broke off close to the deck, followed, as in pantomime, by the mainmast and then the mizzenmast. Althou both crews were hollering like demons, not a human voice could be heard. Even the breaking of the heavy spars and their crashing falls were inaudible. Nothing was heard but

the battle of the elements. The wreck of the stranger then drifted around the stern of the ship, carrying away the spanker- boom, and then disappeared in the darkness as silently as she came. The damage to the ship was great. The fore-topmast was lost. A large section of the bulwarks was stoven in. All the boats on the starboard side went to destruction. The fore-yard would also have been carried away if it had not been for the quick action of the boy. At the first contact one of the stranger's yards fouled the fore-yard and was on the point of breaking it off when the boy noticed teh tightening brace on the belaying pin. He sprang forward and threw off the brace, which relieved the yard, allowing it to swing around safely. In getting at the belaying-pin it was necessary to push aside the second mate who was standing directly alongside. The only thanks he got was a scowl from the officer for thrusting him aside, forgetting it was owing to his slow wit only that made the action necessary.

There is an old superstition amongst sailors that ships attract one another on the sea. No ship had been seen for many days, and to have these two drift together in the darkness while laying to in the waste of waters a thousand miles from any land seems to give a semblance of truth to the belief. With the approach of daylight the next morning the stranger was seen, a mere rolling hulk, miles off on the horizon. The wind and sea had died down considerably and a boat was sent to offer assistance. In approaching the stranger, tossing like a log in the water, a sea swept the boat against her, causing the breaking of the gunwale. The stranger was found to be a whaleship named **Governor Troup**. The captain¹ when offered assistance by the officer on boat, appeared to be crazy. He jumped up and down on deck and swore like a pirate. He ordered the boat away to a very warm place, where it is supposed no water exists. He yelled out that if his order was not obeyed immediately he would blow off the heads of the crew. There was nothing to do but return to the ship and report. The vessel remained in sight of the wreck all day, and towards night she was seen, with temporary spars, making off slowly to some port. It was afterwards found out that she got to Honolulu and was refitted at a cost of twenty thousand dollars; then sailing for the Arctic, was caught by teh **Shenandoah**, as described later, becoming one of the seven vessels burned.

About this time much stormy weather was met with. A succession of gales made the call of "All hands on deck" quite common. During one cyclonic tempest the water was whirling in heavy seas that would twist around, lifting the vessel up on top and then give away suddenly, allowing the ship to fall with a crash. This peculiar action of the water was appalling, causing even the officers to become white with apprehension. All the men were lashed to belaying-pins, for otherwise they would have been swept from the ship. A man was made fast to each mast with an axe and ordered to cut away when the word should be given. The officers feared that such falling blows would drive the masts through the bottom of the vessel. Luckily the ship ran out of the boiling waters before it became necessary to give the order, much to the relief of the detailed men, for

1 Captain Edward R. Ashley. Both whaling ships were from New Bedford.

they knew that if the masts were cut away they, n toppling over, would swing around and ten chances to one crush the life out of them.

During this stormy weather the boy had a never-to-be-forgotten dream in his watch below. He heard beautiful singing in the distance. The day was warm, with hardly a noticeable wind. The singing sounded closer and soon it was noticed to proceed from boats laden with gaily appareled ladies who were pulling towards the ship. Soon they reached the tackles that were lowered and then the crew run them up, joining at the same time in the chorus. When the girls tripped on deck many of them were recognized as old friends. They began to dance around, continuing their beautiful singing, when a heavy banging on the scuttle was heard followed by a stern command, "All hands on deck" to take in the topsails. The contrast between the enchanting vision and the gale-tossed vessel, laboring in heavy seas, was overpowering.

[Visit to Guam.]

The vessel approached the Ladrone Islands late in the afternoon. The wind was light and slow progress made. The anchor was dropped long after daylight had departed. The boy thought that the ship was not more than a mile from shore. He induced a man called Smith, but afterwards his real name was found to be Montrose, and a chimmoria [Chamorro], as the natives of the Ladrone Islands are called, to swim ashore. This chimmoria was considered important on account of his claimed ability to talk the language of the country. It was found out afterwards that owing to leaving the Islands as an infant he knew nothing of the language. These three men constituted the mid-anchor watch, and after 12 o'clock they prepared to leave the ship. The native could not swim, therefore a large plank which was on deck was silently lifted over the side with two small diameter casks, which the boy swimming alongside attempted to lash to the plank, one on each end. The casks proved unmanageable, and the boy could not lift the plank in the water over them. Soon they got adrift and went thumping against the ship in their journey aft, much to the consternation of the men, who thought that the noise would arouse the officers. After waiting some time to find out the result, and no officer appearing, the chimmoria was placed on the plank, which he sank quite deep in the water, and the other two men then began to swim to land, pushing the plank between them. The dsistance was found much more than expected, and afterwards it was found out that the ship was anchored three miles out. The men swam until exhausted. The land seemed to recede. The wind began to spring up, causing quite a sea, which was in the face of the runaways. When nearing the shore heavy breakers were noticed. This condition had not entered into the calculations of the swimmers, but they were too far fagged out to return to the ship. They must proceed and soon were tossing in the surf. They knew nothing more after getting in the breakers. They lost consciousness. The boy was the first to regain his senses. When he opened his eyes and saw the sun showing that it must be at least ten o'clock in the morning, he found himself lying bruised on a shaley beach. He got up slowly, like Old Rip Van Winkle, arousing himself from his twenty years' slumber, and looked around. He saw the body of Smith about two

hundred feet down the beach. He laboriously crept to him, and finding him breathing slightly, proceeded to do the resuscitation act. After a while he got him on his feet and the two went to the chimmoria, who was seen lying about three hundred feet further down the shore. It was pretty hard to bring him to life, but success followed repeated endeavors. The plank was not in sight. The three forlorn creatures, leaning on one another, went slowly along the shore and crept into a tropical growth of vines. Soon they all lost knowledge of events in slumber. They slept for hours, when the boy awakening, heard a whistle far off in the distance. This was repeated by others in a semi-circle, and it was noticed that the whistles became louder and more distinct, showing that the trackers were approaching in a curve. They rapidly came closer and closer, until a circle of steel machetes surrounded the elopers. The men holding the weapons could not be seen on account of the thick vegetation. Smith, who was always in trouble on account of his thoughtless actions, attempted to grab one of the machetes, when the savage holder brought it down quickly on the right arm, making a bad wound. Then the men were all bound with their hands behind them, and marched slowly through the tangled undergrowth to an old Spanish fort, where they were put into a gun embrasure, inhabited previously by chickens, who had left a rich deposit of the usual kind. The runaways were held in durance vile only a short time. Soon they were marched, still bound, to a bay, where the ship's crews were found filling casks with water and towing them to the vessel. While standing there, some natives came up and began to feel off the boy's body, jabbering in astonishment. The governor of the island, a fine old Spanish Don, who spoke English, was near, and being asked the cause of the action, stated that the natives thought the men were not human because they swam three miles in waters that were infested with man-eating sharks to such an extent that the inhabitants could not be enticed to go to their knees in the sea. The men were placed in a boat and soon were hoisted on deck, when the thongs binding their arms were cut. The boy heard the old man say in a whisper to the mate, "The rascals should be triced up in the rigging by their thumbs;" but the good old mate whispered back that he thought it would be well not to do so, as one of them was too good a writer, and might cause trouble when they arrived in port. The only punishment undergone was pumping ship for hours. The next day fourteen big man-eating sharks were noticed around the ship. The crew spaded them until their entrails were exposed; but still they snapped at food thrown into the water.

After watering up, the old ship cruised after the humpback whales.

...

[A surprise upon leaving the ship at Honolulu.]

The boy, unacquainted with the formalities of revenue and duties, sent his donkey, or chest, on shore unaccompanied and proceeded to the office, where the captain directed him to get a settlement of his account. He found the place which was upstairs, and met the only occupant, an old clerk, seated on a high stool before an old-fashioned desk. On giving his name, he was told that he was indebted to the ship to the amount of \$320; but the amount could not be collected on account of the impoverished condi-

tion of the applicant. The only thing required was that the boy should sign a paper relinquishing all claims against the ship. This information was received with mild surprise. A demand to see the books was met with the statement that they would not be understood and again the paper was placed before the boy for signature. Insistence caused the day-cook and ledger to be produced. There it was shown that the escapade on the old ship **Dreadnaught** was charged up to the tune of two hundred and ten dollars. The swimming act at the Ladrone Islands cost two hundred and thirty dollars. The six dollars liberty money received during the voyage was debited as twelve dollars on account of the depreciated condition of the American currency at the time. The various articles got out of the slop chest, with three to four hundred per cent profit added, were duly recorded. All these items, balanced with the proceeds of the voyage, left the indebtedness as stated. It was no use to question the correctness of the charges. The boy had to be satisfied. To leave the office, after three years and six days of hard, laborious toil, without a cent of remuneration, seemed, however, to be tough. A break was made for the door, when the clerk sang out, "Here, you have not signed the paper." The boy, knowing that the law required a clear balance sheet of the voyage, and that the account could not be closed without this paper, stated that he never made his signature without recompense, and that he demanded payment for the act. The clerk pleaded that he had to have the books balanced and said it was a favor to cross off the amount owed the ship, all without disturbing the boy's determination, however. The result was that the clerk brought out a twenty dollar gold piece as payment for the signature, which was duly made, and all connection ended with the old **Mount Wollaston**. On leaving the office several members of the crew were met, all disconsolate on account of not receiving anything. They were told of their foolishness in not demanding money for their signature, receiving the information with due resignation.

The boy then went to the dock to hunt up his donkey. It was found, but upon opening it the absence of many curios collected during the voyage was noticed, including some fine articles procured in Japan. On inquiry it was found that the Custom Officers had condemned the articles on account of non-payment of duties. He offered to pay the duties, without result. Various excuses were given, but the articles never were recovered. The rascals had stolen them, a common occurrence in that land of missionary dominance.

...

Documents 1864K

The lease of Pagan Island to Captain Danelsberg

Source: PNA.

Mariana Islands.—13 March 1865.

File opened by F. Danelsberg, Captain of the Hawaiian Schooner Abbey Forest, regarding the lease of Pagan Island, one of the uninhabited island of this Archipelago.

Original letter in stilted English, dated Agaña 7 July 1864

Note: The letter was written by a German. It is copied here with all the English mistakes retained.

Señor Gobernador Don Felipe de la Corte.

Sir:

Knowing that the Grigan Island is let by the Government and supposing that it will be of its interest, to let too the Island of Pagan, now withut any profit and considering that to take some sma benefit of that Island it will be necessary to engage there much more money than in Grigan, as very few living animals are on Pagan and no plantations at all and thinking that the only manner of improving that Island will be to colonize it, I take the liberty to propose to let the Island of Pagan to me on the following terms:

To the first I will take the Island of Pagan to use it at the same conditions as Gri-gan is let, with the following exceptions:

1st The time will be for five years from the day of the possession that will be taken in ten month from this date but without any rent or payment.

2ly That I will put on the Island of Pagan in course of time one hundred Natives of different Islands including one third women, comming voluntarily to work on Pagan and to live according to the Spanish Laws, as the Carolina people live at Saypan, I will be obliged too to remove them from the Island if after my time they do not like to be naturaliced on this group, besides of this people I like to bring some men perhaps white to direct the work, I promise that they will live according to the Spanish Laws and that

they shall not exceed over the Spanish men engaged there.

As compensation of the benefit that I may take from the Island I oblige myself to keep at Pagan a small craft good enough to navigate from that Island to Guam and she shall make no less than two trips every year, touching at Grigan, Saypan, Tinian and Rota, coming and going back to carry passengers and freight of the Government at ordinary prices and private freight according to agreement.

However if I can not find a sheltering place for the craft, against the dangers of the sea, on the Island of Pagan, I will bind myself to make one trip with my vessel annually, touching at all the Islands coming and going ect. as before mentioned.

Having the honor Sir! in handing You this proposition I am in hopes that You will look favorably at my request and begging You most respectfully, to answer at my proposition in time of twenty days, for I do not intend to stay over this time in Guam, on account of other engagements.

I remain with the greatest respect Your most obedient Servant.

F. Danelsberg

Master of Schooner **Abbey Forest**

Agaña Guam Is.

July 7th 1864

...

The Governor's answer

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno M. y P. de Marianas

Agaña 20 de Julio de 1864

*No habiendose presentado proposición alguna de mejora á las condiciones de arrendamiento ofrecidas por el Capitán de la Goleta Sandwicana **Abbey Forest** F. Danelsberg y considerando ser de una utilidad superior á los doscientos quince pesos en que esta arrendado el aprovechamiento de la Isla de Agrigan, la oferta de poner cien habitantes en la Isla de Pagan y sostener en una ú otra forma una comunicación ó dos anuales seguras entre todas las Islas habitadas en este archipiélago, y en vista de no dar lugar á consulta á la Capital se acepta interinamente por este Gobno. la proposición del Capitán Danelsberg entendiendose las clausulas aclaratorias siguientes,*

1ª. Que los habitantes de las Islas que ha de traer á Pagan han de ser de los grupos ó archipiélagos conocidos por Carolinas Occidentales, Centrales ú Orientales en las cartas Españolas, y que por trascurso del tiempo no se ha de entender otro que hasta un año despued de la posesion de la Isla.

1 Ed. note: The above letter was officially translated into Spanish by Juan de León Guerrero and Joaquín Portusach. Governor de la Corte ordered an edict posted at three places in Agaña to the effect that anyone else could also submit a similar proposal. By the deadline of 20 July, when nobody had submitted any additional offers, the Governor wrote the following letter which accompanied a more extensive report.

2ª. *Que antes de esta ocupación ó directamente despues de ella ha de recoger en Guam el Alcalde y demas subditos Españoles que hayan de residir en la Isla y conducirlos allá y que los hombres que no sean Carolinos had de prestar previamente en Agaña el Juramento requerido por la Ley de vivir conforme á las del Pais.*

3ª. *Que el viage anual que ha de hacer con su Buque, si no mantiene otro y si no lo hiciese ha de contratarse uno por el Gobierno para este fin á costa del Contratista.*

4ª. *Que antes de sacar ningun aprovechamiento de la Isla ha de prestar fianza á satisfacción del Gobno. de estas Islas ó de quien determine el superior Gobno. de Filipins de llevar las condiciones propuestas.*

5ª. *Que esta contrata se entiende interina hasta la aprovaciyn del superior Gobierno de Fioipinas, que si no se obtuviese quedará sin efecto y sin derecho á reclamar perjuicios.*

6ª. *Que del mismo modo se reserva al Capitám Danelsberg el derecho de rescindir esta obligación dando aviso al Superior Gobno. en Manila antes del primero de Febrero del año proximo venidero ó ú este Gobierno de Marianas antes de la llegada ú estas del correo que en el citado primero de Febrero debe salir de Manila, hasta cuya fecha se considera esta contrata sin obligación definitiva por ambas partes.*

Notifiquese este decreto al interesado dandole copia de él y dese cuenta al Superior Gobno. de Filipinas para su superior resolución.

La Corte

Translation.

Military and Political Government of the Marianas.

Agaña, 20 July 1864.

Given that there have not been any proposals with more favorable lease conditions than those offered by the Captain of the Sandwich Island Schooner **Abbey Forest**, F. Danelsberg, and considering it of greater benefit derived from the lease for the use of the Island of Agrigan, the offer to place one hundred inhabitants on the Island of Pagan and to sustain in one form or another one or two assured communications every year between all the islands of this archipelago, and in view of the fact that there is no time to consult with the Capital, the proposal of Captain Danelsberg is accepted temporarily by this Government, provided that the following explanatory clauses are included:

1. That the inhabitants of the islands that must be brought to Pagan must be from the groups or archipelagos known as the Western, Central or Eastern Carolines on the Spanish charts, and that by passage of time must not be understood any other than within one year after taking possession of the Island.

2. That before this occupation or directly after it the Mayor and other Spanish subjects who must reside in the Island must be picked up in Guam and carried there and that the men who are not Carolinians must first swear allegiance in Agaña according to Law to abide by the Laws of the Country.

3. That the yearly voyage that he must make with his ship, if he does not maintain another and if he does not do so, the Government must hire one for this purpose at the expense of the Contractor.

4. That before drawing any benefit from the Island he must post a bond to the satisfaction of the Government of these Islands or whatever will determine the Superior Government of the Philippines to the effect that he will respect the proposed conditions.

5. That this contract will remain temporary until approved by the Superior Government of the Philippines and that if it is not obtained will remain null and void and without any right to claim damages.

6. That in the same manner Captain Danelsberg reserves for himself the right to rescind this obligation by giving notice to the Superior Government in Manila before the first of February of the coming year or to this Government of the Marianas before the arrival at these Islands of the mail ship that must depart from Manila in the month of February, until said date this contract is considered without definite obligation on both parts.

Notify the interested party of this decree by giving him a copy and give a report to the Superior Government of the Philippines for its superior resolution.

La Corte

...¹

The opinion of the Finance Department in Manila.

Original text in Spanish.

Intendencia de Hacienda Pública de la Isla de Luzon y adyacentes.

Manila 7 de Marzo de 1865.

*Vista la propuesta presentada al Gobernador P.M. de las Islas Marianas por F. Danelsberg Capitan de la Goleta Sandwicana **Abbey Forest** para el arrendamiento de la Isla de Pagan una de las desiertas de aquel Archipiélago.*

Vista la aceptación interina de dichas proposiciones y el detallado informe emitido por el mencionado Gobernador.

Considerando las inmediatas ventajas que ha de reportar al pais la inmigración de nuevos pobladores y de entera conformidad con las opiniones emitidas por la Admon. gral. de Tributos y Sres. Fiscal de S.M. y Asesor gral. de Hacienda esta Intendencia sanciona la aceptación de las proposiciones presentadas por F. Danesberg debiendo extenderse escritura en forma haciendo constar en la misma

1º. Que el Arrendatario renuncia á todo fuero de extrangeria en lo relativo á los efectos de este contrato.

2º. Que los colonos quedaran definitivamente sugetos á las leyes Españoles interin permanezcan en la Isla de Pagan.

3º. Que el mencionado Danelsberg no reclamará indemnización alguna durante el tiempo del Arrendamiento ni finalizado este sean las que quieran las eventualidades que sobrevengan

1 Ed. note: The file was received at Manila on 27 October. It was examined by various authorities in turn, all recommending its approval, including that from the Finance Department, as follows.

4º. Que el Estado se reserva el derecho de rescindir el contrato en cuyo caso será indemnizado Danelsberg de los perjuicios que se le irroguen, sometiéndose en caso de no conformarse con la indemnización que se determine gubernativamente á la decisión de los tribunales de las Islas Filipinas ante las cuales podria en este caso deducir sus derechos.

Communiquen el Gobierno Superior Civil al subdelegado de Hacienda de Islas Marianas. Tomese razon en la Admon. gral. de Tributos y verificado vuelva y archivese.
— Firmado —

Translation..

Intendance of Public Finance of the Island of Luzon and vicinity.
Manila, 7 March 1865.

In view of the proposal presented to the Governor P.M. of the Mariana Islands by F. Danelsberg, Captain of the Sandwich Island Schooner **Abbey Forest** for the lease of the Island of Pagan, one of the uninhabited ones of said archipelago;

In view of the temporary acceptance of the said proposals and the detailed report written by the above-mentioned Governor;

Considering the immediate advantages that ought to benefit the country from the immigration of new populations and the complete agreement in the opinions expressed by the General Tax Administration and His Majesty's attorneys and the General Counsellor of Finance, this Intendance sanctions the acceptance of the proposals presented by F. Danelsberg, a sworn statement must be prepared in due form to include the following:

1. That the Lessor renounces any foreign code of laws relative to the effects of this contract.

2. That the colonists will definitively remain subjects to Spanish laws as long as they remain on the Island of Pagan.

3. That the said Danelsberg shall not claim any indemnification during the duration of the lease nor after its termination whatever outcomes might take place.

4. That the State reserves the right to rescind the contract in which case Danelsberg shall be compensated for the damages suffered, submitting himself in case of disagreement with the indemnification determined by the local administration to the decision of the courts of the Philippine Islands before which he could in this case allege his rights.

Communicate this to the Superior Civil Government, to the sub-delegate of Finance for the Mariana Islands. The General Tax Administration is to take into account and once verified, it is to be returned and filed.

— Signed —¹

1 Ed. note: Captain Danelsberg must have relinquished his rights to Captain J. H. G. Johnston of the schooner Ana, or taken him as a partner, because we find Johnston brought 265 Carolinians from Pulusuk Atoll the following August (according to Fr. Ibañez' chronicle).

Document 1864L

History and description of the new palace or royal house at Umatac

Source: PNA.

Floor plan and appraisal of this house, by Governor de la Corte

Originals in Spanish.

Gobierno M. y P. de Marianas.

Nº 7.—Se remite plano y avaluo de la Casa Real de Umata.

Cumpliendo gustoso con los deseos que V.S. se sirve indecarme en atento oficio de 22 de junio del año pasado, acompañó á U.S. un Plano de la Casa Real de Umatac y calculo de su avaluo con las observaciones que he creído deber haver sobre el particular y de los cuales resulta que si bien bajo el punto de vista meramente especulativo podría haber por el pronto un beneficio al Erario, considerado el asunto en lo gubernativo y mirando al porvenir no puede reputarse sino como una positiva perdida para el Estado la venta de aquella Casa.

La Superioridad no obstante determinará lo mas conveniente.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años.

Agaña 30 de Mayo de 1864.

Felipe de la Corte

[Al] Sor. Admor. Gral. de Tributos de Filipinas.

Islas Marianas.—*Descripción de la Casa Real del Pueblo de Umatac en la Isla de Guajan principal de las Islas Marianas y calculo de su valor en su actual estado.*

La Casa Real de Umatac fué construida en el decimo septimo siglo ó principios del decimo octavo para servir de punto de estación al Gobernador y principales Empleados de las Islas y á los oficiales y pasajeros de categoria de las Naos, que de Acapulco pasaban á Manila y tocaban anualmente en Marianas á dejar el situado y tomar refrescos.

En aquel tiempo no se conocia todavia el Puerto de Apra y se consideraba la Bahía ó rada de Umatac como el mejor fondeadero en las Islas, mas hallandose la Capital,

que és Agaña, á unas seis leguas de muy mal camino y teniendo que dejar aquellas Naos el situado que consistia entonces en dinero, efectos y hombres, necesitaban aquellos Naos hacer una larga estadía y el Gobernador y todos los Empleados trasladaban su residencia á Umatac, y de las Naos desembarcaban pasajeros y tripulaciones á descansar y restablecerse de las penalidades de la navegacion, que entonces eran grandes.

El Pueblo de Umatac, que se ha compuesto siempre de doscientos ó menos habitantes en miserables casucos de palmas y hojas, no ofrecia recursos propios para aquellas estaciones y de aqui nació la necesidad de construir un edificio publico, que bastase á aquellos fines; y por esto aunque la Casa Real fuese pequeña comparada con edificios de otros puntos era desmesurada relativamente al Pueblo en que estaba. Mientrasduró la dominación española en America el situado de Marianas ascendia siempre á \$20.000 y el Gobernador era úrbtiro casi absoluto de la aplicación de este dinero, ó lo que es igual del empleo de los hombres pagados con él, y que constituian casi toda la población. Este Edificio, en consecuencia lo mismo que los demas publicos, se entretenia directa ó indirectamente del situado y por esto nada de sus gastos figuraba en presupuesto alguno, ni puede conocerse detallatamente lo que en él se gastó en construirlo y mantenerlo, porque entonces la Casa de Gobierno y todos los edificios publicos en la Ciudad y los Pueblos se denominaban y eran Reales y con los soldados, que eran herreros, carpinteros, albañiles y de otros oficios, y con otros mozos pagados todos del situado se hacian todos los trabajos y gastos que exigian todas las atenciones.

Esto duró hasta que perdidas las Americas, fue preciso disminuir el situado que se redujo á \$8.000 distribuidos con sujeción á un Reglamento de 17 de Diciembre de 1828 que se puso en planta en 1829; desde cuya fecha habiendo concluido tambien el paso de las Naos, cesó la antigua aplicación de la Casa Real de Umatac, y no habiendo por aquel reglamento mas que 200 pesos anuales asignados para todos los gastos de material del Estado en las Islas, no podia ya atenderse al entretenimiento de tantos edificios, y se discurrió dejar á los Pueblos los que hay en ellos, inclusa la Casa de Gobierno de Agaña, quedando á cargo del Estado el entretenimiento de solo los edidicios ocupados directamente por efectos suyos y por la tropa pagada por el mismo.

En el entretanto, empero se habia desarrollado la pesca de la ballena en estos mares y desde 1823 comanzaron á visitar el Puerto de Apra en esta Isla y muchos el de Umatac, casi forzosamente para hacer aguada por ser bastante difícil tomarla en Apra y no haber mas pais civilizado que Mariqanas en grande extensión de mares.

Fué entonces una necesidad poner en Umatac algun empleado publico que se entendiese con aquellos buques y desde aquel tiempo reside alli uno con caracter de Ayudante de Puerto y se le dió como residencia la llamada Casa Real, que hasta ahora conserva aquella aplicación, por continuar las mismas razones para mantener aquella Ayudantia de Puerto.

El Pueblo de Umatac por otra tiene otro pequeño edificio que le surve de tribunal y Escuela, y siendo el servicio de Puerto extraño al comunal, nunca estuvo en completa practica que se atendiese por el Pueblo al entretenimiento de la Casa Real, si bien fre-

cuentamente contribuian los vecinos á blanqueos y otros pequeños trabajos que podian ellos oprestar.

Asi las cosas, sobrevinieron en 1849 unos fuertes terremotos en esta Isla y de sus resultas la Casa Real de Umatac sufrió un deterioro tan grande, que no estaba en lo posible que los miserables vecinos de Umatac lo reparasen, y mi antecesor, instruyó expediente y se aprobó que puesto que aquella Casa estaba afecta al servicio de Puertos, se reparase del fondo de derecho de impia, que se cobra en los de estas Islas y á que casi no se habia dado aplicación ninguna. Asi se reedificó aquel Casa y permanecia en 1855 cuando llegué á estas Islas.

Desde entonces continuaron los vecinos de Umatac facilitando cal y alguna que otra pieza de madera que fué preciso remplazar, mas en 1 de julio de 1862 ocurrió otro fuerte temblor en el que se arruinó mucha parte de la Casa y quedó el reesto en riesgo de sufrir el mismo mal, de manera que la reparación exigia gastos considerables.

Estabase pues en la disyuntiva de ver perderse del todo la Casa Real quedando solo un montón de ruinas ó reedificarla en todo ó parte y para este caso faltaba decidir quien debia cubrir este gasto.

Tres eran los fondos que podian aplicarse á este objeto; los primeros los del Estado, los segundos los del derecho de limpia y finalmente los de Arbitrios de la Provincia. Los dos segundos carecian de remanente capaz de cubrirlos, y en segundo estaba decidido que la Casa Real era y habia de quedar siempre propiedad del Estado y tratandose de casi una formación de nuevo parecia una cosa completamente fuera de justicia que la costearan otros fondos y que permaneciese siendo propiedad del Estado. Se corria al mismo tiempo el riesgo de que habiendo quedado la Casa en peligro de un hundimiento se pulverizarian (?) las maderas y tejas en él de manera que de dejar el edificio en aquella situación se debia considerar perdido todo su valor, mientras que imponiendo una cierta suma se conservaba la Casa con un valor muy superior al gasto. Económicamente considerado la cuestión estaba en el interés del Estado reparar inmediatamente y no habia razon ninguna para que otro lo hiciese.

Se procedió en consecuencia á la reparación por cuenta del Estado y se reedificó la Casa reduciendola á lo que representa el Plano adjunto hallandose hoy el edificio en buen estado de solidez y uso.

Mirando ahora á la cuestión en lo Futuro, no cabe duda de que si el dueño de la finca fuese un particular estaria en su intereés deshacerse de ella al mejor precio posible y evitarse los riesgos de nuevos gastos a que por otra parte no és posible hallar una compensación directa é inmediata; pues la Casa en cuestión no puede reeditar alquiler ni otro producto material en especie. Mas ¿és de este modo como el Gobierno debe resolver estas cuestiones? Entoncés, existiendo las mismas razones para todos los edificios de las Islas Marianas debiera el Gobierno venderlos todos y desatender todos los servicios, pues lo que nada le producen. Resolver la cuestión por este criterio considero estar muy lejos de lo que se llama ciencia de Gobierno, segun los siglos que alcanzamos, en que los paises no son patrimonio sino de si mismos y no parece equitativo transferir el dominio de una parte de él por sola la razon de ser mas ó menos productiva. El Go-

bierno Español ha cubierto con su pabellon hace casi dos siglos las Islas Marianas, sus habitantes de hoy son en su mayoria descendientes de subditos españoles, venidos aqui al servicio de su patria y tienen igual derecho que otros cualesquiera á ser amparados y conservados por nuestra bandera, que por otra parte una vez levantada de estas Islas, sufriria quizá en otras, daños infinitamente mas graves que los gastos que hoy exige la conservación de este Archipeilago. No está en mi sentir el camino que debe seguirse en empequeñecer las Islas á fuerza de amenorar sus gastos, sino que por el contrario la marcha debe llevar la tendencia de aumentar la importancia y fuerzas productivas de marianas en escala tan rapida que baste á superar los gastos no solo actuales sino los crecientes que deben originarse. Otra marcha que esta será solo hija de raquiticas miras de interés momentaneo que quizá han sido la causa del atraso en que hoy están las Islas y en que se conservarán con creces, mientras mas se quiera marchar por el sistema pasivo, que parece ser el mas preponderante en cuanto hace relación á esta desgraciada provincia.

Por todas estas razones y otras que omito, me creo en el deber de manifestar clara u terminantemente que la proyectada venta de la Casa Real de Umata debe producir un mal real y positivo al Estado por la miserable compensación de unos pocos cientos de pesos.

El Gobierno Español no debe y por tanto no puede ni politica ni economicamente, abandonar las Islas Marianas y debe conservarlas y acrecentarlas como está en su interés; los Puertos de Apra y Umatac en Guajan, son una necesidad imprescindible y es forzoso mantener en ellos empleados publicos en edificios publicos y por consiguiente al vender hoy la Casa Real de Umata, se tocará inmediatamente el inconveniente de no tener donde alojar el empleado que hoy lo ocupa y mas tarde el de haber perdido la mejor situación y tener que hacer gastos que nunca pueden ser menores que el triple de lo que hoy produzca la venta de la Casa Real. Si con conocimiento de esto se persiste en la dicha venta, mi responsibilidad quedará á salvo, habiendo satisfecho mi conciencia con exponer lo que conviene al Estado, á quien se supone beneficiar con realizar unos pocos de pesos para gastar tres veces mas luego.

[Description.]

Cumpliendo no obstante con lo que se me manda, de los reconocimientos practicados resulta que la Casa Real de Umatac és un edificio de dos cuerpos de mamposteria cubierto de tejas con una Cocina á su espalda de los mismos materiales.

En el piso bajo hay un portal ó vestibulo con dos bodegas f ambos lados, la de la izquierda subdividida en otras dos. Fuera de la Casa quedan las paredes de cerca de la parte arruinada teniendo al Sur un algibe inutil.

El total de la edificación de la Casa tenia de largo 121 pies [de Burgos] de los que 40-1/2 son los que hoy cubre el segundo piso con 34 de ancho y 19 de alto.

El cuerpo principal ó piso alto está dividido á lo largo en dos naves, de las que la de la fachada contiene la sala y dos cuartos, y la otra sirve de antesala ó caída con una des-

pensa. Tiene corredores y balcones volados en tres de sus frentes con antepechos de madera, pero de ellos arriba está descubierta sin hoja de ventana ó conchas.

Todo este piso és de tabiques con hariques ó postes de madera de que son los pisos y los quizames que tiene toda la Casa. Tienen asimismo hoja todas las puertas y puertas balcones.

El techo és de teja sobre madera que como todas las empleadas en el edificio son de Ifil.

Como la Casa está construida sobre un terreno en pendiente, desde la puerta de la espalda del piso alto se marcha sobre el terreno natural hasta una cocina distante 47 pies de la Casa y de 19 de largo por 19 de ancho con cubiertas de teja.

La Casa está edificada á corta distancia de la playa frente al punto mejor de desembarco y en situación libre de inundaciones ú otros accidentes tanto del mar como del interior.

[Valuation.]

Por el plano se puede conocer todos los demas detalles.

El costo de esta Casa si hubiere de hacerse de nuevo puede estimarse en tres mil pesos sin contar el solar por que á excepción de la piedra y la cal todos los materiales hay que conducirlos de larga distancia y con gran trabajo y los procedentes del exterior y mano de obra son el el pais bastante caros.

Rehacer solo el cuerpo principal teniendo todos los materiales del desbarato en la obra y labrados y con el auxilio de los presidarios como peones y algunos como albañiles y carpinteros ha exigido mas de \$400, por consiguiente, si tratase de construirse todo de planta y comprar los materiales se comprendaria (?) facilmente no podria bajar de la citada suma de tres mil pesos.

Sin embargo de esto en el Pueblo de Umata no hay sino gentes miserables que no poseen el que mas, veinte pesos de capital, y no fué tampoco aquel punto objeto ninguno á especulaciones y careciendo tambien el pais de capitalistas que por recreo ó con miras de futuras especuaciones quieran invertir su dinero en aquel punto, és mi parecer que dificilmente se hallará quien ofrezca mil pesos por la compra de aquella Casa y en tal concepto podrá este tipo estimarse como un valor en venta y probablemente nominal, pues á no ser el actual Ayudante del Puerto, por estar acostumbrado á residir allí y el Cura del Pueblo que reside en Merizo, ambos por capricho mas que por calculo ó interés, considero que ni aun el referido tipo de mil pesos habrá quien compre la Casa.

Es cuanto puedo manifestar subre el particular. A la Superioridad toca devolver.

Agaña 30 de Mayo de 1864.

Felipe de la Corte

Plano, perfil y vista de la Casa Real de Umatac en las Yslas Marianas.—1864

Vista de la fachada principal
Perfil cortado por A-B

View of the main façade.
Cross-sectional side view, along line A-B.

Explicación

Planta baja.

a. Vestibulo.

b. Cuarto de arresto.

c. Bodegas ó depósitos.

d. Patios cerrados por las ruinas de la antigua Casa.

e. Algibe inutil id. id.

f. Patio ó foso para dar luz al piso bajo.

g. Escalera.

Planta alta.

g. Escalera.

h. Antesala ó caida.

j. Sala.

l. Cuartos de habitación.

m. Despensa.

n. Corredor ó balcon volado.

o. Letrina.

p. Batalan ó transito para la Cocina.

q. Cocina.

Legend

Ground floor.

a. Lobby.

b. Detention room.

c. Store-rooms.

d. Courtyards enclosed by ruins of the old House.

e. Pit made useless by above.

f. Trench or pit to allow light to reach the ground floor.

g. Stairway.

Upper floor.

g. Stairway.

h. Anteroom or entranceway.

j. Living room.

l. Bedrooms.

m. Pantry.

n. Overhanging gallery or balcony.

o. Latrine.

p. Pier or walkway to the Kitchen.

q. Kitchen.

Escala = Scale: 1 meter = approx. 3-3/4 Burgos feet.

Islas Marianas. Añaña 7 de Marzo de 1864.

Felipe de la Corte

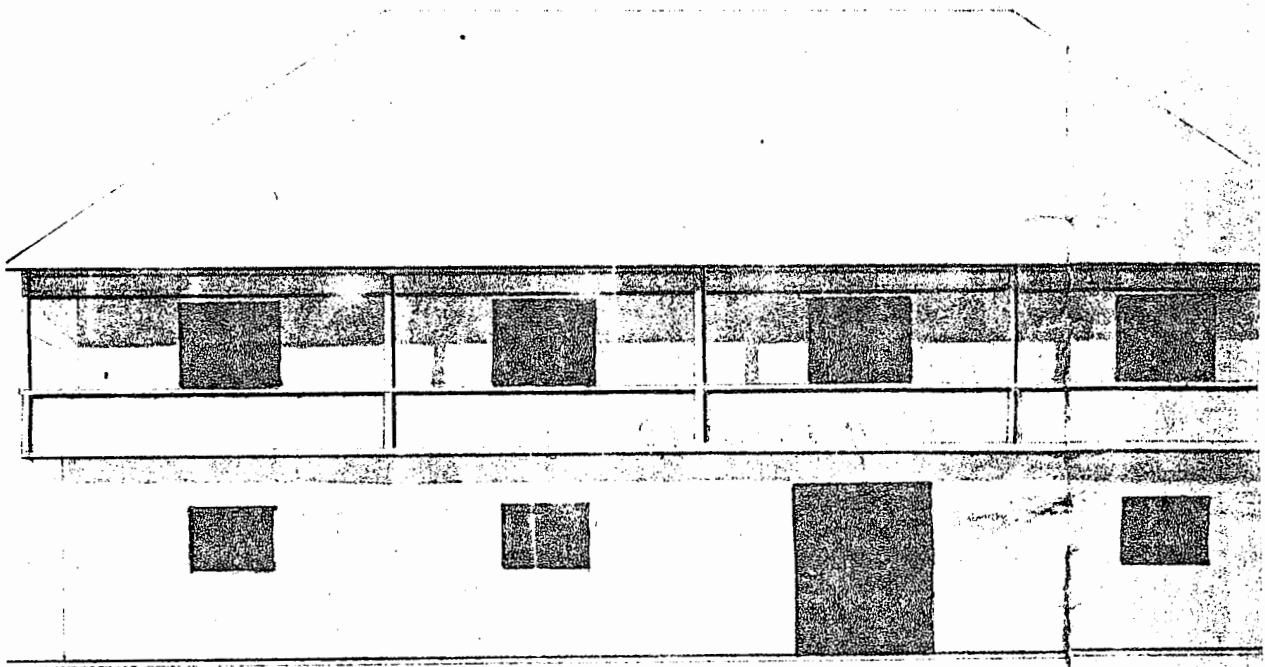
Translation.

Military and Political Government of the Marianas.

Nº 7. Enclosed are the plan and evaluation of the Royal House at Umatac.

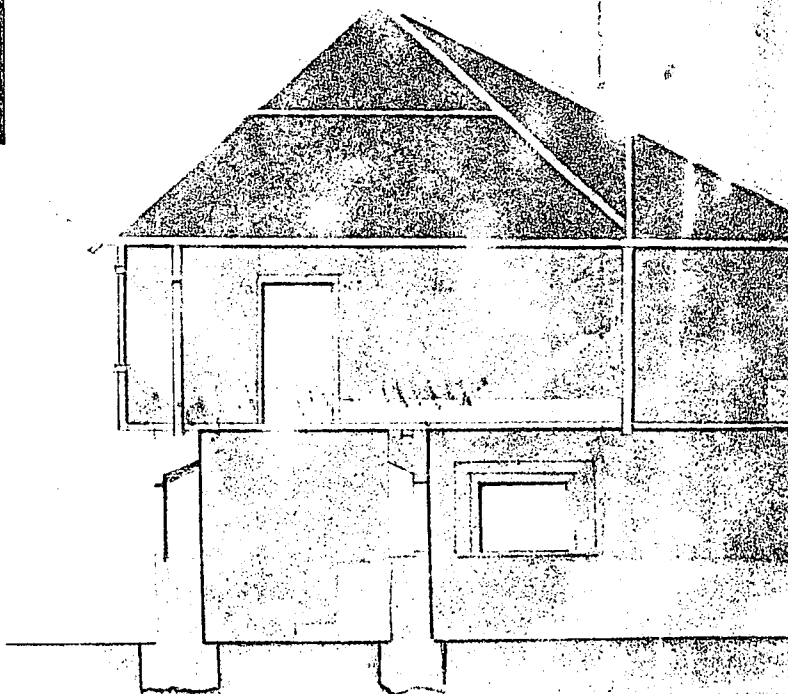
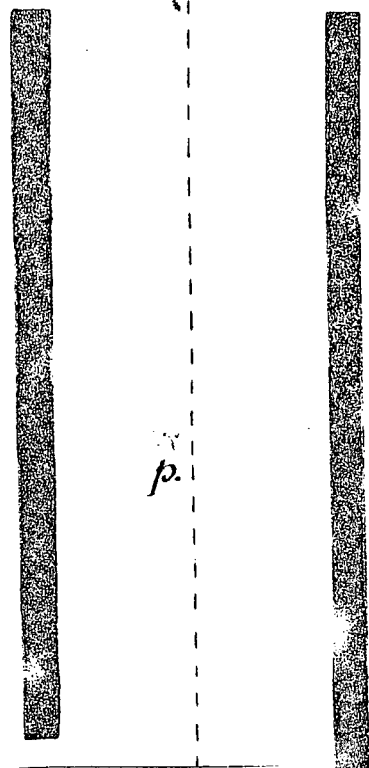
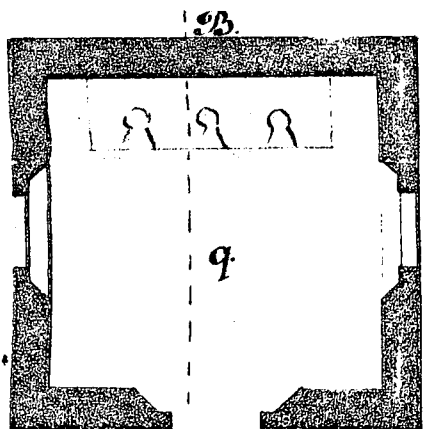
I am pleased to fulfil the wishes that Your Lordship has so kindly indicated to me in your favor of the 22nd of June of last year, by sending you a plan of the Royal House at Umatac and the computation of its value with the observations that I thought necessary about this matter. It is concluded that, from a merely speculative point of view, there could in the short term be a benefit to the Treasury, but when the matter is considered administratively and with a view toward the future, the sale of such a House cannot be judged other than as a net loss for the State.

PLANO, PERFIL Y
DE LA
CASA REAL DE UMATAC EN LAS
1864.



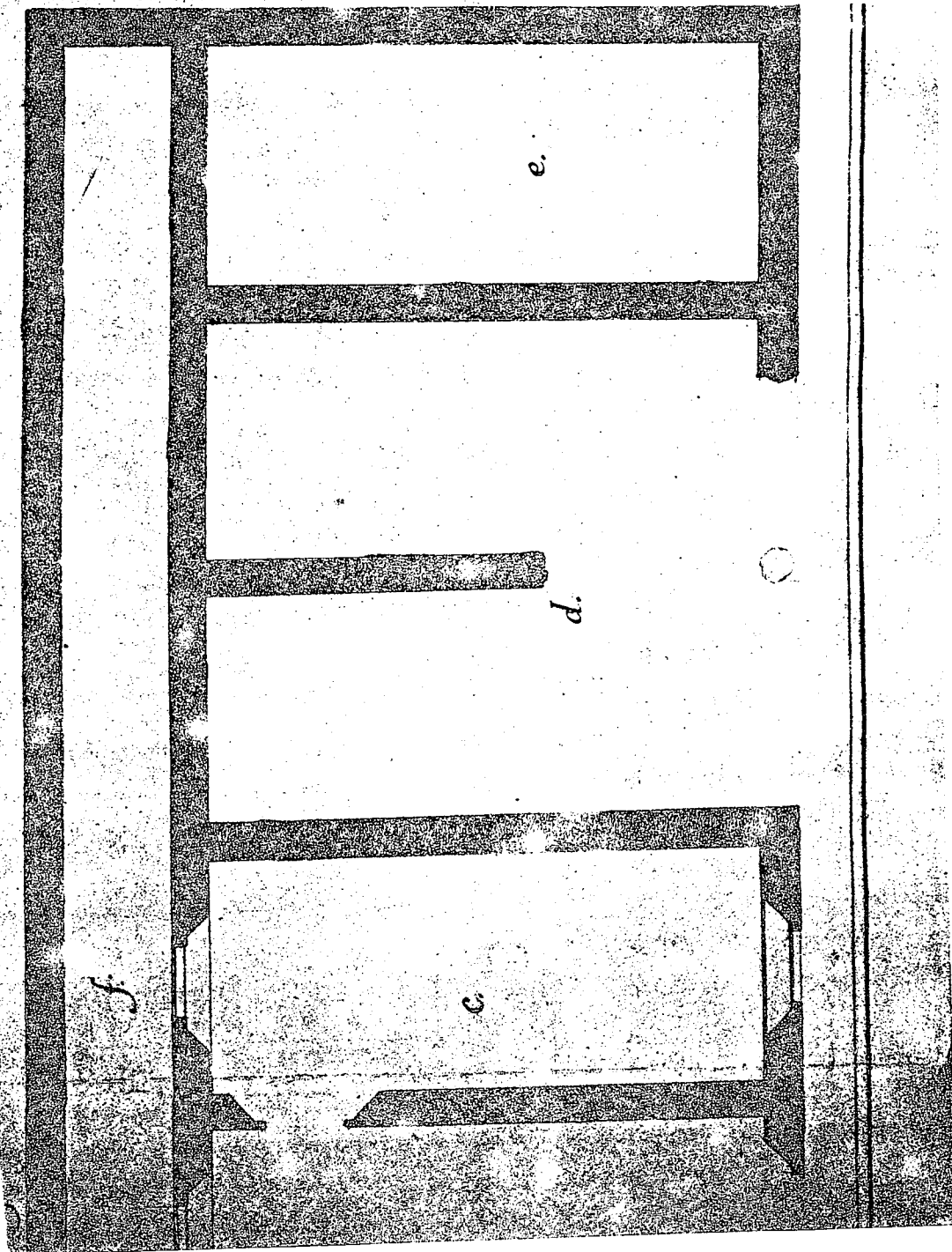
Vista de la Fachada princ

Front view of the palace at Umatac, 1864.



Glanta alta.

Profile view of the palace at Umatac, including cook-house.



Ground floor plan of the palace at Umatac.

Explicacion
Planta baja.

- a. Vestibulo
- b. Cuarto de arresto
- c. Bodegas o depositos
- d. Patios cerrados por las ruinas de la antigua Casa
- e. Aljibe inutil u. id
- f. Patio o foso para dar luz al piso bajo.
- g. Escalera

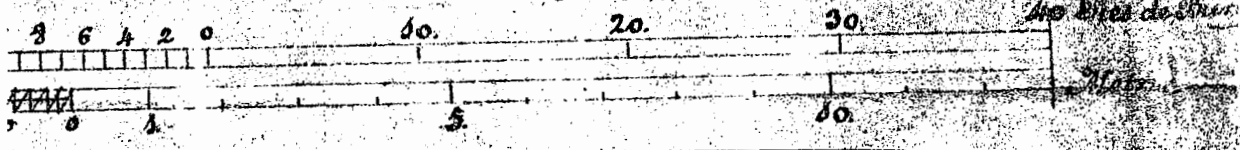
Planta alta.

- g. Escalera
- h. Antecala o cuida
- j. Sala
- l. Cuartos de habitacion
- m. Despensa
- n. Corredor o huicarr volado
- o. Letrina
- p. Batalan o transito para la Cocina.
- q. Cocina.

Islas Marianas. Añaña 7. de Marzo de 1867.

Pelipe de la Fuente

Escala de $\frac{1}{100}$.



Description of ground floor plan, Umatac. Gov. Corte, 1864.

The authorities will nevertheless decide what is convenient.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Agaña, 30 May 1864.

Felipe de la Corte

[To the] General Tax Administrator of the Philippines.

Mariana Islands.—Description of the Royal House in the Town of Umatac in the Island of Guam, capital of the Marianas and computation of its value in its present condition.

The Royal House at Umatac was built in the seventeenth century or at the beginning of the eighteenth to serve as a way station for the Governor and the main employees of the Islands and for the officers and upper-class passengers of the galleons that, from Acapulco, passed on their way to Manila and used to touch every year at the Marianas to leave the subsidy and to take on fresh provisions.

At that time the port of Apra was still unknown and the bay or road of Umatac was considered the best anchorage in the Islands. However, the Capital that is Agaña being six leagues away over a bad road and the galleons having to leave the subsidy that consisted then of money, goods and men, required an extended stay for the galleons. The Governor and all the employees shifted their residence to Umatac, and the galleons unloaded passengers and crews for them to rest and reestablish themselves from the rigors of the navigation that were great in those days.

The town of Umatac, that has always had two hundred or fewer inhabitants living in miserable shacks made of palm and thatch, did not offer any resources of its own for such layovers and from this was born the necessity of building a public building that would suffice for such purposes.

For this reason, even if the Royal House was small enough compared to buildings in other places, it was disproportionate relative to the town where it was located. While the Spanish domination lasted in America, the subsidy for the Marianas always reached \$20,000 and the Governor was the almost absolute judge of the application of this money, or what is the same thing, of the use of the men paid with it, and who constituted almost the whole population. Consequently, this building, the same as the other buildings, was maintained directly or indirectly from the subsidy and for this reason none of its expenses figured in any budget. It is not possible to know in detail what was spent to build and maintain it either because at that time the Royal House and all the public buildings in the city and the towns were denoted and were called Royal and all the work and expenses that required attention were done by the soldiers who were smighs, carpenters, masons and from other trades, and with other assistants paid all of them from the subsidy.

This lasted until America was lost. It was then necessary to reduce the subsidy to \$8,000 distributed in accordance with a regulation of 17 December 1823 that was put into effect in 1829. From that date onwards, the galleons having passed into history by then, the old use for the Royal House was ended, and since the regulation did not allow

more than 200 pesos per year to be assigned to all government expenditures for materiel in the islands, so many buildings could no longer be looked after, and it was contrived to leave to the Towns the care of what there is in each one, including the Royal House at AGaña, thus leaving in charge of the State the maintenance of only the buildings directly occupied by its effects and by the soldiers paid by the State.

Meanwhile, however, whaling had been developed in these seas and as of 1823 whalers began to visit the Port of Apra in this island and many visited that of Umatac, almost by necessity to take on water because water was difficult to obtain in Apra and there being no other civilized country but the Marianas in a wide expanse of the sea.

It was then a necessity to place at Umatac some public employee to attend to the ships and from that time he resided there in the capacity of Port Assistant. He received the Royal House as a residence and it has since been reserved for this use because the need for a Port Assistant there still exists.

The Town of Umatac, on the other hand, has another small building that serves as a court-house and school and, the service of the port being foreign to that of the community, it was never completely practical for the Town to attend to the maintenance of the Royal House, even though the residents often contributed with white-sahings and other small jobs that they could provide.

Such was the situation when, in 1849 some strong earthquakes occurred in this island with the result that the Royal House at Umatac suffered such a great deterioration that it became impossible for the town people of Umatac to repair it. My predecessor made a report and, given that said House was affected to the Port service, recommended it be repaired out of the cleaning tax fund that is applied in these Islands and that had almost never been used before. Thus the said House was rebuilt and remained there until 1855 when I arrived at these Islands.

From that time on, the residents of Umatac continued providing lime and some such piece of wood that became necessary to replace but, on the first of July 1862, there occurred another strong quake that demolished a large part of the House and the rest was left in danger of suffering the same fate, so that the required repair expenses were considerable.

There was then the dilemma of seeing the whole of the Royal HOUse become lost and only a pile of rubble, or of rebuilding it completely, or in part, and in the latter case, it had to be decided who would cover this cost.

There were three types of funds that could be used for this purpose: the first one from the State, the second one from the cleaning tax and finally that from the excise taxes of this Province. The last two lacked a sufficient balance to cover them, and secondly it was decided that the Royal HOUse was and ought to remain always the property of the State. Since it was question of almost building anew, it appeared as a case completely unjustified that the expenditures be borne by other funds as long as it remained State property. We were at the same time running the risk that, with the House in danger of collapsing, the wood parts would get pulverized(?) and the tiles also, so that to leave the building in that state would be tantamount to writing it off, whereas by putting in

a certain sum the House was preserved with a value superior to the expense. Economically speaking, it was in the interest of the State to repair it immediately and there was no reason for somebody else to do that.

Consequently, repair was proceeded with for the account of the State and the House was rebuilt in a reduced size as is shown on the attached drawing leaving the building today in good condition as far as solidity and use are concerned

Looking now into the future, there is no doubt that if the owner of the property were an individual it would be in his interest to get rid of it at the best possible price and to avoid the risks of new expenses for which on the other hand it is not possible to recover directly and immediately, since the House in question cannot yield rent revenue nor any other material product, money-wise. However, is it the form in which the Government must resolve these questions? Therefore, there exists the same reasoning for all the buildings in the Mariana Islands, the Government should sell them all and abandon all the services, since no revenue is produced by them. To resolve the question by this criterion, I consider to be very far from what is called the science of government that we have accumulated over the centuries, and according to which countries are but their own custodians and it does not seem just to transfer the ownership of one part for the sole reason that it is more or less productive. The Spanish Government has covered the Mariana Islands with its flag for almost two centuries, their inhabitants today are in the majority descendants of Spanish subjects who came here in the service of their country and they have as equal a right as any others to be protected and preserved for our flag. On the other hand, if the flag were removed from these Islands, it would suffer perhaps in others damages infinitely more serious than the expenses that today are required by the preservation of this Archipelago. I feel that we should not follow the course leading to the undermining of the Islands by dint of reduction in their expenditures, but to the contrary the path must follow the trend to increase the importance and the productive forces of the Marianas at a rate so rapid that it would suffice to surpass the expenses not only present but the increasing ones we must entertain. Any other path will be only the fruit of flimsy views of momentary interest that perhaps have been the cause of the backwardness in which the Islands are today and in which they will be amply preserved, as long as a passive system is preferred, such as it appears preponderant when it comes to this unfortunate province.

For all these reasons and others that I omit, I consider it my duty to express clearly and conclusively that the projected sale of the Royal House at Umatac must produce a real and positive harm to the State on account of the miserable compensation from a few hundred pesos.

The Spanish Government must not and therefore cannot either politically or economically abandon the Mariana Islands and must keep and promote them as it is in its interest. The Ports of Apra and Umatac in Guam are an indispensable necessity and it is unavoidable to maintain in them public employees in public housing. Therefore, the selling today of the Royal House at Umatac would bring immediately the disadvantage of not having a place where to lodge the employee who occupies it today and later,

that of having lost the best location and having to make expenses that can never be smaller than triple what today produces the sale of the Royal House. If with this knowledge the said sale is insisted upon, my responsibility will remain safe, having satisfied my conscience by exposing what is proper for the State, to whomever could benefit from receiving a few pesos in order to spend three times that much later on.

[Description.]

In order to comply, however, with my orders, the result of the investigations upon the Royal House at Umatac is as follows: the building is composed of two masonry units covered with roofing tiles with a kitchen at the back made of the same materials.

ON the ground floor, there is an entrance or lobby with two store-rooms on both sides, the one on the left being subdivided into two parts. Outside the house are the remains of the foundation walls of the destroyed portion, with on the south side a useless pit.

The former size of the House was 121 [Burgos] feet in length out of which only 40-1/2 feet are now covered by the second floor, with 34 in width and 19 in height.

The main structure or upper floor is divided along its length into two naves, with the front one containing the living room and two bedrooms, and the other serving as an antechamber with a pantry. It has overhanging galleries or balconies along three of its sides with railings made of wood, but the upper part of which is open without any [glass] window panes or [capiz] shells.

The whole of this floor is made of thin partitions with house posts as well as the floors and the roofings of the House is made of wood. The [inside] doors as well as the doors to the balconies all have glass panes.

The roof is tile over wood, the latter, being the same as in the rest of the building, is of *ifil*.

Since the house is built upon a sloping piece of land, one can walk from the door at the rear of the upper floor upon the natural ground as far as the kitchen 47 feet away from the House and measuring 19 by 19 with a tile roof.

The House is built a short distance from the beach and facing the more frequent spot for landing and in a place free from floods or other accidents either from the sea or from the land side.

[Valuation.]

The cost of this House, should it become necessary to duplicate it, can be estimated at three thousand pesos, not counting the foundation because, with the exception of the stone and line, all the materials must be brought from long distances and with much labor involved and those coming from aboard as well as the manpower are rather expensive in this country.

The rebuilding of the main structure only, with all the materials salvaged from the ruined building, including the carved parts and with the prisoners being used as laborers—some as masons and carpenters—it has nevertheless required over \$400. There-

fore, if one were to rebuild everything from scratch and buying the materials it would easily amount(?) to a sum of no less than the said sum of three thousand pesos.

Notwithstanding this, there is no people in the Town of Umatac but miserable people among whom even the richest does not possess twenty pesos in capital, and the said place did not offer any cause for speculation and in any case the country is short of capitalists who, for recreational or speculative purposes, would like to invest their money in this place, it is my opinion that it will be difficult to find someone who will offer one thousand pesos for the purchase of the said House and as such the rate could be estimated as a sale value and probably a nominal one, given that even the present Port Assistant, on account of his being used to reside there, or the town priest who resides in Merizo, both by whim rather than by gain or interest, I consider that not even at the said rate of one thousand pesos there will be found someone to buy the House.

It is all I can say about the matter. It is up to the authorities to decide.

Agaña, 30 May 1864.

Felipe de la Corte

Document 1864N

The church of Saipan

Source: PNA. Note: Translated by R.L.

Project to build a new church at Saipan

Marianas, 1865.—The church of Saypan.—

Letter of the Governor of the Marianas remitting the budget of expenditures for the construction. (Filed on 1 Sept. 1870).

Mariana Islands, Year of 1864.—Proposal for the necessary work to build a new church at the island of Saipan and the necessary budget.

There being at present in that island a small shapel where all the residents of the vilage cannot attend to the act of religion, a church must be built, with a length of 44 yards by a width of 8-1/2 with 4 yards in height, the inside wall of wood framing, with a partition in the back to serve as a sacristy and supporting walls of ordinary masonry and the roof covered with coconut leaves for now, but, with supports ready to receive metal sheets or wooden boards.

Such works will have to be with all the materials that the natives can imitate, by community work, such labor to be assisted as well by common laborers when convenient. In addition, this public work should be assisted by six convicts, their salaries, transport and other costs are to be on the account of the funds of that church.

For 70 days of a Master [carpenter] who will assist and direct all workers, at the rate of 12 reales per day	\$105.00
For 420 payments of 1/2 real each to convicts who are carpenters, masons and sawyers	\$26.35
For the two-way passage of 7 persons to the island of Saypan [from Guam] at 7 each	\$49.00
For contingencies	\$19.75

	\$200.00

This project will therefore cost the amount of two hundred pesos to the account of the Church of Saypan.

Agaña, 6 November 1864.

Approved: Fr. Aniceto Ibañez
Luis Baza

M. & P Government of the Marianas.

Agaña, 6 November 1864.

I approve this budget as I consider it settled and the proposed works necessary.

Felipe de la Corte

Documents 1865A

Report of Governor Felipe de la Corte—Proposed reforms in the Marianas

Main source: Teniente Coronel Felipe de la Corte y Ruano Calderón. Memoria descriptiva é histórica de las Islas Marianas... (Madrid, 1875).

Notes: The writing style of Colonel De la Corte is by no means one that can be elegantly translated. I have limited myself to the essential part of this report, primarily for this reason, and partly because there already exist some more extensive translations, available to researchers. However, I have added part of an article written by De la Corte 21 years later, in which he makes pointed remarks about his famous report, and what happened to it.

Notes on existing translations.

A previous English translation, entitled **A Report by Governor Felipe de la Corte of the Marianas, 1870** [sic] was made by Mrs. Helen L. Paul, wife of Lieut.-Comdr. Carrol Paul, U.S.N., and Mr. A. T. Perez, Chief Clerk to the Governor of Guam, from a manuscript copy of the Spanish book. Part 1 of this translation, now in the Bishop Museum, was published twice in the Guam Recorder, July 1926-March 1927, and again in Oct.-Dec. 1971.

Another English translation, entitled **History of the Marianas Islands from the time of the arrival of the Spaniards to the fifth of May, 1870, with continuation by Rev. Father José Palomo** was made by Gertrude Hornbostel; this translation is also in the Bishop Museum.

A French translation of Part 1 was made by Fontaneau and published in the *Revue Maritime et Coloniale* in 1876 and 1877.

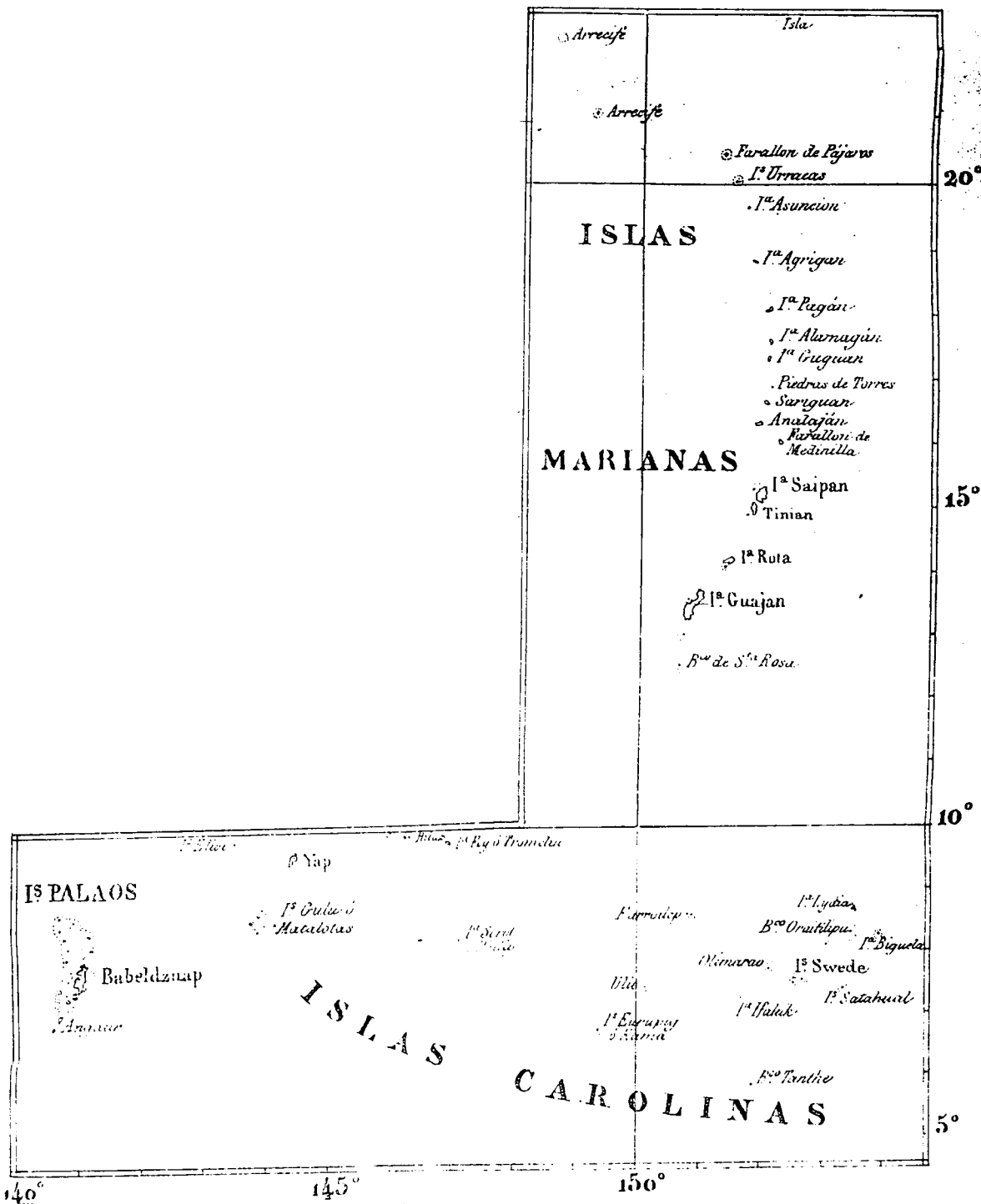
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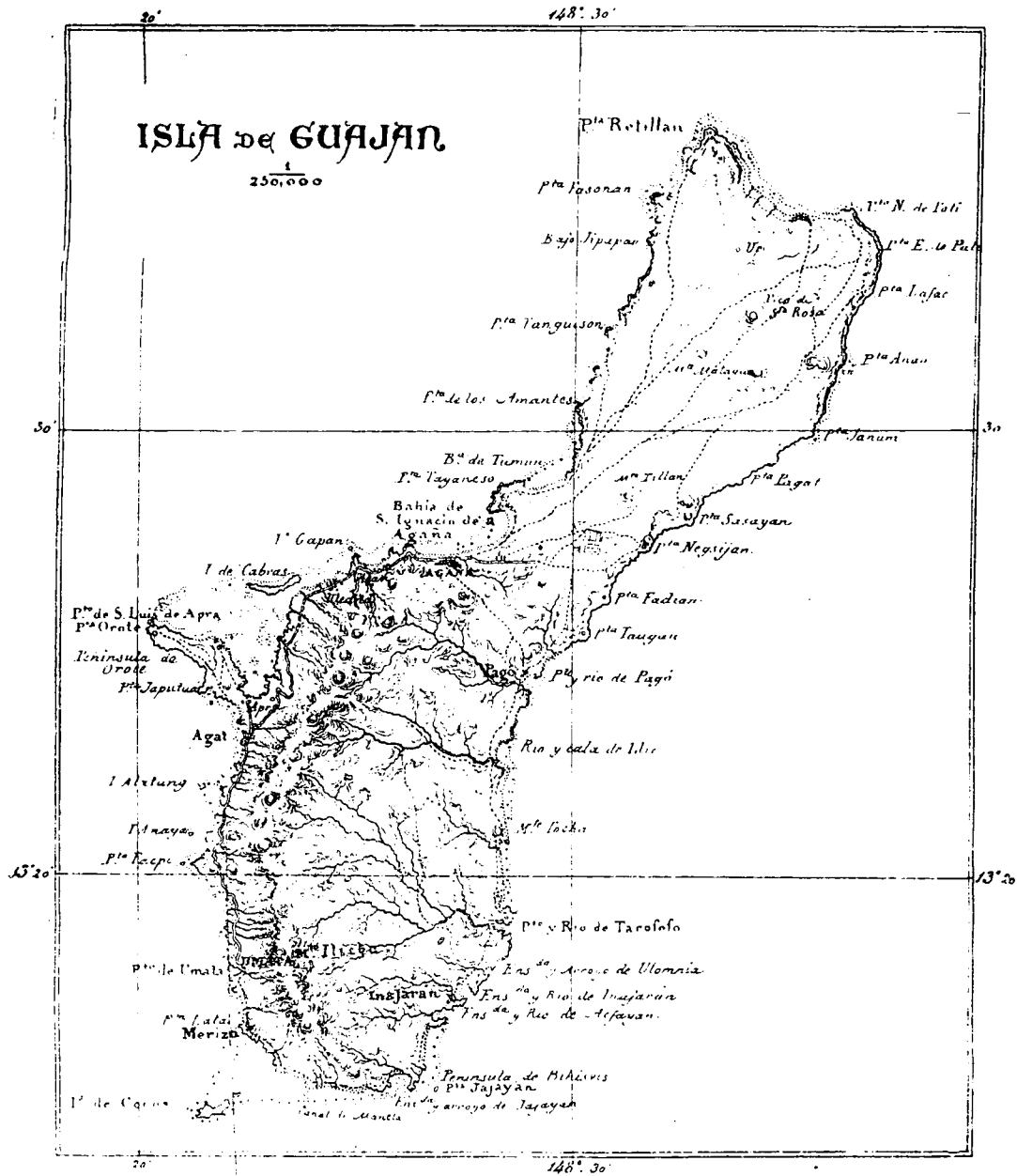
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Island of Guam (From Revista de Geografia Comercial, 1887).

Extract from De la Corte's Report

Note: I wish to reproduce the most interesting part of this 260-page report, by translating the author's own synopsis of his book, which he called Epilogue (pages 235-242 in the original).

Epilogue.

With a view to study the elements of prosperity, development and the means to develop the importance and public wealth of the Mariana Islands, in compliance with the superior decree of His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines of 8 June 1853, and the royal order of 26 November of said year that resulted from it, we have proposed as many means as were within our understanding to fulfil as best we could such an honorable commission, over the long period of ten years, during which we were almost entirely occupied with it, while governing these Islands. Finally, upon leaving them, we presented the results of our studies and personal observations in this Report, with sufficient information as we thought proper, the better to completely inform Her Majesty's Government regarding these, heretofore unknown, Islands, and what should be done in them to achieve the high purposes of that decree and corresponding Royal Order.

To this effect, we began by giving a general idea of the Mariana Islands, from the geographic point of view, and of their relations with other islands that surround them.

We then made an historical summary of their discovery, conquest and occupation until now by the Spanish.

We then described them as a group and individually, explaining their configuration and constitution, their coasts, ports and coves, their rivers, their mineral and vegetable products, and finally, their population of men and animals, and what the activity of man has added to nature, and everything else that we thought necessary to give a complete knowledge of what exists here, without the need to refer to any other document but the present report itself.

Having thus presented the Marianas, it seemed to us a good idea to say something of the other lands that lie next to the Marianas; they are archipelagos of various sizes and with various degrees of communications with the Marianas, as an idea of them is nevertheless necessary, the better to understand the Marianas. For this reason, we focused more particularly on the Caroline Islands, which have been discovered, most of them, by Spanish ships, and have been civilized by our predecessors; they constitute a separate country that is ours by right, besides being more particularly interesting than any other country.

Having thus given a general and a particular views of our possession and of the neighboring ones, what they offer, naturally or artificially, we have resumed our analysis of the present organization of our Marianas in everything that touches on their present social and administrative system, that is, the part that mainly concerns the administrative action of the State. We have described in detail the official elements that exist in the Marianas, but limiting our discussion of them to the essential points, and only to give a correct and fitting idea of the present condition.

In this wise, we have had recourse to little or nothing extraneous material, because, in general, we have only described, narrated and quantified the past and the present of what has existed in the Marianas. Therefore, we do not pretend to derive much credit for the work of comparison of the rare, and in general heterogeneous and contradictory, sources of information, in order to present as full a picture as possible of them, one that is possibly too prolix, but one that can certainly not be called incorrect, as the information has been presented strictly in accordance with the original documents; by the way, we have had to search long and wide for elements of useful information to complete this picture.

We have followed this work by going into an analytical study of the Mariana Islands, and of what can and should be done in them in every one of the [administrative] branches, in order to achieve the high aims that our Government had when it gave us our commission.

It was necessary to begin to demonstrate and call attention to the great importance of our Islands and to the purposes that they should fulfil.

The bulk of this importance rests upon their geographic situation, point or key to one of the great oceans, and their maritime elements are so consequential that we had to go on to discuss the varied and important routes of communication that exist at present, and those that in future will have to include our Archipelago, thus forming a link in the long chain of global communications, and one that must constitute a very considerable part of the general world commerce.

We then went on to talk about the navigation through Micronesia, which may be considered the internal sphere of our own influence with respect to our Mariana Islands.

We also discussed agriculture, commerce and industry of our possession, and we broached, finally, the condition of their population. The issue of population is, for any country, both the cause and source of the main and almost exclusive purpose of prosperity, and as such it can not be any other thing than the essential point, when discussing the external needs and perhaps greater needs that will be created upon they come into direct contact with points disseminated throughout half of the globe.

That is why we have delved deeply in this part of our study, from which depends the result of our work; either because it was necessary to do so, in order to make it productive to destroy deep prejudices, or because, even if these be overcome, the theoretical and practical means to bring about our idea have to compete with such great obstacles that it has been necessary to foresee and dismantle before we could expect to block their nasty influence.

For all this analytical work we have had to push our poor brains to excess, because, no matter how hard we tried to find general or detailed work previously done, we found nothing that could be useful to guide us in our difficult task. Everything we read was only descriptive in nature, and not always correct or precise. Nothing that gave advantages and disadvantages of any alternative, nor any list of the causes or means to be put in place. That is why that part of the report is exclusively ours, and we therefore hope that

our superiors will be indulgent toward us; if they find something wrong there, it will be due to our ignorance, but the ideas presented will always have the merit of being new and exclusively the fruit of our perseverance and intimate desire to reciprocate for the trust that they have placed in us, and are the fruit of our good-will and constancy in keeping our eyes fixed on the objective to scrutinize everything that appeared to us to be useful to the desired end.

Once we had clarified what constitutes the Mariana Islands, and the neighboring ones, and had discussed and analyzed their elements by pointing out in passing all that they lack in order to raise them to the desired level, there remained one task, that of filling out the mere details involved in the general plan for the reorganization that must be given to our Islands, from the material, moral and administrative points of view.

That is what led to our Part V, the last one, by giving first a general idea of that organization, and by determining the detailed aspects of the various branches of Administration, Development, War, Navy, Justice, Clergy, and Finance, which are the proper parts of any State, and we concluded with the provincial and municipal systems that comprise Government and Police, Public Works and Schools, and the division and collection of the taxes within the Province

This fifth part is the true practical result of all our work, and that which must be carried out if the objectives are to be met. Indeed, for this reason and for it to be seen in a single encompassing light, we believe that this result must be reiterated in a few pages, containing the general plan for the reorganization of the Mariana Islands, so that the authorities may be better able to determine what is most valid in our opinion.

Considering what makes the Mariana Islands different from any other Spanish possession, and given their importance on account of their geographic position, extension and nature of the islands themselves, the safety of their ports and other general and particular advantages, they must have their own military and political government, to remain dependent of the superior Government, Captaincy General, and other administrative centers in the Philippine Islands, but autonomous of any other provinces of that Archipelago.

Given that the principal cause of their lack of importance so far and the large and indefinite expenditures, completely unproductive, are due mainly to the lack of population, there must therefore be an effort on the part of the Government to take an active part in the colonization of these Islands, by sending 5,000 Chinese, male and able-bodied, and 10,000 Carolinians or others belonging to the Malay race, three-quarters of which number ought to be females of all ages.

For this colonization effort, there should be granted, of course, an extraordinary budget of 275,000 pesos, to be distributed over three successive years: 75,000 pesos the first year, and 100,00 pesos for each of the other two; in other words, a total of 150,000 pesos for Chinese immigration, and 125,000 for Malay immigration.

The Government of the Islands should be entrusted to a full Colonel, with a yearly salary of 3,000 pesos and an allowance of 4,000 pesos for travelling and representation expenses, he being a military officer and a political official, subordinate to the Captain

General and Sub-delegate of the Treasury dependent of the Superintendent and Indendant.

His office would be run by a Secretary who would be a military man belonging to the Standing Company of the Islands, while the costs of the office should be 300 pesos per year.

There should be definitively established, if such is not yet done, a garrison of Filipinos and natives of the Islands, consisting of 200 permanent positions, under the same regime as those in the Philippines, but completely separate from them.

This military force would be employed in the public works of the State, and would also assist whenever they may in the provincial works, out of whose funds they would then receive a small gratification on a daily basis, on account of the deterioration of their clothing during such tasks, and the purchase of some tools, carts and any thing else that may be useful to the better service of the works in question, whether provincial or for the State.

The total military force of the Marianas should be raised to as many as 1,000 positions approximately, counting the active and reserve forces.

The active force should consist of a Headquarters Staff, with one Coronel—the Governor, one Captain, as Sergeant Major, a first Adjutant for the Establishment, and one Second-Lieutenant or Third Adjutant for same.

The established positions for two standing companies of infantry, with European officers and sergeants, and native corporals and soldiers, would be as follows:

- 2 Captains;
- 2 Lieutenants;
- 4 Second-Lieutenants;
- 2 Sergeants First-Class;
- 6 Sergeants Second-Class;
- 36 Corporals, First- and Second-Class;
- 156 Soldiers, Drummers and Buglers.

This force would enjoy the same salaries and allowances as those of the respective ranks in the Philippines, with rations consisting of local products. The natives would serve actively for four years, and then transfer to the reserves.

There should also be one Artillery Captain, to take charge of this branch and, occasionally, detached for a certain duration, as necessary. There should be another Captain, of Engineers, to take charge of the military and vicil works, for the State and for the Province.

The reserves whould consist of:

—Two Batteries or Artillery Companies, under a Second- Lieutenant and with two Sergeants First-Class and six Second- Class, Eutopeans, all in active service, with the same emoluments as in the Philippines, plus 16 Corporals and 84 Soldiers and Buglers, natives all, selected from those in the infantry reserves whot would be in the passive category; from them, a certain number would be drawn to fill the active positions, as re-

quired, and who would thus enjoy the same emoluments as those of their rank in the Philippines, including local rations.

—Finally, there should be six passive reserve units, under the overall command of the Sergeant-Major and Adjutant belonging to the Headquarters Staff, acting as First and Second Commanders, with the former being assisted by the Second Adjutant of the Standing Company, considered as active.

Each unit would have one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Second-Lieutenant, one Sergeant First-Class, three Second-Class, and a corresponding number of Corporals and Soldiers, according to the total number of men available, all natives, and proceeding from the those retired from active service.

The personnel of this force who are Adjutants, and also the Government Secretary, would enjoy the same salaries as for the Standing Company at present; the Secretary, being a Captain, would get the same salary of 30 pesos per year as the Major in charge of the Standing Company.

The rest of the personnel in the Units would only get, as long as they serve, personal exemptions from taxes of all types and permanently so, after 25 years of service.

Those in active service would enjoy the present salaries for the Standing Company, plus local rations.

Also belonging to the Military Branch, there should be one Administrative Officer to act as Commissioner, and one First Adjutant or Military Surgeon, with one Medical Practitioner and another one as Pharmacist, and one pharmacy, to run the infirmaries at the garrison and the prison.

The permanent defence installations should consist of one large coastal battery or fort to be constructed at Point San Luís [Orote] in the port of Apra in the Island of Guam; in the improved Fort Santa Cruz in the same port; and in another coastal battery in the roads of Umatac.

The mobile materiel to stock those forts and for use as field guns, should be 21 large coastal guns; five smaller guns for battle or fixed points, and 8 mountain pieces with their corresponding mounts and ammunitions; and 1,200 rifles.

For the naval service, there should be assigned one Government steamer permanently based in the Marianas, and relieved every six months, at which times it would carry in the mail and bring in government employees and supplies. The Governor would make use of said vessels to visit the province, and, in agreement with their Commander, he would carry out other voyages of exploration and correction in the Archipelago and in the whole of Micronesia.

For these ships, there should be established a coal depot in the port of Apra.

The ports of Apra, bays of Agaña and Umatac in Guam, and the Islands of Rota and Saypan should be assigned boats, and there should be another boat in Apra for the Captain of the Port, all with paid crews for this service and for dredging and improvement works in said ports.

Among such improvement projects, priority should be given to the use of explosives, under the direction of the Engineer, of the two shoals that exist in the outer anchorage

and the five in the inner anchorage, between the small Basin and the Island of Cabras, in the port of Apra, to leave everywhere the bottom 10 meters deep.

There should also be removed the bank that separates the outer anchorage from a hole next to Cabras Island, and this hole should be cleaned of any stones, so that it can be used as a ship repair station.

The bank that is blocking the access to another small hole near the Sara River, and the channel next to Fort Santa Cruz to give access to another hole behind it, should both be blasted off, in order to create there anchorages for the small boats belonging to the State and to traders.

For the Administration of Justice, there should be established a Court of First Instance, in charge of an Senior Clerk, or Attorney, with two clerks and an Interpreter, serving under him.

The Spiritual Administration should be in charge of Curates, in all the present or future towns, including therein Missionary Coadjutors to take care of the Chinese and Malay [immigrants]. All should enjoy stipends on the account of the State; as far as the cult is concerned, there should be applied a Sanctorum tax [i.e. tithes] on all the inhabitants of the Islands.

The public funds of all types, that would constitute the available funds belonging to the Treasury, should be disposed of under the care of the Governor acting as Sub-delegate, in accordance with the orders of the Intendant and current needs.

One Administrator would make the reports and take care of the accounting of the revenues, and one Cashier-Treasurer should directly handle the treasury accounts, while the money itself should be kept locked in a strong-box with three locks, each one in charge of the three above-mentioned employees, and to be kept inside the Government safe. In the interior of the province, the Governor should be the only man in charge of all the branches of administration, Police, public works, public schools, taxation and tax collection.

One of their preferred attentions will be with the colonists who are to come to the Marianas in order to settle on the Island of Guam in the spots where there are now small towns, and to create a new town at the port of Apra, which must become the [new] capital of the province with the name of *Prince Alfonso*, Alfonsina, or any other name to be determined by the Government. This capital would be built on the shoals within the port itself, between the Aguada River and the Point of San Luís on the Orote Peninsula, by beginning with the construction of a road from the left bank of the Aguada River to Orote, passing before Fort Santa Cruz to the end of it, that is, next to the Watering Place. And new towns would be built by the colonists in Sumay, that would later on grow upon the shoaly areas of the port, when the trade will grow to require it and there will be a need for facilities such as landing piers and wharves, enough traffic to justify the costs of such constructions over the water.

In addition, when the garrison will be constructed, and there will be traffic to Fort Santa Cruz, the latter building should be improved, by building a barracks behind it large enough to lodge two companies, the idea being to use the fort itself as the base for

the garrison troops. Immediately thereafter the construction should extend to other public buildings on top of the shoaly area surrounding the small basin on the east and towards Cabras Island, with the main square being located on the edge of the small basin, and the same with the whole coast that lies between its corner and the Orote Peninsula, which in time will be filled with wharves and quays.

By the same token, it should be prohibited to make any radical changes to the public buildings in Agaña, by limiting the work to maintenance activities only, until such time as they will be replaced by other buildings at the port area.

To improve administration and police work, the inhabitants of each locality should form groups of from 20 to 50 families, and each group is to form one Barangay [Ward] with one chief to be selected among its most honorable and able residents.

The localities that exceed 500 families, or various localities together, if they have fewer families, should form a district, with one Mayor at their head, who would exercise a petty command and jurisdiction over them, with the assistance of a Deputy and two Judges selected by the electors of the district, in accordance with the regulations existing in the Philippines.

The residents of each town or locality should appoint a Deputy who would govern in the absence and by delegation of the Mayor. These Mayors should be appointed by the Governor, they having the same qualifications as the present Gobernadorcillos, or being passive or retired employees. They should be divided into three classes, and be promoted from one to the next.

Public works should be proposed for each locality by the Mayors, and based on these proposals and other information provided by the Engineer or whoever might replace him, the general budget for each year should be developed, and passed to the Administrator of the Treasury who should form the overall budget for the province, for all public works, state or provincial.

There should be public schools for primary education, and obligatory, to be paid for out of community funds and the subsidy for the College of San Juan de Letran.

This College of San Juan de Letran should be abolished, and its present subsidy should be paid yearly to the provincial funds, the new source of funds for public schools.

The building of the College should serve as a school for the boys of Agaña, and all public schools should be under one Teacher-Inspector, a graduate of the Normal School of Manila, who would also establish within the College a school for substitute teachers for the schools of the Islands, until such time as there be enough Teachers or Assistant Teachers from the Normal School.

The ranches and animals belonging to the College should be sold, and the proceeds of this sale should be applied to the purchase of school supplies.

With respect to such supplies, the pupils should be provided books and other consumables for their education for free.

All taxes, direct or indirect, that are now paid in the Marianas should be abolished, except for that on sealed paper, and instead of those there should be established, only

and exclusively in the Islands, a personal income tax and a tax on wealth, without any distinctions other than on the vagaries of the origin and position of the tax-payers.

The personal income tax should consist of the yearly payment of a certain fixed sum for every individual between the ages of 16 and 60, and based on the origin and type of occupation. These taxes should be as follows:

Chinese and Foreign Industrialists.

	Pesos
Head tax	6
Community fund	0.50
Communal work,	5
<i>Sanctorum</i> [tithes]	0.50

Total	12

In addition, the owners of shops would pay:

1st-class shops	100
2nd " "	60
3rd ' "	30
4th " "	12

Foreign or Foreign Farmers.

Head tax	3
Community fund	0.12-1/2
Communal work	2.50
<i>Sanctorum</i>	0.37-1/2

Total	6

Carolinians or Malays.

Head tax	2.50
Community fund	0.12-1/2
Communal work	2
<i>Sanctorum</i>	0.37-1/2

Total	5

Local natives [Chamorros].

Head tax	2
Community fund	0.06-2/8
Communal work	1.75
<i>Sanctorum</i>	0.37-1/2

Total	4

The wealth tax should consist of a certain percentage of the estimated value of any sale of all categories of wealth, immobile, mobile or automobile, without distinction of any existing category in the Islands, on the first day of every year, or affected to the Islands themselves for any reason, and that do not already contribute anywhere else.

The rate of this tax should be decided upon forming the yearly budgets and based on the needs and the possibilities of the taxpayers.

The revenue from the first group, i.e. personal taxes, 50% should be for the State, and 50% for the provincial expenditures.

As far as the wealth tax is concerned, the percentage for the rate should be decided each year, based on circumstances.

There should not be permitted any other forms of taxes to be imposed, either for the State or for specific applications, either salt, local or personal taxes.

The ports should be completely free, without any other restrictions than those necessary for order and police concern, with the ships paying only for the pilotage and other assistance that they would request themselves.

For the assessment of taxes, there should be appointed by the Governor, from the list proposed by the Administrator of the Treasury, three Collectors in each district, who, with the help of the Mayors and Heads of Barangay would form at the beginning of every year the rosters for personal and wealth taxes. After the rosters have been approved, the Mayors and Heads should collect the amounts, and deposit same in the Royal coffers, where all funds are to be kept, with the Administrator of the Treasury administering both the State and provincial funds, though in separate accounts.

There should also be created by the Administrator separate revenue and expense accounts, for the general State and for provincial budgets. Once revised and approved, they should be remitted by the Governor to the Superintendent and to the Superior Government respectively, for their final approval, the same way that other budgets are processed in the Philippines, but separately from them all.

Not only for the review of these budgets but also for the resolution or discussion of important matters, there should be created in the Marianas a provincial Council of Administration, with the Governor as Chairman, and the following members: the Senior Mayor, the Sergeant-Major, the Administrator of the Treasury and the Vicar Ecclesiastical; and it should be called by the Governor and it will produce a specific report on the proposal and the approval of budgets and in any other serious matters; however, the votes should be simply advisory, with the responsibility for the adoption or not of the recommended decision remaining always exclusively with the Governor, as he sees fit.

The [royal] estates of Tinian should be abolished, since the idea is to colonize that Island and domesticate the cows. To this effect, cowboys could be hired by the province and paid out of the provincial fund, with the cattle in question being sold as is, alive, and as work animals. There could also be adjudicated contracts for the slaughter of the pigs, for the benefit of the provincial fund, during the interim period preceding the colonization of the island.

The other uninhabited islands could be adjudicated by contracts, and their productions should be for the benefit of the State; however, contracts involving the idea of colonizing should be preferred to those involving only income tax.

There should be encouraged by indirect means the despatch of missionaries and explorers to the Caroline Islands, by trying to establish there some trading stations next to which there would be established Christian settlements which, as soon as they become important, could ask for the protection of our flag; in which case some warships would be sent to establish it and to take possession of the locality, to make this protection effective on those who wish it. The Society of Jesus should be invited to participate in this enterprise, as it was its sons who sealed with their blood our first attempts in those Islands.

[Implementation]

All of these alterations must be adopted in principle by the Government, and effectively as the reform of the Marianas is taking place, by decisions being taken in the respective Ministries, in order to finalize the dispositions, with particular orders and regulations being made as implementation takes place; however, that ought not to occur at one time, nor for all ministries at once, but rather little by little and partially while the old makes way to the new, in line with the opportunities and available resources; indeed, the only definitive and early decision to be taken in about colonization, and the extraordinary measures for it, as well as about the *presidio*, and in proportion as that will take place and its results become realized, the reforms will proceed apace, with the consequent disappearance of the many classes that must be abolished or cease in their present positions, by the ordinary means.

Once the reforms have been decreed in principle, and the colonization granted, His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines will go on dictating the necessary dispositions for their implementation, whenever he may believe them to be timely, and they will be carried out progressively until the whole process be completed.

Should the Government of H.M. decide that it is more efficient to have a special person assigned to oversee this implementation, it could appoint an extraordinary Commissioner for Development who, once placed in charge of the plan with instructions and authorization from the Government, would propose to His Excellency the Governor and Captain General at the opportune times the best means to carry out every specific case, and with his order, would proceed to the implementation in all points, internal and external, wherever his presence be most necessary. With respect to the military authorities, he would act and report internally with the power-of-attorney or delegate of the Captain and Governor General, and in the Marianas as the superior authority reporting directly to the Captain and Governor General in everything concerning the implementation of the reforms.

This same Commissioner should deal informally with the Governments, companies and individuals in the exterior, for the establishment of shipping lines and other enter-

prises that would place the Marianas in contact with the outside world, by trying at the same time to publicize privately and through the press the knowledge of the circumstances and reforms that are taking place in the Marianas, in order to attract public attention to them and to contribute to the development of their relations with the commercial world, which are those that must foster the general importance of these Islands in the political and commercial spheres.

By such means, which might appear to some as extensive and serious, and perhaps inefficient, because they apply to the Marianas, but, taking when viewed as a whole or in its parts, the plan is trivial when compared with other projects undertaken every day by our Government in places of less importance than the Marianas, simply because they managed to get its attention, perhaps on account of their being the source of damages such that these Islands have not caused it. Nevertheless, these Islands will once day surely take the place they deserve among the possessions by making a giant step toward civilization. At the same time as we may free ourselves of a heavy burden, we will be able to point out a new place where our glorious flag will wave, without abandoning the past nor the spots where our forefathers planted it during better days, but rather harvesting the fruits of their earlier sacrifices, and expanding the field where, in my opinion, our fatherland may take pride in the fact that the brilliant star has not eclipsed that guided Columbus on his way to the new world, Magellan on his passage by the Marianas, and Elcano on his circumnavigation until he reached his initial point of departure.

A great Isabel opened the doors to the expansion of a nation to which the old continent on which it treaded seemed too small, and if the vicissitudes obliged it to pull back upon itself, another new Isabel will open new horizons where, by the means available to her century, and by the generous impulses of her heart, that is, by scientific and peaceful means, she will push the nation to once again display her flag throughout all the territories that were previously discovered, and to re-establish there the greatness of the nation and protect her sons.

In the middle of this renaissance, what remains of that brilliant past must not remain in obscurity, and the Mariana Islands which, obviously, are a worthy possession of that great nation, must necessarily take part, and so we hope, in that happy regeneration.

If only our weak efforts should lead to placing them in the spotlight, that purpose will have been accomplished. In any case, we shall forever be glad to have done our duty, if not with expertise, but with the pleasure of having done a great service to our fatherland, and carried out the orders of our superiors.

They are the ones who must now decide whether or not we have done the tasks imposed by the above-mentioned decree of 8 June 1853 and the Royal order of 26 November of that same year, and the better to obtain this approbation, let us conclude by once again requesting their indulgence, in view of the good-will that we have always shown.

Mariana Islands, Agaña, 28 January 1865.

Felipe de la Corte.

Follow-up—Opinion of De la Corte, in 1887.

Source: De la Corte's article entitled "La Micronesia española," in Revista de Geografía Comercial (Madrid, 1887).

More than 20 years have elapsed since we wrote a report on the sad state of the Mariana Islands, in compliance with the commission received from the supreme Government of our Nation, and we proposed the means that we considered practicable and within reach of our resources, to effect a complete make-over of that country.

It was then our opinion that a sum of 275,000 pesos, to be invested over of period of three years, would have been enough to forever stop the net loss that those Islands cause to our Treasury.

Ten years later, the Ministry of Overseas considered worthy of publishing that report; and eleven more years have gone by, making a total of more than 21 years, during which a total of 700,000 pesos have been spent by the Treasury in those Islands. Yet not a single decision had been made, with the result that the Marianas today [1887] are in a worse situation than they were in when we left them, in 1866.

We cannot help but feeling sad at this turn of events, not only because we have always had the interest of our nation at heart, but also because of the feelings that we have toward the inhabitants of that faraway region, who, in spite of distance and time, continue to send us their dear greetings, which have impelled us many times to take up the pen to write articles for the Manila press, for the purpose of raising them from their great lethargy. But now, as a result of the recent events in the Carolines,¹ it appears that some interest has finally been awakened in that part of the world, and we have been inclined to think that we should revive a little of what we then wrote, with some modifications and additions that have been made necessary by the course of time, the better to suit the present circumstances.

...
[De la Corte then revised his earlier sections on the geographic description of the Marianas and immigration to Micronesia.]

...

Summary.

From what we have said in the present article, one can easily conclude that the Islands of Tinian and Saipan constitute a group that could be support a large colony, which would have at its disposal all the elements to keep in touch with the outside world, either of its own, or through Guam as its center or capital, where the products could be transported and stored up, much as they are today by means of Carolinian canoes; that the Island of Rota would serve as a layover along that route, and where the local conditions are such that it can hardly be used for any other purpose.

1 Ed. note: The Yap conflict and dispute with Germany for possession of the Carolines.

In the Island of Saipan, suitable for any type of agriculture, and its neighbor Tinian, from which it is separated only by a channel, and accessible by boat, there should be created a nucleus of production that would help Guam to accumulate a sufficient quantity of exportable products to sustain a regular external trade—the only way that the isolation of the Marianas could be made to disappear, and one that cannot be solved by subsidies and other artificial resources. The highest interests of the nation are implicated in this project, and we intend to prove this point in the future.

Document 1865B

**The whaler Charles W. Morgan, Captain
Thomas C. Landers**

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library: PMB 316; Log. Inv. 962.

Notes: The Captain's wife was on board. The logbook was kept by Chief Mate Charles W. Chace, until 14 July 1866, then by the Captain himself.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Wednesday January the 4th [1865]

... At 10 a.m., saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island. Ran down off the island and a boat came on board. Sold him a barrel of beef, some shoes and some butter. Also traded for some fish and at 4 p.m., kept off again W by S.

...

Tuesday January the 10

... Working to the Northward cruising for Ocean [Banaba] High Island, Chronometer being out of the way. Employed in setting up shooks [i.e. barrel staves]. Latitude 1°15' South, Longitude by Chronometer 171°06' East.

...

Thursday January the 19th

... At 4, saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island. Stood in shore and traded for some hogs and coconuts and at 2 p.m., Capt. came on board, made all sail and kept off again. Latitude 5°12' North, Longitude 163°10' East.

Friday January the 20th

.... At 11 a.m., saw McAskill's [Pingelap] Island. Stood in under the lee of the island. Sent a boat on shore and traded for fowl and bananas. Latitude 6°12' North.

Saturday January the 21st

... Laying off and on McAskill's Island under double reefs. At daylight, stood in under the lee and sent a boat on shore and traded for fowls, coconuts and turtle. At 3 p.m., kept off West.

Sunday January the 22

... At daylight, made all sail. At 8 a.m., saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. Got the anchors off of the bow and at 2 p.m. took a pilot and went into the Middle Harbor and came to an anchor in 7 fathoms of water.

Monday January the 23rd

... Starboard Watch ashore on liberty. Employed on board in fitting boats. The REv. Mr. Sturges and wife came on board.

Tuesday January the 24th

... Larboard Watch ashore...

Wednesday January the 25th

... Starboard Watch ashore on liberty... Traded for hogs and some fowls.

Thursday January the 26

Commences with fresh trades and pleasant. Employed in fitting boats and rigging. Also sent a raft on shore for water. At 6 a.m., I went to stay the mizzen topmast. The Capot. came and took charge of it. I then went to reeve new crocket braces. He asked me what I was going to do. Told him that I was going to reeve new braces as he had told me and he stopped me. I then washed and went below. He came down, told me to leave the ship. I refused, went on deck. Called me a liar and clinched me. I shoved him off. He then told me to go off duty. So ends this day.

Friday January the 27th

... Employed in painting boats. Got off a raft of water. At 9 a.m., the Capt. told me I could go to my duty if I could get along without giving him back answers which I had not [done] so. I returned to duty. At 11 a.m., the Cook drew a knife and threatened to cut a Portuguese. I called him on deck and he was saucy and I struck him and knocked his hat off. I then told him to pick it up. He told me he would not. I then struck him again. So ends.

Saturday January the 28

... Employed in fitting boats and stowing water. Also sent a raft of casks on shore for water. Starboard Watch ashore on liberty. A seaman by the name of Josephene [sic] deserted.

Sunday January the 29

... Larboard Watch ashore on liberty.

Monday January the 30

... Employed in setting up rigging and painting boats. Also got a raft of water.

Tuesday January the 31st

... At daylight, hove short. At 9 a.m., pilot came on board, took our anchor and went to sea in company with Bark **Merlin** of New Bedford. Ran down off Lee Harbor and at 1 p.m., Capt. went on shore, ship laying off and on. At 7 p.m., boat came on board, Capt. remaining on shore for the night. Found two natives on board which had stowed away...

Wednesday February the 1st

... Laying off and on at the Lee Harbor of Ascension. At 7 a.m., sent a boat on shore and at 10, Capt. came on board, made all sail and kept off. Stowed the chains.

Thursday February the 2nd

... Broke out molasses 104 and flour. Latitude 9°31' North, Longitude 155°34' East.

Friday February the 3rd

... Employed in ship's duty. Broke out beef and pork. Latitude 11°31' North, Longitude 152°37' East.

Saturday February the 4th

... All sail set. Employed in ship's duty. Latitude 13°31' North. Longitude 149°19' East.

Sunday February the 5

... At 5 p.m., saw the Island of Saypan, bearing West distant 20 miles. At sundown, shortened sail and luffed to the wind. Latitude 15°21' North. Longitude 146°20' East.

Monday February the 6th

... At daylight, made all sail and kept off for Saypan. At 7:30 a.m., came to an anchor in 11 fathoms of water. Saw a number of humpbacks. Sent off three boats without success. Saw a sail outside.

Tuesday January the 7th

... At daylight sent off from boats. At [?] a.m., boats returned on board; saw two whales. Broke out bread and sold 50 lbs. Took on board two hogs.

Wednesday February the 8th

... At daylight, sent off four boats. The Starboard Boat darted and missed. At 4 p.m., returned on board. The Bark **Merlin** got a whale.

Thursday February the 9th

... Took on board 3 hogs and 12 iron [-wood] poles. The Bark **Favorite** of fairhaven came in to an anchor.

...

[All crews were whaling from shore.]

...

Monday February the 13th

... Took on board some corn, two hogs and some bananas.

Tuesday February the 14

... Took on board some bananas. The **Oregon** came in to an anchor.

Wednesday February the 15

... Sent on shore 3 casks for potatoes. Emmanuel, a Portuguese seaman, off duty sick.

Thursday February the 16

... Lowered four boats without success. Saw a few whales. The Ship **Oregon** got one.

Friday February the 17

... Took on board 18 bbls of sweet potatoes.

Saturday February the 18th

... Took on board some coconuts and 2 hogs. Sold 40 bbls of bread.

Sunday February the 19th

... Jim James Henry, the cabin boy, off duty with the venereal disease.

Monday February the 20

... Sent 3 boats off. At 10 a.m., came on board and got under way. Saw a number of whales. Last part, light winds, all sail set, steering SW by S. Carpenter off duty sick.

Tuesday February the 21st

... At daylight, saw Rota bearing South distant 10 miles. At 10 a.m., saw the Island of Guam. At sundown, luffed to the wind, head yards aback, laying off and on the town. Took in light sails.

Wednesday February the 22

... Laying off and on at Guam. At sunrise, kept off for the harbor. At 8 a.m., took a pilot and at 11 a.m., came to an anchor in 17 fathoms of water in the harbor of Guam. Capt. and wife went on shore. Employed on board in washing ship.

...

Friday February the 24th

... Broke out two casks of bread and sold 590 lbs of bread, 100 lbs of potatoes, 17 lbs of paint. Also broke out 8 bbls of flour and sold 2.

Saturday February the 25th

... Employed in painting and fitting rigging. Also sent on shore 500-weight of potatoes, 150 lbs of bread, 27 of butter, 9 bls of powder, 24 lbs of hams and 5 lbs of flour. The Carpenter and Mr. Chapel went up town, not returned.

Sunday February the 26

... The Carpenter and Mr. Chapel returned. At 2 p.m., the Carpenter took his chest and went on shore.

Monday February the 27

... Sent on shore 300 lbs of bread, 9 hams, 10 bls of butter, 16 lbs of rosin...

Tuesday February the 28

... Took on board 12 bbls of sweet potatoes and sent one bbl of flour on shore. At 10 a.m., took the boat and went on shore for some men. Brought five on board which had shipped and [at] 6 p.m., Capt. and wife came on board. Ship ready for sea. The Bark **Addison** came in...

Wednesday March the 1st

... At 6 a.m., the Pilot came on board. Took our anchor and went out bound to Eumatta [Umata] for water. At 11 a.m., anchored and sent a raft of casks on shore. Emmanuel returned to duty.

Thursday March the 2nd

... Lying at anchor at Eumatta for water. At daylight, called all hands. Found five men missing, supposed to have deserted through the night by swimming on shore. Took their things aft. Got off a raft of water and at 11 a.m., took our anchor and worked up to the town. At 3 p.m., Capt. and Wife went on shore to get the men, ship laying off and on.

Friday March the 3rd

... Ship laying off and on at Guam. Employed on board in ship's duty.

Saturday March the 4

... Ship under double reefs laying off and on. At 8 a.m., sent the boat in at the town. It being rugged could not land. At 1 p.m., ran down off of the Harbor and sent a boat in. At 5 p.m., returned on board. Lowered for Blackfish without success. Split the jib.

Sunday March the 5th

... Ship laying off and on under double reefs.

Monday March the 6th

... Ship laying off and on in company with Barks **Merlin** and **Ontario**. At 8 a.m., sent the boat on shore. At 12M, boat returned on board with five Chamorros which had shipped in place of the deserters. At 3 p.m., Capt. and Wife came on board. Kept off NNW.

...

Friday March the 10th

... At 4 p.m., went on board of the Ship **Ethiopian**, 35 days from Melbourne bound to Shanghai...¹ Latitude 19°44' North. Longitude 137°30' East.

...

[They went to the Japan Sea, the Okotsk Sea, Hawaii (nov. 1865).]

...

Sunday December the 17 [1865]

... A Portuguese seaman by the name of Tom off duty with the venereal disease. Latitude 3°16' North. Longitude 178°50' West.

...

Saturday December 23rd

... At 9 a.m., saw Pitt's [Makin] Island. AT 4 p.m., sent a boat in shore for trade. Not finding any, kept of W by N. Latitude 3°19' North, Longitude 173°00. East.

...

Monday December the 25th

... At 10 a.m., saw Covell's [Ebon] Island. Ran down under the lee of it and at 4 p.m., the Capt. went on shore. At 6, returned on board, ship laying off and on.

Tuesday December the 26

Ship laying off and on. At 7 a.m., the Capt. & wife went on shore to trade for hogs. Took on board six hogs. At 7 p.m., Capt. came on board. Made all sail and kept off West. Took on board 6 hogs, 20 chickens and some freight for the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei].

...

Friday December the 29th

... At 9 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island. At 4 p.m., sent a boat on shore for hogs at the Weather Harbor. At 7, returned on board with nothing. Ship laying off and on.

Saturday December the 30th

... At 7 a.m., ran down abreast of South Harbor and the Capt. and wife went on shore for hogs. Took on board 25 hogs and at 2 p.m., the Capt. came on board, made sail and kept off...

1 Ed. noe: Nicholson, in his Log of Logs, says that she was a 840-ton clipper ship belonging to the Aberdeen White Star line.

Sunday December the 31st

... At 3 p.m., saw MacAskill's [Pingelap] Island. Ran under the lee of it and came abacak and two canoes came alongside but they asking too much for trade, kept off West and made all sail.

Monday January the 1st [1866]

... At 6:30 a.m., the Capt. came on deck and I having some coconuts in the potato pen, he took them out and threw them on deck. I asked him if they [had] done any damage there and he snarled out that they done no good and I threw them overboard. He said I had ought to jump after them. I told him it would take a smarter man than him to throw me there. He told me to shut up. I told him I would not. At 8 a.m., saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. At 1 p.m., lowered the two quarter boats and the Capt. and wife went on shore, also Mr. Cashman¹ with a load of freight from the Island of Ebon. Last part, two boats came on board. Capt. and wife on shore, ship laying off and on.

Tuesday January the 2nd 1866

... Ship laying off and on the Lee Harbor of Ascension. At 7 a.m., the Capt. came on board, got up the chains and got the anchors off of the bow and at 3 p.m., ran into the harbor and came to an anchor in 4 fathoms of water. Took on board 3 hogs.

Wednesday January the 3rd

... Employed in tarring down and fitting rigging. Took on board a number of hogs and a few fowls.

Thursday January the 4th

... Employed in tarring rigging and trading for coconuts, pigs and fowls. The Capt. sent me with a crew to take Mr. Sturges up to the Middle Harbor. Did not return. A seaman by the name of George Minor deserted.

Friday January the 5th

... Employed on board in trading. Also got a raft on the shore for water. At 7 p.m., returned. Broke out beef. The natives caught Minor and brought him on board. PUt him in irons.

Saturday January the 6th

... The Starboard Watch on shore on liberty. Employed on board in trading and setting up rigging. Also got a raft of water on board. Had the Rev. Mr. Doane and Wife on board to dinner.

¹ Ed. note: Second Mate of the ship.

Sunday January the 7th

... Larboard Watch on shore on liberty.

Monday January the 8th

... The Larboard Watch ashore on liberty. Employed on board in stowing water and trading. Also sent a raft on shore for water. Minor still in irons.

Tuesday January the 9th

... The Larboard Watch ashore on liberty. Employed on board intrading. Got off a raft of water.

Wednesday January the 10th

... At 9 a.m., took the anchor and went to sea. Two natives on board as seamen. Worked up to the windward and the Capt. went on shore and bought a boat¹ and at 1 p.m., came on board, made all sail and kept off. Took the irons off of Minor. Last part steering NW.

...

Sunday January the 14th

... At 3 p.m., saw the Island Saypan. At 6, luffed to the wind, head yards aback and shortened sail. Latitude 15°17' North. Longitude 146°27' East.

Monday January the 15th

... At daylight kept off for the Island. At 9 a.m., came to an anchor in 10 fathoms of water. Got off 3 cords of wood. Employed otherwise in ship's duty.

Tuesday January the 16

... Employed in ship's duty. Saw a humpback.

Wednesday January the 17

... Employed in repairing sails and other small jobs. Saw humpback.

Thursday January the 18th

... Got off 7 cords of wood and 8 hogs. At 4 p.m., took the anchor and went to sea, bount to Guam.

Friday January the 19th

... At daylight, saw the Island of Rota. At 11 a.m., saw Guam.

Saturday January the 20

... Ship close hauled on opposite tacks working up to Guam. At 3 p.m., took a pilot

1 Ed. note: Probably came from one of the burned out whalers.

and proceeded into port and at 4 p.m., anchored in 27 fathoms of water. Took on board one hog. Put Minor in irons for fear of his running away.

...

Monday January the 22

... Employed in repairing sails and trading. Sold 2 bbls of flour and some sugar. Last part, squally...

Tuesday January the 23

... At 1 p.m., Capt. and wife went on shore and at 3 p.m., the boat returned on board with a Mr. Smith, a man shipped as a boat header. Took the anchor and went to sea bound humpbacking around Grigan, Pagan or Seypan, the Capt. and wife to remain in Guam until March...

[First Mate Chace became Master of the ship during this short cruise.]

Wednesday January 24

... Working to the NNE. Employed in making a sail pen and a stateroom for Mr. Smith. Saw Guam and Rota...

Thursday January 25th

... Ship close hauled on opposite tacks. At 6 p.m., the Island of Rota bearing NE distant 10 miles. At 8 p.m. double reefed.

Friday January the 26

... Close hauled on the starboard tack under double reefs. Employed in painting the Cabin and fitting boats. Latitude 15°16' North. Longitude 144°39' East.

...

Monday January the 29th

... At 1 p.m., saw the Island of Amalguan [Alamagan]. At 6 p.m., distant 20 miles bearing NE. Saw two other islands.

Tuesday January 30th

... Ship close hauled working to the windward. The Island of Pagan in sight...

[End of Vol. 1. Beginning of Vol. 2 entitled: *Journal of Ship Charles W. Morgan of New Bedford, kept by Charles W. Chace, Chief Officer.* 170]

Thursday February the 1st '66

... Laying off and on at the Island of Grigan[Agrigan].

Friday February the 2

... At 9 a.m., saw himpbacks. Lowered 4 boats without success...

Saturday February the 3

... Laying off and on at Grigan. At 6 a.m., sent in 3 boats. At 10, returned on board without success. Saw one whale...

Sunday February the 4th

... Ship laying off and on. At daylight, ran down under the lee of the Island. Saw one whale. Did not think it best to lower as he showed no chance. At 9 a.m., made all sail for Pagan. At 3:30, lowered 2 boats and went in shore at Pagan. Saw 2 or 3 whales. At 6 p.m., returned on board. Ship laying off and on. Light airs and pleasant.

Monday February 5th

... Ship laying off and on at Pagan. At 6 a.m., went in shore with 4 boats. Saw 4 or 6 whales. The Larboard Boat darted, did not get fast. Broke out beef. Had the Governor [sic] of Pagan on board.

Tuesday February 6

... At 3 p.m. Larboard Boat went in shore, went on to a whale, did not get fast. Waist Boat got a whale.

Wednesday February the 7th

... At 5:30 sent in two boats. Employed on board in cutting. At 9 a.m., finished, made sail and stood in shore. Saw a number of whales...

...

Wednesday February the 14

... Ship laying off and on under topsails. Did not lower, it being bad weather. Saw a Barque to the leeward...

Thursday February the 15

... Laying off and on in company with a Bark supposed to be the **William and Henry** of Fairhaven...¹

Friday February the 16

... At 9 a.m. lowered 4 boats and went in shore in company with the **William and Henry's** boats. Saw one whale.

Saturday February 17

... One of the hogs being dead, one dying the day before, I told the Cooper that they had no water. He said they had and said I must get someone else to take care of them. I told him to shut up. He said he would not. I told him to go aft. He said he would not.

1 Ed. note: The William and Henry was ship-rigged, not a bark. This bark was the Lagoda, of New Bedford, Captain Charles W. Fisher (see below).

I took hold of his shirt and brought him aft and he struck me in the face. I then went below and got a pair of irons and told him he must go in irons. He said he would not and I struck him on the head and cut in back, then called Mr. Cartman and put him in irons.

Sunday February 18

... Bound to Grigan, all sail set, in company with the Bark.

Monday February the 19th

... Took the Cooper out of irons.

Tuesday February the 20th

... Laying off and on at Grigan. Saw one finback. At 9:30, started for Pagan. Arrived there at 12:30 p.m...

Wednesday February the 21

... At daylight, ran in shore. Saw a few whales. Did not lower, it being rugged. Kept off for Seypan. At 12M, passed the Island of Aguam [Alamagan]. At 5 p.m., passed Farallon de Torres. At 9, passed Anataxan, steering SSE under double reefs.

Thursday February 22

... At daylight, saw the Island of Farallon de Medinilla. Steering South. Saw a few whales. At 2 p.m., arrived at Seypan. Went on board of the **lagoda** and stayed half an hour. Kept off for Guam. At 4 p.m., lowered for a whale. The Starboard Boat went on and darted, did not get fast. Came on board and kept off again.

Friday February 23

... Steering for Guam. At 4 a.m., saw the island. At 8 a.m., went on shoe and took the Capt. and Wife on board and Pilot and went into port to an anchor. Sold some flour, bread and butter.

Saturday February 24

... Employed in repairing sails and fitting rigging.

Sunday February the 25th

... Laying at anchor in Guam.

Monday February the 26

... At 7 a.m., sent off 3 boats humpbacking. Saw one, returned on board...

Tuesday February the 27th

... At 7 a.m., sent 3 boats off to look for humpbacks. Saw none. At 11 a.m., came

on board. At about 12M, the Capt. of the Port came on board with the Pilot and Capt. of Artillery and told the Capt. that he or me must go up to the town with the ship's papers (the ship being entered and cleared ready for sea as soon as the potatoes were on board). The Capt. asked them the reason. They said they knew no reason but an order from the Governor.¹ Not knowing of no reason for going to town, told him he could not go [previous 6 words crossed out] told him they would put a ball into the ship from the fort. He told him he could do it if he thought proper. They then got into their boat and went and seized our Starboard and Waist Boats which were towing off a raft of potatoes about half a mile from shore. They also took the potatoes which were in casks, detaining the ship which is ready for sea. The Capt. or me knowing of no cause.

On the 24th, I took the ship's papers by request of the Capt., went to town and to the Governor, entered and cleared the ship, telling him we should sail on the 27 or 28 or as soon as our potatoes were ready. I came down on board on the 25th supposing everything correct.

C. W. Chace, Chief Officer.

Wednesday February the 28th

... At 7 a.m., I started for the town with a letter from the Capt. for the Governor. Took another from the Governor to the Capt. Arrived on board with the Capt. of the Port. At 1 p.m., the Capt. of the Port informed the Capt. that his men would be given up as soon as they could be got down, also the boats. At 5 p.m., the boats arrived on board. The men were taken up to the town under the guard of soldiers and there imprisoned for the night. Had but one meal's victuals whilst gone on shoe...

Thursday March the 1st

... At 8 a.m., got the potatoes on board, also some coconuts and traded off a boat. Sent a letter to the Governor demanding satisfaction for stopping the ship. Received one apologizing for detaining the ship.

Friday March the 2nd

... At 6 a.m., took the anchor and started for Eumata for water. Anchored at 9 a.m. Sent two boats after a whale with no success. Got off a raft of water and some recruits. Took the anchor at 7 p.m. and went to sea steering NW.

...

[They went to the Japan Sea via Okinawa, cruising in the Yellow Sea, anchored in the port of Hakodadi [Hokkaido], to the Okhotsk Sea in April 1866, to the Straits, where the log-keeper or First Mate had a word fight with the Captain and he was dismissed. The Captain himself took over the log as of 14 July 1866, until the ship reached New Bedford in June 1867. Here is both sides of the story.]

...

1 Ed. note: Governor Moscoso, who had just replaced De la Corte.

Saturday the 14th

... All sail set. At about 7 a.m. the Capt. ordered a tackle over the main hatch. I got it up. He then told the 2nd Mate to send up the empty casks. He did so. I then asked him if he was going to start the oil. He told me he would see bye and bye. He had ordered a hose tub land. I had that brought. The men brought the hose. I told them we did not want the hose, whereupon the Capt. began in this style "Saul blast you Mate. Get ready for starting the oil." I told him I then knew what he meant when he says, you mean good for nothing, which so excited me that I called him some hard names, said more perhaps than I had ought to have done but in a passion. He has compelled me off of duty & I so not wish to return to duty again as things now is.

C. W. Chace

July 14th... At about 7 a.m., I, T. C. Landers, Master of Ship **C. W. Morgan**, ordered a tackle over the main hatch, told Mr. Cashman, second Mate, to send up all the empty casks. I then told the Mate, Mr. Chace to get the hose tub & hose. I then went down into the hold. Soon after he, Chace, asked me if I wanted the oil unlashed. I answered him as he is in the habit of answering me "I suppose we shall." He then told the men not to bring the hose. I then told him he knew as well as I did what I wanted to do. He then, Charles W. Chace, says to me "**God damn you, no, I don't**" and some other words that I don't revollect. I then told him to go to his room. He says "I won't. I want to shit first." He would go when he got ready. "Kiss my ass." I told him if he did not go to his room, I would put him in irons. If there is men enough in this ship, I told him, he should never do any more duty on board of the ship. This together with many other things on the voyage from less than a month from hoem up to the present time. April the 18 or 19th in the morning, I scolded about there being so much case [oil] and dirt on deck and he, Chace, took it up when I had not said a word to him. I told him I would do as I was a mind to & help himself if he could. He told me he **hoped to Jesus Christ** there would never be another whale [to] come alongside of the ship, that he believed that I would rather not see a whale come alongside of the ship. This is the truth, so help me God, I never in all my going to sea heard such language be used to a master of a ship and a man take up such little things.

T. C. Landers, Master, **C. W. Morgan**.

...
[When the ship was still in the Okhotsk Sea, the Capt. had another word fight, this time with the 2nd Mate.]

...
Saturday August 11

... At about 3 a.m., took the anchor and went out and steered to the W with the land. Saw a few diggers.¹ Sent off two boats. Had a chance to the Bow Boat and the boat-steerer would not strike him. He said he did not come here to get devil-fish. At about

1 Ed. note: Devil-fish, and mussel-digger, were other names for the California grey whale.

5, got the colors for the Bow Boat which was off then. I went to supper. When I went on deck, he had hauled his wind to go on shore. I then wore round and hauled aback. When he came on board, I asked him why he hauled his wind. I took it as much as to say "If you don't do as I want you to, I will do as I have a mind to." While [having] in some words with him, his boatsteerer came along and told me [that] if I was going to put him in irons, to put him too. I then told Mr. Cashman to take hold of him. He came along [and] told me I was always getting into a row, "let go of the man, I will take care of the man." I then told him that if he was dissatisfied with me, he could leave the ship as soon as he liked. He then commenced to abuse me and God damn me. I was a mean old beggar and if I had done this & that I should [have] got oil, I was afraid of my mother & so on...

Sunday August 12

... Sent Johnson the boatsteerer forward, for meeting and not striking whales...

...

[Reached Hawaii in October 1866, then homeward but the Captain landed a sick man and two others on Krusenstern Island along the way. On 5 January 1867, the Captain commented: "I had to tell the boatsteerers where their places was about. All the trouble that I have had this voyage has been with the officers."]

...

How the C. W. Morgan escaped the CSS Shenandoah.

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1865.

Report of Ship Onward.

[To] H. M. Whitney, Editor *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.—

The ship **Onward** left the Sandwich Islands April 1st, and had a pleasant passage to the Kurile Islands...

While whaling, received a letter from Capt. Willis, of the **Rambler**, by a Russian brig from the Arctic ocean, advising the Ochotsk fleet of the depredations of the **Shenandoah**, and immediately proceeded to hide my vessel by running into a bay, and up a river some thirty miles, where I lay a month. The **C. W. Morgan** also hid in the same place. We left Shantar Bay on the 5th of October, and came out of the sea on the 12th, and had a fair passage to 32° N.; since that have had light winds from the S.E. The Ochotsk fleet will average about 740 barrels to a ship.

Very respectfully,
W. H. Allen.

Document 1865C

The logbook of the James Maury

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 335, 336; Log Inv. 2491.

Notes: Captain Sherman L. Gray died off Guam on 24 March 1865, and was replaced by Captain K. W. Cunningham. Captain Gray's wife was on board when her husband died.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Saturday March 4 [1865]

... Saw land, the Kingsmill's [Gilbert] Group of Islands. Lat. 1°53' [S]. Long. 175°17' E.

...

Sunday March 12

... Saw and passed Strong [Kosrae] Island distance 7 miles. Lat. 5°29' N. Long. 163°19' E.

Tuesday March 14

... At 9 p.m., saw land. Lat. 7°00' North...

Wednesday March 15

... At 2 p.m., came to an anchor at Ascension [Pohnpei].

...

Saturday March 18

... Trading from the Ship some.

...

Monday March 20

... At 8 a.m., took our anchors and went to sea. Shipped a native of the Island.

...

Friday March 24

... At 2 p.m., our Captain expired after the illness of two days. At 5 p.m., headed the Ship for Guam. Lat. 13°00' N. Long. 152°16' E.

Saturday March 25

... Made a cask and put the Capt. in with spirits. Lat. 13°20' N. Long. 145°58' E.

...

Tuesday March 28

... At 3 p.m., saw the Island of Guam. Lat. 13°28' N. Long. 145°50' E.¹

Wednesday March 29

... Off and on the land... Latter part, one boat ashore...

Thursday March 30th

... At 8 p.m., the Pilot came aboard and took us into the harbor. At 1/2 past 4, dropped anchor...

Friday March 31st

Lying at anchor in Guam... Latter, nothing in supplies...

...

Monday April 3rd

... At 10 a.m., the Pilot came on board. We took anchor and went to sea, the wind from ²E, steering NW. Stowed the anchors and chains...

...

1 Ed. note: A new handwriting after this entry indicates a new log-keeper.

2 Ed. note: The James Maury was later captured and bonded by the CSS Shenandoah, Captain Waddell (see next documents).

Document 1865D

The C.S.S. Shenandoah at Pohnpei

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, September 1865.

The Shenandoah's Work

The arrivals of the American clipper ship **Reynard** from San Francisco and the American whaling bark **Joseph Maxwell** from the Arctic Ocean on Thursday morning, brought us intelligence of the destruction of fourteen whaleships by the pirate **Shenandoah** and of the probable destruction of a larger portion of the Arctic and Ochotsk fleets.

In our issue of June 24, we gave the statement of the captain of the Hawaiian schooner **Pfeil**, who reported having been spoken by a strange vessel near Ascension [Pohnpei], and being boarded by officers who reported the stranger as the British ship **Miami**. We then gave it as our opinion that it was the **Shenandoah**, and by the news received it has proved too true. Upon leaving the **Pfeil** squared away for Ascension and there burned four vessels and left their officers and crew on the island. The **Shenandoah** then shaped her course for the Ochotsk Sea, and captured another vessel, from which she obtained men and provisions, one of the men acting as pilot and taking the vessel to the Arctic Ocean, where she destroyed ten more ships, of which the following is a list furnished by Captain Chase of the **Joseph Maxwell**: Bark **Coral**, Crandall; Ship **Gen'l Williams**, Benjamin; bark **Isabella**, Winslow; bark **Sophia Thrnton**, Tucker; bark **Gypsey**, Robinson; ship **Euphrates**, Hathaway; bark **Jireh Swift**, Williams; ship **William Thompson**, Smith; ship **Hector**, Chase; and bonded the ship **Milo**, Hawes, and sent her into San Francisco with the officers and men of the ships destroyed.

Capt. Nye of the **Abegail**, Fish of the Hawaiian brig **Victoria**, Mammen of the Oldenburg bark **Oregon**, and Vauxpréss of the French ship **Gustave**, used every means in their power to warn ships of the danger. Captain Fish pulling fifteen miles in one instance to do so. Through the exertions of these gentlemen the **Joseph Maxwell**, **Arnolda**, **Bartholomew Gosnold**, **Benjamin Cummings**, **Canton Packet**, **Eliza Adams**, **Europa**, Capt. Milton; **Merlin**, **Mount Wollaston**, **William Gifford**, **Richmond**, **Splendid**, **Vineyard**, **J. D. Thompson** and **Minerva**, will owe their escape.

The **Emily Morgan** and **John P. West** were warned, but had squared away for the Ochotsk Sea for a fare, where the pirate will no doubt find them. There were in the straits and for which there are small chances of escape, the **Congress**, **Congress 2d**, **Corinthian**, **Cornelius Howland**, **Elizabeth Swift**, **Europa**, **Florida**, **Favorite**, **George Howland**, **Helan Snow**, **Martha**, **Martha 2d**, **Mercury** and **Sunbeam**. The **General Pike**, Crowell, we learn had also been bonded.

Captain Gray of the James Maury, had died of inflammation of the bowels, his wife being with him at the time. Captain Waddell refused to burn the ship as there was a lady on board. [emphasis mine]

This wholesome destruction of ships and the scattering of the few who may escape must seriously affect those in these islands who do business directly with the fleet, while it will doubtless damage every branch of business on the islands to a greater or less extent.

The **Pearl**, destroyed at Ascension was owned by parties in this city. The **Harvest** was also owned in this city, by Messrs. Pfluger, Dowsett and Molteno, neither of whom are Americans, and the vessel was also under the Hawaiian flag. We are told the **H.**, was insured in Europe.

LATER.

Since the above was written, the American bark **Richmond** and American ship **James Maury** have arrived. From them we glean the following particulars: The **Shenandoah** had burnt the American whaleship **Catherine**, Phillips; bark **Nimrod**, Clark; **William C. Nye**, Cooty; brig **Susan Abigail**, Redfiels; ship **Hillman**, Macomber; ship **Nassau**, Green; bark **Martha 2d**, Macomber; bark **Favorite**, Young; bark **Waverly**, Holley; bark **Congress 2d**, Wood; **Isaac Howland**, Ludlow, and bark **Covington**, Jenks, making total of 25 burned and four bonded. The **Richmond** spoke the **General Pike** on the first of July with two hundred and fifty-two persons on board bound for San Francisco, and at the earnest request of captains of vessels destroyed, consented to take on board and bring to this port fifty seamen, mostly Hawaiians. The men were all well supplied with clothing, as Captain Waddell is said to be rather partial to Hawaiians, several of them having shipped on the vessel, notwithstanding the neutrality proclamation of H.M.'s Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The **Nile** before reported burned had been bonded and sent to San Francisco with one hundred and fifty men, and the **James Maury** was bonded and brought one hundred and fifty men into this harbor.

The **James Maury** reports having seen four more vessels burning the day they left. The **Brunswick**, Potter, had been stove by ice. A survey was held, and the vessel condemned, when the pirate took possession and set fire to her.—*Advertiser*.

Document 1865E

The situation at Pohnpei—Narrative of N. S. Gardiner

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1865.

Metters and Things at Ascension.

Burning of Four Whaleships—Crews Driven on Shore—Kindness of Missionary and Natives—Dedication of Native Church—Native Feast—Fourth of July—Arrival of the Kamehameha V—Passage to Honolulu.

By the arrival of the **Kamehameha V**, Capt. Cunningham, we have received letters from that distant part of the world. This vessel was sent to bring away the unfortunate masters, officers and crews of the whaleships destroyed by the Confederate pirate **Shenandoah**. Much credit is due D. Foster & Co., owners of the **Kamehameha**, for having dispatched their vessel on the precarious voyage of rescuing these men, with only this pledge on the part of the United States Consul and the Hawaiian Government, that if the crews of these hurnt vessels had not been taken off, they would pay forty dollars for each man brought to Honolulu. Supposing they had been taken off, or had not wished to have returned, then Messrs. Foster & Co. would have been the sufferers pecuniarily. It so turned out, however, that ninety-eight returned in the vessel.

We have received the following interesting communication, the manuscript of which was just one fathom and a half long, but we have necessarily “cut out” long paragraphs to adjust the document to our small sheet:

Rev. Mr. Damon.

Dear Sir:

Having been victimized by the pirate **Shenandoah**, and being aware of the interest you take in seamen, and also your connection with the Missionary cause, I make bold to pen you the following:

I sailed Dec. 28th, 1864, from Honolulu, in the bark **earl**, commanded by E. P. Thompson. We cruised the line down to Ascension, not seeing any whales, or anything transpiring of note, until April 1st, while recruiting ship at Middle Harbor, in company with the ships **Hector**, **Harvest**, and **Edward Cary**, the pirate **Shenandoah** paid us a visit, and, after taking seventeen of us on board the steamer, burned the ships. We

were kept confined in irons for thirteen days, and then cast on shore in a destitute condition.

We remained on shore six months, and the last three months of my stay having been spent with the Missionary, Rev. A. A. Sturges, I had a good opportunity of seeing and judging somewhat of the benefits of the Missionary cause, and also the manners and customs of the natives of the Island. Mr. Sturges, hearing of our capture, sent us a letter, stating his peculiar situation at home, and that he did not dare to leave his premises, as the Chief at Kitty had but recently burned his church, and it would be unsafe for him to leave, or he would come in person to our assistance; and also tendering his house, and offering to share his food with us to the last.

On the 13th we were released by the pirate and sent on shore, where we were met by the King, who extended his hospitalities to the captains, and proposed to distribute the rest among his Chiefs. His offer was accepted. Myself and three others were invited by Mr. J. Robinson to take up our abode with him, where I remained three months, I would here state that Mr. Robinson and his wife made their house our home, and provided everything in their power to make us comfortable. I would also state that Mr. Kehew was very kind to those who were with him, and Mr. Alex. Zolliot, of Jecoits [Sokhs], was ever ready to extend a helping hand; and I would do injustice to all foreigners residing on the Island were I not to say they did their utmost to alleviate our necessities. The natives were hospitable, with some few exceptions, and those were the members of the Lee tribe, who are under the influence and control of the anti-Missionary party.

Our time while on the Island was devoted mostly to fishing, gunning and visiting. In July I received an invitation to attend the dedication of a church, and in company with Capt thompson, Capt. Chase and Mr. Getchell, I wended my way thither. We found the church beautifully situated on a high hill, surrounded and shaded with breadfruit and cocoanut trees. Attached to the building is a beautiful tower, about ninety feet high. The interior of the church is plain; the columns which support the roof are arched, presenting a gothic appearance, and very tastefully covered with native twine-work, which is ingeniously laid on. The desk is very nicely arranged, with a railing in front. The building is capable of seating four hundred. It was designed and built by the Chief, and is a most creditable piece of workmanship.

After taking a view of the building and adjacent grounds, we were shown the feast-house, which was a large building, and filled in the centre with all kinds of luxuries and food that the Island afforded, such as sugarcane, bananas, cocoanuts, pineapples, breadfruit, yams, roast pigs, fish, and roast dogs, the latter of which is the great luxury of the natives. At half past ten the bell rang for service. We then repaired to church, where we were politely shown to a seat by the sexton, and in a short time the building was filled to overflowing. ON the right, as we entered, were seated six Chiefs, who had never attended religious service before. Everything being in readiness, Mr. Sturges opened the service by reading a hymn in native, which was sung with a spirit. After singing, the Chief offered a prayer, and then Mr. Sturges delivered the dedicatory sermon,

which was listened to with marked attention by all. After the discourse, the service was closed by singing "Old Hundred," in which we all joined, making the words reverberate. We were then invited by Mr. S. to attend the feast, at which the Chief officiated. In the feast-house, on either side, were seated the natives. After all was ready, thanks were offered, and feasting commenced, and after doing justice to the good things set before us, we made our way home, highly pleased with our excursion.

Mr. Sturges having extended to me an invitation to spend the remainder of my stay with him, we made sail for Kitty. There I found Mr. S.'s dwelling pleasantly situated, the house being airy and commodious, with a five grass plat in front, and that surrounded by large shade trees. Mr. and Mrs. Sturges were untiring in their efforts to make my stay pleasant and agreeable. To them I owe a debt of gratitude that I never can repay; and I would also state that no-one ever calls on him or his family without receiving the hospitalities of a Christian and a benefactor.

The Fourth of July was celebrated in as becoming a manner as circumstances would admit. Captains Chase, Baker, Thompson, Eldridge, and Mr. Getchell were appointed a Committee of Arrangements for the different stations of the Island where the celebration would take place. Capt. T. and Mr. G. were the committee at Kehew's station, where they were ably assisted by Messrs. Wheeler & Co. Here they partook of a sumptuous dinner, prepared by Mr. Kehew, and, after doing their whole duty to the same, they sang the "Star-spangled Banner," and other patriotic songs, cheering the President, the Union, and everybody else in general.

There were in all the ships' company 120. Not a case of sickness occurred with us while on the Island. For a long time we watched and listened for the cry of "Sail ho!" but to no purpose, until the 15th September, when we were made glad by the arrival of the good ship **Kamehameha**, Capt. Cunningham, who had come to our assistance. Capt. Cunningham gave us all the news concerning friends at home, the war, peace, assassination, &c. We were then invited to the cabin, where a nice supper was prepared. Here Mr. Sturges offered thanks to the Creator of us all for his kind protection and the deliverance of our beloved country from civil war and strife. After supper, we repaired to the quarter deck, where we sang "John Brown" and cheered the Old Flag, and adjourned to our respective abodes to await the sailing of the ship.

The next week the **Morning Star** arrived bringing Mr. and Mrs. Doane, to the great delight of Mr. and Mrs. Sturges. ON the 27th of September, Capt. Cunningham having provided such recruits as were requisite, we set sail for Honolulu, bidding adieu to Ponape and all our kind friends.

Capt. Cunningham was untiring in his endeavors to make our passage pleasant and agreeable. We are much indebted to him for his unlimited generosity, and we also tender our thanks to his officers and crew for their many acts of kindness.

Yours,

Nathan S. Gardiner.

Documents 1865F

The Confederate raider CSS Shenandoah, Lieutenant Commanding Waddell, visited Pohnpei to destroy Yankee whalers

Notes: In all, the Shenandoah captured and burned 34 ships and barks, and captured and bonded four more. The illustration of the Shenandoah is as she looked after being launched on the Mersey, in England.

F1. The memoirs of Lieutenant Commanding James I. Waddell

Sources: Ms. kept in the Archives of Naval Records, National Archives, Washington; text edited by James D. Horan and published by Crown Publishers, New York, 1960.

Letter of instructions to Lieut. Waddell, dated Paris 5 October 1864

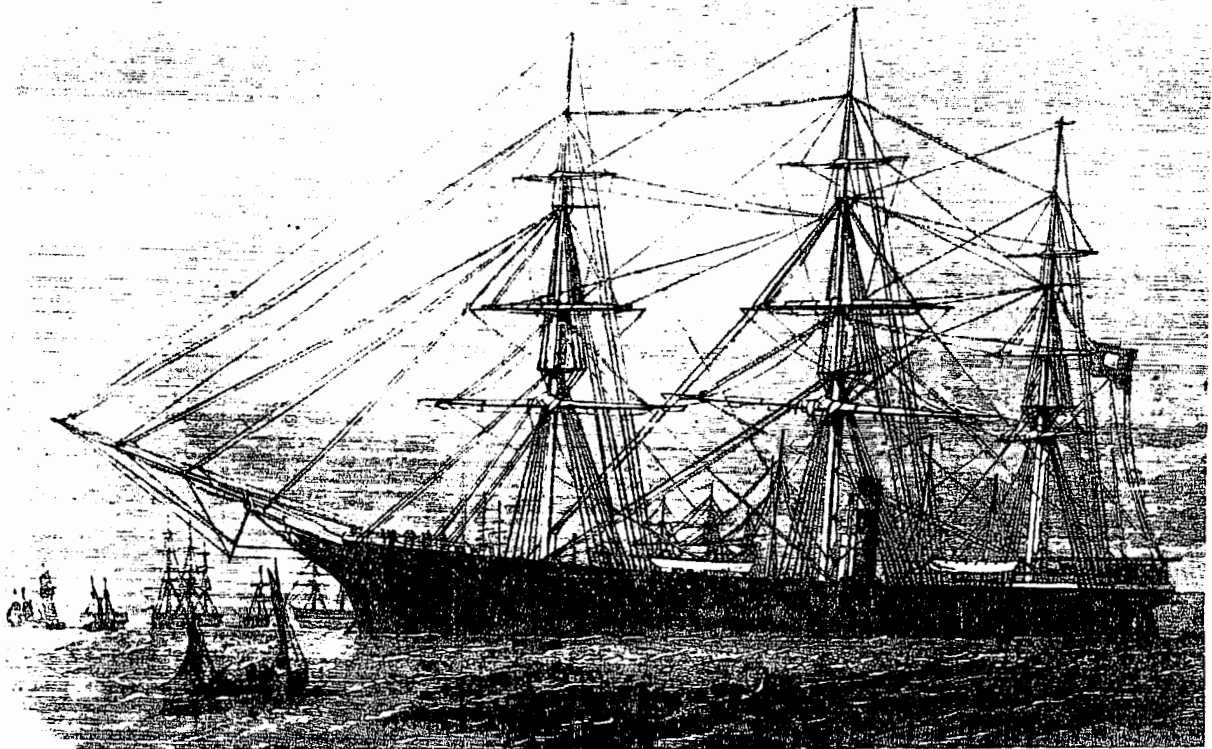
Paris, France, 5 October, 1864,
No. 30, Rue Drouot.

Sir,

When the vessel under your command is ready for sea, you will sail on a cruise in a region of ocean already indicated to you in our personal interviews. The charts which have been sent you, are the best sailing directions which you can have.

Your position is an important one, not only with reference to the immediate results to the enemy's property, but from the fact that neutral rights may frequently arise under it; reliance, however, is placed in your judgment and discretion for meeting, and promptly disposing of such questions.

It is now quite the custom of Federal owners of ships and cargoes to place them under British protection, and this may at times cause you embarrassment. The strictest regard for the rights of neutrals cannot be too sedulously observed; nor should an opportunity be lost in cultivating friendly relations with their naval and merchant services, and of placing the true character of the contest in which we are engaged in its proper light. You will not hesitate to assume responsibility when the interest of your country may demand it, and should your judgment ever hesitate in seeking the solution of any difficulty, it may be aided by the reflection that you are to do the enemy's property the



The late Confederate cruiser Shenandoah in the Mersey. (From a painting in the Peabody Museum, Salem).

greatest injury in the shortest time. Authority is vested in you to make acting appointments to fill any vacancies which may occur.

The maintenance of strict naval discipline will be essential to your success, and you will enjoin this upon your officers and enforce its rigid observance, always tempering justice with humane and kind treatment.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. Barron,
Flag Officer.

[To] Lieutenant Commanding James I. Waddell.

[Enclosure:]

Received from Navy Department, Richmond, dated August 19, 1864, and enclosed in a letter of instructions to Lieutenant Commanding James I. Waddell, dated October 5, 1864:

A fast vessel with auxiliary steam power, leaving the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope on the first of January, would reach Sydney in Australia in forty days, adding twenty days for incidental interruptions, and leaving the coast of Australia on the first of March, passing through the whaling ground between New Zealand and New Holland, and the Caroline Group, touching at Ascension [Pohnpei], and allowing 30 days for incidental interruptions, would reach the Ladrone Islands by the first of June. She would then, visiting the Bonin Islands, Sea of Japan, Okhotsk Sea and North Pacific, be in position, about the 15th of September, north of the Island of Oahu, distant from sixty to one hundred miles, to intercept the North Pacific Whaling fleet, bound to Oahu with the products of the summer cruise.

Extracts from the Memoirs

I was ordered to proceed upon a cruise in the far distant Pacific, into the seas and among the islands frequented by the great whaling fleet of New England, a source of abundant wealth to our cruisers and a nursery for her seamen, and it was hoped that I would be able to damage and disperse the fleet, even if I did not succeed in utterly destroying it.

Considering the vast extent of water to be sailed over, the necessarily incomplete equipment of the vessel and my approaching isolation from the aid of my countrymen, a letter of specific instructions would have been wholly superfluous.

All details regarding the organization of the crew and the necessary alterations required to fit the vessel for carrying her battery, preserving the ammunition, the general conduct of the cruise and my intercourse with neutrals was left to my judgment and discretion, for I would be subjected to constantly varying scenes and incidents, and would doubtless encounter difficulties which could not be foreseen and provided for in advance.

I believe that in moments of doubt and difficulty the conscientious officer who is

earnestly intent upon his duty, finds that a happy inspiration comes to his aid. Upon that I relied as I dwelt upon my letter of instruction, not yet knowing who were the officers of the ship with whom I was to be associated, upon whose experience and ability depended in a great measure the success of the great work to be accomplished.

I had the benefit of the counsel, wisdom and experience of my superior officer in all matters connected with the projected cruise, the probable difficulties in the way and their solution. Indeed, the way was paved for my operations so skillfully that there was little else to do but follow the instructions given me.

The means which were to be placed at my disposal, and the arrangement for a proper and safe rendezvous, the process of transferring the armament and stores from the supply vessel to the intended cruiser, and the probable nature of the contract with the seamen to induce them to ship in our service, were matters of after consideration.

The passage to my ultimate cruising ground and the locality in which I would be most likely to find the objects of my search required careful study and investigation of charts and reference to the topography of the Pacific Ocean and the numerous islands scattered therein. The ultimate aim of the cruise was the dispersion or utter destruction of the New England whaling fleet, as pointed out in the memorandum of the Secretary of the Navy. The vessel to be placed under my command had recently returned from her first voyage to Bombay¹ for which trade she was built, and being designed as a transport for troops going to or returning from India with spacious 'tween decks and large air ports, she was admirably suited for being converted into a cruising vessel.

The log of her outward and homeward voyages showed her to be fast under canvas, and her steam power was more than auxiliary. She had been docked for the purpose of examining her condition before entering upon a cruise. She had a lifting screw and she could steam nine knots under favorable circumstances. Ample stores were provided for a cruise of fifteen months. The following named officers were detailed for my command:

—William C. Whittle	Lieutenant
—John Grimball ²	"
—Francis T. Chew	"
—S. Smith Lee	"
—Dabney M. Scales	"
—Charles E. Lining	Passed Assistant Surgeon ³
—F. J. McNulty	" " "
—Irvine S. Bulloch	Acting Master

1 Ed. note: She was then called the **Sea King**.

2 Ed. note: Wrote his own account, published as "Cruise of the Shenandoah," in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 25, 1897.

3 Ed. note: Kept a private journal, now located in the Virginia State Historical Society; it was published in "A Calendar of Confederate Papers Prepared under the Direction of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, Richmond, Virginia," 1908. It was also re-published separately as an article entitled: "Cruise of the Confederate Shenandoah," in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. 8, 1924.

—O. A. Brown Midshipman
 —John T. Mason Midshipman¹

We left Liverpool in search of the cruiser in the Confederate supply vessel **Laurel**, on the morning of the 9th of October, 1864, for Funchal, Island of Madeira.

A few picked men selected from the crew of the late Confederate States steamer **Alabama**, who were specially retained, accompanied us and constituted the nucleus of the force which we should have to organize at the place of rendezvous.

Among the men was George Harwood, the chief boatswain's mate of the late **Alabama**, a good seaman, an experienced man-of-war's man, and one calculated to carry weight and influence with a crew composed exclusively of foreigners. It was determined to give him an appointment of acting boatswain as soon as the supply vessel was clear of the channel and to explain to him with what intention we left England. We were sure he would assist materially in persuading the men intended for the cruiser to reshipe for our service. For obvious reasons there should be, after reaching Funchal, as little communication with the shore as possible. None of the officers or men would be allowed to land; every precaution would be observed to prevent information reaching the shore of the character of our visit and the destination of the cruise.

From the time we separated from our supply vessel, and after her arrival at Nassau, everything would necessarily be known, but by that time we should be far on our cruise and beyond the reach of interference. The object in taking the supply vessel to Funchal was to place ourselves and the naval stores on board of the intended cruiser, and that she might attend upon us until we were fairly in possession. Consequently her commander was directed to shape the movements of his vessel in accordance with my wishes and only proceed to carry out his special instructions when we no longer needed his assistance.

The amount of stores to be transferrerd was not large. The heaviest weight in a single piece was less than three tons. The trans-shipment might easily be accomplished within twenty-four hours, if the weather proved favorable, in which case the two vessels could be lashed alongside of each other with fenders to prevent rubbing and chafing and by steaming slowly ahead with one, so as to tow the other, and keeping well under the lea of the Island of Madeira, the transfer might be accomplished without the delay and risk of seeking anchorage.

...

The 19th of October, 1864 was fine and the wind blew from southwest. So soon as the **Laurel** drew near the steamship I saw on her port quarter three words in large white letters, **Sea King, London**.

Each of us asked himself instinctively, what great adventures shall we meet in her? What will be her ultimate fate? The **Sea King** was directed to follow her consort, and together we sought reference on the norh side of the Desertas, where we found smooth sea and good anchorage.

Mr. William C. Whittle, Jr., Lieutenant and Executive Officer of my command,

1 Ed. note: He too kept a private journal, also published in the 1908 Calendar (see above).

joined us from the **Sea King**.

List of Acting Appointments

Matthew O'Brien	Acting Chief Engineer	Louisiana
W. H. Codd	Acting First Asst. Engineer	Maryland
John Hutchinson	Acting Second Assistant Engineer	Scotland
Ernest Muggufrey	Acting Third Assistant Engineer	Ireland
W. Breedlove Smith	Acting Assistant Paymaster	Louisiana
Fred J. McNulty	Acting Assistant Surgeon	Connecticut
George Harwood	Acting Boatswain	England
John Lynch	Acting Carpenter	New York
Henry Alcot	Acting Sailmaker	England
John L. Guy	Acting Gunner	England

Petty Officers

Joshua T. Minor	Acting Master's Mate	Virginia
Lodge Cotton	" " "	Maryland
C. E. Hunt ¹	" " "	Virginia

All acting Master's Mates were in the Confederate naval service, first class petty officers.

The **Shenandoah**, late the **Sea King**, was commissioned on the ocean the 19th day of October, 1864, under the lee and on the north side of the islands known as the Desertas, a few miles from the island of Madeira. She was anchored in 18 fathoms and the **Laurel** came to and was lashed alongside ...

...
The **Shenandoah** was a composite-built ship, i.e., her frame was of iron, and her hull of wood, six inches teak. her lower and topsail-yards and bowsprit were iron, her horse power 180. Her cylinders were five feet and her boilers 18 inches above the water line. She was capable of condensating 500 gallons of water and consuming twenty tons of coal per day when steaming. I never saw her exceed ten knots {per hour} under steam alone. She was very fast under sail, very dry, and easy upon her spars. She was a pretty craft in every position...

...
The **Shenandoah** was furnished with Enfield rifles cutlasses and revolvers, and on the deck in huge boxes lay the guns and carriages. Though impatient to see the guns mounted and their grim mouths projecting beyond our wooden walls, of what use could they be in defense of so vulnerable a vessel? To be sure, their appearance would go a long way towards intimidating an unarmed vessel but very little examination showed

¹ Ed. note: Hunt published his experiences the following year in a book entitled: *The Shenandoah, or The Last Confederate Cruiser*.

clearly our utter incapacity for contending with any show of success against a regularly appointed man-of-war steamer, but the enemy did not know that.

...
On the 22nd day of October, four days after I had commissioned the vessel, the guns were all on their carriages. Never was there better official material than I had associated with me.

...
On the 30th of October we chased, captured and scuttled American bark **Alena** of Searsport, bound for Buenos Aires, with railroad iron. She was on her first voyage, perfectly equipped, nicely coppered, and reported by the boarding officer to be beautifully clean. There are no people who understand the building and equipment of vessels so well as the Yankee shipwright.

...
On the 5th of November, we chased, captured and burned the schooner **Charter Oak** (Gilmer, master) of Boston, bound for San Francisco with a mixed cargo.

...
On the 8th of November we chased, captured and burned the bark **D. Godfrey** of Boston, bound for Valparaiso.

...
On the 10th of November... we captured and scuttled the American brig **Susan** of New York, bound to the Rio Grande with coal.

...
On the 11th instant, ... a sail was seen southwest of us... A few minutes after midnight a ship was in full view... She proved to be the American clipper ship **Kate Prince**, with a neutral cargo of coal. She was ransomed on board for \$40,000.

...
Late in the afternoon of the same day we chased and captured the American bark **Adelaide Pendergast** of Baltimore, under Buenos Aires colors... She was sailing under false colors... She gave bond for \$24,00. We had transferred our prisoners to the **Kate Prince**.

On the 13th of November, we chased, captured and burned the American schooner **Lizzie M. Stacy** of Boston, bound around the Cape of Good Hope for Honolulu, Island of Oahu on sale. She was new and fast. Her crew, three in all, joined the **Shenandoah**, which increased our number to 41.

...
Our course now lay south along the coast of Brazil, and with a trade wind the ship boomed away splendidly. Nothing of interest occurred after crossing the equatorial line, except the exciting chase, the catching and boarding ships, until the 4th of December, when the American whale ship **Edward**, of and out of New Bedford, (three months) was captured. This capture took place in latitude 37 degrees 47 minutes south, fifty miles southeast of the Island of Tristan da Cunha, which was in sight. The **Edward** (Captain North), had taken a right whale and her crew was engaged in "cutting out,"

i.e., cutting the fish and hoisting it on board.

The crew was so intensely occupied with the whale that the **Shenandoah** came within easy range unobserved. The fish is called right whale to distinguish it from the sperm and other whales. The outfit of the **Edward** was of excellent quality, and we lay by her two days, replenishing the **Shenandoah** with what we were in want of. We removed from her 100 barrels of beef and as many of pork, besides several thousand pounds of ship biscuit, the best we had ever eaten, put up in large whiskey-seasoned hogsheads capable of holding 300 gallons of oil. We found also a quantity of whale line, cotton canvas, blocks, etc. Two of her boats were new and they were removed to the **Shenandoah** in place of her old and worthless ones. She was burned, and I visited a settlement on the northwest side of Tristan da Cunha and arranged with the chief man, (a Yankee) of the island who was called governor, to receive the crew of the **Edward**, most of whom were Sandwich Islanders (Kanakas)...

...

[Whaling ships described]

The register and papers of a whaling vessel resemble those of ordinary vessels in commerce. The strength of these vessels, many of which were built fifty years ago, prove the high estimate which American shipwrights then placed upon the power necessary to enable vessels to contend successfully against the storms of the ocean. The timber then used was double that now employed, and while greater strength was secured by the introduction of such large timbers, space for cargo was diminished. The improvements which the last thirty years have introduced in naval architecture have so revolutionized former theories that those old hulks have been turned over to whaling, and it was found to be a profitable trade until the **Shenandoah** got among them. These ships I fancy were built of the live-oak of New England. I believe the live-oak of Florida surpasses that of all other countries.

The whaling vessels vary from 90 to 100 feet in length with great beam, consequently they can be turned around more easily than vessels of greater length; powerful in construction, dull sailers, and sheathed for forty feet from the stern, which is generally shod with iron, they are calculated to resist contact with ice which floats in detached floes or pilot ice some sixteen feet in thickness and in an abundance in Berigh Sea and northwards. They are equipped with boats much elevated at either end and strongly-built. On the stern-post are fitted collars for lines to pass over when attached to a whale. These lines are made of white hemp from 1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches in circumference, varying from 100 to 250 fathoms (600 to 1500 feet) in length, and coiled in large tubs, (made to fit the boats expressly for this purpose) a precautionary measure to secure their easy flight and keep them from being entangled, which might cause the boat to capsize, so rapidly does the whale move when struck by a harpoon, the lance, and a two-inch muzzle blunderbuss, of short barrel, constructed of iron, and weighing about 40 pounds. The projectile used is an elongated explosive shell of 12 inches in length. The blunderbuss is handled by a powerful and expert whalesman, and discharged into the animal when near enough. The fuse is short, burns quickly, and explodes the shell causing instant

death.

The whale floats to the surface of the water when the men attach a line to the head by sharp hooks, and tow the fish alongside the vessel when they proceed to cut it up.

A part of the midship section of the vessel is converted into a blubber room and into which the fish, after being cut up is thrown. The boiling process for oil is proceeded with as *qyucjkt as oissubke*. The arrangement for boiling the blubber are found on deck between the fore and main-mast, built of masonry and barred against accident in heavy weather. In the center of the masonry are one or more large cauldrons into which the blubber is placed, and after the oil is extracted, the refuse is used for making fire and produces an intense heat. The whalers carry hogs and this refuse is used for fattening them and they eat ravenously. The hogsheds used for receiving the oil vary in size from two to three hundred gallons. The greater part of these are shaken up when delivered to the vessels in port and put together upon the ship when wanted, consequently their stowage is closer.

Those hogsheds which have contained flour in bags, hams, cordage, clothing, ship biscuits, when emptied, are filled with oil. The odor from a whaling ship is horribly offensive, but it is not worse than that of the green hide vessels from South America, which can be smelt [sic] fifty miles in a favorable wind. The bones of the whale are taken on board and placed in the bone room; from these the offensive exhalation is too horrible to relate.

...
[In the Indian Ocean, they captured the bark **Delphine** of Bangor, Captain Nichols, and burned her. They stopped at Melbourne to have the propeller repaired. They left that port on 19 February 1865.]

...
The ship's company was now increased. We had received thirty-four young American seamen and eight others of different nationalities in exchange for our Irish Americans, sixteen Germans and a Negro... This increase placed on the deck seventy-two men of different ratings, all adventurous and accustomed to a hard life.. These men had smuggled themselves on board the steamer the night before we left Hobson's Bay [Melbourne].

...
There were several representations from New England among the crew. Where is it we do not find hat irrepressible people? To find them on the deck of a Confederate cruiser taking delight in the destruction of the property of their countrymen, was indeed extraordinary.

...
To the north of us lay the Midleton, Lord Howe, and Norfolk Islands. They are contiguous to the coast of Australia and are in easy communication with Sydney. Our long delay at Melbourne gave the American consul ample time to warn American shipping of the danger to which it was exposed.

If the ship had been favored with a good wind, I should have visited the whaling

ground of each of those islands, but it was very certain the birds had taken shelter, and I would probably find them further north. The delay of the **Shenandoah** had operated against us in the South Pacific.

The whaling fleet of that ocean had received warning and had either suspended its fishing in that region or had taken shelter in the neighboring ports. The presence of the **Shenandoah** in the Pacific dispersed the whaling fleet of that sea, though no captures were made there. The wind held on N.E. until the ship had nearly reached the meridian of the Three Kings, which is west of the most northwesterly point of North New Zealand. Now a favorable wind blew and the **Shenandoah** was steered north, passing between Fearn and Conway Islands, thence along the Fiji, Rotuma and Ellice Islands. These islands being within the tropics are covered with verdure and luxuriant undergrowth, the temperature of the air varying with the strength of the breeze.

When north of Fearn Island, a revolving gale from northeast came on. I had no choice as to which tack [NW] to lay the **Shenandoah** on, for there too many islands west of her whose exact locality was inaccurately determined, to risk her on the starboard tack, nor could she be run for the same reason. Fortunately the gale worked westward, and the steamer was kept out of their path.

In twenty-three years of service I had never seen such a succession of violent squalls. The vessel was enveloped in salt mist and knocked by every angry sea. The machinery acted all right, and the ship's preparations for contending with adverse weather were so complete that wind and wave seemed now bent upon her destruction.

I have never seen a vessel in a gale stand up better to it or receive less water on deck. Her easy motion and steadiness throughout that gale increased our admiration of her. The gale lasted four days and a calm followed.

On the 21st of March, in latitude 8°35' south and longitude 172°37' east, failing to pick up the tradewind, and being wearied from excessive heat and a deluge of rain, I ordered steam and steered in a north direction in search of the trades, sighted Drummond [...] Island, and ran sufficiently near to communicate with natives who came out in their canoes.

The native islanders are of copper color, short in stature, athletic in form, intelligent and docile; were without a rag of clothing. A day or two after leaving Drummond Island we communicated with a schooner from Honolulu¹ on a trading voyage among the islands in search of tortoise shell, and from her I obtained some valuable information.

[Kosrae]

Ship under sail again with a fine tradewind, came in near view of Strong [Kosrae] Island and, putting the vessel under steam, we ran near enough to take a view of the harbor of Chabrol, which is a place of rendezvous for whale ships.

The harbor was empty. I skirted all sides of the island but the north side. I ordered the propeller to be lifted, and made sail for the island of Punipet [Pohnpei] or Ascen-

1 Ed. note: The Pfeil, Captain Danelsberg..

sion, one of the Caroline Group.

[Pohnpei]

The **Shenandoah** now had a fine tradewind and was running smoothly and rapidly along toward the island, which came in view during the forenoon of the day following our visit to Strong Island.

A little before midday the **Shenandoah** had approached sufficiently near to distinguish **five** sail at anchor close in with the land, and we began to think if they were not whale ships it would be a very good April fool. The Honolulu schooner was the only sail we had seen from the 20th of February to April 1st, which was evidence that the South Pacific whaling fleet had taken flight. We were never on any occasion so long without seeing a sail, and sailing over almost unknown and strange seas produced a dullness and monotony intolerable.

The ship was steaming along the land when a small boat came in sight with a single sitter. He was an Englishman and a pilot in the Lea Harbor in which the five vessels were at anchor. He was an escaped convict, many years from Sydney, Australia, to the Island of Ascension, and married [to] a native woman.

He was questioned about the vessels and the safety of the port for anchorage. The harbor was most too confining for a vessel of the **Shenandoah's** length, and there were a few known dangers below the surface of the water. The pilot was directed to anchor the **Shenandoah** inside a long reef which extends almost across the entrance to the harbor, rendering the approach very narrow. The flag was not yet shown and the pilot was in ignorance of our nationality, nor did he ask any questions.

The preparations for anchoring being made, I accompanied the pilot and kept with him until the steamer was anchored. Three of the vessels in port hoisted the American flag. The fourth hoisted the flag of Oahu.¹

There is in that snug little harbor about mid channel a rock awash and the **Shenandoah** was near to it, but unavoidably so. It was necessary to secure her from swinging and to provide against accident hawsers were run out from her quarters to stout threes, and her bow anchors being down she was tied up. Four armed boats were then dispatched with orders to capture the vessels and to send their officers, ship papers, log-books, charts and instruments for navigation to the **Shenandoah**, and the officers were directed to remain in charge of their respective prizes until further orders.

These boats were the second and third cutters and two whale boats, respectively in charge of Lieutenants Grimball, Chew, Lee and Scales. These boats varied in dimensions, neither of them being over 32 or under 28 feet in length, and having less than six feet beam. They were strongly built and carried water and provisions for thirty persons for twenty days, oars, sails, masts, compass, lanterns, slow match, hatchet and a small chest for pistols and cutlasses.

Seven men constituted a prize crew for any duty. Each lieutenant had one or more subordinate officers, each had his special duty assigned him independent of the other.

1 Ed. note: No mention is made of the fifth ship.

The charts captured were all important, because the **Shenandoah** was not furnished with such charts as whalers use, which show every track they made, where they have been most successful in taking whales.

With such charts in my possession, I not only held a key to the navigation of all the Pacific Islands, the Okhotsk and Bering Seas, and the Arctic Ocean, but the most probable localities for finding the great Arctic whaling fleet of New England, without a tiresome search.

After the boats had left the steamer the [Confederate] flag was hoisted to the spaner gaff and a gun was fired. This signal, announcing the character of the **Shenandoah**, aroused all the surrounding country. The natives along the bay shore who were gazing at the vessel sought shelter in the bushes, and the American whalers hauled down their flags.

Some officer, directing the pilot's attention to our flag, asked him if he knew it. He replied he had never before seen it, but as the boats were gone after the Yankees, it might be Jeff Davis' flag, for he had heard of a big war in America, and that in all the big battles the South had whiped the Yankees.

When I told him what we were, he said, "Well, well, I never thought I would live to see Jeff Davis' flag."

The popular abbreviation of ex-President Jefferson Davis' name was as common in Ascension as elsewhere. With the natives it bore the signification of king, and they were made familiar with the abbreviation through the mouths of whalers who visit that part to purchase yams and fruits preparatory to their leaving for fishing north and as far as the Atlantic Ocean.

The pilot told me there were five tribes on the island, each having a king and nobility. The coconut was the currerncy, and metal money had no value with them except as an ornament. They are fond of finery, like tobacco and liquor, and are glad to get powder and shot. No principle of honor oontrols them in their intercourse, but fear of injury makes them respect whatever compact they solemnly enter upon.

Is not that very much the case with white people? It strikes me the white tribe has more educated scoundrels than the dark races All the villainy the world is governed by originated with the white man, and he has perpetuated it by introducing it among the uncultivated and emi-barbarians all over the world.

[Pohnpeians described]

They are semi-barbarians, have no knowledge of the Christian religion, or if they have, do not believe the "the bad white man."

They do not practice any religious belief. The missionaries and their followers who have visited these islands in their trading vessels have been detected in crime, and the islanders in many instances took revene, and in return their thatched roof coverings would be burned by the crews of the vessels. The king is said to be the object of their solicitude and belief.

I did not observe any special respect shown the king. The five tribes occupy the island, which is seven [sic] miles in circumference, covered with constant verdure, abounding in fine fruit and the streams and harbor teeming with fish.

Truly, it seemed to be the garden which man first occupied. The pilot told me that the tribes had heard of the American war through him, and he received his intelligence through newspapers which he got from the trading vessels, and the crews told him also of the war. The pilot was my interpreter.

I sent the gig with the pilot and an officer to convey to his Majesty the king of the Lee Harbor tribe our good wishes for his health, peace and prosperity, and to invite him to visit the **Shenandoah**. In an hour afterwards the gig was on her return escorted by seventy war canoes, each decorated with old faded bunting or colored cotton. In the boat was seated the king, the hereditary prince, and four chiefs, each with a wreath of brilliant flowers upon his head, and an apron made of sea grass falling from the hips half-way to the knee. Their bodies glistened in the sunlight, being rubbed with coconut oil to protect them from the sting of the mosquito.

His Majesty came up the side of the **Shenandoah** very cautiously and, arranging his apron, seated himself between the headboards of the gangway, blocking the passage to the hereditary prince, who was hanging on the vessel's side to a man-rope.

As the pilot was still in the boat, it was impossible to communicate with his Majesty, who was severely dignified in his state of nature. He was motioned to the deck, upon which he stood perfectly erect, looking about unconcerned. After being joined by his retinue, and when they had arranged themselves in their respective positions about their sovereign, I was presented to the king most unceremoniously, the pilot saying, with a motion of his [hand], "That's the king, sir."

His Majesty, with his attendants, were then invited to the cabin and, after the introduction of the pipe and Schiedan schnapps, he became very friendly and seemed greatly impressed by the appearance of the cabin and the various objects which it contained.

The officers who had taken the prizes had captured the mates, the papers, etc. but the masters were absent on a jerry [i.e. outing].

An armed boat was kept in readiness to capture the party when it should appear in the harbor. About sunset the party returned, was captured, and conducted to the **Shenandoah**. The masters of the three vessels which had shown the American flag could give no good reason why their vessels should not be confiscated and themselves held as prisoners, and the master of the vessel which flew the Oahu flag could not produce a bill of sale, nor could he swear to the sale of the vessel. She bore the name of **Harvest** of New Bedford, carried an American register, was in charge of the same master who had commanded her on former whaling voyages, and her mates were American. I therefore confiscated her and held her master a prisoner.

The names of the other vessels were: the **Edward Cary** of San Francisco, the **Hector** of New Bedford, the **Pearl** of New London. Taken collectively, their crews numbered one hundred and thirty men, not including the Kanakas. The question of

confiscation being settled, and the masters taken care of, it became important to sound his Majesty on the object of neutrality, and therefore he, with his council, made us a special visit to talk the subject over.

On the 3rd day of April his Majesty came on board the **Shenandoah** accompanied by the hereditary prince and several chiefs. We assembled in the cabin, and the pipe and schnapps having fulfilled their office, the conversation began through the interpreter, who explained the visit of the **Shenandoah** and the character of the war in which we were engaged.

To all this his Majesty gave a significant grunt while he sipped his schnapps. It was explained to him that the vessels in port belonged to our enemies who had been fighting us for years, killing our people, outraging our country-women, and desolating our homes, and that we were ordered to capture and destroy their vessels whenever and wherever found, and that if the laws of his Majesty would not be violated, the vessels in port would be confiscated, and as there was little contained in them which the **Shenandoah** required, their contents would be presented to his Majesty to make such use of as he considered proper, and when his tribe had taken all they desired from the ships, I would take them to sea and burn them.

His Majesty, after a short conference with his chiefs (the prince was not consulted) said, "We find nothing conflicting with our laws in what you say. There are shoals in Lea Harbor on which the vessels can be run and then destroyed," and he desired that I would not fire at them, for the shot would go on shore and possibly hurt some of his people.

This was all agreed to, and we commenced removing such things to the **Shenandoah** as were required. The **Harvest** was brought alongside the **Shenandoah** to discharge her fresh water into our tanks, some provisions and five tons of sperm oil which she had on board, and then directed the officers in charge of the prizes to run them on the shoals and allow the natives to take possession until further orders.

Among the stores sent to the **Shenandoah** were seventy down-east muskets and two dozen infantry coats and pairs of pants, which had been part of her cargo for trade with the island governments. The clothing would suit admirably for a marine guard which I hoped to recruit for the steamer.

It was represented to his Majesty that our "fasts" on shore were very insecure, and that anyone disposed to do us mischief could cut them at a moment when the safety of the **Shenandoah** would be endangered, a flaw of wind could then drive her on the dangerous rock.

His Majesty was desired to station one or more of his warriors to guard the fasts, with orders to shoot anyone who should go within prescribed limits to which he replied that he had the warriors but no muskets or ammunition. He was immediately offered the seventy muskets which were taken from the ship **Harvest** and some ammunition, which he accepted most graciously, and sent his imperial order to station a guard at the fasts of the **Shenandoah**, with authority to kill anyone who should venture within the prescribed limits, and his order was instantly obeyed.

Two sentries were armed each with a musket and was posted at the fasts. His Majesty having expressed a desire to examine the **Shenandoah** with his staff, I gladly accompanied him, but before starting from the cabin I presented him with the sword which I had been captured from the schooner **Lizzie M. Stacey** in the North Atlantic Ocean. The king had never seen a sword and did not exactly understand its use. He was induced to belt it to his naked waist and one of his staff hung it to the right side. His Majesty eyed the weapon suspiciously, and his expression of countenance expressed a doubt of the propriety of having it as near his royal person, that it quite overcame my gravity. When told it was proper he should wear the sword during his visit he hesitatingly removed his hand from it.

We had reached the engine room hatch when his Majesty's legs became entangled with his sword as we were in the act of descending. The hereditary prince disengaged him. He objected to descending the ladder with the sword at his side, and the prince was given charge of it.

The machinery excited his surprise and astonishment and found vent in a guttural cluck of the tongue which each of his staff echoed. He forgot his dignity and resting his royal person against a part of the machinery, became smeared with a white coating used to prevent the machinery from rust. After my return to the cabin he invited me to pay him a visit at the royal residence, which is established at any locality where the fishing is good.

The residence was near the banks of a small river and not far from the margin of the harbor, was built on six piles sufficiently elevated to be beyond the reach of freshets of the river. It was built of cane interlaced with vine and roofed with the broad leaf of the coconut tree, and to complete its royal appearance a pair of rickety wooden steps led to the entrance.

A prince met us at the place of landing and conducted us to the residence but did not go in. There was but one room, six by eight, in which the royal family slept, ate, and received visitors. His Majesty's bed was a mat unfolded in a corner upon which he sat, and his queen was sitting near him. He did not rise from the mat when we entered the room nor did his queen in any way acknowledge our presence, and his Majesty beckoned us to seats.

The furniture consisted of two wooden chairs, a box and an old trunk. The latter being softer than the others, was, I suppose, considered the seat of honor, and was offered to me.

The queen was not handsome. She was his second wife. He had desired to marry her before the death of his first queen, but the latter would not consent to the marriage as it would have obliged her to be put aside, there being a law with the tribe that the king can have but one wife. The old queen died very suddenly, no post mortem examination followed, and the king was married upon the following day to his present wife.

The conversation was opened by his Majesty, who asked when the steamer would probably sail and what was to be done with our prisoners. He supposed they would all be put to death, as he considered it right to make such disposition of one's enemies.

I told him they would not be harmed, and that in civilized warfare men destroyed those in armed resistance and paroled the unarmed.

"But," said his Majesty, "war cannot be considered civilized, and those who make war on an unoffending people are a bad people and do not deserve to live."

I told the king I would sail the following day, the 13th of April, and should tell our President of the kind hospitality he had shown to the officers of the **Shenandoah** and the respect he had paid to our flag.

He said, "Tell Jeff Davis he is my brother and a big warrior, that (we are) very poor, but that our tribes are friends. If he will send your steamer for me, I will visit him in his country. I send these two chickens to Jeff Davis (the chickens were dead) and some coconuts which he will find good."

His America had no conception of the distance to America and thought, if he thought at all, that within a few days the **Shenandoah** would convey safely his royal gifts to our President. The muskets were bying about the yard around his house, and a few of the natives were oiling them. He seemed to feel secure from harm now that he was possessed of so many weapons.

When I was about to leave him he rose from his mat and said, "I will go with you to the boat," and when we reached her we found two chickens wrapped in coconut leaves and a dozen coconuts. The coconuts were a part of the king's revenue. The king's manner was reserved until the schnapps and the pipe warmed him, and then he did not consider it undignified to ask for whatever he fancied and to manifest displeasure if refused.

In this particular, however, he was not unlike his brother sovereigns. He sent on board fruit and fish several times and visited us daily. I gave him a silk scarf which he admired, and he sent me a belt for the shoulders, woven by a native out of fibres of the coconut and interwoven with wool procured from the whale vessels which touch here to take in yams, water, hogs and poultry, preparatory to a voyage along the line or the North Pacific.

The belt is peculiar, exhibiting skill in the art of weaving and taste in blending colors. It is preserved as a memento of the only sovereign who was fearless enough to extend hospitality to a struggling people and to sympathize with a just cause. His nature was not corrupted by politics.

The prizes were run upon the sholas selected by the king and the canoes surrounding them were handled beautifully. Every movable plank, spar and bulkhead was soon taken on shore for flooring purposes. The sails were removed from the yards and the sailrooms for tents and to be converted into suitable sails for their canoes, and on the vessels floating higher, the canoes were brought to their sides and the natives peeled the copper from their sides and bottom. The natives evidently placed a value on that metal.

I was informed it would be used for pointing spears and arrows, converted into breast-plates, and traded to the neighboring tribes. I saw a great many of the natives, male and female. They are delicate in form and possess all the characteristics of Indians.

Before leaving Lea Harbor, I asked the king's permission to land my prisoners, whom

I provided with provisions and two whaleboats. The prisoners preferred to land there rather than be taken to the Island of Guam, and this arrangement suited us best.

The morning of the 13th of April saw all prisoners clear of the **Shenandoah** and at noon her anchors were tripped and she stood to sea, leaving to the tender care of the king and his tribe one hundred and thirty disappointed whalers who had been in the habit of ill treating and cheating the natives and had introduced diseases among them before unknown to them and for which the poor creatures knew no cure.

On leaving Lea Harbor the **Shenandoah** was continued under steam, passing to the eastward of the island of Ascension until that island bore per compass S.W. Sail was then made with a fine tradewind and the propeller was raised. When due east from the island, the course was north, leaving to the westward the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands.

The intention was to keep the ship east of Los Jardines, Grampus and Margaret Islands, and to take her to the westward of Cami-ra [sic]¹ Otra and Mercen [sic] Islands.

Never in our various experience of sea life had any of us seen such or more charming weather than we now enjoyed. The sun shone with a peculiar brilliancy and the moon shed that clear, soft light which is found in this locality, in which the heavens seem so distant and so darkly blue, while the vast expanse of ocean was like a great reflecting mirror. The track for vessels bound from San Francisco and many of the ports on the west coast of America to Hong Kong lies between the parallels in north latitude of 17° and 20°. Here the winds are better than are found in a more northerly route, while the track to San Francisco and other ports along the west coast of America from China lies between the parallels of 35° and 45°, because here west winds prevail.

We spent several days in cruising along those frequented paths, but did not see a sail. The delay was however not without its own reward, for the executive officer, Mr. Whittle, had time to get things in good condition in his department.

After the vessel had reached the parallel of 43° north the weather became cold and foggy and the winds were variable and unsteady, and that ever reliable friend of the sailor, the barometer, indicated atmospheric changes.

The ship was prepared for the change of weather which was rapidly approaching. Soon the ocean was boiling with agitation and if the barometer had been silent, I could have called it only a furious tide but a dark, then a black cloud, was hurrying towards us from the N.E. and so close did it rest upon the surface of the water that it seemed determined to overwhelm the ship, and there came in it so terrible and violent a wind that the **Shenandoah** was thrown on her side, and she bounced away as if fright, like the stag from his lair, had started her.

Squall after squall struck her, flash after flash surrounded her, and the thunder rolled in her wake. It was the typhoon. The ocean was as white as the snow and foamed with rage. A new close-reefed main topsail was blown into shreds and the voice of man was inaudible amid this awful convulsion of nature. The violence of the wind was soon over, and the gale abated so that in ten hours thereafter the vessel was standing northward again.

1 Ed. note: Rather Lamira on ancient charts.

Two days after that fierce blow we encountered another from the same quarter of less violence and of more civility in duration. The weather continued so threatening that it looked impossible for the **Shenandoah** to get north of the parallel of 45, but the last gale, like its predecessor, had worked to the westward, and the ship began to make her northing again.

On the 17th of May we were north of the parallel of 45 and the weather, though cold, looked more settled, and we took a long breadth.

The previous week appeared to have been fuller of trials to us than all our former experience. On the 20th of May the Kuril Islands came in sight covered with snow, and on the forenoon of the 21st instant we steamed into the sea of Okhotsk and ran along the coast of Kamchatka under sail.

...

On the 29th of May we captured and burned the whaling bark **Abigail** of New Bedford. When she was discovered, the **Shenandoah** was skirting an extensive field of floe ice...

...

After knocking about till the 14th of June, I left the sea of Okhotsk and entered the North Pacific Ocean by the fiftieth parallel passage of Amphirite Strait, and steering N.E. with a cracking southwester after us... We entered the Behring Sea on the afternoon of the 16th of June, 1865.

...

We made Cape Navarin on the 21st of June, and finding a current setting to the N.E. and soon after seeing blubber we concluded the whale vessels southwest of us were cutting out, and steam was ordered. This calculation was correct, for the steamer had not gone in a southwest direction more than an hour when the masthead lookouts cried sail O! Two sail were in sight.

The **Shenandoah** gave chase and soon came up with the whalers **William Thompson** and **Euphrates**, both New Bedford, and before the prize crews could be placed on board of those vessels another sail was reported. A breeze had sprung up and to work quickly was all important. Leaving the prize officers in charge of the vessels and having their masters on board of the **Shenandoah**, we started in chase of and overhauled the British bark **Robert L. Towns** of Sydney.¹ Her master was anxious to know the name of our ship and I gave to him Petropauluski. The **William Thompson** was the largest whale ship out of New Bedford, and after the removal of the prisoners and nautical instruments both vessels were set on fire. Those vessels had been very successful in fishing.

The following day five vessels were discovered near a large body of ice, and I stood for them, hoisted the American flag, and communicated with the nearest one, which was the whale ship **milo** of New Bedford.

The **Shenandoah** passed close under her stern and the master was invited to come on board with his papers. He complained and was surprised to learn the nationality of

1 Ed. note: Must have visited Micronesia on her way north to the Arctic.

the steamer, and said he had heard of her being in Australia, but did not expect to see her in the Arctic Ocean.

I asked for news. He said the war was over.. I then asked for documentary evidence. He had none, but "believed the war was over." I replied that was not satisfactory, but that if he could produce any reliable evidence, I would receive it. He answered "that he could not produce any reliable evidence" and then said he had taken the steamer to be a telegraph vessel which they had been expecting to lay a cable between Russian America and Eastern Siberia.

He was informed that I was willing to ransom the **Milo** if he accepted the conditions. He reflected a moment and said, "I will give bond and receive all prisoners."

I received the register and bond, and directed him to return to the **Milo** and send all his boats with full crews to the **Shenandoah**, and to back his foretopsail.

The **Milo** boats came to the **Shenandoah** and I steamed in pursuit of two vessels which seemed to be in communication. I resorted to that stratagem with the **Milo** to prevent her escape, for if I had not removed her crew, what was there to prevent an escape of some of the vessels?

A breeze had sprung up, the vessels had taken alarm, and we knew the work before us required promptitude. Their masters had been in communication and were then entering their vessels in the floe. The **Shenandoah** was run close to and parallel with the ice and separated the vessels, each being about a mile distant from us. I then fired a gun at the furthest one which made her heave-to. Her consort then tacked and stood out of the ice for the Siberian coast with a good wind.

I fired a second gun at the vessel which had heaved to, and the master received it as an order to come out of the floe and submit to the fate which awaited him. This bark proved to be the **Sophia Thornton**. Her master and mates were received on board the **Shenandoah**.

The officer in charge of the prize, Lieutenant Scales, was directed to communicate with the **Milo** and command the master to keep company with the **Sophia Thornton**, which vessel was ordered to follow the **Shenandoah**. The **Milo** could not escape because she was without a crew and her register and as she had given bond for \$50,000 there was no inducement to do so

The **Jireh Swift**, which was a fast bark, had made her escape with a good breeze and wanted to reach the marine league of the coast of Siberia. We chased her for three hours before getting in shelling distance of her, but Captain Williams, who made every effort to save his bark, saw the folly of exposing the crew to a destructive fire and yielded to his misfortune with a manly and becoming dignity.

When the boarding officer, Lieutenant Lee, reached the **Swift**, he found her captain and crew with their personal effects packed and ready to leave the bark in her boats for the **Shenandoah**, and the **Jireh Swift** was in flames twenty minutes thereafter.

The prisoners were all transferred to the **Milo**, and she was furnished with supplies from the stores of the **Sophia Thornton**, and I gave her master a certificate stating that I held the ship's register. She was sent to San Francisco that the Richmond Govern-

ment should know of our whereabouts.

Captain Wilimas stated to the officers that "he did not believe the war was over," but felt certain the South would yield eventually.

On the 23rd of June we captured the brig **Susan Abigail** of San Francisco with California papers containing a number of despatches, and among them other statements contained in them was the announcement that the Southern Government had been removed to Danville, and that the greater part of the army of Virginia had joined General Johnston in North Carolina where an indecisive battle had been fought with General Sherman.

...

The **Susan Abigail** was destroyed. Three of the **Susan Abigail's** crew joined the **Shenandoah**, which was good evidence at least that they did not believe the war had ended. They were not pressed to ship, but sought service under our flag.

The brig was on a trading voyage for furs, gold quartz and whale bone, which her master got of the native Indians in exchange for bright articles of apparel, tobacco and whiskey.

...

On the 24th of June I put the **Shenandoah** under steam in chase of the **General Williams** of New London. WE captured and burned her.

On the 26th of June we had chased and captured the following six American whale vessels, and burned the whole of them except the **General Pike**, who was ransomed: Barks **William C. Nye**, **Nimrod**, **Catherine**, **Isabella** and **Gipsy**.

The **General Pike** had lost her master, and the mate was in charge of her, who asked as a special favor to be allowed to ransom her. He said, "If you ransom the **Pike**, her owner will think me so fortunate in saving her that it will give me a claim on them for the command." All the prisoners were sent to the **General Pike**, and she was given a certificate for San Francisco.

On the 27th of June the **Shenandoah** was under sail with a head wind. Things had gotten lively, and we were very interested in our friends, who had left the South Pacific to escape us.

Eleven sail were in sight and all to windward. We felt sure of their nationality, but to attempt their capture while there was wind would result in the loss of a part of them. We lowered the smoke stack and continued in the rear of the eleven, keeping a close luff, and retarding our progress as much as possible, so as to arouse no suspicions amongst them.

On the 28th, at 10:30 a.m. a calm ensued. The game were collected in East Cape Bay, and the **Shenandoah** entered the bay under the American flag with a fine pressure of steam on. Every vessel present hoisted the American flag. We had heard of the whale ship **James Maury** off the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei], and after reaching Behring Sea had heard again of her and also of the death of her master, whose widow and two little children were on board.

While our boats were being armed preparatory to taking possession of the prizes, a

boat from the whale ship **Brunswick** came to the steamer, and the mate in charge of the boat, ignorant of our true nationality, represented that the **Brunswick** had struck a piece of ice a few hours before which left a hole in her starboard bow twenty inches below the water line, and asked for assistance.

To their application we replied, "We are very busy now, but in a little while we will attend to you."

The mate thanked us, and he was asked which of the vessels was the **James Maury**. He pointed her out. The **Brunswick** laid on her side, her casks of oil floating her well up, and her master, seeing his vessel a hopeless wreck, had offered his oil to any one purchaser among the masters of the other vessels at twenty cents per gallon.

The **Shenandoah** being in position to command the fleet with her guns, hoisted our flag, and the armed boats (we had only five of them) were despatched to take possession of the vessels with orders to send their masters with the ship's papers to the **Shenandoah**.

The American flags were hauled down instantly. The eleventh still hung to the vessel's gaff, and seeing someone on her deck with a gun, an officer was sent to capture her and send the master to the **Shenandoah**. That vessel was the bark **Favorite** of New Haven, and her master was drunk from too free a use of intoxicating liquor.

The bark **Favorite** was without a register liable to seizure in time of profound peace, by any police of the ocean. The hurry and confusion upon the decks of those vessels, the consternation among the crews may be imagined.

The boarding officer of the **James Maury** sent her mate to represent the very distressed condition of the wife and children of the late captain, that the poor widow had the remains of her husband on board preserved in whiskey.¹ A messenger was sent to the unhappy widow to inform her she and the children were under the protection of the **Shenandoah** and no harm would come to her or the vessel, that the men of the South did not make war on women and children.

The following vessels were burned: ships **Hillman, Nassau, Brunswick, Isaac Howland**; barks **Waverly, Martha, Favorite, Covington, Congress**. I ransomed the **James Maury** and the **Milo**. Within twelve hours after these vessels were discovered, nine of them were enveloped in flames. The crews of those vessels amounted to 336 men, among them we received nine men, all intelligent soldiers, men who had been taught to respect military authority and who knew how to use the Enfield rifle....

...

[A further search was carried out further north, up to latitude 66°40', but no other whaling ship was encountered. They left the Behring Sea at the beginning of July, then sailed toward San Francisco, intending to destroy the warships there and trained her guns on the city. They met with the British bark **Barracouta** along the coast of California, and learned from her that the war was officially over. Waddell decided to take his ship to England, rather than surrendering her elsewhere. Meanwhile, Mrs. Waddell was imprisoned by the U.S. Government. On the 5th of November, the **Shenandoah**

1 Ed. note: He had died during the voyage, between Pohnpei and Guam.

sailed into the channel leading to Liverpool. Waddell and his crew gave themselves up to the Roayl Navy.]

...
On the 19th of November, 10 officers, 14 acting appointments and 100 men who constituted the ship's company, were unconditionally released. My tumblers, decanters, and bedding, with a few trophies from the [Caroline] Islands, were presented to the Lieutenant-commander as a souvenir of our acquaintance.

The late officers and men of the **Shenandoah** were taken to Great George landing in Liverpool at the expense of H.M. Government. Our thanks are due Captain Paynter, R.N., [of HMS Donegal] for his kindness to us during our imprisonment in the Mersey, and for the manly interest he manifested. The **Shenandoah** was actually cruising eight months in search of the property of the enemy, during which time she made 38 captures, of which she released six on bond and destroyed thirty-two of them. She was the only vessel which carried the flag of the South around the world.

She carried it six months after the war was over and she was surrendered to the British nation. The last gun in defence of the South was fired from her deck, and that gun was fired by South Carolina's gallant son, Lieutenant John Grimball. She ran a distance of 58,000 miles and met with no serious injury during a cruise of thirteen months.

...
The officers of the **Shenandoah** did not return to the U.S.A.; they went to live in Mexico or South America. As for the ship herself, she was surrendered to the U.S. Government which sold her to an English company, and finally the Sultan of Zanzibar bought her for his pleasure yatch. Some years later, she was on her way to Bombay and encountering a gale went down with all on board off the Island of Socotra, except one or more persons who were picked up by a passing vessel who told her end.

F2. The logbook of the C.S.S. Shenandoah, kept by John Grimball and others, 1864-65

Sources: The original logbook in 2 volumes is owned by the Charleston Library Society and kept at the North Carolina Historical Commission in Raleigh, North Carolina. Microfiches available at the New Bedford Public Library. The Library of Congress has an old negative microfilm.

Note: This logbook is really a navigation log, written in standard format in a book sold to that effect by stationers.

Officers on board the CSS Shenandoah

James I. Waddell, Lieut. Commanding, C.S.N., N. Carolina
 Wm. C. Whittle, 1st Lieut. & Ex. Off., C.S.N., Virginia
 Jno. Grimball, 1st Lieut., C.S.N., South Carolina
 S. Smith Lee, Jr., 1st Lieut., C.S.N., Virginia
 F. T. Chew, 1st Lieut., C.S.N., Missouri
 D. M. Scales, 2nd Lieut., C.S.N., Mississippi
 Irvine S. Bulloch, Acctg. Master, C.S.N., Georgia
 etc.

Remarks while in Micronesian waters

Wednesday 29th March [1865]

... From 4 to 6: 4:45, made a sail on the lee beam. Stood in chase. 6 o'clock "hove h. to" with blank cartridge & sent a boat on board.

(Signed) D. M. Scales

From 6 to 8: Chase proceed, the Honolulu Schr. **Peliu** [sic]¹, 5 months out on a trading voyage. 7 o'clock, filled away on our course making all drawing sail. Clear with fine trade[wind]s.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

Lat. obs. 3°43' S. Long. obs. 166°53' E.

...

Visit to Kosrae.

Thursday 30th March/65

... From Mer[idian] to 4: 1 o'clock, got steam up, got the anchors off the bow and hauled up mainsail. 2:30, Strong's Island one point on lee bow. 3:30, took in all sail. Clear and pleasant.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

From 4 to 6: Stood in or enough into Chabrol [Lelu] Harbor to see that no vessels were at anchor there; made all sail & stood to the southward around the island. Cork-

¹ Ed. note: This was the Pfeil II of Honolulu, Captain Danelsberg, as reported in the Honolulu newspaper *The Friend*, on 24 June 1865, although the captain mistakenly thought he had been accosted by the British ship *Miami*.

ing off steam. Hauled fires & hoisted propeller.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 6 to 8: Took in royals & stay sails.

(Signed) D. M. Scales

... Lat obs. 5°00'45" N. Long. obs. 163°48'30" E.

Visit to Pingelap.

Friday 31st March 1865

... 9:30, made McAskill Is. N by W distant 12 miles. Watch variously employed.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

... Lat. obs. 6°06' N. Long. obs. 160°17'E.

Visit to Pohnpei.

Saturday 1st April 1865

... From 8 to Mer.: Passing showers of rain. 9:30, made Ascension Is. bearing NNW [WNW?]. 10:30, furled all sail and commenced steaming. Discovered four vessels at anchor close in under the land. 11:30, took a Pilot, steamed inside the reef. Came to with both [warp?] anchors in 15 fathoms water and veered to 40 faths. chain on both [warp?] cables.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From Mer. to 4: Fitted out 4 boats and boarded each vessel. They proved to be the American whalers **Edward Cary** [i.e. Carey] of San Francisco, the **Hector** of New Bedford, the **Pearl** of New London & the **Harvest** of Honolulu nominally but really an American under false colors having no bill of sale on board bearing her American name & in the same trade as before; consequently, condemned her a prize in connection with the other three.

(Signed) Wm. C. Whittle Jr.

From 4 to 6: Engaged transferring stores, &c. from prizes to our ship. Took the Captains & mates of each ship on board of us & confined them in irons. Recalled our prize crews for the night. Rainy & cloudy.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 6 to 8: Confined one of the Captains in double irons & gagged him for insubordination [disrespect?]. Enlisted one man in Marine Corps.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

From 8 to Midnight: Much rain with moderate breeze.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

Sunday 2nd April/65

... From 8 to Merid.: 10 o'clock, sent an officer on shore with the Pilot to invite the Chief to visit the ship. 10:30, he came off accompanied by four attendants and a large number of boats. Sent ashore 22 prize muskets and 2 boxes of tobacco as presents to the Chief.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From Merid. to 4: Cloudy with light airs. Several officers & 17 men went on shore.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 4 to 6: Cloudy with moderate breeze.

(Signed) D. M. Scales

From 6 to 8: Received 2 boat loads of small stores from prize **Harvest**. All liberty men returned.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 8 to midnight: Heavy rain squalls with strong wind.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

Monday 3rd April 1865

... From 4 to 8: Sent a boat with an officer to take charge of the **Harvest**. Rainy with moderate breeze.

(Signed) D. M. Scales

... From Merid. to 4: Frequent rain squalls. Transferring stores from some of the prizes. Set fire to the prize bark **Pearl**.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

From 4 to 6: Light rain squall with moderate breeze.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 6 to 8: Passing rain squalls.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From 8 to midnight: rain with light airs.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

[Certificate]¹

"C.S. Str. Shenandoah, Island of Ascension, April 3d, 1865."

*"By order of Lieutenant Commanding Jas. I. Waddell, we have made a careful estimate of the value of the Barque **Pearl** and do affix the same at ten thousand dollars (\$10,000)."*

(Signed) F. T. Chew, Lieut. C.S.N.

(Signed) J. C. Blacker, Capt's Clerk.

Tuesday, 4th April 1865

Commences & until 4 a.m., heavy & constant rain with moderate wind from NW.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

... From 8 to Merid.: Barque **Harvest** weighed and came to nearer to the ship. Overcast and rainy.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From Merid. to 4: Continual rain. Fired the ships **Hector** & **Ed. Cary**. Shipped **Benedicto Espagnol** and **Civio** [i.e. **Silvio**] de la Costa as landsmen.²

1 Ed. note: Separate paper taped to page for April 3rd.

2 Ed. note: There were probably two Portuguese from the Azores.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 4 to 6: Prizes still burning. Constant rain with light wind.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 6 to 8: Rainy & disagreeable.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

...

[Certificate]

"C.S. Str. Shenandoah, Island of Ascension, April 4th, 1865."

"By order of Lieut. Commanding Jas. I. Waddell, we have made a careful estimate of the value of the ship Edward Cary and do affix the same at fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000)."

(Signed) Jno. Grimball, Lieut, CSN.

(Signed) Orris [Elvis?] A. Browne, Passed Mid[shipman], C.S. Navy

[Certificate]

"C.S. Str. Shenandoah, Island of Ascension, April 4th 1865."

"By order of Lieut. Commanding Jas. I. Waddell, we have made a careful estimate of the value of the Ship Hector and equipment and do affix the same at (\$35,000), thirty five thousand dollars and the value of her cargo at \$23,000, twenty three thousand dollars."

Vessel \$35,000

Cargo \$23,000 consisting of 250 bbls. sperm oil.

[Total] \$58,000

(Signed) S. Smith Lee, Lieut. C.S. Navy

(Signed) J. T. [I. G.?] Mason, Acting Passed Mid., CSN.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

Wednesday 5th April 65.

Commences & until 4 a.m.: Clear & pleasant, prizes burning brightly.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 4 to 8: Pleasant weather. Carpenter painting ship. Shifting coal from fore to main hold.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

From 8 to Meridian: Clear, 1st part. Latter part, drizzling rain.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From Meridian to 4: Overcast & pleasant.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

...

Thursday 6th Apr. 1865

... From 4 to 8: Cloudy with light airs. Shipped Geo. Dias, Jno. Morris, Ant. De Combas (seamen), Joaquin Rodericks (landsman) and Robt. Roselle (q. class boy).

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 8 to Merid.: Crew transported 11 tons of coal from fore hold to bunker. Got a line from **Harvest** and made [it] fast to our port cable.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

From Merid. to 4: Crew shifting coal.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

Friday 7th April 1865

... From 4 to 8: Shifted coal to bunker. Clear & pleasant.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

...

Saturday 8th April 1865

... From 4 to 8: Employed restowing fore hold. Pleasant weather.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 8 to Merid.: 9:30, loosed sail to dry. 11:30, furled them again.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From Merid. to 4 p.m.: Rated Thos. Strong (Cox[swain]) vice Simpson (time expired). Clear & pleasant.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

... From 6 to 8: Clear & pleasant.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

...

Sunday 9th April 1865

... From 8 to Merid.: Fine weather with moderate breeze. Starboard watch went ashore on liberty.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 4 to 6: Most of the liberty men returned. Fine weather with light trades.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

...

Monday 10th April 1865

Commences until 4: Cloudy & pleasant. At 2:00 passing showers.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From 4 to 8: Hauled the bark **Harvest** alongside and made her fast. Clear with light airs.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 8 to Merid.: Got two casks of whale oil from bark **Harvest**. Clear & very warm.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

From Merid. to 4: Got 34 bbls beef, 20 pork, 8 casks molasses, 1 cask vinegar, cask hams, bbl. tongues, cask beans, cask coffee, 2 casks flour, 1 bbl. pickles, 2 casks whale

line, 2 casks oil, 2 stay sails, 2 topgallant sails, 1 main sail, 1 main topsail, 2 bbls sand.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

From 4 to 6: Clear & pleasant. Stowing away provisions received from **Harvest**.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From 6 to 8: Having finished with bark **Harvest**, cast her off & set her on fire. Clear & pleasant.

(Signed) Irvine S. Bulloch

From 8 to Midnight: Moderate breezes from Northward & Eastward with a passing rain squall. Prize bark **Harvest** on fire on our port quarter.

(Signed) Jno. Grimball

[Certificate]

"C.S. Str. Shenandoah, Island of Ascension, April 10th 1865"

*"By order of Jas. I. Waddell, Lieut. Commanding, we have made a careful valuation of the bark **Harvest** and cargo and do affix the vessel and outfit at ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00) and the cargo consisting [of] 300 bbls sperm oil, at twenty four thousand seven hundred and fifty nine dollars (\$24,759.00)."*

Cargo \$24,759

Vessel \$10,000

Total \$34,759

(Signed) D. M. Scales, 2nd Lt., PNCS

(Signed) J. T. Minor, Master's Mate

Tuesday 11th April 1865

... From Meridian to 4: Employed restowing after hold.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From 4 to 6: Fine, pleasant weather with light NW breeze.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

...

Wednesday 12th April

... From 8 to Meridian: Setting up main rigging. Triced up Marlow (W. R. C.) and Jas. Ore (?) boy for quarrelling and neglect of duty. Clear & pleasant.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

...

Thursday 13th April/65

... From 4 to 8: At 5:30, unmoored ship. 7:30, weigned and stood to sea. Sent on shore all prisoners. 8 o'clock, discharged the Pilot.

(Signed) D. M. Scales

From 8 to Merid.: Steaming along the land to the Northward. 10, secured the anchors for sea. 10:30, set all fore and aft sail except spanker.

(Signed) F. T. Chew

From Merid. to 4: Made sail to Royals & Flying Jib. 1:30, stopped steaming &

hoisted propeller. 2 o'clock, Ascension bore South distant about 20 miles. Unbent & stowed the cables below. Clear & pleasant.

(Signed) S. S. Lee

Document 1865G

C.S.S. Shenandoah at Pohnpei—Report of Captain Cunningham

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1865.

Note: Although there were many reports in New England newspapers, their inclusion here would only add to the confusion that then existed in New England.

Report of Bark Kamehameha Fifth.

Left HONOLULU August 19, 1865. Had a fair passage and moderate trades down to Lat. 9°00' N., and Long. 163°00' E., after which time had light baffling winds until the 7th of September, on which day saw the Island of Ascension, being then 19 days from Honolulu. Was detained off the island eight days by light baffling winds and calms, the pilot being on board three days of the time. On the afternoon of the 15th we finally anchored in Middle Harbor. Found a very strong current setting to the N.E., while I was in sight of the island, which generally prevails this season of the year, and makes it very annoying to contend with, especially when the prevailing winds are from the westward.

On the 18th the **Morning Star** arrived, and on the 26th she sailed again for Kittie Harbor.

Made all possible haste in recruiting my vessel, and on the 28th, finding that I could not obtain as many recruits as I wanted for so large a number of passengers, I sailed from Ascension with 98 passengers of the four ships that were burnt last April at that port. Among the list of passengers are Captains Baker, of the **Edward Cary**; Chase, of the **Hector**; and Thompson, of the **Pearl**, with their officers and most of their crews, also the crew of the Hawaiian bark **Harvest**—all of which I found in a most destitute condition.

Had light winds from the southward, and touched at Wellington's [Mokil] the 30st, for the purpose of filling up my list of recruits, and was detained off that island four days, on account of the vessel being currented away from the Island by calms and heavy westerly squalls, in which I lost my fly jib, split jib, fore-sail and main-top-sail.

Left Wellington's Island the 4th of October for Honolulu. Had a fair passage and squally weather up to Long. 175°00' E., and Lat. 5°00' N., and then light airs and calms for several days. Took the trades in Lat. 12°00' N., and held them until Lat. 27°00' N., and Long. 179°00' E., and light E. and S.E. airs and calms until Nov. 4th. Lat. 27°00'

N., Long. 178°00' W., then took a fair breeze from the southward and westward, which lasted until the 13th, on which day saw the Island of Kauai, and found my chronometer one hundred and seventy-three miles too far West. Tacked to the North, at 4 P.M. of the 13th, in Lat. 26°00' N., took strong N.W. winds, which gradually hauled to the Eastward and terminated in the trades.

Arrived at Honolulu Nov. 18th, after a passage of 47 days from Wellington's Island, and I can cheerfully say, that owing to the good order and kind feeling manifested by the captains, officers, and crews as passengers, it has been one of the most pleasant and agreeable passages of my life.

W. J. Cunningham, Jr.,
Master of bark **Kamehameha Fifth**.

Documents 1865H

Beachcombers at Pohnpei, and the need for a warship

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1, 1865.

H1. Letter from an American Missionary on Ascension

Murder will out—The Murderer Overtaken by God's Providence—Warning to Sailors—Let Runaways beware.

Letter of Rev. Sturges.

Mr. Editor:

Since coming to these Islands, thirteen years ago, I have frequently reported to you facts coming under my own observation, illustrating the common saying, "Murder will out;" and here by another remarkable illustration, which I report, hoping it will prove a warning to young men:

Some twelve months ago, a young sailor ran away from his ship and became a resident of what was then generally known as the "Paradise of beach-combers." How long he then lived here, or what his course then was, I do not know, as I do not remember to have seen him. "Jim," for that was his name, subsequently lived on Strong's [Kosrae] and Ebon, and almost everywhere; in short, he seems to have got from the Devil the "freedom of the Pacific," if not the "keys." For many years he has been known as "Scandalous Jim."

About one year ago he came back here in the **Pfeil**. I have understood that the German firm of Schpenhorst were anxious to get rid of him, and were in a way to work him off to one tide, intending to put him on Raven's [Ngatik] Island with a little trade, to shift for himself. Instead of this, the **Pfeil** left him on a little island some twenty miles to the west of this [Pakin], giving him trade to buy cocoanut oil. I saw him *ocne* during his residence there.

Turning from Jim, let us speak of "Bill," his murderer. Some six years ago, a fellow by the name of **Bill** ran away from his ship (the **Adeline Gibbs**, I think,) and settled at Palikir, one of the darkest dens on Ponape at that time. **Bill** shot his wife, wounding her severely, for which I felt it my duty to lecture him severely, and which seems to have been the beginning of some very bitter feelings and plots for revenge. Subsequently he

seemed really anxious to reform, and a great change was apparent. He undertook to teach the natives in his district, and I cannot help feeling that he was the instrument for beginning a great work in all that region. But the man who has lived a few years of Island licentiousness finds his moral constitution too far gone in consumption of give much hope of recovery.

Bill, in a fit of madness, set fire to his houses, on which he had spent more than a year's toil, and all his trade. He was left with little more than the shirt he had on his back. Jim had trade, and with this Bill could build another house, hence he murdered him and took possession of his property. With this property Bill was putting up a house, when he fell from a tree and was instantly killed. He had gone, with a few natives, into the swamp for timber, and, having cut a tree which lodged, he shouldered his adze and went up to cut the branches, that the tree might fall. IN doing this he fell head first, driving his head deep into the soft mud, and his neck up into his shoulders. After him fell the adze, which split his back and passed nearly through his body. Then came the tree, falling directly upon the adze and body. It was death three-fold. Who can wonder that the natives [saw this frightful] sight and then fled? Vengeance has overtaken the murderer.

This island and the world have thus been relieved of two terrors. Of Jim I know but little. Everybody speaks of him as well named "Scandalous Jim," and seem to think the world far better off without him. Bill I have known well for years, and must say that since the death of Johnson, in 1858, I have not felt such a relief from anxiety as when the word came, "Bill is dead." Especially for the last two or three months have I been the object of Bill's hatred; he would shoot me or any one else who would do anything to bring him to justice.

On the return of the **Pfeil** I exerted myself to get Bill on board, as the Captain wished much to take the murderer to Honolulu. I made two visits to the Ponatic Harbor, hoping to get some assistance among the shipping there to arrest the murderer. The captains readily entered into measures to decoy the fellow and get him on board, but he was too cunning for them; so the ships passed by, and the criminal was still running at large, glorying that he feared no-one; and so justice seemed baffled, and some were too ready to mourn that there was no man-of-war, and no God to execute the all-essential law: "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But how false to God and history our fears. How much better that Bill should fall from that tree and break his own neck, in sight of these poor people he had so wronged, than that he be captured and taken to a civilized land to be tried, where, ten chances to one, he would have cheated the gallows quite as easily as he did us.

And now, in view of this illustration of divine retribution, I would like to shisper into the ear of every sailor this warning: Never venture to do a deed hoping to escape punishment by escaping to lands where there is no human law. God has said, "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it;" and most fearfully does he follow the offender in these lawless seas. After more than twelve years of observation and experience in these dark seas, it is my full belief that sin is as surely punished here as in the land of law.

God's eye is everywhere: every falling tree, every axe, every gun, every wind, every disease, every thing holds a warrant from the Almighty to arrest the sinner. The sinner "walketh upon a snare."

Another whisper in every sailor's ear: **Never, no never** run away from your ship; do your duty; you cannot fare worse than you would on these heathen shores. These two men, who have so fearfully suffered for their crimes, were hardly worse than most who begin their downward course by running from their ships. It is a fearful thing for a young man to cast himself upon these Islands.

Your brother,
A. A. Sturges.

H2. Visit of an American Man-of-War Needed in Micronesia

Editorial by Rev. S. C. Damon.

We think the time has fully come when the United States Government should send a vessel of war on a cruise among the islands of Micronesia. It is more than a quarter of a century since a vessel belonging to the U.S. Exploring Expedition, under Lieut. Wilkes, cruised among the Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands, and forty years since the **Dolphin** visited the Marshall Islands. We are not aware that any other U.S. Naval vessels ever visited those groups of Islands. Our whalers, by the score, have frequented the ports of Ascension, and touched at other islands in Micronesia, and the **Morning Star** makes an annual cruise through the Marshall, Gilbert and Caroline Islands, yet our naval vessels have kept at a most respectful distance, as did a certain one sent to survey the guano islands.

The civil war is over, and the vessels belonging to the navy released from blockading duty; hence we think the Navy Department should dispatch a gunboat to cruise in those waters, under the command of an experienced and judicious commander, who will faithfully represent a great, free and Christian nation, which is ready to protect its citizens and seamen in the most remote parts of the world. We could name at least a dozen islands which should be visited. The crews of several merchant vessels have been cut off in those seas. It is our firm belief that the first U.S. Commissioner at the Hawaiian Islands, George Brown, Esq., was murdered at the Marshall Islands, in 1846, when he was on his passage to China. Very many are the reasons we could assign why one of our vessels of war should cruise through that part of the Pacific. Commerce, trade and humanity demand it. Again we say, let the Commander be the right sort of a man. Send no "Mad Jack" (navy officers know to whom we refer,)¹ or anti-Missionary Commander, but a man of the stamp of Admiral Du Pont.² It is worthy of the consideration of the Navy Department, whether the time has not fully come for a **surveying ship** to cruise among all those islands and along the innumerable reefs of the Pacific.

1 Ed. note: Captain Percival.

2 Ed. note: Commander of the **USS Congress** during the Mexican War.

Document 1866A

The voyages of the brig *Vesta*, Captain Tetens, 1866-68

Source: Alfred Tetens. Vom Schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout—Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Capitäns Alfred Tetens... (Hamburg, Niemeyer Nachfolger, 1889); translated by Florence Mann Spoehr as: Among the Savages of the South Seas—Memoirs of Micronesia (Stanford University Press, 1958).

Synopsis of the journals of Captain Alfred Tetens, as edited by S. Steinberg

Note: See Doc. 1862B for Tetens' earlier adventures in Palau and Yap.

The House of Godeffroy.

By 1863, the mighty House of Godeffroy of Hamburg had reached a peak. They owned 30 sailing vessels, 6 steamships, and 3 river steamboats. Their trade extended all over the world, including the South Seas. The original Godeffroy was a Huguenot, who had fled La Rochelle to seek refuge in Prussia, in 1685. His grandson moved to Hamburg, and his son founded the firm of J. C. Godeffroy and Son there in 1766. For over a century, the firm grew larger under a wise leadership, until finally, in 1878, the South Sea part of the business was bought by the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-gesellschaft.¹

A Hamburg newspaper published an article in which the adventure of Captain Tetens were summarized and he was described therein as the “vice-king of the Carolines.” This article came to the attention of J. C. Godeffroy who invited Tetens to his office and offered him a ship and a contract. The first Godeffroy ship to appear in the harbor, the brig *Vesta*, was placed at his disposal. She was refurbished to carry 12 guns, six of which being small swivel guns. The cabins became store-rooms for the trade goods, which were: bright-colored cloth, pieces of iron, weapons, flint and steel, powder and shot, matches, Bohemian glass beads, iron cooking pots, and fishhooks. Not least was a small, iron, steam launch, built according to his specifications.

1 Ed. note: The German Trade and Plantation Company, otherwise known jokingly as the Long Handle Co.

The House of Godeffroy had a museum of natural history, and their agents and captains avidly collected specimens of the fauna and flora of distant lands. Tetens spent some time there to learn how to properly collect and prepare a collection for this museum, under the direction of the custodian, Mr. Schmelz.

The crew of the **Vesta** consisted of two mates and 14 seamen, mostly Germans from Hamburg and Holstein. When he went on board, Tetens found the owner's general instructions on how to carry on the trading business in the Carolines and Palau, and to prepare collections for the Museum. In a sealed envelope, there was a list of their agents aboard, with addresses where he could find help, if needed.

Basically, the collected *bêche-de-mer* was to be delivered to Messrs. Siemssen & Co. in Hong Kong, where Tetens would find more trade goods. He was not to waste money purchasing real estate in the islands, as the firm knew from experience that money so invested can practically be given up for lost. He was to collect some copra, and ship a sample direct to Hamburg from Hong Kong. This copra sample as well as the material collected for the Museum were to be sent direct, or through the London firm of Messrs. J. H. Schröder & Co. Live specimens of animals and plants could also be sent the same way. Samples of the local exportable crops of cotton, indigo, tobacco, etc. were also to be collected. Next he was to buy mother-of-pearl shells as possible.

A variety of seeds had also been provided, for Tetens and the natives to plant experimental crops. Cotton was thought to be a suitable crop for the climate of Micronesia.

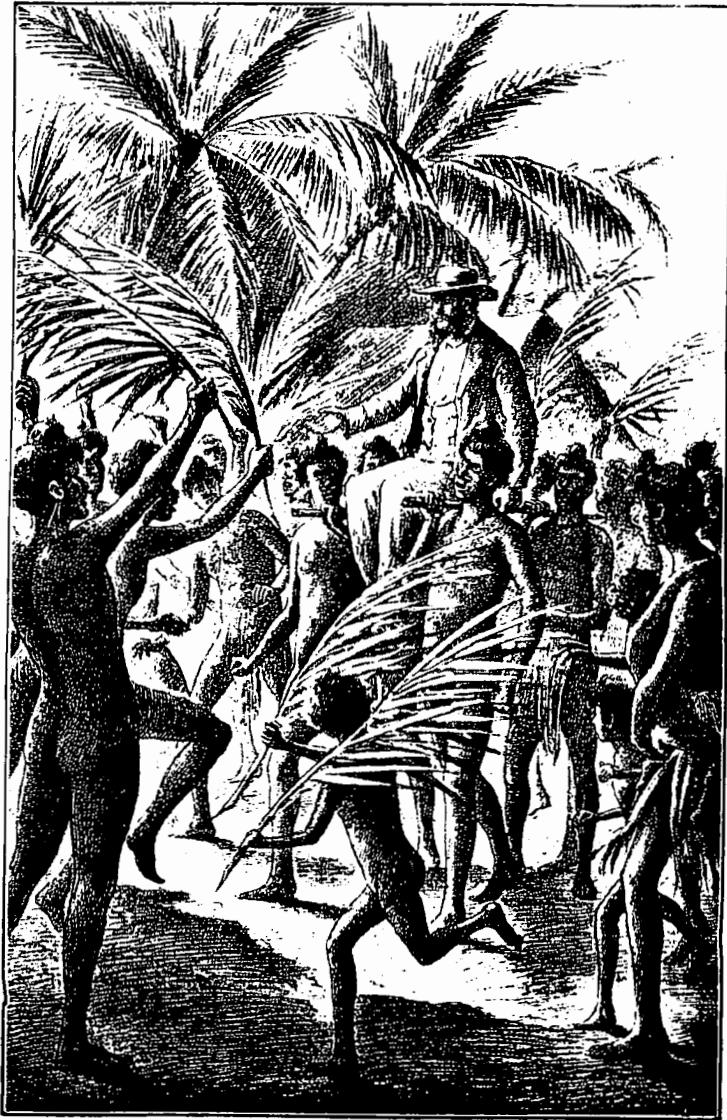
Return to the Islands.

The voyage of the **Vesta** back to the Caroline Islands lasted five months. The route followed was around the Cape of Good Hope, through the Indian Ocean, north of Australia, and through the Dampier Straits.

Captain Tetens decided to stop at Sonsorol. It was low tide, his boat had to anchor in the shallows far from shore. All of a sudden he saw a large crowd advancing towards his boat. The people were carrying green branches as a sign of peace among all Micronesians. The people could not understand Tetens when he spoke Palauan. However, when they understood his sign language to say that he would like to visit their island and return to his boat before sundown, they were pleased. Eight strong men grabbed their canoe paddles and carried him on this improvised litter to the shore, and as far as the middle of the village.

The inquisitive people were soon touching him everywhere and the women even tried to take off his clothes, to admire his white skin. He had to try and ignore the women's advances, so as not to arouse the men's jealousies; otherwise, he says, "I should never leave the island alive."

The people of Sonsorol lived more savagely than the Palauans, because they were completely naked—not even a loin-cloth. Tetens' white-linen suit became utterly ruined by the yellow curucuma vegetable color that the islanders used to paint their bodies. Knowing that even soap could not remove such paint from his clothes, the idea oc-



Friedlicher Empfang.

Friendly reception at Sonsorol in 1866.

curred to him to take off both jacket and pants and give them to the chief. No gift could have been more welcome. Fortunately, he had brought other gifts for the ordinary people: tobacco, fishhooks, flint and steel. After some of the excitement had died down, the men ran off to get refreshments, but the women began caressing Tetens and he was soon entirely naked too. He was back to his boat aboard the litter, but with gifts of coconuts, bananas, chickens, fish, taro, etc.

On the same day, they sighted Angaur. The next morning, the ship went through the passage to Malakal Harbor, towed by numerous war canoes. It had taken 172 days of constant sailing to reach Palau.

Palau once again.

Tetens announced his arrival with a salvo of ten cannon shots. He was soon surrounded by countless canoes bringing coconuts and taro. Here too he was touched all over by the chiefs who boarded the brig. Apparently, they had to satisfy themselves that he was not a ghost, because Captain Cheyne had told them that he had died... The news of the return of Klow Rupak, Era Aleman, spread like wildfire on the Island of Koror and vicinity. The next day was a formal visit aboard the **Vesta** by the king and nobles. They were welcomed by a 21-gun salute. The size of the ship impressed them, but it was the steam launch that attracted most of their attention.

When questioned about Captain Cheyne, the king showed some embarrassment, and avoided the subject. When pressed for information, the king said he did not know. It was proper etiquette for Tetens to go to Koror the next day. He did so aboard his steam launch. Everyone marvelled at a boat that could move without sail or oars, and fed only by fire.

Soon Tetens learned from the king himself how Cheyne had been killed by them, because they all hated him. He was lured out of his house by the news that a canoe had arrived with a pig and taro. He was hit repeatedly with a hatchet and, since he was lying down, still alive, they finished him off with a big stone, and threw his body into the sea. Abba Thule finished his story by saying: "*Kann* [God] has freed us from the evil *Fo-noie-yann* [spirit]."¹

After bêche-de-mer in the Carolines.

Since Palau and Yap were becoming short of bêche-de-mer, Tetens planned to visit Ngulu, Ulithi and Woleai. At Koror, he augmented his crew by shipping 2 Englishmen, 4 Filipinos, 3 Chinese, 3 Palauans, and 1 man from the West Indies.² He also took on board 10 Yapese as passengers and their **stone money**, large disks of white stone that looked like mill-stones, with a hole in the center, as big as a fist, through which the pole to carry the stone is passed.

1 Ed. note: Cheyne was murdered in February 1866.

2 Ed. note: This educated black man from the West Indies was William Gibbons, a future Ibedul (see Doc. 1890A...).

After one week they reached Rull Harbor in Yap. The island had only about 6,000 inhabitants at that time, but was considered heavily populated. A gun was fired to attract attention. Soon there was a brisk trade in small articles. However, the Yapese had to be closely watched at all times. Tetens ascribed their somewhat haughty attitude to the fact that the Yapese living on the coast are used to dealing with other, meek, Carolinians who come to pay them tribute. Other Yapese living in the interior were treated by them as slaves and ordered to do work, without pay.

Kierko, though happily married, paid him a visit to show him that she had not forgotten him. A few days later, he received the visit of the king of Krurr [Goror],¹ named Fonneway, who was friendly, and agreed to have a drying-house set up in his village.

At the king's command,² 50 Yapese were taken on board to help him with his work at Ngulu, and other islands. It is a dangerous one, as no breakers can be seen on the eastern side; a [sailing] ship passing over the submerged reef into the lagoon there is irretrievably lost on the western reef. That is exactly what happened to the German full-rigged ship **Ebba Brahe** bound to China. Tetens wanted to salvage this ship, but the natives had already taken full possession of it, removing cabin doors, paneling, and planks, to build houses, in which to store the ship chests, ropes, etc. The population of Ngulu was from 80 to 100 people, and the only food available was a few coconuts and fish.

First visit to Ulithi.

A few days later, they reached the island of Fais, where the natives were very friendly, but the island did not offer any prospect for trade. The ship continued to Ulithi. There were then two chiefs ruling over the group and the 700 inhabitants; they were named Giurr and Ronnerné, and resided on Mogmog Island. The islanders had their body entirely tattooed and acted peaceably but in a deceitful manner. The few Yapese who lived there exercised a bad influence in that they instigated attacks on passing ships. The **Vesta** found a good anchorage near the islet of Asor.³ To prevent an attack the boarding net were spread, the guns loaded, sentries posted, and all weapons made ready. The red coats of the armed sentries seemed to have been the best deterrent.

With one of the Yapese crewman as interpreter, the local chiefs were told of the purpose of the visit. But before they would discuss the matter, they stood up in front of Tetens with their hands rubbing their stomachs, and said: *áI hat ge lock*” (*We are hungry*).⁴ *Tetens provided them immediately with sweet potatoes and yams, which they partook on the spot. Apparently there was then a famine at Ulithi; even fish was scarce.*

The next day, as agreed, Tetens went alone, but well armed, to see the chiefs at Mogmog. In the square surrounded by tall palm trees, 200 frightful-looking men were seated

1 Ed. note: South of Rull, G- 1 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: Presumably the king of Rull.

3 Ed. note: Car. 41-12 in Bryan's Place Names. Asor is next to the better-known island of Falalep.

4 Ed. note: That is not the way to say 'hungry' in Carolinian; however, the chiefs asked directly for some yams. What each said, I think, was I angi looghu, 'I, to eat, yam.

and waiting for him, in silence. Tetens unconsciously reached into his pocket, to check if his revolver was still there...

Finally the actual negotiations began, and a contract was soon agreed to, for the natives to collect the necessary *bêche-de-mer*. Work began the next day. The steam launch was useful in rapidly towing a multitude of canoes to the various stations. After a while, the weather became unfavorable and Tetens decided to leave a few men behind and go to other places.

[Yapese control over Ulithi and Fais]

At Fais, Tetens first learned of the myth of the origin of Ulithi and Fais that the crafty people of Yap had spread, the better to force the superstitious people to pay tribute to them. The goddess Loropp who had fished out Fais out of the ocean had given the hook to the king of Yap; therefore, the island belonged to him. A similar tale was told about Ulithi; the goddess Isserie that had created this group was supposed to have buried a hatchet on Yap, and if this hatchet was unearthed, Ulithi would be swallowed by the sea—hence the Ulithians fell under the sway of Yapese magicians. Tetens tried to convince these people that they myths were false, but he was not believed.

Tetens was finally led to think that it was this superstitious belief that had caused the ruin of foreign visitors in the past, Catholic missionaries had been murdered there, and so all the occupants of a Malayan proa recently, with only one survivor whom Tetens took under his protection. The emotional good-bye on the part of the chiefs, when he left, he did not believe sincere, and he says, “here only a show of strength would serve.”

Tetens then went back to Yap, and began planning for a side trip to islands that he thought had never been visited by traders before, the L'Échiquier Islands, north of New Guinea.¹ Consequently, he took on board 100 Yapese and their 25 canoes, as well as a good store of food.

...
 [Upon reaching the intended location, they were hit by a hurricane that placed in considerable danger. When the storm abated, the Yapese started fishing for trepang. The local people were cannibals, so says Tetens who went ashore on one of the islands and discovered human skulls and bones hanging from tree branches; some were of recent origin. Their weapons were spears and stone adzes. Tetens had a piece of ground cleared, and a few seeds planted. They sprouted while he was still in the neighborhood. Soon fighting broke out between the local men and the Yapese who were more practiced in the art of spear throwing. After this fight was won, the ship went back to Yap, via Son-sorol.]

¹ Ed. note: Outside of Micronesia, where he also visited the Hermit and Anachoretas. These island groups lie close together near the position of 1° S., and 145° E.

[Treachery at Yap.]

One evening when Tetens was busy making copra out of old coconuts, he was warned that the Yapese planned to cut him off that night. He at once sounded the alarm and all precautions taken. Suddenly, a number of war canoes were seen to approach the ship. When they were 50 feet away, all the guns were fired at the same time, but they had been aimed high. The canoes were instantly abandoned and their occupants swam to the shore. This proved that traders could not yet trust the Yapese. The next day, the town had been deserted, as the people ashore fully expected some retaliation.

Presently the king appeared and he pretended that someone had deceived Tetens into thinking that he would be cut off, that he was still his friend, etc. However, from then on only the king and the chiefs were allowed on board. Later on, he learned from the faithful Kierko the reason for the attack. It was greed on the part of those who had fished pearl shells for Tetens; they had wanted them to use as small money on their island...

Tetens went to visit all his stations. The story everywhere was the same: as soon as the ship had left, the attitude of the natives had become unfriendly and uncooperative, disturbed the operations, destroyed property and even boldly attacked Tetens' men; after they had been repulsed, food was denied them by all means. The men who suffered the most were stationed on Falalep, Ulithi group. The steam launch, which had been left there, is what had aroused the greed of the islanders... Open warfare had broken out after Tetens' men had refused to attend the local feasts, and the company of local women.

The two kings suffered from a bad conscience. It was only after Tetens demanded their presence, reinforced by a cannon shot, that they appeared on board, trembling. They explained that they had lost control of their own people, that the attacks had been instigated by some Yapese men who arrived by canoe after the ship had left, etc. The Yapese in question were probably from Tomil.¹ Expecting a punishment, the Mogmog chiefs delivered 20 men and 10 men to Tetens, and told him that he could do what he liked with them.

As long as he remained at Ulithi, the prisoners, who expected to be put to death, were kept on board as hostages, but on Tetens' departure, they were all released without punishment. The amounts of trepang, coconut oil, and tortoise shell collected at Ulithi were below expectations. However, the articles had to be delivered to Hong Kong.

On the voyage to China, Tetens had on board, besides his original crew, 10 Yapese men, including the son of king, Prince Ligefer. After passing in sight of the north end of Palau, they met with a lost Carolinian canoe that had overshot Yap. The men on board refused to go aboard the ship; so, the direction of Yap was pointed out to them,

¹ Ed. note: Probably from Tomil, the district on Yap that held sway over the Ulithi people, but were not benefiting at home as much as the people of Rull and Goror. In other words, jealousy and greed were the two motives for their actions.

but Tetens believed that they went to their doom and probably died of hunger at sea. After passing through the Balintang Channel into the China Sea, they were hit by a typhoon. Tetens correctly judged where the center of this cyclone was, and headed north until he found the easterly wind blowing furiously, which he used to propel his ship right across the Chine Sea to Hong Kong...

His Yapese passengers were awed by everything they saw: the myriad of ships at anchor, the lively traffic. The Yapese even surprised the Chinese when they began to dance on the streets of Hong Kong. They could not believe their eyes when they came upon a horse drawing a cart. Prince Ligefer thought that the English merchants wearing tophats must be reigning chiefs. Now the prince had to have such a hat. From then on, the Chinese marveled at the sight of a naked man with a silk hat on his head. Everywhere the Yapese had become persons of interest. When they were all invited to eat at the house of Mr. Siemssen, the red-painted Yapese performed their stick dance in view of the other invited guests, English and Germans living in Hong Kong. Because the floor of the ball-room was highly polished, it often happened that the dancers lost their footing and tumbled down in ridiculous postures, much to the delight of the fair ladies present. In the heat of their simulated war dance, the Yapese threw off their embarrassing loin-cloths; this caused the ladies present to start shrieking and laughing as they left the room instantly.

Tetens had a formal photograph of the Yapese taken at Hong Kong. This photo was sent to the Godeffroy Museum.¹

Before leaving Hong Kong with new trade goods, he visited the commanding officer of the English fleet and gave a detailed report on the murder of Captain Cheyne. As he says, Tetens had also disclosed how Cheyne's ship, crewmen and passengers had been disposed of, after Cheyne's murder. The ship was towed with all sails set into the open sea and left to her fate. There had been a number of Spanish and English merchants on board, with their wives. He thought that these white people must all have perished at sea, because they had no knowledge of ship management.²

Back to Micronesia on a second voyage.

The first voyage had produced a deficit. Upon arrival at Koror, it soon became clear that the local chiefs feared the coming of a warship. Abba Thule asked: "Tell me, Klow Rupak, will the Englishman be satisfied if only the murderers of the captain are punished?" Tetens could not re-assure the king on this point. Nevertheless, he was invited to a feast to celebrate the capture of a rare dugong, or sea cow, the source of their bone bracelets. The dead animal, borne on a litter, was 8 feet long. Tetens made useless efforts to buy it for the Godeffroy Museum...

His local contracts with the local chiefs at his local stations were renewed and much coconut oil collected. Because going back to the Crolines, Tetens next headed back to

1 Ed. note: Perhaps it could still be located in Hamburg.

2 Ed. note: Tetens was probably right, as there are no records of her subsequent whereabouts.

Melanesia, this time visiting the Hermit Islands, next to the L'échiquier, and Anachoreta Islands. There was constant strife between these three groups. The information came from some Anachoret prisoners whom Tetens ransomed white at the Hermit Islands.

On the main island of the Hermit group, the people were opposed to a landing. Tetens was wounded in a thigh by a spear before he could use his revolver and before his Yapese could intervene. They soon won the battle, but the joy of victory disappeared when Tetens forbid them to kill the prisoners and take their heads as trophies. The son of the king of Rull was part of the crew this time. His name was Runningebay. When treated for a wound on board, he declared: "If you do not allow my men to keep at least the heads of the dead men, then there is no point in fighting." Tetens replied that his god did not allow it, but the prince remained unconvinced.

A benefit of this battle was that many spears, and local artifacts from the Hermit Islands, were picked up, for the Godeffroy Museum. Finally, the visitors had also access to fresh water, which Tetens used to wash his wound, which was light, and did not prevent him from walking.

Upon observing local customs, he noticed that the natives burned their dead. Only the skulls are kept; they are filled with soil and plants and hung to trees. As for the lower jaws, they were either strung together and worn as ornaments, or hung by the doors of the huts.

Tetens had shipped several Malays in Hong Kong. They were Moslems and did not eat pork. At the Hermit Islands, they hunted the shark whose meat they ate ferociously.

The ship next went back to the Carolines, where they visited Woleai Atoll for the first time. The people there were handsome and peaceable, but tattooed all over, the same as at Ulithi. Their king, named Yogelok, visited Tetens on board the **Vesta**. The local men showed an unusual curiosity toward the ship itself; such men were known as good sailors who made canoe trips as far as the Marianas. They used only the stars to guide them at night. Although the Woleai people were much the same as the Ulithi people in their other customs, they excelled in the neatness and attractiveness of their dwellings. The fresh water on Woleai was brackish.

...

Back at Yap, Tetens took a trip by boat to Tomil. Upon his return to Rull, he was welcomed with a feast in his honor. Apparently, a rumor had been spread that Tetens had been killed on his way to Tomil.¹ Had an attack been made by the visitors, Tetens thought that he would surely have lost his ship, because "the savages, once enraged, are very difficult to calm again."

A few days after this feast, they left for Koror. He was met by Arra Kook, the prime minister, who related the story of a murder of a number of Koror men at Ngatelngal [Artinal]. The king wanted revenge. For good measure, Tetens was told that some of

1 Ed. note: The rumor was probably started by the jealous Tomil people, who had expected Tetens' men to attack Rull, which they had accused of the murder. The ploy almost succeeded.

the murdered men were his friends. He became convinced that such reports were true and decided to take part in a punitive expedition against Melekeok.

The campaign had already started that morning, with eight large war canoes and 60-70 sailing canoes. Tetens hurried to join the fleet with his boats, and his crew, including some Europeans and Malays.

[Palauan war canoes.]

In passing by Airai, the local chief added 12 war canoes to the flotilla. Each Palauan war canoe is built up from a tree trunk, and decorated with shells, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and painted red. It is manned with 40 men who, on account of the narrowness of the canoe, must sit one behind the other. They all seing their leaf-shaped paddles with precision and skill. The last man, who steered the canoe, frequently blew on a conch shell to encourage the others whose war cries kept time with their rowing, and the canoes proceeded rapidly over the water. A race was on betwen these canoes and the German boats.

From the Airai men they learned that Abba Thule had made a stop a little further up the east coast, at a place called Goikul.¹ There they found the rest of the Koror men. Negotiations were already in progress, as bearers of glags of truce came and went.

During the two-hour council meeting, Ibedul often wanted to hear Tetens' opinion. Much to his surprise, the council decided unanimously to place Tetens in charge of the whole operaions the next day. He accepted because he did not dare to refuse the distinction.

[The attack on Melekeok.]

Early the next morning, the fleet which consisted of about 1,500 men, left early. It took only one hour to reach the open bay of Ngatelngal [rather Nchesar, or Enkassar]. It took another two hours to arrive within sight of the enemy town.²

Tetens ordered a halt and deployed his fleet in a semi-circle whose tips almost touched the shore. The king wanted a cannon to be fired, but they had none, as Tetens had not had time to fit a swivel gun to any of his boats. Nevertheless, he decided to make an attack as soon as possible. The town was built on a hill protected by thick mangrove on the sea side; it could not be attacked directly by sea, but only through a narrow, artificial, channel through the mangrove on one side. With the help of his spy-glass, Tetens could see that the only road leading from the landing place to the town had been barricaded, so that even discipline troops would have difficulty storming it. Tetens then forced the king to accompany him to the canoes in the front rank. The signal was given for three columns of canoes directed above, below and directly at the landing place. This middle column consisted of the European boats for 400 of the Koror men. Bad luck impeded their advance as shoaly water appeared about 400 feet from

1 Ed. note: Ngarsul Bay, D-5f in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: Nchesar is D-5d, and Artingal is the same as Melekeok, D-4e in Bryan's Place Names.

the shore, so that the Europeans had to wade next to their boats for the rest of the way. Strangely, there was not the least resistance made during the advance. The main troop had almost reached the barricade before a hail of spears and arrows fell on them. Despite the many wounded, the advance was resumed with determination. Even at 40 feet from the barrier, the Europeans could not fire as the enemy was so well hidden. Tetens then gave the signal for the other two parties to join the general battle, but nothing happened other than a few shots that endangered the main party. Tetens then decided to pursue the attack immediately with his own division. While his men were climbing over the barricade, Tetens felt that a bullet had passed through his upper thigh. As he fell to the ground, he shouted more orders but he was losing his strength. His men held on for one more hour, but then they had to retreat.

Upon reaching his boat, Tetens saw to his dismay, that the Koror canoes were leaving; apparently, it was custom that the battle was over once one man had been wounded seriously, or killed. The coward Ibedul refused to take over command and to make another attack with his own men... "Fear for his own safety had overcome the timid king." All the Koror canoes disappeared, beaving the European boats behind...

After his wound had been cleaned of mud and salt water, and dressed, Tetens reluctantly gave the order to retreat. For the next three days, the pain from the wound was so bad that he could not sleep for three days. Only one other man, the boatswain, had been wounded, slightly. The dangerous expedition ended up in failure, only by the cowardice of the king and his people.

After the collected products were on board, the anchor was weighed and the ship headed for Hong Kong once more. Weather was good the the distance was covered in only 16 days. The wound was almost healed by the time they got to their destination, as Tetens could then walk with the assistance of a stick. The sale of the products was very successful this time around.

Visit to the Central Carolines in 1867.

For the third time, the **Vesta** was headed to Palau and the Caroline Islands. As MacCluer before him, Tetens had made bold plans to begin a cotton plantation in Palau and took along 50 Chinese coolies from Hong Kong with him. Bad weather made the trip to Palau last about two months, instead of the expected 18 days.

The agricultural enterprise was destined to failure, although everything went well at first; strips of land were allotted him for the planting of his cotton, which began to show one inch high only three days later. His mate stayed behind in Palau to supervise the work of the coolies, and Tetens made another tour of his stations in the Carolines.

[Visit to Woleaia.]¹

He visited Woleai for the first time; there the people claimed that they had never seen a white man before. The tiny king, who wanted to rub noses with Tetens, had to grab and pulled up before he could perform the proper welcome.² The local natives thought that they were the center of the world. They became depressed when Tetens had the temerity of undeceiving them, by placing one grain of sand on top of a coconut... The excitement reached a peak when he fired his Spencer repetition rifle, loaded with ten shot, and brought down a bird in flight. The natives had the custom of marching in single file, so that on the way to the king's house, the file became endless, like a human snake.

During the business discussion that followed, the local people could not understand why the foreigners had not come to stay, since coconut oil could be provided aplenty, houses would be built for them, and any girls could be taken as wives.

The only argument that finally satisfied them was the story that he was already tied to another tribe, and exhibited the proof, the small tattoo on his thigh.

[Attacked at Chuu.k]

Tetens had expect much from the islands in the Truk lagoon but he soon was disappointed by the look of the natives and the sterile aspect of their islands. The men had a sly demeanor, as if they were contemplating robbery, he said. Even as Tetens spoke with the king on board, his men were passing weapons from their canoes to the deck, so that "the intention of the savages to rob my ship and kill my crew became ever clearer to me." Wuietly he led the king to the lower deck, to look at the trade goods, but warned his crew to be ready to fight at any moment.

As soon as they were back on deck, and the king gave a signal to attack, the howling began and his men raised their weapons. At that same moment, Tetens grabbed the king and threw him overboard. When the mob saw their king flying in the air, they hesitated and that gave enough time for Tetens' men do do likewise with them. They left their wepons behind.³ In the affray, Tetens' faithful dog left the marks of his teeth on many a bare leg. The king never returned on board.

On other islands of the Truk lagoon, Tetens collected animals and plants for the Museum; among the animals were 2-foot-long lizards of which there were many in these islands. Many chickens could be obtained for a single fishhook in trade.

The Truk islanders wore their long wiry hair loose. Their elongated ear lobes touched their chests. Besides the narrow loin-cloths, men and women wore a poncho dyed a yellowish-red, from that evil-smelling plant.⁴ Most noteworthy among their weapons was

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- 1 Ed. note: Although the text says Isleisle and the table of contents in the German book says Elato, they may be a misprint for Uleai, or Woleai.
 - 2 Ed. note: Twice before, Tetens mentioned the rubbing of noses as a regular practice of Micronesians, which is so clealy a Polynesian custom, still practice by the Maori of New Zealsnd. The mention of such a custom in Micronesia is rare indeed.
 - 3 Ed. note: They too must now be in the Gedeffroy Museum in Hamburg.
 - 4 Ed. note: Turmeric, or curcuma.

the sling. When not in use, the sling was wound around their head, which gave them a wild appearance. Their skill with the sling was obvious, as even small boys could bring down a bird in flight with this weapon. One strange food they had was the meat from well-fattened dogs, which they raise for this purpose. The Truk islanders were still considered too treacherous and degenerate for Tetens to continue contact with them. He decided to get water, and leave, but even the landing with casks attracted spears and stones. Some of the Yap and Palau men in the crew, though wounded, attacked their aggressors and drove them off. Presently the females approached with a peace offering and assisted the men in getting water.

[Episode at Losap and Nama.]

Upon Tetens' arrival at this new field for him, the local king related that he had been attacked by some neighbors. His houses and canoes had been burned, and many women and children kidnapped by the bad people of Nama. Apparently the two islands had never been at war before, and the attack had been unprovoked. Tetens assured him the help of 60 of his Yapese workers.

The Losap islanders began their preparations, while trepang was collected on their reefs. On the night that preceded the planned departure, 40 local canoes joined the **Vesta** at her anchorage. The three boats of the ship were lowered and manned by the 60 Yapese, a few Malays and Europeans.

Immediately thereafter, the fleet was off by moonlight. Absolute silence reigned. At daybreak, Nama was in sight. The last 800 feet from the shore were covered with all possible speed. At the first attack, it seemed as if the Losap side had won, but, as more and more warriors appeared, the battle became fierce and lasted for one full hour. Many people were wounded as hand-to-hand fighting announced that the end of the battle was near. Tetens regrouped his men for a final attack. They broke through and invaded the town. The battle was won.

The Losap side lost a few men, though 60 men were wounded. The Nama side had at least three times as many casualties. Unfortunately the king of Losap had received two spears in his chest and one in his right eye. While the victorious party was sacking the town, Tetens began to bandage his wounded men. While doing so, he had to marvel at the stoic manner with which they bore their pain.

When the victorious party returned with many articles and the women and children who had been rescued, they also brought many heads. The head of the defeated king was given to Tetens, who planned to save it for the Godeffroy Museum. He noticed that the ears had been slashed off as a trophy by someone already...

Tetens' published narrative brushed over the many other incidents of his visits to numerous other island groups in the Central Carolines. Soon he was back to Ulithi when the **Vesta**. Tetens' men began to gather trepang on the reef, while he went to Mogmog. This reception was not a friendly one, and he suspected treachery from the start. Such fears were soon confirmed when the king refused to accept his presents. A sor-

cerer appeared and Tetens became convinced that his fate rested in the opinion of that man, whose crazy appearance would have horrified the sanest person. The gifts were in view, and, after a long period of discussions, the lunatic decided in favor of accepting the gifts. Finally, he was allowed to return to my men and fishing, but a storm intervened and he had to spend the night on Mogmog Island. While his Yapese companions were cooking their meals, they noticed that their hut, an abandoned canoe shed, was surrounded by about 200 armed men. He first checked for himself, then made preparations for a fight. The entrance was guarded and the remaining 26 Yapese joined Tetens in the middle of the room. He had his revolver in his left hand and a dagger in the other.

A dark night followed, and the storm winds shook the house. Lightning approached and soon a deluge fell from the sky. Finally daybreak came without another incident.

At the moment that the danger seemed past, something hit the door. In one instant, the islanders broke in, howling furiously. One shot from my revolver brought them the first man. The yapese spears killed three more. A lively battle ensued. As soon as they could disentangle themselves the Ulithi men fled.

The deceitful king soon appeared, accompanied by the deceitful sorcerer. The king asked pardon for the mistake made by his people, but Tetens was not fooled. Finally, the king admitted that the attack was due to the bad advice given by the sorcerer. He himself admitted that the words had indeed come out of this mouth, but that they were due to the spirit that had been in possession of his body at the time... Tetens decided to teach him a lesson.

—"Tell me," he said, "if you know the future, what is going to happen to you over the next five minutes?"

After much hesitation, the man finally answered that his spirit had no answer for strange men that belonged to another tribe.

—"Then I will tell you. Sit down here."

The magician did so, not expecting to be approached by several of the sailors who applied a severe beating on his bare back with bamboo sticks. The worst pain was no doubt inflicted by the king who joined in the punishment, as if the future of his kingdom depended on it.

Nest the king himself was ordered to sit down at the same place. He expected a severe punishment, but was told that only his friendship was being sought. He promised to avoid such actions in the future, because he and his people would be punished much more severely.

[Tetens' comments about the noble savage.]

Some ethnologists, he says, pretend that these wild tribes have been made so by contact with the white man who provided them with alcohol and modern vices. They do not know what they are talking about. Some of these Caroline islanders have never even seen any white man before on their island. Their inclinations are entirely their own.

“This must be proof for anyone who yearns for the idyllic past that morality flourishes only with the growth of intelligence.—

Tetens goes on to make the following remarks, from experience. One must never assume that a friendly approach will have the desired result with a native. Sometimes a stern approach is better than all humane approaches. Any effort to raise them from their uncivilized state will fail, unless it is accompanied by obvious strength. “That is why I did not hesitate to intervene in favor of a peaceful tribe that had been overrun by bloodthirsty savages.”

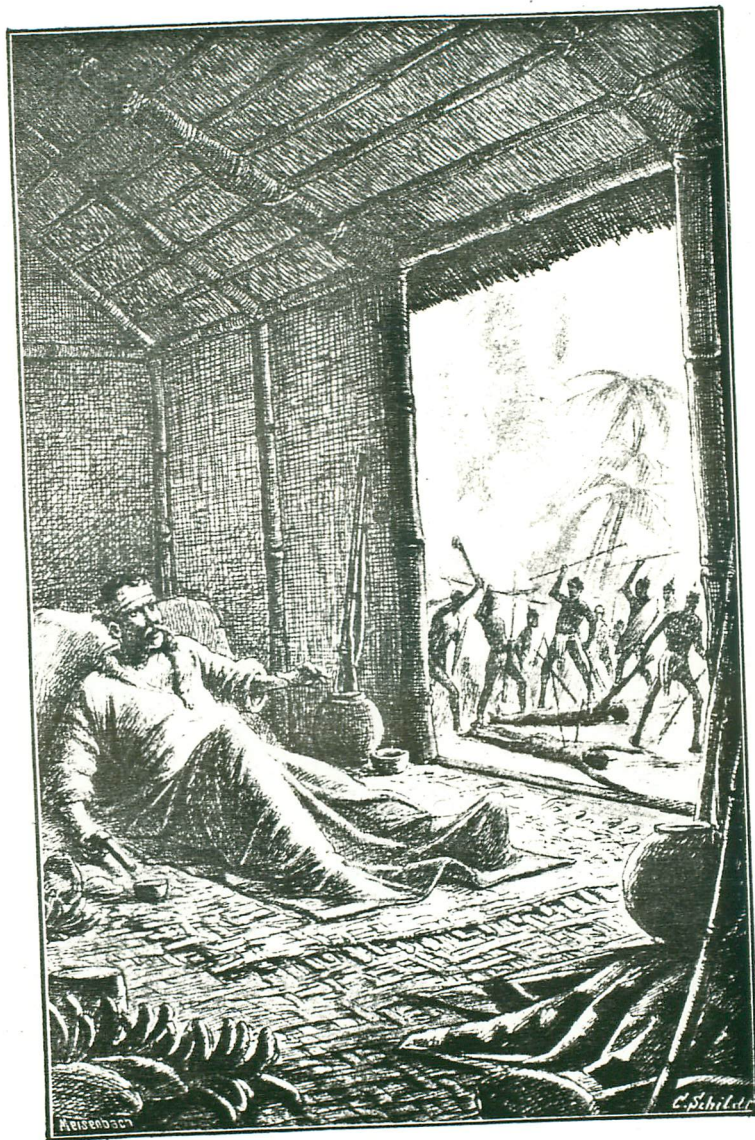
Back to Yap.

After a month's voyage to the central part of the Carolines, the **Vesta** returned to Yap, and first stopped at Goror. What a surprise! Rull lay in ashes, corpses filled the streets. The hostilities with neighboring towns were still going on. Tetens carried his Spencer rifle on his boat. While the boat under sail was returning to the ship, he noticed that the rifle had been placed wrongly at an angle by one of the crew and that its barrel was pointed at himself. Slowly he began to move the barrel, but before he knew it, the trigger must have gotten caught in some coconuts lying in the bottom of the boat. There was a loud report and a bullet grazed his hand and lodged into his thigh. The facts that the bullet had not emerged and that he felt intense pain told him that he had been severely wounded in this accident. He tried to move but fell down unconscious...Sometimes he regained consciousness only to see the picture of his mother before his eyes.

As it turned out, the bullet had not only shattered the bone but severed the tendons and nerves as well. His left leg hung lifeless from the body, useless. He ordered the boat to go back to Goror, where there lived an Englishman, a deserter from a whaling ship who had lived there for many years. Prince Ligefer hurried ashore to tell this man about my accident. When he arrived with twenty natives, a litter was improvised and he was carried to King Fonneway's hut. Only one operation could help him. The bullet had to be removed. Finally, the Englishman agreed to try the operation, with a pocket-knife. Three times the knife went completely in, but only parts of the metal came out. Besides the intense pain and bleeding, Tetens urged the surgeon to continue and remove the rest of the bullet. It was in vain; the bullet was too far embedded. The wounded leg was bound up with splints of split bamboo. Miraculously the bleeding stopped and cold compresses were applied to prevent excessive swelling.

The rest was inevitable. The management of the ship was turned over to the Mate, but business continued uninterrupted. For 20 days Tetens took no solid food while he suffered intense fevers and agony. “The reader may find this hard to believe,” says Tetens, “but it is the truth. Even now after the passage of many years, I feel a cold shudder when I think of this most terrible time of my life.”

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Dem Tode nahe.

near death (n: at death's door)

Lying at death's door.

The aftermath.

The war between the Yapese tribes went on for a long time, and finally hit Goror again, where Tetens lay unable to move. The local men disappeared after their enemy one day, leaving Tetens alone. Four months passed, with only occasional visit from the Englishman, who brought in water and cleaned the ants from the wound. At times, he prayed God for deliverance. At other times, the fighting raged on nearby. Goror always seemed to be victorious. Once a victory dance took place in his full sight. But once their enemies invaded the town, burning houses, dragging bodies behind them. Tetens prayed that they would find him and put him out of his misery once and for all. This was not to be. Fire was approaching his hut, the smoke could be seen and smelled, but God helped his final cry for help: the wind shifted and drove the flames away. The natives soon returned and the war was over.

Finally, his hope and appetite returned. When the **Vesta** returned, the wound was still too dangerous for him to go on board. The Mate was told to go back to the Hermit and L'Échiquier Islands to trade and recover the people who had been left there. War had also impeded the work there, and the return was small.

To complicate things further, when the **Vesta** returned to Yap, she ran on a reef, was freed with difficulty and had sprung a leak. A raft was built by the carpenter and, paddled by 20 natives, Tetens was finally brought on board.

The ship left the island soon after and headed for Hong Kong. In spite of his hurry, Tetens stopped one last time at Palau, to check on the cotton plantations. The second mate reported that all had been going well. Only the Chinese had behaved badly in Tetens' absence; they had robbed the natives, refused to work and threatened the life of the second mate and his men. Ibedul begged Tetens to take away the Chinese. So it was done. Everyone was pleased at this outcome.

It was hard for Tetens to leave the islands, where he had worked for years and was about to reap his just reward. He knew he could no longer return.

Epilogue.

Tetens returned to Europe aboard the French mail steamer **L'Impératrice**, which reached Suez in 28 days. Finally, after a painful trip by train to Paris, he was met there by his brother who took over his care. A Paris physician claimed that he might eventually regain the use of his leg. However, his career as a sea captain was over.

Once back in Hamburg, Tetens took over the editing of a marine journal. In 1870, he became Waterschout, a magistrate of naval affairs, a post he retained until he retired. The decoration on his lapel of his photograph is one he received from Emperor Wilhem I. Tetens died on 2 March 1909 at the age of 74.

Document 1866B

**A short, confidential, history of the last
Spanish Governors of Guam, 1866-1898, by
Lieut. William E. Safford, U.S.N.**

Source: Safford's Papers, in LC Mss. Div.

**Notes made from the Agaña archives (1900) and
information from Guamanians then alive****January 28, 1866.—Don Francisco Moscoso, Governor of the Marianas.**

He interested himself in making good roads and in trying to develop the agricultural resources of the island. During his administration the *Sociedad Agricola de la Concepción* was founded. Japanese laborers [35 of them] were introduced, but the project failed and the Japanese found their way back to their own country.

Don José Herrero told me that it was Moscoso who constructed the road to the Carolino Village [at Tamuning]. Moscoso was somewhat of a libertine and was fond of high living. His successor found a deficit in the Treasury of the Island of 2,000 pesos. The Administrator, Ignacio Aguon, was held responsible for this. He was Don José's [Herrero] cousin, and Don José was one of his bondsmen. The bondsmen had to make this deficit good. All of Don José's property was seized to help pay his share. He was very bitter against Moscoso, who he said was the one who had profited by the money stolen.

Don José says that Moscoso was a great man for balls. He lived with a woman, by whom he had a daughter. He then married a daughter of the same woman, and took his wife and natural daughter (her half-sister) to Spain with him. His correspondence is in the archives at Agaña (Vol. 18 of Letters).¹

August 17, 1871.—Don Luís Ibañez y García.

A Colonel of Infantry. He found shortage of 2,000 pesos in Treasure. Bondsmen of Treasurer lost their houses, cows, &c., to make this good.

¹ Ed. note: Now kept at LC Mss. Div. in Wahington.

March 24, 1854.—Don Eduardo Beaumont y Calafat.

Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry. He was a very military man. He built the tribunal [building], and constructed a bridge across the river at San Antonio.

January 15, 1875.—Don Manuel Brabo y Barrera.

Beutenant-Colonel of Cavalry. Was a relation of Don Manuel Brabo y Brabo, the Sergeant-Major under Don Felipe de la Corte, who arrived in Guam on August 12, 1856(?) He was a good man, and saw the good in the people. He brought with him his wife and children. He ditched the swamp east of Agaña, and set the convicts to work planting rice. The captain of the Presidio at this time was Don Felipe Dujios.

The fine walls of cement [rather concrete] are still in perfect condition where the irrigating gates were constructed, near **Matan-hanom**. The experiment did not prove a success, as it was impossible to drain the swamp properly.

August 15, 1880.—Don Francisco Brochero y Parreño.

Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry. He took little interest in the affairs of the islands or in the education of the natives. Doña Rita Acosta, wife of Don Benigno de la Cruz was his favorite.

March 14, 1884.—Don Angel de Pazos Vela Hidalgo.

Colonel of Infantry. He was a disagreeable overbearing man, and was always threatening his servants. Having punished a soldier who was serving as his cook, he was assassinated by one of his orderlies, in the beginning of August, 1884, and was succeeded by Don Anonio Borreda, the Captain Commanding the Presidio, as Provisional Governor, August 4, 1884. The schooner **Bartola** took the news of Pazos' death to Manila. See the [magazine] *Española* of this time. Don José Herrero says that Borreda was afraid of the Chamorros, and was much relieved at the arrival of his successor.

November, 1884.—Don Francisco Olive y García.

Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry. He was very serious, worded hard and thought little of the Chamorros. He had several mistresses, by two of whom he had children still living in Guam. One of his mistresses was the daughter of Nicolasa de Torres and a priest. She had several children by him, and is now the school-mistress at Inarahan. She afterwards married. This woman, Nicolasa de Torres, had a sister Rosalia, who also was a priest's mistress, and was the mother of a beautiful little girl called Bella. After the death of Rosalia, it is alleged that Nicolasa sold the child Bella, then only 11 years old to the Adjutant of the Presidio. It is said that she yielded to the Adjutant against her will, before she was really old enough to know right from wrong. She afterwards married a good hard-working young man, who really loved her, and she is now respected as a good wife and mother. I saw her in Agat. She is very handsome, with delicate features and beautiful eyes.

July 17, 1887.—Don Mariano Solano.

Colonel of Infantry. He built the new palace, now the Government house of the United States Governor. Both he and his wife, a Cuban lady, were much beloved by the people. They all delighted to work for him. Even the women worked on the Government House, singing as they worked.

April 20, 1890.—Don Joaquín Vara de Rey.

Colonel of Infantry. He had the good of the island at heart. He went about investigating and studying the resources of the country. He tried to lead drinking water from Fonte to Agaña by means of bamboo piping, but the first bamboos began to decay ere it had reached the town.

August 14, 1891.—Don Luís Santos.

Lieutenant-Colonel. He was only here one year. He marked the distances along the roads, indicating the numbers of kilometers from Agaña by stones.

August 23, 1892.—Don Vicente Gomez Hernandez.

Lieutenant-Colonel. He was quite an old man. He died on the night of September 1, 1893. The Presidio was abolished in 1893.

October 26, 1893.—Don Emilio Galisteo Bruñenque.

Lieutenant-Colonel. He did little to distinguish himself.

December 25, 1895.—Don Jacobo Marina.

Lieutenant-Colonel. About this time the Spaniards were having serious trouble with the Filipinos. A number of Filipino prisoners were sent to Guam and confined in the jail of the Presidio, behind the Palace. A plot of these prisoners was reported. They were to rise and kill the officials, and seize the island. At a given signal they were to break through the tiled roof of their prison. A man was discovered climbing out onto the roof, and he was shot. The Chamorro soldiers then fired through the windows. The prisoners were all huddled together, many of them begging for mercy, others cursing and blaspheming, the living protecting themselves by crawling under the bodies of the dead. They were all killed.

Susana [Perez], my cook, told me it was a terrible night to see the cart-lads of corpses hauled through the town, their brains and blood oozing through the bodies of the carts onto the ground. She said it was so sickening that she could not eat for a week.

It was on the 30th of this same month of December that Dr. Rizal was executed in Manila. Don Jacobo, the Governor left the island on the 2nd of March 1897.

April 17, 1897.—Don Juan Marina.

[Don Jacobo's] brother, a Lieutenant-Colonel, took possession of the government.

June 29, 1898.

Arrival at Guam of **U.S.S. Charleston** and army transports. Made prisoners were:

- Don Juan Marina, Governor;
- Don Pedro Duarte, Captain, Secretary;
- Don Francisco García Gutierrez, Lt. Comdr. Spanish Navy, Captain of the Port;
- Don José Romero, Surgeon, Spanish Army, Health Officer, and attendant of Troops;
- Lieutenant Ramos, Spanish Naval Infantry;
- Lieutenant Berruezo, Spanish Naval Infantry;
- 54 non-commissioned officers and privates.
- 4 Spanish flags;
- 52 Mauser rifles;
- 62 Remington rifles;
- 3 swords;
- 45 bayonets and scabbards for Mausers;
- 61 bayonets and scabbards for Remingtons;
- 7,500 ball cartridges, 7-mm calibre, for Mausers;
- 2,000 ball cartridges, for Remingtons.

Document 1866C

The bark *Camilla*, Captain Thomas

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 314, 315; Log Inv. 783.

Notes: The voyage lasted from 1862 to 1867; the passage through Micronesia occurred in 1866. Captain Reuben T. Thomas' wife was on board. The logbook is in two volumes.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Monday Jan. 22 [1866]

... At 4 a.m., saw Baker's Island bearing W by N. Came to & lay till daylight. Kept off & steered in for the Island. At 7 a.m., Capt. Babcock came on board, bought 2 casks of bread, 1060 lbs, 1 bbl of beef, 115 lbs of sugar, etc. At 10 a.m., Capt. went on shore... Laying off and on. 2 English ships here after cargoes of guano. The Schooner **Odd Fellow** arrived from the Sandwich Islands.¹

Tuesday Jan. 23

... Laying off and on at Jamin's [sic] Island in company with the **Canton Packet**. Latter part, Capt. & Lady on board the **Victoria**, one of the guano ships.

Wednesday Jan. 24

... At 4 p.m., Capt. & Lady came on board. Kept off, steered W by S in company with the **Canton Packet**...

...

Wednesday Jan. 31

... At 11 p.m., came aback. At daylight, saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing East dist. 15 miles. At 9 a.m., natives came on board. Commenced trading... Lat. 2°41' S.

Thursday Feb. 1

... At 3 p.m., finished trading... At 8 a.m., saw Roaches [Tamana] Island bearing W by N dist. 15 miles. At 12 Meridian, the natives came on board. Commenced trading.

¹ Ed. note: Captain Cluney was in command, at least in July-August 1865.

Friday Feb. 2

... At 3 p.m., the natives went on shore...

Saturday Feb. 3

... Saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island bearing NE dist. 20 miles. At 9 a.m., saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island bearing NOrth dist. 20 miles... Lat. 0°54' S.

...

Tuesday Feb. 6

... At 10 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing WNW dist. 30 miles. Cleared up, steered in for the Island... Lat. 1°05' S.

Wednesday Feb. 7

... Steering in for Ocean Island. At 4 p.m., calm. Lowered the boats to tow the ship off from the Island. At 7:30, a light breeze from the NE, took the boats up & lay aback till morning. At daylight, kept off and steered in for the Island. At 8 a.m., 2 boats went on shore to trade. At 11:30, returned with very little trade. Kept off, steered West...

Thursday Feb. 8

... Pleasant [Nauru] Island 10 miles dist.

Friday Feb. 9

... Laying off and on at Pleasant Island trading for coconuts & coconut oil. Took 12 bbls of oil.

Saturday Feb. 10

... At 5 pm., finished trading at Pleasant Island. Steered off to the North...

...

Wednesday Feb. 14

... Spoke the **Coral**, 40 bbls. sperm.

Thursday Feb. 15

... Steering to the NW in company with the **Coral**. Saw plenty of finbacks.

...

Tuesday Feb. 20

... At 1 p.m., saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing West. Kept off for it. At 4 p.m., took Pilot, Capt. Eldridge. At 5:30 p.m., came to anchor in the Middle Harbor. Latter part, employed at getting ready for wood & water.

Wednesday Feb. 21

All this day lay in Ascension. Employed at getting water & breaking out the ground tier to cooper it. The **Coral** arrived.

...

Friday Feb. 23

... Employed in getting wood & water, yams, etc. The **Helen Snow** arrived, 80(?) bbls. sperm.

Saturday Feb. 24

... Discharged 2 men, sick, Hugh Shirley & Robert Littell.

...

Friday Mar. 2

... All ready for sea, waiting for a wind to go out.

...

Sunday Mar. 4

... At 2 p.m., Capt. went on shore with 4 men. One of the men by the name of Mordgins (?) deserted. At 8 a.m., the wind hauled to the NE. All 3 ships got under way and went out. Discharged the Pilot. Lay off and on waiting for the natives to catch our man.

Monday Mar. 5

... Capt. & Lady on shore at the Lee Harbor.

Tuesday Mar. 6

... At 9:30 a.m., Capt. & Lady came on board. Kept off and went around the Island trading for hogs.

Wednesday Mar. 7

... Laying off and on, trading & waiting for our man...

Thursday Mar. 8

... At 1 p.m., Capt. went on shore for our man. At [blank] p.m., returned on board with the man. Set all sail...

...

Tuesday Mar. 13

... At 5 p.m., saw the Island of Guam bearing West dist. 40 miles. At 10 p.m., came aback. At daylight, kept off for the Island. At 9 a.m., the Pilot came on board. Capt. o& Lady went on shore. Kept off and ran down for the Harbor. At 11 a.m., came to anchor in 21 fathoms of water. The Pilot left. Sent down the fore yard; found it rotten & sprung. The **Ontario & Canton Packet** here.

...

Saturday Mar. 17

All this day a fine breeze & rain squalls. Ship at anchor in Guam. The Starboard Watch ashore on liberty. The other watch at work on the rigging, washing ship inside & getting ready for painting, etc.

...

Wednesday Mar. 21

... Took on board 25 bbls of sweet potatoes. Finished painting.

Thursday Mar. 22

... Employed at getting ready for sea. The remainder of the watch came on board. Discharged one seaman, sick, by the name of Wilson.

Friday Mar. 23

... Ship all ready for sea. At 8 a.m., Capt. & Pilot came on board. Hove short & broke the windlass beam. Paid out chain & furled sails. Capt. & Pilot went on shore to get another beam.

Saturday Mar. 24

... At 8 a.m., Capt. & Pilot came on board. Fixed the windlass & got under way. Went outside. Ends, working up off the town.

Sunday Mar. 25

... At 4 p.m., came a back off the town. Capt & Pilot went on shore. Lay off and on the remainder of the day.

Monday Mar. 26

... At 5 p.m., Capt. & Lady came on board. Set all sail, steered NW1/2W...

...

Documents 1866D

The shipwreck of the *Libelle* on Wake Island

D1. The story as published by the *Nautical Magazine*

Source: Nautical Magazine, vol. 35 (Dec. 1866), pp. 617-621.

Pacific Dangers to Navigation.

Notwithstanding the numerous vessels continually navigating the Pacific Ocean, the chart of that wide sea is far from being perfect. A wreck now and then reminds us of it. There is much to be done there yet by the Naval or Nautical Surveyors. For even many known islets themselves are wrongly placed, wrongly delineated; while others, although perhaps very few, are not known at all. Some may be known to the careful collectors of hydrographical records, so essential to safe navigation anywhere; but to others, who are heedless of such particulars, although very well known, they do not perhaps appear in their charts.

Whatever may have been the reason, here is an account of the loss of a ship, in consequence of which the surviving crew and passengers had to make a run in the ship's boats above a thousand miles, to their sad inconvenience and risk of life.

A Sandwich Island paper gives the following account of the wreck of the barque *Libelle*, which vessel had sailed from Honolulu so long ago that she was given up as lost, as has been proved to be the case by the following extract:—

“The Barque Libelle.—This vessel, in which Madame Bishop and party took passage at this port for Hongkong some five months ago, and which was supposed to have foundered, has been heard from. A ship arrived at San Francisco from Manila the morning the *Windward* left, reporting the loss of the *Libelle*. As near as we could gather from Capt. Barrett, the facts are these: The barque had made good progress towards China, when, by soome error caused by the current or chronometer, she run on to Wake's Island in the night. This is a low coral island, only eight feet above the water, with a lagoon in the centre. There are no trees or vegetation of any kind on it, and it has the appearance of being at times submerged. It has a lagoon, filled with the finest fish, and it lies in North latitude 19°10'54", and in longitude 166°31'30", just about half way between Honoluu and Hongkong. The officers, passengers and men all got ashore safely, though the vessel was a total loss. They secured, however, the specie, amounting to 93,943 dollars, which was buried on the island, and will probably be saved on ac-

count of the underwriters. Whatever provisions and clothing were required were also taken. They then fitted up the boats and proceeded to Guam, one of the Ladrone [sic] Islands, a distance of 1,000 miles, where the boats had arrived. We have not the full particulars either of the wreck or of the voyage in the open boats too Guam. It is one of those accidents which occasionally occur in this broad ocean. The case of the **Hornet's** captain and crew, an account of which we gave lately, was another. Among the passengers were Madame Anna Bishop, Mr. Schultz, Mr. Lascelles the pianist, Eugene Van Reed, Kisaboro the Japanese, and some others. Besides the specie noticed above, the cargo of the **Libelle** consisted of 1,000 flasks of quicksilver, 30 packages of hardware, 1,000 barrels of flour, 2,000 bushels of wheat, and a few other articles, valued altogether at over 50,000 dollars. From this port she took 8,100 dollars in specie and some 10,000 pounds of copper."

The following particulars, which appear to have been received from San Francisco, appear in the same paper:—

"The Wreck of the 'Libelle.'—The ship **Silas Greenman** arrived at San Francisco on the 25th July, fifty days from Hongkong. She brings intelligence of the barque **Libelle**. The following, from the *Hongkong Free Press*, shows that twenty-two of the crew and passengers are safe, while the fate of the captain, with eight others, is unknown. We are yet left in doubt as to who are the lost ones. The treasure, nearly 100,000 dollars, was saved, and buried on Wake Island by the captain. Those saved were landed on Guam, one of the Ladrone [sic] Islands. The *Press* says:

"The Bremen barque **Libelle**, under the command of Capt. Tobias, on the passage from San Francisco to Hongkong, with a valuable cargo, valued at over 800,000 dollars, was cast away on the night of March 4th on an uninhabited and dangerous reef called Wake Island. The passengers and crew remained on board during the night, the sea breaking fearfully over the wreck all the while, and landed with difficulty through the breakers the following day.

"After an ineffectual search for water for three weeks and much privation, it became imperative to take to the boats and endeavour to reach the nearest habitable island friendly disposed to defenceless shipwrecked people.

"Several days were spent in finding a suitable and safe point for departure, the breakers encircling the island, which appeared to be some twenty miles in circumference. Taking such provisions and water as were saved from the wreck, passengers were transferred to the ship's longboat in charge of the first mate, the captain preferring his gig; and on the 27th of March both boats sailed for the Ladrone or Mariana Islands.

"Twenty-two persons, with provisions, in an open boat but 22 feet in length, to undertake a voyage of 1,400 miles, subject to equinoctial storms, calms, and a tropical sun, with short rations and an ocean studded with hidden rocks and coral reefs, gave but poor hope of arriving at a port with life.

"The dangers which were imminent from the frequent squalls, cross seas, and ship-

ping seas encountered, were the greatest trials, and in thirteen days, the boat being 6° of longitude in error, arrived off the town of Guam, all in a pitiable and forlorn condition.

“The captain, with eight persons, in a boat of 20 feet in length, leaving at the same time, has not been heard from, and, unless picked up by some chance vessel, must have been swamped, as a heavy cross sea was met shortly after leaving the island. This, it is said, was the third vessel the captain was so unfortunate as to lose within the past few years.

“Among the passengers were Madame Anna Bishop, Miss Phelan, Mr. M. Schultz and Mr. Charles Lascelles, of the English opera troupe, and Mr. Eugene Van Reed of Kanagawa; almost all nations being represented.

“Too much praise cannot be awarded to his Excellency Francisco Moscoso y Lara, governor of the Mariana Islands, for his prompt and humane efforts to relieve the distress of the shipwrecked, who had lost their all and were in want of everything. A schooner also has been chartered and sent to search for the missing boat among the islands of the northward, and to return to Wake Island and remove the large amount of treasure which had been saved and buried there.”

“Mr. Van Reed, holding an official position, together with a Japanese, were alone allowed to leave Guam prior to the return of the vessel from the scene of the wreck, and has arrived here in the **Trinculo**,¹ which had put in on her way from Australia.”

Letter from Madame Bishop.—Mr. Gray, No. 613 Clay Street, has received the following from Madame Bishop, the best evidence of her safety:—

“Guam, Mariana Islands, May 7th, 1866.

“You will be shocked to learn we have been wrecked on Wake Island on the 5th of March, and lost all. We were three weeks on the uninhabitable island. No water, and had to wait three days before we could get any from the ship. We had no clothing but what we stood in up to arriving on this island. The governor and inhabitants have been most kind, and furnished us with a few materials to make up a little clothing. They have no stores here. We came, twenty-one of us, in an open boat, fourteen hundred miles. How we wished it was to San Francisco! A perfect miracle our safe passage to this place. The captain of the **Libelle** left at the same time we did from Wake Island, in a small boat, with four of his men and three Chinese, but up to this time we have heard nothing of them. We are here a month to-day. The governor has sent a schooner to Wake Island for the specie saved from the wreck, and we have to wait its return to take us to Manila, where we hope to commence operations. Mr. Van Reed and the Japanese are allowed to go with this to Hongkong.

1 Ed. note: Not listed in Nicholson's Log of Logs. Perhaps she was the HMS Trincomalee instead.

“You cannot imagine how we suffered all one night, from 9h. p.m. till 8h. a.m., thinking every moment would be our last; but the Almighty was watchful over us, poor sinners!

“Mr. Schultz, Mr. Lascelles and Maria are with us.

“Truly yours,

“Anna Bishop Schultz.”

It is gratifying to find the Spanish governor at Guam so highly spoken of,—an account of whose islands, the Marianas (it is time the obnoxious term Ladrone was abolished), we have given a lucid description, being the account of them by a Spanish naval officer commanding the **Narvaez**; and these too, as he showed, required much correction in the chart.

But of the position of Wake Island, the site of the wreck, we find the following in the same paper of a later date:—

“An old and experienced shipmaster has handed us two items regarding Wake Island, the scene of the disaster to the **Libelle**, and the reef noticed in our last upon which a vessel was lost, and the crew reached Tahiti.

“Wake or Halcyon Island is fifteen miles in circumference, and has a lagoon inside. The island is surrounded by rocks, and the beach is covered with short brushwood. Its position is in lat. 19°11' N., long. 166°31' E. Vessels leaving or passing Honolulu should get into lat. 18°30' N., which parallel will carry them through the Ladrone clear of all danger up to 130° E., then steer for the Bashees. Vessels taking this course have the full strength of the N.E. Trades at all seasons.

...
The position given by the experienced shipmaster above-mentioned accords well with the Admiralty chart of Wake Island, but which seems deficient of the reef of twenty miles' circumference about it. And there seems to be some confusion whether Halcyon Reef, laid down some twenty miles to the Northward of it, should or not be the reef alluded to. At all events, Halcyon or Wake Island seems to be considered but one island, affording by this doubt a reason for the observation we have made. Is it so or not? No survey that we know of has been made of it, and Wilkes seems to dismiss it.

...
Seamen need have their eyes open at all hours when navigating the Pacific...

D2. First narrative of eyewitness Eugene Van Reed

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, September 1866.

Wreck of the “Libelle.”

This vessel was supposed to have been lost, but recent intelligence makes known her fate. It was our privilege to have seen much of two of the passengers, during their visit at Honolulu, viz., Messrs Van Reed and Kisaboro. A notice of this Japanese traveller

will be found in our issue for March last.¹

Among the passengers were Madame Bishop and Mr. C. Lascelles, distinguished singers, whose performance in Honolulu were so noted. Mr. Van Reed furnishes for the *China Mail* the following:

The Bremen bark **Libelle**, under the command of Captain Tobias, on the passage from San Francisco to Hongkong, with a valuable cargo valued at over \$300,000, was cast away on the night of March 4th, on an uninhabited and dangerous reef, called Wake Island. The passengers and crew remained on board during the night, the sea breaking fearfully over the wreck all the while, and landed with difficulty through the breakers the following day.

After an ineffectual search for **water** for three weeks, and much privation, it became imperative to take to the boats and endeavor to reach the nearest habitable island, friendly disposed to defenceless shipwrecked people.

Several days were spent in finding a suitable and safe point for departure, the breakers encircling the island, which appeared to be some twenty miles in circumference. Taking such provisions and water as were saved from the wreck, the passengers were transferred to the ship's longboat, in charge of the First Mate, the Captain preferring his gig; and on the 27th of March both boats sailed for the Ladrone or Mariana Islands.

Twenty-two persons, with provisions, in an open boat but **twenty- two** feet in length, to undertake a voyage of 1,400 miles, subject to equinoctial storms, calms and a tropical sun, with short rations, and an ocean studded with hidden rocks and coral reefs, gave but poor hope of arriving at a port with life.

The dangers which were imminent from the frequent squalls, cross seas, and shipping seas encountered, were the greatest trials, and in thirteen days, the boat being 6 degrees of longitude in error, arrived off the town of Guam, all in a pitiable and forlorn condition. The Captain, with eight persons, in a boat twenty feet in length, leaving at the same time, has not been heard from, and unless picked up by some chance vessel, must have been swamped, as a heavy cross sea was met shortly after leaving the Island. This, it is said, was the third vessel the Captain was so unfortunate as to lose within the past few years.

Among the passengers were Madame Anna Bishop, Miss Phelan, Mr. M. Schultz and Mr. Charles Lascelles, of the English opera troupe; and Mr. Eugene M. Van Reed, of Kanagawa, almost all nations being represented.

Too much praise cannot be awarded to His Excellency Francisco Moscoso y Lara, Governor of the Mariana Islands, for his prompt and humane efforts to relieve the distress of the shipwrecked, who had lost their all and were in want of everything. A schooner also has been chartered and sent to search for the missing boat among the islands of the northward, and to return to Wake Island and remove the large amount of treasure which had been saved and buried there.

1 Ed. note: See below.

D3. Second narrative of Van Reed

Source: Article in *The Friend*, Honolulu, February 1867.

A Letter from a Passenger of the Wrecked Bark "Libelle."

Kanagawa, Oct. 12, 1866.

My Dear Mr. Damon:

Thankful am I for your welcome letter from Honolulu, and to know that our fate was a matter of more than passing interest. God help the shipwrecked! No-one, save those who have been in such peril, knows what trials and dangers beset the lives of those who go down to the sea. The particulars of the wreck of the **Libelle** will have reached you ere this, and I will but revert to the occasion to say that it has added a period of twenty years to our lives.

The kindness, generosity and humanity displayed by the Governor of Guam is beyond all praise. Francisco Moscoso y Lara, his name will indeed long live in our memory, and his attention to the Hawaiian subjects who were of our party will no doubt receive the attention of His Majesty.

The letter for Mangero was given to his wife, but as he is in the war you may not hear from him for some time. Kisaboro is in Canton, the guest of the Governor. His visit to foreign countries has proved a blessing to his country already. The price of rice having become so high, owing to the war, that poor people find it hard to live, Kisaboro has been in correspondence with the Government, and already rice is being imported to relieve their distress.

Remember me kindly, please, to Mr. Doyen, and again thanking you for your letter,

I remain sincerely yours,

E. M. Van Reed.

[Rev. Damon's note:] Manjero, referred to in the foregoing letter, is the translator of "Bowditch's Navigator" in the Japanese language, see *Friend* for June, 1860. For a notice on Kisaboro, see *Friend* for March, 1866.

[Notice about Kisaboro:] This notice reads: "Kisaboro, the Japanese Traveler.—On the return of this gentleman from the United States to Japan, he spent a few days in Honolulu. He travels in company with Mr. Van Reed, an American, connected with the house of Hurd & Co., of Japan and China. Kisaboro belongs to the "upper ten" of Japan, and wears two swords. He is a careful observer, and notes in his memorandum look whatever he considers worthy of record to take back to his native land. While at Washington he was introduced to Preseident Johnson and Secretary Seward. He was peculiarly impressed with the style of pardoning rebels in America, in comparison with the summary method of chopping heads of in Japan, or commanding the rebel to fall on his sword! We were glad to learn from him that Hiko, the protégé of Senator Gwin, and also that Mangero the translator of Bowditch's Navigator, are still alive. Some of our readers may remember Mangero's visit at Honolulu, in 1850 and 1860, as the interpreter of the **Kanrin Maru**, the Japanese steamer.

D4. The cargo of the Libelle

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, August 1, 1866.

Bremen barque **Libelle**, Tobias, which cleared at San Francisco, Jan. 23 for Hong Kong via Honolulu, (with the following cargo, viz 1 case cigars, 4098 at. sacks flour, 30 cases hardware, 150 pkgs old iron, 1000 flasks quicksilver, 1 case seeds, 2050 sacks wheat and 10 kegs wine—value \$51,555.27—and \$93,943.08 in treasure) was totally wrecked on an uninhabited reef called Wake Island, March 4. The passengers and crew remained on the reef three weeks, when, finding no water, they started in the long boat and gig for the Ladrone Islands. The long boat arrived, but the gig with the captain and eight men had not been heard from. A schooner had been sent in search of the missing boat and to bring away the treasure, which had been buried on the Island.

Document 1866E

The ship Sooloo of Boston visited Tobi Island

Source: Logbook in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

Extract from the journal of Captain Charles Beadle

...

Wednesday 28th [February 1866]

... Drifting down on the island of New Guinea.

...

Thursday March 1st

... Lat. by obs. 1°15' N. Long. by Chro. 132°07' E.

Friday 2nd

... Lat. by obs. 2°13' N. Long. by Chro. 131°48' E.

Saturday 3rd

... At 4 p.m., sent the monkey gaft aloft and exchanged signals with a Danish barque, but did not learn her name. Lat. by obs. 2°50' N. Long. by Chro. 131°34' E.

Sunday 4th

... At 5 p.m., [Lord] north [Tobi] Island in sight bearing about WSW... Lat. by acct. 3°20' N. Long. so. 131°42' E.

Monday 5th

... At daylight, land in sight to the eastward. A.M. light breeze and pleasant. Three canoes alongside from the island of Mariere [Meriere] with coconuts which they traded away for tobacco. I got a native sash. Day ends pleasant. Mariere Island bearing SE by E distant 10 miles. Lat. by Obs. 4°27' N. Long. by Chro. 132°16' E.

...

Document 1866F

The Milton, Captain Charles Grant**The anonymous logbook**

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 350; Log Inv. 3293.

...

Sunday 26th [August 1866]

... At 3 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing SW 12 miles. At 4 p.m., hauled on the wind heading S. Latter part, at 6 a.m., wore ship to N. Lat. 02°08' S. Long. 176°57' E.

...

Tuesday 28th

... At 9 a.m., saw Perute [Beru] Island bearing NW 20 miles. Lat. 01°26' S. Long [blank]

Wednesday 29th

... Laying off & on Perute Island. At 5 p.m., standing to NE. Latter part, at 3 a.m., wore ship to SW. At 6 a.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island ahead 5 miles. At 7 a.m., tacked ship to NE. Lat. 01°10' S. Long [blank]

...

Saturday Sept. 1st 1866

... At 7 a.m., saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island ahead 15 miles. At 11 a.m., steering NW. Lat. 00°34' S.

...

Monday 34d

... Latter part, calm, Simpson's [Abamama] Island in sight bearing W 15 miles... Lat. 00°07' S. Long. 174°33' E.

...

[Southward as far as the south part of the Ellice Islands, and back to the Gilberts.]

...

Sunday 23rd

... At 7 p.m., Byron's Island in sight...

Monday 24th

... At 11 a.m., passed between Byron's & Perute Islands...

Tuesday 25th

... At 7 a.m., passed to leeward of Rotch's [Tamana] Island 5 miles...

...

October 1st 1866

... At daylight, saw Hope Island ahead 15 miles...

...

[The log is blank from 23 October 1866 to 9 January 1867.]¹

1 Ed. note: There is another account by Captain Grant in the Nantucket Historical Association, PMB 379a, Log Inv. 3294.

Documents 1866G

A Spanish fleet crossed Micronesia on the way to Manila

G1. Background information on the flagship—Notice published in Spain

Source: Article in the REVista General de Marina, Madrid.

Naval ephemera.

4. (1865) Departed from Cadiz, under the command of Don Casto Méndez Núñez, the frigate named "Numancia", on a voyage of circumnavigation.

She was the first armor-plated ship to have made a voyage around the world; an event that awakened the interest of all navies to find out the circumstances of that risky excursion through the waters of the Pole. All eyes were fixed upon the daring Núñez who was going to cover himself with glory, once more, and to enrich nautical science with his explorations, or else perish, with his ship, in distant stormy seas.

The armor-plated frigate **Numancia** was built in the shipyards of the Seyne (Toulon) by the Company named Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée. In April 1862, the contracts were signed in Madrid with this Company, and in September of that same year, the keel of the frigate was laid, and the construction proceeded apace. She was launched on 19 November 1863, after she had received the blessing of the Bishop of Toulon. From then on, the work of completing her armament was continued while she was afloat, and were completed after about one more year, when she underwent her first trials in a run to Cartagena.

...

The crew of the frigate consisted of:

—Commander.—Navy Captain Casto Méndez Núñez.

—Second Commander.—Navy Commander and Infantry Colonel Juan Bautista Antequera.

—Navy Lieutenants.—Emilio Barreda, Santiago Alonso, José Pardo Figueroa,¹ Antonio Basañer and Celestino Lahera.

1 Ed. note: He wrote an account (see below).

—Midshipmen.—Miguel Liaño, Alvaro Silva y Bazán, Joaquín Garralda and Antonio Armero.

—Engineering Officer.—Navy Lieutenant Eduardo Iriondo.¹

—Artillery Officer.—Captain Enrique Guillén.

—Officer in charge of the Marine Infantry.—Lieutenant Juan Quiroga.

—Administrative Officer.—Quartermaster Jerónimo Manchón.

—Health Officers.—First Adjutant Fernando Oliva; Second Adjutant Luís Gutiérrez.

—Chaplain.—José Moirón.

—Cadet Officers First-Class.—Messrs. Caravaca, Camargo, Hediger, Porcell, Alvarez Sotomayor, Serantes, Gómez, Sevilla, Rapallo and Baró .

—Cadet Officers Second-Class.—Messrs. Ordóñez and Manella.

In addition, there were 24 machinists and assistant machinists, 8 naval non-commissioned officers, 4 security men, 20 carpenters, 37 fun corporals, 71 infantry-men, 1 flag custodian, 27 gun corporals, 50 able seamen, 35 ordinary seamen, 203 ship's boys, 8 naval apprentices, 37 fire-men and 45 shovel operators. In all, 590 crew-members.

Once the voyage was over, the Government ordered the placing of a plaque on the door to the Commander's cabin; the inscription read as follows:

*In loricata navis quæ primum terram circumvit.*²

G2. Narratives of the voyage

Sources: 1) Eduardo Iriondo. Impresiones del viaje de circumnavegación de la fragata blindada NUMANCIA (Madrid, Gasset, Loma, 1867/8). 2) Conde de Santa Pola. Viaje de circumnavegación de la Numancia (Madrid, 1927). 3) José Emiliano Pardo de Figueroa, alias Pascual Lucas de la Encina, wrote an account which was edited by Dr. Thebussem in "Extracto del Diario de navegaciyn de la Numancia" (Madrid, 1923).

[After the war in Chile and Peru with the revolutionaries, specifically action at Callo on 2 June 1866, there was a squadron under the command of Navy Captain Manuel de la Pezuela, consisting of the frigates **Berenguela** and **Numancia**, the schooner **Vencedora**, the steamers **Marqués de la Victoria** and **Uncle Sam**, and the sail transport **Mataura**. This squadron was to go to the Philippines by way of Tahiti. All those ships arrived at Tahiti in July 1866. They then sailed by the Samoan Islands, north of the Solomon Islands and north of Palau on their way to Manila. The **Berenguela** had gone first but was soon overtaken by the **Numancia** which sighted Luzon on 5 September. Manila was reached on the 8th. The **Berenguela** arrived eight days later, followed yet later by the **Marqués de la Victoria**, and, in early October, by the **Vencedora**. The return voyage took place by way of Batavia.]

1 Ed. note: See his account below.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "First armor-plated ship to go around the world."



Yours truly J. F. Beane

Document 1866H

The bark Java I of New Bedford, Captain Manuel Enos

The narrative of Second Mate J. F. Beane

Source: Joshua Fillebrown Beane. From Forecastle to Cabin: The story of a cruise in many seas, taken from a Journal kept each day, wherein was recorded the happenings of a voyage around the world in pursuit of whales (New York, 1905).

Note: Although the editor has removed any reference to the years in question, it is clear, from other sources, that this bark was in Micronesia in 1866 and 1867.

Extracts from his book.

...

[Approaching the Gilbert Islands from the east.]

...

With gentle trade winds, we made progress slowly, for the breeze was unsteady, chopping about with every rain squall. They were frequent but not unpleasant, for the weather was warm and a shower was refreshing.

The thunder storms which occur in these latitudes are sometimes terrific, those I have seen on land holding no comparison with them.

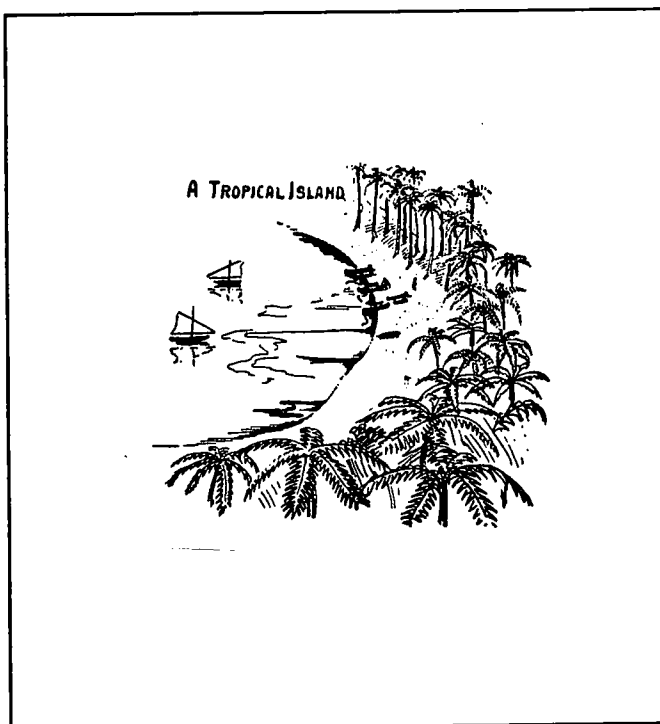
...

On New Year's day, 186- [i.e. 1866], just as the sun was setting, we saw the tops of the cocoanut trees on Byrons [Nukunau] Island, but the land did not show up until the next morning, and then not until after the sails of the native canoes hove in sight.

In an hour, our deck was crowded with men who were perfectly naked and women who might as well have been, their only covering being a little grass, seemed at the waist by a string of cocoanut husk fibre, hanging half way to the knees.

They brought mats, woven of evenly split palm leaves, hats of great durability, made of finer stuff, shells of many beautiful shades, and green cocoanuts in unlimited quantities.

From these nuts, the supple native would strip the green nut with his strong, white teeth with apparent ease, while I found it somewhat a difficult job with a marlin-spike. For rendering this service, a very small piece of tobacco was the only recompense expected.



Sixty-one canoes were seen to leave the island and of this number perhaps a dozen came alongside and were given a tow line. Each canoe contained from two to eight people, according to its passenger-carrying capacity. These who were allowed to come alongside and make fast to the ship, scrambled on deck and made themselves very much at home. Fifty or more canoes were scattered about ship, sailing two knots to our one, and as they ranged ahead of us, the women would jump overboard and, holding their merchandise above water in one hand, would swim with the other until the ship came up with them. A native standing in a canoe would take the swimmer by the luxuriant black hair and lift her almost bodily into the boat, then another naked savage sitting astride the ship's rail would take a grip of the capillary swamp and hoist her on deck, a method of assistance which she seemed to expect, and did not mind in the least, although some of them were stubbed people and must have weighed at least an hundred and fifty pounds.

As soon as on deck, the women proceeded to make their toilets, which consisted in straightening their wonderful hair by running their fingers through it and skaking it out so that it might be dried by the sun as they attended to the barter trade for which they came.

Everything they had to sell could be had in exchange for tobacco, which the ship's crew had prudently divided into small pieces. An ounce of the weed would pay for a hat or a mat. If there were two ounces or four in the piece it would buy no more, for the sellers always wanted all they saw.

These people stayed on board until their island had disappeared beneath the horizon and only the flickering tops of the cocoanut trees could be seen bobbing up and down behind the waves in the light of the setting sun.

At this island, we increased our ship's company by the addition of two natives. One was a bright lad of about fifteen, whom we named Friday. The other man was older and it took all the persuasiveness of a half pound of tobacco to overcome the affection displayed by a browny brother, who clung to Monday's oily locks with grim determination until an eight-ounce plug was within the line of his vision, when a broad smile, decorated with a display of ivory as fine as one would wish to possess, illuminated the savage face and Monday became ours for all time for aught his relative cared.

There were no tears shed, no sad parting to witness. The gift of tobacco was a balm for every pang and the proud possessor of a half pound of second rate "black jack" leaped nimbly into his canoe and paddled for land without once looking back.

[Gilbertese canoes]

The canoe of the Pacific Island Kanaka is an ingeniously-constructed article, particularly adapted to the uses of the people. Sharp alike at both ends, it is twelve to twenty-five feet in length and a foot to a foot-and-a-half beam. The smaller craft are often made of a single stick or log, which the owner picked up after it had drifted a thousand miles, perhaps, from where it grew, scooped out and properly fashioned. When made of two or more pieces, the sides, having been burned, hacked, scrubbed

and worried into the right length, width and thickness, were sewn together with cord made from the husk of the cocoanut, and the joints packed with some gummy substance. They were wonderfully tight, considering the rudeness of their construction.

From the gunnels [gunwales] to the keel, these canoes are wedge-shaped, being so narrow on the inside that the foot is pinched if you step fairly fore and aft in the bottom. The outside corresponds to the inside excavation, so, as can be readily seen, this South Sea craft will not stand alone in the water.

To overcome this difficulty the canoe is provided with an outrigger. This is arranged by securely fastening to the craft, a fourth of its length from each end, a cross-bar six to eight feet in length, to the outer ends of which is lashed a stick lying parallel with the keel of the craft. The outrigger, like the canoe, is sharp at both ends and serves to keep the vessel upright in the water, let her be on either tack, for the arrangement could be pressed into the water if it was to leeward, and thus sustain the pressure of the sail, or if brought to windward, prevent a capsizing by its weight.

A bamboo mast is "stepped" in the center of the boat. The yard or gaff to which the the three-cornered sail is attached, is lashed firmly to the top of the mast by its middle, one side of the triangular piece of matting, which they use for want of canvas, being fastened along its entire length. The end of this yard, when hauled down to one end of the canoe, becomes the "tack," the corner of the sail unattached being the "sheet." When necessary to "tack ship," or go about, the opposite end of the yard is hauled aft and the little craft starts off, going either end first with equal facility.

Their sails are plaited or woven from the leaves of a species of palm and are of the same material as the mats that serve as bed and covering for the sleeping inhabitant of these lands of dewy nights and scorching days.

Our new recruits, Monday and Friday, were furnished with warm-weather clothing from the slop chest, which they managed to get into, right side up and proper side to, after considerable assistance and instruction, both blossoming into respectable human beings.

The next day we sighted Proat [Beru] Island, more commonly known among whalers as Peeru. Twenty-six canoes left the land to visit us, but many gave it up as a bad job, the sea being anything but smooth. Those who succeeded in getting alongside brought about the same articles for sale as the Byrons islanders, but exhibited rather more anxiety to dispose of their goods, so that before they left, a very small piece of tobacco would purchase a dozen good hats.

At this island I obtained several shark-tooth knives, wicked-looking weapons, which would cut flesh as cleanly as the best steel. The bodies of the natives testified to this in the long, ugly scars that crossed their backs and breasts at all imaginable angles.

Forty-five canoe-loads of savages came on board from Clarks [Onotoa] Island, and the experiences at the other islands were repeated. Two days after, we sighted Taputeouea [Tabiteuea] or Drummonds Island, latitude 1°14' S., longitude 173°53' E., the largest of the Gilbert Archipelago or Kingsmill group, to which all the islands we had seen, belonged.

We drifted about among this snarl of reefs and cocoanut groves for several days. Most of the time it was a perfect calm, but on the 12th the trades freshened and we kept away to the eastward [rather westward], bound for a season's "humpbacking."

Mr. Louis [the new mate] had been very positive that a good catch of small sperm whales might be taken among these equatorial islands, but not a spout of the cachalot, large or small, did we see, so we made sail, taking advantage of the light trades that bore us smoothly westward.

We were moving slowly at best, for the balmy air was hardly perceptible at times, except that it relieved somewhat the heat of the tropics. Blackfish were seen occasionally, and one day Joe Tahiti, my Society islander, got fast to two. They were big fellows and turned such somersaults as would have been amusing, had the performance been a little farther away. As it was, one of them pushed its head against us and spilled us into the water in a very playful manner. Our line was stretched between the two, each insisting upon going a way of his own slowly to be sure, for they were hard hit.

We crawled upon the bottom of the overturned boat out of reach of the sharks that cocked their eyes at us in a cold-blooded way, which was not assuring, while the other boats were dispatching our fish, both of which were saved with the lines that were trailing after them. Joe Tahiti dived under the boat and got the boat spade and waged war with the brown-backed scavengers with which the water was alive.

Joe professed to have no fear of their genus *squalidæ* and I concluded there was no particular danger so long as we kept our footing on the bottom of the boat, but I preferred Joe should take the chances of diving for boat spades, my life being of considerable more consequence to me than his. He seemed to enjoy reducing the number of sharks, although their diminution was not noticeable. As usual, they fought like tigers among themselves until the last scrap of their wounded comrades were devoured.

Our boat was not stoven in the least and after some trouble and delay we were towed alongside the ship and hoisted up. We got eight blackfish that made us six barrels of oil and my crew were none the worse for the ducking.

Finbacks were seen every day and sometimes played about the ship so near that we lanced them from the anchor stock. I shot a bomb lance into one that set him spouting thin blood and we lowered a boat for the old "hook fin," but he had had enough and kept out of our reach, which was just as well for he would not have paid for trying out.

Our new mate told me that five years before, he was second mate of a ship cruising in the tropics and they had visited Ocean [Banaba] Island. Among the women who came on board was one who took his fancy, and with the captain's permission he kept her until they arrived at the Bonin Islands, where he left the ship. Having some money he purchased a small piece of land, build a house, and settled down, intending to remain there the remainder of his days. A narrow beach bounded his property on the water side. He stayed two years and a half, saw his banana trees come into bearing and, getting uneasy, left for the Arctic in the first vessel that offered a chance.

The "ol' squaw," as he called her, was still living there with her two children, one of whom had been born since he left. The boy was four years old, and the girl two, and it

was a part of the agreement with Captain Enos that Mr. Louis should be landed at San Juan to visit his family and make arrangements for their future.

He had heard from them several times during his two years absence and was naturally anxious to see them.

Mr. Louis had the reputation of being a hard man to get along with and although one of the "lucky" whalemens, had never been able to hold a position in any ship for more than a year, owing to an extremely jealous disposition which showed at its worst when the other officers of the ship were fortunate enough to have the run of "luck" which he coveted. On board one ship, he attacked the captain with a cutting spade and drove him below to his stateroom, they having disagreed about some trivial matter. His "luck," however, always stood him in hand, for if a man can catch a whale, all his sins are readily forgiven him.

January 22nd caught us hunting around in a peculiar black fog that hung low over the water, for the Covell [Ebon] Islands, which, by our reckoning should be in sight, if the weather had been clear.

After a time, the darker patches in the cloud bank indicated their whereabouts and when the sun dispelled the opaque vapors, we were within a mile of a forest of cocoanut trees and the reef was less than half that distance away.

As we ran along the outer sea-wall, a canoe put off from the sandy beach, dodged into the open sea through some passage we could not locate from the ship, and paddled alongside. There were two white men on board, and a crew of four or five native paddlers. One of the white men was a Frenchman,¹ engaged in making cocoanut oil; the other, Father Snow, a missionary.

I was somewhat surprised, as well as pleased, when the missionary inquired if there was anyone on board from Maine. Upon introducing myself, he told me that he hailed from Brewer, in Penobscot County, and when I informed him that I was from that section myself, we very soon found something to talk about, especially when we discovered that I had been a schoolmate with several of his nephews and cousins, beside being acquainted with his uncles and aunts and many others whom he knew.

Father Snow told me that he had been doing missionary work at Strongs [Kosrae] Island for ten years, having come from [rather to] the Covells within the year. His wife and two children were with him, both the latter having been born on Strongs Island, one ten, the other eight years old.

He was the first missionary to visit the group and found the natives well disposed, as a whole; giving no trouble, as whaleships had touched at the island for many years and had "paved the way for the great life work that his Maker had set him to do."

The Frenchman's story did not exactly blend with that of Father Snow. It might be that Johnny's commercial interests were not made better by the missionary's presence. At any rate, he said that before the parson came, he did a good business manufacturing cocoanut oil, paying the natives for their work in tobacco and trinkets, but now a

1 Ed. note: Rather a German with a French last name, Capelle.

change had come over the spirit of his dreams financial, for when a ship visited them, instead of being able to handle the trade himself and profiting accordingly, the people sold their hogs, chickens, ducks, cocoanuts, bananas and shells direct to the ship and demanded at least a part of the price in money, which, he broadly hinted, eventually found its way into the gaping pocket of the missionary.

For the truth of the matter I will not vouch, for the oil man would, of course, shade his story to cast the better light his way. Trade was in favor of the ship in either case, for a two-hundred-pound hog could be bought for a smallish plug of very ordinary tobacco, with other things in proportion, before the advent of Father Snow, and now, although a dollar additional was charged, the price was not enough to quarrel over. To let the Frenchman tell it, the missionary was getting the bulk of the dollars, to the disgust of the avaricious Johnny. I was inclined to give the old man's statement a little sea-room and make allowance for dangerous rocks, hidden beneath the surface of the tale he told.

The missionary, in his long linen coat and gold-bowed "specs," appeared to be a very devoted and gentlemanly person. He did not forget to hint that it would be some months before the return of the missionary packet **Morning Star**, that in all probability he would be short of some kinds of supply before her coming, that even now the bottom of the sugar calabash was in plain sight and the flour sack was groaning with its own emptiness.

Captain Enos was generosity itself where other people's property was concerned and loaded the good man down with sugar, flour, and dried apples and a generous round of salt pork from the harness cask, several yards of sheeting for the wife, and not a few knick-knacks for the children, the receipt of which was gratefully acknowledged. So great was the thankfulness shown that the load of green cocoanuts was entirely forgotten, at least none were offered us, although there must have been a hundred in the boat.

The natives of Covel were dressed, after a manner, thus showing an advance toward civilization under the teachings of the missionary. Their clothing was not elaborate or expensive. A band of bamboo was tied around the waist and under the front was stuck a handful of dry grass. This was all, yet it was an improvement over the absolute nakedness seen at the other islands we had visited.

The hair of these people was long and black, and being well oiled, protected the head from both sun and rain. One of the men had seen a season's service on board a whale-ship and could talk a little English. He was a scaly-looking chap, or rather he looked as does a fish after his scales have been removed. This was obviously caused by some cutaneous disease, which by no means improved his beauty.

He had had his fill of sailor life. In this way he was a shrewd enough fellow, possibly from having sojourned for a time among Yankee whalers.

"Wha yo from, John," he asked.

Presuming that he had heard of our great metropolis if he had heard of anything, I replied:

"New York."

"Nu Ork, eh? Nu Ork big place. Got elvyting Nu Ork, eh, John?"

"Yes, we got everything in New York."

"Plent tob got Nu Ork, eh, John?"

"Yes, there is lots of tobacco in New York."

"Gime ille piece, eh, John?"

I handed over the coveted "ille piece" with good grace, for he had worked up to the momentous question with praiseworthy skill. It made the poor fellow supremely happy, but I noticed he concealed both joy and tobacco from the gaze of Father Snow, secret- ing the latter deftly among the dry grass covering his loins.

The next day we luffed to, under the lee of Barings [Namorik] Island, late in the after- noon, and although there was the freshest kind of a breeze, several canoes put off from shore and paddled to us through the smother.

Here, too, was a white man engaged in the cocoanut oil business. This one was an Englishman from New South Wales. He had two hundred barrels ready for shipment, he said, and was expecting a vessel to call for it any day. The dress of the people here was the same as at Covel, but they had a style of their own in doing up the hair, which was worn longer than at any island yet visited. One stalwart fellow had hair at least three feet in length and the moment he got on deck he squat himself down, grasped the wet mass in both hands, tied an "overhand" knot in it at the top of his head, and then it hung well down upon his shiny brown shoulders.

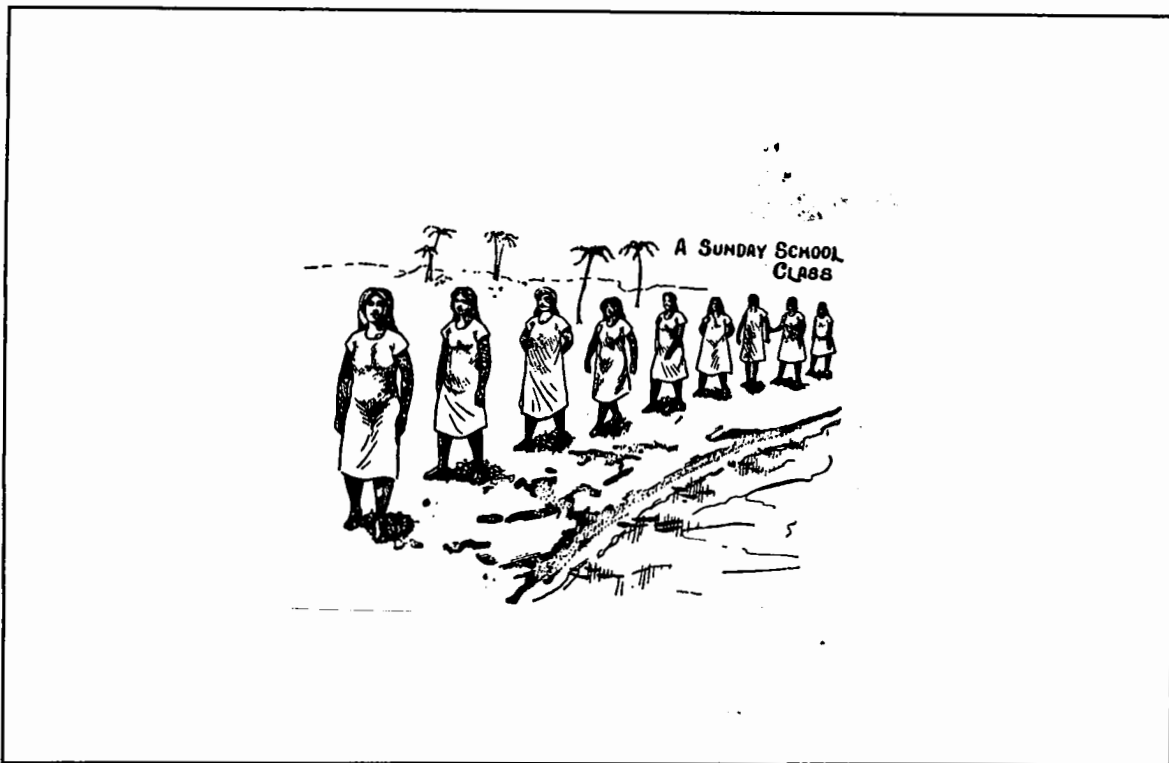
Being given to understand, by signs, gestures and much incomprehensible jargon, that chickens were to be had on shore for a song, and that the people might possibly be prevailed upon to sing the song themselves, we lowered a boat and went on shore. We were met on the beach by a Kanaka missionary from Honolulu, and following him was a line of dusky damsels, dressed in clean, white frocks reaching to their knees, while their glossy, black hair hung loosely down their backs, as they tripped over the sands in the wake of their spiritual teacher and advisor.

He informed us that they were his Sunday School class and that he was proud of them. Well he might be, for they were a nice-looking lot of happy children and carried themselves with becoming modesty. Other females we saw were dressed the same as those of the other islands.

The crowning glory of them all was the abundant hair, which, if it had been proper- ly arranged, would have gone a long way toward covering their nakedness.

In most cases the women were rather undersized, but the men were stalwart fellows, some of them six good feet without a stocking, broad-shouldered, their supple bodies well oiled and shining like a bottle. The hands and feet of the women were small and well formed, in spite of the fact that they never wore anything to keep them in shape, or to get them out of shape, one being as bad as the other.

Missionaries are sometimes a good thing to have and the one at Barings Island ap- peared to be the right man in the right place. Yet, I heard no complaint as to the prop- erty of our transaction, nor objection made when the captain secured a hog, fifty cocoanuts and eight bunches of bananas for less than two pounds of tobacco, cut into



A line of dusky damsels, at Namorik.

pieces to suit the trade. Even the missionary himself accepted the gift of a half pound plug of “nigger head,” and it is barely possible that our “dicker” may have been easier thereby.

I gave a picket-knife with a broken blade for thirty-three fathoms (198 feet) of fancy line. It consisted of a two-strand center of cocoanut-husk fibre, neatly twisted, rope-fashion, and covered with a narrow plating of narrow palm-leaf strips, braided over it. It must have represented the labor of at least a year. I also purchased for a small piece of tobacco, several hundred feet of line made of the hair of the women, and to go with this novelty in the way of fish lines, a native hook carved from a single piece of pearl shell, the glistening of its fine polish serving for bait.

At last came a steady breeze which proved to be the trades and we bore away from Barings Islands, where we were led to believe the humpback whale (*Megaptera Ver-sabilis*) congregated in quantities commensurate with the length of the scientific name given above.

As this would be a new feature in our whaling experience, and promised a few hundred barrels to patch out the “between-seasons,” we were eager to get a move on, so trimmed our sails to every cant of the wind, stood watch day and night, using our spare time in “scrimshoning” when it was our watch below, for it was too hot to sleep with any degree of comfort.

My stateroom was, of course, free from the stuffiness of fore-castle or steerage, and

withal I considered myself very comfortably situated and had no cause to complain.

We had the "trades" all the time, varying in force, sometimes leaving us to sulk on the glassy water and swelter under the fierce blaze of the tropical sun which had such a wilting effect upon the ambition, than more than once I caught myself longing for the bracing air of the northern seas.

Our course took us gradually to the northward of the equator, and there wa a reviving of the spirits of the entire crew as we edged away from the depressing influence of tropical heat into the cooler and more refreshing atmosphere of our northing.

Everything considered, the trip across the Pacific had been an enjoyable one. On the 30th day of January, we dropped anchor n the open roadstead, opposite a little settlement in the island of Saypan, latitude 14°45' N., longitude 145°33' E., from Greenwich.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"Las Islas de Los Ladrones" and the "Humpers"

Scarcely were our sails furled when a canoe arrived from shore, bringing a measly-looking Chamorro, who proclaimed that he was the governor of Saypan. We learned later that this important personage lived on the honor of his office and twelve Spanish dollars a month, that amount being paid him by the Spanish Government, through her representative at Guam, from which all blessings were supposed to flow which could in any way aid or assist the people of the group.

Accompanying the chief magistrate was the official pilot, whose charge of two dollars we were obliged to pay, although he had done us no service, for the roadstead being open without rocks or reefs, we had but to run as near the shore as was safe, and drop our anchor. This fellow must be provided for, however, the government also coming in for a ten-dollar harbor fee, paid to the governor, carrying with it a permit to anchor afterward in any island of the group without further charge, except that the pilot must be remembered in such case.

His highness and the pilot stayed to dinner, smoked the captain's cigars and filled the old man up with tales of innumerable whales that were seen "yisdya," "las' nite," "dis mornin'," in fact, at all times, thinking to make capital of welcome news, whether true or not, thus prolonging our stay in port, and hoping, of course, to enjoy a correspondingly increased amount of trade.

The island seemed to be a mariner's paradise, for fresh beef and pork ran wild in the mountains, and could be had at a very low price. Chickens and ducks were numerous; cocoanuts, limes, lemons, watermelons and bananas were abundant, all of which could be had in exchange for a thin, cheap article of sheeting at four rials (fifty cents) a yard. Tobacco was grown in all the islands of the group, every family having a supply of the dry leaf on hand, from which to manufacture cigars and cigarettes as they were desired for use.

The whales that had been seen "elvy day," before we arrived, failed to put in an appearance now we were ready for them, and the boats cruising daily along the reef, dis-

covered nothing of the "humpers" which we were anxious to meet. We reveled in the milk of green cocoanuts, eating the soft meat with a spoon, filled ourselves with delicious watermelons, trying in every way to ruin our digestive apparatus, and waited for the whales to "strike in."

The humpback whale drops its single offspring in the warm, shallow water of the bays and coves of these islands, during the months of December, January, February and March. While the calf is young and unable to protect or provide for itself, the mother becomes an easy victim to the unsympathetic whaleman.

The maternal solicitude in this species is so great that let what may happen, the mother will not desert her offspring, putting her own body between it and danger at all times and yielding up her life without a struggle to shield it from harm. When in her dying flurry, even, the flukes will not be raised from the water lest the baby whale be injured. If the mother is killed it means death to the calf as well, for it starves for want of nourishment which the mother only can supply from her lacteal fountains which nature has provided.

This whale is seldom seen in shore after nine o'clock in the morning, so the boats were usually started off long before daylight to cruise about the reefs, returning before noon, unless they were fortunate enough to hear or see whales, and then the pursuit was kept up until something decisive happened.

In the afternoon, one or two boats were sent for wood or water, or if that work was well in hand, men were allowed a run on shore, each seeking pleasure after his own fashion. A sharp lookout was kept at all times from the mast-head, and those on shore were expected to glance seaward occasionally, and if a signal was seen flying to go on board at once.

The habitations of the people were constructed of bamboo splits, an inch or more in width, lashed in a vertical position to a horizontal framework of the same material. Between these splits is a space of an inch, so that houses have the appearance of a huge cage, through the bars of which the trade winds whistle freely, giving the occupants an unobstructed view in any direction, except the corner that is used as a sleeping room, which is partitioned from the others by mats of woven palm leaves, suspended from the framework of the roof.

Floors are raised several feet from the ground to guard against centipedes and things that crawl, and like the walls are open bamboo work, thus doing away with any unnecessary sweeping, for the crumbs from the table, if any, tumble through to the expectant ducks and chickens beneath. Upon the roof is a foot of thatching from the leaves of the cocoanut tree, or other palms, which are so closely lapped and woven together that they withstand the reasonable rain storms of this latitude.

The people of these islands call themselves Chamorros, and many have a strain of Spanish blood in their veins and pride themselves on their Castillian origin. Some claim that a true Chamorro must be of mixed parentage. Many of the inhabitants of Saypan were prisoners sent from Guam, the seat of government of the group. The governor and his family were the only exceptions, not counting the Kanakas, who were imported

from the Caroline Islands as experts in the manufacture of cocoanut oil, a business at which they were kept busy for a recompense nearly represented by a cypher.

I tried to discover wherein the expertness lay, but could not see that any great experience was required to carry on the business successfully. The crude and simple process as I saw it was to gather the ripe nuts, split them open with a machete, remove the meat and place it on a shallow trough where it was left to rot in the hot sun. As the oil "trys" out, it is poured off, the remaining scraps are crushed between flat stones and again exposed to the sun, and the oil drained out as before. This performance is repeated until the valuable part is secured.

If the labor cost anything practically there would be no profit in the business. The people subsist on cocoanut and corn grated together and half-baked over a small outdoor fire or in a mud oven built near the hut in which they live. This makes a hearty food, and with now and then a fish which can be had for the catching and bananas that cost only the picking, the laborer fattens, looks sleek and shiny, and has no care for the morrow.



On the 6th of February, Mr. Louis opened the ball by fastening to a cow whale, and his first lance brought thin blood. I gave Joe a chance which he improved, good boy that he was, but in a moment the two boats' lines were inextricably snarled with the cow to which we were fast, and the calf dodged under and around us, wondering, I presume, what all the trouble was about.

In the melee which followed, a stray lance found the little fellow's life. The mother quickly discovered that her baby was dead, and she was off like the wind. There was a sudden jerk upon the line as she started at full speed, but the strain of two boats and the dead calf was too much for the harpoons. One of them drew, and the other was broken at the shank, leaving us with nothing to show for our trouble.

Mr. Louis was in a furious passion, and lay the blame on thickly in all directions, although nobody was to blame in the least, it being one of the calamities unavoidable in the business. I took the opportunity to size the man up, and concluded that in a rage our mate was little to be feared, although to appearances he was ready to annihilate the entire ship's company.

[Carolinian dance]

Our first Sunday in Saypan we witnessed a native dance by eight strapping Caroline islanders. They were in full dress, which consisted in a single piece of narrow cloth passed around the waist, crossed with a twist in front, then carried between the legs and the ends tucked into the waistband in the rear.

These men took their places very much as New England folks do in a country dance. Each was armed with a polished stick an inch and a half in diameter, six feet in length and pointed at both ends. At a howl from the leader all began chanting a monotonous dirge and stepping to the rhythm went through a continuous right and left figure, at the

same time each stuck his stick against that of the other, first over their heads, then under their arms, on the side, behind the back, anyway and every way, never once making a mistake, though never looking, the clicks following one after the other with perfect time and regularity.

A fortune awaits the man who has enterprise enough to introduce a crowd of Caroline islanders to the American public through the medium of a dime museum.

The women also had their share in the show. A dozen of them, naked to the waist, had fastened a cross of green corn leaves to the back of each hand, standing in a row "hulu hulu'd" with great earnestness, opening and shutting their hands in time to a weird sing-song, the corn leaf cross flicking up and down with the spasmodic flipping of the fingers.

Some parts of the performance would scarcely be allowable among civilized people, yet the governor's wife and sixteen-year-old daughter looked on with approval. It was as a whole, the ceremonious overflow of the exuberant spirit of a simple people, who, having nothing, wanted nothing, and were perfectly happy in the abundance possessed.

Saypan is ten or twelve miles in length. its width is varied by the numerous indentations of bays and coves, the irregularity having been produced when the huge bubble burst at the cooling of the land. Extensive coral reefs surround the entire island, ragged and broken, through innumerable openings lead to submarine caverns, the home of the octopus and the shark. The beach slanted gradually upward to the very roots of the cocoa palms, which grew tall and straight to an immense height, the brown, ripened husk, the green fruit and the blossom, sharing alike the protection of the broad, leafy canopy shielding them from the sun and rain.

Bamboo in bunches, tall, slim and rank of growth, hang their heads as if in shame at their lean and lengthy symmetry. The houses, or rather the huts of the people, the patches of corn, melons and sweet potatoes growing rankly in the shell heaps, the low, salt impregnated, sandy flats extending inland for half a mile, the banana trees along the foot of the rising ground, stooping under the burden of the great bunches of the ripening fruit, the lime and lemon trees higher up the mountain, the foliage running riot and presenting all the shades of green from the very darkest to the lightest olive, made a pleasing picture.

The revenue of the island came from the exportation of dried beef. Cattle in great numbers roam wild among the hills, where excellent pasturage is found the year round, and are hunted for their hides, tallow and flesh, not a morsel of either being wasted.

The governor's son occupied the position of head hunter, and it was his duty to shoot five bulls a week, and see that his retinue of Kanakas prepared the meat for market. Government imposed a heavy fine for killing a cow or heifer, or calves of either sex. All the cattle were white without an exception, even the smallest colored spot being hard to find.

After the hunter brought down his game with a shot from his long, old-fashioned, muzzle-loading musket, his native followers removed the skins with their machetes, separated the flesh from the bone in a scientific way of their own, tied the fat, if any, into

FROM FORECASTLE TO CABIN

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At the beach, the meat was thinly sliced and spread on tables of bamboo splits to cure and dry in the hot sun. Clouds of flies pounced upon the tempting feast spread before them, but the scorching sun soon put the shriveling flesh beyond the power of flies to injure, for it shrinks and dries until it rattles in the handling and is guaranteed to keep in any climate.

The hides, which have been stretched on frames when green, are cut and folded into oblong boxes, some four feet in length and a foot square, and into these the "jerked" meat is packed and sewed up ready for transportation to market. The greater portion was sent to Manila. When needed for food it is soaked out, cooked in all the different ways, and served to friends and foe alike. To a person who has never witnessed the curing process it is not unpalatable.

Hammocks are considered a necessity. They hang in every corner of the house, taking the place of chairs, lounges or beds, and in them these indolent people sit or

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"LAS ISLES DE LOS LADRONES"

lie, idling away the days and dreaming away the nights, with no thought for the morrow and little for to-day.

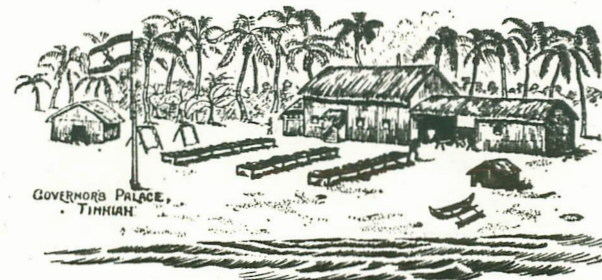
When hunger bids them arise and eat, a banana or two growing conveniently near, a cake made of green corn and coconut, half and half, grated together and partially cooked, satisfies the appetite, then the "siesta" so dear to anything akin to Spanish blood, creates more appetite, more bananas follow and more content.

The whales so numerous before we arrived must have mistrusted our coming, and made themselves scarce, for we still saw no sign of them, so we got under weigh for Tinian, a smaller island eight miles away.

As usual, the governor was the first to give us a call, and inasmuch as he was pilot as well as chief magistrate, we paid him two Spanish dollars in exchange for the old story of "De wale he cum effy tays."

There was but one house in sight from our position in the harbor, and that, the palace of his honor. Other huts to accommodate the score of people dwelling on the island were hidden beyond the forest of palms.

As in Saypan, cattle, hogs, goats and fowl were wild,



and the business of the island was the same on a smaller scale. The morning after our arrival, I came on deck just as the sun sent its smile across the toppling white-caps raised by the stiff trades. I drew in a breath of the pure morning air, laden with tropical perfumes and tasting of the land. The governor's palace, placed conspicuously on stilts, was plainly in sight, but not a human being was to be seen along the half mile of sandy beach upon which the rising tide was slowly creeping.

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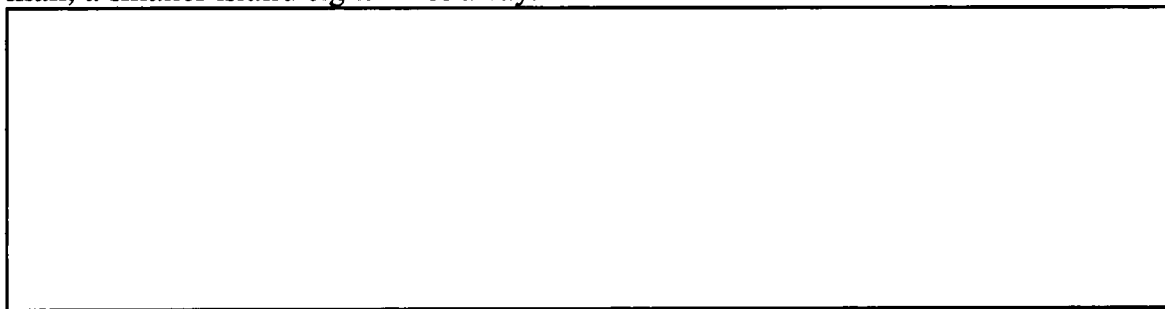
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The main residence at Tinian, in 1866.

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On our starboard hand, twenty-five goats ambled upon the rocks and ledges, while standing guard farther out, a long-bearded "Billy" bleated his welcome to either us or the morning sun. Pigs were squealing on our port side, cocks were crowing in all directions inland, hens were cackling, and from the hills the lowing of the cattle came to my ears in the stillness of the day's brilliant beginning.

With a morsel of imagination it seemed a farm-yard of huge dimensions but on close inspection it became a tropical land of rare beauty, sheltering beneath its abundant foliage the wild cousins of our domestic beasts and birds, every hair and feather belonging to the government of Spain, not one of which could be touched except it contributed to the revenue of that nation.

The object of my visit to the shore this early in the morning, was to accompany the governor's brother and two natives on a hog hunt and to deliver the carcass on board the ship at the earliest possible moment. Not that we were suffering for fresh pork, but this was the style of our orders always.

Squealings were heard in all directions, and the robust Kanaka who had been retaining a couple of mongrel curs by the ears, was told to let them go. In less time than I can tell it they were worrying a long-nosed, razor-backed porker, with a phenomenal scarcity of bristles on his black skin. The old fellow seriously objected to being interfered with. He struck at his assailants viciously with his sharp hoofs, and tried to impale them with the curved tusks which wrinkled his homely visage into a sardonic grin. The Caroline islander ended the strife by running his machete through the slab-sided body. Having disembowled our porcine freak, the carcass was thrown over the brawny native's shoulders, and at a dog-trot we made the beach, having been three-quarters of an hour absent.

A fire was built which singed off the scattered bristles, the effects of the scorching and the dirt being removed by a swash in the sea, the carcass was tumbled into the boat and taken to the ship, where we did justice to a breakfast of razor-back steak in the cabin, the steerage and forecastle having to content themselves with the anticipation of oily chops to be served to them at noon.

This meat looked better than would be expected after the slaughtering process described, and tasted better than it looked, assisted by vigorous appetites and a lengthy abstinence from pork, other than the salted variety. The fat of these animals is a jelly-like consistency when cooked, owing to their feeding on cocoanuts, which seems to infuse the unctious parts of the swine with more than the ordinary amount of oleine. The hogs manage to open the nuts themselves, first removing the husk, then jumping on it with sufficient force to break the shell.

When a whale is taken, one of the provisions for conceding to American ships the right to fish within the bays and along the shores, is that the natives shall have the right to carry away all the lean meat that they covet. Canoe loads are "machetered" from the carcass, after the blubber has been removed, taken to the shore and buried deep in the ground, where it "ripens" more slowly than in the hot sun, and when of the requisite softness is greedily devoured. Cooking was not deemed necessary, although if warmed over an apology for a fire, it is thought to be better adapted to the physical requirements of the inhabitants than if taken straight.

They are a greedy lot, and very little goes to waste, as their cast-iron stomachs stand up under big loads of whale-meat, even after it has arrived at an advance stage of putrefaction.

Four wooden steps, looking as if they had grown after a pattern of nature's choosing, led up into the governor's palace, where of an evening, Captain Enos and myself paid our respects to the chief executive of Tinian, his comely wife and charming daughter.

Through the open-work floor, innumerable hens and chickens with now and then a waddling, muscovy duck, could be seen and heard, waiting for any stray morsel which might fall through. The effluvia that arose would undoubtedly compare favorably with the smells of regions farther down, I casting my vote for the latter, having experienced the first, but so long as the governor and his family, with their boasted tinge of Castilian blood did not complain, in fact, seemed to thrive upon the much-scented atmosphere, it would have been rude in us not to have suffered in silence.

Magellan must have had his headquarters at Tinian. Certain it is that after three hundred and fifty years had elapsed, the ruins of a temple erected by the navigator was still to be seen.¹ Five hundred yards from the beach, on a narrow strip of level land between the hills, whose sides were thickly overgrown with fan palms and lime trees, were the granite corner posts of what was undoubtedly a place of worship, erected by that stern, uncompromising, stubborn and cruel seeker of new worlds.

Three of these columns were standing. The fourth lay half hidden in the grass and accumulated vegetable decay of ages. Originally the building was about twenty feet square, and within that space Magellan had possibly undertaken to remodel the ideas of a people, who, for centuries, had bowed to the great red sun as he rose out of the eastern ocean, sending to their shores the invigorating trade wind as he mounted into the blue heavens, to them a thing to be worshipped, a god worthy of their reverence.

With the assistance of a shipmate, I climbed the tallest of the posts, and stood erect upon it, seven or eight feet from the ground. Inland, commencing at the ruins, was a field of sweet potatoes. Upon the hillside were growing melons and squashes, while away beyond, a patch of Indian corn was having its ears pulled by a Chamorro, preparatory to its sale to the ship.

Scarcely had I got my balance on the foot square space, which was a little uneven,

1 Ed. note: This is all, of course, incorrect, and pure fancy.

and taken in the lay of the land, when a crash among the bushes, a mad rush and an angry "wooff" so surprised me that I almost lost my equilibrium. My three companions disappeared among the thick foliage of scrubby growth, and in their place stood an enormous razor-back, every bristle erect, his head the largest part of him, his lips lifted into an ugly grin by two great white tusks which curled upward and backward, his little eyes fairly snapping with cussiness, a picture of black, bristling rage.

A moment's thought convinced me that I was perfectly safe, so long as I kept my balance and held the fort, so I devoted my energies to doing nothing and sticking to my post. I certainly had no desire for a closer acquaintance with the long-nosed gentleman that made frantic efforts to reach me by standing on his hind legs with his forefeet a few inches off my slop-chest cow-hides. A simple introduction was sufficient.

I whistled in all the notes and keys with which I was familiar, and at last succeeded in attracting the attention of the corn gatherer. He took in the situation at once, acknowledging my appeal by a wave of the hand, then disappeared on the run. A few minutes later he brought three dogs to my assistance which attacked my jailer savagely, and soon cleared the way for me to descend from a position that was becoming irksome to say the least.

If Magellan could have seen thus monopolizing the corner-stone of his temple, I doubt if his dignity could have withstood the comical situation.

Tramping through the lowlands, I found climbing among the tangled growth an abundant crop of red peas; "black-eyed Susans" sailors call them. I remember at home they called them "Guinea" peas, because said to grow in Guinea. I gathered all I cared for from the vines growing higher than my head, and clinging to the bushes for support, but I left the whole conglomeration of tangled verdure to the sole possession of a great green lizard, three feet or more in length, that scurried away at the sight of me.

At noon we rested beneath the welcome shade of the broad-topped cocoanut palms near a spring of brackish water, but quenched our thirst with a cool, refreshing draught of the milk of the green cocoanut, cutting through the husk and the soft shell, and drinking therefrom a most delicious beverage. The captain and I were not slow to accept an invitation to dine with the governor.

Gathered around three sides of a table constructed of bamboo splits, with legs of the same material, not split, fastened solidly to the wall, all covered with a cloth of immaculate whiteness, was "His Honor," the governor, his "spousa," Señora Elfrida, their daughter, Señorita Alameda (sweet sixteen), il Capitano and myself.

"Sum littee beet de agua'dente, Señor le Capitan an' de Señor le Secundo Piloto?"

This was the governor's invitation for us to indulge in an appetizer. It would have been an unpardonable rudeness to refuse. It was fortunate that I kept strictly within an easy translation of the invitation, and took a "littee beet," for proof alcohol was never stronger. I gasped twice, and tried again, caught my breath with an effort, and possessing a handkerchief managed to brush away a few unbidden tears.

Looking at the governor, I was astonished to see him swallow half a tumbler of the double-distilled, fiery liquor without a grimace. Neither the ladies seem to mind it,

though imbibing in smaller quantities. "Il Capitano," however, poor man, choked, gulped, gurgled and rushed for the door. It may have been five or ten minutes when he returned, very red in the face, with the excuse that it must have gone "on the wrong tack" somehow.

When the captain's equilibrium was restored, the meal proceeded without further trouble. Fowl, minus bone, and cut into convenient mouthfuls, had been allowed to absorb a decoction "curry" until a professional fire-eater only could have enjoyed a repast of the kind. Our entertainers did not mind it, and out of respect to them I did my level best to appear calm and unconcerned, until to my relief there was produced fresh beef, fried so crisp and hard that the pieces flew when I attempted to cut it. Then appeared dry beef that I had been soaked soft, pork half cooked, or overdone, unpalatable at any rate, with sweet potatoes, green corn and manioc unlimited. Bananas, oranges, sections of sugarcane, green coconuts and tea followed. Then a cool and refreshing drink of milk, and we said "Adios" to our entertainers.

At last a large [whale] cow and very small calf were seen. As we approached to within nearly striking distance she was under water and must have seen us, for she came suddenly to the surface, threw her long fin over her offspring in a motherly fashion and disappeared, taking her baby with her, a method often adopted by this species in a time of danger.

A few days later, Mr. Louis was so fortunate as to fasten to a good-sized cow. When I had pulled to him I found two whales running together. The mate ordered me to strike the fast whale, as it was better to make sure of one than to be greedy, and perhaps get neither. For reasons easily guessed, Joe plumped both irons into the loose whale. In an instant they had singled out, and were running in opposite directions.

I had my whale spouting thick blood at the first bomb, and was soon towing my first "humper" toward the ship which had got under weigh to meet me. With the whale alongside, we ran off to Mr. Louis, who had killed his whale. With both alongside, we dropped anchor in thirty fathoms of water, and commenced cutting.

My fish proved to be a two-year-old calf, the fatness of the blubber being remarkable, while the cow, though large, was exceedingly lean; in fact, she was so poor that she hung head down, suspended by the fluke-chain. Here was where our Byron's Island Kanaka proved his usefulness, by diving and passing a rope around the fin, so that we hauled her to the surface without trouble. These whales were evidently mother and offspring, as no other reason could be advanced for their keeping together after the cow was fast.

One afternoon I took an old musket, the property of the ship, and having a permit from the governor, went on shore to hunt wild fowl. I was quite successful, securing five birds at five shots, although the brush was much tangled, and it required careful navigating to find my way about. My bag of game comprised four roosters with the most brilliant plumage, and a hen, whose general appearance indicated that she might have been the great grand-mother of the others.

Whales were now often seen, but we had a streak of hard luck, not getting near

enough to do business with them for several days. Late one afternoon, however, I lay Joe close aboard two of them, and he planted his iron solid. To our surprise we had fastened to a bull, and found him fast in more ways than one, for he led us a pretty jig. A bomb which I fired when nearly fore and aft of him spurred him up to greater speed, if possible. This was not diminished when he was joined by another whale which ran side by side with him as a sort of pace-maker.

Discovering that my line was stranded, and believing that I was no match for the bull, I loaded my bomb gun, thinking to bring the cow to, with a lucky shot, cut from the bull, bend a new iron and get fast to the cow. This plan worked splendidly so far as shooting and cutting the line was concerned, but bending another harpoon, and fastening to the other whale was a different matter altogether. The bomb increased her speed, and although hard hit, she dodged me successfully, and at last disappeared entirely. We had then trotted twenty miles in sixty minutes, as we could tell by the bearings of the land.

We saw whales the next day, and Mr. Louis galled them. All this was discouraging, so we hove up anchor, and beat our way to Saypan, arriving in the afternoon, with a show of whales off shore, which we could not get near.

Sunday came again, and mindful of the rules that forbade whaling on that day, we went on shore and found sport enough. The whole town was out in gala dress to attend the cock-fight. Roosters that were to do battle were carefully coddled by their owners, who repeatedly dampened with the tongue, the place where the combs had been closely trimmed in earlier days of training. As they went forth "to conquer or to die," each champion was armed with a "gaff," or artificial spur (a thin steel blade, an inch and a half in length, lashed firmly to the right leg, directly over the place where the natural spur had been removed).

Thus armed, they were placed in the ring and let go at each other. To carry out the program and to be in fashion, I wagered four rials on an active appearing chap of brilliant plumage that seemed to me to have the proper training. His antagonist, a mottled fellow, looked heavier, but they had been weighed in the scales, and neither had been found wanting, so were allowed to pitch into each other. Both were badly cut at the first encounter, soon beginning to totter from loss of blood. There was much jabbering in Spanish and Chamorro, the owners of the combatants, each picking up his bird and heading him at the other, while the referee held a "sombbrero" [hat] between them. When the hat was removed, my red bristled up with a great show of pluck. His speckled antagonist turned to run, and fell dead at the first step. The gamey fellow on which I had staked my rials had just strength enough to reach his fallen foe, make a feeble attempt to crow, and having won the battle gave up the ghost himself, with a faint cry of victory on his bill, leaving me fifty cents ahead.

On the next day, the third mate ran over a whale, and again there were high words abaft the mast. A bit discouraged, we hove short on our cable, with the intention of

going to Tinian, but before the anchor left the ground a cow and calf were discovered close to the reef, and we lowered for them. The bark **Merlin**¹ had her boats in the water, and in our maneuvering the **Merlin's** boats galled the whales. In the rush to escape one danger, they, fortunately for us, ran into each other, and Mr. LeBivic got fast. I was second boat, and between the two of us we soon finished the game.

As we commenced cutting in, a dozen canoes came from shore after whale meat. When the blubber was removed from the carcass, the Kanakas attacked the body with their machetes, cutting great strips of the flesh from the region of the backbone. Then a line was made fast to it and a fellow in the canoe would pull the chunk on board. So industrious were they that the boats were so loaded to the water's edge, and departed for the beach.

At times there was considerable rivalry between the Kanakas and sharks, neither seeming to fear the other in the least, one being intent on filling his capacious maw, and the other his boat, and both succeeding to their satisfaction.

The smooth water of the bays, where the cutting of the humpback whale is usually done, offers facilities for saving the "gut fat," a thing done in no other kind of whaling. Sometimes as much as ten barrels of pure white fat floats out upon the water, when three or four ribs are cut off at the backbone and lifted with the blanket-piece. This quickly melts into oil when put in the pots.

Another peculiarity of the humpback whale is the corrugated arrangement of the blubber on the underpart of the body. Ridges of fat four to six inches in width, run lengthwise from the middle of the throat, back, half the length of the whale. Between these ridges is a rubbery gristle which contains no oil. When hoisting a blanket-piece, the rubbery part stretches, leaving the ridges of blubber a foot or more apart. When the piece is cut off, it flies together again like the shutting of an accordeon.

This seems to be a provision of nature that would allow the whale to stay long under water, the blubber "giving" as the body is distended by the expansion of the heated air in the lungs, the arrangement making the deepest soundings possible.

Once more we dropped anchor at Tinian. Sweet potatoes were abundant, in the fields, and in the fields they might remain and rot for all the governor cared. To get what we needed, we were obliged to take a crew on shore and dig them ourselves, in addition to paying one dollar a barrel for them. The field of our labor was near where I had my adventure with the razor-back, and being on shore all day, I could not help looking about occasionally, half expecting another visit from the black racer. We saw nothing to alarm us, and went on board at night with twenty barrels "batatas dulce," the products of our digging.

After a breakfast of good stew and sweet potatoes, one morning, we cleared away the boats, and gave chase to a cow and calf. Mr. Le Bivic was so fortunate as to strike the cow. The calf was at least a yearling, and had such good legs of his own that he kept the cow at her paces, so the third mate was towed into the rough water off shore, where

1 Ed. note: Of New Bedford, Capt Baker, voyage of 1863-68.

his whale proceeded to knock the bottom out of his boat in the most approved fashion. I picked up the crew and the pieces, and towed them to the ship, where we listened to an extended discourse on the carefulness required in whaling.

Among the last days of February, Mr. Louis and I were sent to cruise along the reef. Whales were more numerous than at any time since our arrival. The mate fastened to a small calf that tried with all his little might to root him over. With maternal solicitude, the mother kept close by, at last so far forgetting herself that Joe had an opportunity, and put both irons home to stay.

Before we were aware, the whale had towed us between the islands, where the roughness of the cross tide nearly swamped us, but an opportunity being offered, a bomb finished the business, and one more humpback was added to our season's work. Mr. Louis cut from the calf, the little fellow having served to keep the mother quiet until she was killed. Then commenced a tow that took six solid hours of hard pulling to bring our prize to the ship, which we did at twelve o'clock at night.

We put in the time with varying success, capturing nine whales that stowed us down 380 barrels. It was not a particularly brilliant season's work when the number of whales seen was taken into consideration, although we had done as well as any of the half dozen vessels that kept us company.

The **Merlin** had not taken a single whale. The nearest she had come to it, being to fasten to a barren cow that ran off shore, eventually getting away after twenty-two bombs had been fired in her direction, few of which hit her. Those which did, failed to penetrate the blubber and were half their length in sight, looking like scattered "quills on the fretful porcupine."

Having purchased twenty hogs with cocoanuts enough to feed them, we were about to up anchor and away, when the governor informed us that "batatas dulce" were a drug in the market, and if we would condescend to do the digging as before, we could have fifty barrels for half as many dollars, he taking his pay in unbleached sheeting at fifty cents a yard. The offer was accepted, and harvesting commenced under my superintendence, the governor keeping tally by putting a small tuber into a calabash every time a barrel was measured out.

Numerous bunches of ripe, half-ripe and green bananas dangled from the rigging, and a surly William goat, destined to beome food for sailors or sharks, as his defunct condition might decide, took possession of the fore hatch as his particular stomping ground.

CHAPTER XIX Ashore in Guam.

Guam smiled enticingly as we ran down the reef outside the long line of ugly-looking breakers which pounded the coral formation in front of the town. Through them is but one narrow passage, where only small boats may enter, and then great caution must be used, for the swerving of a point to the right or the left was to court disaster and a

fight for life with the powerful undertow that often proves too much for the careless boatman.

From the smooth sand beach which rises gradually from the sea at the landing, paths wound in and out among the grand cocoa palms and breadfruit trees to where the thatch huts were surrounded by unnameable shrubbery, where beyond were the more pretentious dwellings of stone, the homes of the governor, the wealthy, the nobility, the "four hundred" of "Los Ladrones."

Upon the hillside the grim old fort, over which floated the flag of Spain, frowned down upon us and the people, upon the dogs, the hogs, the goats and the chickens which were everywhere. This ancient relic of—nobody could tell when—was as silent as death, except at sunrise and sunset, when the yellow banner went up or down, and a useless gun of corroded metal boomed out the information that the day had begun or ended.

Running down the coast to the anchorage, we wound in and out among the dangerously projecting points under the pilot's conning, dropped our anchor on good holding ground, and swung head to the wind that swept across low lying points of land, and came to us in spice laden puffs, which soothed the feelings and made it seem that life was well worth living.

A mile away, across the bay, half hidden among the bananas and plantain leaves that droop over every door, were the dwellings of the natives in the little settlement of Sumay. All snug on board, and the captain off to town, we pulled in shore and rambled for an hour among the corn fields, sweet potato patches and the squash vines with their crooked fruit. Rice grew from shallow lakes, and looked as might a flooded oat field. Oranges, limes, guavas, bananas and plantains were growing in all directions and towering above them, the huge cocoa trees spread out their broad tops as a protection to their lesser neighbors.

Bananas were two rials a bunch, and some bunches were a load for a strong man. Oranges, six rials for a bag of three hundred. Cocanuts, four rials for all you wanted, more or less, green or ripe.

We stretched ourselves upon the white sand of the beach. We lolled in the hammocks of the people, with their ready permission, for there were two or three of these indispensable articles of furniture swinging at every dwelling. We drank the refreshing milk of the green cocanut, and did not refuse the sweet toddy which was generously offered.

Full of the good things we found on shore, and of admiration for this wonderful island, where nature has outdone herself in providing all that is required for the subsistence of an indolent people, we went on board almost convinced that we should be content to dwell there forever.

Days of liberty came, and as the town was six miles from the harbor it was arranged that each watch should have three continuous days on shore, beginning with the port watch, which was unusual, the starboard watch usually leading off in matters of liberty.

It was on a trip uptown, during the stay of the port watch, that I was introduced to one of the "great guns" of the place, being no less a personage than Don Francisco, sec-

FROM FORECASTLE TO CABIN

The port watch having completed their liberty to their satisfaction, returned on board, and we of the starboard, landed in the early morning. Each man was at liberty to choose the method that suited him best for covering the distance between the harbor and the seat of government.

I had not taken advantage of Don Francisco's offer, preferring to take my chance with the crowd and put on no "lugs," which might be wrongly interpreted.



At the beach we found conveyances of different kinds in waiting, and as the most desirable thing in view, I selected a dilapidated vehicle with two wheels and no springs, to which was secured by straps of green hide, a checkered bullock, that chewed his cud with apparent satisfaction, patiently waiting the motions of his Chimoro driver.

The shafts between which our steed was hitched, were rough poles, not too securely fixed to the body of the cart. Across the animal's horns was lashed a stick two feet in length, from the ends of which, twisted, raw-hide ropes led back and were made fast where most convenient. Other raw-hide ropes were fastened to the tips of the horns to serve as reins, while still another was "belayed" to a ring in the animal's nose to be used as a speed retarder. The thills were supported by a broad, raw-hide strap over the mottled shoulders.

Several diminutive female bovines, apparently two or three years old, were to be hired for two rials for the trip one way. The good qualities of these saddle cows were

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ASHORE IN GAUM

exhibited by their Chimoro owner, who showed a business capacity above the average, cavorting about on his milk-white steed in a manner which convinced me that my first choice had been a wise one, so I took passage in the bullock-cart, preferring to trust myself with the sober-appearing ox rather than his more sprightly sister.

Over the sands at a sharp trot, under overhanging branches, through avenues of dense foliage, we moved at a goodly pace, occasionally anchoring our craft to investigate the workings of one of many rude "stills" which were placed at convenient intervals, where John Chinaman mixed his fomenting, frothing toddy in all its sour rottenness and stirred the fire that kept it boiling, while the steam traversed the dirty leaden pipe coiled in a barrel of filthy water, and becoming condensed, dripped into a black junk bottle drop by drop, plain "aguardente."

John did a fair business, charging "wun lial" per bottle for the vile stuff, but when some son of the sea threw down a quarter, and in the generosity of his heart would take no change back, the happy proprietor hugged himself complacently, and remarked:

"Me muchee smartee Chanly mans, bimby got shipee allee samee Melican man."

With a slate-colored, mud-besmeared, Asiatic buffalo as the motive power, a Chinaman stirred up the inundated soil with a one-handed plow, preparing it for raising rice. The driver belabored the drab sides of his broad, flat-horned beast continually, steering the soil disturber with one hand, the trio of buffalo, plow and man moving so deliberately that it was necessary to take bearings and establish landmarks to determine their progress.

Farther on, ten swarthy men were covering a hut with thatch, dexterously laying the cocoa palm leaves to lap one over the other. The visits the boys had made to the different distilleries had put them all in generous good humor, and being armed and equipped as sailors sometimes are when ashore, they proceeded to divest themselves of various junk bottles, which were tossed through the air and handily caught by the thatchers. As one bottle went the rounds of the ridge-pole, and was mustered out as a "dead sojer," another was sent to take its place, and then another, until the roofing job was deserted. One by one the workmen descended to the ground, some very deliberately, others by

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ond best man of the Marianas, ranking as major, and having command of the forces, the fort and the fighting. The major could not speak a word of English, but leave a sailor alone for making himself understood. By giving what Portuguese I knew, a Spanish cant, I succeeded in interesting my new acquaintance, and we got along so nicely that he voluntarily send his horse for me if I would let him know when it came my turn to visit town. His was the only horse on the island at that time

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The road we traveled, at times ran straight for a mile or more, the branches of the bread-fruit trees and fan-topped palms, interlacing overhead, forming a magnificent archway of darkest green, through which the sunshine struggled, making golden lines across the broad plantain and banana leaves which drooped toward the center of the roadway.

The town was reached at last, where Señor Don Carlos Ferdinando de Estrada, with other unpronounceable names too numerous to mention, ruled with an iron hand, his few thousand submissive subjects.¹

Board had been arranged for us at different places, and I found myself booked at Mr. Millinchamp's, an Englishman, though a subject of Spain, at the reasonable charge of "un peso" per diem. This entitled us to a turn at the single wash-basin, the use of a badly-ventilated horn comb, the luxury of a single bed, and its accompanying blanket, the freedom of the house and an unobstructed view of the broad, blue ocean.

1 Ed. note: In March 1866, the governor was still Felipe de la Corte.

Toilets made, we gathered around the "groaning board" to do justice to the spread so welcome after our six-mile ride and the joltings we had experienced.

The room was large, clean, comfortable and inviting. A brisk trade wind whisked through the open windows, laden with the perfume of flowers, for outside, the little garden was a tangled mass of brilliantly colored blossoms, each species distilling a different odor.

Mr. Millinchamp's table was loaded. There was fresh beef in which the tenderness was not noticeable. There was smoked beef still rank in its smokiness. There was venison stewed, stifled, boiled, baked, fried and frizzled, proving beyond a doubt that deer were numerous in the mountains, and therefore cheap. There was chicken soup, chicken curried, chicken damaged and chicken spoiled, all showing signs of age and gender, the flesh having been toughened by many hard-fought battles.

There was boiled rice and rice curry, cheese made of goat's milk, and butter than had been manufactured since Magellan's time, and was still strong and able to perform its duty. There was strong coffee of Mr. Millinchamp's own raising, tea that was fine in flavor, and water that was brackish.

Wines and liquors for those who cared to pay for them, were from one to five dollars a bottle. Milk was scarce, the goats having thriven poorly during the dryish season. Oranges, bananas and plantains were to be had for picking, for the house was surrounded by the trees that bore them, furnishing a dessert fit for kings or sailors.

There were cigars made of home-raised tobacco, rolled and pasted on the spot, of sufficient length and strength to satisfy even a "bosun's mate."

Our last day on shore was Sunday, and with the Millinchamps I arose before daylight and attended early mass. Then, after a breakfast of everything the land provided, we witnessed a review of the troops. They were a motley crowd of two hundred bare-footed Chamorros, drawn up in double line, before a sort of grandstand, in which sat the governor and staff, the indications being that they were a poor staff to lean upon. They seemed to enjoy themselves, giving more attention to their cigarettes than anything else, not paying the least regard to the evolutions of the regiment which Don Francisco was working with might and main to make perform some kind of a maneuver, of which the soldiers seemed as ignorant as I.

The grizzled old Don was obviously disgusted with the whole performance, snapping out sharply at the trembling troops, who went from bad to worse, until the major gave it up in despair, and invited me to his house, where he soothed his ruffled temper in a way that is known to men.

As the old soldier merged into a happier state of mind, he indicated that the straw-hatted, blue-bloused, wide-toed defenders of the land might shoulder arms and present arms, march and counter-march as best they could without his embarrassing presence. He concluded, however, after a time, that it was perhaps better for him to return to the military duties which he had deserted rather unceremoniously, so, being left to my own resources, I wandered up the mountain side to look at the kite flying, which is always a part of the Sunday sport.

This is a Chinese game, although many Chamorros are expert at it. The kites resembled the shape of a butterfly, and were three or more feet from tip to tip of the extended wings. The head was armed with a wooden spike, ten inches in length, and the whole thing was so balanced that the tail, considered so necessary to the kites of my youth, was dispensed with altogether. A certain length of string was measured off, money was bet, and the flyers were sent up to do battle in the air.

When the kites had reached the height agreed upon, the contestants stood ten to twelve feet apart, and by a peculiar manipulation of the string, one kite was made to dive at the other, chase it or run away in a very life-like manner. Under the management of the owner, whose watchful eye took in every movement of his opponent, these paper birds advanced, retreated, soared aloft or plunged downward with the gracefulness of living things. Sometimes one would soar high above the other, remained motionless for a moment, then dive downward like a flash, missing, perhaps, by a foot, and then be attacked in turn. Upon occasion the battle lasted half an hour, but oftener, in five or ten minutes the paper body would be pierced by the wooden bill of the enemy and come tumbling over and over to the ground like a bird shot upon the wing.

Often, an hundred of these paper champions, exhibiting all the colors of the rainbow, would be seen sailing through the air, making a pretty show.

The afternoon witnessed a grand cock-fight. Guam's nobility were out in full force, perched upon high benches overlooking the arena. Even his worship, the "padre," who conducted the morning mass, seemed to be an interested party. It would never do to intimate that the good priest ventured any money on the results of a battle, but he was very much in evidence and jabbered advice as rapidly as the best of them, his black robes switching in the breeze as he watched each contest to a finish and showed keen pleasure or disappointment, as the case might be. That he was an excellent judge of game birds was shown by the eagerness with which his advice was sought.

During this Sunday afternoon I saw eight battles, and in every case both birds were either killed outright or mortally wounded. The courage displayed was almost beyond belief. In one fight a fine-looking rooster had been disabled in both legs, but true grit to the last, he fluttered toward his antagonist now fast bleeding to death, drove his sharp bill into his foe and died a moment later, a winner by a breath.

Much money changed hands and fierce altercations were frequent, which called into play the mild persuasion of the man in priestly garb, whose rotund body and good-natured face carried power outlined in every feature. It was plain to be seen that every man in the crowd stood in fear of his displeasure. Hence his influence over the rebellious spirits.

Monday morning was bright and clear, as were all the mornings, while we were at Guam. A horse, a mule, a bullock-cart and three heifers were the mode of conveyance drawn up in front of Señor Millinchamp's stone domicile, ready to take us to the harbor.

Through the courtesy of Don Francisco, I bestrode the first, while Mr. Pierce occupied the mule. Each of the heifers had a rider, and the remainder of the watch were ac-

commodated with the ox-cart which had figured so prominently on our up trip.

Our cavalcade started off in good shape, singly out as we proceeded, so that when I arrived at the landing I could see in the distance the straggling crew, looking mere specks in the uncertain light of the green arched roadway.

I delivered my steed to the major's servant, who had been sent to fetch it, and waited. The lolling tongue of the bullock had disappeared within the shadow of the trees. The owner of the heifers had possessed himself of two-thirds of his property, and patiently waited for the other third. She soon "hove in sight," coming at a rapid pace, and borne upon the bosom of the still morning air were the loud shouts of the approaching heifer-man. It was our Portuguese boss of the forecastle, now promoted. He had evidently tarried too long at the "still," and the influence of that institution had in some mysterious way been imparted to his horned steed.

With foam-flecked sides and protruding tongue, she minded neither coaxing nor tangled rein, but charged straight at the gaping crowd, which parted as of one mind as the reckless rider thundered down upon us, flashed past like a hatless meteor, nor stopped until his faithless beast was cooling her parched throat in the ebbing tide, when her discomforted rider became a wetter man outside than in, if possible.

Manuel thought he ought not to pay the two rials demanded for the use of an unruly heifer.

"Vaca du diabo!" he exclaimed, "yo' t'ink I'm pay? No, sir-r. He's br-r-oke me in t'ree pieces effey time he's jomp. He's br-r-oke meu cabeça, 'spose me no be'n fall in os mare. Vaca du demonio!"

"Tu lial pay it me, belly sheep, him cow lun lak, no?" argued the Chamorro.

After some little persuasion, Manuel forked over the two rials, and we went on board, glad to get "home" after our three days' liberty.

Fruit-dealers from shore now besieged us to purchase their wares, knowing that we were about to sail. Canoes, loaded with fruit and green cocoanuts, surrounded the ship at all hours of the day. I asked one persistent fellow how much he charged for nuts, of which he had an excellent lot. Opening the sack so as to display his goods to the best advantage, he replied:

"Dis sum fi' lial, sie f'r lial, sem f'r lial, dis one **two** lial," winding up his price-list with a State of Maine wink.

Out of curiosity I purchased the one for two rials, and after diligent search discovered where it had been "tapped," by cutting through the green husk and soft shell, the milk poured out and refilled with double-distilled aguadente, and so neatly replugged that the place could hardly be detected. It contained three pints of the liquor, and was that man's way of smuggling the stuff on board.

While we were lying at anchor at Guam, there had developed a little difficulty between the captain and Mr. Louis, and it looked for a time as if we might lose our mate, but an agreement was reached, and peace was restored among the after-guard before anything serious came of it. Such things are of frequent occurrence on shipboard, and may usually be traced to some tale-bearer who gets himself despised by all hands for

his officiousness, sooner or later finding a job on his hands to square accounts with some one for real or fancied injuries to reputation or feelings.

Two of our foremost hands had disappeared, and our search for them was but a pretence, as they were of very little account, and we could get along without them.

About the middle of March, the Capitan de la Porto, Don Francisco, the Piloto and our skipper came on board in the early morning. All hands were called, and the "slop, slop," of the windlass, the clank of the cable-links through the hawse-hole, the clump of the breaks and the singing of the crew as they hove short, was welcome music to my ears, for I had had enough of the land, and longed for the lesser hubbub of the open sea.

Everything was set alow and aloft, the anchor catted, we shook hands with the captain of the port, who gave us a clean permit to sail, with the grizzly old major who wished us "bueno voyage," and with the pilot for whom we had no further use. Rounding the end of the reef we stood seaward until noon, then tacked in shore, hoping in vain to see a stray humpback, then away to the northward with the yards just clear of the rigging, the old box slipping easily through the pale, blue waves, as if she knew her mission in tropical seas was accomplished, and longed to cool her sides in the icy waters of northern latitudes.

Document 1866I

The bark *Stephania*, Captain Sinclair

Source: Logbook in the Peabody Museum, Salem; PMB 221; Log Inv. 4480.

Extract from the logbook**Journal of Bark *Stephania* of New Bedford on a whaling voyage.;
James G. Sinclair, Master.**

...

Remarks Thursday Jan. 18th [1866]

... At 7 a.m., raised the land, Byrons [Nukunau] Island, bearing West. Steered for the land. Some natives came on board... Lat. by obs. 01°21' S. Long. [blank]

Remarks Friday Jan. 19th

... Raised Roaches [Tamana] Island. Run down to the land & stood off and on. Got 2 boatloads of wood & a few cocoanuts. Lat. by obs. 02°30' S. Long. 176°01' E.

Remarks Saturday Jan. 20th

... Laying off & on at Roaches Island. At 5 p.m., steered off to westward. Spoke Ship **Illinois** of New Bedford & gammed. Middle part laying aback. At daylight steered off NW. Roaches Island in sight...

...

Remarks Wednesday Jan. 26th

... At 1 p.m., raised Ocean [Banaba] Island. Ran down to the land. Some natives came on board & returned to shore. Middle part laying off & on. Latter part the same. Capt. went on shore.

Remarks Thursday Jan. 25th

This day begins with fresh breezes from eastward, fine weather. Ship standing off & on at Ocean Island. At 4 p.m., the Capt. returned with pumpkins & fowls. Ship steered W by S, all drawing sail set. Middle part much the same. Latter part light wind. Took down the fore stays & served them. Lat. by obs. 00°44' S. Long. 168°13' East.

Remarks Friday Jan. 26th

... At 6 a.m., raised Pleasant [Nauru] Island. Watch employed in fitting rigging. Lat. by obs. 00°37' S. Long. 170°51' East.

Remarks Saturday Jan. 27th

... Ship steered far from the land. When within about 10 miles of the land, a number of canoes came off with coconuts & fowl. At sunset, the natives left for shore...

Remarks Sunday Jan. 28th

... Ship steering in to the Island. A few canoes came off with coconuts & one pig. The Capt. brought the same. At sunset, the island bearing N about 5 miles distance. Ship steered by the wind heading SW. Middle part calm. Latter part the same. At noon, Pleasant Island bearing NE 20 miles distance.

Remarks Monday Jan. 29th

... At noon, Pleasant Island bearing East 26 miles distance.

Remarks Tuesday Jan. 30th

... Ship steered for the land. At 5 p.m., 3 canoes came alongside with 1 pig & about 1000 coconuts. The Capt. bought them. The island about 6 miles distance.

...

REmarks Sunday Feb. 18th

... RAised the land of the Ladrones [Mariana] Islands. Saypan & also saw Tinian. Lat. by obs. 14°43' N. Long. 145°58' E.

Remarks Monday Feb. 19th

This day begins with fresh breezes from NE & pleasant. Ship steered in to the island. At 4 p.m., stood off on the wind. Middle part stood in & came to anchor about 3 miles from land in 17 fathoms of waer. 2 ships at anchor, the **lagoda** & **Merlin**. Lowered for humpbacks without success.

...

Remarks Wednesday Feb. 21st

... Ship laying at anchor at Saypan. The Bark **Java** came in to anchor... Got some wood from shore.

Remarks Thursday Feb 22nd

This day begins with strong breezes & ran Ship at anchor at Saypan. MIddle part anchor watch. Latter part chasing humpbacks without success. Took on board 8 boatloads of wood.

Remarks Friday Feb. 23rd

First part strong winds with rain. Ship at anchor at Saypan. MIddle part anchor

watch. Latter part chasing humpbacks & got off some wood from shore.

Remarks Saturday Feb. 24th

First part fresh breezes & pleasant. Ship at anchor at Saypan. At night anchor watch. At daylight lowered for humpbacks without success. Finished getting off wood & took on board 30 bbls of sweet potatoes & 12 hogs, 6 bbls of corn.

Remarks Sunday Feb. 25th

This day begins with moderate winds & pleasant. Ship at anchor. At 6 night anchor watch. At 9 a.m., took the anchor & beat through the passage between Saypan & Tinian, then steered off to W & SW. Lowered for humpbacks, no luck.

Remarks Monday Feb. 26th

This day begins with fresh breezes from NE & pleasant. Ship steered W & SW. Went through between Tinian & Aguijan. At daylight, saw the island of Guam. Stood in to the land & the Capt. went on shore. Saw the bark **Addison** of N. B.

Remarks Tuesday Feb. 27th

This day begins with brisk breezes from N.E. & pleasant. Ship laying off & on at Guam. At sunset, the boat returned. Middle part as above. At 7 a.m., sent the boat on shore. The boat soon returned with the Capt.

Remarks Wednesday Feb. 28th

First part with fresh breezes from NE & fine weather. Ship laying [off] & on at Guam. At 2 p.m., Capt went on shore. Middle part ship beating to the NE. At daylight lowered for humpbacks & chased without success. So ends February.

Remarks Thursday March 1st

This day begins with strong breezes from Eastward & clear. Ship laying off & on at Guam. At 2 p.m., boat returned from shore. Middle part moderate. Latter part stood in & sent in the boat & [three words illegible] 3 men deserted. The boat returned without the Capt.

...
Remarks Saturday March 3rd

... Ship laying at Guam. At 2 p.m., sent in the boat & the Capt. returned with the 3 men that deserted. Made all sail & stood by wind on the Northern tack...

...
Remarks Tuesday March 6th

... At 6 a.m., lowered for humpbacks. Struck to the waist boat & got stove. At 8 a.m., took the whale to the ship & commenced cutting. At noon, the island of Tinian bearing S about 8 miles distance.

Remarks Wednesday March 7th

First part fresh breezes from NE with fine weather. Employed cutting. At 6 p.m., finished. Middle part beating up for Saypan. At 11 a.m., came to anchor at Saypan in 15 fathoms of water. Chased humpbacks without success. The Bark **Addison** came in to anchor.

Remarks Thursday March 8th

This day begins with fine weather, Ship laying at anchor at Saypan. Commenced boiling. Middle part as above. Latter part chasing humpbacks without success. The Bark **Lagoda** came in to anchor. The Bark **Ontario** laying off & on.

Remarks Friday March 9th

This day begins with strong winds from NE & pleasant. Ship at anchor & employed boiling. At 4 p.m., finished boiling. Middle part anchor watch. At sunrise, took the anchor & steered on the wind to the NE. Lowered for humpbacks.

Remarks Saturday March 10th

] ... At daylight saw the Island of [blank]. Stood in to the land & lowered for humpbacks. Chased without success. Went on shore & got iron poles & cocoanuts.

Remarks Sunday March 11th

... Stood to the North. Saw the Island of Alamaguan. Passed to the leeward of the island.

Remarks March Monday 12th [sic]

... To the North. Saw the Island of Paigon [Pagan]. Middle part beating up to the Island. At daylight raised humpbacks. Lowered & chased the remainder of today without success. Capt. went on shore.

Remarks Tuesday March 13th

... Took 2000 coconuts & 12 pigs, etc.

Remarks Wednesday March 14th

... Laying off & on at Pagon. Spoke bark **Helen Snow** & do. bark **Coral** of N. B.

Remarks Thursday March 15th

... Spoke the bark **Hawaii** of Honolulu...¹

Remarks Friday March 16th

... Laying off & on at Pagon. Middle part stood to the wind to the North. At day-

1 Ed. note: Could be the other bark named Hae Hawaii.

light off Grigan [Agrigan]. Latter part stowed the oil down.

Remarks Saturday March 17th

This day begins with moderate breezes & pleasant. Laying off & on at Grigan. Middle part as above. Latter part stood in to the land. Capt. went on shore at noon. Returned with 13 pigs. So ends.

...

[To the Bonins, Yokohama, then Alaska area, Honolulu, and back to Micronesia.]

...

Tuesday Dec. 11th [1866]

... At 3 p.m., saw Pitts [Makin] Island. At sundown, the land bore SE 3 miles off. Course SW. At 9 p.m., saw breaker ahead close to. Wore round & headed to NNW... Stood in to the SW end of the island or reef and got a few coconuts off the natives, then steered SW. Saw a brig.

...

Friday Dec. 14th

... At daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island. Stood in and the CAPt. went on shore. Ends laying off & on.

Saturday Dec. 15th

... At 3 p.m., finished trading & kept off W by S.

Sunday Dec. 16th

... At 8 a.m., saw Pleasnat [Nauru] Island to the NW. Ends lying off & on.

Monday Dec. 17th, 1866

... Lying off & one at Pleasant Island.

...

Sunday December 23rd 1866

... At 10 a.m., tacked at Macasgill [Pingelap] Is. At 11 a.m., kept off W by N.

...

Tuesday Dec. 25th

... At sundown hove to off Ascension [Pohnpei]. Middle & latter part, light baffling winds. Lying off & on.

Wednesday Dec. 26th

... Steered several courses to clear the islands & reefs...

...

Monday Dec. 31st

First part brisk breeze from the NE. Passed Logounor [Lukunor] & Metlock [Morlock] Islands. A few natives came off with a few cocoanuts. Middle & latter part moderate with passing squalls. Cleared the land and steered SW by S.

...

Sunday March 10th [1867]

... Leaking 1,300 strokes...

Wednesday March 13th

... At daylight, saw the Island of Guam. Run around the lee point & hauled up for the watering place. Lowered for humpbacks. Did not get fast.

Thursday March 14th

At 1 p.m., came to anchor, and went in after water. Took off one raft. Latter part finished getting water & at 10 a.m., got under way & stood up for the Harbour. So ends.

Friday March 15th

First part squally. At 2 p.m., hove to off the harbour for a pilot. At 6 p.m., came in without a pilot. Anchored in 25 fathoms. Latter part hove out and found the leak: a butt open, 3 feet below the waterline, L[arboard] side, 6 feet abaft the fore rigging.

Saturday March 16th 1867

First part stopped the leak and righted up. Latter part, stowed down the water.

...

Tuesday March 19th

First part all hands on board. Latter part one watch on liberty. Employed in various ways.

Wednesday March 20th

One watch on liberty. Employed in various ways.

Thursday March 21st

One watch on liberty. Employed wooding.

Friday March 22nd

One watch on liberty. Employed wooding.

Saturday March 23rd 1867

Employed wooding etc. One watch on liberty.

Sunday March 24th

One watch on liberty.

Monday March 26th

All hands on board but John Matthews. Employed in various ways.

Tuesday March 26th

Brisk breeze and fine weather. Employed in various ways. Took up the starboard anchor.

Wednesday March 27th

Brisk breeze and fine weather. At 3 p.m., got under way and started for the town. Middle & latter part lying off & on the town.

Thursday March 28th

Brisk breeze from the Eastward & fine weather throughout. At 5 p.m., the Capt. came on board with the runaway John Matthews. Made all sail and stood to the NNE. Ends with one island in sight. Lat. 14°40' N.

Friday March 29th 1867

All these 24 hours brisk breezes from the Eastward & fine weather. At daylight, saw Seypan. Ends working up to the Island. Saw 3 ships at anchor. Humpbacking.

Saturday March 30th

First part light breezes & fine weather. Lying off & on Seypan looking for humpbacks. Middle part run down off Tinian & hove to. Latter part, at 7 a.m., came to anchor off Tinian. A few minutes after 7, the cooper, Henry J. Burton, died very suddenly, supposedly caused by the heart.

Sunday March 31st

Fine weather. At 3 p.m., buried the dead on shore. Arrived Bark **Aurora**.

Monday April 1st

Fine weather throughout. Lowered for a humpback. Employed various ways.

Tuesday April 2nd

Light breeze & fine weather throughout. Got under way and to the N. At sundown, the ships at Seypan bore E. about 8 miles off. Latter part headed to the NNE.

Wednesday April 3rd 1867

... Steered N when the wind would allow. Saw several islands. Lat. 17°35' N.

Thursday April 4th

... Worked towards the [island] of Pagon. At m[id] d[ay], the island bore E 10 miles off...

Friday April 5th

... Got too near in on the S side, and got towed off from 4 to 6 p.m. Middle and lat-

ter part light breeze from the Eastward. Worked up to Pagon Island. Saw one vessel.

Saturday April 6th

... Arrived off the W side. Lowered for humpbacks and missed one from the L[ar-board] B[oar]. Middle & latter part lying off & on after humpbacks.

Sunday April 7th 1867

All these 24 hours light baffling wind. Lying off & on at Pagon Island trying to get a humpback. Arrived Bark **Aurora**.

...

[To Yokomane, etc. for another season.]

...

Monday Jan. 6th [1868]

... At one a.m. saw Margraves [Mili] Island. Hauled to the Eastward. At daylight kept off for the S end. Got a few coconuts off the natives & kept off WSW.

...

Thursday Jan. 9th

... At 4 p.m., saw Boston [Ebon] Island. At 7 p.m., hove to... At 8 a.m., the Captain went on shoe. At 10 a.m., he came on board and kept off W by S. Lat. 4°38' N.

...

Saturday January 11th 1868

... At 8 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island. Steered W by S. Lat. 5°25' N. Long. 163°00' E.

...

Wednesday January 15th

... Course W. At 3 p.m., saw the island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. At 5 p.m., took a pilot. At sundown, hove to off the Middle Harbour. Middle & latter part fine weather. At 10 a.m., came to anchor.

Thursday January 16th 1868

Fine weather throughout. All hands employed wooding & waering.

...

Tuesday Jan. 21st

All these 24 [hours] light baffling wind & squalls with rain. At 10 a.m., got under way and stood out clear of the reef. Ends with a brisk squalls from the ESE. Headed to the SW.

Wednesday January 22nd 1868

First & middle part light baffling wind and squally. Worked to the S & W. Latter part light breeze varying from NE to N, with passing squalls. Course W by S. At 11 a.m., saw Raven's [Ngatik] Island to the SSW.

...

Document 1866J

The ship *Adeline*, Captain John C. Soule

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 304; Log Inv. 129.

Notes: The voyage lasted four years, 1865-69. The log-keeper was most likely the first mate. The ship crossed the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, before crossing the Gilbert Islands, in 1866.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Thursday March 22, 1866

... At 5 o'clock, raised Ocean [Banaba] Island from the masthead distance 15 miles off... Latter part, sent 2 boats in shore to trade for broom stuff, coconuts, pumpkins and so forth. Lat. [00°] 49' [S]. Long. 170°45' [E].

Friday 23

... At 3 o'clock, boats came on board with the trade, braced forward starboard tacks heading NW by N...

...

[To the Arctic Ocean, down to Honolulu in Nov. 1866, then south again. On Christmas Day, she was at Baker Island where an English ship was loading guano (the *Mary Frances* of Glasgow).]

...

Wed. [Jan.] 2 [1867]

... Spoke the Barque **Norman**, Capt. Childs... At 8, saw Barron's [Nukunau] Island, four ships¹ laying off and on at the island. Lat. 1025' [S]. Long. 176°25' [E].

...

Fri 4

.... Hope [Arorae] Island close to.

Sat 5

... 4 or 5 canoes came alongside. Had a few chickens for sale...

¹ Ed. note: Besides the *Adeline* and the *Norman*, there were also the *Java*, the *Elizabeth Swift*, and either the *Midas* or the *Washington*.

Sun 6

... At daylight, Hope Island in sight bearing W distance 10 miles. A lot of canoes came off. Wore ship, steering SSE. Lat. 2°45' [S]. Long. 176°48' [E].

Thurs. 10

... At 2 o'clock, saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island on the weather beam distance 15 miles. One sail in sight.

...

Sat. 12

... Hope or Roach's Island close to.

Sun 13

... 4 or 5 canoes came off to the ship... Lat. 2°10' [S]. Long. 176°27' [E].

Tues 15

... Spoke the **Elizabeth Swift**, Capt. Pontius... Lat. 00°46' [S]. Long. 177°28' [E].¹

...

Jan. Sat. 19

... Clark's [Onotoa] Island in sight. Several canoes came off to the ship...

...

Mon 21

... Gammed with **Elizabeth Swift**...

Tues 22

... Spoke the Barque **Midas**, Capt. Drake.

...

Mon 28

... The Barque **Midas** in sight... Latter part, calm. Commenced to paint ship black with three narrow white streaks... Lat. 1°35' [S].

...

Sat 2 [Feb.]

... Ocean [Banaba] Island in sight. Found the chronometer 60 miles to westward of the ship. Lat. 00°45' [S]. Long. 169°48' [E].

Sun 3

... At 5, three canoes came off at Ocean Island. Lay off and on... Latter part, the natives came off. Sent two boats in to trade for chickens.

...

1 Ed. note: Capt. Pontius reports this meeting, which actually took place on 16 January, as Capt. Soule did not advance his clock until February.

Tues 5

... At 5, saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing WNW distance 15 miles off... Ran down to the Island and traded for hogs and coconuts, pumpkins and so forth.

Wed 6

... Laying off the Island trading. At 5, kept off, steering NW... North Lat. 00°30' Long. 166°57' [E].

...

Sun 10

... At 6 o'clock, saw McAskill [Pingelap] Island bearing WNW distance 15 miles... At daylight, ran down the Island. One boat came off. Kept her off WNW. Lat. 6°27' [N]. Long. 160°47' [E].

Mon 11

... At 3, saw Wellington [Mokil] Island. At dark, a boat came on board... Latter part, got a few hogs and other trades.

Tues 12

... At 1 o'clock, kept the ship W... bound to Ascension [Pohnpei]... At daylight, saw the land about 12 miles off. At 10, came to anchor in Hadley's Harbor.¹ Gave her 60 fathoms.

Wed 13

Lying to anchor. Employed at ship's duty. Latter part, sent a raft of casks in for water and smoked ship to kill rats.

...

Fri 15

... Employed getting off wood and painting the stern of the ship. Changed day for West Longitude.

...

Mon 18

... The ship **Florida** came to anchor... Employed getting wood and water.

...

Fri 22

... Latter part... the Barque **Active** came to anchor in the harbor.

...

March Fri 1

... At 6, hove short. At 9 o'clock, got under way and went to sea. One native ran away.

¹ Ed. note: Same as Mutok, or Middle, Harbor, from the name of a former local pilot This is confirmed by the log of the E. Swift (see Doc. 1867D).

...

[The ship went north to the Bonins, bypassing the Marianas, to the Japan Sea, then the Arctic, Honolulu in NOv. 1867, and back to the Line.]

...

Sun [Jan] 5 [1868]

... Spoke the ship **Corinthian**, Barque **John Carver**... Latter part, headed to the South. Saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island. Lat. 00°16' [S]. Long. 174°33' [E].

...

Thurs 9

... Made the Island. Wore ship to the NE... Latter part, stood to the Southward and W. Smoked ship to kill rats.

Fri 10

... Smoking ship. Took off the hatches at 4. ONE sail in sight... At daylight, Henderville [Aranuka] and Woodle's [Kuria] Island in sight. Saw sperm whales. Lowered the boats. The Starboard Boat struck and saved her whale...

...

Tues 14

... Spoke the Barque **Arthur Pickering** of Boston. Lat. 00°33' [S]. Long. 172°30' [E].

...

Sat 18

... Saw Ocean Island bearing SW distance 25 miles. Lat. 00°31' [S]. Long. 170°04' [E].

Sun 19

... Ocean Island at dark 12 miles off. Latter part, made the Island. bought a lot of chickens and coconuts.

...

Thurs 23

... Saw Pleasant Island bearing NW...

Fri 24

... At 4, canoes came off to the ship... Latter part, employed getting off a lot of hogs and coconuts...

Sat 25

... Got off the hogs. At 3, steered from the Island on the wind to the North... Lat. 00°02' [S].

...

Fri 31

... At 2, saw Wellington's Island ahead. Came up to the Island at 6. One boat came off to the ship. Braced forward at 7, ship's course W1/2S. Lattere, came to anchor in Hadley's Harbor in the Island of Ascension.

Sat 1 [Feb.]

At anchor in Ascension, thick rainy weather. Latter part, took a raft of casks on shore and running out salt water.

Sun 2

... Sensing out casks and stowing them back...

...

Tues 4

... Got off a lot of sand.

...

Sun 9

... Latter part, let the men go on shore. Came on board at dark. Stowing wood.

...

Tues 11

... Getting off wood. Sent a raft in for water. Latter part, splitting, sawing and stowing wood. Four men ran away.

...

Fri 14

Employed getting off wood, stowing wood. Latter part, hove up our anchors and sailed out of Hadley's Harbor. Laying off and on, waiting for to get our men.

Sat 15

... Employed stowing anchors and chains. Lying off and on at Ascension...

Sun 16

... Ran down off the Harbor. The Capt. went on shore.

Mon 17

... At 3, the Capt. came on board with one native they had caught... Lying off and on...

Tues 18

... Ran down off the Harbor. The Capt. went on shore. Returned at 5 with 2 natives they had caught... Lying off and on waiting to get the other 2 men.

Wed 19

... The Capt. went on shore to see about the boatsteerer and the other man. Found that the King had stowed them away and would not give them up. Came on board at 3 and steered away from the Island...

...

Mon 24

... At 9 o'clock, made the Island of Guam...

Tue 25

... Hauled aback in Umata Bay. One ship lying to anchor. Cap[.] went on shore. Brought off a boatload of sweet potatoes. When he came on board at 5, braced forward heading NNW by the wind, beating up to the town. Latter part, at 8 o'clock fetched up to the town. Capt. went on shore to ship men. Lying off and on.

Wed 26

... At 4, the boat came on board. The Capt. stopped on shore. Lying off and on. Latter part, sent the boat in shore.

Thurs. 27

... At 5, the boat came on board. The Capt. stoped on shore. Latter part, sent the boat on shore. At 10, the Capt. came on board. Brought a load of potatoes. Braced forward, made all sail, steering by the wind heading NW by W. Shipped 5 men at Guam.

...

[To Japan Sea, Arctic, Honolulu (Nov. 1868), to South Pacific, then home.]

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