

**HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**  
**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE**  
**DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 31**  
**CONFLICT OVER**  
**THE CAROLINES**



# **HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**

## **A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 31**  
**CONFLICT OVER**  
**THE CAROLINES,**  
**1884-1887**

**Compiled and edited  
by**

**Rodrigue Lévesque**

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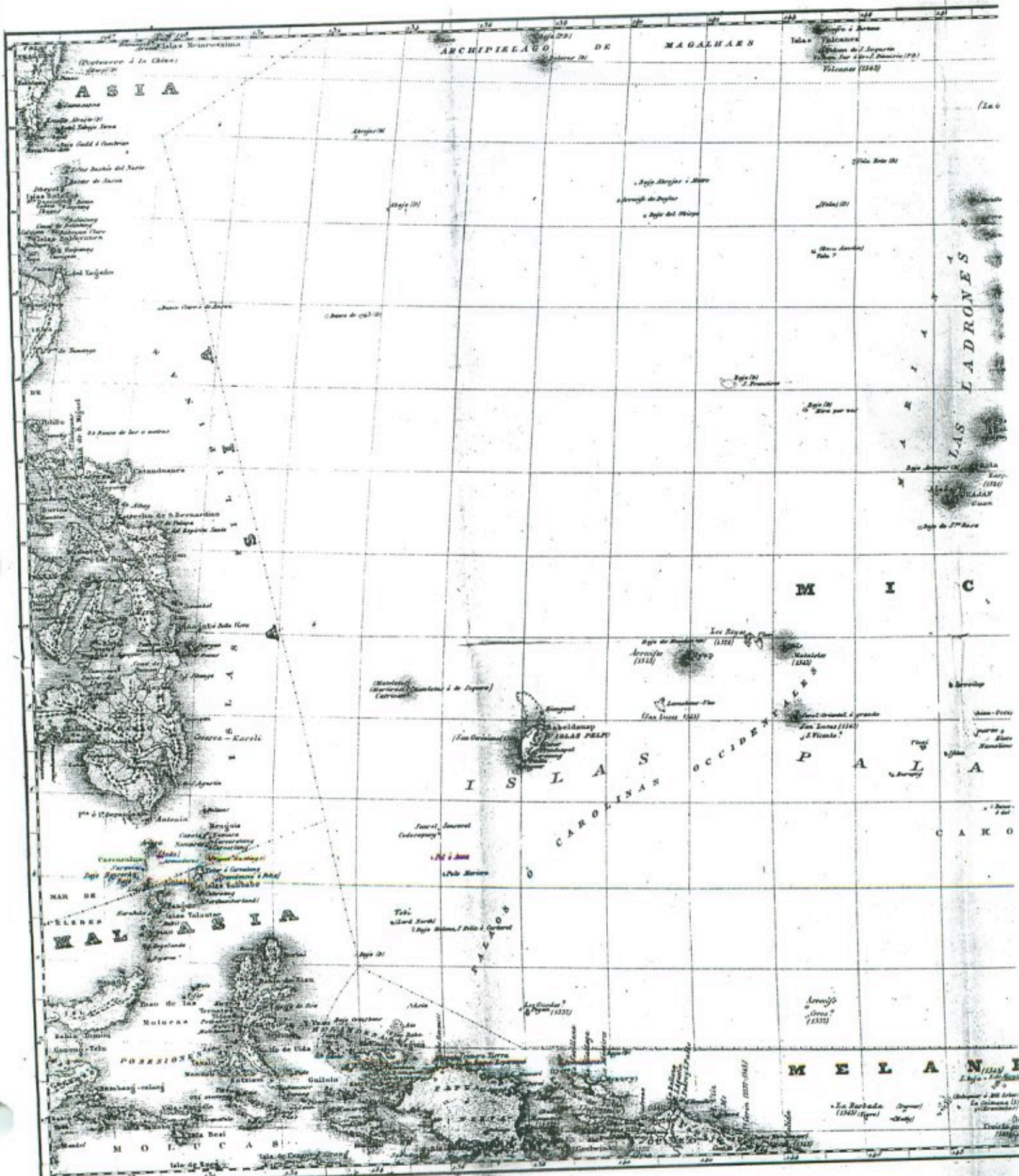
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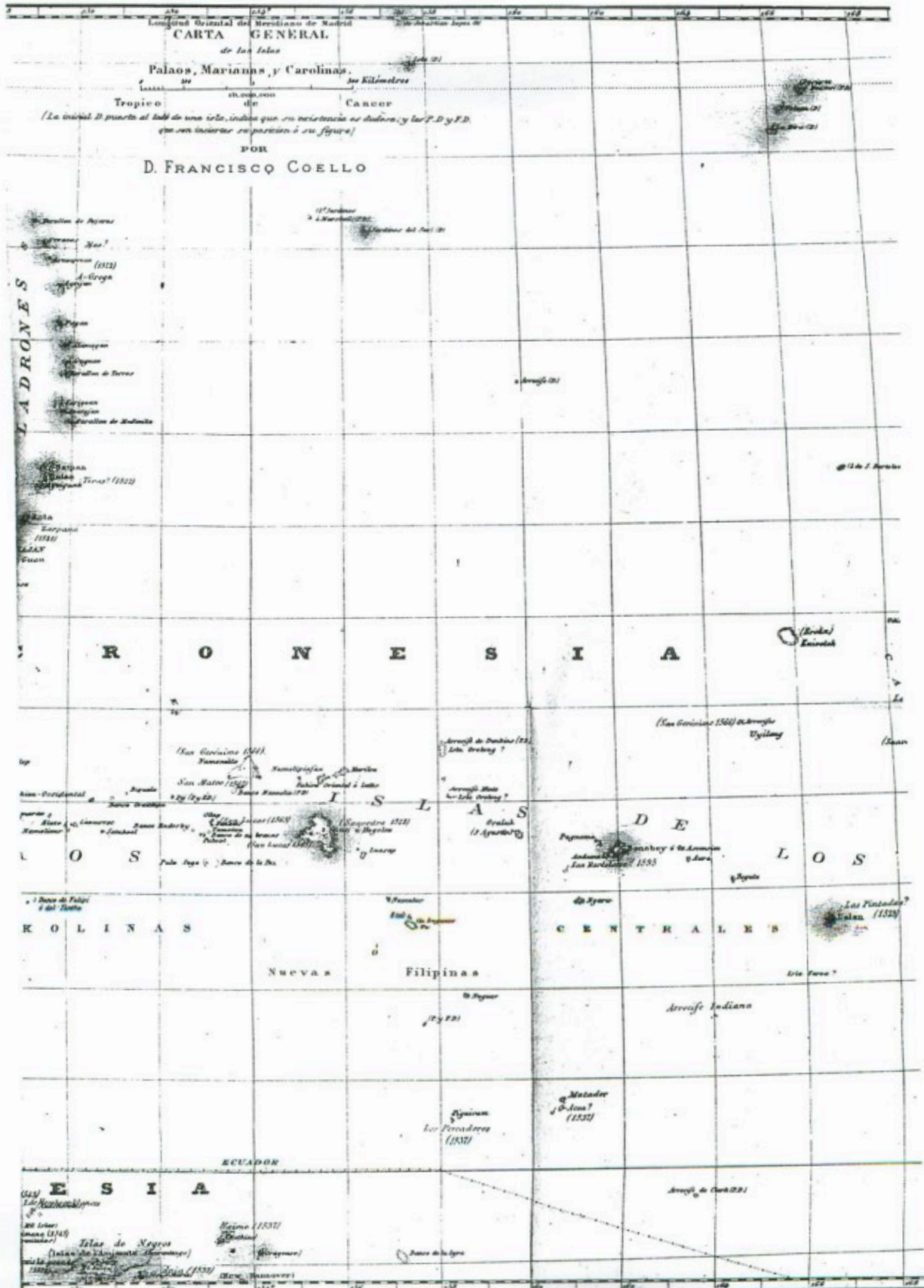


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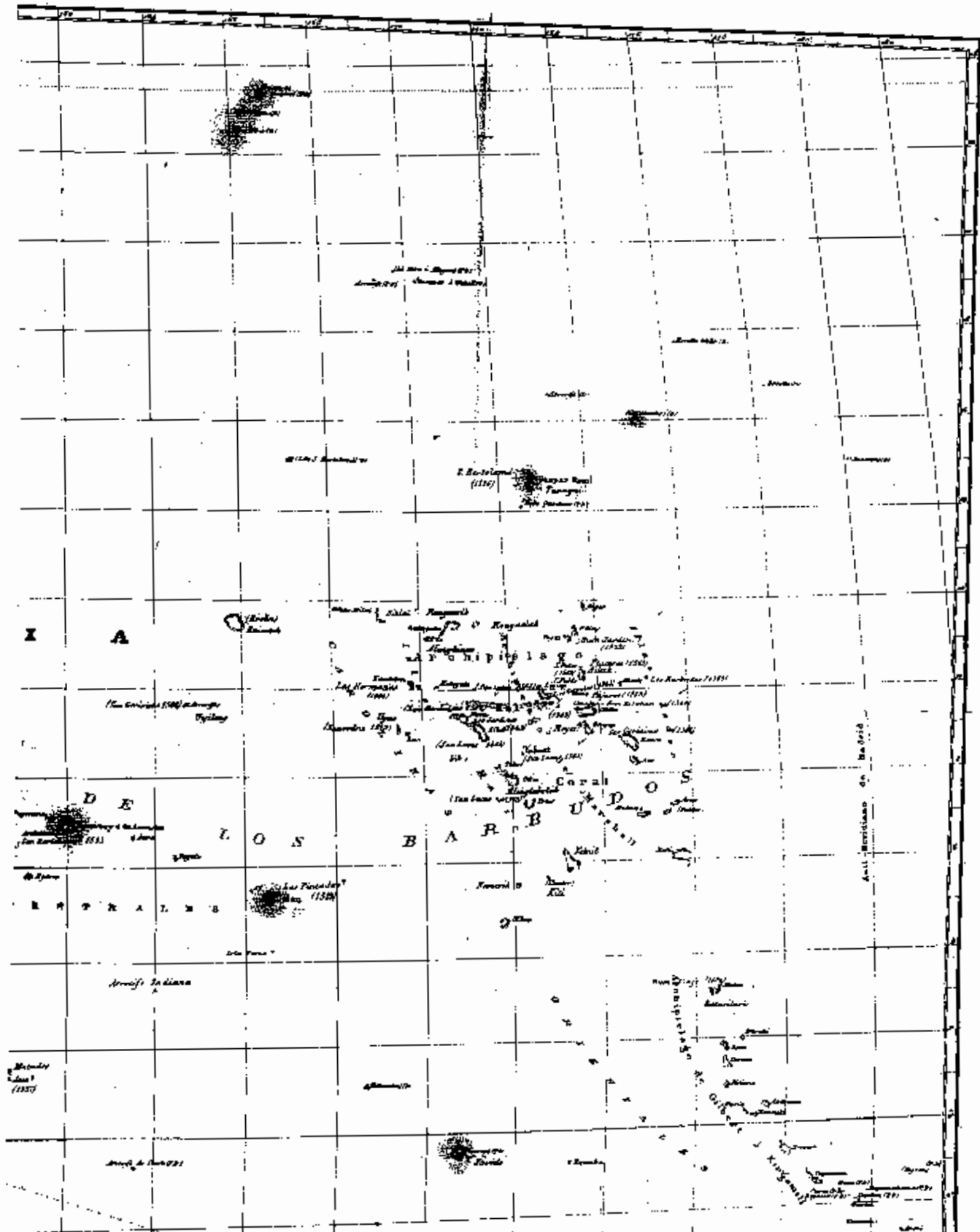




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## Documents 1884N

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### Petition of the residents of Yap to the Spanish government

*General source: AHN Ultramar 5855, i.e. Tomo I del Expediente sobre la Ocupación de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Note: The 109 documents in this specific file are dated from 15 January to 21 April 1886, but coverage starts at an earlier date. There are 30 more documents about this subject in the next file, Ultramar 5856.*

#### N1. Residents of Yap asking for a governor and priest

*Sources: PNA; AHN Ultramar 5855; MN ms. 779.*

*Note: The text in PNA Manila is followed when minor differences appear. The person who wrote the original petition, probably in English, was Holcomb himself. His wife, the Guam-born Bartola Taisague Garrido, with Aguón and Martínez, translated it into Spanish, embellishing it. The document in PNA appears to be an official copy. Many other copies were sent to Spain.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*29 de Setiembre de 1884.*

***Ynstantia que promueven los habitantes de Yap y Palaos, pidiendo se establezca en aquella Ysla una Autoridad española.***

*Por falta de papel competente.*

*Exmo. Sor. Capitán General y Vice-Real Patronato de estas Islas Carolinas.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Los habitantes de esta isla de Yap ante V.E. con el debido respeto nos presentamos, y exponemos: Que despues de tan prolongados años que la Bandera Española se eleva en esta mar "Pacífico", sin educaciÿn, sin principio de Religión, sin noción alguna, mas que el derecho del mas fuerte, unanimamente convencidos que sin religión no hay sociedad, suplicamos á V.E. que cuanto antes pueda, y convenir sea al noble Gobierno español, que en esta Ysla de Yap se constituya un Gobierno, y un Padre de almas, quienes simultaneamente puedan hacer útiles tantas almas en lo civil como espiritual que hoy gimen por falta de una autoridad quienes Gobierne y dirija la via de la civilización Española, hoy Exmo. Sor., el Capitan Mister Holcomb, despues de tan larguísimos años de expectación de la cultura y civilización de dicha Ysla, convencidísimos de*

*que sin Gobierno, ni leyes que les gobiernen se toma la libertad de elevar á V.E. la petición de que como Vice Patronato Real disponga que cuanto antes nombre persona digna que represente la noble é inclita nación Española, la Autoridad del Rey nuestro señor D. Alfonso XII, quien con noble entusiasmo Gobierna la nación Española.*

*Si, Exmo. Sor. un extranjero enlazado con una natural de Marianas, son personas competentes para responder de la cultura, bajo la tutela del nombrado Gobierno y Cura Parroco de dicha Ysla, para que en cortos años la Ysla de Yap, deje de ser un baldón de la Nación Española quien deja á miles de almas sin noción de Dios ni sociedad, hora es, Exmo. Sor. que se digne dirigir una mirada compasiva sobre los tristes habitantes de dicha Ysla de Yap la cual deplora su triste situación, solo, si, tienen el consuelo único de que reside en dicha Ysla la señora Da. Bartola Taisague y Garrido, que con entusiasmo religioso se toma la incomodidad de instruir á tantas almas que deploran su triste situación*

*Si, Exmo. Sor. un extranjero y su digna Señora, es triste que quede frustrado sus sanos principios de civilizar dicha Ysla, toda vez que en ella solo existe la ignorancia, dominada siempre por naciones extranjeras, quienes solo se toman interés en su propio negocio importandoles poco la idea de Dios, Religión ni Rey; pero confiados en la virtud, ciencia y prudencia [nosotros] Mister Holcomb y su Señora nos comprometemos bajo juramento solemne de obedecer cuanto disponga el Gobierno y Cura Párroco.*

*Y por último, Exmo. Sor., tantos son los sentimientos que predominan á los habitantes de esta Ysla, que aunque remotamente viven sin mas ley que les gobierne hacen víctimas de estos infelices indios, rogando á V.E. se digne autorizar cuantos en estas Yslas un Gobierno que bajo las humanitarias ideas nos corresponde.*

*Exmo. Sor., grande es Sr. la calamidad, penuria que hoy gravita sobre los habitantes de esta Ysla confiados tan solo en el buen Gobierno de dicha Ysla.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. mucho años.*

*Setiembre 29 de 1884.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*C. P. Holcomb—Bartola Garrido—Ramón Aguón—Vicente Martinez—Falomot—Bodot—Felin—Lirog—Gachibut.*

*Al E.S.C.G. de Filipinas.*

## **Translation.**

29 September 1884.

**Petition presented by the inhabitants of Yap and Palau,<sup>1</sup> asking for Spanish authority to be established in that Island.**

For lack of sealed paper.

Your Excellency, Captain General and Vice-Regal Patron of these Caroline Islands.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The words "and Palau" do not appear on other copies of this document.



Excellency:

We, the inhabitants of this Island of Yap, appear before Y.E. and respectfully declare: That, after so many years of the Spanish flag flying over this Pacific Ocean there are still no education, basic religion, nor any notion other than the law of the strongest here, and being unanimously convinced that without religion there is no society, we beg Y.E. for a government to be established in this island as soon as possible and convenient to the noble Spanish government, also a Priest for the souls, so that both of them together can look after the civil and spiritual welfare of people who are moaning today for lack of an authority to govern them and lead them by means of Spanish civilization, today, Excellency, we, [along with] Captain Holcomb, after so many long years of waiting for the culture and civilization of said Island to improve, are very convinced of the idea that without a government or laws to govern us, we take the liberty of presenting this petition to Y.E. who as the Vice-Regal Patron may arrange as soon as possible for the appointment of a worthy person to represent the noble and renowned Spanish nation, the authority of the King our Lord, Don Alfonso XII, who with a noble enthusiasm governs the Spanish nation.

Indeed, Excellency, a foreigner and his wife, a native of the Marianas, are competent persons to represent culture, under the leadership of an appointed Governor and Parish Priest in said Island, so that, within a few years, the Island of Yap may stop being a disgrace for the Spanish nation that leaves thousands of souls without a notion of God or society. The time has come, Excellency, to please cast compassionate eyes upon the sad inhabitants of said Island of Yap, which deplores her sad situation, except that, indeed, they have the only consolation of having in their midst Mrs. Bartola Taisague y Garrido who, with religious enthusiasm, has taken the care of instructing so many souls who deplore their sad situation.

Excellency, it would be sad indeed if the sincere beginnings made by a foreigner and his worthy lady to civilize said Island were to be frustrated, so long as it remains in ignorance, always dominated by foreign nations that have only their own business interests at heart, not caring for the idea of God, religion or King; however, trusting in the cirtue, knowledge and wisdom of Mr. and Mrs. Holcomb we make the solemn promise of obeying whatever will be decided by the Governor and Parish Priest.

And finally, Excellency, we the inhabitants of this Island being so full of regret for living so remotely without law or government which makes victims out of these unhappy Indians, beg Y.E. to please authorize soon for these Islands the government that humanitarian ideas-plead for us to have.

Excellency, great are the calamity and shortage that are pressing upon the inhabitants of this Island today, and we trust only in a good government for this Island.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

28 September 1884.

Excellency.

C. P. Holcomb—Bartola Garrido—Ramón Aguón—Vicente Martínez—Falomot—Bodot—Felin—Lirog—Gachibut.<sup>1</sup>

To His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippines.

## N2. Report of the Engineering Branch about the Carolines and Palau

### Original text in Spanish.

*Apuntes que remite la Sub-Inspección de Ingenieros relativos á Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Islas Filipinas.—Comandancia general Sub-inspección de Ingenieros.*

*Notas sobre algunas Islas Carolinas.*

*Yap ó Uyap. Esta situada proxivamente á la mitad del camino entre la punta del Sur de Mindanao y la Isla de Guajan de Marianas.*

*Tendrá unos diez mil habitantes y unos doce estrangeros de diversas nacionalidades. Cuentan con un buen puerto por donde exportar coco seco en cantidad considerable, hasta el punto de que segun opinion del Capitan de la Goleta **Bartola** con un pequeño derecho sobre la exportación de este articulo se obtendria lo necesario para los gastos de un Gobierno.*

*Los residentes allí piden un Gobierno español, y de no dárselo estan dispuestos á buscar el amparo de otra nación.*

*Islas Palaos ó Peliu. Estas Islas forman un grupo considerable en la derrota entre la punta del Sur de Mindanao y la anterior de Yap, mas cerca de la última.*

*La población de estas Islas es superior á la de Yap. Su comercio principal consiste en **balate** y **carey**, para lo cual son bastante frecuentadas por buques extrangeros de los que algunos fijan allí su residencia.*

*En 1881 ó 1882 se perdió allí la Goleta española **San Agustín** en aquellas islas, y manifestaron los naturales el mismo deseo que hoy manifiesta Yap de que se estableciese allí un Gobierno español.*

*Poniendo en ambos grupos establecimientos semejantes á los nuevamente creados en Siassi y Tavi-Tavi, y contando en la estación Naval de Davao ó Sarangani con un buque de guerra capaz de navegar pudiera mantenerse la comunicación periodica con Marianas, tocando en estas escalas sin otros gastos que el del carbon y dejando libertad al comercio sin exclusivismos.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The names of the Yapese may not be correctly transcribed in any of the copies; they are hard to decipher.

## Translation.

### Notes submitted by the Sub-Inspection of Engineers regarding the Carolines and Palau.

Philippine Islands—Commanding General's Office—Sub-Inspection of Engineers.  
Notes regarding some Caroline Islands.

**Yap or Guap.** It is situated about half-way between the South Point of Mindanao and the Island of Guam in the Marianas.

It has about 10,000 inhabitants and about a dozen foreigners of various nationalities who use a good port to export copra in a considerable quantity, to such an extent that, in the opinion of the Captain of the schooner **Bartola**, by imposing a small tax on the exportation of this article we would get enough to cover the expenses of a Government there.

The residents there are asking for a Spanish Government, and, failing one, they are ready to look for the protection of another nation.

**Palau or Pelew Islands.** These islands form a large group which is situated along the route between the South Point of Mindanao and the Island of Yap, but closer to the latter.

The population of these islands is greater than that of Yap. Their main commerce consists of trepang and tortoise-shell; that is why they are often visited by foreign ships, some of which have made them their base of operation.

In 1881 or 1882 the Spanish schooner **San Agustín** was lost at those Islands, and the natives expressed the same wishes for a Spanish government to be established there as those of Yap.

By placing in both groups similar settlements as those that were recently created in Siasi and Tawi-Tawi [in the Sulu Archipelago], and relying on the naval station at Davao or Sarangani with a warship able to navigate, a periodic communication between them and the Marianas could be maintained, simply by touching there, without any other costs than that for the coal and by allowing free trade there, without any exclusivity.

## N3. Answer of the Governor General to the petitioners

### Original text in Spanish.

*Carta del Gob. general D. J. Jovellar contestando á los suplicantes, Sres. C. P. Holcomb, Aguon, Martinez, Falomot, Bodot, Fisín, Leroy, Guchibut.*

*Muy Sres. míos:*

*He recibido la instancia que Us. me dirigen con fha 28 de Set., solicitando de mi autoridad el establecimiento en esa Isla de Yap de una representación de la administración española dependiente de este Gobierno general de Filipinas, comprendiendo también en ella, como es consiguiente, la parte debida al clero católico; todo con el fin de que flote ahí sin interrupción la bandera de España, y se desarrollen bajo su amparo así los intereses de la Religión, como los de la prosperidad material.*

*Me hé enterado con gusto de esta solicitud y daré cuenta de ella al Gobierno de S.M. el Rey D. Alfonso XII, que no dudo la ha de acoger con benevolencia; y mientras llega el caso de cumplir las órdenes que tuviese á bien darme sobre el particular, los habitantes de esas Islas Carolinas pueden contar con toda la simpatía y protección que depende de este Gobierno General.*

*Con tal motivo se ofrece de Us. afmo. S.S.*

*J. Jovellar.*

### **Translation.**

**Letter of the Governor General, Don J. Jovellar, in answer to the petitioners, Messieurs C. P. Holcomb, Aguón, Martinez, Falomot, Bodot, Fesin, Leroy, Guchibut.**

Gentlemen:

I have received the petition that you have sent me, dated 28 September ult., requesting from my authority the establishment in that Island of Yap of a representation of the Spanish Administration depending on this Government General of the Philippines, including also, as must be, a participation of the Catholic clergy; all of which for the purpose of maintaining the Spanish flag flying overthere, and having the interests of Religion as well as those involving material prosperity develop under its protection.

I have taken notice of this petition with pleasure and I will give a report about it to the Government of H.M., King Alfonso XII, who, I have no doubt, will receive it with benevolence; and, in the interim period that I am waiting to receive orders about this matter, the inhabitants of those Caroline Islands may count on all the sympathy and protection that depend on this Government General.

For this reason, I want to be,

Your affectionate servant.

J. Jovellar

## **N4. Forwarding the petition to Madrid**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Carta al Ministerio dando cuenta de la instancia.*

*Manila 26 Octe. 1884.*

*A Ultramar.*

*E.S.*

*Tengo el honor de acompañar á V.E. la instancia promovida por algunos habitantes de la Isla de Yap, perteneciente al grupo de las Carolinas occidentales, en solicitud de que se establezca en ella una dependencia de este Gobierno general, con misioneros católicos, á fin de que á su impulso y bajo su protección pueda civilizarse aquel país y extenderse en él la religión.*

*Dicha instancia ha sido presentada por el Capitan de la Goleta Norte-Americana, Bartola, C. P. Holcomb, uno de sus firmantes que ha venido conduciendo al comisionado del Gobernador interino de Marianas para darme cuenta del suceso últimamente allí ocurrido, y que llegó á este puerto el 19 del actual.*

*La isla de Yap, segun informes fidedignos, tendrá unos diez mil habitantes, entre ellos doce extranjeros de diversas nacionalidades; cuenta con un buen puerto por donde exportar coco seco en cantidad considerable, hasta el punto de que con un pequeño derecho sobre la exportación de este artículo, se obtendría lo necesario para los gastos de la colonia; el conjunto de la población de las demas islas del mismo grupo, es algo mayor que la de Yap, y su principal comercio consiste en balate y carey, siendo bastante frecuentadas de buques extranjeros.*

*En 1881 ó 1882 se perdió en esas islas, la goleta española S. Agustín, y manifestaron ya sus habitantes el mismo deseo que expresan hoy los de Yap, los cuales parece que si no obtienen de España la protección que piden piensan solicitarla de otra nación.*

*Por mi parte he creído que no debia dar á los solicitantes una contestación definitiva, y les he dirijido la carta particular cuya copia és adjunta, para seguir alimentando sus esperanzas, mientras el Gobierno resuelve.*

*No cabe desconocer que todo nuevo establecimiento es una atención más y que son ya muchas las que de este género tenemos; pero como la isla de Yap esta situada entre Mindanao y Marianas, puede tal vez convenir su ocupación, para evitar, sobre todo, el peligro de que la ocupen, aun sin derecho, nacionalidades de otros paises, mas ó menos favorecidos por sus Gobiernos, creandose luego con este motivo dificultades internacionales, como sucedió en Borneo.<sup>1</sup>*

*Se necesitaría, sin embargo, algun aumento en nuestros medios marítimos, para sostener frecuentes relaciones antes de crear en Yap un establecimiento como los de Sias-si y Bongao en el archipiélago de Joló, el cual debiera en tal caso dotarse de un par de misioneros, que es condición á que los solicitantes atribuyen mucha importancia.*

*Hé creído de todos modos que debia dar á V.E. cuenta de este asunto para la resolución que el Gobierno estime conveniente.*

*.Dios, etc.*

## Translation.

### Letter to the Ministry advising of the petition.

Manila, 26 October 1884.

To [the Ministry of] Overseas.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose to Y.E. the petition advanced by some inhabitants of the Island of Yap, belonging to the group of western Carolines, asking for the establishment

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The English had taken over Borneo and the Germans were preparing to take over Yap.

there of a dependency of this Government General, with Catholic missionaries, so that, by its impulse and under its protection, that country may become civilized and religion be extended there.

Said petition was presented by the Captain of the North-American schooner **Bar-tola**, C. P. Holcomb, one of the signatories who has brought here the man commissioned by the interim Governor of the Marianas to report the incident that has occurred there recently, and who arrived at this port on the 19th instant.

The Island of Yap, according to trustworthy reports, contains about 10,000 inhabitants, including a dozen foreigners of various nationalities; it has a good port from which to export copra in a considerable quantity, to such an extent that, by imposing a small tax on the export of said article, would be obtained the necessary funds to run the colony. The whole of the population of the other islands in the same group is somewhat larger than that of Yap, and their main trade items are trepang and tortoise-shell, and they are visited rather often for this reason.

In 1881 or 1882, there was lost at those islands the Spanish schooner **San Agustín**, and their inhabitants expressed the same desire as those of Yap who, by the way, are thinking of asking another nation to protect them, if they do not obtain that of Spain.

For my part, I have decided that I should not give the petitioners a definitive answer, and have addressed a personal letter to them (copy enclosed) in order to keep their hopes up, while the Government decides.

There is no need to mention that any new settlement does cost more, and that we have already many such settlements to support; however, as the Island of Yap is located between Mindanao and the Marianas, its occupation is perhaps convenient, if nothing else, to avoid the risk of having other nationalities or countries without a right to it, occupy it, with more or less support from their governments, thus creating afterwards the same international difficulties that happened with Borneo.

It would be necessary, nevertheless, to have an increase in our maritime resources, in order to maintain frequent communications before creating in Yap a settlement like those in Siasi and Bongao in the Sulu Archipelago, and it should necessarily have two missionaries, since this is a condition to which the petitioners attribute much importance.

In any case, I thought that I should let Y.E. known of this matter for the decision that the Government may think appropriate.

May God, etc.

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**Documents 1884T**


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## Statistical reports for the Marianas

*Sources: PNA; letter-book copies in LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection, Item 96 (MCF Reel 9).*

### T1. Domestic animals, and coaches

Letter N° 755. October 23.

Excellency:

In compliance with the respectable letter of Y.E. dated 7 January ult., I have the honor to send to Y.E. the enclosed list of the Horses, Mares, Mules (female) and Studs (male), as well as the number of Goats that exist among the population here, so that Y.E. may use this information to his advantage, by allowing me at the same time to report that the tax collected under this category amounted to \$39.

May God, etc.

**Numerical list of the Horses, Mares, Studs and Mules existing of that sort, with mention of their respective owners and number that each one has.**

	Goats	Mares	Horses	Studs
Mr. Segundo Pardo ....	1	-	-	-
Mr. Pio de Pazos .....	1	-	-	-
Mr. Justo de la Cruz ..	-	1	-	-
Mr. Francisco Cobo ..	1	1	-	-
Mr. José Portusach ....	-	1	1	-
Mr. Andrés de Castro	-	-	-	8
Mr. Vicente de Torres	1	-	-	-
Raimundo de los Santos	-	-	1	-
Mr. Vicente Herrero ...	-	1	-	-
<b>Total:</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>

Agaña 23 October 1884.

The interim Governor, Antonio Borredá.<sup>1</sup>

## T2. Members of the Board of Health in 1884

Letter N° 756. October 27.

Excellency:

In compliance with the circular order of 3 November 1883, I have the honor to enclose to Y.E. the list of the gentlemen members of the Board of Health of this province. May God, etc.

**Nominal list of the Gentlemen members of the Board of Health of this province.**

Category		Name
Interim Governor:	Chairman	Mr. Antonio Borredá y Alares
Parish Priest:	Vice-chair.	Rev. Fr. Francisco Resano
Military physician:	Member	Dr. Pedro Cruz y Roman
Commander of Presidio:	Member	Mr. Segundo Pardo y Pardo
Major of the Garrison:	Member	Mr. Julian Saiz
Training Lieutenant:	Member	Mr. Miguel Garrido y Borron
Administrator of P.T.:	Member	Mr. Vicente Dotor y Aliaga
Proprietor:	Member	Mr. Andrés de Castro
Industrialist:	Member	Mr. Vicente Pangelinan y Luján
Businessman:	Member	Mr. José Portusach

## T3. Population census of the Marianas, at the end of 1884

Judicial District of the Marianas—Province of the Marianas.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There follows a list of coaches in existence in 1884. There were only 2 reported, one owned by Luis Herrero and the other by José Portusach.



**List of the number of inhabitants in each settlement belonging to the Judicial District of the Marianas, classified as Europeans, or natives, the latter by race and dialect.**

Name of Settlement	Inhabitants Europeans vs Natives		Race of the latter	Dialect they speak
City of Agaña	18	6,126	Chamorro Carolinian Chinese	Chamorro Carolinian [Chinese]
Island of Rota	1	499	Chamorro <sup>1</sup> Carolinian	Chamorro Carolinian
Island of Tinian	-	231	Carolinian <sup>2</sup> Chamorro	Carolinian Chamorro
Island of Saipan	1	760	Carolinian Chamorro	Carolinian Chamorro
[Totals:	20	7,616	but see note below]	

Agaña, 20 December 1884.  
Lieut.-Colonel and Governor,  
Francisco Olive

**Note.** On this date, the garrison [not included above] consists of 8 Europeans and 91 natives of the Philipines.

1 They form the majority.  
2 They form the majority.

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## Documents 1885K

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# Proposal to move Carolinians from Guam and Rota to Saipan (cont'd)

*Source: PNA. Note: See also Doc. 1885F & R.*

### **K1. Internal discussion within the Civil Administration, Manila, 25 November 1885**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Dirección General de Administración Civil, Fomento (Manila, 25 de Nov. 1885)*  
*Antecedentes del expediente sobre exención del pago del impuesto provincial por tres años á los Carolinos que constituyen el barrio de María Cristina en la Cabecera de Marianas y que se propone trasladarlos á la Isla de Saipan.*

[De la] *Dirección General de Administración Civil de las Islas Filipinas, Sección de Gobernación. —Negociado de Erección de pueblos.*

*El Excmo. Sor. Gobernador general ha tenido á bien dirigir la comunicación siguiente á esta Dirección:*

*"Excmo. Sor.:*

*"Inspirado en un acendrado patriotismo y en el progreso de las Islas que constituyen el Archipiélago de su mando, el Gobernador P.M. de las Marianas, me significa la conveniencia de que sean trasladados á la Isla de Saipan, abundante en terrenos fértiles, en la actualidad infecundos, y casi totalmente deshabitados los Carolinos que forman el barrio de "María Cristina" de Agaña y los que habitan la Isla de Rota.*

*"Como medio para llevar á cabo este extremo, me propone aquel Jefe que todos los individuos que hayan de trasladarse á la Isla de Saipan lo verifiquen en la Goleta Inglesa **Beatrice** que trafica en aquellas aguas, estando dispuesto el dueño de ella Mr. Williams con la condición que se abone dos pesos por pasaje de cada persona mayor, reintegrándose de la cantidad á que ascienda el total importe de ellos, ó bien concediéndole el usufructo de las Islas de Pagan y Agrigan ó aprovechándose de las primeras cosechas que los nuevos Colonos recogiesen, si no podían abonárselo en metálico.*

*“Con el objeto de que el nuevo pueblo que se formase, pueda atender con desahogo á la satisfacción de las obligaciones que hubiese contraído, el citado Gobernador P.M. me hace ver la conveniencia de que por ese Centro Directivo se le exima durante tres años de la contribución del impuesto provincial que en todo ese periodo de tiempo representa la exigua cantidad de \$301. 50.*

*“En este sentido signifíco á V.E. que con toda urgencia me manifieste la posibilidad ó imposibilidad de la exención del impuesto provincial por el tiempo indicado á los Carolinos que han de habitar la Isla de Saipan; preveniendo á V.E. que como la traslación de los mismos he considerado conveniente que se lleve á efecto por un buque de guerra; cuantos beneficios obtengan serán en bien del progreso de los pueblos que se establezcan puesto que nada ha de abonar para sus trasportes.*

*“Termino manifestando á V.E. que existiendo en aquel Archipiélago multitud de islas deshabitadas, con perjuicio de la soberanía que de derecho en ellas ejercemos, considero conveniente, que como un medio de justificarla autorize V.E. al Gobernador P.M. de quien dependen para que expida títulos de nombramiento de Ministros de justicias en todas las que no existan individuos que desempeñan estos cargos, aunque materialmente no se posesionan de ellas, por la imposibilidad material de efectuarlo.”*

*Lo que, por acuerdo de esta Dirección de fecha de hoy, tengo el gusto de participar á V.S. para que entienda y proponga lo mas acertado esa Sección de su digno cargo con respecto á la parte que abraza la trascrita comunicación y que afectan el negociado de la Prestación personal.*

*Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años.*

*Manila 25 de Nov. de 1885.*

*José Cintun(?)*

*[A] Sr. Jefe de la Sección de Fomento.*

### **Translation.**

Directorate General of Civil Administration, Development Section.

(Manila, 25 Nov. 1885).

Background information of the file regarding the exemption of payments of provincial tax for three years for the Carolinians who live in the suburb of María Cristina in the Capital of the Marianas and who are destined to be moved to the Island of Saipan.

[From the] Directorate General of Civil Administration of the Philippine Islands, Administrative Section—Business office for the creation of towns.

His Excellency the Governor General has seen fit to address the following communication to this Directorate:

“Your Excellency:

“Inspired by a refined patriotism to develop the islands that constitute the archipelago under his command, the P.M. Governor of the Marianas has proposed to me the transfer of the Carolinians who make up the suburb of Maria Cristina at Agaña, and those who lived in the Island of Rota, to the Island of Saipan, abundant in fertile but uncultivated lands, and almost totally uninhabited.

“As a means to accomplish this plan, that official proposes to me to transfer all the individuals who have to be moved to the Island of Saipan by means of the English schooner **Beatrice** that does business in that neighborhood, and her owner, Mr. Williams, is ready to accomodate him, under the condition that he receive a fare of two pesos for each adult passenger, by refunding him the value of the eventual transport of all of them, or else by crediting him the equivalent sum in the use of the Islands of Pagan and Agrigan, or by taking advantage of the first harvests that the new settlers might gather, if they cannot pay cash.

“With the objective that the proposed new settlement may easily satisfy the obligations that they may contract, the said P.M. Governor tells me that that Directive Center of yours could exempt them for three years from paying the provincial tax, which for the period in question would represent the tiny sum of \$301.50.

“In this sense I ask Y.E. to let me know quickly if it is possible, or impossible, to exempt the Carolinians who have to go to Saipan from paying provincial tax. I caution Y.E. that I am disposed to allow this move to take place aboard a warship, and that this would be an effective contribution toward the progress of the new settlers, given that they would not have to pay for their own transport.

“I conclude by pointing out to Y.E. that there exist in that archipelago a multitude of uninhabited islands, much to the prejudice of the sovereignty rights that we exercise over them; as a means of justifying them, I consider it proper for Y.E. to authorize their P.M. Governor to issue certificates appointing Justices of the Peace for all the islands where there is not as yet anyone carrying out that role, although they may not be able to physically go there, and live there.”<sup>1</sup>

By agreement of this Directorate of today's date, I have the pleasure to forward the above to Y.L. so that that worthy Section under your charge may examine it and recommend what best can be done, that happens to be within the purview of the Business office with regards to personal services.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Manila, 25 November 1885.

José Cintun(?)

[To] Chief, Development Section.

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1 Ed. note: Signed by Governor General Terrero on 23 November 1885.

## K2. Opinion of the Business Office, dated Manila 2 January 1886

### Original text in Spanish.

*Sr. Jefe de la Sección de Fomento.*

*El tener el honor de cumplimentar el decreto marginal de V.S., el Negociado debe manifestar que aunque su parecer debe concretarse á la parte que se refiere al impuesto provincial por ser la que exclusivamente le compete, estima no obstante oportuno presentar algunas inconveniencias la traslación de habitantes propuesta por el Gobernador P.M. de las Islas Marianas.*

*Bajo el punto de vista de la Soberanía que ejercemos sobre todo aquel Territorio nada mas conveniente, ni mas laudable, ni tampoco mas patriótico, que lo propuesto por aquel Jefe, con el fin de poblar las Islas de aquel Archipiélago, que se hallen hasta hoy deshabitadas; tambien encuentra equitativo y justo el procurar á los emigrantes todo genero de facilidades y economias para que lleven á cabo la traslación propuesta; ¿pero se ha pensado acaso en las contrariedades é inconvenientes con que habrán de tropezarse á la realización del proyecto, y en los quebrantos que en sus intereses habrán de sufrir necesariamente los Carolinos que deban trasladarse á la Isla de Saypan?*

*No se ocultará seguramente al ilustrado criterio de V.S. los perjuicios que se irrogarán á individuos que viven en familia, en un barrio constituido, y en donde todos sus intereses, por poco ó mucho que sea el valor representativo de los que posean, al obligarles á abandonar ese sitio, para trasladarse á cualquiera otra por muchas que sean las facilidades que para ello se les procure, pues su tralación trae consigo, como una consecuencia precisa el abandono de sus casas, el de los terrenos ya por ellos cultivados y alterará de un modo notable y perjudicial su manera de vivir y hasta sus costumbres.*

*Prescindiendo por un momento de esta última consideración tan valiosa ¿quien y como garantiza la substistencia de aquellos individuos, hasta tanto que, constituidos en pueblo en forma, tengan hechas sus viviendas y recojan la primera cosecha para hacer frente á sus mas apremiantes necesidades de la vida?*

*De todo lo expuesto pudo, hasta cierto punto, haber prescindido el Negociado, por tratarse de un asunto que no le compete; pero en obsequio al mejor acierto en su resolución, no ha desistido de hacerlo.*

*Por las disposiciones vigentes, no hay medio hábil de proponer á V.S. la exención que se pretende, en favor de los Carolinos que deben ser trasladados á la Isla de Saypan.*

*Si estos fuesen infieles, nuevamente reducidos, ó nuevos cristianos, podrían disfrutar por espacio de ocho años de la exención que ahora en su favor se pretende con sujeción al art. 8 del Decreto de Gobno. General de 14 de Enero de 1881 pero como no están en este caso no hay posibilidad de otorgársela, á menos que el Excmo. Sr. Gobernador Gral. usando de la alta prerogativa de que se halla investido, para resolver en todos los casos arduos ó interesantes, lo acuerde así, sin perjuicio de comunicarlo al Gobierno de S.M., encareciendo la aprobación de la medida.*

*De conformarse V.S. con el parecer del Negociado, podría informarse en este sentido por V.S. al Sor. Director, á fin de que pasado despues á la Sección de Gobernación, se una á los antecedentes que lo producen, y pueda el Negociado respectivo de ella proponer en su día lo que estime mas conveniente.*

*Es cuanto puede informar el Negociado. V.S. resolverá.*

*Manila 2 de Enero de 1886.*

*José Bt. de Mendiola*

### **Translation.**

Chief of the Development Section:

While complimenting the marginal note that Y.L. has written, the Business office must state that, although your opinion must be taken into account with respect to the provincial tax issue because it is indeed of your competence, it nevertheless thinks that it is appropriate to point out some disadvantages of the plan proposed by the P.M. Governor of the Mariana Islands to move the inhabitants in question.

With regards to the Sovereignty that we exercise over that whole Territory, there is nothing more appropriate, more laudable, or more patriotic than what is proposed by that official, for the purpose of populating the islands of that archipelago that are still uninhabited today; we also find it simple justice to provide the emigrants with all sorts of facilities and savings while they effect the planned move. But, has anyone given a thought to the disruptions and disadvantages that will accompany the execution of this project, and to the great losses that the Carolinians who must move to Saipan will necessarily suffer?

Certainly, the illustrious judgment of Y.L. has already foreseen the prejudices that will affect the individuals who live as families, in an established suburb, and where all their interests, big or small but representing all their possessions, would suffer, by forcing them to abandon that site, to move them anywhere else, no matter how many the facilities that would be given them; indeed, their move would certainly entail their having to leave their homes, the plots of land that they were already cultivating and would cause a notable change in their way of life and maybe even in their customs.

If one were to reflect for one moment on this final valuable consideration: who and how will the subsistence of these individuals be guaranteed, until such time as they, once in their new settlement, and have to build themselves some dwellings, can gather their first harvest, in order to satisfy the most pressing of life's necessities?

The Business office could, in fact, have kept quiet about a matter that is not its concern, but it does make the above remarks in the interest of a better resolution of the matter.

Given the present statutes, there is no easy way for Y.L. to grant the exemption that is being requested in favor of the Carolinians who must be moved to the Island of Saipan.

If they were heathens, newly reduced, or new Christians, they could enjoy for a period of eight years the exemption that is now being asked in their behalf, by referring to

Art. 8 of the Decree of the Government General dated 14 January 1881, but, since this is not the case, there is no possibility of granting it, unless His Excellency the Governor General, making use of the high prerogative of his position to resolve all difficult or interesting cases, may grant in fact grant it, without prejudice to his communicating his decision to the Government of H.M. for approval of the measure.

If Y.L. agrees with this opinion of the Business office, you may so inform the Director, and the file can then be passed to the Administrative Section, to join the other background documents, so that eventually the Business office may propose what it considers appropriate.

This is for the present the opinion of the Business office. Y.L. may decide.

Manila, 2 January 1886.

José Bl. de Mendiola.

### K3. Final opinion, in part, dated October 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

...  
*Sin embargo como la referida traslación, no siendo totalmente voluntaria, debe producir sus correspondientes perjuicios á los individuos que mantengan sus intereses creados en aquella Capital, parece justo y equitativo que al arrancarlos de su modo de vivir conocido, ofreciendoles otro eventual, y extraño, se les indemnice cuando menos de todos los gastos que su movimiento les proporcione, facilitandoles ademas los principales medios de subsistencia en el terreno nuevamente poblado, hasta hacerlo productivo el terreno nuevamente poblado, y dispensandoles por último toda clase de impuestos provinciales por un periodo determinado, para hacer posible su sostenimiento y progresivo adelanto.*

*En mi virtud, si los gastos y minoración de ingresos que esta medida pueda ocasionar se consideran suficientemente recompensados, con los beneficios políticos y materiales que á nuestros dominios proporcione, en estas Islas, solo corresponde apreciarlo á la Superior Autoridad que las gobierna, y en sus altas prerogativas residen facultades suficientes para conceder los beneficios que nos ocupan, previo informe del consejo de Administración y dando cuenta al Gobierno de S.M. para su definitiva aprobación...*

...

#### Translation.

...  
 Nevertheless, since the move in question is not entirely voluntary, it must necessarily cause corresponding prejudices to the individuals who have existing interests in that Capital, it appears just and equitable that, upon taking them away from their known way of life, and eventually offering another, foreign, one, they be indemnified at least for all the expenses that their move will occasion, and they also be given the principal means of subsistence at the new settlement, until they make the land productive, and

finally they be exempted from all category of provincial taxes for a fixed period, the better to improve their chances of sustaining themselves and progressing.

In my opinion, if the expenditures involved, and the loss of the revenue that this measure may occasion will be thought sufficiently worthwhile, given the political and physical benefits that will accrue to our possessions, in these Islands, it is sufficient to point this out to the Superior Authority who governs them, and he has sufficient prerogatives to grant the benefits in question, when presented with a report to that effect by the Administrative council and giving a report to the Government of H.M. for final approval.

...

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**1** Ed. note: The particular file containing the above documents does not contain information on the aftermath. No action was to be taken until 1891.



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**Document 1885L**


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## **Project for an industrial colony in the Marianas, by Francisco Chacón Lara**

*Source: An 87-page book by Francisco Chacon Lara, entitled: Memoria—Proyecto y estatutos de colonización de las Islas españolas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaos (Sevilla, 1885).*

*Note: Chacon was in the first group of political exiles to arrive at Guam in 1874 (see #39 in Doc. 1874H). He spent a few years there, working as a school teacher and farmer.*

### **Life in Guam, circa 1880—Extract from Chacon's booklet**

**Title of his booklet, translated:**

### **MEMOIR**

**Project and Statutes for the Creation of a Colony  
in the Spanish Islands of the Marianas, Carolines and Palau  
Presented to the Government for its Approval.**

**By its author  
Francisco Chacón Lara.**

#### **Chapter I.**

**Causes that have motivated the decadence in which the said Islands are today.**

...

[The author gives as the main cause the smallpox epidemic of 1755]

...

#### **Chapter II.**

**Of the inhabitants of the Marianas, Carolines and Palau.**

*Their food.—Customs.—Character.—Clothing.—Occupations.—Language.—Level of education.*

The information that has been spread regarding the abundance and happiness in which the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands live has created confusion. This confusion comes from the romantic and exaggerated narratives that some travellers have

written about them. These travellers came to the islands after they long and tiring sea voyages and found there a polished hospitality and an very abundant service. They were generally lodged in the convent of the capital of Agaña, and taken care of by the Jesuit and Augustinian Fathers who lived there, with all those things that were provided to them in such extraordinary cases by the Christian charity of the inhabitants of said Islands, a custom that still exists, even in the smallest towns, whenever the curates of these towns receive some foreigners. They imagined that the generous and charitable treatment that they received from these religious individuals was general among all the inhabitants of the islands. Based on such suppositions, they gave a pleasant and satisfactory twist to their romantic reports; however, by so doing, they obviously sacrificed their criteria as discerning researchers seeking the truth on the altar of a pleasing fiction and a short-lasting satisfaction.

The Chamorros or natives of the Marianas have never enjoyed an abundance worthy of so much praise; their coconuts, bananas, breadfruits, wild roots, and sometimes their corn and rice, that is all they ever had as their principal and most select foods. Nowadays, fish, crabs and other seafood, and the roots called *sune*, *nica*, *dago* and *gaogao* are what constitutes their common daily food. Consequently, it is not surprising that, after a continuous use of the above-mentioned foods, plus the polluted water which they drink and with the excessive sweating that they continuously undergo—a natural effect of their climate—they suffer from some skin diseases, specially in the towns where they eat more *sdune* and seafood, i.e. in Umata and Merizo; in the towns of Sumay, Agat, Inarajan and in the capital, it is rare that one suffers from such ailments.

The character of the Chamorros is generally docile, happy and active; they are not as revengeful nor blood-thirsty as the Tagalogs of the Philippine Islands. They enjoy social activities among themselves, and those who do not enjoy the company of Spaniards are those who do not know the Spanish language. The majority of the inhabitants of the capital and the women who have been in the service of Spaniards, know how to speak Spanish, and not only seek the company of Spaniards but consider themselves honored to do so. Whenever a Spaniard visits them, they show themselves to be attentive and thankful and they offer him some tobacco, betelnut and tea. Their conversations are pleasant, modest and respectful, and they are extremely fond of music, singing and dancing. Their so-called disputes—the name they give to their fights—are always fist-fights, and they never make use of the machete which they always carry hanging from their belts. When they work, i.e. those who have not abandoned their activities, they are strong and agile, but they are too conservative in their use of useless tools and manner of working the soil. They raise cattle, for use as beasts of burden, mounts or draught animals, since they completely lack horses, mules or donkeys. They are skiful and brave sailors, and the whaling ships used to employ them among their crews, before they experienced the absolute prohibition that they now live under; they are no longer permitted to leave their islands. They are highly tolerant toward their wives, perhaps due to the active, hard-working and pleasant character of the latter. They raise their children in so much seclusion and submission that, many times, it ver-

ges on cruelty. That is the reason why they respect their parents; indeed, the fear and terror they feel at being punished by them, is much greater than their love and filial gratitude.

The marriages usually take place as a result of an arrangement between their parents; that may explain why some couples do not live in harmony or reciprocity of feelings that they should have for each other. They are very patriotic and religious, more so in appearance than in reality; the reason for this state of affairs can be explained by this dissembled indifference rather than a intimate conviction that they themselves say they have, because at all times there has been little real interest shown toward them by the persons entrusted with their destiny. They mention with sorrow and spite the success and welfare gained by the provinces closer to Manila, and they cannot find an explanation why they, who enjoy all the same good climatic conditions, have not been worthy of such a direct protection.

They completely lack a road network between their towns, and that is why they cannot travel with coaches; they can go from one town to another only on foot, or, at best, riding a bull or water buffalo, and across the mountain ridges. The rivers—there are various—are generally crossed with rafts, if in the interior of the island, but by seeking the bars at the mouth of the rivers, if along the coast. Indeed, most of their bridges are built of coconut tree trunks, without anything to cover them, and therefore, they must be crossed on foot, being careful not to fall or get one's feet caught in the spaces between the trunks.

Their houses consist of four tree trunks planted in the ground, to mark a rectangle of from seven to eight yards in length, by four or five in width. They build their only floor, at an elevation of one meter off the ground, with split canes or areca-palm trunks. The walls are generally made with cane or *nipa*, and the roofing is made with coconut-tree leaves. In the capital, there are a few houses made with boards, and about twenty others made of solid material. The Governor's palace, the jail, the presidio, the convent and twelve or fourteen other private homes are made of masonry, the stone used being blocks of coral; they are all rectangular in shape, with only one story in height.

The vice of alcoholic drinks is gaining adepts among these wretched people; indeed, many of them enjoy getting drunk by drinking *aguardiente* [brandy] that the Chinese extract from *tuba*, a liquid exuded by the coconut tree, which is prejudicial to health in the highest degree.

Their only pastimes are cockfights and card-playing.

At present, their most able representatives, as judged from their wisdom, philanthropy and solid character, are:

**Father José Palomo**, the only religious person who exists in the convent of Agaña.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The author, who had been a political exile, must have been disdained by the Spanish friars and this remark is his way of retaliating.

His mother is remembered for the money that she invested in charitable works, and her son has followed her example and spent most of his inheritance the same way.

**Sergeant Juan de Castro** is famous for his activity as first official in the local administration; he is in charge of the supervision of works and all the personnel employed in the military commission, of the provincial archives, and of the judicial branch as well. This man enjoys the monthly salary of 9 pesos, for being a Sergeant First-class in the Standing Company, and 6 more, for being in charge of the military commission; all in all, 15 pesos per month.

**José Perez** is mayor of the city of Agaña. **Juan Guerrero** is the English interpreter. **Vicente Pangelinan** is an official in the office of economic administration. One must not forget the **Torres** brothers.

Among the outstanding farmers are: José Aguilar, Luis Lino, Andrés de Castro, Vicente Mendiola, Francisco Flores, and Luis Sablan.

Among the artists of some reputation are: Manuel Pangelinan, for carpentry; José Herrero, for tailoring; Juan Guerrero and Juan Ariola, as tin-smiths; Antonio Martinez is somewhat a jack-of-all-trades; Francisco Perez, a locksmith and blacksmith. Luis Baza must be mentioned as a smart and inventive fellow, but unfortunately he is most haughty and independent-minded.

There are no lawyer, physician, pharmacist, or any practitioner of other sciences. Those who are employed in agriculture, and in the technical trades as well, are always working in a vacuum. Indeed, there is no expert to show them their occupation and they ignore modern techniques and the use of more advantageous tools; they are struggling by themselves but they can never free themselves entirely from age-old practices.

The poor Chamorros wear only a shirt, hat and short pants; those with a better social position imitate the Spanish in their clothing, but they always wear the tails of their shirts outside their pants.

[In praise of the humble Chamorro woman]

The poor Chamorras, that is, the poor women among the natives of the Marianas, are generally more hard-working, more at ease and communicative as their husbands, and one can state that they have no equal in the whole of Oceania. Indeed, they work in the fields, sowing and harvesting rice, tobacco, corn and sugarcane; they handle the axe and the machete, with dexterity; they climb coconut trees and the tall breadfruit trees, with the same agility and safety that one of our best balancer in our gymnastic academies; they ride the bulls and water buffaloes as well as the men, and travel alone between the towns, crossing mountains and avoiding ravines; they climb aboard small canoes dug out of a breadfruit-tree trunk, sailing along the beaches, fishing and rowing from their settlements to their farms, and vice versa; they carry loads on their heads or shoulders, as heavy or heavier than what the men carry; they make all kinds of verbal contracts to buy and sell, cash or credit, an occupation for which they are highly

trusted by their husbands; many of them are good seamstresses and a few of them are excellent cooks.

The clothes worn by these poor women consist of a petticoat made of coconut fiber, known locally as *carranclan* whose design is very similar to our mattress covers, and of blouse they call *chinina* which is so short that it does not reach the waist. The women with a better social level imitate the Spanish women in the design of their coconut-fiber petticoats, but they also wear their *chinina*, or short blouse, and slippers on their feet.

With regard to the body and skin color of the pure Chamorro race, whose origin is Malay, the anthropologists tell us that it now exist only in very few individuals; indeed, as a result of the many contacts they have had with the Spanish, whalers from North America, England and South America, they are so mixed that one can often see among them blond hair, blue eyes and the rosy skin of the English; also the darker shade of the West European, with expressive black eyes, and all colors in-between, e.g. the olive skin with auburn hair, from all the countries of the world.

[Chamorro language]

The Chamorro language, so-called by geographers of languages, is no longer spoken properly, except by very few individuals; indeed, many common words from America have been introduced in it, and words referring to clothing, furniture, objects and animals come from Spanish, but they are all used improperly or in a corrupted form, and the purity of Chamorro has been replaced by a cacophony of truncated and incorrect words, that only deserve to be properly called a slang.

Public schooling is in the most lamentable state that one can imagine, as a result, no doubt, of the little or non-existent interest taken in its supervision, and also as a result of the infinitesimal salary given to teachers; indeed, suffice to sy, to prove that such schools are of little or no public utility whatever, that the teachers in the schools established in the vicinity of the capital and in the three inhabited islands, enjoy a monthly salary of 3 pesos, and that the children, to learn how to write, use a few small pointed sticks instead of pens, with which they scratch figures on the banana leaves that they use for paper; that is how they try to imitate the shapes of the letters of our alphabet. All of this logically leads to the teachers, instead of being concerned with the progress and advancement of their pupils, either neglect their duties or lack the indispensable knowledge they should have to exercise said profession. For instance, about the professors employed in the only college that is found in the capital of Agaña, those of the primary grades enjoy a monthly salary of 10 pesos, but those of the secondary grades enjoy 21 pesos, although they are of no use for said post; indeed, there cannot be found in the said college any youths who have seriously studied all matters in the primary grades, so, none will be found in the secondary grades either.

Military service is obligatory for all native [men] between the age of 17 and 40, This learned institution was created by the zealous and active Governor Tobias. Said Islands possess a provincial Battalion, regularly drilled in the handling of firearms. The officers of this battalion, up to the rank of Captain, are all natives, but their superior auth-

ority is in the hands of the civil and military leadership of the province. In addition, there is a native company, called Standing Company, whose members do garrison guard duty on a daily basis.

The Carolinians who are found in the vicinity of the capital of Agaña—there are about 400 of them—are exempted from said military service, and they live in their own village, or camp, at a quarter of a league from said settlement; they and their women do not use clothes, but only what nature provided them with at birth, plus a pretext of a loin-cloth; with such a immodest garb, they wander through the streets of the capital and deal with all classes of society, without anyone remonstrating with them as they should do, or much less obligating them to put some kind of clothing. They do not do any work, and their food comes from the breadfruit, fish and seafood. They are very intelligent, strong, friendly and submissive. That is the way they live in their own Caroline Islands whence they were brought to the Marianas to work in an agricultural project to grow cotton that a company had started but was forced to abandon because of its bad managers and the bad management of its resources.

### Chapter III.

Situation.—Climate.—Hygiene.—Products of the Marianas, Carolines and Palau.

...

### Chapter IV.

Colonization project.

*Development and wealth that can be given to said Mariana, Caroline and Palau Islands by means of a Company to establish a Military Colony, and the form that said development can take, at no cost to the public treasury.*

...

[Convinced that Spanish capitalists were not interested, the author proposed to the Spanish government to create a sort of penal colony, or convict colony, similar to that of New South Wales. Convicts from Spain, the Philippines could be joined by regular volunteer settlers from Spain and China. Various branches were to be established: farm complexes; fisheries; trading stations; credit unions and savings banks; manufactures of indigo, preserves, starch, flours from root plants; salt and dried meats; textiles; factories to build houses. They were to export various products, and import such things as horses, donkeys, various plants to start plantations, etc.]<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: I have not seen any trace in public records to suggest that this Memoir was ever noticed by the Spanish government.

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## Documents 1885N

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### Occupation of the Carolines by the Spanish

*Source: PNA.*

#### **N1. Telegram from the Ministry, dated Madrid 15 January 1885**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Telegrama del Ministerio, preguntando que hay de cierto de abusos cometidos por buques americanos.*

*Despacho telegráfico.*

*Madrid, Enero 15 [1885] 3:50 p.*

*Malacañan Id-163-81. (Inds. Northern)*

*Ultramar Gobernador General Manila.*

*Se ha noticiado el Gobierno que buques mecantes de los Estados Unidos han obligado á las Carolinas á izar el pabellón Americano y les han exigido dinero. Ruego á V.E. averigüe si el hecho es cierto y adopte las dispociones oportunas para proteger nuestra soberanía en aquella región.*

##### **Translation.**

Telegram from the Ministry [of Overseas], asking if it the abuses perpetrated by American ships are true.

Telegraphic despatch.

Madrid, 15 January [1885] 3:50 p.m.

[Re:] Malacañan Id-163-81. (via Ind. Northern)

[From] Overseas [to] Governor General Manila.

The Government has been told that merchant vessels from the United States have forced the Carolines to raise the American flag and have exacted money from them. Beg Y.E. to find out if this information is correct and adopt timely measures to protect our sovereignty in that region.

## N2. Royal order of 22 January 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Real O. disponiento ocupacion Carolinas.—Madrid 22 de Enero 1885.  
Ministerio de Ultramar.—Nº 78—*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El afan con que de algunos años á esta parte gestionan varias potencias de Europa la adquisición de posesiones coloniales, las pretestas y reclamaciones que contra la legítima soberanía de España en algunas de las regiones de Asia y Oceania han sido formuladas en diversas ocasiones y especialmente por Alemania y la Gran Bretaña en 1875 con relaciñn á las Carolinas y las de Palaos, ponen fuera de duda la necesidad y conveniencia de adoptar sin vacilaciones cuantas medidas, compatibles con los recursos del pais, conduzcan á consolidar en ellas nuestra dominación, y por tanto, este Ministerio encuentra aceptable en principio la propuesta hecha por V.E. en carta oficial, Nº 693 de 25 de Octubre último sobre creación en Yap de un establecimiento análogo á los de Siassi y Bongao en el Archipiélago de Joló, dotado con un par de misioneros, cuyo efecto S.M. el Rey (q. D. g.) se ha servido disponer me dirija á U.E., el oportuno proyecto y presupuesto encaminado á la realizaciñn del indicado pensamiento. De Real orden lo digo á V.E.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Madrid 22 de Enero de 1885.*

*Tejada.*

*[A] Señor Gobernador General de las Islas Filipinas.*

*[Minuta]*

*Manila 8 de Marzo 1885.*

*Cúmplase, y expidanse al efecto las órdenes oportunas.*

*Jovellar*

### Translation.

**Royal order for the occupation of the Carolines.—Madrid, 22 January 1885.  
Ministry of Overseas.—Nº 78.—**

Your Excellency:

The desire that has for a long time now incited various European powers to seek the acquisition of colonial possessions, the protests and claims that have been made against the legitimate sovereignty of Spain in some of the regions of Asia and Oceania, have been formulated on various occasions and specially by Germany and Great Britain in



1875 with respect to the Carolines and Palau,<sup>1</sup> have made it clear that we need to adopt without delay whatever measures that are compatible with the resources of the country, in order to consolidate our domination over them, and therefore, this Ministry finds acceptable on principle the proposal made by Y.E. in an official letter, N° 693, dated 26 October last, regarding the creation in Yap of a settlement similar to those of Siasi and Bongao in the Sulu Archipelago, provided with a couple of missionaries. To this effect, H.M. the King (may God save him) has been pleased to request me to ask Y.E. to submit the timely project and budget to set in motion the realization of the above-mentioned plan. That is what I had to tell Y.E. by royal order.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 22 January 1885.

Tejada

[Minute]

Manila, 8 March 1885.

Carry it out, and send the timely orders to this effect.

Jovellar.

#### **N4. Telegram from the Governor General**

*Note: This telegram, as most others, was coded, i.e. the draft was changed, replacing some keywords by blocks of four letters each.*

##### **Original uncoded text in Spanish.**

*Gobernador General Ministro Ultramar Madrid.*

*Encargué casualmente San Quintín que aprovechando viage Marianas tocará en Carolinas si tiempo favorecía. Espero regrese dentro algunos días é informaré V.E.*

##### **Translation.**

[From] Governor General [to] Minister Overseas Madrid.

By the way, I entrusted to the **San Quintín** to take advantage of voyage to Marianas to touch at the Carolines, weather permitting. I am expecting her to return within a few days when I will inform Y.E.

#### **N5. Another telegram, dated 30 January 1885**

##### **Original uncoded text in Spanish.**

*Gobernador General Ministro Ultramar Madrid.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See Doc. 1875C.

*San Quintin no tocó en Carolinas. Ira Velasco. Creo convendría tomar posesión efectiva de Yap. Si V.E. autoriza podré enviar destacamento y Misioneros. Marina conforme.*

### Translation.

Governor General Minister Overseas Madrid.

**San Quintin** did not touch at Carolines. The **Belasco** is being sent there. Believe would be appropriate to take effective possession of Yap. If Y.E. authorizes me, will be able to send detachment and Missionaries. Navy agrees.<sup>1</sup>

## N4. Authorization to occupy Yap, received 3 March 1885

### Original decoded text in Spanish.

*Ultramar Gobernador General Manila.*

*Queda V.E. autorizado para tomar posesión efectiva de la isla Yap en la forma que propuso en su telegrama 30 de Enero último.*

### Translation.

Overseas [to] Governor General Manila.

Y.E. is authorized to take effective possession of the Island of Yap in the manner proposed by you in your telegram of 30 January last.<sup>2</sup>

## N6. Instructions to the Commander General of the Navy

### Original text in Spanish.

*Instrucciones al Comandante Gral. de Marina.*

*Manila a 13 de Febrero 1885.*

*Al Comandante Gral. de marina.*

*E.S.*

*Con noticia de que buques mercantes de los Estados Unidos habían obligado á los habitantes de Carolinas á izar el pabellón americano y les habían exigido dinero, el Gobierno me manda averiguar si el hecho es cierto, y adoptar las disposiciones oportunas para proteger nuestra soberanía en aquella región.*

*Pareceme en su consecuencia lo mas indicado que si hay en la actualidad buque de guerra disponible para esta comisión, tenga V.E. a bien ordenar que salga á desempeñarla, dirigiendose á la isla de Yap, cuyo puerto entiendo sea el mas frecuentado, y desde allí á cualquiera otra, si según las noticias que adquirirá lo juzga conveniente; despues de lo cual podrá regresar á Manila.*

1 Ed. note: The **Velasco** was to leave for Yap on 19 February.

2 Ed. note: This telegram was confirmed by Royal order dated 11 March.

*Y como independientemente del objeto espresado, ha de ser de gran utilidad para lo que ahora, á en adelante, pueda convenir, el tomar coconimiento en lo posible exacto, del estado presente de las islas Carolinas en todos conceptos, así de su población y espíritu, como de su producción y comercio, podrá V.E. servirse recomendar al Comandante del buque, que procure comprobar los extremos de la nota adjunta, y demas que en su ilustración estime, teniendo en cuenta la posibilidad de fundar un establecimiento español en las referidas islas como testimonio de posesión efectiva; si el Gobierno lo dispusiera.*

*Al efecto de facilitar el desempeño de esta comisión en lo que dependa de la espontaneidad y buen deseo de las personas con quienes interese estrechar relaciones, se pondrán por este Gobierno general á la disposición del Comandante del buque, algunos objetos propios para obsequiarlas, conforme la costumbre de estos pueblos.*

*Dios, etc.*

*Copia.—6 escopetas—6 revolvers.*

### *Nota adjunta á la comunicación anterior.*

*Gobierno gral. de Filipinas.—Secretaria—*

*Nota adjunta á la comunicación de esta fecha dirigida por el Gobierno General á la Comandancia general de Marina, sacada de noticias dadas al Gobierno Gral. relativas á las Islas de Yap y Palaos.*

*Que están establecidos en Yap los representantes de dos casas fuertes y respetables de Hamburgo; un capitan americano llamado Holcomb que comercia por cuenta propia; un Irlandés llamado Hokiff [O'Keefe] y otros varios europeos que comercian en menor escala.*

*Que todos estos comerciantes reconocen el dominio de España y desean vaya allí algún representante del Gobierno para dirimir cuestiones.*

*Que una vez, no hace mucho, recurrieron al Gobernador de Hong-Kong, que mandó allí un buque de guerra Inglés, el cual atropelló á los europeos.*

*Que existen en Yap cinco caciques independientes entre sí, pero buenos, y que reconocen el dominio español.*

*Que todo su tráfico lo hacen por mar, y sería muy útil construir caminos que no existen.*

*Que la principal riqueza de las islas son los cocos, los cuales se exportan á Australia ó Hamburgo en buques de vela.*

*Que el puerto de Yap es magnífico, y las islas muy fértiles aun cuando están mal cultivadas.*

*Que hay buenas y abundantes aguas potables, y mucha producciñ de ñames (Clase de alimentación de los naturales), coco, plátano y piñas, y abundan las gallinas, patos y cerdos. No se crían vacas ni caballos que serian allí muy convenientes.*

*No existen carpinteros, y por lo tanto, para construir sería preciso llevarlos de Manila. Las casas de los residentes europeos, que son bonitas y cómodas, han sido levanta-*

*das por las dotaciones de los buques que han llevado entre los tripulantes algunos operarios.*

*Que para los indígenas, no sirva la moneda, sino efectos para el trueque. Estos efectos consisten principalmente en: tabaco en hoja, y de mascar; pipas de barro; espejos; telas de colores; aguardiente; ginebra; cerveza; pólvora y balas.*

*Que poseen muchas armas de precisión, especialmente carabinas **Winchester**, y que el mejor regalo para los caciques sería armas de fuego. Apesar de esta afición á las armas, son muy pacíficos y no ha ocurrido jamas atentado alguno contra los europeos.*

*Que apesar del deseo que tienen los Carolinos de que vayan los españoles, si no hay misioneros que hablen el inglés y tengan casas y capillas, allí adelantarán muy poco.*

*Que la posesión de Yap y el grupo de Palaos sería mas fácil, rica y provechosa que la de las islas Marianas, y con la circunstancia de que los Carolinos son mas trabajadores y robustos que los de estas últimas.*

*.Que en Yap hay un depósito de carbon de Australia como de 400 toneladas.*

*Que todo el grupo de las Palaos está dominado por dos caciques, constantemente en guerra entre sí, de los cuales el principal habla perfectamente el español.*

*Que saben bien que pertenecen al Gobierno de España.*

*Que las islas están poco pobladas; pero que si tuvieran mas población serían muy ricas.*

*Que los meses de Marzo y Abril son los mejores para la travesía y para la permanencia en aquellas mares.*

*.Que el grupo de islas Palaos tiene varios puertos donde puede entrar el **Velasco**.*

*Manila 13 de Febrero de 1885.*

*Fdo. Fragoso.*

## **Translation.**

### **Instructions to the Commander General of the Navy.**

Manila, 13 February 1885.

To the Commander General of the Navy.

Y.E.

Having received news to the effect that merchant vessels of the United States had forced the inhabitants of the Carolines to raise the American flag and had exacted money from them, the Government orders me to find out if this information is correct, and adopt timely measures to protect our sovereignty in that region.

It seems to me, therefore, that it would be proper, if there is a warship available for this mission, Y.E. will please order that she be ordered to go and carry it out, by first going to the island of Yap, whose port, I understand, is the most often visited, and from there to any other if, according to the information collected, it seems proper to do so; afterwards she will be able to return to Manila.

And, independently of the above-said objective, it should be very useful, now or in future, to get information as accurate as possible about the present condition of the Caroline Islands under various subjects, for instance, their population and character, as

well as their products and trade, Y.E. may wish to recommend to the Commander of the ship to try and find out more about the points mentioned in the enclosed note, and others that you think desirable, keeping in mind the possibility of founding a Spanish settlement in said islands as a guarantee of an effective possession, if the Government so orders.

The better to facilitate the performance of this commission which depends on the spontaneity and goodwill of those whom we wish to entertain relations, this Government General will place at the disposal of the Commander of the ship a few objects suitable as gifts to be distributed overthere, according to the custom of these peoples.

May God, etc.

Copy—6 shotguns—6 revolvers.

### Note enclosed with the above communication.

Government General of the Philippines.—Secretary.—

Note enclosed with the communication of this date addressed by the Government General to the Commander General of the Navy, taken from notices given to the Government General regarding the Islands of Yap and Palau.

There are traders established in Yap: two representatives of strong trading firms from Hamburg; one American captain named Holcomb who trades on his own account; one Irishman named Hokiff [O'Keefe] and other various Europeans who trade on a minor scale.

All of those traders recognize the authority of Spain and desire to have some government representative there to settle controversies.

Not too time ago they referred a dispute to the Governor of Hong-Kong who sent there an English warship<sup>1</sup> that acted hastily with the Europeans.

In Yap there exist five independent chiefs, good ones, and they recognize Spanish authority.

All their commerce is done by sea, and it would be very useful to build roads that do not now exist.

The main wealth of the island is in coconuts, and they are exported to Australia or Hamburg aboard sailing ships.

The port of Yap is magnificent, and the islands very fertile, even when they are badly cultivated.

There are good and abundant sources of potable water, and much production of yams (a type of food for the natives), coconut, banana and pineapple, and there are lots of chickens, ducks and pigs. Cows are not raised, nor horses, but they would be very desirable to have them there.

There are no carpenters; therefore, to put up buildings, it would be desirable to bring carpenters from Manila. The houses of the European residents, which are pretty and

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1 Ed. note: HMS *Espiègle*, Captain Bridge.

comfortable, have been built by ship crews among whose numbers there were a few carpenters.

Money is not used by the natives, only bartering. Some goods useful in bartering are mainly: tobacco leaves and chewing tobacco; clay pipes; mirrors; brightly-colored cloth; rum; gin; beer; powder and balls.

They own many precision weapons, specially **Winchester** rifles, and the best gift for the chiefs would be firearms. In spite of this love for weapons, they are very peaceful people and there has never been any attempt made against Europeans.

In spite of the desire of the Carolinians for the coming of the Spaniards, if the missionaries do not speak English and have houses and chapels, there will make little inroads there.

The occupation of Yap and the Palau Group would be very useful, rich and advantageous, but the Carolinians work harder and are more robust than those of the latter group.

In Yap there is a coal depot with coal from Australia, about 400 tons.

The whole Palau group is ruled by two chiefs, who are constantly at war with each other. The main one speaks perfect Spanish.

They know very well that they belong to Spain.

The islands have a low population, but, if they had a larger population, they would be very rich.

The months of March and April are the best months to make the crossing and to be in those seas.

The Palau Island group has various ports where the **Velasco** may go in.

Manila, 13 February 1885.

Fernando Frago.

## **N7. Letter to the Ministry of Overseas, dated 29 May 1885**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Al Exmo. Sor. Ministro de Ultramar.*

*29 Mayo 1885.*

*E. Sor.*

*Tengo el honor de poner en el superior conocimiento de V.E., que en todo el mes próximo venidero, quedaran listos los aprestos necesarios para tomar posesión de la isla de Yap en las Carolinas, con sugestión á lo que se sirvió V.E. prevenir en R.O. No. 78 de 22 de Enero Último.*

*Dios, etc.*

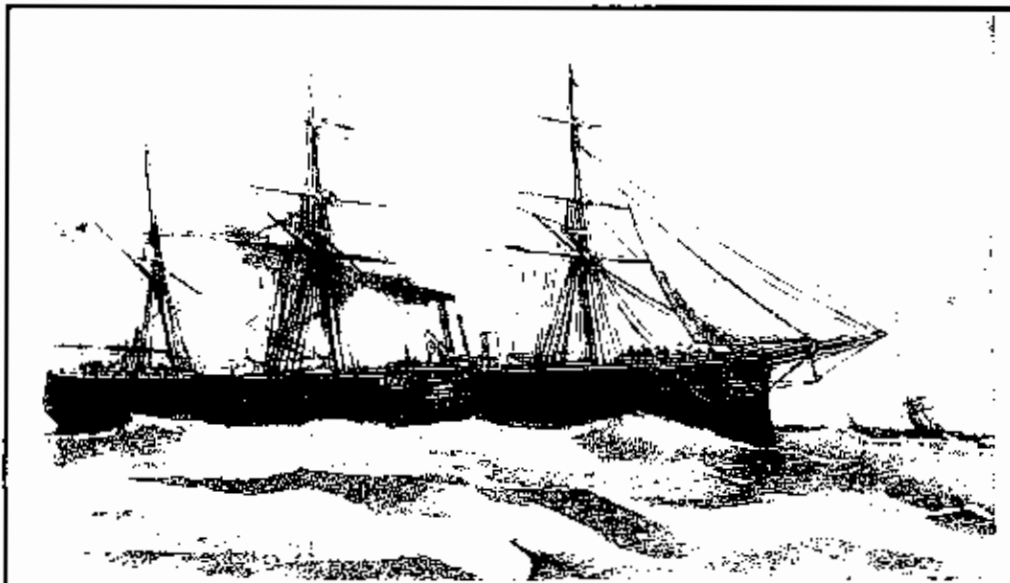
### **Translation.**

To His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

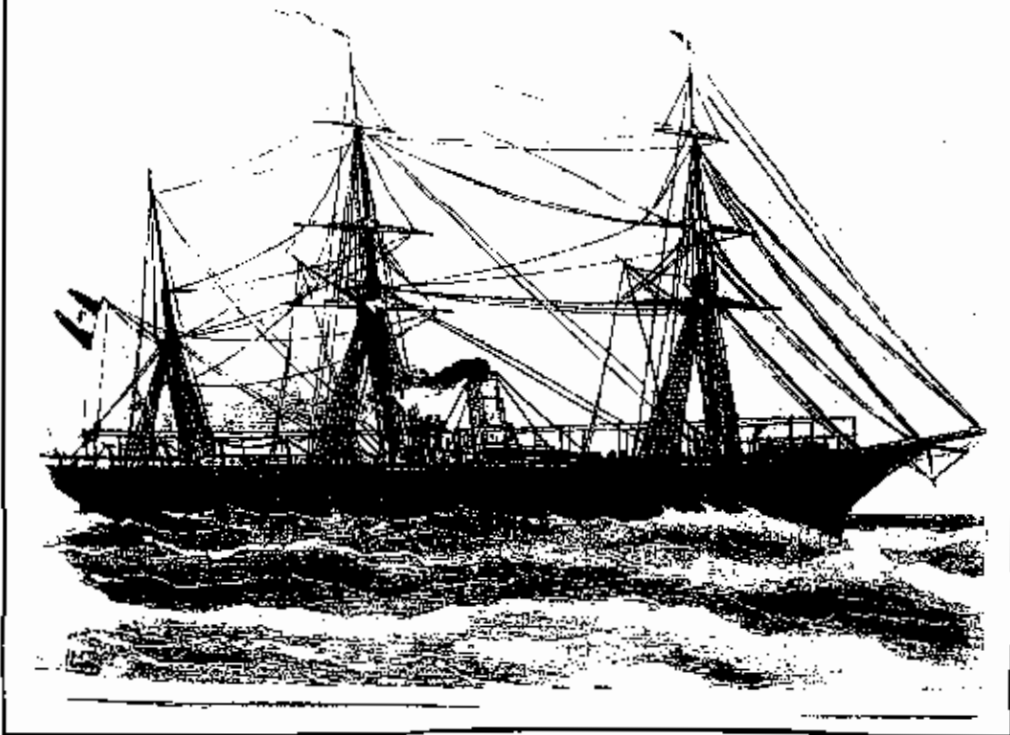
29 May 1885.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to place at the superior attention of Y.E. the fact that, during the whole of next month, there will be made ready all things necessary to take possession of the Island of Yap in the Carolines, in accordance with the Royal Order N<sup>o</sup> 78 dated 22 January last. May God, etc.



El cañonero Velasco.  
(*La Destacación Española en las Marianas*, tomo. 32 de 30 de agosto de 1895, pág. 124.)



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## Documents 1885O

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### The visit of the cruiser Velasco, Captain Butrón, to Yap

#### O1. The narrative of Captain E. Butrón forwarded to the Governor General

*Source: PNA.*

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Se da cuenta detallada de la Comisión confiada al Crucero **Velasco** para las islas Carolinas y Palaos, cuyo buque regresó á esta, en 2 de Abril de 1885, dejando terminada su comisión.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*En la tarde del día 2 del actual fonderó en esta bahía, el Crucero **Velasco**, terminada la comisión que para las Carolinas y Palaos le fué conferido de ella, me da cuenta el Comandante del expresado buque en los términos siguientes:*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Paso a contestar a V.E. los puntos que con caracter reservado me ordena V.E., así como la nota que acompañaba a su respetable comunicación de fecha 12 de Febrero de 1885.*

*En efecto: en el Puerto de Tomil (isla Yap) estas hace años establecidos:*

*1) el Capitan mercante Americano M. Holcomb que comercia por su cuenta con el Pailebot de su propiedad **Bartola**; esta casado con Da. Bartola Garrido natural de Agaña en las Marianas, cuya Sr. es española de corazón y ha prestado muy buenos servicios al **Velasco**, pues su marido se hallaba con su Pailebot en e Grupo de Palaos. Ella en persona ha ido en bote á largas distancias para enseñar los sitios de la aguada, y como habla con gran facilidad la lengua del país nos ha servido de interprete con el mejor deseo.*

*2) Tres dependientes de una respetable casa de Hamburgo, la cual tiene tambien representantes en varias islas del Grupo.*

*3) Mr. Frezlander [sic] representante de otra casa de Hamburgo. Este fué el que nos facilitó el carbon á \$15 la tonelada.*



4) *Un Irlandés llamado O'Keef, el cual comercia por cuenta propia y no se hallaba en la isla de día de nuestra llegada pues la vispera habia salido para Hong-Kong en un Bergantin acompañado de Mr. Shaw, tambien súbdito inglés.*

*Ese Irlandés de malísima fama y antecedentes, pero hombre de intriga y de gran actividad es el que trae inquietos y oprimidos á los naturales de Yap, y disgustados a los residentes europeos.*

*Ha procurado hacer creer a los naturales de Yap que él (O'Keefe) es el verdadero rey de la isla, les asegura que los españoles nada tienen que ver aquí, que España es una nación miserable y pobre, que no tiene buques de guerra que valgan algo, pero que si uno de ellos viniera a Yap y pretendieran sus tripulantes desembarcar en el islote en donde O'Keefe tiene su casa y almacenes, que los recibiría á balazos. Fueron tales las fechorias de O'Keefe con los naturales que llegaron á causar verdaderos perjuicios á los residentes, los cuales acudieron en queja de lastropelias del súdito inglés al Gobernador de Hong-Kong. Parece ser que O'Keefe habia procurado por todos los medios apoderarse del ánimo de los naturales; y aun les hizo creer que los otros residentes eran esclavos suyos, puesto que el era rey y dueño de todas las Carolinas.*

*Sucedió que a principios de 1883 el inglés Walter Emery salió en un bote a dar vuelta á la isla para hacer cambios, los indigenas lo atacaron a traición y lo tuvieron debajo del agua hasta que le robaron cuantos efectos llevaba en el bote dejandolo despues en libertad.*

*Al regresar a Yap Mr. Emery y noticiar a los residentes lo ocurrido, todos unanimes atribuyeron la fechoria á sugetiones de O'Keefe; opinión que se robusteció al ver que este se negó á unirse á los demas para exigir del reyezuelo del lugar en donde se cometió el delito el castigo de los culpables. Prescindieron de O'Keefe y amenazaron al rey con quemar y destruir su pueblo si no entregaba á los culpables. Despues de resistir cuanto pudo entregó a dos de los que cometieron el delito, despues de exigir la promesa de que no les quitarian la vida; pero apenas entregados se escaparon los presos y entonces los residentes atacaron el pueblo y quemaron las casas etc.*

*Unida la participación que los residentes atribuyen a O'Keefe en estos hechos á su mala fé en el comercio, resolvieron, como ya se ha dicho, escribir al Gobernador de Hong-Kong. Este ordenó, que desde Sydney (Australia) viniese á Yap un buque de guerra inglés y el 13 de Agosto de 1883, entró en Yap el **Espiègle** á cuyo Comandante Mr. Bridge acompañaba un Juez Civil; ambos hablaban bien el español.*

*Poco antes de la llegada de la cañonera inglesa, habia el irlandés preparado el terreno aterrando á unos reyezuelos con amenazas y halagando á otros con regalos.*

*Asi que llegó la **Espiègle** empezó el Juez a averiguar lo ocurrido con grandes dificultades, pues no hablaba la engua del país y el interprete fué facilitado por O'Keefe.*

*Finalmente, opinó el Juez que Mr. O'Keefe era inocente y que las quejas provenian de rivalidades comerciales é impuso una multa de \$100.00 á Mr. Shaw, y otra de \$50,00 á Mr. Emery ambos ingleses.*

*Hubiera deseado el Juez imponer multa al Capitan Americano Holcomb y á los demas residentes, pero estos protestaron alegando sus nacionalidades respectivas y el no ser Yap de INglaterra.*

*Tan luego como salió la **Espiègle** se apresuró O'Keefe á recoger de los indigenas los regalos que les habia hecho.*

*Cuando fondeó el **Velasco** en Yap con su bandera Española larga se apresuraron á venir abordo á ofrecerse todos los residentes con la sola excepción de los dependientes del irlandés, los cuales no han venido abordo en todo el tiempo que en Yap ha permanecido el **Velasco**.*

*Pasado el primer día sin haber venido á presentarse ninguno de los reyezuelos me manifestó Da. Bartola Garrido que no venian cediendo á las amenazas de O'Keefe, pero que al siguiente día vendrían con ella.*

*En efecto así lo efectuaron; se les recibió abordo tocando la orquesta una marcha, los llevé " la cámara y despues de haber hecho ceremonioso saludo al retrato de S.M. el Rey Don Alfonso XII (cuyo nombre pronunciaron con facilidad suma) expresandose en lengua inglesa, me dijeron, señalando al Augusto retrato, "Alfonso XII rey de Yap y de España."*

*En nada se diferencian los reyes de los súbditos, todos venian desnudos con un pequeño **taparabos** y tatuados con profusión; son de piel bronceada y fisonomía inteligente, nariz regular, labios finos, frente despejada, ojos muy oscuros, pero les desfigura mucho el tener los dientes negros, tanto por que se les queman cuanto por el abuso del betel.*

*Sirvió de interprete en la conferencia la ya mencionada Da. Bartola Garrido.*

*Les ofrecí algo de beber y manifestaron que preferian vinos suaves á licores fuertes así es que con vinos de Jerez y de Sanlúcar brindaron con entusiasmo por la salud y prosperidad de su joven rey Alfonso XII.*

*Procedí luego según la costumbre á hacerles los regalos que con todo prevision habia enviado abordo del **Velasco** el Excmo. Sor Governador General de Filipinas; al día siguiente correspondieron á estos regalos con generosidad, atendida su pobreza enviando, ñimes, camotes, ubes, gabes, plátanos, etc. lo que se repartió á la marinería.*

*Esta fuera de duda que los reyezuelos de Yap saben muy bien que dicha isla pertenece á España y que todos los residentes (con excepción de O'Keefe) desean con ansia que haya aquí un Jefe ó Gobernador con quien entenderse.*

*La isla Yap, por lo hermoso de su clima, por su prodigiosa fertilidad; por lo excelente y abrigado de su puerto de Tomil, y por estar situado en la derrota de los buques que van á China por el pasage mas oriental, parece como que indican lo muy conveniente que sería establecer en Yap una estación naval y Gobierno.*

*Si el Vapor Correo que ha de unir las islas Marianas con las Filipinas tocase en Yap, el establecimiento de un Gobierno y estación naval que abarcara a Yap con el Grupo de Palaos, costaría poquísima al Estado, y alentaria á los Comerciantes españoles para comerciar con esas islas que hoy explotan los extranjeros.*

*Un año despues de establecido la ya dicha estación naval habria datos suficientes para resolver con acierto, si era ó no conveniente la posesión definitiva.*

*El carbon de Australia podría obtenerse en Yap y en Marianas á \$7.50 la tonelada. La isla de Yap como antes se ha dicho es fertilísima, produce una cantidad de cocos prodigiosa y produce además ñame, plátanos, camote, gabe, ube, rima, y es capaz de producir todas las de los climas tropicales, con la sola excepción del arroz.*

*Tienen muchos cerdos de buena raza cuya carne no comen habitualmente los naturales, pero les sirve para venderlos á los europeos; también gran abundancia de gallinas.*

*No tienen vacas ni cabras porque no las consideran útiles, pero hay muy buenos pastos para ellas.*

*Los pueblos están muy bien contruidos con calles y caminos empedrados; abunda el bambú, y aunque carecen de bejuco, suplen esta falta con la fibra del bonote del coco, que tejen a mano, haciendo cuerdas de todos tamaños, que así les sirven para hacer redes de pesca, como para trincar las vigas de sus casas.*

*El interior de la isla, incluso los Montes, es de fácil acceso y el suelo parece ser de una arcilla rojiza, de la que construyen sus utensilios de cocina y que parece a propósito para la construcción de ladrillos.*

*Son los naturales de Yap pacíficos y hasta tímidos tanto que habiendo manifestado los reyezuelos el día de su visita abordo, deseo de ver disparar uno de los cañones armstrong de 15 cm. se les preguntó si con granada ó bala sólida y contestaron que no, que con pólvora sola.*

*Así se efectuó con gran alegría de ellos, que presenciaron atónitos el manejo de la ametralladora Nordenflect.*

*Con objeto de que desecharan los infundados temores que Mr. O'Keefe infundióles, no tan solo permití que estuvieran abordo sino que entraron en la cámara con entera libertad.*

*Así lo hacían; entraban en la cámara en donde todos se fijaban mucho en el retrato de S.M. el Rey, y aun cuando las sesiones duraban seis ó siete horas, durante las cuales no cesaban de fumar ni de mascar el buyo, no dejaban una sola mancha, pues los restos del tabaco y del buyo los guardaban en sus canastos para arrojarlos después al agua. Tampoco proporcionaron el menor disgusto con la marinería, con la que hacían sus trueques y a la que ayudaban gustosos en los trabajos de fuerza.*

*Mucho sintieron la salida del **Velasco** y no cesaban de preguntarme cuando volvería.*

*Los habitantes de Yap ni tienen pabellón determinado ni rey que los domine y gobierne, pues cada reyezuelo sobre solo lo es de su aldea así es que todos los residentes izan en sus casas el pabellón mercante de su nación. No creí oportuno oponerme á una costumbre que en todas partes, incluso en Hong-Kong, está autorizada.*

*La memoria que redacté y remitiré en breve da cuantos datos se han podido adquirir, para que en su vista el Gobierno de S.M. pueda resolver si conviene ó no establecerse en Yap.*

*Los regalos enviados á este buque para los reyezuelos por el Gobierno Superior Civil de Filipinas han surtido bienísimo efecto, pues los buques del Comercio los tienen acostumbrados á esta clase de regalos.*

*El 15 de Marzo salí para el grupo de Palaos, fondeando en el Puerto de Koror el 16 á las [?] de la tarde.*

*Al siguiente día vino abordo el rey Abadul á quien se le hicieron los oportunos regalos, así como á las Reynas, á su hermano el Ara-coco, al primer ministro y principales.*

*Manifesté al Rey el retrato de S.M. el Rey que aquí como en Yap lo consideran como el suyo. Permití que todos los naturales entraran á ver dicho retrato.*

*Los residentes en Koror se reducen a tres: un inglés nacido en las Antillas inglesas llamado Mr. Gabens [Gibbons], y dos indios de Filipinas, el uno llamado Eugenio y el otro Bonifacio Garde. Este último que sabe leer y escribir el Español ha prestado abordo muy buenos servicios así como el inglés, persona muy inteligente que me ha impuesto en muchas cosas que ha sido muy útil conocer.*

*El Capitan Holcomb que se hallaba en Aumol [ó Arngol] (N de la isla) con el Pailebot **Bartola** á su mando, se apresuró, así que tuvo aviso de mi llegada, a venir con su buque al fondeadero del **Velasco**.*

*Por todos ellos (que hablan la lengua del país) sé que además de Abadul, rey de Koror, existe otro rey en AArmol, el cual es muy anciano y además está ciego enteramente.*

*Casi siempre están en guerra Abadul y el Rey del Norte, pero en la actualidad, gracias a la intervención oficiosa y hecha solo por pura bondad del Comandante de la Cañonera **Espiègle**, Capitan de Navio Mr. Bridge, está en paz.*

*Habiendo manifestado Abadul mucho empeño en tener una bandera española para arbolarla en su casa en el pueblo, y considerando que el acceder á su petición a nada ligaba ni comprometía al Gobierno Español y podría ser de utilidad en su día, despues de explicarle todo el respeto y veneración con que debía tratar dicha bandera, le regalé una de tamaño proporcionado; para evitar rencillas con el rey de la parte N., valiendome de Mr. Gabens le envié los mismos regalos que había hecho á Abadul, otra bandera española y una carta en la que le encargaba la necesidad de que continuen en paz.*

*Los naturales de aquí son dignos de mejor suerte que le da la explotada por los buques del comercio, son humildes, obedientes y respetuosos al rey, cariñosos para sus familias.*

*Habiendole manifestado á Abadul la conveniencia de que enviará á Manila para ser allí educados, tres varones y tres hembras de 10 á 12 años de edad, me contestó que necesitaba consultar con las reinas y con los principales y de manifestarme que los niños tenían miedo de embarcarse y que las madres lloraban mucho la separación, me dijo: ¿Por que no manda el Rey aquí un maestro para que eduque á todos los niños y les enseñe el español? Como además me exija una respuesta categórica de cuando habían de*

*regresar los niños ya educados, respuesta que yo no podía darles no insistí en el asunto, pero se puede asegurar que una misión sería aquí muy bien recibida y tratada.*

*Habiendome convidado Abadul á que fuéramos á tierra á presenciar un baile de guerreros, lo efectuamos llevando la orquesta que llamó mucho la atención en el pueblo*

*Ese día se hallaba el rey en cama con un fuerte catarro y aunque quiso dar una comida á los oficiales á estilo de Koror, no lo consentimos y se limitó á dar agua de coco y refresco de agua con miel para todos los guerreros que bailaban.*

*Muy útil ha sido para el buque la autorización comedita por V.E. de emplear alguna cantidad del fondo económico para regalar á determinadas personas.*

*Poco le he podido hacer bajo el punto de vista hidrográfico, pues este Grupo se compone de mas de 200 islotes ó peñones, pero lo he hecho cuanto ha sido posible respecto á mareas y rectificación de latitud y longitud.*

*Con objeto de asegurar la paz entre Abadul y Aracoli [sic], (rey de Artingol) paz, que, como antes se ha dicho ajustó oficiosamente el Comandante de la Cañonera de Guerra inglesa Mr. Bridge, hice que comparecieran abordo ambos reyes, y no pudiendo comparecer el de Artingol, por estar enfermo, vino en representación suya su hermano. Con toda la posible solemnidad y sirviendo de interprete el súdito inglés Mr. Gibbon se levantó un acta por triplicado de la que tengo el honor de acompañar á V.E. un ejemplar, habiendo quedado cada uno de los otros en poder de los reyes del N y S de la isla. Ignoro si dicho documento está redactado con arreglo á las formulas de cancillería (que desconozco) pero sí puedo asegurar á V.E. que dicha paz será respetada y producirá un gran bien á estos habitantes.*

*Parece ser que el Comandante inglés les prometió venir aquí cada seis meses desde Nueva Guinea, yo me he abstenido de prometer nada referente á la venida de otro buque español de guerra por estas aguas.*

*Pero si el Gobierno de S.M. estima que se debe ocupar este grupo, creo conveniente noticiar á V.E. que el rey Abadul agradecería en extremo el regalo de un bote (que pudiese ser un destos excluidos del Arsenal de Cavite) y una pareja de ganado vacuno.*

*Tal ha sido Exmo. Sor. el resultado de la comisión que se me confió y en cuyo desempeño desearía haber merecido la Superior Aprobación de V.E.*

*Lo que con inclusión de copia del acta que se cita y quedando en remitir á V.E. otra de la memoria que se redacta, tengo el honor de transcribirlo á V.E. para su debido conocimiento y como resultado de oficio del Gobierno Gral. del actual y digno cargo de V.E. fecha 13 de Febrero último.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 6 Abril de 1885.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Luis Bula*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador General de estas islas.*



**Spaniards landing at Yap in February 1885. (From Goutts. *Les îles Carolines*, Paris, 1885).**

### Translation.

This is a detailed report of the mission entrusted to the cruiser **Velasco** for the Caroline and Palau Islands. Said ship returned to this capital on 2 April 1885, thus ending the mission.

Your Excellency:

In the afternoon of the 2nd instant there anchored in this bay the cruiser **Velasco** at the end of the mission to the Carolines and Palau that had been entrusted to it, the result of which the Commander of said ship sent me the following report.

Your Excellency:

I hasten to give my answer to the points covered in Y.E.'s confidential letter of 13 February 1885, in which Y.E. ordered me to investigate, as well as in the Note that was enclosed in it.

Indeed, in the port of Tomil (Island of Yap) there have been established for many years:

1) The American merchant Captain Holcomb who trades on his own account aboard his own packet boat **Bartola**. He is married to Doña Bartola Garrido, a native of Agaña in the Marianas; said lady is Spaniard at heart and has lent her very good services to the **Velasco**; indeed, her husband was then away with his packet-boat at the Palau Group. She in person went by boat to great distances to show us the places where they take on water, and since she speaks with great ease the local language, she has served us as interpreter, willingly.

2) Three dependents of a respectable house in Hamburg, which has also other agents in various islands of the group.

3) Mr. Friedlander, representing another house in Hamburg. This man provided us with coal at \$15 a ton.

4) An Irishman named O'Keefe,<sup>1</sup> who trades on his own account but he was not at the island when we got there; he had left the day before for Hong-Kong in a brig, accompanied by Mr. Shaw, another English subject.

That Irishman has a very bad reputation and background, and is a man of intrigue, but of great activity; he is the one who oppresses the natives of Yap and makes them troublesome and prejudicial to the other European residents.

He has tried to make the natives of Yap believe that he (O'Keefe) is the true king of the island; he tells them that the Spanish have no business here, that Spain is a miserable and poor country, that she has no warships to speak of, but that if one of them were to come to Yap and her crew tried to land on the small island where he has a house and storage sheds,<sup>2</sup> he would receive them with firearms. The misdeeds of O'Keefe toward the natives were such that the latter began to cause real prejudices to the residents

1 Ed. note: He was an Irish-American from Atlanta, Georgia, not a British subject, although his vessels were registered in Hong-Kong.

2 Ed. note: The island of Tarang in Tomil Harbor.

who in turn made a complaint before the Governor of Hong-Kong against the outrages of the English subject in question. It appears that O'Keefe had tried by all means to grab the attention of the natives, and even made them believe that the other residents were his slaves, given that he was king and owner of all the Carolines.

It happened that, at the beginning of 1883, the Englishman Walter Emery had gone out in a boat to go around the island to trade. The natives attacked him treacherously and kept him under water until they had robbed all the trade articles that he had on board his boat, then they set him free.

Upon returning to Yap, Mr. Emery notified the residents of what had happened and they were unanimous in attributing the misdeed to suggestions from O'Keefe, an opinion that was reinforced when they realized that he refused to join them in demanding the chief of the place where the crime had been committed to punish the guilty. They dispense with O'Keefe and threatened the king with burning and destroying his town if he did not turn over the guilty. He resisted as long as he could but he finally turned over two of the men who had committed the crime, but only after extirpating the promise that they would not be killed; however, the prisoners had no sooner been turned over that they escaped and then the residents attacked the town and burned the houses, etc.

The residents all attribute such deeds to bad faith in trading on the part of O'Keefe; they decided, as I have said, to write to the Governor of Hong-Kong. The latter ordered that an English warship be despatched from Sydney (Australia) and, on 13 August 1883, there arrived at Yap the *Espiègle* whose commander, Mr. Bridge, was accompanied by a civilian Judge; both spoke Spanish well.

A short time before the arrival of the English gunboat, the Irishman had prepared the field by making threats to some chiefs and by gratifying others with gifts.

Soon after the *Espiègle* arrived the Judge began to investigate the incident, with great difficulty, because he did not speak the local language and the interpreter was supplied by O'Keefe.

Finally, the Judge issued his verdict, that O'Keefe was innocent and that the complaints originated from commercial rivalries and he imposed a fine of \$100.00 on Mr Shaw, and another fine of \$50.00 on Mr. Emery, both Englishmen.

The Judge would have imposed fines on the American Captain Holcomb and to the other residents, but they protested that they were of other nationalities and that Yap was not a possession of England.

As soon as the *Espiègle* had left, O'Keefe quickly recovered the presents that he had given to the natives.

When the *Velasco* arrived at Yap with the Spanish flag flying, all the residents hurried to come aboard to offer their services, except the dependents of the Irishman, and they never came during the whole time that the *Velasco* stayed at Yap.

One day had passed without any chief making his appearance when Doña Bartola Garrido came up to say that they were not coming because of threats made by O'Keefe, but that they would show up with her the next day.



Indeed, this is what they did; they were made welcome on board while the band played a march. I took them to my cabin where the portrait of H.M. King Alfonso XII was ceremoniously saluted; by the way, they could very easily pronounce his name and they said, in English, while pointing at the august portrait, "Alfonso XII king of Yap and Spain."

The kings look exactly the same as their subjects; all are naked, wearing only a small loin-cloth, but they are tattooed profusely. Their skin is sun-tanned and their facial expressions intelligent, the nose regular, the lips fine, the forehead opened, the eyes very dark, but what disfigures them is their black teeth, made black because of the excessive use of betel-nut.

The above-mentioned lady, Bartola Garriso, served us as interpreter during the interview.

I offered them something to drink and they showed me their preference for sweet wines over strong liquors, so that I served them some wine from Jerez [sherry] and from Sanlúcar. They toasted with enthusiasm to the health and prosperity of their young King Alfonso XII.

I then proceeded to distribute gifts to them according to custom, those that had been sent on board the **Velasco** by His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines. The next day they generously answered in kind, given their poverty, sending yams, sweet potatoes, roots called *ube*, *gabe*, bananas, etc. which were distributed among the crew.

It is beyond doubt that the chiefs of Yap know very well that said Island belongs to Spain and that all the residents (except for O'Keefe) wish anxiously to have here an Official or Governor with whom to deal.

The Island of Yap, on account of its fair climate, its prodigious fertility, its excellent, well-sheltered harbor of Tomil, and its situation along the track of ships that go to China [from Europe] by the easternmost route, seems to indicate that it would be very appropriate to establish a naval station and a government at Yap.

If the mail steamer that must unite the Mariana Islands with the Philippines should touch at Yap, the establishment of a government and a naval station that would link Yap with the Palau Group, would cost very little to the State, and would encourage Spanish traders to trade with those islands that are now exploited by foreigners.

One year after the establishment of this naval station, there would then be sufficient information to safely decide whether or not a permanent settlement is desirable.

The coal from Australia could be obtained in Yap and in the Marianas at \$7.50 per ton.

The Island of Yap, as I have said, is very fertile; it produces a prodigious quantity of coconuts, as well as yams, bananas, sweet potatoes, *gabe*, *ube*, bread-fruit, and is able to produce all types of tropical plants, except rice.

It has many pigs of a good breed, although the natives do not generally eat the meat, but they use the pigs to trade with Europeans. There is also a large quantity of chickens.

They have neither cows or goats because they consider them useless, but there are good pastures for them.

The villages are very well built with streets and roads that are paved with stones. There is a lot of bamboo, and, although they lack cane, they overcome the lack of this fiber by making use of coconut coir which they weave by hand, making ropes of all sizes; that is what they use to make fish-nets and also to fasten the beams of their houses.

The interior of the island, including the mountains, is easy of access and the soil appears to be a sort of reddish clay which they use to make pottery and that seems appropriate also for the manufacture of bricks.

The natives of Yap are peaceful, timid even, and so much so that, when the chiefs made their visit on board they expressed the wish that one of the 15-cm Armstrong guns be fired; I asked them if they wanted it fired with steel pellets or a solid ball, they answered, "only with powder."

This was done, with much joy on their part, but they were stunned by a demonstration of firing with a Nordenflect machine-gun.

For the purpose of convincing them to let go their unfounded fears that Mr. O'Keefe had inculcated in them, I not only gave permission to stay on board but I also let them visit the cabin freely.

So they did; they would go into the cabin where they all admired the portrait of H.M. the King, and even when the sessions lasted from six to seven hours, during which they constantly smoked or chewed betel-nut, they did not leave a single stain; indeed, the leftover tobacco and betel-nut they kept in their baskets with the intention of throwing it out into the sea later on. They did not cause the least disturbance either with the crew with whom they traded and whom they helped with the physical tasks.

They were sorry to see the *Velasco* leave and they did not cease asking when she would return.

The inhabitants of Yap do not have their own flag nor a paramount king ruling over all of them; in fact, each chief rules over his own village only. That is why each trader keeps the merchant flag of his nationality flying over his own house. I did not think it appropriate to oppose such a custom, which is practiced everywhere, even in Hong-Kong.

The report which I wrote, and which I will submit soon, gives all the details that I was able to acquire, so that H.M.'s Government may in turn resolve whether or not it is convenient to settle Yap.

The gifts for the chiefs that were sent to this ship by the Superior Civil Government of the Philippines have had a very good effect; in fact, the merchantmen have made them accustomed to this type of gifts.

On the 15th I left for the Palau group, dropping anchor there in the port of Koror on the 15th at [blank] in the afternoon.

The next day, King Abadul came on board and the timely gifts were presented to him, as well as to the Queens, his brother Ara-coco, his first minister and the chiefs.

I showed H.M.'s portrait to the king; here as in Yap they consider him their own. I allowed all the natives to come in to take a look at said portrait.

The residents in Koror amount to three persons: an Englishman born in the West Indies, named Gabens [sic], and two Filipino Indians, one named Eugenio and the other Bonifacio Garde. The latter knows how to read and write Spanish and also speaks English; he has rendered very good services on board, is very intelligent and has given me much information that I found useful to know about.

Captain Holcomb, who was then in Aurmol [Artingal] (N. of the Island) with the packet-boat **Bartola** under his command, hurried to come with his ship to the anchorage of the **Velasco**, as soon as he was informed of my arrival.

Through all of them (who speak the local language), I learned that, besides Abadul, king of Koror, there is another king in Aurmol who is very old and completely blind.

Abadul and the northern king are almost always at war with each other, but recently, thanks to the unofficial and kind intervention of the Commander of the gunboat **Espiègle**, Navy Captain Bridge, they are at peace.

Abadul having made many efforts to acquire a Spanish flag from me, to put up at his house in the town, after considering that my acceding to his petition would in no way obligate the Spanish Government but might even be useful later on, after I explained to him the high respect and veneration that he should have toward said flag, I gave him one of a suitable size; to prevent resentment on the part of the northern king, I took advantage of Mr. Gabens to send the same gifts and flag to him, with a letter in which I recommended that peace be maintained.

The natives here deserve a better luck than the one they have with the trading vessels; they are humble, obedient and respectful to the king, and love their families.

Having proposed to Abadul that it would be appropriate for him to send three boys and three girls of from 10 to 12 years of age to Manila to be educated, he answered that he needed to consult with the queens and the chiefs, but he told me that the children were afraid of going on board and that their mothers would cry much at their separation. He told me, Why does not the King send a teacher here to educate all the children and to teach them Spanish? Since he also asked me to say when the children would return after they had been educated, and since I could not answer that question, I did not insist on the matter, but I can say that a mission here would be very well received and treated.

After Abadul invited me to go ashore to attend a war dance, we did so, taking the band along, which attracted much attention in the town.

On that day, the king was sick in bed with a strong cold, and, although he wanted to offer a meal, Koror-style, to the officers, we did not accept and accepted only coconut water and drinks made of water mixed with molasses for all the warriors who performed the dance.

The ship benefitted much from the authorization given by Y.E. to use some money from the economic fund to make gifts to selected persons.

I was able to do little by way of hydrographical work; indeed, this group consists of over 200 islets and crags, but, when I could, I made some observations regarding the tides and some rectifications of latitude and longitude.

For the purpose of assuring peace between Abadul and Aracoli [Ara-Klay] (the king of Artingol), a peace which, as I have said, had been unofficially adjusted in a friendly manner by the Commander of the English gunboat, Mr. Bridge, I summoned both kings to appear on board, but since the king of Artingol could not come, on account of sickness, he sent his brother to represent him. With all due solemnity and using Mr. Gibbon, the English subject, as interpreter, an agreement was written in triplicate, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose for Y.E., with the other copies being left with each king, of the north and south parts of the island. I do not know if this document is written in accordance with official Chancellery procedures (which I ignore) but I can assure Y.E. that the peace in question will be respected and will produce something good for all the inhabitants.

It appears that the English commander promised them to return every six months from New Guinea. I abstained from promising anything with respect to the coming of another Spanish warship to these waters.

However, if H.M.'s Government thinks that this group ought to be occupied, I believe that it would be appropriate for me to advise Y.E. that king Abadul would be extremely pleased to receive a boat as a gift (one of those that are surplus to the Arsenal of Cavite) and a pair of cows.<sup>1</sup>

Such has been, Excellency, the result of the mission that you had entrusted to me, and I hope that it will meet with the superior approbation of Y.E.

There remains for me to forward the report that is being prepared, but I have the honor to remit to Y.E. the above preliminary report for your information, enclosing the above-mentioned peace agreement, as a result of the letter of the Government General under the worthy command of Y.E., dated 13 February last.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 6 April 1885.

Excellency,

Luis Bula

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

## O2. The gift items aboard the Velasco

### Original text in Spanish.

*Oficio al Comandante del Velasco remitiendo relación de efectos.*

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1 Ed. note: Meaning one cow and one bull. The men from the German ship Hertha had apparently killed the last cow from the herd originally given by Capt. McCluer, thus causing the extinction of the breed.

*Sor. Comandante del Crucero Velasco.*

*Secretaria. 16 Febrero 1885.*

*Adjunto tengo el gusto de remitir á V.S. de órden del Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General la relación de los efectos contenidos en los dos cajones que van rotulados G.G. y lleva el portador Velasco.*

*Dios, etc.*

— 0 —

*Gobierno gral. de Filipinas.—Secretaria.*

*Relación de los efectos que lleva para regalos el crucero Velasco.*

<i>1 cajón con 20 piezas de indianas de varias colores á \$1.75 pieza ...</i>	<i>\$ 35.00</i>
<i>10 docenas de pañuelos de color á \$0.81 c/u .....</i>	<i>\$ 8.12</i>
<i>15 id. id. á \$1.06 c/u .....</i>	<i>\$ 15.93</i>
<i>10 piezas de á dos docenas de id. pequeños á \$0.50 docena .....</i>	<i>\$ 10.00</i>
<i>35 cajitas abalorios pequeños á \$0.43 c/u .....</i>	<i>\$ 15.31</i>
<i>5 id. mayores á \$0.62 c/u .....</i>	<i>\$ 3.12</i>
<i>1 id. con 6 escopetas Lefauchaux á \$30 .....</i>	<i>\$180.00</i>
<i>600 cápsulas para id. ....</i>	<i>---</i>

### Translation.

Letter sent to the Commander of the **Velasco** remitting a list of effects.

To the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**.

Secretariat, 16 February 1885.

As per the order received from His Excellency the Governor General, enclosed please find the list of the effects contained in the two crates that are marked with the letters G.G. and are addressed to the **Velasco**.

May God, etc.

— 0 —

Government General of the Philippines—Secretariat.

List of the effects that are sent aboard the cruiser **Velasco** to serve as gifts:

<i>1 crate with 20 pieces Madras cloth various colors @ \$1.75 each</i>	<i>\$ 35.00</i>
<i>10 dozens of colored handkerchiefs @ \$0.81 ea. ....</i>	<i>\$ 8.12</i>
<i>15 id. id. @ \$1.06 ea. ....</i>	<i>\$ 15.93</i>
<i>10 sets of two dozen id., small @ \$0.50 a dozen .....</i>	<i>\$ 10.00</i>
<i>35 cases of small beads @ \$0.43 ea. ....</i>	<i>\$ 15.31</i>
<i>5 id. larger @ \$0.62 ea. ....</i>	<i>\$ 3.12</i>
<i>1 id. with 6 Lefauchaux shotguns @ \$30 .....</i>	<i>\$180.00</i>
<i>600 capsulas para id. ....</i>	<i>---</i>

### O3. The peace agreement between Koror and Artingal renewed on 19 March 1885

*Sources: PNA; quoted in Bartoli's book entitled Las Carolinas, pages 83-84.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

#### **Acta de avenencia entre el rey Abbathule, de Korror y el rey Arra-Klaye de Artingol en las islas Palaos.**

*En nombre de Dios Todopoderoso y en el de Don Alfonso XII Rey de España.—*

*Reunidos en la Cámara del Sor. Comandante del Crucero Velasco, los abajo firmados Abbathule rey de Korror, y Ere-Klao hermano de Arra-Klaye rey de Artingol al que con plenos poderes representa; reconociendo solemnemente la protección del rey Don Alfonso XII cuya indiscutible soberanía sobre las Carolinas y Palaos reconocen: ante el Sor. Comandante del dicho Crucero Velasco representante de S.M.C. para asegurar la paz entre Abbathule, rey de Korror, y Arra-Klaye, rey de Artingol, cambiando de este modo en fraternal y duradera amistad la tregua que ambos reyes deben a los buenos oficios del Sor. Comandante del buque de S.M.B. Espiègle; cediendo a las razones y acomodamientos de dicho representante, los reyes susodichos juraron vivir en paz fraternal y duradera desde el momento de firmar esta acta triplicada; atrayendo sobre sí el desagrado de S.M. el Rey Don Alfonso XII, cualquiera de ellos, que olvidando lo jurado, rompiera la paz firmada.*

*Leida solemnemente la presente acta ante las partes contratantes y á presencia de los oficiales del buque, sirviendo de intérprete el súdito inglés Mr. James Gibbon, juraron atenerse á su espíritu y su letra y firmaron á continuación.*

*Abordo, Korror á 19 de Marzo de 1885 años.*

*Abbathule, rey de Korror X*

*Arra-Klaye, rey de Artingol.—P.P. Ere-Klao X*

*El comandante del Crucero Velasco—Emilio José Butrón*

*Intérprete J. S. Gibbon.*

*Hay un sello que dice: Crucero Velasco—Comandancia.*

*Es copia—Bula.*

#### Translation.

#### **Peace agreement between King Abbathule of Korror and King Arra-Klaye of Artingal in the Palau Islands.**

*In the name of God Almighty, and that of Don Alfonso XII, king of Spain.—*

*Being assembled in the cabin of the Commander of the cruiser Velasco, we the undersigned Abbathule, king of Korror, and Ere-Klao, brother of Arra-Klaye, king of Artingal, whom he represents with full power: recognizing solemnly the protection of King Alfonso XII, whose undeniable sovereignty over the Carolines and Palau we recognized before the Commander of said cruiser Velasco, representing H.C.M., in order to as-*

sure peace between Abbathule, king of Korrer, and Arra-Klaye, king of Artingol, we hereby change into a fraternal and durable friendship the cease-fire that oth kings owe to the good offices of the Commander of H.M.S. **Espiègle**, yielding to the reasons and accommodations of said representative, the undersigned kings swore to live in a fraternal and durable peace beginning with the signing of this act in triplicate; with the understanding that, if anyone should break his word and break this peace, he shall bring upon himself the displeasure of H.M. King Alfonso XII.

Having read solemnly the present act before the contracting parties and in the presence of the officers of the ship, the English subject Mr. James Gibbon serving as interpreter, they swore to abide by the spirit and letter of this document and they signed below.

Aboard, Korrer, 19 March 1885.

Abbathule, king of Korrer X

Arra-Klaye, king of Artingol.—P..P. Ere-Klao X

The Commander of the Cruiser **Velasco**—Emilio José Butrón

Interpreter J. S. Gibbon.

There is a seal that says: "Cruiser Velasco—Commander."

This is a copy.—Bula.

## O4. The narrative of Lieut. José Romero

*Sources: Article in the Madrid newspaper El Resumen; copied in Bartoli's book, pp. 40-47.*

### Background information.

A reporter of the *El Resumen* has interviewed Navy Lieut. Romero who was the second commander of the Spanish expedition that visited the Carolines a few months ago and has given an interesting account and declarations that are pertinent to the present conflict. We extract the most important from his article, as follows.

### The origin of the incidents.

There are in the Carolines two trading houses from Hamburg, and two others belonging to an Irishman, Captain O'Keefe, and an American, Captain Holcomb. These traders were, and still are, in constant competition among themselves, but they suffer great prejudices on the part of Captain O'Keefe, a turbulent and adventurous man who exercises a great influence over the natives of the territory.

Once an agent of the Hamburg house represented by Captain Spiers went out on a trading expedition. Various natives grabbed hold of him and, after robbing him of the effects that he had in his boat to trade, they tried to drown him.

They left him for dead, but fortunately it was not so; although he was in bad condition, the agent was able to make his way back to Tomil Bay (in the port of Yap) and gave an account of the incident to the residents. They attributed the attempt to the suggestions of O'Keefe, a belief which was affirmed when the latter refused to join them

in an armed expedition that was organized to seek revenge for the act of vandalism on the part of the natives.

That expedition took place and a few shots were exchanged during which Captain Holcomb received a bullet in a leg. Finally, the king of the town to which belonged the men who had tried to assassinate the Hamburg agent accepted to turn over the guilty men, but they fled before they could be punished.

### **English intervention.**

These and other incidents, always attributed to O'Keefe, caused the residents to ask the English government to punish this dangerous subject of theirs, and, in effect, there was sent to those waters for this purpose a corvette of the Royal Navy named **Espiègle**, which had on board a special judge to carry out a summary investigation.

But O'Keefe was not asleep; he worked his schemes to such an extent that the judge declared him not guilty; rather he fined some of the English subjects who had been quarrelling. He also tried to fine Captain Holcomb, not only because he had led the punitive expedition to seek justice for himself, but also to punish him in view of the accusation against him for having hanged two Carolinians, one of whom was no less than the great sorcerer of the town of Rull; these executions had been ordered by Holcomb under the pretext that a theft had taken place at his establishment.

Captain Holcomb defended himself energetically, alleging that only the Spanish had jurisdiction in the Caroline Islands, but that if there was no local government officials, English judges could only punish their own subjects, not him, who was American.

The captain of the **Espiègle** did not dare enforce the sentence, given the attitude of Captain Holcomb, but he warned him that he was going to Hong-Kong to get instructions from his government, and that he would return and carry them out.

### **Why was the Velasco sent there?**

Therefore, the American captain, fearing that the return of the **Espiègle** would be prejudicial to him, conceived the plan to advise the authorities in Manila, so that they would, given that those territories belonged to Spain, establish a government in Yap that might protect everyone against the depredations of the natives and foreigners alike.

To this effect, he reached an agreement with the foreign residents and therefore also the German residents who, although they did not sign the petition to the Captain General of the Philippines, nevertheless told me that they approve the idea; moreover, they helped to convince the Carolinian chiefs to place their names at the foot of the petition to Spain.

I must tell you that those natives have been trying for a long time, by very lively requests, to have Spain establish a government in the Carolines that would protect them against the greed of the Europeans.

I also believe it is my duty to tell you that, in the capital of the Marianas, there is a whole colony of Carolinians, so that, far from being unknown, our sovereignty over their native islands has been perfect knowledge among them.



### **The Germans in the Carolines.**

Moreover, I insist on repeating that the German subjects gave their approval to the idea of Captain Holcomb; indeed, while I was in Yap I had the opportunity to meet with all of them, and I even made friend with some of them, and they expressed their wish that soon a regular government establishment would be set up there, and they even congratulated themselves that perhaps I would be appointed as governor.

I do not believe that they were lying to me. Among others, I can mention Mr. Friedlander, the main agent in Yap for the house of HERNSHEIM & CO. of Hamburg, and Mr. Spiers, head of the house of Handels und Plantagen, also of Hamburg; these men promised me that they would help as much as they could to establish our settlement.

### **The petition to Spain.**

The petition for the establishment of a government in Yap was taken to Manila and presented to the Governor General of the Philippines by Captain Holcomb aboard the packet-boat **Bartola** that belongs to him.

I believe that General Jovellar sent a telegram to the government regarding the petition of the Carolinians, but it appears that the government, though approving the idea in principle, asked for more explanations before giving a definite answer.

The Captain General, nevertheless, perhaps in the belief that a delay might be prejudicial to our interests, or else believing that in the meantime it would be good to send an expedition to facilitate the installation of a future settlement, decided to send the cruiser **Velasco** to the Carolines, for the purpose of visiting the island of Yap and the Palau group.

### **The Velasco and Doña Bartola.**

From the very beginning of our arrival at the Carolines, we were perfectly received by the natives who vied with one another to make us welcome and to entertain us.

The time we had available for exploration and study was relatively small. Much of the information that appears in the report of Mr. Butrón, commander of the **Velasco** was obtained with the help of the same German residents.

However, the main and most extraordinary assistance we got came from the wife of Captain Holcomb (Doña Bartola). During our stay in those territories, this lady did not rest one moment. She is a native of the Marianas and, therefore, Spanish.

Although her husband was absent, she did so much for us that we could never thank her enough.

Let me give you one example: since there was at that time a great shortage of water and we needed to replenish the water aboard ship, she offered herself to serve as pilot and spent one whole day, from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m., supervising the transport from the spring that was located far inland to the coast where the boats were waiting on the beach.

In addition to giving us, as I have already said before, the best and most correct information, she helped us to communicate with the natives, whose language she knows,

but that is not all, she also knows all the other languages spoken in Micronesia, as well as most of the European languages, and perfectly.

### **Act of sovereignty.**

From Yap we went to Koror (Palau), whose king is named Abadul or Abbathule.

When Araklao, the king of northern Bablethuap, learned of our arrival at the territory of Abadul, he sent his brother and a son to us, loaded with gifts, to sign a document to prove their attachment to the king of Spain. However, Abadul did not only prevent their passage, but he made the emissaries prisoners, and sent us Araklao's gifts as if they were his own.

When this incident came to our knowledge, I was chosen by the commander of the **Velasco** to negotiate with Abadul to have the prisoners released, which he consented, but only after some efforts on my part; I took the opportunity to try and convince both of these old enemies to renew peace between themselves.

I forced Abadul to present himself aboard the next day, and to take along the ambassadors of Araklao, and there was written the peace agreement which was signed by the kings, the commander and the English subject, Mr. Gibbon, who acted as interpreter.

In this agreement, which I drafted, the undeniable sovereignty of the king of Spain over those territories is mentioned a few times, as you may see for yourself, because the document has already been published by a few newspapers here in Madrid.

In addition, both Abadul and Araklao received our military flags, with the admonition that they should be kept flying and should advise if anyone should take them down or substitute them.

### **Should we occupy the Marshall Islands?**

When Lieutenant Romero was asked if he thought that the occupation of Yap and the Palau group was appropriate, he replied:

—I believe that it would be very appropriate for us to occupy the western and central Carolines, because the former group lies halfway between the Philippines and the Marianas, and because, if the Marianas and the central Carolines were to belong to another nation, our way through the Pacific would be blocked.

I say the same thing about Palau, because, though it has bad ports, it is nevertheless located near Mindanao; since Mindanao can be threatened from this point, and even the Celebes Sea and our possessions of Tawi-Tawi, and Jolo.

On the other hand, to occupy the Marshall and Gilbert groups, that are at a distance of over 3,000 miles from Manila, that have not one important island, that offer us very few products and huge expenses, and that, besides, do not threaten us in the least, would be, in my humble opinion, not appropriate, because, even if they were occupied by another nation, that would not bother us at all.

## O5. Copy of Butrón's report sent to the Governor General

### Original text in Spanish.

*Remitiendo copia de la Memoria sobre Yap y Palaos, y roquís de los puertos de Tomil y Koror.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Tengo el honor de incluir á V.E. copia de la memoria sobre la Isla de Yap y Grupo de Palaos en las Carolinas acompañada de dos croquis de los puertos de Tomil (Yap) y Koror (Palaos) de que trata mi oficio del 6 del mes anterior de que la presente es continuación.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 4 de Mayo de 1885.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Luis Bula.*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador General de estas islas.*

### Translation.

Remitting copy of the Report regarding Yap and Palau and the sketches of the ports of Tomil and Koror.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose to Y.E. a copy of the report regarding the Island of Yap and the Palau Group in the Carolines accompanied by two sketches of the ports of Tomil (Yap) and of Koror (Palau) that were mentioned in my letter dated 6th of last month, of which the present is a continuation.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 4 May 1885.

Excellency.

Luis Bula.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See Doc. 1885P below.

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## Document 1885P

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# Commander Butrón's report on Yap and Palau

*Sources: PNA; article in the Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía de Madrid, Tome XIX, 2nd semester of 1885; reviewed in an article entitled "Die spanische Mission auf den Karolinen-Inseln" in Globus 48:19 (1885).*

*Warning: Many manuscript copies of this report were made, and some of them have many transcription errors, specially concerning native words. I have tried my best to decipher and rectify all such errors and misprints.*

**Report regarding the Caroline and Palau Islands,**  
Presented to His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station of the Philippines, by the commander of the cruiser Velasco, Navy Commander Emilio Butrón y de la Serna.

The Superiors having decided to send the cruiser **Velasco** to undertake a mission to the island of Yap (Carolines) and to the Palau Group, and since these islands are not well known, it seemed appropriate for me, after first giving some background information, to give a brief overview of the observations that could be made during the short visit of the **Velasco** to said islands.

Given this information, not previously available, it would not be too difficult to make a more complete study in future, should there be an opportunity to do so.

### I.

## Their surface, boundaries, population.

As can be seen in sailing directions for the Pacific, such as the general work by Horsburg, and in the *Dictionnaire géographique* of Mr. Vivien de Saint-Martin, the archipelago consists of 38 groups, totalling about 500 islands, and occupying about 450 leagues in longitude and from 2° to 7° N, that is, 100 leagues in latitude; including the sea around them, this is an area of 45,000 square leagues.

The confusion of names given by the natives, who speak many different languages, the various ways to write them down and even of pronouncing them, according to the

various nationalities of the visiting mariners, have made it difficult to get to know these islands very well. Not so long ago, they were relatively unknown.

This ignorance and the information given by their first navigators who warned about the presence of many dangers, made those who had to sail through them very fearful.

Many of these doubts and fears were dissipated in great part with the voyages of the captain of the French ship **Coquille**, Mr. Duperrey, and the hydrographical works of the Russian Captain Lütke, aboard the corvette **Seniavin**.

In spite of the great expanse of water that they occupy, according to Captain Lütke, the overall surface of all the Carolines together, excluding the major islands of Ualan [Kosrae], Panope [Pohnpei] and Roug [Chuuk], and excluding the reefs, would amount to a piece of land about 25 miles long by 200 meters in width.

The total population (excluding Yap and Palau) would amount to about 3,000 inhabitants.

From that we can calculate a population density of about 500 people per square mile, much higher than the most densely populated countries in Europe.

However, we simply cannot compare coral islands to continents, because the surface of the islands is completely covered by coconut trees, bread-fruit trees, bananas and certain edible roots that could perhaps provide food to as many as 3,000 individuals per square mile.

2  
...

## V.

### Yap in 1885 during the visit of the cruiser Velasco.

Since it was impossible for me to make all observations during a visit of a few days, I distributed the work among the second commander and the officers.

The first group consisted of the Navy Lieutenants José Romero and Arturo Marenco, and Sub-Lieut. Antonio Romero; they did not rest until they had found out all that was possible to learn.

The Sub-Lieutenants Severo Lopez de Roda and Adolfo Navarrete have carried out their duties to my entire satisfaction.

As for the ship surgeon, Dr. Luís Cirera, and the Accounting Officer, Mr. Waldo Arando, they have fulfilled all my wishes.

It was an easy task to collect a mountain of data with the help of these officers.

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1 Belgium has 488; England 290; France 217; and Spain 85 per square mile (Source: American Almanac Statistical, Financial and Political for the Year 1884).

2 Ed. note: Many historical sections are omitted here, because it would be repetitious and/or be too cumbersome to correct the factual errors made therein.



View of Tomli Harbor, Yap (From Bartrol's book).

**1° Situation.—Latitude.—Longitude.—configuration of the country.—Corrections to the chart.—Climate.—Tides, etc. etc.**

**The port of Tomil.** The short stay in said port and the lack of instruments have made impossible the correction of the errors that can be noticed at first sight in the chart.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, let us say two words to explain the attached sketch, made from Mount Buray, and to which we have added names, because the chart does not have any.<sup>2</sup>

[Figure(Facing page): **The port of Tomil in Yap**, seen from Mount Buray (now Matade, 575-foot high). From the location of this mountain, it is clear that the islet with buildings on it was Tarang Island, with Captain O'Keefe house and sheds. Moreover, I think that the islet (now peninsula) where Captain Holcomb and Bartola Garrido lived is here hidden from sight. (From Manuel Escudé Bartoli's *Las Islas Carolinas* (Barcelona, 1885).]

According to our observations made on board and what the inhabitants of Yap said, the sailing directions for the port are as follows: after sighting the south point of the island of Yap, and carefully avoided the reef that comes out of it towards the SSW for about 4-5 miles and the rock that is about 2 cable-lengths beyond the end of that reef, you shall steer to pass close to the barrier reef off the SE coast, without fear of the current pushing you towards it, because it will push you off it in that neighborhood. After passing the first pass, identified on the chart with the name of *mal canal*<sup>3</sup> (which does not reach the coast at low tide as equidistances shown on the chart), when Mount Buray bears N. 20° W. and the buoy on top of the rock on the west side of the entrance appears, you shall steer about NW. 1/4 W. until the first point, then NW. 1/4 N.,<sup>4</sup> until you are to the SW of Rull Point, when you shall head for Eugnoth,<sup>5</sup> then you shall steer according to the anchorage of your choice:

1) To go to the anchorage of **Rull**, once you are SW of Mulbirai Point, you shall steer WNW and, between the islands and the point you shall find an anchorage in 28 fathoms water, bottom of hard mud and coral rubble;

2) To go to the anchorage of **Eugnoth**, upon leaving the entrance channel you shall steer NNE, and when near the reef that encloses the port on the SE side, there is an an-

1 Ed. note: I am sure that this was the Spanish version of the chart made by Captain Blohm of the German merchantman Augustite in 1871, published at Madrid in 1876; my copy of it is unfortunately not of reproduceable quality.

2 Ed. note: None was received by the magazine editor. I have found what looks like a copy, published in Bartoli's book, although it bears no names.

3 Ed. note: Shown as such on the Blohm chart; it is the channel that leads to the village of Tora.

4 Ed. note: The magnetic variation in 1874 was 2°5' NE and stationary.

5 Ed. note: Misprint for Engnoth, now spelled Donitsch and the tip of a peninsula, which was then the islet residence of Capt. and Mrs. Holcomb.

chorage in 21 fathoms. This anchorage is good only during the NE monsoon season, because the ship will not swing at anchor; it is recommended to use two anchors;

3) To go to the anchorage of **Guinan**,<sup>1</sup> upon leaving the entrance channel, you shall steer towards the E point of the reef of Eugnoth, and when being abreast of the island, E.—W with it, but not yet alongside it, you shall steer W. 1/4 NW., and when you are S. 1/4 SW. of it, you shall drop two anchors in 24 fathoms, since you will be near the reefs of Tunking Point;

4) To go to the anchorage of **Dangua**, once you are E.—W. with Eugnoth Island, you shall steer N. until you pass between the reefs of Maru Point and a place south of Tarrang Island, and once you are up with the wharf of this island and near its SW part, you shall drop anchor in 16 fathoms of water.

While going between the reefs of Maru Point and those to the south of Tarrang, watch out for a shoal that is not seen at high tide and that is isolated in the channel that runs along a line between Obi [sic] Island and Mount Buray;

5) To go to the anchorage at the NE of the bay, after passing Eugnoth Island you shall steer N, until Obi Island bears SE, and when clear of its reef, you shall steer NE to avoid the shoal that, as I have said, exists in the channel creek between Mount Buray and Obi Island, and having passed the S end of Tarrang Island, you shall steer N. to anchor, before you reach the coral patch, in 18 fathoms. To the E. of this island, Tarrang, there is a shoal in 5.5 meters.

Should you wish to go further in, passing between the coral patches there are 14 fathoms of water, and once you are between Impachel [Pekel] Island and Mercedes Point of the village of Togu, you can anchor in 12 fathoms. As the reefs and shoals can be seen clearly from the topmast at a good distance, you should send a knowledgeable person with a good eyesight to the bow.

The port of Tomil is open towards the E1/2NE and SSW by by Tomil Point and Rull Point; it is rather well sheltered and, though full of shoals, is rather spacious.

From Yaam Point (the place where the cemeteries of Rull and Lames are located) to Rull Point, there is an underwater creek or canal that penetrates somewhat towards the SW with little depth; from there, to Multroi Point, the coastline runs almost directly Northward, creating the basin at Rull; this whole part is united to the reef W. of the entrance channel that runs to the site occupied by Mr. Friedlander, the German trader, where the depth near the wharf is 12 fathoms.

Between Multroi Point and Rosita Point, there is a creek that forms an inlet; it first bears westward and then northward with little depth.

From Rosita Point to Carmen Point, there is a small flat area, more or less towards the N1/4NE, and more or less towards the E1/4NE are located the islets named Rosa, Blalasth and Eugnoth. This is the inlet that we chose to anchor the **Velasco**.

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1 Ed. note: Misprint for Gucham, I think, a place now without a name near Davotj.



There are six islets within the port. Towards the NE of the bay there is Obi Island, uninhabited; there is a tradition to the effect that it was occupied by some Spaniards a long time ago.

...  
[Omitted here are small paragraphs on the geology, industrial soil, hydrology, and fauna.]

...  
[Copra trade]

The only product exported is dry coconut meat, known in the trade by the name of copra.

Every year there is an average of 1,500 English tons of copra produced locally, although last year it did not exceed 500 tons, because the harvest was small.

During the months of January and February of this year, some 600 tons had already been collected and were ready to be shipped by the four trading houses that monopolize the trade:

The houses in question are:<sup>1</sup>

1) Hensheim & Co. of Hamburg, with stations at Ulithi, Pohnpei, Palau and Yap; their agent in Yap is Mr. Robert Friedlander.

2) Handel- und Plantagen, with stations in all the main islands of the Caroline Group; their agent in Yap is Mr. Andreas Spiers.

3) David O'Keefe, Irishman, English subject, trading on his own account in Yap, Palau and St. David [Mapia].

4) Mr. Holcomb, American citizen, commander of the packet-boat **Bartola**, who trades for his own account in the Carolines and Palau.

In 1884, a total of 23 ships visited Yap with a total capacity of 4,500 tons. During the months of January and February 1885, 5 ships came in, totalling 1,081 tons.

Yap produces so little wood for building purposes that it must be imported from other islands in the group.

...  
**Population.**—The number of inhabitants in Yap is 1,200 approximately, and as the surface of the island is about 150 square kilometers, the density is therefore about 13 inhabitants per square kilometer.

...  
**Aptitudes.** They like to fish. Their robustness and docility make them apt for all kinds of work. They are generally idlers, no doubt because they do not need to work that hard for a living.

**Moral qualities and defects.** They often fail to keep their word, they lie, lack formality; however, as a result of being of a peaceful and apathetic character, they do not know any violent passions.

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1 Ed. note: The typographical errors have been removed.

## Language and dialects.

### Vocabularies and phrases.—Writing and numbers.

They lack written numbers. Their numbering system is decimal, and its formation is as follows: based on the first nine numbers, the first three decades and the fiftieth, have their own names; the rest are formed by prefixing the word for 10 (*ragag*), the basic units and the intermediary units by addition.

The first 100 has its own name, but the nine others and the intermediary hundreds are formed similarly to the decades.

They do not know how to count beyond 1,000.

### Numbers.

1. Tarek.	10. Ragag.
2. Lagarú.	11. Ragag-telek.
3. Dalip.	20. Ruli.
4. Anin-guih. <sup>1</sup>	30. Goyei.
5. Lal-lé.	40. Aminguig-ragag. <sup>2</sup>
6. Nil.	50. Uguien.
7. Meidilip.	60. Nil-ragag.
8. Meiruk.	100. Re-hay.
9. Merep.	1000. Buin.

**Vocabulary, writing, phrases.** There is no known form of writing. The residents in Yap have made up a written vocabulary; the language appears to be monosyllabic.

When two adjacent letters are vowels and belong to different syllables, the normal union of the spoken work is broken, as if they stopped to breathe. For instance, this is shown by a dash, as follows:

For example: *Ta-aren* = We.

The [vowels] *o* and *e* are almost never spoken as in Spanish, but with sounds that are intermediary, nasal and or guttural.

The [consonants] *v* and *f* are very difficult to differentiate by sound, as in *ufade* = sweetly, and *divel* = song.

The [Spanish] *ll* is unknown or they pronounce it like the people of Andalusia, e.g. *cayer* = to cry.

They have the *ng* guttural-nasal sound, like the Tagalogs, e.g. *siguping* = to walk.

They also mix the sounds for *d* and *z*, whose pronunciation is a sort of *z* that comes out as if the speaker had a fat tongue.

1 Ed. note: Anin-güüg, in a copy of the manuscript.

2 Ed. note: Aningüüg-ragag, in a copy of the manuscript.

## NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

*Ed. comment: (E.) indicates that they use the English word for it. The vowels are pronounced pure, as in Latin, or Spanish.*

[Spanish]	[Yapese]	[English]	[Remarks]
Amigo.	Olag.	Friend.	
Armas.	Dilug.	Weapons.	
Agua (lluvia).	Nú.	Water (rain).	
Arbol.	Reis.	Tree.	
Arrecife.	Na-ak.	Reef.	
<b>A.</b>			
Baile.	Tru.	Dance.	[Trru in ms.]
Boca.	Lanam.	Mouth.	
Bote.	Boat (E).	Boat.	
Barba (pelo).	Rob.	Beard (hair).	
Brazo.	Paak.	Arm.	
Brujo.	Lanat.	Sorcerer.	
Betel.	Cabuy.	Betel (leaf).	
Bonga.	Abú.	Betelnut.	
Bueno.	Fel (E).	Well (good).	[Wellvelfel]
<b>B.</b>			
Cañon.	Cá fun.	Cannon (gun).	
Cuchillo.	Ian.	Knife.	[Yar in ms.]
Cal.	Guet.	Lime.	
Cristal.	Cirik.	Glass.	
Calle.	Gúa.	Street.	
Carbón.	Teren-udos.	Coal.	[Terrun-udus in ms.]
Cinturón de guerra.	Fagal.	War belt.	[Tagal in ms.]
Canto cantan.	Dovel.	Song they sing.	[Divel above]
Corral de pesca.	Aet.	Fish-weir (stone trap).	
Cielo.	Daranú [sic]. <sup>1</sup>	Sky.	
Collar.	Ruok.	Necklace.	
Combate.	Trramp.	Fight.	
Cabeza.	Luguen.	Head.	
Cuerpo.	Quen-inava.	Body.	
Cabello.	Pi.	Hair (on the head).	
<b>C.</b>			

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Dáramí in an example given further below.

<b>D.</b>			
Dientes.	Agelem.	Teeth.	
Dinero.	Metaf.	Money.	
Dios.	Pin-one-Machi-Machi.	God.	
<b>E.</b>			
Estrellas.	Tuf.	Stars.	
Extranjero.	Arre-verré-verré.	Foreigner.	
Estero.	Min-ni.	Creek (inlet).	
Embarcación del país.	Mú.	Local canoe.	
<b>F.</b>			
Fuego.	Nevi.	Fire.	
Fuerte.	Vo-guel.	Strong.	
Flaco.	Gualre-quitew.	Thin, skinny.	[Guatre-quotes in ms.]
<b>G.</b>			
Gordo.	Bogá.	Fat.	
Gallina.	Numen.	Chicken, hen.	
<b>H.</b>			
Hacha.	Arratangon.	Axe.	[Arratorrgon in ms.]
Herida.	Mesey.	Wound.	
Hierro.	Gasdi.	Iron.	[Gasay in ms.]
Hermano.	Ulaquek.	Brother.	
Huevo.	Facanane.	Egg.	
<b>L.</b>			
Luna.	Puli.	Moon.	
Lengua.	Azek.	Tongue.	
Llanto.	Cayer.	Cry, to cry.	
<b>M.</b>			
Malo.	Maqueref.	Bad.	
Mar.	Dai.	Sea.	
Manos.	Rufuruf.	Hands.	
Madres.	Titenak.	Mothers.	[Titinak in ms.]
Muerto.	Qui-in.	Dead.	
Mujer.	Pipin.	Woman.	
Madera.	Reu.	Wood.	
Monte.	Tep.	Mount, mountain	
Metal.	Cobre.	Metal.	[From Spanish for copper]

Muelle.	Gabiat.	Wharf, pier.	
		<b>N.</b>	
Niña.	Buejel.	Girl.	[Buijil in ms.]
Niño.	Pitor.	Boy.	[Petor in ms.]
Nariz.	Peiziu-rek.	Nose.	[Peizim-rek in ms.]
Noche.	Que-nep.	Night.	
		<b>O.</b>	
Ojos.	Antem.	Eyes.	
Orejas.	Teilun.	Ears.	[Teilun in ms.]
		<b>P.</b>	
Padre.	Titamak.	Father.	
Pierna.	Ek.	Leg.	
Pescado.	Nig.	Fish (dead).	
Pájaros.	Arrté	Birds.	
Parro [sic].	Pilis.	Dog.	[Parro is misprint for Perro]
Piedra.	Fé.	Stone.	
Plátano.	Pan.	Banana.	
Piña.	Noon-or.	Pineapple.	
Pobre.	Cafugó.	Poor.	
Pendientes.	Guien.	Earrings.	
Pulseras.	Lacayak.	Bracelets.	
Peineta.	Ru-ai.	Comb.	
Puerto.	Berrao.	Port.	
Palma.	Bu.	Palm.	
		<b>R.</b>	
Rico.	Ririamataf.	Rich.	
Risa.	Minimin.	Laugh.	
Redondo.	Trrua.	Round.	
Regalo.	Pi.	Gift.	
Rayo solar, luz.	Guerre-guerre.	Sunbeam, light.	
Rey.	Pilum.	King.	
		<b>S.</b>	
Sueño.	Moll.	Sleep.	[Mol in ms.]
Sombrero.	Armak.	Hat.	[Arruak in ms.]
Sangre.	Arretá.	Blood.	
Sol.	Taid.	Sun.	

T.			
Triángulo.	Ey-orrór.	Triangle.	
Tabaco.	Siguer.	Tobacco.	
Taparrabo.	Vegui.	Loin-cloth.	[Veguei in ms.]
Temor.	Madus.	Fear.	[Madas in ms.]

V.			
Vestido.	Mad.	Dress, clothes.	
Viento.	Emfrú.	Wind.	[Enifui in ms.]
Vianda.	Tomas.	Food.	
Verdad.	Riul.	Truth.	

## VERBS.

A.			
Andar.	Reyen.	To walk.	[Beyen in ms.]
Acostarse.	Moll.	To go to sleep.	[Mol in ms.]
Apagar.	Metor.	To put out the fire.	[Metoe in ms.]
Acabar.	Canió.	To finish.	
Aturcar [sic]. <sup>1</sup>	Motriliguir.	To come alongside, to dock.	
Amarrar.	Mak.	To moor.	

Beber.	Mamung.	To drink	[Manung in ms.]
Bajar.	Metan-abut.	To go/come down, to get off, disembark.	
(Bajar subir).	La mereg-Cá (es ilú).	(To go down (up)).	[Lamereg-Cá (ei-ilû)]
Buscar.	Mégai.	To search, look for.	

C.			
Cazar.	Manemong-arrté.	To hunt.	[Monomong-arrté]
Comer.	Mecoy.	To eat.	[Mucoy in ms.]
Cortar.	Midep.	To cut.	
Comprar.	Paluaun.	To buy.	
Comerse.	Mo-gro.	To be edible.	
Caer.	Candal.	To fall.	[Condal in ms.]

D.			
Dar.	Pí	To give.	
Doler.	Com.	To hurt.	[Cam in ms.]
Dormir.	Corro-mol.	To sleep.	

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Likely a misprint for 'aturcar'.

		<b>E.</b>	
Empezar.	Das.	To begin.	
Encender.	Car-ra-raí.	To light, kindle.	
Esconder.	Mopoi.	To hide.	
		<b>F.</b>	
Formar.	Boil.	To form, shape.	
		<b>G.</b>	
Gritar.	Tolul.	To shout.	
		<b>H.</b>	
Hablar.	Neilzim.	To speak, talk.	
Huir.	Milk.	To flee.	
		<b>L.</b>	
Levantar.	Tulan.	To lift, raise.	
Llorar.	Cayor [sic].	To cry.	[Cayer above]
		<b>M.</b>	
Mirar.	Mugoi.	To look.	
Mentir.	Telofenlequen.	To lie.	
		<b>O.</b>	
Oler.	Taravan.	To smell.	
Oir.	Aburan-ek.	To hear.	
		<b>P.</b>	
Pescar.	Menomung-nik.	To fish.	
Pelear.	Mol.	To fight.	[Moll in ms.]
		<b>R.</b>	
Regar.	Mili.	To water, sprinkle.	
Reir.	Minimin.	To laugh.	
Romper.	Mutar.	To break.	
		<b>S.</b>	
Soltar.	Mo-ok.	To let go.	
Subir.	Metan-alan.	To raise, lift.	

T.			
Traer.	Puv-ok.	To bring.	[Pin-ok in ms.] <sup>1</sup>
Tejer.	Milifit.	To weave.	
Tocar.	Mozac-ak.	To touch.	[Misac-ak in ms.]
Trabajar.	Murruel.	To work.	

V.			
Ver.	Camugoy.	To see.	[Canugoy in ms.]

### Other parts of speech [pronouns, adverbs, etc.]

Yo.	Igay.	I.	[Yagag in ms.]
Tu.	Igur.	You.	
Nosotros.	Tá-anen.	We.	Ta-aren? (see p. 74)
Mio.	Tonak.	Mine.	
Tuyo.	Faman.	Yours.	[Foman in ms.]
Suyo.	Tomas-chaman.	His, hers.	
Bien.	Fel.	Well, good.	
Mal.	Maqueref.	Badly, bad.	
Dentro.	Langun.	Inside.	[Langun in ms.]
Fuera.	Heng.	Outside.	[Yleng in ms.]
Mañana.	Cabul.	Tomorrow.	
Ayer.	Tanag.	Yesterday.	
Anteayer.	Fa-palá.	Day before yesterday.	
Hoy.	Catatul-nei.	Today.	
Arriba.	Alau.	Up.	
Abajo.	Abut.	Down.	
Mucho.	Pirá.	Much.	
Poco.	Botú.	Little.	
Si.	(Faarri)	Yes	[(Taarri) in ms.]
No.	(Volrey) Taarri [sic].	No.	[Taarri here is mistake]
Despues.	Volrey [sic].	After.	[Volrey here is mistake]
Antes.	Cacarof.	Before.	
Más.	Tabugafok.	More.	[Tabugafek in ms.]

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Perhaps *Bayok* (see below).



## PHRASES.

¿Como se dice?	Maan an firi aun? <sup>1</sup>	How do you say?
¿Como te llamas?	Minim-ti-tinan?	What is your name?
¿De donde vienes?	Bu-u?	Where are you from?
¿Que quieres?	Maan fau-ran? <sup>2</sup>	What do you want?
¿Para qué sirve esto?	Maan fau-ran?	What is this used for?
No sé.	Tagoman.	I don't know.
Apaga el fuego.	Metoi laramp.	Put out the fire. [Metoi faramp]
Ven acá.	Aboi.	Come here!
Toma.	Vis.	Take (this).
¿Quiérol? [sic].	Garacai?	Do you want? [Quiere? instead]
¿Quién eres?	Igur meni?	Who are you?
Me gusta.	Gacdak.	I like.
Gracias.	Kurun-ren.	Thank you! [Kurun-cen]
¿Por dónde iri?	Calan an gun?	Where should I go?
¿Dónde vas?	Miniming-ang?	Where are you going?
Por aquí.	Calau an ará	This way, overhere.
Espera.	Minim i num.	Wait!
Adiós (despedida).	Guarram [sic]. <sup>3</sup>	Good-bye.
Camina despacio.	Taari-papai.	Walk slowly.
¿Qué es eso?	Maan ará	What's that?
Luego vendremos.	Bai-ip batabok.	We'll come back later. later.
¿Tienes hambre?	Taare coquien?	Are you hungry?
Traeme mañana.	Pecan-arai-cabul.	Take me along tomorrow.
Te daré mañana.	Piinous.	I'll give you (some) tomorrow.
Tendré mañana.	Cavai-cabul.	I'll have (some) tomorrow.
Es verdad.	Sorron.	It is true.
Vete.	Gonan.	Go away.
El cuchillo sirve para cortar. Tabugafi yar rog ngome.		The knife is used to cut.
La cara del rey.	Noon teberrei plum. <sup>4</sup>	The face of the king.
Yo quiero.	Pin ogin.	I want, I wish.
¿En dónde está?	Manga bayó?	Where are you? [Mau ga bayo?]
En casa.	Bun orok.	At home. [Bouo orok]
¿Qué traes?	Manga bayok?	What do you bring?
¿Cuándo vienes?	In agará mó?	When will you come?
Muchas veces.	Atain mab et.	Many times.

1 Ed. note: Rather Maan anfizi am? in ms.

2 Ed. note: Error. Maan-igur? in ms. See next.]

3 Ed. note: Further below, in a given example, it is quoted as "guararak" instead.

4 Ed. note: Transcription error. Ms. says "To-on teberre pilun."

Me alegro.	Cafalanok.	I am glad.
Dame esto.	Gabes chonei.	Give it to me.
Dime.	Mumun-menguh.	Tell me.

The accents are not meant to indicate accentuations on the syllables next to the last, and vice versa; the low sounds are abundant and there are words of three syllables that have two accentuations, e.g. *Dá-ra-mí* = sky.

Hence the word is not rolled; indeed, the sound of the first syllable is muffled by the other.

Any person with an average ear and affinity for the study of languages, could, within six months, make himself understood very well from the inhabitants and write a grammar that would be useful to those who wish to learn said language.

### Social customs—Yap.

**Greetings.** They do not have any special demonstration, but when they come up to a person, and before going away, they say the word *girarak*, or *abur*, *babul*, which means "See you tomorrow!"

**Proofs of friendship.** They are not very generous nor demonstrative. However, when they declare themselves to be friends, they cross their index fingers with the palms of the hands facing up.

A kissing, given either for familiar or lascivious reason, is as in the Philippines, a nasal aspiration with the nose placed on the part that is kissed.

**Pacts and oaths.** Pacts are made verbally and without witnesses. They do not swear oaths, the better to avoid perjury, since they usually break their word; however, if they leave their betelnut basket (which they never are without) in the hands of someone else, this means that they will do as promised.

**Hospitality.** They are as hospitable as the Tagalogs; they give food and a place to sleep to everyone who asks for it.

**Revenge.** Although they are generally peaceful, when they are wounded in their honor, they will kill those who offended them if they can, but in this case, the family of the deceased remains with the obligation of avenging this death with another—a chain of events that never ends, unless the offending party stops it at the first link, by paying the payment requested by the offended party with **stone money**, with *Cúrcuma* (which is the dye from the seed of the *Bixa orellana* that the Tagalogs call *achuete*?), or with tortoise-shell. When they cannot avenge themselves, they go and cut down the offender's coconut trees.

Vengeance usually takes place treacherously; duelling is not known; even the Romans did not practice it.

**Theft.** It appears that they are not uncommon, but the king can punish them with death (if the thefts are important enough).

**Kidnapping.** It occurs frequently between neighboring villages. Any complaint on the part of the aggrieved party can be satisfied by a payment on the part of the aggressor.

**Marriage.** In taking a wife, they have no other restrictions besides the one that the girl must have reached puberty; the man must make a payment to the parents of his future wife. This is a custom that even the Romans practiced. They can take a woman from their own village or from any other. However, the women who served in the large or communal houses can never have been born in that village; indeed, they must necessarily come from other villages, so that they are either endogamous or exogamous as far as marriage is concerned, but strictly exogamous in their lascivious practices with the daughters or priestesses of Venus who reside in their big houses.

**Polygamy.** Generally the men have only one wife. There are a few men with two wives, but rarely with three. The first wife does not seem to be bothered by this; rather, she thinks of her companion as someone to help her while working in the field. Also, the married men have access to the women in the big house of their hamlet.

**Polyandry.** As was said, in each village there exist various big houses (called *unicagá*), one to each hamlet, where the married men and the bachelors can go to pass the time or to sleep. In said houses, they hold a few women as common property, but all of them strangers. Given that the men are usually from 20 to 30 in number, and the women 6 to 7, it follows that this arrangement could be called polyandry, since their organization is not at all like that of the harlot houses of Rome, nor that of the famous brothels of Spain, not even of the flat-bottomed boats of the Chinese, nor that of the tea-houses in Japan. In all of these places, the women were paid, but not so in Yap.

**Celibacy.** It is unknown among them.<sup>1</sup>

**Purchase of a wife.—Dowry.—Wedding.** These three points are confused together, because, when a man wants a woman for a wife, he never bothers to ask her if she is willing; instead, he must ask permission from the parents, who gives it by accepting his presents or by fixing the amount that must be delivered later, and then, without any ceremony, their daughter goes to the house of the suitor.

Now then, in the case when the woman is wanted for service in a big house, her price is much larger, and so is the price for a woman from the *unicaga* whom a man wants to get for himself; this happens not so rarely as we might think.

**Chastity.—Faithfulness between spouses.** Chastity is an unknown virtue. The children of both sexes, as young as 4 or 5 years old, are taken to the big house where each boy is assigned to a girl and there they begin to practice for marriage.

The *unicagá* is a spacious salon with a hardwood floor, without any partition or alcove.

The married women consider themselves the property of their husband and, as such, must maintain chastity, but the husband can order his wife to entertain someone else,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: My manuscript copy says: "They do not know what it means."

either because he has received a payment for this or for any other reason, and the woman never refuses.

If, the husband being absent, the wife should have sex with another man, she herself will mention it to him upon his return; the husband does not make a fuss, unless her lover had not been generous. The wife is repudiated only when she elopes with him.

**Pregnancy and delivery.** During the last months of pregnancy the woman does not go to work in the field.

She delivers while sitting on the floor, and then she goes immediately to take a bath in the sea. Then, she takes her baby and spends a few days in a special house that exists for this purpose in every village; no man can enter said house.

After this, they go home and refrain from working or do their household chores for thirty days.

All the women in the village go to that special house to spend the critical days of the month.

**Lactation.** The mother gives her breast to her baby, and takes good care of it. The babies, when recently born, are taught how to drink coconut water through a small straw made of the leaf of the *gabe*.<sup>1</sup>

**Old people venerated.** The young people do not eat until the old people have eaten.

**Crazy and idiotic people.** There are a few of them, and the other people make fun of them.

**Illnesses.** It appears that dysentery, phthisis and fevers are common. Leprosy does not exist, and neither does venereal disease, but Dr. Luós Cirera saw a few cases of scrofula.

There are no physicians nor medicines, although they make use of leaves to treat wounds.

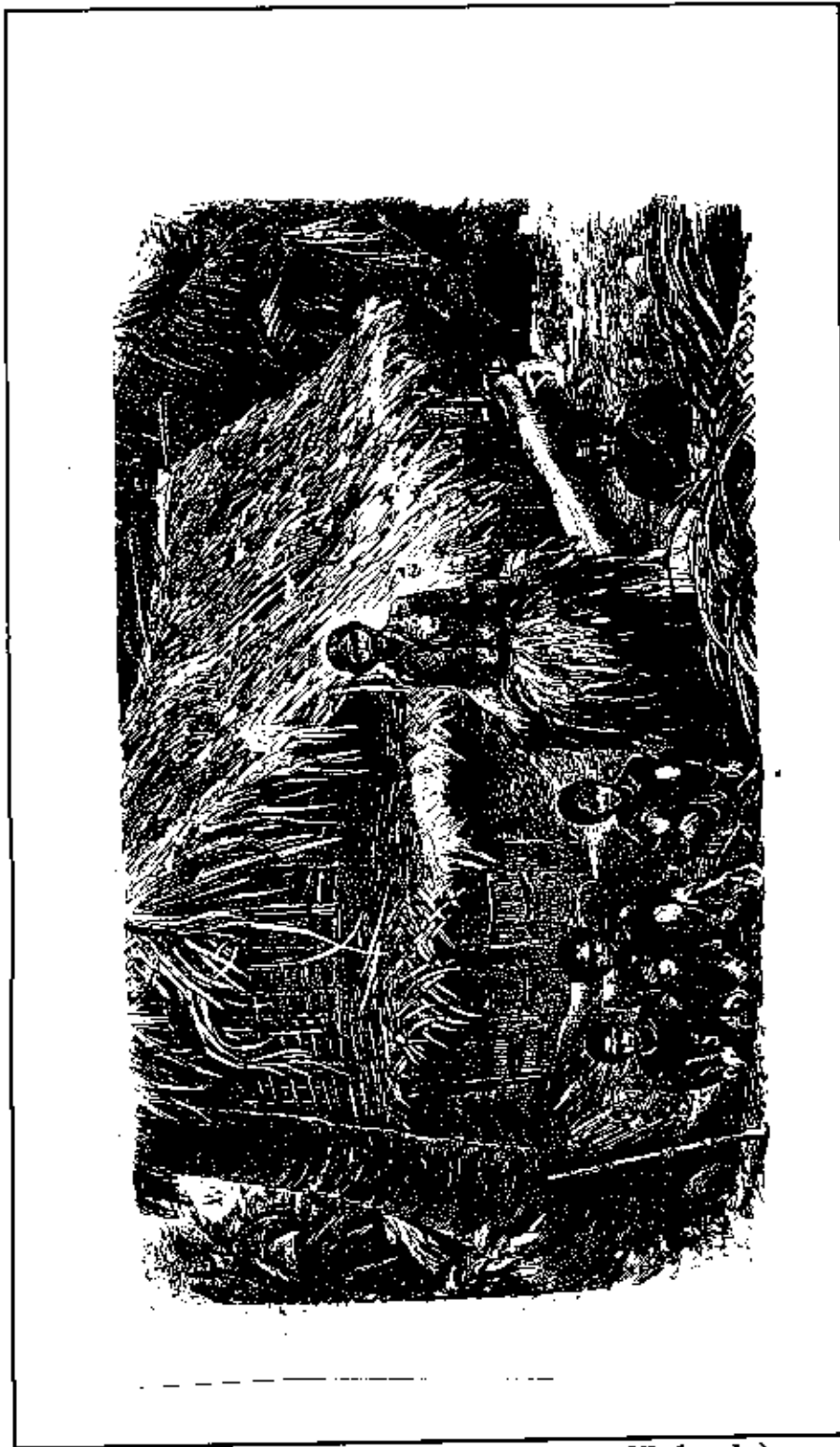
**Burials.** They keep the corpses from six to twelve days inside their houses; then they bend them over to make them fit a basket and they bury them without ceremony whatever. They cover the pit over with stones, building up a rectangular platform 30 cm. high in the simpler burials, but for greater luxury, the platform is built up to 1 to 2 meters, with four or six steps to each side. They have a certain superstitious respect for the burial places.

**Hygiene.** Individual hygiene is almost completely abandoned; let us say that they are on bad terms with water. The separation of women during their menstruation periods is something like a Mosaic prohibition among them, but we ignore if they practice ablutions there.

**Ideas, beliefs, religion.** It appears that they call their god *Machi-machi*. His nature is somewhat of a mystery as we found their explanations obscure. He is powerful but cruel and the author of all their misfortunes; that is why their prayers are designed to

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1 Ed. note: Gabe is a type of taro.



**Yapese house and natives.(From Bartroli's book.)**

placate his anger, which is most always produced by common crimes here; so, one may think that there is a semblance of morality in this.

They do not have any idols but they do have some objects that represent him, and toward which they show a superstitious fear. The *balete* tree,<sup>1</sup> for example, is so held in veneration that, if the trunk should split, or a branch fall off or be hurt, the heavenly vengeance would fall on the whole village. It is not easy to affirm whether or not all the *baletes* in the village are sacred or only the tall ones.

One day the officers of the cruiser **Velasco** went to visit the only place that the natives said had religious significance; after a long walk through a thick wood, they arrived at a clearing in the center of which there was a small hut in the shape of a triangular pyramid; its roof could be detached to reveal three equal compartments, all empty. In one of the sides, there was a heavy stone of irregular shape, and in another a pile of coconut husks that had come from the coconuts eaten by a sort of priest who had been in charge of this sacred precinct, but who had been hanged for having participated in the theft at one of the European trading stations in Yap.

When the European captured him, he was told that he had been able to do so because he had more *machi-machi* than him; it appears that this word is synonymous with power.

Under the said stone, there was no hole or anything visible; when the kings wish to punish the people, they lift the stone, and the earth immediately trembles and the sea rises up to the villages.

If any of those natural phenomena occur, they blow in a shell, to placate the anger of their god, but not one of them dares to go near the sacred place, much less to lift the stone. The guide who accompanied the officers refused to go near it, and showed signs of superstitious fear.

Next to this stone is the sacred *balete* tree.

They believe that the soul is immortal. The spirit of the bad ones go to the Palau Islands to look for money, but they generally haunt the nearby woods during the night. Those of the women who died while giving birth go back to their houses at night and create a lot of noise, by beating the windows and doors.

Another one of their superstitions is that of believing in the existence of phantom canoes that foretell some assassination or punishment, but they disappear when someone goes near them.

**Dress and adornments.** The men wear a loin-cloth made of cotton of various colors, or else made of local plant fibers, in their natural color or dyed.

The women wear only a short skirt or a bundle of grass tied around the waist, and it can be as long as to reach the knees.

Generally both sexes go bareheaded, but the men, when they go fishing, put on a hat similar to that worn by the Moslem people in Jolo.

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1 Ed. note: The *balete* tree (*Ficus urostigima*, Sp.) corresponds to the witch elm, and certainly at night has a most uncanny appearance (Note taken from B&R 12:215 fn.).

Both men and women have holes made in their earlobes when they reach the age of 6 or 7. The men used these holes to hang long earrings of beads, or plugs of coral, tortoise-shell. They also pierce the gristle of the nose, but we have not seen anyone wearing an adornment there.

The men usually wear necklaces of glass beads, or made of certain shells; however, the women wear only a sort of small fiber rope dyed black.

The men also adorn their ankles with certain adornments of woven palm leaves; they wear bracelets made of snail shells and some belts, also made of snail shells.

Tattoos are very common. Their color is greenish-black, and the designs interesting and well made. The men prefer to tattoo their chest and legs, and the women their arms and hands.

The hair-style of the men is of various classes: sometimes, they keep it loose and floating, without any arrangement; at other times they curl it up in front and gather the rest into a topknot at the back of the head; they adorn their hair with a comb, made of wood or cane, in the shape of a fan; they also use this tool to comb their hair.

The women divide their hair into two parts tied separately at the back of the head or gathered up on top of the head in a bun.

Generally, the women do not paint themselves, but at times they make use of the yellow powder to paint the palms of their hands, their throat and their breasts.

They do not wear anything special to indicate their social rank; however, those who do not wear any comb appear to be slaves.

The attire of the men is made complete by a basket that they carry in the left hand and from which they never separate themselves; this basket contains what they need for betel-nut chewing, a small tube that contains the soft marrow of some tree which is used as tinder, with a piece of iron to generate sparks from a flint-stone; finally, the man always carry a small adze hanging from his right shoulder; he uses it when he works in the field.

**Weapons.** They consist of axes made of stone or fishbone, spears made of hardwood mounted upon slim bamboos, and others whose tips are fitted with shark teeth.

Nowadays they know about modern firearms, and they have many of them.

**Food.** The main sources of food are the *ube*, coconut, *gabe*, and sweet potato.

The kitchens are located in small huts near the houses; in a hole made in the ground, they make a fire with the tinder and steel. The fire is fed with wood or coconut husks, upon which they lay their earthenware pots made from a red clay that is abundant in Yap, and, after wrapping the root, fish or shell-fish with banana or simple tree leaves, they boil these in abundant water.

Although chickens and pigs abound, they do not generally eat them, and reserve them for sale to Europeans, although they do not take care of them very much at all. The pigs are of a good breed and are fattened with coconut meat.

To take their meals they place the cooking pot on top of a wooden plate that has a leg one palm off the floor and that serves as a table; those who share the meal sit on their haunches around the pot and eat with their hands like the Tagalogs.

Fruits of the tropical kind exist and the people are fond of them. Their main drink is coconut water. They have no alcoholic beverages of their own and they prefer sweet wines to liquors.

Their only stimulant is the betel-nut and they make an excessive use of it. They also smoke and chew tobacco too much; although tobacco grows locally, it is mostly imported.

Each family has a garden near their house, for their own subsistence and to trade with Europeans.

**Dwellings.** They are made of wood, artistically built and, like all those in the Philippines, their foundation is a base of small stones more or less elevated, to keep humidity out. The roofing material is *nipa* and the walls are made of thin cane tied with thumb line of coconut fiber (they have no large cane) in a very pretty manner. The ties around the joints between the beams and cross-beams are also made of coconut-fiber rope and look very elegant.

The shape of the roof is two slopes, but if one looks at the sideview of the front of the house, it gives the impression that one is looking at the bow of a Chinese boat. Inside they have some compartments, of wood or cane, to keep their effects, weapons, etc.

In most of the cases, there is only one family in each house; next to the large hut there is a smaller one for the wife or wives and unmarried daughters—they always live apart. They have a small house for use as a kitchen and some people have a shed where they make copra.

The whole is surrounded by a fence and coconut trees, a few banana trees and a pig-stye: such is the dwelling place of a Yapese family.

The streets are trails or stone sidewalks that are laid out artistically, not in straight line but according to the natural lay of the land from one house to another.

They have small public squares where they erect stone slabs almost vertically, to serve as the back of a seat for the men to lean against while they chat.

**Mode of living.** The women do the field work, take care of the *gabe*, raise the children and do the cooking.

The men are very prone to idleness and to social life. They hold their meetings in the squares, like our old gossipers, and gravitate to the big house at siesta time and at night.

They have feasts which they celebrate with dances in which both men and women take part, but we could not find out the times of the year nor the reasons for such feasts; it appears that they prepare for war with great balls that last all night.

Political life is very simple. In each village there is a chief who has the right of life and death over his subjects; he administers justice and punishes assassination and theft with the death penalty. Executions take place by hanging, and there is a professional hangman in the island whom the chiefs can call upon; however, if the crime was the assassination of a native, the relatives of the victim act as hangmen.

Among the 80 or so chiefs in the island, seven of them are more powerful but their rank and title (*Pilum*) are the same.



**Domestic, social and political organization.** In Yap there are as many kings [sic] or *Pilum* as villages; about 80 of them, who exercise authority over their vassals, although they look exactly like them.

There exist two social classes: freemen and slaves. It appears that the latter class originated from prisoners of war from other islands. The children of the slaves are also slaves; they work for their master, and cannot wear a comb, like the freemen.

**Public services.** The streets are kept very clean and well maintained. There is a network of causeways linking one village with another.

**Industry.** They build good houses and canoes for themselves, cultivate their fields, gather and dry coconuts, manufacture ropes and some woven articles for domestic use out of coconut coir and also lines for fishing purposes; but we saw a fishing line made of human hair. They manufacture lime from shells and coral, for use with betel-nut. They make fish-nets, sails for their canoes and some adzes to work in the field.

The European residents have native servants whom they pay at the rate of three to five pesos per month; to date, the women have not yet begun to dedicate themselves to domestic service.

**Trade.** The foreign trade of Yap consists of copra that the purchasers get in exchange for knives and firearms, textiles, iron and other merchandise. Interior trade can be said to be non-existent; indeed, almost all families have their plantations and coconut trees that provide them with their own food.

The roads linking the villages along the coast are remarkable: they are causeways paved with hard stones of regular shapes; their width is from 1.5 to 2.5 meters, and they are raised from 60 to 70 cm above the surrounding ground—probably to keep them useable during the season when it rains abundantly.

The center of the island is uninhabited; they do not have roads crossing the island nor do they have any beast of burden; all transport takes place by sea.

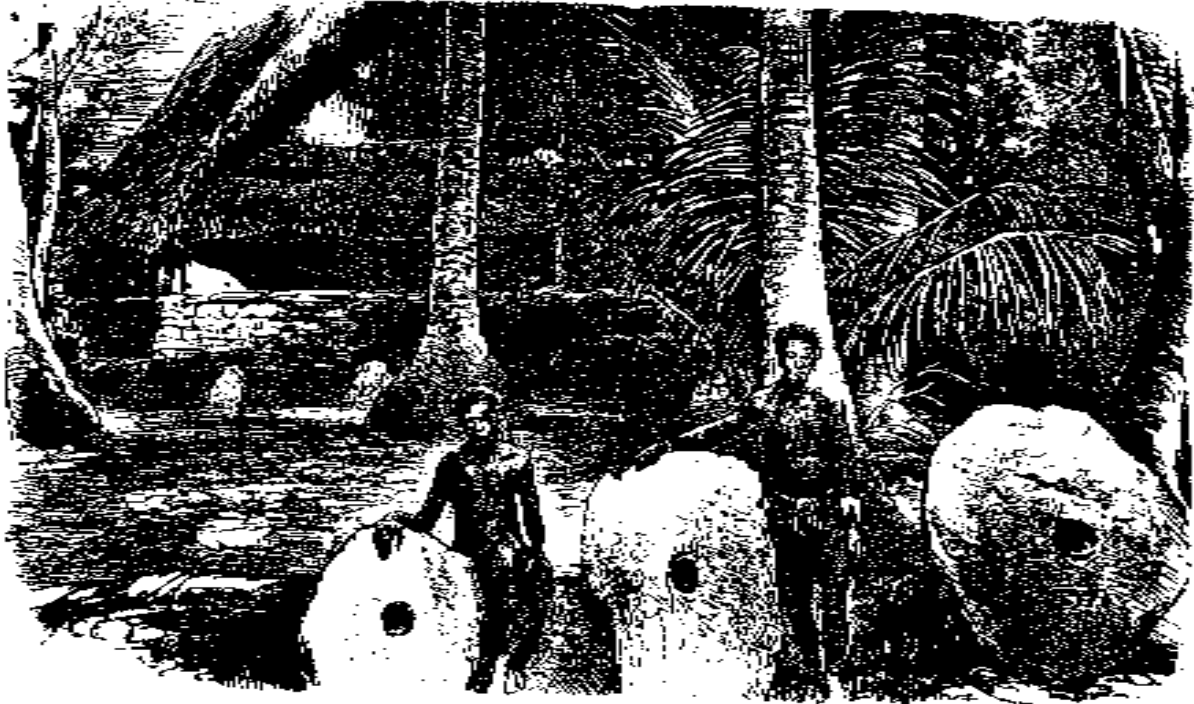
The **money** consists in circular pieces of stone with a hole drilled in the center and that vary in diameter from 20 cm to 1 meter. These stones, made of a very hard stone, in the shape of a mill-stone, are imported from the Palau Islands. They use them to pay their tribute to the king, who in turn uses smaller ones to have his planting done.

The weights they now use are English ones. As far as measures are concerned, they can be considered the hampers made of wicker that they use when they sell their copra.

The purchases and the sales which are almost always made on credit, are made through verbal agreements, but the king of each village provides the guarantee to the Europeans that the contract will be respected.

**Literature.** As there is no form of writing, the literature is oral; it appears that there are only two types: one popular using the local language and restricted to love poems, always sung, and in some cases danceable, but the other form is a high form, in a foreign language (that of the Island of Olap near the Marianas) made up of war and funeral chants to accompany those types of dances.

The officers of the **Velasco** witnessed a dance; it was accompanied with chanting, because they do not have any musical instruments. Here is a description of it:



Yapese stone money. (From Bartoli's book.)

Five men, wearing their war belts, formed one line; the man who led the chanting was seated in the Oriental fashion to one side; at a given signal, he began to sing a monotonous chant that did not lack sweetness, pausing now and then as if to separate strophes of equal duration. The others followed the beat as if they were all wound up by the same clock, carrying out simultaneous movements without leaving their respective places and slowly. These movements were turns to the right and to the left, genuflections and raising of the arms, steps forward and backward, all accompanied by a complex mimicry.

One of the most characteristic gestures of this dance was putting out one leg at the same time as they were lowering their body slowly with the right arm extended until they touched the ground with the back of the hand, ending up in the position similar to that of a small boy that bends down to recover his top after he has made it twirl. They then straightened up with great ceremony and composure. After they did this, bending down and straightening up, they made necessary movements with their hands and grimaces with their faces; such was the style of the various pantomimes of this dance.

The ends of each strophe were marked with wild shouts or guttural howlings and strong slaps on their thighs, arms or chests.

**Types of boats.** The only type of boat they use is the canoe. It is built up from a single dugout, and then they do the same as the Moros in the southern Philippines; they add planks fastened with twisted cords of coconut coir or banana fibers and they caulk those stitches with moss and a mixture of line and oil.

Across the wash-boards they place a platform made of light wood or woven bamboo strips upon which the crew sit. From one of the sides and resting on the wash-boards, two long poles go out that are joined at their external extremities where they are fastened to a small bark of hardwood that serves as an outrigger or counterweight.

The sail, which is usually made of roughly woven *nipa*, or woven cloth made of banana fiber, is in the shape of a fan and works with a rig [mast] with two yards that is more or less inclined towards the bow by means of guys of coconut ropes.

Both ends of the canoe have high cutwaters that are very upturned and give them an appearance of lightness.

They steer without a rudder but they make use of each end in turn; that is why they need only one outrigger.

The Yapese are not great fishermen; most of the fish they catch comes from stone weirs. They also fish with lines but they really prefer to fish the easy way with a stick of dynamite.

The **Velasco** stayed at Yap only from 26 February to 8 March 1885; that is why I said that many of the above remarks will have to be confirmed and some revised later on. On 8 March, we left to go to the port of Koror in the Palau Group.



**Palauan houses and natives. (From Gouts' book.)**

## VI. The Palau Group.

...  
[The early history is omitted.]

... From the observations made by the officers of the cruiser **Velasco** during their stay of 13 days in Koror, with the assistance of three residents with 20 years in the islands, one Englishman and two Tagalogs, the information that follows may be considered correct:

**Situation.—Corrections to the chart.—Climate.—Tides, etc..**

...  
It appears that nowadays there is more dew and fewer earthquakes.

The temperate is somewhat higher. The barometer maintained itself between 762 and 764, with the maximum reached during hard squalls from the N., on 15 March, and the minimum on the 21st when the winds blew variable from the 2nd quadrant.

The tides are regular; the difference in level is from 1.00 meter in the daytime and 1.24 m at night, but reaching 1.85 m during the high tides.

The barrier reefs of this group are not well situated on the chart, specially that of the S. part. During an approach from the E., one must pay attention to a shoal to the ENE of Malagagayos [Melekeok], about 13 to 14 miles from the coast; it does not appear on the chart and, on account of the squally condition the day we arrived, we could not investigate it, but its existence should not be doubted.

The bay of Malagagayos is also badly located on the chart; in fact, it must be placed facing a break in the reef 10 miles south of Cape Artingol.

To find the entrance channel to the port of Koror coming from the E, you must keep close to the reef, and after passing the place where it juts out the most, abreast of Koror Island, and when the NW point of Urukthapel Island separates from the SW point of Arracomel, steer to starboard and follow the directions of a person with a very good eyesight up in the topmast; once through the channel (which is very narrow), you shall steer NE [sic] for about one cable length, then to N. until reaching a water depth of 20 fathoms, when N—S with Alfonso Island and the wharf bearing W 1/4 NW.

The port of Koror is formed by Olupenkel Island to the NE, Malakal to the W and Urukthapel to the S; it is well sheltered and its shoals, like those of Yap, could be easily marked with buoys; in fact, within the port even strong winds do not raise the sea.

The coming-in operation can only be performed when the sun shines behind one's shoulder, because it depends on the clarity with which the shoals can be seen.

Taking on water is very easy; it is made while moored to the wharf at Malakal, from a spring of clear water that some people think has medicinal properties.

The chart of the port made in 1862 by Mister Greverer<sup>1</sup> is faulty, but we were unable to rectify it for lack of time and instruments.

The passage between Olupre Island and other islet to go to Koror, can always be managed with small boats, even during the low part of the great tides.

**Geology.** Most of the 200 islets that form the Palau Group appear made of basalt;<sup>2</sup> many of them have caves with stalactites and stalagmites of capricious shapes.

Most of these crags, in spite of lacking vegetal matter, show a tropical vegetation that gives them a shape like flower baskets when viewed from the sea.

The natives of Yap collect a certain type of stone which they shape like a mill-stone and is used as money in Yap.

**Industrial soil.** It does not produce as much copra as Yap. So it is that, although the soil is fertile and apt to produce tobacco, rice and other tropical products, because of the small population of this group, one can say that its main exports are trepang, tortoise-shell and stone money.

There is no traders established here, but those in Yap also exploit these islands.

**Cultivated soil, grains, cereals, fruits.** Rice is produced, but in small quantity. They do not cultivate the sweet potato, which they do not think much of, and neither the squash.

Since they have neither cows nor water buffaloes, they do not know about ploughing, so that if such animals were introduced, given that the island of Babelthuap has much land suitable for rice cultivation, it would be possible to produce it in a larger scale.

It would be a good idea to introduce corn, to provide food for their pigs.

**Hydrology.** There are no rivers. During the rainy season, there are many springs, some of which do not run out of water.

**Fauna.** As in Yap; nevertheless, they had cows until recently and they still have goats. They also had a few horses until very recently.

The horses as well as the cows had come from a gift made to King Abadul by the East India Company in 1785 [sic].

**Inhabitants, population, etc.** This group is much depopulated. The population can hardly reach 1,200 inhabitants and, given that the surface is four to six times that of Yap, the population density is very small. I was unable to find out the reasons for this, but there is no doubt that there is enough land for immigrants.

The inhabitants belong to the Polynesian [sic] race but somewhat lighter in color and more handsome than the Yapese. Their hygiene is somewhat better also.

They are very docile, hospitable, obedient to their king and not so idle as the Yapese.

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1 Ed. note: Possibly Grosvenor, from data collected by HMS Sphinx.

2 Ed. note: Error for limestone.

**Language.** The numbering system is decimal. The first nine units have their own names. The decades are made up of two words, the first being unique but the second ones are composed and derived. They do not count beyond 1,000.

The intermediate values are formed almost always by addition, but there are some cases where there are redundant words, as can be seen in the following table.<sup>1</sup>

	[Modern spelling]
1. Aban [Atan in ms.]	[Tang.]
2. Orun.	[Orúng]
3. Odú [Odeí in ms.]	[Odéi]
4. Oan.	[Oáng]
5. Oin.	[Oim]
6. Malon.	[Malóng]
7. Uid.	[Uíd]
8. Yai.	[Iái]
9. Ytin.	[Itíu]
10. Magot Fruyos.	[Machód]
12. Fruyos magairum.	
13. Fruyos maga-odeí.	
15. Fruyos maga-in.	
16. Fruyos maga-ild.	
30. Ogdei.	[Okedéi]
60. Ogolon.	[Okólem]
70. Oguid.	[Okeuíd]
80. Ogai.	[Okái]
90. Og-itin.	[Oketíu]
100. Abast [Adast in ms.]	[Dart]
200. Orun-dast.	[Éru el dart]
300. Edel-dast.	[Ede el dart]
400. Onal-dast.	
500. Eimeí-dast.	
600. Eldom-dast.	
700. Emit-dast.	
800. Eail-dast.	
900. Ytin-dast.	
1000. Fruyol-dast.	[Teláel]

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: These numbers are only for counting in sequence.

## NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

### A.

[Spanish]	[Palauan]	[English]	[Modern spelling]
Arbol.	Agarragá.	Tree.	[Kerrekar]
Amigo.	Zacalic.	Friend.	[Sechelei]
Abuelo.	Agadil.	Grand-father.	[Chedi]
Agua dulce.	Real. <sup>1</sup>	Potable water.	[Ralm]
Agua salada.	Daop.	Salt water.	[Daob]
Amarillo.	Bebrulo.	Yellow.	[Bibrurek]
Agua de coco.	Cusa quel ábos.	Coconut water.	
Armas.	Calo codoc.	Weapons.	[Kallo]

### B.

Bueno.	Maniel.	Good, well.	[Ungil]
Blanco.	Pegelelen.	White.	[Bechellei]
Brazo.	Caimac.	Arm.	[Chim]
Boca.	Nagarie.	Mouth.	[Ngor]
Barba.	Arenuc.	Beard.	
Buyo.	Cabuy.	Betelnut.	[Buuch]
Blando.	Magay-Sagot.	Tasteless.	Mengarm-...]

### C.

Casa.	Pilai.	House.	[Blai]
Id. grande.	Bai.	Big house.	[Bai]
Cielo.	Ian-az.	Sky.	[Eanged]
Cuerpo.	Calacadal.	Body.	[Bekelngod]
Cabeza.	Azulin.	Head.	[Kliam]
Cuello.	Canlil.	Neck.	[Khikl]
Cejas.	Zomoyogut.	Eyebrows.	
Cabello.	Cayol.	Hair.	[Chui]
Cesto.	Cadip.	Basket.	
Caja.	Quinal.	Box.	Kiuar][
Cobarde.	Matnisco.	Coward.	
Coco.	Leos.	Coconut (tree).	[Lius]
Coco duro.	Macas leos.	Hard coconut.	
Coco.	Mungur Leos.	Coconut.	[Mengur- ...]
Cocina.	Acap.	Kitchen.	
Calle de pueblo.	Cadas isa bulo.	Village street.	[Chades ...]

<sup>1</sup> Ral in manuscript.



Dios.	Ácalid.	D.	God.	[Chelid]
Dias.	Melones.		Days.	[Llomes]
Dientes.	Un-gabe.		Teeth.	[Uingel]
Dedo.	Cad-ñgalil acaimal.		Finger.	[Cheldingel...]
Estrellas.	Abdug.	E.	Stars.	[Btuch]
Esclavo.	Adil.		Slave.	[Uadil]
Extranjero.	Aragat.		Foreigner.	[Ngebard]
Enfermo.	Marac.		Sick.	[Merùkt]
Embarazada (en cinta).	Adiol.		Pregnant.	[Kldiull]
Espalda.	Ameguçe.		Shoulder/back.	
Embarcación indígena.	Al bai.		Native boat.	[Mlai]
Frente.	Arreguice.	F.	Front/forehead.	
Fuego.	Ngnaro.		Fire.	[Nguked]
Fusil.	Puyos.		Rifle.	[Boes]
Fuerte.	Buduc.		Strong.	[Meduch]
Hermano.	Gudelu.	H.	Brother.	
Herida.	Dulebig.		Wound	
Hambre.	Son aran-aran.		Hunger.	[Sengerenger]
Hoja.	Lil.		Leaf.	[LLeI]
Isla.	Cocal.	I.	Island.	
Luna.	Buil.	L.	Moon.	[Buil]
Ligen [sic]. <sup>1</sup>	Arumur.		???	
Largo.	Camangal.		Long.	[Kemûngel]
Ladrón.	Morogon.		Thief.	[Merechórech]
Laura [sic]. <sup>2</sup>	Pusus.		???	
Lengua.	Canrac.		Tongue.	[Chur]

1 Ed. note: Misprint that cannot be guessed at.

2 Ed. note: Idem.

Lluvia.	Gul.	LI. Rain.	[Chull]
<b>M.</b>			
Mar.	Au samal.	Sea.	
Monte.	Caren.	Mountain, or bush.	
Madre.	Dalak.	Mother.	[Delad(?)]
Mujer.	Andil.	Woman.	[Uadil]
Muchacha.	Arrdil-gubil.	Girl.	[Uadil-kebil]
Muchacho.	Laral ñgalac.	Boy.	
Mano.	Calmelik.	Hand.	[Chim]
Muerto.	Delip-marac.	Dead.	
Miedo.	Madac.	Fear.	[Medakt]
Memoria.	Omin apletui.	Memory.	[Omtab ...]
Mitad.	Abilu-el.	Half.	[Blangl]
Malo.	Mant-it.	Bad.	[Mekngit]
<b>N.</b>			
Noche.	Clevesci.	Night.	[Kebesengei]
Negro.	Cadeloquele.	Black.	[Chedelegek]
<b>O.</b>			
Orejas.	Dimac.	Ears.	[Ding]
<b>P.</b>			
Padre.	Cadam.	Father.	[Chedam]
Pueblo.	Buló.	Village.	[Beluu]
Pájaro.	Carem.	Bird.	[Charm]
Perro.	Pelis.	Dog.	[Bilis]
Puerco.	Babi.	Pig.	[Babii]
Pescado.	Ni-iquel.	Fish (dead).	[...-Chei]
Palma de coco.	Duira leos.	Coconut tree.	[...-lius]
Palo.	Carcar.	Mast.	[Orrákl]
Pechos.	Fut.	Breast.	[Tut]
Pequeño.	Guerequei.	Small.	[Kekerei]
Pescador.	Cadai mai.	Fisherman.	
Plato de madera.	Boi corracal.	Wooden plate.	
Poco [pies].	Bai agavel.	???	[Kedeb?]
Pierna.	Cogmic.	Leg.	

		<b>R.</b>	
Rayo.	Adrunik.	Thunder (bolt).	[Derumk]
Río.	Comoaqui.	River.	[Omoakel]
Rey.	Abadul.	King.	[Ibedul]
		<b>S.</b>	
Sol.	Sdrills.	Sun.	[Sils]
Sangre.	Rasay.	Blood.	[Rasech]
Sable.	Calipul.	Sabre.	
Sepulcro.	Matancal.	Grave.	
Sueño.	Magai-gaic [=guai in ms.]	Sleep.	[Mechiuaiu]
		<b>T.</b>	
Tierra.	Palú.	Land.	[Beluu]
Terremoto.	Adsine.	Earthquake.	[Desiu]
Tiburón	Caden.	Shark.	[Chedeng]
Tabaco.	Adgó-o.	Tobacco.	[Deko-oi]
Tuba.	Camadce [=Camadec].	Tuba.	[Chemadech]
		<b>V.</b>	
Viento.	Iolt.	Wind.	[Eolt]
Viejo.	Cadol-socal.	Old.	
Verde.	Malamane.	Green.	[Mellemau]
Valiente.	Paquci.	Brave.	[Bekeu]

### ADVERBS.

Mañana.	Cluguc.	Tomorrow.	[Klukuk]
Hoy.	Caibagan.	Today.	[Elechang]
Ayer.	Caitisip.	Yesterday.	[Eliseb]
Dentro.	Casid.	Inside.	[Chelse]
Fuera.	Agiril.	Outside.	[Iikr]
Lejos.	Earogot.	Far.	[Cheroid]
Cerca.	Diemit.	Near.	[Kmeed]

### VERBS.

		<b>A.</b>	
Andar.	Marril.	To walk.	[Merael]
Amarrar.	Sonri.	To moor.	
Apagar.	Dogni.	To put out fire, extinguish.	

Beber.	Meclin.	<b>B.</b>	To drink.	[Melim]
Bajar.	Menestin.		To go down.	
Bailar.	Mil-il.		To dance.	[Meloik]
Cortar.	Zabogai.	<b>C.</b>	To cut.	
Comer.	Mang-an.		To eat.	[Mengang]
Comer [sic].	Camis.		To eat(?).	
Comprár.	Mamagar.		To buy.	[Omechar]
Caer.	Monlon.		To fall.	[Mongkongk]
Cantar.	Mein-Aade.		To sing.	[Mengitakl]
Cazar.	Memura.		To hunt.	[Merritel]
Cambiar (trocar).	Mamagar.		To barter.	
Cocer.	Marag-an.		To cook.	
Dar.	Bascao.	<b>D.</b>	To give.	
Dormir.	Mubat.		To sleep.	[Mo bad]
Encontrar.	Ronar.	<b>E.</b>	To meet.	
Enojarse.	Cavad.		To get angry.	[Kerad]
Escuchar.	Oisen.		To listen.	[Orrenges]
Firmar.	Mologó.	<b>F.</b>	To sign.	[Meluches]
Guardar.	Porté.	<b>G.</b>	To keep.	
Hablar.	Molocoí.	<b>H.</b>	To speak, talk.	[Melekoí]
Levantarse.	Maquis.	<b>L.</b>	To get up.	[Mekiis]
Llorar.	Limun-al.	<b>LI.</b>	To cry.	[Lmangel]
Morder.	Ománg.	<b>M.</b>	To bite.	[Omangch]

Nadar.	Man-igai.	<b>N.</b>	
Negar.	Olocobai.	To swim.	Mengikai[
		To deny.	
		<b>P.</b>	
Pelear.	Ruc.	To fight.	
Pedir.	Pestac (peston?).	To ask for.	
Pescar.	Porocai.	To fish.	[...-chei]
Parir.	Ngo-nagail.	To give birth.	[Omechell]
Pegar.	Calobedi.	To hit.	
		<b>R.</b>	
Robar.	Bubac.	To steal.	
Reir.	Ogorogor.	To laugh.	[Ocherchur]
Romper.	Matomal.	To break.	[Melemall]
Respetar.	Rubac.	To respect.	
		<b>S.</b>	
Subir.	Melam-iac.	To go up.	[Melemiakl]
Salir.	Pedric.	To go out.	
Sentarse.	Guici.	To sit down.	[Chensi]
Saber.	Madung-ai.	To know.	[Medengei]
Soplar.	Dagni.	To blow.	
		<b>T.</b>	
Trabajar.	Muru-fadal.	To work.	[Oureor-...]
Tirar.	Oi-tu.	To fire, or pull.	
		<b>V.</b>	
Vender.	Oltrao.	To sell.	[Olterau]

## PHRASES.

How do you say in Palauan?	Aromdel-tial-klalo?
What is this used for?	Kan-ilu ureguer?
It is used to do work.	Keeledel-amentré.
Where are you from?	Ecaim lar?
I come from the mountain/bush.	Mura caro-man.
I come from ashore.	Akanlara-ablú-lenus.
What are you doing?	Ngaca-murú?
To split a coconut.	Melana-asusen-ser.
When will you come?	Mec-rmoi ugará?
Early tomorrow.	Morocadam.
Do you know how to go up the mountain? Reus modini morse rapan?	

Yes.	Adan. <sup>1</sup>	
Go ahead of me.	Merti.	
Lead me. <sup>2</sup>	Mobenquei.	
I do not dare.	Diacam-me.	
I am afraid.	Ae-madac.	
Bring a chicken tomorrow.	Mu-amal-megluque.	
I cannot.	Dioume	[Diacme in ms.].
Do you give me this comb?	Augar mon sang?	
Yes, take it.	Adam mem sang.	
Go away.	Murai.	
Come in.	Tuó ra calsil.	
Go out.	Murá agivil.	
Bring fire.	Matai ngas.	
Bring water to drink.	Mai ral-ac inclem.	
I am going.	Augac murolon.	
I am going fishing.	Angue-mura acai.	
I am going to bathe.	Angue-mura ang.	
Bring that.	Mei-gan.	
I am going to buy a pig.	Ae mamacar á babi.	
Good weather.	Mainil arac.	
Good heart.	Ongil arangul.	
Let us eat.	Quita mangá.	
Let us sleep.	Quita mibat y maari vai.	

**Social customs.** The form of greeting and ways to show friendship are exactly the same as in Yap, but the Palauans appear to be more affectionate and demonstrative.

**Hospitality.** They have the deserved reputation of being hospitable. The conduct of these natives with the survivors of the shipwreck of the *Antelope* was, to use the same phrases as Captain Wilson, attentive, polite, affectionate, disinterested and full of true delicacy. At the time of their departure, both poor and rich people gave to the Englishmen whatever they had and they often refrained their natural curiosity so as not to be a bother. They were not interested in things that wealth inspires in man. They were all satisfied with their lot.

Nothing that the crew of the *Velasco* experienced goes against the above.

**Abduction.** It happens frequently between neighboring villages, and is carried out by invading warriors who consider the booty as common property.

The women who have been robbed live in the barracks or houses of the warriors, but in times of peace these women are the only ones living there. These houses are true

1 Ed. note: Adáng rather means Please, or True.

2 Ed. note: Or Guide me, take the lead, Show me the way.

brothels, the same as in Yap. These women usually return to their own village when they get older.

They do not give any importance to chastity; they treat a woman like a thing, and the woman can rarely do what she wants, but must follow the will of the parents, or that of the husband, when married.

**Religion.** They do not seem to have an external cult; nevertheless, in front of the king's house and in other places, they have a sort of small wooden house raised on wooden posts, locked, and inside they used to keep a basket full of betel-nut. The present king is very skeptical and laugh at this practice; he does not allow the presence of a *calid* or high priest at Koror, as exists at other places. There is such a priest at Artin-gol; he is consulted by all and they live well by following his oracles.

However, even without temples or ceremonies, it is very probable that they worship God. True it is that they have some excellent ideas about morality.

They are hard-working (to fulfil their needs), industrious, energetic at the moments of danger, suffering during hardships, and resigned at the hour of death.

Can anyone think that these moral conditions can exist without any hope for a future life?

The word superstition is a broad one, and, although some people think that it is the fruit of ignorance, nevertheless, it cannot be conceived to exist without many points in common with religion.

The people of Palau believe in lucky and unlucky days, in woods and stones of good and bad omens, in the influence of the devil, in the evil eye and the second sight, and in bad days to set sail—the same way that the English believe that Fridays are unlucky days, the Frenchmen that there must not be 13 sitting at the same table, the Spanish that they must not get married on a Tuesday, the Italians believe in *jettatura*, the Yankees in the rapping spirits; indeed, when it comes to superstition, the civilized peoples of Europe have nothing to envy the savages.

They believe that the bodies of bad men rot underground when they die but the good ones fly heavenward and become very beautiful there.

**Dress and adornments.** The men wear the same loin-cloths as those of Yap; they do not wear necklaces and the earrings are much smaller or else they use the holes in their ears to put grasses and flowers.

They comb their hair in a similar fashion, but the comb is smaller and less showy. As bracelets, they wear the first vertebra of some fish which they introduce on the wrist with much difficulty. The use of this bracelet is a sign of aristocracy and wealth: the one used by king Abadul had cost about 200 pesos.

The women wear a short skirt made of coconut coir which they comb with an iron rake. Said skirt consists of two parts, one apron in front and another at the back, both held up by a belt. It is dyed yellow with *curcuma*. They wear few bracelets or earrings, but tattoos all over their arms, hands, legs, pubic region and thighs. The men wear fewer tattoos.

The women usually paint their bodies with *curcuma*, as well as the palms of their hands. The men paint their faces for their war dances, with vertical stripes down their forehead and cheeks; the chest is also painted. For this pastime, they also place green palm strips on the head, chest and arms.

The native weapons are the spear, measuring about 12 feet in length, whose tip is shaped like a harpoon where sometimes at the very end they place a shark tooth or the barb taken from the tail of the ray-fish. They can usually throw this spear as far as 50 to 60 feet.

They also use their adze, which is used for all kinds of work; it is worn on the shoulder in a characteristic fashion.

This manner of wearing the adze is so normal for these natives that, when I asked king Abadul to pose for me for a photograph, he was already in front of the camera when he got up, went to his house, and returned with his adze which he placed elegantly on his shoulder with a certain elegance. <sup>1</sup>Ed. note: This photo may have been published in the *Diario de Manila*. It would be interesting to find a copy of it, perhaps at the Lopez Museum.

They all make use of a basket, woven with either coconut leaves or banana fiber, to carry their betel-nut, the fire-making kit, tobacco, comb, blade, and their spoon which is made from a sea-shell or tortoise-shell. Abadul always carried a silver plate service, European-style.

The combs are manufactured from orange-tree and ebony wood.

The fish-hooks they had one century ago were made of tortoise-shell; their lines were made of coconut fiber or human hair, and their sleeping-mats were woven with banana fiber.

King Abadul slept on one of these mats, with two pillows with their pillow slips, and a Dutch wife, Filipino-style. <sup>2</sup>He slept next to the fireplace, whose smoke rose to blacken the roof, since there was no chimney. He had large jars full of molasses, bags of copra, and under his house, about one yard away [from his nose], there was a well-populated pig-pen. This should not appear strange to us, if we recall the tale of Homer who, speaking of the palace of Ulysses, mentioned a pile of manure upon which slept the faithful dog Argos; in the palace of Pirameus, there was also a similar dung pile.

They normally use a banana leaf for a plate; they drink with a coconut cup. They have earthenware pots to heat the water, cook fish and yam, etc.

They make ingenious brooms with coconut coir. They keep their water in bamboo tubes.

They used the tortoise-shell that abounds in Palau, as far back as 1783; they had found a way to mold it into elegant shapes, such as spoons and trays; they also made

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2 Ed. note: *Abrazador* in Spanish, a Dutch wife is a long, round, pillow, to be embraced by someone who sleeps alone.



earrings and bracelets with it for the ladies of the aristocracy. Yet they did not know how to polish tortoise-shell.

**Dwellings.** Generally they are made of wood and bamboo, raised about half a meter from the ground, on piles made of hardwood. The walls are made of strips of cane and strengthened on the outside with a sort of palm. The floors are of bamboo.

They are not as big as the houses in Yap, but, on the other hand, they are much better finished.

They have some public buildings, all of wood, with the exception of the roof which is of palm.

Each house is to shelter one family, but they do not have the fences that are used in Yap.

There are other big buildings, which they call barracks [club-houses], where the public women live, as the common property of the warriors.

The streets are paved with stone.

**Food.** They eat more or less the same things as in Yap, but much more seafood and fish, but not the sweet potato.

Their kitchen utensils nowadays come from Europe; however, they have certain wooden dishes or jars with mother-of-pearl or bits of tortoise-shell inlaid in them; these articles do not lack a certain artistic merit.

They make use of a drink made up of water, molasses and lemon juice, which has a pleasant taste; they have no local alcoholic beverages, but they make excessive use of betel-nut and tobacco.

During an ordinary meal of yam and coconut, they sometimes add certain sweet deserts, of which they are very fond, and they make a syrup from the juice extracted from the coconut tree. There are three types of sweet desserts. The first, and most common, is made of grated coconut meat mixed with the above-mentioned syrup; they cook it in the fire, then they let it dry in the sun over a dry banana leaf; it becomes very hard. The second differs from the first in that they use the coconut meat whole, not grated, and the third type is a sort of sweet syrup, clear and transparent, which they get from the root of the tapioca.

They cook fish in salt water and the same for the crabs (which are abundant and are delicious) and seafood. But seafood is also eaten raw, with lemon juice.

They do not have salt, but they love it. During their meals, they drink coconut water, but rarely water. Generally they do not overeat.

**Mode of living.** Their domestic life is the same as at Yap; similarly the woman does the cooking, takes care of the house and the children and helps with the field work.

The political organization is somewhat more complicated than that of Yap. There is a king who rules and gives orders; but one of his brothers, with the title of Aracoco, inherits his place.

There is a council of chiefs, among whom figure the chief of the army and the first minister.

There are two main kings in Palau, that of Koror and that of Artingal, in the north.

They get up at dawn and immediately both men and women take a bath in soft water. The bathing places of the men are far from those of the women, and the former are forbidden to go near the bathing places of the latter, which is something strange to us because the women are always nude, except for their short skirts; however, they do not feel the same curiosity as European men do, who stare at women bathing on the beaches of Trouville or Zarauz.

They take their breakfast at 8 in the morning; afterwards the king usually holds his council with the chiefs and the plebeians go to work. They dine at midday and take their supper a short time after sunset.

Two hours later they go to bed; however, on feast-days they usually spend the whole night dancing.

They mark the time of day by the altitude of the sun, and at night by the stars.

The year is divided into two seasons, the dry and the rainy.

**Trade, products, etc.** When approaching from the sea, this group appears full of tree-covered hills; however, inland, although there are indeed some hills, the valleys are more beautiful and picturesque.

The soil appears to be very fertile and produces grass suitable for cattle.

The East India Company, among other gifts, had presented Abadul with one bull and a cow. As the natives did not eat them, they multiplied very much, although they sold and gave a few to European ships, but in 1883 [rather 1876], the flock was reduced to a large number of bulls, without any cow, and the officers of the German warship **Hertha** killed them all.

The land has no monetary value, since money as such does not exist in the country; however, although it seems that there are large extensions of land suitable for growing rice, tobacco, corn, etc., except for some small plantations of yams and *ube* in the vicinity of Koror, the rest is left uncultivated. As far as the great groups of islands and islets to the E. of Koror are concerned, they are of volcanic formation and covered with impenetrable bushes, and are not suitable for cultivation.

The only mineral that was found in certain valleys looks somewhat like galena; since we could not analyze it on board, we took samples to Manila for that purpose.

In a few limestone caverns, we have seen water filtrations whose color seems to hold iron oxide. There are quarries where a siliceous stone is cut into blocks of various sizes, and is exported to Yap where it is used as money.

Although it does not seem that precious woods occur in abundance, we saw some trees that looked like *guayacan*, *lanete* and a few varieties of acacia, among them the *sibucao* which they use to make black and blue dyes.<sup>1</sup>

Nowadays the main [export] products of this group are the tortoise-shell and trepang; some years over 400 tons of the latter product have been exported.

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1 Ed. note: The names in italics are Filipino in origin. Only *sibucao* can be identified readily, as brazil-wood (*Cæsalpina sapan*).

Rice grows well at Koror, but the natives do not cultivate it well, although they like it as much as the Filipinos do.

The coconut grows well on all the islands, and years ago there was a large production of copra, but it seems that a typhoon came and destroyed the trees to such an extent, specially at Koror, that today the production is insignificant.

At Koror, new coconut trees have been planted, but 10 to 12 more years will pass before they can give fruits.

There is an abundance of bread-fruit trees and other tropical trees, including a fruit which is called *avian* locally but seems to be a variety of durian.

They use a lot of betel-nut, but they use the nut when it is green, not dried as the Filipinos do.

**Political system.** The political organization of Palau differs somewhat from that of Yap. There are various kings who exercise a true sovereignty, but the two most important ones are Abadul of Koror and Araclay of Artingol in the north, while the others are vassals of these two.

Slavery does not exist, but there are social classes that could, by analogy, be called the nobility, middle class, and the plain people, and they are as distinct from one another as can be in, say, Russia.

These kings are advised by the nobles who meet in some big buildings for the purpose, and are called council-houses [in their language].

The *acalid*, a sort of augur or great priest, has also a great influence over the kings, and he also exploits the ordinary people, by making them believe that he is in contact with the spirits. At Koror, after the last Acalid died a few years ago, he was not replaced; indeed, the present Abadul did not allow anyone to fill that post, even if he pretended to be sent by the gods for the purpose.

Within the family, the wife is taken care of by the husband, with whom she shares the toughest tasks in the field.

Polygamy is allowed, but is little practiced at Koror where divorce is very common.

Prostitution is organized. The king has allowed the kidnapping of a few women from neighboring tribes and these women are for the use of the warriors (most of whom are bachelors) and for foreigners with the permission of the king.

The strangest thing of all is that such women, having been kidnapped, and being the property of the king, do not try and escape nor their own villages rescue them; this bondage is so customary that sometimes the women are permitted temporary leave and they never exceed the time allotted.

The king administers justice, and his income consists of fines imposed and a certain commission on any trade or sale; he rarely imposes capital punishment, but it is his privilege to use this sentence; the execution is carried out by the warriors, with spears or rifles.

Quite a few years ago, the Abadul who preceded the present one was executed by order of the commander of an English warship; indeed, it seems that the natives, insti-

gated by the king, had assassinated an English sea captain. One can still see in front of the king's house a pile of stones, raised by the natives to commemorate this incident.

Adultery is punished by the offended husbands themselves, but they must pay a certain amount to the king for the right to do themselves justice; this payment is never great even when the adulterers are killed by the husband.

For unmarried women, it is not a crime to have sex, and adultery is considered a right of passage.

Married or single women obey the king and the husbands when they are ordered to deliver themselves to foreigners, which they do rather willingly, reminding us of the old hospitality practiced among the Hebrews and mentioned in the holy scriptures.

When a woman from the royal family marries, she becomes the absolute owner of her husband, to such an extent that she can even kill him, without any other consequence than having to tell the king why she did it.

The ordinary marriage takes place by asking the chosen woman, after her parents have been given certain presents, and then taking her home without any other ceremony.

The children are subject to the authority of the father until they can live on their own; therefore, they get away from home little by little, like birds leaving the nest. Something similar happens among the families of the United States of America.

**Navy.** Their canoes vary a little from those of Yap, but the variation is only in the shape; in fact, they are built the same way.

Trepang and tortoise-shell is what they fish for exportation; the former is dried in the sun, and the turtle's meat is eaten while the shell is sold.

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During the short period of 13 days that the **Velasco** was at Palau, without a knowledge of the local language and having to do many other tasks, I would not be surprised if some of the above information requires some confirmation.

The natives in question are peaceful and very susceptible to receive Christian civilization. They appear to be so satisfied with their lot and so happy that it seems as if they can be used as the model for the noble savage of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the misanthrope; he said that the man who thinks is like a depraved animal.

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## Documents 1885Q

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# Decree creating a government for the western Carolines

*Sources: PNA; some copies in AHN Ultramar 5855.*

### **Q1. Decree of the Government General organizing the Politico-Military Government of the Caroline and Palau Islands.**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Manila 8 de Junio de 1885.*

*Gobierno General de Filipinas.*

*Autorizado por el Gobierno de S.M. en telegrama fecha 3 de Marzo último confirmado por Real Orden de 11 del mismo, para tomar posesión efectiva de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos, este Gobierno General viene en decretar lo siguiente.*

*1) Se crea un Gobierno P.M. en las expresadas Islas que se denominara Gobierno Politico Militar de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos, el cual será desempeñado por un Jefe ú Oficial de la Armada, que residirá en la Isla de Yap.*

*2) Las atribuciones de dicho Gobernador serán, hasta que otra cosa no se resuelva, las mismas que determinan las disposiciones vigentes para los Gobernadores Politicos Militares de los Distritos de Mindanao, Paragua, y Balabac, disfrutando del sueldo y gratificación que figuran en el presupuesto para los funcionarios de su clase.*

*3) El expresado Gobierno P.M. será dotado de un Secretario Oficial Subalterno del Ejercito, un Interprete, y un escribiente que disfrutaran el sueldo de su clase y plus de campaña el primero, 300 pesos anuales el segundo y 150 el tercero, señalándose para gastos de material la cantidad de 200 pesos.*

*4) Se establecerá desde luego una Misión en la expresada Isla de Yap, que será administrada por los P.P. Agustinos Descalzos.*

*5) Tambien se establecerá un destacamento del Ejercito compuesto de una Sección con un Teniente, un Alférez, las clases correspondientes, mas 25 disciplinarios, con su oficial ó dotación debida entre ellos un sargento europeo, y el personal y material sanitario que se considere necesario para cubrir las atenciones de la nueva Colonia.*

*6) Por la Comandancia General de Marina se designará el buque ó buques de guerra que devan desempeñar la Comisión de ir á Yap á tomar posesión material de la Isla*

*y propondrá á este Gobierno General el Jefe ú Oficial de la Armada que á su juicio reuna las condiciones necesarias para ocupar el puesto de Gobernador P.M. de la misma.*

*7) La Capitanía General dictará las órdenes oportunas para el debido cumplimiento de la parte que a la misma se refiere en el presente decreto.*

*8) Por la Intendencia Gral. de Hacienda se incoarán con toda la presura que tan importante asunto requiere los oportunos expedientes de credito á que dá lugar la creación del Gobierno P.M. de que se trata, dictando desde luego ó proponiendo á mi autoridad las disposiciones que estime convenientes a fin de que al Gobernador de la nueva provincia se le anticipen los fondos necesarios para sufragar los gastos de personal y material de la misma por espacio de seis meses.*

*9) Para atender á los gastos de instalación provisional de la nueva autoridad, construcción de Iglesia, Cuartel, Hospital, Casa para el Padre Misionero, adquisición de herramientas y demas útiles para el trabajo, por la Direcciyn general de ADministración Civil, se concederá previas las formalidades debidas y con toda la urgencia posible, un credito extraordinario de 10.000 pesos con cargo á la Caja Central de fondos locales, de cuya inversión rendirá cuenta justificada el Gobernador P.M.*

*Comuniquese á quien corresponda y dese cuenta al Ministerio de Ultramar.  
Terrero.*

### **Translation.**

Manila, 8 June 1885.

Government General of the Philippines.

By authority of the H.M. received in a telegram dated 3 March last, as confirmed by Royal Order of the 11th of the same month, to take formal possession of the Caroline Islands and Palau, this Government General has now decreed the following:

1) A P.M. Government is created for the said Islands, which shall be called POLitico-Military Government of the Caroline Islands and Palau, and it shall be headed by an Official or Navy Officer who shall reside at the Island of Yap.

2) The functions of said Governor shall be, until otherwise stipulated, the same as those determined by the existing regulations regarding the Governors of the Politico-Military Districts of Mindanao, Paragua and Balabac, and shall enjoy the salary and allowance that appear in the budget for the officials of this category.

3) The said P.M. Government shall be provided one Non-Commissioned Officer of the Army as Secretary, one Interpreter, and a clerk, who shall enjoy the salary of their category plus a field allowance for the first stated, 300 pesos per year for the second, and 150 for the third, and the sum of 200 pesos shall be earmarked for the cost of materials.

4) A Mission shall, of course, be established in said Island of Yap, to be administered by the Discalced Augustinian Recollects.

5) A detachment of the Army shall also be established, consisting of a Section headed by a Lieutenant, the corresponding categories, plus 25 convict soldiers, that is, among

them one European Sergeant, and the sanitation personnel and materiel that are considered necessary to cover the requirements of the new Colony.

6) The General Navy HQ shall designate one or more warships that must carry out the commission of going to Yap to take formal possession of the Island and shall propose to this Government General the Official or Navy Officer who, in their judgment, has the necessary abilities to occupy the post of P.M. Governor there.

7) Navy HQ shall dictate the timely orders for the due accomplishment of the part that belongs to them in the present decree.

8) The Indendent General of Finance shall open, with all the speed that such an important matter requires, the necessary credit files in order to create said P.M. Government, by dictating, therefore, or poposing to my Authority, the decisions that he esteems appropriate in order for the Government of the new Province to receive the funds necessary to cover the personnel expenditures for a duration of six months.

9) To cover the costs of the provisional installation of the new Authority, the construction of a Church, the Hospital, the Residence for the Missionary Father, the purchase of tools and other things for the project, by the Directorate General of Civil Administaaration, there shall be granted, after due formalities and with all possible haste, an extraordinary credit of 10,000 pesos, charged to the Central Treasury of local funds, whose investment shall be justified in a report by the P.M. Governor.

This is to be communicated to whom it may concern and the Ministry of Overseas is to be advised of same.

### **Editor's notes.**

Copies of this decree were immediately sent to most Department Heads in Manila and to the Ministry of Overseas. Even the following religious authorities were informed: the Archbishop of Manila, the Bishop of Cebu and the Provincial of the Recollects. The decree was also published in the *Diario oficial de Manila*. The Navy toyed with the idea of buying a sailing craft that would be stationed permanently in Yap. A governor was selected on 12 June in the person of Navy Lieutenant Enrique Capriles y Osuna. A Mr. Galo Kamminga was named Interpreter; he was, however, replaced a few months later by the local appointee, Mrs. Bartola Garrido. The first physician of Yap was to be Don Pedro Espinosa y Capo.

## **Q2. Letter from the Governor General to the Spanish Consul in Hong Kong**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Junio 11/85*

*Mi querido Ginart:*

*Se necesita construir con urgencia para la ocupación de Yap en las Carolinas un cuartel para alojar á 50 hombres, una pequeña casa para el Gobernador, otra para alojar á 50 hombres [sic], una pequeña Iglesia. Estas construcciones se desea que sean de*

*hierro y madera y que vaya todo listo, para armarlo á la llegada á aquel punto por lo que acuso á su reconocida actividad encaraciendole que le vea con los del Dique ú otro cualquiera que puso a construir los edificios en cuestión y si fuere necesario forme V. planos de los respectivos edificios y una vez que conozca V. los precios que ahí exijan dígamelo V. por telegrafo, con el objeto de ver si nos conviene hacerlo aquí ó aceptar la proposición que V. envíe. Tambien le agradecería mucho indagará lo que pedirian por llevar al armar por mi cuenta en Yap los mencionados edificios.*

*Estela y familia ha llegado sin novedad. Reciba V. sus gracias y como siempre Dios guarde, etc.*

*Su afectísimo amigo.*

### **Translation.**

June 11th, 1885.

My dear Ginart,

It is necessary to build urgently for the occupation of Yap in the Carolines quarters to lodge 50 men, one small house for the Governor, another to lodge 50 men [rather the Missionary], one small Church. Those buildings should be made of iron and wood and are to be prefabricated but ready to re-assemble at their arrival at that place. That is why I rely on your well-known activity and urge you to take up the matter with the people of the Dry Dock, or anyone else, to construct the buildings in question and, should it be necessary, for you to draw up the plans of the said buildings, and once you know the prices that they insist upon overthere, you let me know by telegram, so that I may determine whether they should be built here or to accept the proposal that you are to send me.

I would also be grateful to you if you were to investigate the amount they might charge to deliver said buildings to Yap and assemble them there.

Estela and family have arrived safely.

May God, etc.

Your most affectionate friend.

### **Editor's notes.**

The PNA file contains the translation of a letter sent by the Hong Kong Dry Dock Co. Ltd. to Mr. Manuel Ginart, which says in part, more or less the following:

"According to your request, I have the pleasure to send you the plans of the buildings...

"All the buildings will be completed and ready to load within four months, the cost of each I indicate to you as follows:

"Governor's residence in accordance with the plan	\$ 6500.00
"Church .....	\$ 4000.00
"House for the missionaries .....	\$ 5400.00
"Quarters .....	\$10700.00
	-----



\$26,600.00.”

In addition, the firm quoted a price of \$3,600 for the use of tradesmen to put the buildings together in Yap, excluding the expenses of their transport to and from Yap. There follow detailed lists of the wood required for each building, and a set of sketches (now in deteriorated condition).

### Q3. Budget for the first Catholic Mission in Yap

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Acuerdo señalando congrua y gastos de culto á la misión de Yap.*

[Al] *Sor. Gobernador Gral.*

[Del] *Gobierno Gral. de Filipinas—Secretaria—*

*Exmo. Sor.:*

*El Sor. Intendente Gral. de Hacienda manifiesta que para poder determinar en el expediente respectivo la importancia verdadera de los créditos necesarios para las atenciones de la nueva provincia de las Carolinas, se hace indispensable se fija la asignación que por estipendios y gastos de culto debe señalarse á la misión recientemente creada con destino á la Isla de Yap.*

*Al propio tiempo pide se le de traslado de la R. O. disponiendo la creación del expresado Gobierno.*

*Nota: Esta Sria. ha examinado los presupuestos de estas Islas y ha tenido ocasión de observar que no están sujetas á regla fija las asignaciones que en el mismo se consignan para las diferentes Misiones que esten en el Archipiélago. Sin duda alguna al fijarse dichas asignaciones se ha tenido en cuenta las condiciones del punto donde iban á ser establecidas, para dar á los Padres los medios necesarios de subsistencia y de atender al Culto de la manera mas convenientes. En tal virtud, el que suscribe considera, teniendo en cuenta las condiciones especiales de la Isla de Yap, que á la misión nuevamente creada para dicho punto, debe señalarse la mayor asignación que figuran dotadas las demas del Archipiélago, y al efecto propone á V.E. se señalen las cantidades siguientes:*

<i>Espipendio para el Misionero .....</i>	<i>\$ 800.00</i>
<i>Un padre Coadjutor .....</i>	<i>\$ 400.00</i>
<i>Para gastos de Culto .....</i>	<i>\$ 360.00</i>

*Total .....* \$1,550.00

*Tambien debe señalarse una cantidad para reducir infieles por medio de presentes y regalos á semejanza de lo establecido para Mindanao en el Cap. 9 art. 3 Sección 3 del presupuesto vigente de gastos, cuya cantidad puede ser la de 400 pesos anuales, 200 á disposición del Gobernador de la Colonia y los otros 200 á disposición del P. Misionero.*

*V.E. resolverá lo mejor.*

*Manila 16 de Julio de 1885.*

*Exmo. Sor.  
Felipe Canga Argüelles.*

*Conforme.—Sigue la rúbrica de S.E.*

### Translation.

#### Agreement specifying the stipend and costs for religious services for the Yap Mission.

[To] the Governor General.

[From] the Government General of the Philippines—Secretary's Office.—

Your Excellency:

The Intendent General of Finance advises that, in order to be able to determine in the respective file the real importance of the credits that are necessary to attend to the new province of the CAROLINES, it is necessary to fix the amount for stipends and religious services to be provided by the mission that has been created recently and is to go to the Island of Yap.

He requests that a copy of the R.O. creating said Government be sent to him eventually.

**Note:** This Secretariat has examined the budgets of these Islands and has had the opportunity of observing that the amounts earmarked for various Missions within the Archipelago do not follow a fixed rule. Without any doubt, when assigning funds, the conditions of the place that the Fathers will need to subsist and attend to religious services in a suitable manner have been considered. To this effect, the undersigned considers, taking into account the special conditions of the Island of Yap, that the newly-created Mission for said place, must be assigned greater amounts than those assigned to others in the Archipelago. Hence, I propose to Y.E. that the following sums be earmarked:

Stipend for the Missionary .....	\$ 800.00
One Father Coadjutor .....	\$ 400.00
For expenses of the religious service	\$ 360.00
	-----
Total .....	\$1,550.00

There should be assigned a sum for the reduction of the hehathen by means of presents, on a pattern similar to that established for Mindanao in Chap. 9, Art. 3, Section 3, of the present budget. Said amount should therefore be 400 pesos per year, 200 at the disposal of the Governor and 200 at the disposal of the Missionary Father.

Y.E. will decide what is best.

Manila, 10 July 1885.

Your Excellency.

Felipe Canga Argüelles.

Approved.—Here follows the rubric of His Excellency.

**Editor's notes.**

The Governor General first asked the Jesuits to send missionaries to the Carolines. Fr. Provincial Vidart answered that he did not have sufficient personnel; besides, he would have to ask permission of his Superior in Spain to begin a new mission field.

On 30 July, the Father Provincial of the Discalced Augustinians [i.e. Recollects] was asked to appoint the missionaries for the Carolines. Father Santos Paredes, the Provincial, answered immediately proposing the names of Fr Aniceto **Ibañez** del Carmen and Fr. Gerónimo **Sancho** del Corazon de Jesús (30 years old). The next day, the Governor General announced the choice of Father Ibañez to the Governor-elect with enthusiasm, given that the priest in question was highly regarded for the many years that he had spent as a missionary in the Marianas. He also wrote to Fr. Ibañez on 1 August to thank him for having consented to come out of retirement to go to Yap. In 1887, Fr. Ibañez was to return to Guam, and die there.

**Q4. 25 convict soldiers to be sent to Yap****Original text in Spanish.**

*Sr. Gobr. P.M. de Joló.*

*20 Julio de 1885.*

*Habiendo dispuesto este Gobierno Gral. que de la Compañía Disciplinaria que existe en esa Isla, se destinen veinticinco hombres al nuevo Gobierno P.M. de las Carolinas, me dirijo á V.S. encareciendole la necesidad de que sean escogidos dhos. individuos, prefiriendo los que tengan algun oficio y sean casados, en la inteligencia de que si lo desean serán trasladadas sus familias á la indicada provincia.*

*Lo digo á V.S. para su conocimiento y efectos correspondientes.*

*Dios, etc.*

**Translation.**

[To] the P.M. Governor of Jolo.

20 July 1885.

This Government General having decided that 25 men are to be taken from the strength of the Disciplinary Company of that Island to be sent to the new P.M. Government of the Carolines. I address myself to Y.L., entrusting you with the need that said individuals be selected, by preferring those who are married, with the understanding that, should they wish it so, their families could be moved to said province.

I tell you this for your information and consequent effects.

May God, etc.

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## Documents 1885R

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### Instructions given to Governor Capriles

*Sources: PNA; S. Marengo's book: La ficción y la verdad de lo ocurrido en Yap (Madrid, 1886); some copies in MN.*

#### **R1. Instructions given to the new P.M. Governor of the Caroline and Palau Islands, dated 25 July 1885**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Procurará sostener como principio de nuestra dominación un generoso espíritu de atracción con la población indígena, evitando lo mas posible el empleo de castigos que solo deben aplicarse con notable prudencia.*

*Igual conducta se debe seguir con los extranjeros allí establecidos, haciendoles entender sin debilidades, pero tan poco sin alardes de innecesaria energia, que S. M. el Rey de España es el legitimo Soberano de aquellos territorios, y que si bien es cierto que los delegados de su autoridad la ejercerán en obsequio de todos los que lealmente soliciten su poderosa protección, no telerará que por nada ni por nadie pueda darse al olvido las consideraciones y respetos que exige nuestra indiscutible Soberania en aquella región.*

*Respecto á las relaciones con los buques extranjeros que visiten aquellas aguas se les guardará y hará guardar todo género de consideraciones y respetos, prestandoles cuantos auxilios necesiten; pero si siguiendo antiguas prácticas intentáran ejercer actos de Soberania, se les hará comprender con toda la prudencia posible que la situación de aquellas Islas ha variado por completo desde el momento en que el Gobierno de España, en uso de su legitimo derecho, ha establecido allí su pabellón.*

*Si á pesar de ello, insistieran en su temeraria empresa, se formulará la protesta correspondiente á fin de que por el Gobierno General de este Archipiélago ó por el de S. M., según los casos, se hagan las gestiones oportunas en evitación de conflictos que no deben surgir, dado nuestro reconocido derecho de posesión sobre aquellas Islas.*

*Estas consideraciones deben servir de conducta al Gobernador de las Carolinas desde los primeros momentos, en lo que se refiere á la política exterior. En lo que se refiere al régimen interior el nuevo Gobierno é instalación material de la Colonia, observará las reglas siguientes:*

*Procurará desde su arribo á la Isla de Yap ver si hay medio de alojar convenientemente la fuerza que lleva á sus órdenes, lo mismo que á la sección de disciplinarios,*

*no olvidando la conveniencia de que se establezcan en sitio próximo al Gobierno para poder vigilar constantemente por el orden y buen régimen de las expresadas fuerzas, á fin de que no cometan abusos ni atropellos, que deben evitarse á toda costa, puesto que los primeros actos son los que han de imprimir carácter á nuestra dominación. En este sentido el nuevo Gobernador dará instrucciones severas y exigirá la responsabilidad mas estrecha á los infractores.*

*Una vez cubiertas las necesidades del momento, en cuanto se relaciona al alojamiento de las fuerzas, procederá el nuevo Gobernador á elegir emplazamiento donde establecer definitivamente el Gobierno y demas edificios públicos, procurando que el sitio sea ventilado é higiénico con proximidad de agua, á ser posible, y que revista ciertas condiciones de defensa, por mas que no es presumible que haya motivo de ningún ataque, dado el carácter sumiso de los indígenas; pero la prudencia aconseja siempre se adopten determinadas precauciones, sin manifestar desconfianzas ni miedos, y que á la vez no se viva en un completo abandono, que pudiera ser origen de algun disgusto en momentos determinados.*

*Una vez elegido el sitio donde han de establecerse los edificios públicos hará el Gobernador que se cumplen en los trabajos lo mismo los soldados que los disciplinarios, adoptando las medidas mas convenientes, que aconseje el conocimiento de las condiciones climatologicas de la localidad, para que se conserven todos los individuos en el mejor estado de salud.*

*Tambien debe procurar el nuevo Gobernador la cooperación de los naturales á todos los trabajos que se ejecuten, á fin de irles acostumbrando poco á poco á la vida del trabajo, pero empleando siempre la mayor prudencia y exquisito tacto, para que no consideren como un yugo la dominación española. Al efecto les estimulará con dádivas ya en metálico ó en efectos, que sin duda alguna apreciarán mas, de modo que no vean imposición por parte del Gobierno al ocuparlos en trabajos, sinó el deseo de educarlos y de proporcionarles los medios de subsistencia, desconocidos por ellos hasta hoy.*

*Será asi mismo objeto de la preferente atención del nuevo Gobernador el organizar civilmente la vida de aquellos pueblos, procurando assimilarlos todo lo posible á los de estas islas, pero bajo la base siempre de la organización que ellos tengan establecida, pues no se ocultará á la penetración del Jefe de las Carolinas lo difícil que es desarraigarse de una vez costumbres legendarias por mas que no se encuentren basadas en principio alguno de civilización.*

*En sus relaciones con los Misioneros deberá el nuevo Gobernador [cuidar] que reine la mayor armonía, facilitandoles cuantos auxilios reclamen para el mejor desempeño de su sagrado ministerio. A las funciones de Iglesia, que se harán con la mayor pompa y solemnidad que sea posible, concurrirán, bajo la presidencia de la nueva autoridad todo el personal de la Colonia, para estimular la obra civilizadora de los P.P. Misioneros.*

*El Médico, además de los servicios que por su clase le están encomendados, asistirá gratuitamente á los indígenas procurando establecer en el Hospital un departamento donde pueda atenderse á la curación de los enfermos que lo soliciten.*

*En sus relaciones oficiales con los demas funcionarios de la Colonia, procurará el Gobernador de Carolinas guardar la armonía mas perfecta, que és base segura de buena administración, conciliando los intereses de todos, dentro siempre de los puros principios de la justicia y equidad.*

*Los días de S.S. M.M. y A.R. la Princesa de Asturias se celebrarán con la mayor pompa y ostentación que sea posible, á fin de inculcar en los naturales las ideas de respeto y veneración que se deben al Jefe Supremo del Estado.*

*Para la rendición de cuentas y demas asuntos relativos á la parte económica de la nueva provincia, se ajustará el Gobernador de Carolinas á las Instrucciones que recibirá previamente de los Centros Directivos de Hacienda y Gobernación.*

*Será objeto de la preferente atención del Gobernador de Carolinas, procurar el saneamiento de la población de Yap y cuidar con escrupuloso esmero del ornato púdico, que tan ventajosa idea dá del estado de civilización de un pueblo.*

*Tambien debe cuidar el Gobernador de Carolinas, previo un detenido estudio de las condiciones del terreno, de propagar entre los naturales la afición á la agricultura y á la cria de toda clase de ganado tanto para que puedan atender de distinta manera que hoy lo hacen á su subsistencia como para que les sirva de medio de prosperidad si llegan á desarrollarse tan importantes ramos de riqueza. Al efecto gestionará la adquisición de semillas de palay, caña dulce, maiz, etc. y hará ensayos en pequeña escala, á fin de apreciar los frutos que se producen mejor para adoptarlos con preferencia á los demas y propagar su siembra por toda la Colonia.*

*Respecto al desarrollo de la cria de ganados, empleará el nuevo Gobernador los procedimientos que su buen sentido y el conocimiento de la localidad le sugieran, á cuyo efecto se ha dado orden al Gobernador P.M. de Mindanao para que adquiera con destino á Carolinas dos vacas y un toro y dos caraballas y un carabao.*

*Aparte de las instrucciones de caracter general que van consignadas, el Gobernador de Carolinas desde el momento de su arribo á Yap abrirá un libro donde con toda minuciosidad se consiguen diariamente los trabajos que se verifiquen y disposiciones que haya adoptado, dando cada quince días un parte extenso de todo á este Gobierno General, que cuidará de remitir aprovechando la primera oportunidad de buque que se le presente.*

*Asi mismo abrirá otro libro de registro de la propiedad, haciendo constar en él las fincas rústicas y urbanas que existen, con todos los pormenores que juzgue necesarios para conocer la verdadera importancia de la riqueza de aquel país, pudiendo conceder á los poseedores de dichas fincas, si lo solicitan el correspondiente título de propiedad.*

*Según vaya adquiriendo conocimientos no solo de Yap, sino de las demas islas que pueda recorrer á medida que sus ocupaciones se lo permitan, escribirá el Gobernador de Carolinas una extensa memoria donde hará constar todo cuanto á la misma se refiere, proponiendo las medidas que considere convenientes para el mas rápido desarrollo moral y material de aquellos pueblos.*

*Tambien formará detallada estadística de los habitantes que pueblan aquel Archipiélago, todo lo mas aproximada á la verdad que sea posible, expresando sus usos y*

*costumbres, trabajos á que se dedican y vicios mas culminantes de que adolecen, proponiendo á este Gobierno General con meditado estudio y severa prudencia las reformas que á su juicio deben introducirse para mejorar las condiciones de aquellos individuos y procurar su adelanto en la vida de la civilización.*

*Provisto del material necesario que le será facilitado para instalar en Yap una estación metereologica, se encarga al Gobernador de Carolinas que practique los trabajos y observaciones que esta clase de establecimientos exigen con sugestión á las instrucciones que reciba del Director del Observatorio de esta Capital; trabajos y observaciones que pueden ser de gran utilidad para el estudio de este importante ramo del saber. Dichos trabajos cuidará de remitirlos al Director del Observatorio, aprovechando todos los medios de comunicación que se le presenten.*

*En casos fortuitos de que las comunicaciones con aquellas islas se dificulten y no permita atender con regularidad á las necesidades que se originen en la Colonia queda autorizado para disponer de los fondos que tenga á su cargo, á fin de salvar las dificultades que se le presenten, procurando cuando llegue un caso de esta naturaleza, revestir el acto de todas las formalidades necesarias que acrediten la urgencia é imprescindible necesidad de disponer de dichos fondos.*

*Tanto los soldados como los disciplinarios destinados á la nueva provincia podrán dedicarse al cultivo de una huerta que les sirva para mejorar las condiciones de su rancho.*

*Para todos los asuntos graves que haya de resolver por sí el Gobernador de Carolinas, convocará una junta compuesta del padre Misionero, del Oficial mas caracterizado de la guarnición y de alguna otra persona de respetabilidad que se encuentre establecida en Yap á quienes dará cuenta del caso, levantando acta del acuerdo que se tome. El Gobernador podrá sin embargo separarse de dicho acuerdo cuando lo estime oportuno, dando cuenta razonada á este Gobierno General para la resolución que corresponda.*

*Manila 25 de Juio de 1885.*

### **Translation.**

From the beginning of our domination, you shall maintain a generous spirit of attraction with the native population, by avoiding as much as possible the use of punishments that must only be applied with prudence.

The same conduct must be followed with the foreigners residing there, by making them understand, without weaknesses but without fanfare either that would amount to a waste of energy, that H.M. the King of Spain is the lawful Sovereign of those territories, and that, although it is true that those who have been delegated his authority might exercise it for the benefit of all those who loyally asks for his powerful protection, he will not tolerate anything or anyone who might forget the considerations and respect due to our undeniable sovereignty over that region.

Regarding relations with foreign ships that may visit those waters, you shall keep, and have others keep, all kinds of considerations and respect, by offering them as much

assistance as they may need. However, if, following old practices, they should try to exercise acts of sovereignty, they are to be made to understand, with all the prudence possible, that the situation of those Islands has changed radically from the time the Government of Spain, in making use of its legitimate right, has planted its flag there.

If, in spite of this, they should persist in their temerary effort, a corresponding protest shall be formulated, so that the Government General of this Archipelago, or that of H.M., depending on the cases, might take timely action to prevent conflicts that should not occur, given our well-known right of possession over those Islands.

Such considerations must serve to guide the "Governor of the Carolines from the very beginning, as far external politics are concerned. As for internal affairs of the new Government and the installation of the Colony, he shall observe the following rules:

He shall try, right upon his arrival at the Island of Yap, to see if there is a means of lodging comfortably the force under his orders, the same for the Disciplinary Section, not forgetting the desirability of establishing it at a site close to the Government in order to be able to constantly watch over the good order and discipline of said forces, for the purpose of preventing them from committing abuses at all costs, given that the first acts are those that ought to impress the character of our domination. IN this respect, the new Governor shall give severe instructions and shall insist on responsibility on the part of the violators.

Once the necessities of the moment have been taken care of, those concerned with the lodging of the forces, the new Governor shall proceed to choosing a definite site in which to establish the Government and other public buildings, by trying to find a site that is airy and hygienic with a water source nearby if possible, and one that meets certain conditions for defence, although it is not foreseen that there be any attack, given the submissive character of the natives; however, prudence always recommends that certain precautions be adopted, without showing mistrust or fear, and that at the same time life should not be lived in complete abandonment that might be the source of any future displeasure.

Once the site has been chosen where to establish the public buildings, the Governor shall endeavor that the work be shared equally between [regular] soldiers and the convicts, by adopting the most convenient measures that the known local climatological conditions may suggest, so that all the individuals may be kept in a perfect state of health.

The new Governor shall also try to get the collaboration of the natives in all the works to be carried out, in order to get them accustomed little by little to a life of work, but always doing so with great prudence and an exquisite tact, so that the Spanish domination should not be considered a burden. To this effect, he shall stimulate them with presents, either of money or of goods, which no doubt they will appreciate more, to make them see that the work imposed by the Government is not an imposition upon them, but rather a desire to educate them and to provide them with a means of subsistence, so far unknown to them.



It shall also be a preferred objective of the new Governor to organize the civil life of those towns, by trying to make them similar to those in these Islands as much as possible, but under the basis always of the organization that they have in existence; indeed, the Governor of the Carolines will certainly realize how difficult it is to uproot legendary customs at once, though they may be found not to be based on any civilized principle.

As far as relations with the Missionaries, the new Governor shall take care that the best harmony reign, by facilitating them as much assistance as they claim for the better accomplishment of their sacred ministry. All the personnel of the Colony, under the leadership of the new authority, shall attend the functions of the Church, which shall take place with the highest pomp and solemnity possible, in order to stimulate the civilizing work of the Missionary Fathers.

The Physician, in addition to the duties that are entrusted to his category, shall attend freely to the natives, by establishing a department in the Hospital where those who wish it may be taken care of.

In his other relations with the personnel of the Colony, the Governor of the Carolines shall try to keep the most perfect harmony, which is the most secure basis for a good administration, by conciliating the interests of all, always within pure principles of justice and fairness.

The anniversaries of their Majesties and Her Royal Highness the Princess of Asturias shall be celebrated with the best pomp and ceremony possible, in order to inculcate in the natives the ideas of respect and veneration due to the Supreme Head of the State.

In the rendering of accounts and other matters relating to the economy of the new province, the Governor of the Carolines shall follow the particular Instructions that he will receive to that effect from the Directorates of Finance and [Civil] Administration.

It shall be part of the preferential attention of the Governor of the Carolines to try to improve the sanitary condition of the population of Yap and to take care that proper public adornment be respected, one that gives such an advantageous idea of civilization.

The Governor of the Carolines shall also take care that, following a detailed study of the soil conditions to propagate among the natives a fondness for agriculture and for the raising of cattle of all types, not only to give them an additional means of subsistence but also to provide them with a means to prosperity if such important sources of wealth can be developed. To this effect, he shall arrange for the purchase of seeds for rice, sugarcane, corn, etc. and he shall carry out some small trials, in order to find out the best products, the better to prefer them to others and to propagate their culture throughout the Colony.

With respect to the raising of cattle, the new Governor shall employ the procedures that his common sense and the knowledge of the locality might suggest. To this effect, orders have been given to the P.M. Governor of Mindanao to purchase for the Carolines two cows and a bull and two female carabao and a male carabao.

In addition to instructions of general character that are consigned here, the Governor of the Carolines, as soon as he gets to Yap, shall open a book where with all the necessary precision he shall consign on a daily basis the works that are taking place and

the dispositions adopted, giving every fifteen days a detailed report of everything to this Government General, which he shall take care to remit at every opportunity of a ship becoming available.

In addition he shall open another book to register propriety, and listing in it the existing rustic and urban plots of land, with all the details that he judges necessary to reveal the true importance of the wealth of that country, and he may grant to the owners of said plots who might want them some land titles.

While he acquires knowledge not only of Yap but about the other islands that he might visit when his occupations allow, the Governor of the Carolines shall write an extensive paper where he shall report all that concern them, and proposing the measures that he considers convenient for the most rapid material and moral progress of those peoples.

He shall also collect extensive statistics of the inhabitants of that archipelago, with approximate figures as close to the truth as possible, including their customs, their occupations, and the most important vices afflicting them, and proposing to this Government General, after serious study and severe prudence, the reforms that in his judgment should be introduced to improve the conditions of those individuals and try to set them on their way on the road to civilization.

Upon taking delivery of the material necessary to set up a meteorological station in Yap, the Governor of the Carolines is entrusted with the work involved in this type of establishment in accordance with the instruction that he shall receive from the Director of the Manila Observatory; work and observations that might be of great utility in the study of this important branch of science. He shall endeavor to remit to the Director of the Observatory the results of this work, by making use of all the facilities at his disposal.

In the eventuality of communications becoming irregular and that the needs originating in the Colony cannot be attended to with regularity, he is authorized to dispose of funds assigned to his care, in order to solve the difficulties, but trying, should such cases present themselves, to make use of all the necessary formalities that prove the urgency and absolute necessity of disposing of such funds.

The soldiers as well as the convicts sent to that new province shall be able to dedicate themselves to the culture of a garden that may serve them to improve the conditions of their food rations.

For all the serious matters that the Governor of the Carolines ought to resolve himself, he shall call a meeting consisting of the Missionary Father, the highest-ranking officer of the garrison and of one other respectable person living in Yap, to whom he shall give an account of the case, filling a report when he should find it necessary, in which he would give a detailed account to this Government General, for it to resolve the matter in question.

Manila, 25 July 1885.

## R2. Secret instructions, dated 27 July 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador P.M. de las Carolinas.—Reservadísima.—  
27 de Julio de 1885.*

*Interesando revestir el acto de la posesión material de las islas Carolinas de la mayor solemnidad posible, observará V. sobre este particular las siguientes instrucciones:*

*1) Antes de hacer el desembarco oficial, bajará V. á tierra y designará el punto donde deba establecerse la Colonia oficial, puesto de acuerdo para ello con los R.R. P.P. Misioneros y Oficiales de la guarnición, y de cuyo acto levantará la correspondiente acta el Secretario del Gobierno P.M. Terminada esta diligencia, se señalará el punto y se situará el asta en que debe arbolarse la bandera nacional, enseña gloriosa de nuestra soberanía y dominio en las Carolinas.*

*Ultimadas estas formalidades se retirará V. y el personal que le acompañe á bordo, procurando indirectamente invitar á las personas así extranjeras como indígenas que quieran saludar á V. En esta entrevista procurará, con toda amabilidad pero con estudiado tacto y prudencia, explorar la opinion de dichos extranjeros, y si los vá V. bien dispuestos, los invita para que asistan al acto del desembarco é instalación definitiva en tierra de la Colonia oficial, pero si, como no espero, se mostrasen de algún modo reacios ó envidiosos, variará V. la conversación, procurando atraer sin embargo á los que manifiesten más simpatías por nosotros, y á esos les invitará V. al acto, siempre que no tema V. sufrir algún desaire, que á toda costa debe evitarse.*

*A los indígenas procurará atraérselos con halagos y regalos, haciéndoles comprender las ventajas que van á sentir con que en aquellas abandonadas regiones, se constituya una autoridad española encargada de dispensarles la protección y apoyo que demanda su pobre y mísera existencia, á cuyo fin nuestra generosa nación no escatimará sus poderosos auxilios, debiendo V. robustecer estos argumentos y otros que se le ocurran, mostrándoles los abundantes regalos en ropas y efectos de que vá V. provisto, por la ventaja que proporciona herir con actos materiales sus sentidos, que no puedan producir discursos elocuentísimos que en su estado embrionario son incapaces de comprender. Sobre todo lo que debe V. procurar es captarse las simpatías de sus caciques, conseguido lo cual, deberá V. expresarles la conveniencia de que suscriban en su nombre y en el de sus compatriotas, un acta de reconocimiento y adhesión á S.M. el Rey de España (q. D. g.) declarándose súbditos de España, reconociendo por lo tanto la autoridad superior de este Gobn. Gral., de la que es V. delegado en aquellas islas. para la ejecución de lo que queda expresado, procurará V., sin manifestar desconfianza, que el elemento extranjero no tenga conocimiento hasta donde sea posible de gestiones tan interesantes.*

*2) Al día siguiente ó al inmediato, si así lo exigiere la conveniencia, de que tenga V. en su poder el acta de referencia, señalará la hora del desembarque, que si otra cosa no lo impide, debe ser la de las siete de la mañana. Un cuarto de hora antes de la señalada, bajará á tierra, armada y municionada con dos paquetes por plaza, la fuerza que*

*tiene V. á sus órdenes, la que en correcta formación, aguardará su llegada en el punto designado para el caso. A este acto concurrirá V. de riguroso uniforme, haciéndose acompañar de los R.R. P.P. Misioneros, Médico de la División, debiendo V. también invitar al Comandante y Oficiales del transporte **Carriedo**. Una vez en tierra se dirigirá V. con su acompañamiento á la cabeza, cerrando la comitiva las fuerzas armadas al sitio designado, donde haciendo alto, formará la fuerza en la forma más conveniente. Seguidamente el Secretario del Gobierno P.M., dará lectura en voz alta, del decreto nombrando á V. Gobernador de aquellas islas; terminada dicha lectura pronunciará V. las siguientes palabras:*

*“En virtud del decreto que acaba de leerse, tomo, en nombre de S.M. el Rey de España, Don Alfonso XII, posesión de las Islas Carolinas,” debiendo en este momento arbolarse la bandera nacional, que será saludada con Vivas á España y al Rey. Para la mayor solemnidad del acto debe V. ponerse de acuerdo con el Comandante del **Carriedo** para que, previa seúal convencional, salude con su artillería el momento de arbolarse la bandera en la plaza. Si las circunstancias lo permiten, sería de muy buen efecto que inmediatamente se celebre misa de campaña, para dar todo el carácter tradicional de nuestras ocupaciones á las de las Carolinas. De todo lo ocurrido se levantará triple acta, que firmarán los asistentes, es decir el elemento europeo sin distinción de nacionalidad que se haya asociado á tan patriótica, política y religiosa manifestación, y los indigenas que también hayan asistido á dicha ceremonia. Tanto esta acta como la anterior y sucesivas que pueden ocurrir del mismo género, se sentarán en el libro correspondiente, legalizadas con la firma de V. y la del Secretario del Gobierno.*

*Terminado el acto de ocupación será su atención preferente buscar inmediato alojamiento provisional para V. y personal oficial de la Colonia, á fin de que desde aquel momento empiece V. á desempeñar con toda regularidad el cargo que se le confiere.*

*3) y último: tan luego como se haya verificado el acta de la toma material del Archipiélago de las Carolinas, se fijará en los sitios públicos la proclama que es adjunta y que suscribirá V., procurando dar á dicho documento la mayor publicidad posible, enviando dos copias á este Gobierno General. Todo cuanto expreso á V. para su conocimiento y exacto cumplimiento.*

*.Dios guarde á V. muchos años.*

*Manila 27 de Julio de 1885.*

*Terrero.*

*[Al] Sr. Gobernador P.M. de las Carolinas.*

### **Translation.**

To the P.M. Governor of the Carolines--Secret.—

27 July 1885.

In the interest of investing the act of physical possession of the Caroline Islands with the greatest solemnity possible, you shall observed in this regard the following instructions:

1) Before effecting the official landing, you shall land and designate the site where the official Colony is to be installed, and this with the consent of the Reverend Missionary Fathers and the Officers of the garrison, and the Secretary of the P.M. Government is to record an Affidavit of same. Once this measure is completed, the place where the flag pole is to be planted should be pointed out, for the national flag, the glorious emblem of our sovereignty and dominion over the Carolines, will be raised.

Once these formalities are over, you and the persons accompanying you shall retire on board, trying indirectly to invite foreigners as well as natives to visit you there. During this interview, you shall try, with much kindness but with great tact and prudence, to explore the opinions of said foreigners, and if you should find them well disposed, you should invite them to witness the act of landing and definitive installation of the official Colony, but if, against my wishes, they should show themselves to be obstinate, or envious, you shall change the subject of conversation and try to attract those who do show more sympathy toward us, and you shall invite these to the act, provided that you have no reason to fear any slight which must be avoided at all costs.

You shall try to attract the natives with flattery and gifts, making them understand the advantages that they will feel in those abandoned regions after a Spanish authority has established itself and will provide protection and the assistance required by their poor and miserable existence, and that our generous nation will not spare its powerful help. You must reinforce those arguments with others that might occur to you, such as showing them the abundant gifts of clothing and effects that you bring along, for it is advantageous to cure with material acts their hurt feelings, which even very eloquent discourses cannot heal, because in their embryonic state they are incapable to understand. Above all else, you must try to capture the support of their chiefs; this done, you must express to them the convenience of their adding their names, on their own behalf and that of their countrymen, to an act of acceptance and adhesion to H.M. the King of Spain (may God save him), declaring themselves subjects of Spain, recognizing therefore the superior authority of this Government General of which you are the delegate in those Islands. To carry out this plan, you shall try meanwhile, without showing mistrust, that the foreign element, if at all possible, does not hear about such interesting maneuvers.

2) The next day or immediately after you have in your hands the act in question, if it be found preferable, you shall indicate the time of landing, which, unless impossible, shall be at seven a.m. A quarter of an hour before that, the force that you have under your orders shall step ashore, armed and carrying two packets of ammunition each. In perfect formation it shall await your arrival at the point designated for the event. You shall appear at said act in full dress uniform, and shall ask the following to accompany you: the Rev. Missionary Fathers, the Physician of the Division, but you shall

also invite the Commander and Officers of the transport **Carriedo**.<sup>1</sup> Once ashore, you shall take the lead with your companions, and the march toward the site should be closed by the armed guard. Once there, the guard is to line up properly. Immediately after, the Secretary of the P.M. Government shall read in a high voice the decree appointing you as Governor of those Islands. Once the decree has been read, you shall pronounce the following declaration:

*"By virtue of the decree that has just been read, I take, in the name of H.M. the King of Spain, Don Alfonso XII, possession of the Caroline Islands."*

At this moment, the national flag shall be raised, and it shall be saluted with Hurrahs to Spain and the King. For a better solemnity of the act, you shall seek an agreement with the Commander of the **Carriedo** so that, following an agreed signal, he may salute with guns at the time the flag is raised in the place. If circumstances permit, it should be very effective if a field mass could be celebrated immediately thereafter, in order to give all the traditional character of our occupations to that of the Carolines. Of all that will have occurred, an affidavit shall be written in three copies, to be signed by those in attendance, that is, all the Europeans without distinction of nationality who would have associated themselves to such a patriotic, political and religious manifestation, and also by the natives who may have attended said ceremony. This affidavit, as well as the previous one, and others that might be written of the same kind, shall be recorded in the corresponding book, and be formalized by your signature and that of the Government Secretary.

Once the act of occupation is over, your immediate preoccupation shall look for a provisional lodging for yourself and the official personnel of the Colony, so that from that moment on, you shall begin to fully exercise the charge that you have been entrusted with.

3) and finally, as soon as the act of taking of physical possession of the Caroline Archipelago has been carried out, the text of the attached proclamation shall be signed by you, and be posted in public places. You shall endeavor to publicize said document as much as possible, reserving two copies to be sent to this Government General. All of this I express to you for your information and consequent effects and strict compliance.

May God keep you for many years.

Manila, 27 July 1885.

Terrero.

[To] the P.M. Governor of the Carolines.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The ship **Carriedo** was renamed the **Manila** after she was bought by the Government and refitted as a military transport. At the time these instructions were written, the **San Quintin** had not yet been added to the expedition.

### R3. Proclamation to be read at Yap

*Sources: As stated above, and also MN ms. 785.*

*Note: This proclamation was meant to be read 199 years after the Spanish discovered Yap, which they had then named La Carolina.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

##### *Proclama del Gobernador de Carolinas.*

*Habitantes de las Carolinas.*

*Al aportar hoy á estas lejanas playas escudadas con la cruz y con las armas españolas que llevaron en otro tiempo la civilización europea á los más remotos confines, venimos, no con la persuasión de que llegamos á un país desconocido aún y no conquistado por España sino á una región en donde nos aguarda el cumplimiento de una palabra por largo tiempo empeñada. No es esta la primera vez que el cetro de nuestros Monarcas toma posesión de las Carolinas; no es esta la primera expedición que viene á traer á los habitantes de las Palaos los frutos de la civilización cristiana, sino que desde el intrépido Lezcano<sup>1</sup> hasta nuestros días, hanse visto surcadas estas aguas del Pacífico por un gran número de naves españolas, que, si sucumbieron ante la potente fuerza del Oceano, no vieron jamas menguado el valor de los descendientes de Hernán Cortés y de Magallanes.*

*Llegamos al fin á poner un debido cumplimiento á las Reales Cédulas expedidas por el Rey Don Felipe V, cuando á principios del siglo XVIII<sup>2</sup> ordenaba que partiesen de Manila los Sacerdotes Misioneros con la gente de armas para su custodia, á fin de enseñar á los sencillos habitantes de estas Islas los medios de conveniencia para salir de su degradación física y moral, y llevarles si posible fuese, al conocimiento más acabado de la moralidad de un pueblo cristiano. Y si tan levantadas aspiraciones no pudieron llevar á feliz término la obra comenzada; si el estandarte de Castilla no llegó á ver desarrollada bajo su sombra la influencia benéfica de nuestra cara Patria, no fué otra la causa que la contrariedad de los elementos<sup>3</sup> y de los hechos, así políticos como militares, que más tarde distrajeron á nuestros Reyes del empeño decidido de dominar en Carolinas. Y aun cuando las armas españolas se sintieron llamadas á necesidades de mayor monta, no por esto dejaron la empresa los que la habían acometido, muriendo en ella, así los enviados de S.M. como los Ministros de Dios que, inspirados del amor*

1 1686—El piloto español D. Francisco Lezcano [rather Lazcano] descubrió Carolina en honra de Carlos II y de esta tomaron las demás el nombre.

2 1705 —A los 19 de Octubre expidió el Rey Don Felipe V Reales Cédulas á los Gobernadores de Filipinas y de la Nueva España, así como al Señor Arzobispo de Manila, para que se enviasen Misioneros y soldados á sus órdenes á las Carolinas.

3 1710—1711—1729—1733: Los P.P. Dubéron y Cortil de la Compañía de Jesús, desde Manila, los P.P. Crespo y Serrano, desde Cavite, los P.P. Cantova y Walter desde las Marianas, intentaron llegar á Carolinas. Los cuatro últimos excepto el P. Walter, murieron: el P. Cantova asesinado por la fé en Mogmog; los otros, con los soldados que les acompañaban, se ignora donde y por que causas.

*á su Rey y á la Patria, é impelidos por el deber de su sagrado Ministerio sucumbieron en estas Islas, derramando su sangre con la generosidad de los mártires. Y si por desdicha careciésemos de otros títulos que los expuestos ¿no es acaso el mayor de todos el deber de venir á saludar á estos héroes de la Religión y de la Patria que dejaron impreso en este suelo el testimonio de adhesión que vincula estas Islas á la Corona de Castilla y de continuar su obra? ¿Quién de nosotros se mostrará indiferente ante la actitud de nuestros mayores para quienes fueron leyes el honor militar y el patriotismo? Si en otros tiempos levaron anclas del puerto de Cavite algunas naves españolas enviadas por el Gobernador del Archipiélago Filipino D. Domingo Zabalburu<sup>1</sup> hoy los Jovellar y Tertero, dignos sucesores de aquella Suprema Autoridad, nos han enviado en nombre de S.M. el Rey Don Alfonso XII á coronar los esfuerzos de nuestros antepasados. Más felices que ellos, merced á estas islas en donde nos aguarda un pueblo deseoso de la civilización europea; deseos repetidas veces manifestados por este mismo pueblo á los representantes de nuestros Reyes en Filipinas. Si tal es, pues, nuestro cometido; si tal es la empresa que se nos ha confiado, acudo á nuestros generosos sentimientos para que todos sin distinción secundemos los esfuerzos de los que tantos sacrificios se impusieron y se imponen hoy, así para desarrollar en este país el verdadero gérmen de la prosperidad, como para enseñar a los Carolinos que no somos los españoles enemigos que atentamos contra sus intereses y sus vidas, sino hermanos bondadosos que les alargamos la diestra para que salgan de su infortunio y les pongamos bajo la tutela de la Cruz Sacrosanta que llevó por doquiera los frutos de su salvadora conquista. Hagámonos, pues, dignos de este nombre; que la justicia y la moralidad sea la norma de nuestros actos y que las entusiastas exclamaciones de: Viva el Rey Don Alfonso XII!! Viva España!!! que hoy pronunciamos sirva de cariñoso lazo que una para siempre á Carolinos y Españoles.*

*Vuestro Gobernador.*

## **Translation.**

### **Proclamation of the Governor of the Carolines.**

Inhabitants of the Carolines.

Upon arriving today at these faraway beaches bearing the the Cross and the Spanish coat-of-arms, which have been borne at other times by the Spanish civilization to the most remote confines, we have come, not with the persuasion that we arrive at an unknown country, as yet unconquered by Spain, but to a region where awaits us the compliance of a promise made a long time ago. This is not the first time that the scepter of our Monarchs take possession of the Carolines; this is not the first expedition that brings to inhabitants of the Palaos the fruits of Christian civilization, but rather, ever since the intrepid Lezcano<sup>2</sup> until our times, these waters of the Pacific have

1 1701 á 1709: Don Domingo Zabalburu gobernó el Archipiélago Filipino.

2 1686—The Spanish pilot, Don Francisco Lexcano [rather Laxcano] discovered Carolina in honor of Charles II and from this one the others took their name.



ploughed repeatedly by Spanish ships, which, if they succumbed before the potent force of the Ocean, have never seen diminished the valor of the descendants of Hernán Cortés and of Magellan.

At last we come to carry out the Royal Decrees issued by King Philip V when, at the beginning of the 18th century<sup>1</sup> ordering the Missionaries to leave from Manila with an armed escort to go and teach the simple inhabitants of these Islands the appropriate means to leave their physical and moral degradation, and to bring them, if possible, to the finer level of morality of a Christian people. And if such uplifting aspirations could not bring the enterprise to a happy ending; if the standard of Castille never saw under its shadow the veneficial influence of our dear Nation, the cause was none other than the contrary elements<sup>2</sup> and contrary events, political as well as military, which later on distracted our Kings from the decisive attempt to dominate the Carolines. But, even when the Spanish arms were called elsewhere by more important events, that was not the reason why those assigned to the task give up their attempt, but because they died in the act of doing so. not just those sent by H.N. but also the Ministers of God who, inspired by the love of their King and country, and impelled by their sacred Ministry, succumbed in these Islands, spilling their blood with the generosity of martyrs. And if by misfortune we were to lack other titles than the above-mentioned, is it not perchance the best of all the right to come and salute the heroes of our religion and nation, who left impressed in this soil the mark of the adhesion that links these Island with the Crown of Castille, and to continue their work? Who among us will be left indiferent before the attitude of our betters for whom military honor and patriotism were considered laws? If at other times there weighed anchor from the port of Cavite a few Spanish ships sent by the Governor of the Philippine Archipalago, Don Domingo Zabalburu,<sup>3</sup> today we have Jovellar and Terrero, worthy successors of that Supreme Authority, have sent us in the name of King Alfonso XII to crown the efforts of our ancestors. More successful than they, thanks to these islands where there await us a people desirous of European civilization—desires many times expressed by this very people to the representatives of our Kings in the Philippines. If such is, therefore, our commitment, if such is the mission that has been entrusted to us, I call upon our generous feelings, so that we all, without distinction, second the efforts of those who impose so many sacrifices upon themselves, and impose upon themselves today, not only to sow the true seed of prosperity in this country, but also to teach the Carolinians that we Spaniards are not enemies who would fight against their interests, but like kindly brothers who

1 1705—On 19 October King Philip V issued Royal Decrees to the Governors of the Philippines and of New Spain, as well as to the Archbishop of Manila, to send Missionaries and soldiers under their orders to the Carolines.

2 1710–1711–1729–17323—. Fathers Dubéron and Cortyl of the Society of Jesus, from Manila, Fathers Crespo and Serrano, from Cavite, Father Cantova and Walter, from the Marianas, all tried to reach the Carolines. The last four mentioned, except Fr. Walter, died: Fr. Cantova was assassinated for the faith at Mogmog [Ulithi]; the others, along with the soldiers in their company, we ignore where and from what causes.

3 From 1701 to 1709—Don Domingo Zabalburu was Governor of the Philippines.

extend our right hand to pull them out of their misfortune to place them under the tutelage of the sacrosanct Cross that brought everywhere the fruits of its salutary conquest. Let us, therefore, become worthy of this name; that justice and morality be the norm of our actions and that the enthusiastic exclamations: Long live King Alfonso XII!! Long live Spain!!! that we pronounce today may serve as the dear bond that today links Carolinians with Spaniards forever.

Your Governor.

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## Documents 1885S

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# The instructions given to the three Spanish warships

*Source: S. Marenco's La ficción y la verdad de lo ocurrido en Yap (Madrid, 1886).*

### Introductory notes.

The stores for the construction of new buildings at Yap and the many other supplies that had been accumulated, plus the personal, exceeded the capacity of the transport **Manila**, ex-Carriedo, commanded by Navy Lieutenant Luís Bayo Pinzón. That is why the advice-boat **San Quintin**, commanded by Navy Commander Guillermo España y Gomez, was added. The **Manila** left Manila for Yap on 8 August and the **San Quintin** followed on the 10th. Both ships had been given identical instructions.

## S1. Instructions given to the San Quintin on 7 August 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Designado el buque de su mando para formar parte de la expedición que sale á tomar posesión de las islas Carolinas, he dispuesto embarque el resto del material que no queda meter el **Manila** y que se reposte con dos meses de víveres.*

*Al comandante del **Manila** dije con fecha 1º del actual lo siguiente:*

*"Listo el buque de su mando, y embarcado que sea el personal y material que el Gobernador general de estas islas destine á la ocupación de las Carolinas, se hará V. á mar dirigiéndose á la rada de Zamboanga, donde recibirá órdenes del Excmo. Sr. Comandante de la división naval del Sur para el desembarco de efectos, víveres y transportes que con destino á ella conduce. Terminadas estas operaciones y embarcadas algunas cabezas de ganado que se encontrarán dispuestas en Zamboanga, según la superior autoridad del archipiélago tiene prevenido á la de Mindanao, continuará V. su navegación; seguirá derrota avalizándose con la isla de Sarangani á reconocer Cabo San Agustín, desde el que arribará á Yap, pasando por el Sur de las Palaos."*

*"Una vez en Yap, se procederá al desembarco del transporte, pudiendo V. permanecer allí con el buque de su mando hasta veinte días después, tiempo que será necesario para que el Gobernador de la colonia haya estudiado las principales condiciones de establecimiento é instalación, siempre bajo el supuesto que circunstancias especiales*

*no obliguen á prolongar dicho plazo, en cuyo caso dejo á su buen juicio tomar las determinaciones que estime oportunas, de acuerdo siempre con el aludido Gobernador."*

*"Terminada así su comisión, y al juzgarlo oportuno por las indicaciones del tiempo, dada la estación presente, emprenderá V. viaje de regreso, verificándolo igualmente por el estrecho de Basilán, con lo que podrá repostarse de carbón en la Isabela, si le fuere necesario."*

*"Queda V. autorizado para modificar estas instrucciones en lo que creyere necesario, con arreglo á su buen criterio y conocido celo dentro de las atribuciones que las Ordenanzas le confieran, cuyas instrucciones amplío y reformo hoy en estos términos:"*

*"Como continuación y reformando en parte las instrucciones que dirigí á V. en 1º del actual para el desempeño de la comisión que va á verificar á Carolinas, manifiesto á V. que á primera hora del día de mañana se hará á la mar dirigiéndose á Zamboanga, donde después de desembarcar los efectos de la división quedará en espera del **San Quintín**, con el que ha de hacer la navegación á dichas islas, á cuyo efecto se pondrá V. á las órdenes de su comandante; á dicho buque trasbordarán en Zamboanga las fuerzas de infantería del ejército que el transporte de su mando tiene á su bordo y embarcará V. el ganado según le tenía prevenido.—En Yap, y después que el **San Quintín** haya verificado su regreso, quedará V. para dar cumplimiento á las citadas instrucciones que tiene ya recibidas.—"*

*"Trascribelo á V.S. para su cumplimiento en la parte que le concierne, significándole que, tan luego se encuentre listo, se dirigirá á Zamboanga y desde allí á Yap, siguiendo la misma derrota que se había señalado al **Manila** y queda expresa."*

*"Tan luego como haya V.S. desembarcado en Yap el personal y material que conduce, emprenderá su viaje de regreso, que verificará también por el estrecho de Basilán, tocando nuevamente en Zamboanga por sí el Excmo. Sr. Comandante de la división naval del Sur tiene personal, efectos ó correspondencia que enviar á esta capital."*

*"Del recibo de estas instrucciones se servirá V.S. darme aviso."*

*"Dios guarde, etc."*

*"Manila, 7 de Agosto de 1885."*

*"El Comandante general del apostadero."*

*"Bula."*

### **Translation.**

The warship under your command, has been designated to form part of the expedition to Yap which is going there to take possession of the Caroline Islands. I have decided that you are to load the rest of the materiel that does not fit in the **Manila**, and that you should stock up with two months of food supplies.

To the commander of the **Manila**, I said the following on the 1st instant:

"The ship under your command being now ready and, once the personnel and materiel that the Governor General of these Islands is sending to the Carolines, you shall sail, and head for the roads of Zamboanga, where you shall receive orders from His Ex-

cellency the Commander of the Southern Naval Division for the unloading of the effects, food supplies and freight which you carry for it. Once these operations are over, and after a few heads of cattle are on board which you will find ready at Zamboanga, in accordance with an arrangement made by the superior authority of the archipelago and that of Mindanao, you are to proceed with your voyage, following the route that goes by the Island of Sarangani, then in sight of Cape San Agustín, and then directly to Yap passing south of Palau."

"Once in Yap, the transport should be unloaded, while you may remain there with the ship under your command for a duration of 20 days, to give enough time to the Governor of the Colony to have studied the main conditions for his installation and for the actual installation. This is based on the supposition that special circumstances will not force a prolongation beyond this term, in which case I leave it to your good judgment to take the decision that you esteem necessary, after consultation, of course, with said Governor."

"Once your commission is over, and weather permitting, given the present season, you shall begin your return voyage, by also following the route through the Strait of Basilan, which means that you will be able to get a supply of coal at Isabela, if required."

"You are authorized to modify these instructions as you see fit, in line with your good intelligence and known zeal within the attributions that the Ordinances confer to you, subject to instructions that I now add in the following terms:"

"As a continuation, and reformulating in part the instructions that I sent to you on the 1st instant for the performance of the commission that you are to carry out in the Carolines, I let you know that you are to sail at the first hour tomorrow morning, heading for Zamboanga, where, after unloading the effects of the division, you shall wait for the **San Quintín** in the company of which you are to sail to said islands. To this effect, you shall place yourself under the orders of your commander at Zamboanga, you are to transfer to said ship the Army Infantry forces that the transport under your command has on board here and you shall load the cattle as said previously. — In Yap, and after the **San Quintín** has left, you shall remain there, in compliance with the instructions that you have already received.—"

"Please Your Lordship transcribe, for the compliance of the part that concerns him, and please tell him that, as soon as he is ready, he shall head for Zamboanga and from there to Yap, following the same route that was assigned to the **Manila** and that is clearly stated."

"As soon as you shall have unloaded in Yap the personnel and materiel on board your ship, you shall undertake your return voyage, which you are to carry out by following the route via the Strait of Basilan as well, touching once more at Zamboanga, in case His Excellency the Commander of the Southern Naval Division should have personnel, effects or mail to send to this Capital."

"Your Lordship is to acknowledge the receipt of these instructions."

"May God, etc."

"Manila, 7 August 1885."

"The Commander General of the Naval Station."

"Bula."

## S2. Emergency instructions to Governor Capriles, dated 15 August 1885

*Note: These instructions never reached Yap.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador P.M. de las Islas Carolinas.*

*15 Agosto 1885—Reservada.*

*A las ocho y medio de la noche de ayer he recibido un telegrama del Exmo. Sor. Ministro de Ultramar que, entre otras cosas, dice lo siguiente:*

*"Expedición á Yap ha coincidido con determinada actitud de Alemania respecto de Carolinas. Necesario prevenga V. E. nuevas Autoridades que si se presenta algún buque alemán intimando evacuación declare que no lo efectuará sin orden del Gobierno."*

*Nada tengo que manifestar sobre la grave y critica situación que se le crea, pues la simple lectura del párrafo citado no debe dejarle á V. duda de ningún género acerca de la incalificable agresión de que puede ser objeto esa isla por parte de Alemania.*

*Desgraciadamente V. no desconoce la falta absoluta que tenemos de medios materiales para rechazar tan inócua agresión, agravada con los temores que abriga el Gobierno de S.M. de que á la vez puede ser amenazada esta Capital por fuerzas Alemanas.*

*Esta circunstancia me obliga á que no pueda inmediatamente enviar á V., como son mis deseos, todos los escasos medios de que aquí disponemos, pues dado el temor de que sea atacada esta Plaza, exige reconcentrar en ella el mayor número de fuerzas posibles, y en este concepto y para no dejarle á V. abandonado á su triste suerte, he dispuesto que inmediatamente salga á reforzar esas fuerzas navales el Crucero **Velasco**, cuyo Comandante entregará á V. esta comunicación. A la vez dispongo que el transporte **San Quintín** regrese á Manila, donde sus servicios pueden ser de mayor utilidad.*

*Desde el momento que allí llegue el **Velasco** y puesto de acuerdo con su Comandante, procederá V. sin descanso á colocar esa Colonia en las condiciones de defensa que permitan las escasas fuerzas de que V. dispone. A este fin, debe V. observar una conducta prudente, á la vez que enérgica, no permitiendo ni consintiendo que los extranjeros allí establecidos se mezclen ni enteren de lo que ocurra, y sin mostrarles desconfianza, obrará con ellos según le aconsejen las circunstancias, pero evitando siempre rozamientos y dificultades.*

*Si llega á presentarse, como indica el Gobierno de S.M. algún buque de guerra alemán, recibirá V. á su Comandante con la hidalga cortesía peculiar á los marinos españoles, y si en el curso de la entrevista que con V. tenga hace indicaciones en el sentido de que evacuemos aquella isla, inmediatamente cortará V. la conversación y le hará entender que no puede permitirle que siga hablando en ese sentido; que si tiene que hacerle alguna observación la formule por escrito, único medio que V. debe aceptar para en-*

*tenderse en este asunto. La forma y manera con que el referido Comandante pueda redactar su comunicación servirá á V. de norma para contestarle en los términos que preceda. Si fuese ejecutiva protestará V. de la incalificable agresión de que es objeto esa Isla, cuya legal y pacífica posesión nos pertenece de derecho, que nadie ha puesto en duda, consignando que la conducta observada por Alemania, procediendo hostilmente contra una Nación Amiga, sin previa declaración de guerra, és un acto incalificable que la llevará de ignominia ante la consideración de los pueblos civilizados, que registrarán un nuevo hecho en la historia de las piraterias.*

*Si a pesar de esta protesta insiste en llevar á cabo el acto de fuerza, V. lo rechazará dentro de los exigüos límites que le permiten los escasos medios de que dispone.*

*En el curso de estos sucesos obrará V. de comun acuerdo con los Comandantes del Velasco y Manila, excusando el autorizado consejo del R.P. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez á quien dará V. conocimiento desde el principio, de todo lo que ocurre. Igualmente convocará V. á consejo de guerra á todos los oficiales de esa guarnición, inculcando el principio de que la posición no se entregará mientras quede un cartucho que arrojar contra el enemigo.*

*Hasta aquí son las instrucciones que debe V. observar si los sucesos siguen, como es presumible, un curso de fuerza y violencia; pero si afortunadamente se les pudiera conducir con honra y dignidad por los suaves y pacíficos que tanto nos interesa sostener, agotará los medios que para conseguirlos le aconsejen su patriotismo y el de todos esos buenos españoles, cuya virtud y heroísmo á tan ruda prueba se someten, haciéndoles entender á todos en mi nombre que mi mayor sentimiento es no compartir con ellos los peligros y penalidades que puedan correr; pero deberes ineludibles del elevado cargo que desempeño me obligan á permanecer en este puesto de honor, donde me hallo decidido á sacrificar mi vida como el primero en aras de la causa del Rey y de la Patria.*

*Cumplámos, pues, todos como buenos; que en tan críticos momentos no mas aliente otro espíritu que el que inmortalizó en Madrid á los héroes del 2 de Marzo, y esta será la mayor recompensa á que debe aspirar todo el que de español blasone.*

*Digolo á V. para conocimiento y efectos consiguientes, encargándole procure darme conocimiento de todo cuanto ocurra, si es que para ello dispone de medios, pues no debe desconocer la impaciencia en que estaré mientras no recibo noticias de V. Por el San Quintín debe V. procurar darme las indispensables para poder formar juicio del espíritu que allí reina en vista de tan críticas circunstancias y por el mismo vapor puede V. pedir lo que considere más necesario é indispensable, que este Gobierno Gral. procurará enviarle á V. por cualquier medio.*

*Dios, etc.*

### **Translation.**

To the P.M. Governor of the Caroline Islands.

15 August 1885.—Confidential.

At 8:30 p.m. last night I received a telegram from His Excellency the Minister of Overseas who, among other things, tells me the following:

*“Expedition to Yap has coincided with determined attitude of Germany with respect to Carolines. Necessary Y.E. warn new Authorities that if German ship should appear intimating evacuation should declare that will not do so without order from Government.”*

I have nothing to say regarding the serious and critical situation that might be created for you; indeed, the simple reading of the above paragraph should leave you no doubt whatever regarding the unqualifiable aggression that that island may be subjected to on the part of Germany.

Unfortunately you know about the absolute lack of materiel that we have to repulse such an innocuous aggression, aggravated by the fears that the Government of H.M. has that this Capital may be threatened by German forces.

This circumstance obliged me not to send immediately to you, as is my wish, all the scarce resources that we have available here; indeed, given the fear that this Place may be attacked, I have to concentrate here the largest number of forces possible, and in this wise, and in order not to leave you abandoned, to your sad destiny, I have ordered the immediate departure of the Cruiser **Velasco** to reinforce the naval forces overthere. Her Commander will deliver this communication to you. At the same time, I ordered the transport **San Quintín** to return to Manila, where her services may be of greater import.

As soon as the **Velasco** gets there and once you have agreed with her Commander, you shall without respite proceed to locate that Colony in the conditions of defence that permit the scarce forces that you dispose of. For this purpose, you must observe a prudent, as well as energetic, conduct, not allowing nor consenting that the foreign residents overthere get involved or find out what is happening, but without showing them any mistrust, you shall deal with them according to what the circumstances dictate, but always avoiding frictions or difficulties.

Should there ever appear, as H.M.'s Government indicates, any German warship, you shall receive her Commander with the gentlemanly courtesy that is peculiar to Spanish seamen, and if in the course of the interview with you he should intimate that we should evacuate that island, you shall immediately cut off the conversation and make him understand that you cannot permit him to continue talking in that vein, that if he has to make some remarks to him to you he should do so in writing<sup>197</sup>the only acceptable way in this case. The form and manner used by said Commander might choose to write his message will serve you as a norm to answer him in the terms that precede. If it should be executive in style, you shall protest about the unqualified aggression that that island is the object of, that the legal and peaceful possession of it is ours by right, that nobody has placed this in doubt, recording that the conduct observed by Germany, proceeding as it does in a hostile manner toward a Friendly Nation, without a previous declaration of war, is an unqualifiable deed that will lead her to feel the ignominy before the consideration of civilized peoples, that they would thus invent a new deed in the history of piracies.



If, in spite of this, he should insist in carrying out the forceful deed, you shall repel him within the limits permitted by the scarce means at your disposal.

In the course of these events you shall act in common agreement with the commanders of the **Velasco** and **Manila**, but excusing the authorized advice from the Rev. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, though you shall inform him from the beginning about everything that is happening. You shall also call together to a council of war all the officers of that garrison, inculcating the principle that the position is not to be surrendered while there remains one cartridge to throw at the enemy.

So far are the instructions that you shall observe if the events follow, as is presumible, a course of force and violence; however, if you should be fortunate enough to be able to conduct the affairs with honor and dignity by soft and peaceful means which we are so much interested in preserving, you shall use all of them to achieve what your patriotism and that of all good Spaniards desire, when virtue and heroism are put to such a crude test. You shall tell all of them in my name that my greatest regret is that I will not be able to share with them the dangers and hardships that might take place, but that the unavoidable duties of my high position force me to remain at this post of honor, where I remain ready to be the first to sacrifice my life for the love of King and Country.

Let us all do our duty, therefore, like good men. In such critical moments there should be no other spirit moving us than the one that which immortalized in Madrid the heroes of March 2nd,<sup>1</sup> and this will be the best reward to which every true Spaniard aspire.

I tell you this for your information and consequent effects, entrusting you to give me reports of everything happening there, whenever you have means of doing so; indeed, you cannot ignore the impotence with which I will remain while I do not receive news from you. By the **San Quintín** you must try to give me enough details to be able to form an idea of the spirit that reigns overthere in view of such critical circumstances and by the same steamer you may ask for whatever you consider necessary and indispensable, which this Government General will try to send you by any means.

May God, etc.

### **S3. Instructions sent to Commander Butrón, dated 16 August 1885**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Habiendo recibido el Excmo. Sr. Gobernador general de estas islas telegrama del Gobierno de Su Majestad, manifestándole la probable intervención de Alemania en nuestra ocupación de las Carolinas y posible presencia en Yap de un buque de dicha nación, para intimar la evacuación, he dispuesto que el crucero del mando de V. S. repostado que sea de víveres, carbón y metálico, conforme a las órdenes que al efecto re-*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Governor General is here referring to the attack on Madrid by the French Napoleonic army, circa 1812.

*cibirá el Excmo. Sr. Jefe de la división naval del Sur, salga sin perder momento para dicho punto con el principal objeto de conducir pliegos que el mismo Excmo. Sr. le entregará en el que se noticia al Gobernador electo de aquellas islas tan grave y formal contrariedad.*

*Verificará V.S. la navegación en primera velocidad y seguirá la derrota que considere más conveniente al eficaz y pronto término de ella.*

*Una vez en Yap, entregará al Sr. Comandante del **San Quintín** la comunicación adjunta, en la que se le ordena su inmediato regreso á esta capital; y á fin de no detenerlo, empezará V.S. por informarse si podrá el crucero de su mando reponer allí el carbón consumido, pues de no ser así, deberá tomarlo del **Manila**, participándolo por el **San Quintín**, á fin de enviarlo seguidamente por dicho **Manila**.*

*Se informará V.S. del estado de nuestra expedición, de los incidentes que puedan haber ocurrido en la toma de posesión y demás circunstancias dignas de conocerse, con lo cual, bajo el supuesto de que no se hayan realizado los temores que abriga el Gobierno de S.M., emprenderá viaje para Zamboanga á incorporarse nuevamente á su deber, dándome cuenta desde dicho punto por el primer medio de comunicación que se presente.*

*Los 3.000 pesos fuertes que le serán entregados en Zamboanga, tienen por principal objeto la adquisición del combustible, en el caso de existir y ser posible, según queda expresado.*

*Al comandante del **Manila** ordenará V.S. le entregue el carbón que le sea necesario, previniéndole continúe en el cumplimiento de sus instrucciones, si bien, y de quedar escaso de carbón, habrá de esperar el que se le envíe para su regreso; á dicho buque podrá V.S. dejar algunos víveres, si su comandante lo conceptúa preciso.*

*Dios, etc.*

*Cavite 16 de Agosto de 1885.*

*El Comandante general,*

*Bula.*

### **Translation.**

His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands has received a telegram from His Majesty's Government advising him of the probable intervention of Germany in our occupation of the Carolines and possible presence in Yap of a ship of that nationality to summons us to evacuate. I have decided that the cruiser under Your Lordship that, once you are supplied with food, coal and money, as per the orders that His Excellency the Commander of the Southern Naval Division will receive to that effect, you shall leave without losing one moment to go to Yap for the purpose of delivering correspondence that same gentleman will give you, y which the Governor-elect of those islands is notified of such a serious and formal interference.

Your LORDSHIP shall steam at full speed and follow the shortest route that will take you there as fast as possible.

Once in Yap, you shall deliver to the Commander of the **San Quintín** the enclosed communication, by which he is being ordered to return immediately to this capital, and finally, in order not to delay him further, Y.L. shall first inform yourself of the possibility of the cruiser under your command replacing there the coal that you have consumed; indeed, otherwise you shall have to take it from the **Manila**, reporting same by the **San Quintín**, in order to send it right away by said **Manila**.

Y.L. shall inform yourself of the state of our expedition, about the incidents that might have occurred during the takeover and other circumstances worthy of note, and then, supposing that the fears that H.M.'s Government harbors have not been realized, you shall head back to Zamboanga to resume your duty there, sending me a report from said place by the first means of communication available.

The 3,000 pesos that shall be given to you in Zamboanga are, first of all, for the purchase of fuel, in case it be available and if at all possible, as mentioned earlier.

Y. L. shall order the Commander of the **Manila** to deliver the coal that he will need, advising him to continue carrying out his instructions, although he might have to wait for some coal replenishment before he can proceed with his return voyage; Y.L. may leave some food supplies to said ship, if her commander thinks it necessary.

May God, etc.

Cavite, 16 August 1885.

The Commanding General.

Bula.

#### S4. Answer of Commander Butrón, dated Isabela 21 August 1885

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Al abrir el pliego fecha 16 de Agosto y enterarme de su contenido, he visto que, sin duda, por olvido no vienen adjuntas las comunicaciones que V.E. me ordena entregue al Sr. Comandante del **San Quintín**, cuya omisión no creo de trascendencia, toda vez que V.E. se digna indicarme el sentido de ella, que no es otro que el inmediato regreso á Manila del **San Quintín**.*

*Del estado de nuestra expedición, de los incidentes que puedan haber ocurrido en la toma de posesión y demás circunstancias dignas de conocerse, tengo seguridad que el ilustrado Sr. Comandante del **San Quintín**, testigo presencial de lo ocurrido, dará detallado informe que llegará á manos de V.E. mucho antes que el mío, lo cual no obsta para que cumpla con el mayor interés lo que se digna ordenarme, por más que mi informe carecerá de toda novedad.*

*Aun cuando V.E. no me da instrucciones para el caso en que se hayan realizado los temores que abriga el Gobierno de S.M. (causa principal de mi ida á Yap), y aun cuando con harta pena mía desconozco las instrucciones dadas por el Excelentísimo Sr. Gobernador General al Gobernador electo de las islas Carolinas, instrucciones cuyo conocimiento podría ser para mí de suma utilidad, con tanto más motivo cuanto que*

*el dicho Gobernador electo es un teniente de navio; y á pesar de que en las respetables instrucciones de V.E. no se me deja campo para poder modificarlas, si circunstancias imprevisibles así lo exigieran, confío en que mi buen deseo y el afán de obtener la superior aprobación de V.E. y del Gobierno de S.M. me harán salir airoso de la comisión que V.E. se digna confiarme.*

*Dios, etc.*

*Isabela 21 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Emilio Butrón.*

### **Translation.**

Upon opening the mail dated 16 August and having taken cognizance of its contents, I noticed that some enclosures are missing which Y.E. orders me to deliver to the Commander of the **San Quintín**, but I do not believe that such omissions are not transcendental, because Y.E. has been pleased to tell me about their main point, which is for the **San Quintín** to return to Manila.

Regarding the state of our expedition, of the events that might have taken place during the takeover and other circumstances worthy of note, Y.E. may be sure that the Commander of the **San Quintín**, an eyewitness of the events in question, will give you a detailed report that will reach Y.E. much before mine, which is not to say that I will not obey your order to submit my own report, though it may contain little new information.

Although Y.E. does not give me specific instructions in case the fears harbored by the Government of H.M. might have been realized (the main reason for my going to Yap), and although it grieves me not knowing anything about the instructions that His Excellency the Governor General might have given to the Governor-elect of the Caroline Islands, instructions that could be of extreme usefulness for me, the more so when the Governor-elect in question is a Navy Lieutenant; and in spite of the fact that your instructions do not leave me room to modify them, if unforeseen circumstances require it, I trust that my good wishes and desire to deserve the support of Y.E. and of H.M.'s Government will result in my success in accomplishing the mission that Y.E. has entrusted me with.

May God, etc.

Isabela, 21 August 1885.

Emilio Butrón.

### **Editor's notes.**

Knowing that the **Velasco** was in Jolo, without coal, food or water, the Naval Station at Cavite should have sent the **Ducro** directly to Yap instead, where she would certainly have arrived before the fateful date of 25 August.

As it happened, another letter was sent to the **Velasco** on 21 August, via the steamer **Don Juan**, giving orders to stay in Zamboanga, and it arrived just in time to prevent the former's sailing to Yap.

Another set of instructions was also issued to the **San Quintin** on 21 August, telling her commander that, were Yap already be occupied, Palau was to be occupied instead, and as many of the Carolines be visited. As we shall see, the Germans had already visited most of the groups and taken possession of them.

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## Documents 1885T

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# Occupation of the Carolines by both Spain and Germany—The Yap conflict

*Sources: PNA Manila, and AHN Ultramar 5855 and 5856, Madrid.*

### Selected documents from the official files, mostly telegrams

#### T1. N° 19. Decoded telegram from Ultramar, Madrid, to Governor General of the Philippines, dated 13 August 1885

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Expedición a Yap ha coincidido con determinada actitud de Alemania respecto de Carolinas. Necesario prevenga V.E. nueva autoridad que si se presenta algun buque aleman intimando evacuacion declare que no lo efectuará sin orden del Gobierno o ante fuerza irresistible, debiendo V.E. estar prevenido para el caso poco probable de que dicha nacion tratase de imponerse violentamente en esa Capital. Avise cable recibo.*

*Fecho 13 Agosto 85.*

##### Translation.

Expedition to Yap has coincided with a determined attitude on the part of Germany with respect to the Carolines. Necessary for Y.E. to issue new instruction to the effect that if some German ship should appear and request an evacuation, a declaration is to be made, stating that such would not be done without an express order from the Government, unless confronted by an irresistible force. Y.E. should be ready, in the improbable case that said nation were to try and impose itself by violent means in that capital. Acknowledge receipt of this cable.

Made on 13 August '85.

##### Editor's note.

On the 15th, new emergency instructions were issued to Governor Capriles, followed by new instructions to the commander of the **Velasco** then in Mindanao. These instructions never reached Yap **before** the Yap Conflict.

**T2. N° 20. Telegram from Manila to Madrid, dated 15 August 1885****Original text in Spanish.***El Gobernador General.**Al Ministro de Ultramar.*

*Recibido telegrama de V.E. con noticias graves sobre Yap. Pedido rectificacion de una parte no inteligible. Tomadas precauciones posibles aqui y alla. Acordada salida Crucero Velasco con noticias para Carolinas. Cuento con gran apoyo de todos los elementos disponibles. V.E. conoce situacion de este Archipelago y Marina de que dispone.*

*Terrero.**Es copia. Felipe Canga Arguelles.***Translation.**

[From] the Governor General.

To the Overseas Minister.

Have received telegram of Y.E. with serious news about Yap. Have requested rectification of part of it that was intelligible. All possible precautions have been taken here and there. Departure of cruiser **Velasco** has been agreed upon, with news for the Carolines. I count on full support of all the available elements. Y.E. knows situation of this archipelago and its available navy.

Terrero.

It is a copy. Felipe Canga Argüelles.

**T3. N° 25. Telegram from Madrid to Manila, sent on 19 August 1885****Original text in Spanish.**

*Si la expedicion a Carolinas no hubiese podido desembarcar en Yap por hallar la isla ocupada por los alemanes, deberá establecer el gobierno de aquel archipelago en la que le siga en importancia posesionandose ademas del mayor numero posible de islas y ejerciendo en ellas actos de soberania.*

**Translation.**

Should the expedition to the Carolines be unable to disembark at Yap, on account of the island being occupied by Germans, you are to establish the government of that archipelago on the next island in importance, and take possession of the largest number of islands possible and exercise there acts of sovereignty.

**T4. N° 26. Coded telegram from Manila to Madrid****Original text in Spanish.***Manila 21 de Agosto de 1885.**El Gob. General**Al Ministro de Ultramar*

*Recibido telegrama V.E. Ayer convoqué autoridades acordando fletar buques para Yap con instrucciones y carbon para caso de encontrar alli buques nuestros. Si Alemania se hubiera adelantado posesion como segun noticias particulares, aseguran aqui*

*que ha sucedido, aquellas marchan a ocupar Palaos. Si buques españoles hubiere regresado Zamboanga tendrán allí instrucciones salida brevedad posible Palaos, que es cuanto podemos hacer.*

**Translation.**

The Governor General

To the Overseas Minister

Received Y.E.'s telegram. Yesterday, I convened authorities. Decision was to make ships ready to go to Yap, with instructions and coal in case of meeting our ships there. If Germany should have already taken possession, as some individuals here are saying, those [ships] are on the way to occupy Palaos. If Spanish ships should have returned to Zamboanga, they will find instructions there to the effect that they should stand ready to go to Palaos, which is all we can do at this time.

**T5. N° 27. Coded telegram from Madrid to Manila, 21 August 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Es de gran importancia que una de las islas que se ocupe sea alguna de las Palaos. Conviene que aparezca este acto como emanado del Gobernador del Archipelago; pero si para ejecutarlo fuera necesario enviar algun nuevo buque con fuerzas, hágalo, autorizando a V.E. para el gasto indispensable a reserva de formalizar acerca de todo el expediente de crédito.*

*Minuta.*

**Translation.**

It is very important that one of the islands to be occupied be one of the Palaos. It is appropriate for this act to appear as coming from the Governor of the Archipelago; however, if it should be necessary to send some new ship with forces in order to get it done, do so. I authorize Y.E. to make unavoidable expenditures, provided that all such expenses be formalized and listed in the credit file.

Minute.

**T6. N° 28. Coded telegram to Manila, 21 August 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Puede V.E. adquirir el remolcador formalizando en seguida el expediente de crédito aportando su cargo a los fondos que convenga.*

*Enterado del contenido del despacho recibido hoy sobre cuestion Carolinas coincide en parte al de este Ministerio de hoy.*

*El Gobierno confía en el celo de V.E. les(?) ejecutar sus instrucciones. La simpatía(?) que hallamos le cumpla(?) nos empeña(?) a obrar con rapidez y energía.*

*Fecha 21 Agosto 85.*

**Translation.**

Y.E. may buy the tug, immediately formalizing the transaction in the credit file, by charging the cost to the appropriate funds.



Aware of the contents of the despatch received today regarding the question of the Carolines. It coincides in part with that of this Ministry issued today.

The Government trusts in the zeal of Y.E. for the execution of your instructions. The prevailing circumstances(?) urge us to act promptly and energetically.

Made on 21 August '85.

### **T7. N° 31. Coded telegram to Madrid, dated 26 August 1885**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Son varios los telegramas particulares refiriendo a Carolinas, algunos muy alarmantes. V.E. comprenderá la prudente reserva que conviene observar aparte de los preparativos que deben (que) ser publicos. Ruego me tenga al corriente del estado en que se halla las relaciones con Alemania para saber lo que debe y puede decirles.*

#### **Translation.**

There are various private telegrams referring to the Carolines, many of them very alarming. Y.E. will understand the prudent reserve that must be observed, in spite of the preparations that must be public. I beg to be kept informed of the developing relationships with Germany, in order to know what I must and can do to inform them.

### **T8. N° 32. Coded telegram to Manila, dated 26 August 1885**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*V.E. debe impedir circulacion telegramas alarmantes que como comprenderá no pueden estar relaciones con revelaciones del Gobierno que guarda la reserva debida. El estado de cosas es el siguiente. Anunciado por Ministro Alemania en Madrid el dia 12 propósito de su Gobierno de tomar Carolinas bajo su protectorado; hemos protestado. Al propio tiempo que se enviaban a V.E. instrucciones. El Gobierno Aleman al anunciar que contestará a la protesta ha anticipado que no ha tenido intencion de perjudicar derechos anteriores; que por los datos tomados, cree dichas islas territorio no ocupado: no hará observaciones al envio de buques y tropas a las mismas, que ha dado instrucciones a sus buques de evitar todo conflicto estando dispuesto a discutir la cuestion de derecho y en su caso a acudir a buenos oficios nacion amiga. Ningun hecho notable aqui salvo manifestacion pacifica el Domingo. Esta situación no altera instrucciones dadas á V.E. cuyo resultado espera el Gobierno con interes.*

#### *Minuta.*

#### **Translation.**

Y.E. must prevent circulation of alarming telegrams which, as you will understand, cannot be related with any declarations made by the Government. On the 12th, the German Minister in Madrid announced that his Government intends to set up a protectorate over the Carolines; we have protested and, at the same time, we sent instructions to Y.E. The German Government, upon announcing that it will give an answer to our protest, has already declared that it has no intention to cause prejudice to previous rights; that, based on information it has collected, it believes that said islands constitute an unoccupied territory. It will not, however, object to the sending of ships and

troops overthere; in fact, it has instructed its ships to avoid any conflict, while it remains ready to discuss the question of right, and to make its case before a friendly nation. There was no noteworthy event overhere, except a peaceful demonstration on Sunday. This situation does not alter the instructions given to Y.E. and this Government awaits the result thereof with some interest.

Minute.

#### **T9. N° 29. Coded telegram to Madrid, dated 28 August 1885**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Contestando telegrama de V.E. del 21, debo manifestar que Gobernador Carolinas lleva instrucciones para ocupar tambien Palaos. Cuando tenga conocimiento resolucion [sic = resultado] expedicion enviaré mas tropa si es necesaria.*

##### **Translation.**

In answer to Y.E.'s telegram of the 21st instant, I must let Y.E. know that Governor Carolines carries instructions that include the occupation of Palaos. Once I receive information about the result of the expedition, will send more troopers, if needed.

#### **T10. N° 30. Coded telegram to Madrid, dated 29 August 1885**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Mi telegrama anterior como comunicacion que va por correo obedece al criterio del de V.E. del 21. Lo menos en siete dias no podré tener noticias Carolinas. Procederé segun en el interin dada [sic = nada] debe hacerse.*

##### **Translation.**

My previous telegram, since it is a message that [also] goes by mail, follows the style set by Y.E.'s telegram of the 21st instant. At least seven days will pass before I can get news from Carolines. In the meantime, will proceed as if nothing need be done.

#### **T11. N° 39. Coded telegram to Madrid, dated 2 September 1885**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Expedicion Baubeldzuap compuesta de una Compañía, sale Crucero Aragon, unico buque disponible.*

##### **Translation.**

Expedition to Babelthuap consists of one Company. Cruiser **Aragon**, the only ship available, is going.

#### **T12. Coded telegram from Manila, received at Madrid on 4 September 1885 at 6:10 p.m.**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Anoche a las nueve llegó San Quintín con todo personal de expedicion y dice que buque aleman **Iti[s]** tomó posesion Yap en la anohecida del dia 25 estando fondeados en aquel puerto vapores **San Quintín** y **Manila** cuando el dia siguiente debía tomar*

*solemne posesion de la isla en la que habia desembarcado parte del material. Gobernador y Comandante **San Quintin** protestaron acto Alemania. En desacuerdo los anteriores asumió mando el Segundo y ordenó regreso a esta Capital; quedando allí vapor **Manila**. Comandante aleman dijo textualmente haber tomado posesion de esta isla de Yap y que quedó proclamado lo mismo que las Carolinas como parte reciente al dominio aleman. Comandante **San Quintin** refiere que si mismo ha visto en buque aleman documentos que han estado en Palaos. En su vista consulto al Gobierno de S.M. conforme con Junta Autoridades, si crucero **Aragon** va a Palaos.*

**Translation.**

Last night at 9 p.m., the **San Quintin** arrived with all the personnel of the expedition. It says that German ship **Itis** took possession of Yap on the evening of the 25th, while were anchored in that port steamships **San Quintin** and **Manila**, when it was planned the next day to take solemn possession of the island, where part of the materiel had been unloaded. The Governor and Commander of **San Quintin** protested this act of Germany. The former being in disagreement, the second assumed command and ordered the return to this Capital. Steamship **Manila** remains there. German commander asserted that he had taken possession of this island of Yap, which thus became a formal part of the recently-declared German territory. Commander of **San Quintin** has himself seen aboard German ship documents indicating that they had visited Palau. In view of this, The Joint Council of Authorities wants me to consult the Government of H.M., as to whether or not cruiser **Aragon** should now go to Palau.

**T13. N° 41. Coded telegram from Manila, dated 4 September**

*Note: This date corresponds to 5 September in Madrid.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Ampliando mi último telegrama debo añadir que en visita hecha al Comandante aleman **Itis**] por el segundo de **San Quintin** mostrole aquel actas toma posesion once islas Carolinas. Añadió que en termino ocho dias vendría Manila. En prevision del caso ¿que hago? Apoya su conducta Comandante **Iti** [sic] en Conferencia Berlin que no conozco, la que dice se adhirió España. **Iti** llegó Yap tarde del 25. **San Quintin** y **Manila** lo habian efectuado el 21 y 22. Ocuparonse preparativos solemne posesion levantando acta el 24 de lugar establecimiento Gobierno. En este estado **Iti** subrepticamente aprovechando oscuridad, y nublada noche 25 bajó a tierra y dice haber tomado posesion solemne dicha isla. De apreciacion de este acto, surgieron esas disidencias entre Gobernador y Comandante **San Quintin**.*

**Translation.**

To amplify my last telegram, I must add that in the visit made to the German Commander of the **Itis** by the second officer of the **San Quintin**, he was shown acts of taking possession of eleven Caroline Islands. He added that after eight days he will come to Manila. In case he should come, what should I do? Commander of **Itis** bases his conduct on the Berlin Conference, about which I know nothing, one he says that Spain has adhered to. **Itis** arrived Yap late on 25th, while **San Quintin** and **Manila** arrived

on 21st and 22nd. They were busy with preparations for solemn possession, and they wrote an act on the 24th regarding the establishment of the Government. In this situation, **Iltis** surreptitiously took advantage of darkness, and of a clouded night on the 25th to land and declare to have taken solemn possession of island. About said act, there arose those disagreements between Governor and Commander of **San Quintín**.

#### **T14. N° 42. Coded telegram from Madrid, dated 5 September 1885**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Contestando a los dos telegramas de V.E. del 4 le manifiesto que si el Comandante del **Iltis** [sic] ó cualquiera otro funcionario alemán intentase hacer notificación ó entregar documento relativo á Carolinas ó Palaos, se negará a recibirlo, así como a entrar con ellos en relacion oficial. La **Aragon** saldrá inmediatamente para Mindanao con la compañía y misionero{s} procedentes de Yap y otra {compañía} mas, {y allí visitará} dejando destacamento{s} y misionero{s} [en] el puerto de Pujada y demas {punto} que parezca conveniente por su importancia ó situación geográfica mas proxima a las Palaos.*

##### **Translation.<sup>1</sup>**

In answer to the two telegrams from Y.E. of the 4th instant, I let you know that if the Commander of the **Iltis**, or any other German official were to try and give notification or deliver a document relating to Carolines or Palau, you shall refuse to accept it, and neither shall you enter into official relation with them. The **Aragon** is to leave immediately for Mindanao with the company and missionaries who came from Yap and with an extra company, and there it should visit, leaving detachments and missionaries in the port of Pujada and other that might seem appropriate, on account of its importance or geographic location closer to Palau.

##### **Editor's notes.**

The Manila records indicate that after receiving this telegram, the Governor General ordered the Navy to despatch said ship to go first to Mindanao (where she was to leave a letter addressed to the Governor of Mindanao) and to sail without delay to the Island of Balut in the Sarangani Group (off the SE corner of Mindanao) and to leave there an officer with 15 soldiers. The ship was then to go to the Bay of Pujada where it was suggested that a good anchorage could be found at a site named Magcambul near the village of Mati (with two dozen houses) and a dependency of Davao. The detachments were ordered to watch for German ships in Mindanao waters and were to oppose any act of taking possession, and not to permit them to take notes and make sketches. The military chaplain assigned was to be a Jesuit. This anchorage off Mati is located in lat. 6°50' N. and long. 126°13' E.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The text on record at Manila is slightly different from the text recorded at Madrid. The Madrid version is translated below.

In a letter dated 6 September, the Governor General reported to the Overseas Minister that the departure of the **Aragon** had been cancelled just in time on 3 September as soon as a semaphore signal from Santiago Point was received announcing the arrival of the **San Quintín** from Yap. A meeting of the council was immediately called at which Governor Capriles read his report.

Meanwhile, the chartered merchantman **Don Juan**, that had left Manila on 21 August and touched at Zamboanga on the 25th, was expected to have reached Yap on the 31st, when she would deliver instructions to the **Manila** to the effect that the latter should proceed to Palau. It was hoped that the **Manila** would check the German report that they had taken possession of those islands. However, when the **Manila** arrived at Zamboanga on 9 September, her commander transmitted the following report, in Spanish:

*Abiertos los pliegos que Castaños conducía en la forma de que V.E. tiene conocimiento, salí de Yap el 4 de los corrientes y arrumbé á las Palaos por si había algun barco nuestro á las órdenes de cuyo Comandante debía ponerme, reconociendolas minuciosamente el día cinco y no habiendo ningun buque nuestro teniendo positivas noticias y fidegignas de que los Alemanes hab<sup>an</sup> tomado posesión de ellas hacia varios dias y no pudiendo yo efectuar por consiguiente, me dirigí á Zamboanga donde fondeé el día nueve á las 12:30 de la tarde.*

Translated this means:

"After opening the mail that Castaños<sup>1</sup> brought in the form that Y.E. knows, I left Yap on the 4th instant and made my way to Palau to find out if there were any of our ships under whose Commander I could place myself. I surveyed them carefully on the 5th but there was none of our ships that could have had positive and trustworthy news that the Germans had taken possession of it some days previous. So, since I could not act independently, I headed for Zamboanga where I anchored on the 9th at 12:30 p.m."

On 5 September, the Governor General named Brigadier Rafael Cerero, Army engineer, as officer in charge of a summary investigation into the *Iltis* affair. On the 22nd, this Brigadier submitted his report concluding that, notwithstanding the complexity of the case, the instructions to Governor Capriles had been followed and, therefore, the implication was such that no blame was to be ascribed to anyone.

### **T15. N° 43. Coded telegram to Manila, dated 6 September 1885**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*El Consejo de Ministros acuerda que se ordene al **Manila** permanecer en Yap hasta nueva resolución a fin de mantener el hecho de la instalación del Gobierno conseguida en el Acta del día 24 anteriormente al acto del cañonero alemán. Si para dar este acto y enviar viveres fuera conveniente enviar la vapor para de mayor andar puede confiarse a otro de sus buques la misión de Mindanao.*

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1 Ed. note: A Navy Lieutenant acting as courier aboard the *Don Juan*.

*Para evitar duplicidad no le dirige telegrama especial al Comandante General de Marina.*

**Translation.**

The Council of Ministers decided that orders be given to **Manila** to remain at Yap until new resolution, so as to maintain the fact of the installation of the Government achieved by the act of the 24th, previous to the act of the German gunboat. Should steam be appropriate to give this act and send food supplies more speedily, you may entrust the Mindanao mission to another one of your ships.

In order to avoid duplication, I am not addressing a special telegram to the Commander General of the Navy.

**T16. Coded telegram to Manila, also dated 6 September 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Sírvase V.E. manifestarme si los Comandantes del **San Quintín** y **Manila** y Gobernador de Yap llevaban sus comisiones y caso afirmativo, comuníqueme lo sustantivo.*

**Translation.**

Y.E. will please let me know whether the Commanders of the **San Quintín** and **Manila** and Governor of Yap were carrying their commissions and, in the affirmative, let me know the essence of them.

**Editor's notes.**

Meanwhile, the **Itis** herself arrived at Manila on the 7th and her commander, along with the German Consul Kempermann, were received by Governor General Terrero in the morning of 9 September at Malacañang Palace. What transpired at that meeting was not reported fully. However, on the previous evening, the Governor General had received a coded telegram from Madrid in which it was related what the German officials said to the effect that, had they known about the presence of two Spanish warships in the Port of Yap, the **Itis** would have been ordered not to go there. The Governor General informed the Consul of the spirit of the telegram.

A letter was sent to Guam the next day to keep the Governor of the Marianas informed (see Doc. 1885).

The **Itis** left Manila for Hong Kong on 11 September. The **San Quintín** returned to Yap with coal and food supplies by mid- September.

**T17. N° 80. Coded telegram to Manila, dated 30 September 1885**

*Note: It was already 1 October at Manila when this telegram was received.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Al Gob. Gral. de Filipinas, Cuba y Puerto Rico.*

*El asunto de Carolinas se sujetará en caso necesario a la mediación de Su Santidad a propuesta del Gobierno alemán. El incidente relativo al ataque de las insignias de la legación in Madrid ha terminado satisfactoriamente.*

*30 Sept. de 1885.*

**Translation.**

To the Governors General of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The question of the Carolines will be subjected to a necessary referral for mediation by His Holiness, at the proposal of the German Government. The incident related to the attack upon the signs of their legation in Madrid has been satisfactorily settled.

30 September 1885.

**T18. N° 84. Coded telegram to Madrid, dated 11 October 1885****Original text in Spanish.**

*Esta tarde ha fondeado San Quintín procedente Yap con noticias interesantes; aunque no he recibido parte anticipo a V.E. las siguientes: Cañonero Nautilus tuvo que abandonar puerto grande avería producida barada siguiendose a Australia. No hay ninguna autoridad ni arbolan bandera alemana en tierra. San Quintín regresa pasado mañana a Yap.*

**Translation.**

This afternoon the **San Quintín** proceeding from Yap has anchored, bringing interesting news: although I have not yet received report, I send the following advanced news to Y.E.: Cruiser **Nautilus** had to quit the port due to great damage received when she ran aground; she proceeded to Australia. There is no authority nor is there a German flag flying ashore. **San Quintín** will return to Yap day after tomorrow.

**T19. N° 85. Coded telegram from Manila to Ultramar, dated 12 October 1885****Original text in Spanish.**

*Rectificando mi telegrama de anoche, debo manifestar a V.E. que no es Cañonero Nautilus, sino Albatross. Suspendida salida expedición Tabacalera.*

**Translation.**

To rectify my telegram of last night, I must let Y.E. know that it is not the cruiser **Nautilus** but the **Albatross**. The Tabacalera Expedition has been cancelled.<sup>1</sup>

**T20. N° 91. Coded telegram to Manila, dated 14 October 1885****Original text in Spanish.**

*Continúan negociaciones Carolinas sin que su estado ofrezca nada que sea propia de un asunto internacional de esta importancia. Se esperan con interes pormenores que anuncia V.E. por los correos en camino. Situación referida hace que no convengan en modo alguno demostraciones oficiales sino meramente patrióticas. Por eso no permitirá V.E. que individuos que componen elemento oficial se suscriban a buque guerra con este caracter, sino como particulares. Apruebo cuante me dice tocante a manifes-*

1 Ed. note: This important Spanish tobacco company was based in Barcelona, but operating in the Philippines.

*tacion popular. Si V.E. tiene seguridad de que no hay en Yap autoridad ni buque alemán, puede permitir salida expedición Tabacalera a condicion de que se establezca con caracter meramente privado.*

**Translation.**

The negotiations on the Carolines are continuing, without any sign of the usual international fuss that would be proper for something of such importance. We eagerly await the detailed reports that Y.E. says are in the mail. The situation in question is such that no official demonstrations should be allowed to happen, but only demonstrations of purely patriotic character. That is why Y.E. should not allow any individual who is a government official to subscribe to a warship in such capacity, but only as a private citizen. If Y.E. is sure that there is no German authority or ship in Yap, you may allow the departure of the Tabacalera Expedition, under the condition that it is to establish itself there strictly as private citizens.

**T21. Coded telegram from Manila to Ultramar, received at Madrid on 17 October 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Consul Singapore anuncia proxima llegada a aquellas aguas tres corbetas alemanas.*

**Translation.**

Consul in Singapore announces recent arrival in those waters of three German corvettes.<sup>1</sup>

**T22. Coded telegram from Ultramar to Manila, dated 20 October 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Importa para el exito de las negociaciones pendientes sobre Carolinas remision de los comprobantes de ejercicio de soberania que existan en esos archivos como expedientes de naufragios carolinios, auxilios de repatriacion y demandas de proteccion, apoyo asi como acta de proclamacion Amadeo en Agaña el 20 Agosto de 1871 si como asegura el Fiscal cesante Alvarez Guerra asistió comision de Carolinas. De todo envíe V.E. brevemente copia fehaciente anunciando por cable lo que se halle.*

**Translation.**

It is important for the success of the pending negotiations about the Carolines to remit the documents proving the exercise of sovereignty that are extant in those archives, such as files about Carolinian drift voyages, assistances given them to repatriate them and requests for protection, support, as well as the act of proclamation [King] Amadeus made at Agaña on 20 August 1871, if it is true what the former Fiscal,

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In fact, there were four large warships. They were: the **Bismarck**, the **Albatross**, the **Elisabeth**, and the **Gneiseman**.



Alvarez Guerra, says about a Commission of Carolinians having been present. Y.E. will send a brief summary of what might be found by cable.

### T23. N° 99. Telegram to Manila, dated 23 October 1885

#### Original text in Spanish.

*E[xcelsisimo] S[efior]*

*Vistas las comunicaciones de V.E. fechas 16 y 31 de Agosto, 6 y 11 de Septiembre ultimos, sucesos cartas relativas al asunto de Carolinas, sucesos de Mindanao, los que dan conocimiento a este Ministerio de los acuerdos adoptados y actos ejecutados a consecuencia del telegrama que se le dirigió en 14 de Agosto con motivo de la manifestacion hecha al Gobierno por el Ministro Plenipotenciario del Imperio Aleman en esta Corte en relacion con el Archipelago Carolino, asi como por efecto de las demas ordenes telegraficas comunicadas a V.E. por este Ministerio[.] con ocasion de tan grato asunto, S.M. el Rey (q. D. g.) se ha servido afirmar la consulta de V.E. y acordar que (sea) se lo manifieste para su conocimiento y satisfaccion.*

*Lo que se lo comunico a V.E.*

#### Translation.

Your Excellency

In view of the communications from Y.E. dated 16 and 31 August, and 6 and 11 September last, the events and letter regarding the question of the Carolines, the events of Mindanao, and those that let this Ministry know of the agreements reached and the acts performed as a consequence of the telegram that I sent you on 14 August, as a result of the presentation made to the Government by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the German Empire in this court regarding the Caroline Archipelago, as well as those resulting from the telegraphic orders transmitted to Y.E. by this Ministry[.] On the occasion of such a grateful matter, His Majesty the King (whom may God save) has been pleased to approve the advice received from Y.E. and to decide that you should be made aware of it, the better to motivate you.

This is what I am now transmitting to Y.E.

### T24. Coded telegram to Ultramar, received at Madrid on 24 October 1885

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Por periódicos y cartas sé, profundo sentimiento, publicacion telegramas originales Ministerio Marina insertació varios periodicos agradeciendo conducta Gobierno. Ruego V.E. tenga a bien esclarecer verdadero origen telegramas, cuyo contenido desconozco aunque aseguran afectan hondamente a mi reputacion que no puede ser manchada sin notorio desprestigio actuales momentos, no pretendo crear nuevas dificultades a las muchas que nos rodean pero debo defender honra atacada. No desconoce V.E. que hasta hoy no he proferido palabra ofensiva para nada pero llevado al terreno en que me han colocado, declaro solemnemente que cuanto ha ocurrido en Yap corresponde por completo a los que...*

[Transmission interrupted]

**Translation.**

Through newspapers and letters, I have learned, to my deep regret, about the publication of original telegrams from the Ministry of the Navy that have been inserted in various newspapers and congratulating the Government for its conduct. I beg Y.E. to please find out the true origin of the telegrams whose contents I do not know, although they assuredly have a deep effect on my reputation that cannot be tarnished at this time without a clear loss of prestige. It is not my intention to add new difficulties to those that surround us already but I must defend my honor that was attacked. Y.E. does indeed know that until now I have not proffered any offensive word on any account, but since I have been brought out of the limelight, I solemnly declare that what has happened in Yap corresponds exactly to what...

[Transmission interrupted]

**T25. N° 101. Semi-coded message, dated 25 October 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Sin perjuicio tranquiliza a V.E. infundada alarma y anticipandole que Gobierno ha aprobado actos y conducta V.E. en asunto Carolinas. Sirvase repetir ultimas palabras reciente despacho a continuacion de "a los que."*

**Translation.**

Without prejudice Y.E. should take it easy as [your] alarm is unfounded, and I let Y.E. know that Government has approved the actions and conduct of Y.E. in Caroline question. Please repeat last words of recent despatch, following the words "to what."

**T26. N° 102. Telegram from Manila, received at Madrid on 26 October 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Ultimas palabras de mi telegrama con las siguientes, "En ello intervinieron." Agradezco el de V.E.*

**Translation.**

The last words of my telegram were the following: "happened there." I thank Y.E. for your message.

**T27. N° 103. Coded telegram to Madrid, received on 29 October 1885**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Acta original Amadeo remitida 26 September 71: [por] correo envio copias de instrucciones dadas 1 Agosto 43 [sic] al Gobernador Marianas, expediente promovido por este para que Yap fuese puerto escala; idem facilitar emigracion Carolinas a Marianas; idem sobre abanderamiento buque construido Carolinas Orientales; sobre naufragos Palaos; expediente original individuos procedentes isla Lamursec...*

[The rest is about Mindanao]

**Translation.**

Original act Amadeus remitted 26 September 71. Am mailing copies of instructions given 1 August 43 [sic] to Gobernador Marianas, of file promoted by him to recommend using Yap as a way station; idem on easing emigration from the Carolines to the Marianas; on shipwrecked Palauans; idem on the flag used by ship built in Eastern Carolines;<sup>1</sup> original file on individuals from Lamursec [i.e. Lamotrek] Island...

[The rest is about Mindanao]

## T28. N° 104. Coded telegram from Madrid, dated 30 October 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Entre otros particulares, dice:*

*“Acta de proclamacion Amadeo que obra aqui no contiene concurrencia Carolinas. Sirvase V.E. ver si consta ese otra parte.”*

[Nota: El original se encuentra en el Expediente (F.)]

### Translation.

Among other things, it says:

“The Amadeus act of proclamation that reached here does not mention participation of Carolinians. Y.E. will please see if there exists another part.

[Note: The original can be found in the File marked “F”.]

## T29. N° 105. Semi-coded telegram from Ultramar, dated 30 October 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Contestacion telegrama objeto aclaracion, debo manifestar a V.E. que fue falso el despacho que publicaron Suplementos que Gobierno desmentió y denunció, y que en los recibidos por Ministerio Marina no hay nada que afecte al prestigio de V.E.*

### Translation.

In answer to your telegram, for the purpose of clarification, I must let Y.E. know that the despatch published in the Supplements was false, that the Government did not recognize it, but denounced it, and that in those received by the Ministry of the Navy, there is nothing that affect the prestige of Y.E.

### Editor's notes.

It was not until early December that the Spanish in Manila learned that the **Albatross** had in fact visited Palau and effectively taken possession of the islands. It was O'Keefe who had brought the news from Palau to the commander of the Spanish warship **Marqués del Duero** then (18 November) stationed in Yap. O'Keefe reported that the kings of Koror and Artingal had been forced to sign the papers by the Germans. The **Marqués del Duero** was later sent to investigate (see report dated 18 November).

1 Ed. note: A reference to the sloop **María** built at Ebon in the Marshall Islands by Richard Millichamp and sold to Joaquin Portusach in 1865.

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## Document 1885U

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### Report of Governor-elect Enrique Capriles

*Sources: PNA; S. Marengo's book entitled: La ficción y la verdad en lo ocurrido en Yap (Madrid, 1886).*

*Note: Lieut. Capriles still lived aboard the **Manila** when he wrote this report, and not installed ashore, not even temporarily.*

### Report of Lieutenant Capriles, dated Yap 26 August 1885

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Puerto de Yap á 26 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Gobierno P.M. de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Exmo. Sor.:*

*El día 22 del corriente entre 3 y 4 de la tarde fondeamos en el puerto de Yap, donde ya se encontraba el transporte **San Quintín**.*

*Inmediatamente, acompañado del personal á mis órdenes, bajé á tierra con objeto de elegir el sitio que á juicio de todos pareciera más adecuado para la instalación del Establecimiento y colocación del asta donde debiera arbolarse la Bandera nacional el día en que se llevará á cabo el ceremonial de la toma material de posesión de las Islas Carolinas; pero no habiendo encontrado ninguno que satisficiera, nos retiramos á bordo al oscurecer: al día siguiente 23, á las seis de la mañana, volvimos á tierra y quedó elegido por unanimidad el expresado sitio, levantamos acta correspondiente y quedando así cumplida la primera parte de las Instrucciones; durante el tiempo que permanecí en tierra con este objeto, no omití medio alguno para atraerme la buena voluntad de cuantos se acercaran, consiguiendo que poco despues se presentasen á bordo espontaneamente muchos de ellos, y entre los mismos uno de sus caciques llamado Lirow y un tal Bodot, hijo de otro cacique, con los que convine que al día siguiente 24, á las cuatro de la tarde y previo aviso de estos, se me presentarían todos los demás caciques, por que según opinión de ellos deseaban nuestra venida; despues de haberlos obsequiado y hecho comprender que veníamos á protegerlos y ayudarlos en nombre de S.M. el Rey (q. D. g.) se retiraron todos muy satisfechos.*

*Al otro día, 24, llegado que hubo la hora que teníamos convenida y en vista de que nadie aparecía, resolví llevar á cabo la toma de posesión; pero media hora despues, se me presentó Bodot diciendo que no habian avisado por haberse hallado enfermo (como*

*efectivamente lo estaba según opinión del médico de esta Colonia), pero que me aseguraba que á los dos días ó sea el 26, no pudiendo ser antes á causa de lo lejos que muchos de ellos se encontraban, se presentarían todos por que ya había hablado con dos ó tres de las inmediaciones que habían ido á verlo al saber que había estado á bordo; en vista de esto aplacé hasta el expresado día 26 la toma de posesión, con objeto de tener en mi poder el acto de reconocimiento y adhesión á S.M. el Rey de España, declarándose súbditos de España, antes de llevar á cabo aquella, según se me previene en las Instrucciones que de V.E. tengo recibidas.*

*En los días transcurridos desde mi llegada, vinieron á bordo á presentarme sus respetos los extranjeros residentes en este Puerto, cuyos ánimos exploré, encontrando á todos satisfechos é invitándoles, por lo tanto, á que concurriesen al acto de la toma de posesión, lo que aceptaron gustosos.*

*Con objeto de no perder tiempo, y en vista de lo bien dispuestos á nuestro favor que se hallaban los naturales, el 25 por la mañana se empezó á descargar animales, material, etc. etc. que para la Colonia se habían traído. A esta altura y en este buen estado se hallaba la comisión que se me había confiado á la puesta del sol del día 25, cuando entró en Puerto y fondeó la goleta alemana *Itis*; poco despues pasé al **San Quintín** con objeto de solicitar de su Comandante me cediera la Cámara de su buque, por ser más apropósito que la del **Manila** para dar en ella un lunch, al que pensaba invitar á estos extranjeros, terminada que fuera la ceremonia de la toma de posesión.*

*En esto nos hallábamos, cuando se presentó á bordo un oficial alemán solicitando hablar al Comandante. Se le hizo pasar y momentos despues, me notificó el Comandante del **San Quintín**, que aquel oficial había venido á hacerle saber que el Comandante de la Goleta había tomado posesión de Yap, en nombre del Emperador de Alemania; tan grande fué, Exmo. Sor., mi sorpresa al oír semejantes palabras que me resistí á creerlas; no podía concebir que una nación amiga se prevaleciese de la oscuridad de la noche y del chubasco que en aquel momento desfogaba, para enviar á tierra sus botes clandestinamente y arrebatarlos lo que sin duda alguna le constaba era nuestro, como lo prueba el haberlo hecho por sorpresa; en vista de tan inconcebible audacia, de semejante atropello á mi juicio, formé un plan para recuperar nuevamente lo perdido, pareciéndome buenos todos los medios para conseguirlo, teniendo en cuenta su incalificable proceder; consistía este, en hacer ver á los alemanes primero y sostenerles despues que éramos los dueños absolutos de las Islas Carolinas, puesto que en la tarde del día anterior habíamos izado en Yap 4 nuestro Pabellón; para conseguir esto, contaba con el patriotismo de los que me rodeaban y con el apoyo de los naturales que seguramente lo hubieran asegurado así por escrito; para llevarlo á cabo, dispuse que inmediatamente se arbolase en tierra nuestra Bandera, quedando custodiada con la fuerza del Ejército que tengo á mis órdenes y comunicándolo así de oficio al Sr. Comandante del **San Quintín** reclamándole al mismo tiempo su apoyo moral y material si necesario fuera; en el mismo momento pasé á bordo de la Goleta alemana y dije al oficial de guardia, por no hallarse el Comandante ni el segundo: "En la tarde de ayer he tomado posesión de las islas Carolinas, en nombre de S.M. el Rey de España." Re-*

gresé á bordo del **San Quintín**, y hallándome redactando la protesta sobre cualquier acto de Soberanía que trataran de llevar á cabo, se presentó á bordo el Comandante alemán y en nuestra entrevista que presencié el Comandante del **San Quintín**, me repitió que había tomado posesión de las Islas Carolinas, y que por lo tanto no reconocía mi Autoridad, ni concedía á España derecho alguno sobre ellas; le contesté que yo lo había hecho en la tarde del día anterior y que la bandera se encuentra izada, después de algunas razones aducidas por ambas partes, concluyó diciendo que él dejaba izada su bandera y que salía para Manila para que por la vía diplomática se tratara la cuestión, á lo cual contesté que yo también sostendría izado nuestro pabellón por tener mayor derecho, terminando así esta conferencia; como consecuencia de ella, pasé nuevo oficio al Comandante del vapor **San Quintín**, reclamando nuevamente su apoyo; tanto este como el anterior, me fueron contestados negativamente, por no aprobar mi conducta, viéndome así desprovisto de medios de comunicación con tierra y teniendo que esperar pacientemente al otro día y á que viniesen á bordo á la hora á que buenamente pudieran hacerlo los caciques, que tenía citados para firmar el acta de adhesión y reconocimiento de la Soberanía de España en estas Islas, lo cual no llegó á verificarse, porque recibí la adjunta comunicación del Sor. Comandante del **San Quintín**, diciéndome que en vista de lo grave de las circunstancias, asumía el mando y ordenaba se arriase nuestra Bandera, retirara mis fuerzas y que tanto éstas como el que tiene el honor de dirigirse á V.E. pasaran á bordo de su buque para ser trasladados á la Capital del Apostadero.

En atención á lo difícil de las circunstancias, obedecí protestando tanto de arriar el Pabellón, cuanto de hacerme abandonar mi cargo en aquellas Islas, y me trasladé á bordo con el personal de la Colonia, quedando el **Manila** en el puerto de Yap, con el material á bordo y encargado de recoger el que se había desembarcado.

Esta és, Exmo. Sor., la relación de los hechos que he llevado á cabo, guiado tan solo por el patriotismo y el deseo de cumplir fielmente con el cargo que V.E. me había confiado. Todo lo cual tengo el honor de poner en el Superior conocimiento de V.E. en cumplimiento de mi deber.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

A bordo del Vapor **San Quintín**, Puerto de Yap, á 26 de Agosto de 1885.

Exmo. Sor.

Enrique Capriles.

[A] Exmo. Sor. Gobernador General de las Islas Filipinas.

— O — O —

## ACTA

de la elección del sitio más conveniente para la instalación de la Colonia Española y colocación del asta en que [debe] arbolarse la bandera Nacional en el momento en que tenga lugar la ceremonia de posesión material de las Islas Carolinas.

*En la Isla de Yap (Carolinas) á los veinte y tres días del mes de Agosto del año mil ochocientos ochenta y cinco, D. Enrique Capriles y Osuna, Teniente de Navio de segunda clase de la Real Armada Española y Gobernador P.M. de las Islas Carolinas y de las Palaos, bajó á tierra desde el Vapor Manila acompañado del personal de la Colonia Española con objeto de elegir el sitio más apropiado para el establecimiento de la misma y colocación del asta en que debía ser arbolada la Bandera Nacional el día en que se llevará á efecto la ceremonia de la toma de posesión material de las Islas Carolinas, lo que se verificó, quedando elegida por unanimidad una eminencia que se halla situada en las inmediaciones de viviendas denominada Rull.*

*Y para que conste se levantó la presente acta que firmaron todos los concurrentes á dicho acto en la citada Isla, día, mes y año.*

*Enrique Capriles — Antonio Torrejón — Antonio López — Primitivo Herrero — Fr. Aniceto Ibañez — Fr. Gerónimo Sancho — Pedro Espinosa — Eduardo Lobo. Antonio Trullum—Secretario.*

### Translation.

Port of Yap, 26 August 1885.

P.M. Government of the Caroline Islands.

Your Excellency:

On the 22nd instant, between 3 and 4 p.m., we anchored in the port of Yap where the transport **San Quintín** was already at anchor.

Immediately, accompanied by the personnel at my orders, I stepped ashore for the purpose of choosing the site that in the opinion of all would seem to be the most adequate for the installation of the Settlement and the emplacement of the flag pole where the national Flag was to be raised on the day when there would take place the ceremony of the physical takeover of the Caroline Islands; however, not having met with any satisfactory site, we withdrew on board at nightfall. The next day, 23rd, at 6 in the morning, we returned ashore, and there was chosen, unanimously, the site in question. We wrote an affidavit to that effect and thus became completed the first part of the Instructions. While the time that I spent ashore doing this, I did not fail to use any means possible to attract to me the goodwill of as many people as approached us, and the result was that a short time later there came aboard spontaneously many of them, and among them one of their chiefs named Lirow and a certain Bodot, son of another chief, with whom I agreed that, the next day, 24th, at 4 in the afternoon, and following there being forewarned, they were to present to me all the other chiefs, because, according to their opinion, they welcomed our coming. After I had presented gifts, I made them un-

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1 Ed. note: These two men, Lirow (also written elsewhere as Liro, Lirog, Liroy or Lirro) and Bodot, had signed Capt. Holcomb's petition a year earlier. Bodot, according to Fr. Ibañez in his deposition made later in Manila, spoke English very well. Bartola Garrido, however, acted as interpreter between the Yapese and the Spanish.

derstand that we came to protect them and help them in the name of H.M. the King (may God save him), they retired very satisfied.

The next day, 24th, at the appointed time, in view of the fact that nobody came, I decided to carry out the takeover ceremony, but, half an hour later, there appeared Bodot who told me that they had not forewarned the others because he had been sick (which was indeed confirmed by the physician of the Colony) but he assured me that two days hence, that is the 26th, and not before because of the long distance where many of them were to be found, and they would all come because he had already contacted two or three chiefs living in the vicinity and had gone to visit him upon learning that he had been on board. In view of this, I postponed until the 26th the formal takeover, thinking that I could first get from them the act of submission and adhesion to H.M. the King of Spain, declaring themselves to be Spanish subjects, before proceeding with the ceremony, in accordance with the Instructions that I have received from Y.E.

On the days that followed my arrival, the foreign residing in this port came aboard to present their respects to me. I checked their state of mind, and found out that all of them were satisfied. I invited them, therefore, to the present at the act of takeover, which they accepted with pleasure.

For the purpose of not losing any time, and in view of the natives being well disposed in our favor, on the 25th in the morning we began to unload the animals, the materials, etc. that had been brought for the Colony. Such was the situation, and in this good state the compliance of the commission that I had been entrusted with at sunset of the 25th, when there entered in the port and anchored the German schooner *Itis*. A short time later, I went on board the **San Quintín** for the purpose of soliciting her commander permission to use his Cabin, because it was more suitable than that of the **Manila** to give a lunch, to which I was thinking of inviting these foreigners, once the takeover ceremony was completed.

We were at this when a German officer presented himself, requesting an interview with the Commander. He was admitted and, moments later, the Commander of the **San Quintín** notified me that that officer had come to let him know that the Commander of the School had taken possession of Yap, in the name of the Emperor of Germany. Your Excellency, I was so flabbergasted at hearing such words that I could not believe it. I could not conceive that a friendly nation would take advantage of a dark night and during a rain shower that was then happening, to send their boats ashore clandestinely carry away what they certainly knew was ours, as proven by the fact that they did it by surprise.<sup>1</sup> In view of such an inconceivable audacity, of such an outrage, in my opinion, I worked on a plan to recuperate what had been lost, and all means seemed to me feasible to accomplish this aim, taking into account their unqualifiable proceedings. My plan consisted in making the German see, firstly, and then sustaining

1 Ed. note: The German traders ashore had told the German commander that the Spanish had not yet raised their own flag, and intended to do it the next day. They probably told him also that they had already raised it the previous February, but that was not taken into account, in the rush to claim Yap, as they had just claimed the rest of the Carolines the week or weeks before.



it later on, that we were the absolute owners of the Caroline Islands, given that in the afternoon of the previous day I had raised our flag in Yap. In order to achieve this end, I counted on the patriotism of those around me and with the support of the natives who surely would have vouched for this in writing. To achieve this end, I ordered our flag to be raised immediately ashore and that it be guarded by the Army forces that I have at my orders. I then communicated this in writing to the Commander of the **San Quintín**, requesting him at the same time for his moral and material support, if necessary. At the same time I went over to the German schooner and told the officer of the watch, since neither her commander nor the mate were present: "In the afternoon of yesterday, I have taken possession of the Caroline Islands, in the name of His Majesty the King of Spain." I returned on board the **San Quintín**, while I was busy writing a protest over any act of sovereignty that they might try to carry out, the German commander appeared on board and during our interview that was witnessed by the commander of the **San Quintín**, he repeated to me that he had taken possession of the Caroline Islands, and that, therefore, he did not recognize my Authority, nor did he concede any right to Spain over them. I answered that I had done it on the afternoon of the previous day and that the flag was then raised. After an exchange of a few reasonings presented by both sides, he concluded that he was leaving his flag flying and that he was about to leave for Manila to see what could be done to have the issue resolved by diplomatic means. I answered, telling him that I too would leave our flag up since we had a greater right to do so. Thus ended our conference. As a consequence of this, I wrote another letter to the Commander of the steamer **San Quintín**, asking once again for his support. This was, the same as the previous request, was answered negatively, as he did not approve my conduct. Thus I found myself without a boat to go ashore and had to spend the night on board. I waited patiently until the next day and until the hour at which the chiefs could easily make it on board, as I expected them to come and sign the act of adhesion and recognition of the Sovereignty of Spain in these Islands, but this did not take place, because I received the following (attached)<sup>1</sup> from the Commander of the **San Quintín**, telling me that, in view of the gravity of the circumstances, he assumed command and ordered me to lower our flag, withdraw my forces and have them, as well as the undersigned, board his ship and be moved to the Capital of the Naval Station.

Regarding the difficulty of the circumstances, I obeyed, protesting my having to lower the flag, as well as having to abandon my post in those Islands, and I transferred to the ship with the personnel of the Colony, with only the **Manila** remaining in the port of Yap, with the materiel on board her and the duty of picking up what had already been unloaded.

This is, Your Excellency, the story of the things that I have done, guided as I was, not only by my patriotism but also acting faithfully in the post that Y.E. had entrusted

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1 Ed. note: See attached to Commander España's report (next document). Cmdr. España used the prerogative of his higher rank to take control of the situation.

me with. All of this I have the honor to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God keep you for many years.

Aboard the steamer **San Quintín**, Port of Yap, 26 August 1885.

Your Excellency.

Enrique Capriles.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippine Islands.

— O — O —

## AFFIDAVIT

regarding the selection of the site most convenient for the installation  
of the Spanish Colony and emplacement of the flag pole  
where must be raised the National Flag at the moment that the ceremony  
of the physical takeover of the Caroline Islands is to take place.

In the Island of Yap (Carolines) on the 23rd day of the month of August of the year 1885, Don Enrique Capriles y Osuna, Navy Lieutenant Second Class, of the Royal Spanish Navy and P.M. Governor of the Caroline Islands and Palau, steeped ashore from the steamer **Manila** in the company of the personnel of the Spanish Colony for the purpose of selecting the most appropriate site for the establishment of the settlement and the emplacement where the National Flag had to be raised on the day when there would take place the act of physical possession of the Caroline Islands. This was done, and there was indeed chosen unanimously a hill in the vicinity of a hamlet known as Rull.

And for the record, the present affidavit was written and signed by all those present at said act at said Island, on said date.

Enrique Capriles — Antonio Torrejón — Antonio López — Primitivo Herrero —  
Fr. Aniceto Ibañez — Fr. Gerónimo Sancho — Pedro Espinosa — Eduardo Lobo.  
*Antonio Trullum—Secretary.*

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**Documents 1885V**

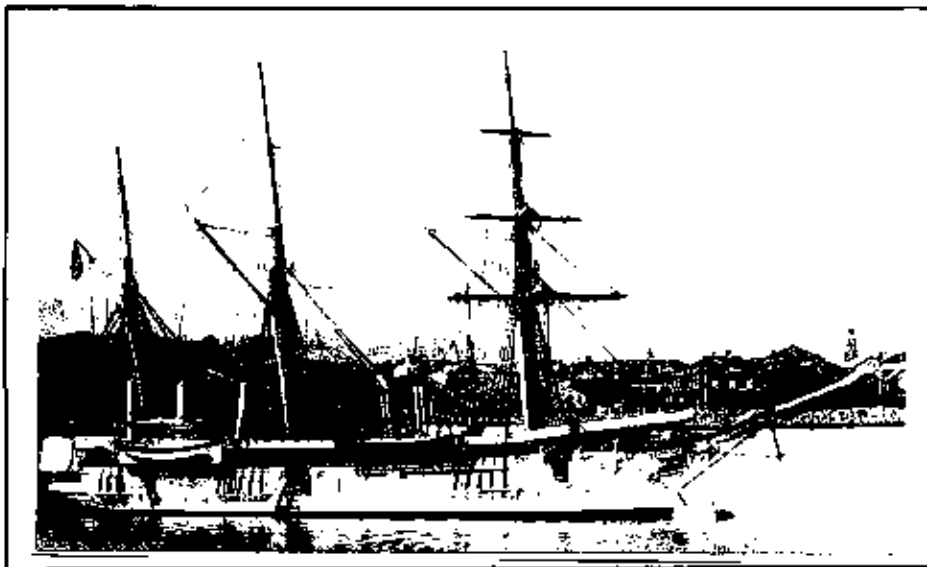
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## **The Iltis Affair—Occupation of Yap by the Germans on 25 August 1885**

*Source: PNA.*

*Notes: Transcript taken from Enclosure N° 5 to Commander Butrón's report (next chapter). This transcript was edited and translated by Ronald Hanewald.*

*The name of this gunboat, Iltis, means Ferret in English. She was launched at Danzig in 1878, had a capacity of 570 tons and carried 85 men. Lieut.-Cmdr Hofmeier was in charge of her for one year only, from August 1885 to September 1886.*



**The gunboat Iltis. (From Hildebrand et al.)**

## VI. Letter of Captain Hofmeier to Commander España, dated Yap 26 August 1885

### Original text in German.

*Commando S.M. Kbt. Iltis—I. No. 4065—Yap, den 26. August 1885.*

*An den Kommandanten S.M.S. San Quintin.*

*Euer Hochwohlgeboren ersuche ich ergebenst sich darüber äußern zu wollen, ob auf Euer Hochwohlgeboren Befehl die Spanische Flagge heute morgen nach 6 Uhr hier am Lande geheisst ist, und mache Euer Hochwohlgeboren darauf aufmerksam, dass lant der von mir gestern erlassenen und zu Ihrer sofortigen Kenntniss gelangten Proclamation die Insel Yap nebst Karolinen-Inseln als Deutsches Schutzgebiet erklärt worden demnach die Flagge auf Deutschen Grund und Boden geheisst ist.*

*Zur aufklärung der Angelegenheit ersuche Euer Hochwohlgeboren ich um gefälligste Ausserung darüber, mit welchem Recht das Hissen der Spanischen Flagge hier geschehen, wogegen ich mich bereit erkläre die von mir gethanen Schritte zu motiviren.*

*Der Kommandant—Hofmeier Kapitän Lieutenant.*

### Original translation into Spanish.

*Notes: Since there was no official German interpreter at Manila at that time, this translation was made by Sebastián Vidal, a military engineer who was a polyglot. When he gave his translation to Cmdr. Canga, the Secretary of the Governor General, he attached a note stating that his translation was as literal as can be, given the different natures of the two languages in question. He noted that "ersuchen" in German means "to require" but used in conjunction with "ergebenst" or "gefälligst," it means "to pray, or beg" in formal Spanish.*

*Comandancia S.M. Kbt. Iltis—I. No. 4065—Yap á 26 Agosto 1885.*

*Al Comandante S.M.S. San Quintin.*

*Suplico á Su Señoría que se sirva manifestar si por su orden ha sido izada la bandera española que se ha visto hoy por la mañana despues de las seis aquí en tierra y llamo la atención de Su Señoría que conforme con la proclamación hecha por mí ayer, que inmediatamente llegó á conocimiento de V.S. la isla de Yap junto con las Islas Carolinas son declaradas bajo Protectorado alemán, por consiguiente la bandera está izada en territorio y suelo alemán.*

*Para aclaramiento del asunto suplico á V.S. me manifieste con qué derecho se ha verificado aquí el acto de izar la bandera española, declarándome por mi parte en correspondencia á motivar el paso por mí efectuado.*

*El Comandante—Hofmeier—Capitan Teniente.*

### Translation.

*Commander—H.M. Gunboat Iltis—I. No. 4065—*

*Yap, 26 August 1885.*

*To the Commander of S.M.S. San Quintin.*

I most respectfully beg Your Lordship to let me know if the Spanish flag [that was seen] ashore after 6 a.m. this morning was raised at your order, and I bring to your attention of Y.L. that, in accordance with my proclamation of yesterday, about which I immediately informed Y.L., the Island of Yap, as well as the Caroline Islands, have been declared a German Protectorate, and therefore the flag [in question] has been raised in a German territory and soil.

I beg Y.L. to please let me know what right you had to raise the the Spanish flag here. For my part, I am ready to explain the steps taken by me in order to prove my point.

The Commander—Hofmeier—Captain Lieutenant [Lieutenant-Commander].

## V2. Opinion of the English

*Source: Nautical Magazine 1885, pp. 862, 954.*

September 1885.

Annexation still appears to be the fashion. Germany more especially seems bent on colonising. The latest addition is that of the Caroline Islands, which I supposed had belonged to Spain. Prince Bismarck's policy in laying hands on any doubtful pieces of "real estate" may be a good one for Germany, but the nations at large must view his proceedings with a watchful eye lest the balance of property should be unduly disturbed. It is to be hoped that the moment for appropriation of Spain's property by the dreadful calamity which is now visiting her. Perhaps after all the news will not be confirmed.

October 1885.

According to a semi-official writer, Prince Bismarck's resolve in occupying the Carolines was probably prompted by the fact that after the termination of the Panama Canal the Pacific trade is likely to become very animated, and a new epoch will open in the commercial life of the world. It was in view of this impending commercial revolution that the Chancellor acquired for Germany a good slice of New Guinea. The smaller islands, like the Carolines, the Marshall Isles, and so forth, may appear of little value in comparison, but they will attain great importance as soon as a dozen steamers a day are passing through the Panama Canal for China and India.

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## Documents 1885W

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### Report of Commander Guillermo España, commander of the San Quintin

*Sources: PNA; some of the attachments were also published in S. Marengo's La ficción y la verdad (op. cit).*

#### W1. Transmittal letter, dated Manila 3 September 1885

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Manila 3 de Setiembre de 1885.*

*Comandancia General de Marina. Filipinas.—Reservada—*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Sor. Comandante del transporte aviso **San Quintin** que procedente de Yap acaba de fondear me dirige la comunicación siguiente:*

*“Exmo. Sor.:*

*“Segun tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. en un parte de campaña, el día 21 [de agosto] á las 5:30 de la tarde di fondo en Yap; al siguiente á las 12 del día fondeó el **Manila** que conducía al Gobernador electo para las Islas Carolinas y personal que componía la Colonia.*

*“Ignoro las instrucciones que dicho Gobernador tuviera para la toma de posesión, pero según tengo entendido empezó á ocuparse de la elección de terreno para el establecimiento de la Colonia y en tener conferencias con los Jefes naturales de la Isla; á mi vez no pude empezar la descarga de los sillares que conducía en atención á no haber en la localidad sino sola una embarcación apropósito que se hallaba en carena, y que no estaría lista hasta el 25 por la mañana, como así sucedió y al amanecer de él empecé á descargar.*

*“A las 5:30 de la tarde del mismo, entró en el puerto una goleta de guerra alemana, que resultó [ser] la **Itis**, y á las 7 de la noche en ocasión de encontrarse abordo el Gobernador nombrado de Yap, se presentó un oficial del buque Aleman, el cual deseando hablarme, me comunicó en nombre de su Comandante, que acababan de tomar posesión de la isla de Yap y declarada esta y todas las Carolinas bajo la protección de S.M. el Emperador de Alemania, á la vez que me mostraba el acta de toma de posesión. Me*

*apresuré á comunicar esta inesperada cuanto desagradable noticia al Gobernador, el cual se trasladó abordo del buque alemán. Poco despues recibí la comunicación—Documento N° 1—á la que contesté sin pérdida de tiempo—N° 2.*

*“Serían las 9 de la noche cuando se presentó á bordo el Comandante de la *Itis* y una vez en mi cámara me preguntó si le habían enviado á decir que en el día anterior había tomado posesión de la isla en nombre de S.M. el Rey de España; á lo que contesté que no siendo sino el Comandante del buque, no podía contestarle y que sería más conveniente conferenciara con el Gobernador, á lo cual rehusó al principio manifestándome que no podía reconocer su Autoridad, toda vez que había tomado posesión de Yap, con arreglo á la conferencia de Berlin, á la que cual se había adherido nuestra nación, antes que le hubiesemos verificado nosotros, pero que en obsequio á dejar bien claros los incidentes de este asunto, hablaría con él. Entonces tuvo lugar la conferencia á que se refiere el documento N° 3, conferencia cuya forma y esencia desaprobé; 1) por dársele cuenta de que nuestro pabellón se encontraba izado en tierra; 2) por afirmar un hecho que no ha tenido lugar, ni llenado ninguno de los requisitos que acreditaran la forma de posesión, cual lo había verificado el Comandante Alemán, enviando su gente armada á tierra, izado el pabellón, saludandole, levantando acta y proclamando la toma á los extranjeros. Poco tiempo despues de terminada la conferencia recibí otra comunicación del Gobernador—N° 3—que me apresuré á contestar—N° 4—esperando el curso de los acontecimientos.*

*“A las 10 de la mañana del 26 recibí una comunicación del Comandante de la *Itis*—N° 5—y en su vista decidí asumir el mando aceptando la responsabilidad de mis actos.*

*“Encontrándome pues, Exmo. Sor., por la ley imperiosa de las circunstancias y ajenas á la comisión que se me había confiado, obligado á resolver en materia de tantas consecuencias para mi patria. El Comandante Alemán, por triste que sea decirlo, con la conciencia de su perfecto derecho, estaba decidido á obrar de igual manera que lo hubieramos hecho nosotros, si ondeando el pabellón Español en territorio propio, tratara de implantarse cualquiera otro extranjero. ¿Podía yo conceder, cual lo solicitaba el Gobernador un apoyo moral y material para defender tan mala causa, y provocar una colisión entre ambas naciones? Mi conciencia y mi deber, el convencimiento de la complicación en que pondría á la nación, el conflicto en que de obrar así originaría al Gobierno, todas las consideraciones en fin me impedían acceder á ello. Asumí pues el mando y contesté al Comandante alemán—N° 6—; ordené que se retirara la bandera—N° 7—que en mal hora había sido enviada á tierra con las fuerzas que la suxtodiaban y que tanto el Gobernador como el personal de la Colonia, embarcara en este buque para ser conducido á la Capital del Archipiélago.*

*“Al Comandante del *Manila* pasé la comunicación—N° 8—*

*“Esta és, Exmo. Sor., la relación exacta de los hechos; tranquilo en mi conciencia, espero para mi completa tranquilidad el que V.E.I. en su superior y mejor criterio apruebe mis actos.”*

*Lo que tengo el honor de transcribir á V.E. para su debido superior conocimiento.*

*Dios guarde etc.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Luis Bula*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador General de estas Islas.*

### Translation.

Manila 3 September 1885.

Navy Headquarters, Manila.—Confidential.—

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the transport advise-boat **San Quintín** coming from Yap has just anchored and sends me the following communication:

“As I had the honor to inform U.E. in a field report, on the 21st [August] at 5:30 in the afternoon I anchored in Yap; the next day at noon the **Manila** anchored. She had on board the Governor-elect of the Carolines and personnel that made up the Colony.”

“I ignore the instructions that said Governor might have had for the takeover, but it is my understanding that he began by busying himself with the selection of a piece of land on which to establish the Colony and in having conferences with the native Chiefs of the Island. As for me, I could not begin unloading the stones<sup>1</sup> that I carried, because there was only one suitable boat in the neighborhood and it was being careened, and would not be ready until the 25th in the morning, as happened in fact, and on that morning I began to unload.”

“At 5:30 in the afternoon of that same day, there came into the port a German war schooner, which turned out to be the **Iltis**, and at about 7 that night, when the Governor-elect of Yap happened to be on board, an officer came over from the German ship, asking to see me. I told me, on behalf of his Commander, that they had just taken possession of the Island of Yap and declared it and all the other Carolines under the protection of H.M. the Emperor of Germany, at the same time as he was showing me the act of possession. I hastened to let this unexpected, and so disagreeable, news to the Governor, and he went over to the German ship. Afterwards, I received the communication—Document N° 1—to which I answered without losing any time—N° 2.”

“It must have been about 9 p.m. when the commander of the **Iltis** came on board and, once in my cabin, asked me if they had sent him to say that he had taken possession of the island the previous day in the name of H.M. the King of Spain. I answered that I was only the Commander of the ship and could not give him an answer, but that it would be better if he spoke directly with the Governor. At first, he refused, saying that he could not recognize his Authority, given that he had taken possession of the Is-

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1 Ed. note: 'Sillar' is the word used in Peru for a volcanic stone, used by building stone. It is light, because it is porous and easy to quarry.



land as a consequence of the Berlin Conference,<sup>1</sup> in which our nation had taken part, before we had done so ourselves; finally, he said that he would speak with him, for the sake of clarifying very well the incidents of this affair. Therefore, the conference did take place—Document N° 3—conference whose form and content I disapproved of: firstly, because it was re-stated to him that our flag had been raised ashore; secondly, to affirm a fact that had not taken place, nor had fulfilled any of the requirements for a formal takeover—something that the German commander had done, by sending his armed people ashore, raised his flag, saluted it, writing an affidavit and publicizing the takeover the foreigners. A short time after the conference, I received another communication from the Governor—N° 3—which I hastened to reply—N° 4—and waiting to see how the events would turn out.

“At 10 in the morning of the 26th, I received a communication from the Commander of the *Itis*—N° 5—and at seeing it I decided to assume command, accepting the responsibility for my actions.

“Your Excellency, I found myself involved by the imperious law of circumstances and foreign to the commission that had been entrusted to me, forced to resolve a matter of such great consequences for mi country. The German Commander, no matter how sad it is for me to say so, was perfectly right and was decided to act the same way that we would have done ourselves, if the Spanish flag were raised in our own territory, and some other foreigner tried to do the same. Could I agree with what the Governor was asking me, to give my moral and material support, to defend such a bad cause, and provoke a collision between two nations? My conscience and my duty, and the conviction of complication in which the nation would be placed by the conflict that such actions would place the Government; hence, all considerations prevented me from acceding to it. I therefore assumed command and answered the German Commander—N° 6. I ordered that the flag be lowered and that the Governor as well as the personnel of the Colony should embark aboard this ship for be taken back to the Capital of the ARchipelago. M170

“To the Commander of the **Manila** I sent a communication—° 8.”

“This, Your Excellency, is the exact account of the facts, My conscience is tranquil, but I hope that, for more tranquillity, U.E. in his superior wisdom and better judgment will approve my actions.”

This is what I Have the honor to transcribe to Y.E. for your superior information .  
May God, etc.

Your Excellency.

Luis Bula.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

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1 Ed. note: This was a bluff on the part of the German officer, because the Conference of Berlin only covered European possessions on the coasts of Africa.

## W2. Enclosure N° 1.

### Original text in Spanish.

*Yap á 25 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Gobierno P.M de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos.*

*En vista de lo que verbalmente me ha manifestado V.S. respecto á que la Goleta alemana **Itis** que acaba de entrar en Puerto, ha tomado posesión de las Islas Carolinas en nombre de S.M.I. de Alemania, por haberlo así manifestado á V.S. un oficial del expresado buque, he dispuesto que en este momento (8 de la noche) sea arbolada en tierra por primera vez nuestra Bandera; y como es posible que el Comandante de dicho buque pretenda alegar derechos para sostener la ocupación de las mismas, debo manifestar á V.S. que estoy resuelto á a todo trance á tener izado nuestro honproso Pabelón, para lo cual reclamo el auxilio moral y material de V.S. si necesario fuera.*

*A bordo del **Manila**, Yap, 25 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años.*

*Enrique Capriles.*

*[A] Sor. Comandante del vapor **San Quintín**.*

*Es copia.—España.*

### Translation.

Yap, 25 August 1885.

P.M. Government of the Caroline Islands and Palau.

In view of the verbal report that U.L. has given me to the effect that ther German schooler **Itis** that has just come into port, has taken possession of the Caroline Islands in the name of H.M. the Emperor of Germany, in accordance with what an officer of said ship had told you, I have decided that, at this moment (8 p.m.) there should be raised ashore our flag for the first time; and, given that it is possible that the Commander of said ship may pretend to allege rights in favor of maitaining the occupation of same, I must tell Y.L. that I am resolved to maintain our honorable flag flying at any cost; that is why I claim the moral and material assistance of Y.L., if necessary.

Aboard the **Manila**, Yap, 25 August 1885.

May God keep Y.L. for many years.

Enrique Capriles.

[To] the Commander of the steamer **San Quintín**.

This is a copy.—España.

## W3. Enclosure N° 2.

### Original text in Spanish.

*Aviso-transporte **San Quintín**—Commandancia.*

*En este momento (8:30 de la noche) recibo su comunicación y tengo que manifestarle que, desconociendo en absoluto las instrucciones que pueda V. tener para la toma de posesión, el hecho de izar nuestra bandera despues de haber notificado oficialmente el Comandante Alemán, haber tomado posesión de la isla en nombre del Emperador de Alemania, acto llevado á cabo por él antes que V. lo haya verificado, lo conceptuo de suma gravedad y que provocará un conflicto, reservandome para este caso, asumir el mando, aceptando la responsabilidad de los actos que entonces pueda llevar á cabo. Es cuanto tengo que manifestarle en contestación á su oficio que acabo de recibir.*

*Dios guarde á V. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Yap 25 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Guillermo España.*

[A] *Sor. Gobernador P.M. nombrado de las Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Es copia. —España.*

### Translation.

Advise-transport **San Quintín**—Commander's office.

At this moment (8:30 p.m.), I receive your communication and I have to tell you that, as I completely ignore the instructions that you may have for the takeover, the fact of raising our flag after having been notified officially by the German Commander who has taken possession in the name of the Emperor of Germany, an act which he carried out before you had done so, I consider this a very serious thing that will provoke a conflict, and for this reason I assume command, accepting responsibility for the actions that I may take.

That is all I wanted to say in answer to the letter that I have just received from you. May God keep you for many years.

Port of Yap, 25 August 1885.

Guillermo España.

[To] the P.M. Governor-elect of the Caroline Islands and Palau.

This is a copy.—España.

### W4. Enclosure N° 3.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno P.M. de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos.—*

*Como consecuencia de la entrevista que á bordo de ese buque de su mando, acaba V.S. de presenciar entre el Comandante Alemán y yo, y que ha tenido lugar por haberme personado en la Goleta Alemana y dicho al oficial de guardia, por no hallarse abordo el Comandante ni el segundo, que en nombre del Rey de España había tomado ayer posesión de las Islas Carolinas, y en la que ha empezado dicho Sr. por no reconocermelo como Gobernador de dichas islas y negado en conclusión el perfecto derecho de España sobre ellas, a pesar de haberle repetido que había tomado posesión en la tarde del día de ayer en nombre de S.M. el Rey de España: reclamo de V.S. el apoyo moral y ma-*

*terial para sostener izado nuestro pabellón, no creyendo corresponderme la discusión de los respectivos derechos á la ocupación.*

*Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años.*

*Yap (á bordo del Manila) á 25 de Agosto de 1885 á las 11 de la noche.*

*Enrique Capriles.*

[A] Sr. Comandante del Vapor **San Quintín**.

### Translation.

P.M. Government of the Caroline Islands and Palau.

As a consequence of the interview between the German Commander and I that Y.L. witnessed, which has just taken place on board the ship under the command of Y.L., and which took place as a result of the visit I paid to the German schooner and said to the officer of the watch, because the CVommander or Chief Officer wre not on board her, that I had taken possession of the Caroline Islands yesterday in the name of the King of Spain, and in which said gentleman said that he did not recognize me as Governor of said Islands and concluded denied the perfect right of Spain over them, in spite of my having repeated to him that I had taken possession yesterday afternoon in the name of H.M. the King of Spain: I claim from Y.L. the moral and material support to maintain our flag raised, and I do not consider my responsibility to discuss the respective rights of occupation.

May God keep Y.L. for many years.

Yap (aboard the **Manila**, 25 August 1885 at 11 p.m.

Enrique Capriles.

[To] the Commander oof the steamer **San Quintín**.

### W5. Enclosure N° 4.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Aviso trasporte **San Quintín**—Comandancia.—*

*Recibida en este momento (11:30 de la noche) su comunicación reclamando mi apoyo moral y material para sostener izado nuestro pabellón en tierra, debo contestarle que considero de suma gravedad el paso dado por V. de haber izado nuestra bandera y enviado fuerzas á tierra despues de haber sido notificados oficialmente de haber tomado posesión de esta Isla en nombre de S.M. el Emperador de Alemania, el Comandante de la Goleta Alemana **Itis**, estreñando mucho su afirmación de V. de haber tomado posesión de la Isla de Yap en el día de ayer, hecha al Comandante de la Goleta Alemana, estando en abierta oposición dicha afirmación de V, 1) con la realidad de los hechos; 2) con haber entrado dicho buque en puerto sin haber más bandera española que las que flotaban en los dos buques de guerra surtos en él; y por último contra el hecho de haber V. invitado á los extranjeros residentes en ésta para asistir mañana á las 4 de la tarde á la toma de posesión de esta Isla en nombre de S.M. el Rey de España. En vista de estas razones y queriendo evitar á nuestra nación un serio conflicto,*

*estoy decidido á asumir el mando tan pronto como juzgue que la gravedad de las circunstancias me impongan este deber.*

*Dios, etc.*

*Yap 25 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Guillermo España.*

*Al Teniente de Navio D. Enrique Capriles Gobernador P.M nombrado de las Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Es copia.—España.*

### **Translation.**

Advise-transport **San Quintín**—Commander's office.

Having just received (11:30 p.m.) your communication claiming my moral and material support to maintain our flag raised ashore, I must answer that I consider very serious the step you took to raise our flag and send an armed force ashore after we were officially notified by the Commander of the German schooner **Itis** of his having taken possession of the Island in the name of H.M. the Emperor of Germany. I am much surprised by your affirmation that you have taken possession of the Island of Yap yesterday, which you addressed to the German commander, since said affirmation of yours openly opposed: 1) to the true facts; 2) since there were no other Spanish flags flying when said ship came in this port except those on board the two warships anchored therein; and, finally, against the fact that you had invited the foreigners residing at this island to attend, at 4 p.m. tomorrow, the ceremony of takeover in the name of H.M. the King of Spain. In view of these reasons, and wishing to avoid a serious conflict for our nation, I have decided to assume command as soon as I may judge that the gravity of the circumstances impose this duty upon me.

May God, etc.

Yap, 25 August 1885.

Guillermo España.

To Navy Lieutenant Enrique Capriles, P.M. Governor of the Caroline Islands and Palau.

This is a copy.—España.

### **W6. Enclosure N° 6.<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Aviso transporte **San Quintín**—Comandancia.—*

*Al Comandante del Cañonero de S.M.E. de Alemania **Itis**—Puerto de Yap 26 de Agosto 1885.*

*En contestación á su comunicacion fecha de hoy, tengo el honor de manifestarle, en atencion á haber asumido hoy el mando, que teniendo en consideracion las buenas re-*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: For N° 5, see Doc. 1885V1.

*laciones que median entre ambos países y con objeto de evitar un conflicto entre ellas, he dispuesto se arrie la bandera Española; protestando de la ocupación de V. de estas Islas en nombre del Emperador de Alemania, por serles á V. conocidos los pasos dados para tomar ostensiblemente posesión de ellas á nombre del Rey de España, en el día de hoy: habiendo ya efectuado actos de posesión como el de remitir material á tierra y escojido terreno para establecer la Colonia.*

*Dios guarde á V. muchos años.*

*Guillermo España.*

*Es copia.—España.*

### Translation.

Advise-transport **San Quintín**.

To the Commander of the Gunboat of His Imperial Majesty of Germany **Itis**.—Port of Yap, 26 August 1885.

In answer to your communication of this date, I have the honor to let you know that I have assumed today, that, in consideration of the good relations that exist between our two countries and in order to avoid a conflict between them, I have decided to have the Spanish flag lowered, protesting meanwhile the your occupation of these Islands in the name of the Emperor of Germany, given that you know the steps ostensibly taken by us to take possession of them in the name of H.M. the King of Spain today; we having already carried out acts of possessin such as landing materials ashore and chosen a site to establish the Colony.

May God keep you for many years.

Guillermo España.

This is a copy.—España.

### W7. Enclosure N° 7.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Aviso trasporte **San Quintín**—Comandancia.*

*Acabo de recibir una comunicación del Comandante del buque Alemán **Itis** y considerando sumamente graves las circunstancias, asumo desde este momento el mando tanto por la razon expuesta, como por desconocer en absoluto dicho Comandante su autoridad como Gobernador, y dispongo, á fin de evitar mayores males, que se arrie la bandera Española que en la noche de ayer fué izada en tierra por orden de V. y que se retiren las fuerzas de Ejército y Disciplinarios que la custodian, debiendo V. y toda la Colonia embarcar en este buque que debe con toda urgencia, trasladarse á la Capital del Apostadero.*

*Dios guarde á V. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Yap á 26 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Guillermo España.*

[A] *Sor. D. Enrique Capriles, Teniente de Navio, Gobernador P.M. nombrado para las Islas Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Es copia.—España.*

### Translation.

Advise-transport **San Quintin**—Commander's office.

I have just received a communication from the Commander of the German ship **Itis** and, considering the circumstances to be extremely serious, I assume as of this moment, not only for the reason given, but also because the German Commander refuses to recognize your Authority as Governor, and, to avoid worse evils, I order that the flag be lowered which was raised ashore yesterday by your order, and that the Army forces, regulars and convicts, who are guarding it be withdrawn. You and the whole Colony are to embark aboard this ship which must in full haste return to the Capital of the Naval Station.

May God keep you for many years.

Port of Yap, 26 August 1885.

Guillermo España.

[To] Don Enrique Capriles, Navy Lieutenant, P.M. Governor of the Caroline Islands and Palau.

This is a copy.—

### W8. Enclosure N° 8.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Aviso transporte **San Quintin**—Comandancia—*

*Debiendo dejar en el día de hoy este puerto con dirección á Manila, continuará V. en el fondeadero que ocupa, hasta pasado un plazo de 25 días: que de no haber recibido contra orden ó noticia alguna, terminará V. su comisión, en la forma que previene S.E. y el Comandante Gral. del Apostadero en sus instrucciones.*

*Dios guarde á V. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Yap á 26 de Agosto de 1885.*

*Guillermo España.*

*Al Comandante del Vapor **Manila**.*

*Es copia.—España.*

[Post-scriptum]

*Exmo. Sor.: Como continuación á mi oficio en que tuve el honor de participarle los acontecimientos de Carolinas, debo añadirle que en una visita hecha por el segundo Comandante de este buque al Comandante del buque Alemán **Itis** le mostró las actas, según me ha manifestado el primero de toma de posesión de once islas de las Carolinas de las que solo recuerda las Palaos así mismo le dijo que en el término de ocho ó diez días vendría á Manila con el buque de su mando.*

*Lo que pongo en el superior conocimiento de V.E. á los fines que estime oportunos.*

### Translation.

Advise-transport **San Quintín**.—Commander's office.

Having to leave this port today for Manila, you are to remain at anchor here for a duration of 25 days, unless you receive contrary orders or some news meanwhile. You should complete your commission, in the form foreseen by His Excellency and the Commander General of the Naval Station in their instructions.

May God keep you for many years.

Guillermo España.

Port of Yap, 26 August 1885.

Guillermo España.

To the Commander of the steamer **Manila**.

This is a copy.—España.

[Post scriptum]

My dear Sir: As a continuation of my letter in which I informed you of the events of the Carolines, I must add that during a visit made by the First Officer of this ship to the Commander of the German ship **Iltis**, he was shown by the latter the acts of possession of eleven islands in the Carolines, among which he only remembers Palau. He also told him that, within eight or ten days, he would come to Manila with the ship under his command.

This I bring to the superior attention of Y.E. for the purposes that you may decide.

### Editor's notes.

Commander España was suspected of not having done his duty and a summary investigation was opened at Manila. He was temporarily dismissed from his position and the case referred to Madrid for a court-martial to be held there. The court met on 15 February 1886. There were doubts raised about his instructions not having been clear enough, at least not clear enough as reported in the summary investigation.

The court was divided on the issue. On the one hand, the military prosecutor recommended that España be re-instated in his post, given that the summary investigation had not charged him with any misconduct. The civilian lawyer present thought that the case should be dismissed temporarily. Mr. Rodriguez Sanchez disagreed, but thought that the declarations were not precise enough to prove the point either way, and that the case should be returned to the Philippines for the addition of certain elements that he considered essential.

The court was divided on the issue and the matter put to a vote: seven councilors voted for the first solution, three for the second, and five for the third. The matter was decided in favor of the first outcome, and Commander España regained his post. However, since eight persons had voted otherwise, there remained some doubt about the case in the minds of many people.



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 Documents 1885X
 

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## The Yap conflict—Kubary's eyewitness reports

### X1. Letter to Adolf Bastian of the Berlin Museum, dated Yap 30 August 1885

*Sources: Hamburg South Sea Expedition reports, e.g. Yap, by Müller; HRAF, OR 22, No. 6.*

#### Original in German.

*Am 21. d. M. kam hier an das spanische Transportschiff **St. Quintin**, Kapt. Guil. de España, und am nächsten Tage der **Carriedo**, Kapt. Pinzon, beide mit Soldaten, Gefangenen, Beamten und Material für die Gründung einer Niederlassung beladen. die Insel Yap sollte vorläufig die erste sein un hier der Hauptsitz der Regierung sich befinden. Ein Gouverneur, Don Henrique Caprilez y Ossuna, sweit Priester, eine ganze Ladung Steine für die Kirche und die Gouverneur Wohnung, Reitpferde, Ochsen, Büffel usw. wurden mitgebracht. Anstatt die Insel rasch zu annektieren und die Flagge aufzuhissen, verloren die Spanier 5 wertvolle Tage für die Wahl des Platzes, Landen der Tiere u. dgl., und als sie sich am 26. endlich entschlossen, die Besitzergreifung am folgenden Tage feierlich auszuführen und dazu die hiesigne fremden Residenten einladen, m da erschien um 4-1/2 Nachmittag (des 26ten d. M.) ein Schiff in Sicht, das mit vollen Segeln und Dampf eilte, sich trotz der späten Zeit und Dunkelheit mit Hülfe eines Lotsen in den Hafen wagte, hier etwa um 6-1/2 Uhr den Anker warf, und um 7 Uhr schon erklärte ein gewaltiger Trommelschlag und laute Rufe vom Lande, daß sich etwas Ungewöhnliches ereignete. Es war nichts anderes als — das Aufhissen der deutschen Flagge in Yap und die feierliche Besitzergreifung der Karolinen im Namen des Deutschen Kaisers. Das schmucke Schiff war die **Itis** und der brave Kommandant war der Kapitänleutnant Hofmeier, der seine Aufgabe so energisch, geschickt und präzise ausführte, daß die verblüfften Spanier wie von einem Donner gerührt dalagen. Nicht zufrieden mit der Blamage infolge ihrer eigenen. Dummheit und Nachlässigkeit, befleckten die Spanier sich durch einen erbärmlichen Versuch, durch dreistes Lügen und einen Bubenstreich, die brave Tat des deutschen Kommandanten in Frage zu stellen. Sie zogen nämlich nachts die spanische Flagge auf und wollten diese als Zeichen eines gültigen Besitzergreifens betrachten.*

*Da zwei Flaggen hier nicht wehen könnten, bequemten sich die Spanier, ihre Flagge herunterzuziehen, natürlich gegen die geschehene Tat protestierend. So endete die kurz-*

*dauernde spanische Okkupation der Insel Yap, und es besteht ein deutsches Protektorat über die Karolinen, welches den Inseln und deren Einwohnern zum Segen, den Schöpfern aber zu Ehre und Nutzen gedeihen möge.*

### Translation.

On the 21st of this month [August], the Spanish transport **San Quintin**, Captain Guillermo España, arrived here [at Yap], and on the following day the **Carriedo** [i.e. **Manila**], Captain [Bayo] Pinzón, both carrying convict soldiers, officers, and materiel for founding a colony. Yap is to become the center of their administration. A governor, Don Enrique Capriles y Osuna, two priests, a whole shipload of stones for the church and for the residence of the governor, horses, cows, water buffaloes, etc. were brought in.

Instead of taking possession of the island quickly and raising the flag, the Spanish wasted five valuable days in choosing a place, in landing the animals, and the like, and when, on the 26th [rather 25th], they finally decided to formally occupy the island the next day to invite the foreign residents to the ceremony, a ship appeared at about 4:30 p.m. (on the 26th [sic] of this month), which sped up with full sails and full steam, ventured into the harbor in spite of the late hour and darkness with the aid of a pilot, anchored at about 6:30 p.m. and, at 7 p.m., a lively beating of drums and loud shouts from the land announced that something unusual had occurred. It was, in fact, the raising of the German flag on Yap and the formal occupation of the Carolines in the name of the German Emperor. The smart-looking ship was the **Iltis** and her brave commander was Lieutenant-Commander Hofmeier, who had accomplished his task so energetically, skilfully, and precisely that he left the Spanish dumbfounded. Not satisfied with their disgrace as a result of their own stupidity and carelessness, the Spanish sullied themselves by a miserable attempt to put the gallant deed of the German commander in question through bold lies and a knavish trick; indeed, during the night they raised their own flag and wanted this regarded as proof of legal occupation.

Since two [distinct] flags could not wave here, the Spanish gave in and lowered their flag, protesting, of course, against what had happened. Thus the brief Spanish occupation of Yap came to an end, and a German protectorate was established over the Carolines, which it is hoped will be a blessing for the islands and their inhabitants and will redound to the honor and benefit of its creators.

## X2. Another article attributed to Kubary

*Sources: Article in the Hamburgische Correspondent; Spanish version in the Revista de geografía comercial (31 October 1885).*

[After mentioning the arrival of the two Spanish ships, the article continues:]

Nothing happened until the 25th, but at 5 p.m. of that day, there appeared the gun-boat **Iltis** making directly for the island, and upon seeing the Spanish ships, make haste to come into the harbor; she did so at 6:30, and her commander then landed with a de-

tachment that, at 7 p.m. read the imperial declaration of an act of possession in front of the trading station of Hershheim & Co., Mr. Robertson, agent, declaring that all the islands between the Equator and 11° of latitude north, and between 133° and 164° longitude east were under the German protectorate. This act was immediately made known to the commanders of the Spanish ships.

The officers of the **San Quintín** and **Carriedo** were extraordinarily taken by surprise and they said that it had been their intention to take possession of the Carolines in the name of the crown of Spain, and had planned to do so on the 27th [rather 26th], after installing an altar which they had brought from Manila.

All the European residents declared under oath that, until the 25th, there had been no Spanish flag raised in that neighborhood.

Nevertheless, on the 26th at dawn there was seen a Spanish flag waving at the site selected for the government buildings.

As the Germans refused to recognize such an act, the Spanish took down their flag and reloaded their goats and horses, and the missionaries returned on board.

On the 28th [sic] of August, the **San Quintín** left for Manila to report on what had happened and to receive further instructions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Many passengers of the **San Quintín** wrote articles that were published in the Manila newspapers, but they are confused reports that did not fully agree with the official reports of Licut. Capriles and Cmdr. España.

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**Document 1885Y**

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**Letters to the Governor of the Marianas to inform him about the Caroline question**

*Source: PNA Manila.*

**Y1. Letter dated 8 September 1885****Original text in Spanish.**

*Manila 8 de Setiembre de 1885.*

*Al Gobernador P.M. de Marianas—Reservado.*

*Como no es posible que haya tenido V.S. conocimiento oficial de la actitud en que Alemania se ha colocado con motivo de los desagradables sucesos que han ocurrido en la Isla de Yap (Carolinas) cuando estaban allí fondeado los buques de nuestra Marina de guerra, **San Quintin** y **Manila** con la expedicion y Gobernador que debia establecerse en aquella isla, no por el perfecto derecho de soberania que España tiene sobre aquel Archipiélago, sino por la gestion practicada recientemente por extrangeros é indigenas que en una respetuosa exposicion elevada á este Gobierno General, solicitaban se estableciese en la Isla de Yap, con caracter permanente una Autoridad Española que interviniere y resolviese cuantos asuntos ocurrían constantemente en aquellos lugares y que vivían quedaban sin resolucion ó los que se creía mas fuertes. Pues bien, como iba diciendo, en los momentos precisos en que aquellos deseos estaban ya satisfaciendose, llega el buque de guerra aleman **Itis**, y subrepticamente, y aprovechandose de la oscuridad de la noche, aumentada con un fuerte chubasco de agua que estaba desfogando, baja á tierra, se dirige á la casa de un aleman, arbola la bandera de su nacion, levanta la correspondiente acta y se dirige a bordo del **San Quintin**, y da cuenta á su Comandante del acto que acaba de realizar, que le basta y sobra para declarar, que aquella isla, como todas las Carolinas, quedan desde aquel momento bajo el protectorado de Alemania. El Comandante del **San Quintin** resuelve el conflicto dando orden á la expedicion de recbarcarse y con ella a bordo llega á esta Capital, en la noche del 3, á las 9 de la noche, y da cuenta de lo ocurrido. Ya con antelacion á los sucesos que ligeramente dejo narrado el Gobierno de S.M. habia dirigido telegráficamente acentadas advertencias respeto á la actitud de Alemania con motivo de nuestra legitima ocupacion; pero desgraciadamente noticias tan graves, no llegaron á coconocimientos*

*de los expedicionarios a pesar de los medios empleados para conseguirlo por este Gobierno General y ha surgido lo que a toda costa debia haberse evitado. Empero realizado el acto de Alemania la cuestion se presenta revestida de sucesos y mas graves caracteres, siendo imposible preveer el alcance ó desarrollo que adquirirá. De todos modos la prudencia aconseja estar muy sobre aviso y en este encargo á V.S. tome cuantas medidas y precauciones le sugiera su buen celo y patriotismo, pero sin producir alarmas, ni sospechas temerarias. Con serenidad y sangre fría, y la tranquilidad de conciencia del que obre con justicia y perfecto derecho, dicte V.S. las providencias convenientes, para poner á cubierto esas islas de un golpe de mano que pudiera intentar Alemania. Como el aislamiento en que V.S. vive, alejado por lo tanto del curso que siguen los acontecimientos que dejo consignados exigirá V.S. un tacto esquisito, para sostener las relaciones á que dieran ocasion la presencia en esas aguas de buques de guerra alemanes y en la dificultad de prescribir á V.S. este Gobierno General una regla de conducta, se limitará mientras otra cosa no se resuelva, á prescribirle que reciba con digna cortesia á los Jefes y Oficiales de la mencionada nacion que ahí arriben, pero guardando prudente reserva, y pronto siempre á repeler con la fuerza, actos de reconocida hostilidad que intentasen realizar.*

*A la vuelta del Correo me dará V.S. detallada cuenta de las medidas que piense adoptar, así como de los recursos con que cuente y de los que V.S. considere indispensables que se le renitan de esta Capital.*

*Dios guarde, etc.*

### **Translation.**

Manila, 8 September 1885.

To the Governor of the Marianas—Confidential.

As it is not possible for Y.L. to have received official information about the attitude taken by Germany as a result of the disagreeable incidents that occurred at the Island of Yap (Carolines) when two of our warships, the **San Quintin** and the **Manila** were there to install a Governor on that island, not on account of the perfect right of sovereignty that Spain has over that archipelago, but rather on account of the request made recently by the foreigners and natives who, in their respectful presentation to this Government General, solicited the establishment at the Island of Yap a permanent Spanish Authority that would intervene and resolve any questions that constantly occur in those places and that they experienced, which had to be resolved or be decided by the strongest. Well then, as I was saying, at the very moment when such wishes were being satisfied, the German warship **Itis** arrived and, surreptitiously, and taking advantage of the darkness of the night, in addition to a strong rain whower that was breaking out, they landed and went to the house of a German, raised the flag of their country, wrote the corresponding document and went on board the **San Quintin**, and reported said to her Commander the action that they had just carried out, and that it was enough for them to declare that that island, as well as all the Carolines, were from that moment onward under the protectorate of Germany. The Commander of the **San Quintin** re-

solved the conflict by ording the expedition to re-embark and with its members on board he returned to this Capital in the evening of the 3rd at 9 p.m., and reported what happened. In anticipation of the occurrence of the events that I have lightly touched upon, the Government of H.M. had already sent by telegram to warn us of the attitude of Germany toward our legitimate occupation; however, unfortunately, such serious information did not reach the expedition members in spite of the means employed by this Government General to achieve it, and what we had wished to avoid at all costs did happen. However, now that Germany has acted, the question has been made more complicated by events of a more serious character, and it is impossible to predict the outcome or development that it will take. In any case, prudence suggests that we be on our guard and I entrust Y.L. to take whatever measures and precautions that your good zeal and patriotism will suggest to you, but without producing an temerary alarm or suspicions. With serenity and cold blood, and the tranquility of conscience that we are on the side of justice and perfect right, Y.L. may take the appropriate steps to defend those islands from an attack that Germany might attempt. Given the isolation in which Y.L. lives, far away from the theater of operation of the above-mentioned events, Y.L. will need to exercise an exquisite tact in order to maintain the relations that you would be confronted with, should German warships show up in your waters, and given the impossibility of this Government General to prescribe to Y.L. a rule of conduct, it will limit itself, until something else happens, to receive the commanders and officers of the above-named country who might get there, but keeping a prudent reserve, being always ready to repel with force any acts of recognized hostility that they might attempt.

By return of the mail, Y.L. will please give a detailed report of the measures that you plan to adopt, as well as the resources that you can count upon and those that Y.L. thinks indispensable to receive from this Capital.

May God save, etc.

## Y2. Letter dated 14 September 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Manila 14 de Set. de 1885.*

*Al Gobernador P.M. de Marianas.*

*Sucesos posteriores á mi comunicacion de 8 del actual han venido á modificarse sustancialmente el estado de nuestras relaciones con Alemania, habiendose resuelto de comun acuerdo que el conflicto surgido con motivo de la ocupacion de las Carolinas, se resuelva por la vía diplomática. En su consecuencia cesan los fundados temores de hostilidad que había, y ahora solo procede que sin entregarnos á una ciega confianza, se pongan todos los medios para evitar ocasion ú pretextos ó incidentes internacionales y en este sentido, procede que [sic] con el celo y patriotismo [que] le distingue, dicte las disposiciones oportunas, para que en todas las Islas de su Archipiélago, existan constituidas Autoridades locales, que velen por el sostenimiento del orden y conservacion de la integridad del territorio.*

*Dios guarde, etc.*

**Translation.**

Manila, 14 Sept. 1885.

To the Governor of the Marianas.

Events that followed by last letter dated 8th instant, have come to modify substantially our relations with Germany, since it has been agreed with mutual consent that the conflict that arose regarding the occupation of the Carolines be resolved diplomatically. Consequently, the fears of hostility that we had are over, and now, without adopting a blind confidence, you should take all means to avoid giving an opportunity or pretexts for international incidents, and in this sense, you are to proceed with the zeal and patriotism that distinguish Y.E. and take the timely steps to ensure that there be the proper Authorities established in all the islands of your archipelago, for them to watch over the maintenance of order and the integrity of the territory.

May God keep, etc<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> .Ed. note: The *Itis* had by this time left Manila for Hong Kong on 10 September. The *San Quintin* returned to Yap with coal and food supplies by mid-September.

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## Documents 1885Z

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# The annexation of the Marshall Islands by Germany

## Z1. The story published in England

*Source: Nautical Magazine 55 (1886): 389-397.*

### **The colonial expansion of Germany.**

In her lately developed spirit of territorial expansion in eastern seas, Germany has quickly followed up her failures and disappointments in regard to the possession of Yap by a series of very certain successes in the same neighbourhood; and, during the latter months of last year, she effectually established her authority and protecting influence over a whole archipelago, and particularly over half-a-dozen islands known to geographers as forming the principal part of the Marshall group, in the centre of the Pacific Sea.

These very diminutive scraps of territory, like others which Germany has annexed in the locality of New Guinea, were either known to, or discovered by, the explorers of other European nations before the Maritime States of Germany were anything more than an abstract idea. The Marshall and the Gilbert groups were examined by British navigators, and discarded by them centuries before the German Empire was born. But neither on that trifling account, nor upon any oother, will Englishmen grudge to their neighbours across the North Sea any of their newly-acquired possessions. We British have so many island possessions and such extensive dominion in the East that we can well afford to be generous to our less favoured but enterprising and determined neighbours. Whatever certain news papers may say about the high-handed practices of Germany in seeking to lay down the foundation of a colonial Empire, Englishmen of generous impulse will not be such mangerous dogs as to trouble themselves for a moment about the late petty annexations of their Teutonic friends.

We are well entitled to hope and to expect from the Germans one thing, and that is, that when they have established a longing in every savage breast in these new dominions for the advantages of civilized life, they will still further follow our example of throuing open their trade to all comers; that they will not forget the many privileges and favours they have long enjoyed under the shadow of our protecting and tolerant flag. While, however, we can speak in this way of German annexations, it must be con-



fessed that there are great numbers of our countrymen who do not like the course Germany is pursuing in changing the names of the lands she annexes. In France, and in Spain also, this course has been freely deprecated.

...  
In the annexation or protectorate of this group, the following facts may be of interest to English readers:—

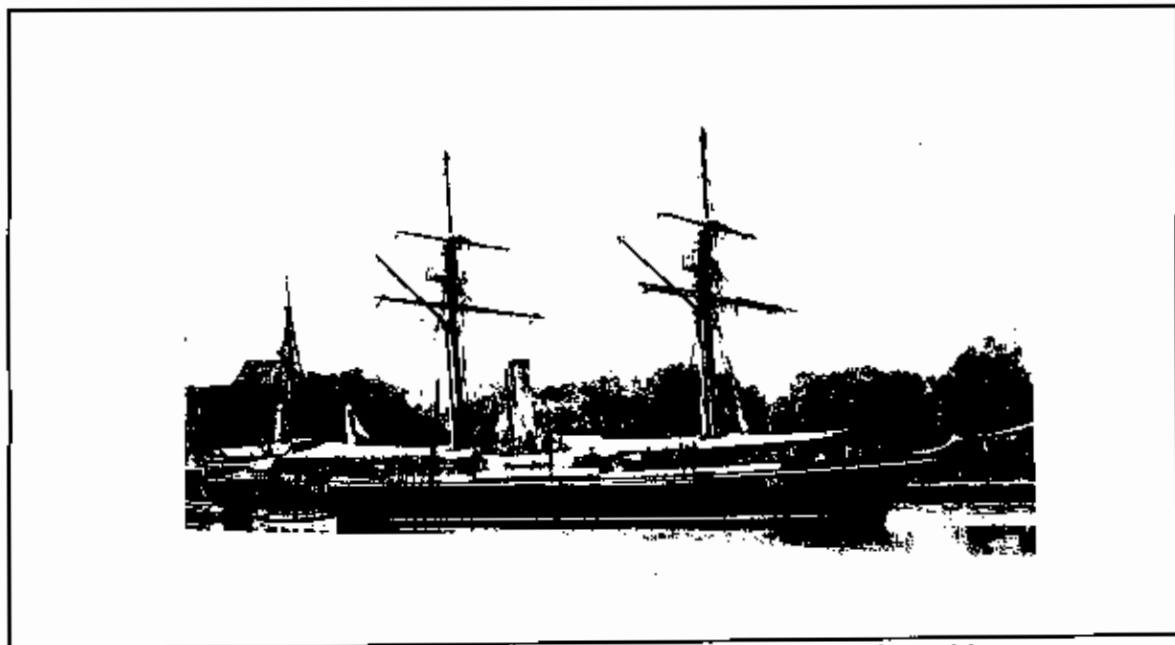
On the 10th of last September, the German gunboat **Nautilus** then in Yokohama received telegraphic instructions to proceed to sea with as much dispatch as possible under sealed orders. After taking in coal and the necessary stores and provisions, she left Yokohama on the 13th and proceeded under steam at a moderate speed to the southward.

On the 13th of October the gunboat arrived at the islands, and made for Jaluit the residence of the King. This principal island is described as being twenty miles long and eight broad, with a population of 1,000 people. On it are two factories belonging to German firms in Hamburg, and another to a British company in New Zealand.

The head of one of the German firms, Mr. Hemsheim, is the German Consul. Kabua, the King, is quite black like all his countrymen, but is intelligent, somewhat civilised from contact with European traders residing in the island, and about forty years of age.

His usual dress is naval officer's uniform, to the extent of a coat and hat, but on grand occasions he wears a dress suit, this being an annual present, amongst other things. He is acquainted with a little German and English.

The orders of the **Nautilus** were to proceed to this group, and to declare a protectorate over all the chief islands. On the 14th October preparations were duly made to carry out the imperial orders.



**Gunboat Nautilus, Captain Rötger (From Hildebrand et al.)**

On that day, Mr. HERNSHEIM, as Consular Agent, invited the King and some chiefs who happened to be paying him a visit, to repair on board the **Nautilus**, and visit her commander. The invitation was gladly accepted, the King wearing his naval uniform, and the chiefs their European clothing made up in Germany and exported for sale. These clothes had been presented to them for the occasion.

They were sumptuously entertained, were delighted with the ship, and on leaving were saluted with twenty-one guns. The captain and some of his principal officers returned the visit in the afternoon accompanied by Mr. HERNSHEIM as interpreter. They were received in the King's house which is simply a wooden structure of the coarsest kind, although not badly furnished, with many articles of European origin, such as wooden clocks, chains, tables, and ornaments, curtains, &c., &c.

The King was here informed of the nature of this visit of the **Nautilus**, and, as he had been prepared for the same during the previous twelve months had even, it is alleged, requested it of Mr. HERNSHEIM; he did, along with his chiefs, readily assent to Captain RÖTGER's proposals. They were accordingly requested to be present down on the beach near Mr. HERNSHEIM's factory on the following day, October 15th. In the afternoon of that day, at about 4 p.m., the party from the **Nautilus** landed in three boats, headed by a band and flanked by thirty seamen under arms; they marched to the Consular premises and there met KABUA, his chiefs, and assembled people. Presents were now distributed to the King and chiefs, consisting of various trifles purchased at Yokohama, in the shape of knives and forks, pocket knives, spoons, clocks, watches, and musical boxes. To each chief was also given a dress suit and patent leather boots; the King getting, of course, the lion's share. Such a profusion of gifts took all by surprise. In one sense it was the value of the islands appraised by Europeans, although not understood in that light by the dark-skinned actors. The documents having reference to the protectorate were now produced. The terms were that all the islands of the group should be under the immediate and separate protection of Germany, and that neither the King, his chiefs, nor people were, on any pretence whatever, to enter into negotiations with any other powers who might subsequently visit them. The treaty was written in German and also in the language of the islands, which, for this purpose, had been Romanised, there being no written native language.

The treaty was now signed by KABUA, and then by each chief present; afterwards by Mr. HERNSHEIM, Captain RÖTGER, and his officers. This business having been disposed of, and a still greater number of people assembled, including some other Europeans living on the island as traders, the German Imperial flag was pulled up to the flag-staff, the seamen presenting arms, the band playing the National Anthem, and the multitude cheering for Kaiser William. The commander of the **Nautilus** now explained the nature of his mission to the islanders, and his remarks, all very brief, were translated to the people by an Englishman present, who is also a trader on the islands and speaks the language.

The little gunboat now took up the running, and with her heaviest guns fired a salute from her anchorage and returned the cheers of the natives.

On the 17th the vessel left to visit other islands which had not been represented at the above ceremony. She arrived at Mili on the morning of the 18th, and went through much the same proceedings, always setting up a flag-staff, hoisting the national flag, and firing salutes.

On the 21st she left for Majuro, arriving in the evening of that day. The chiefs came on board the following morning, signed the treaty, received presents, took away a German flag, and sent return presents of pigs, fowls, and fruit. On the island there is an agency of the British firm mentioned above. Various other islands were visited and annexed. The Germans have a coal station on Jaluit, and the **Nautilus** now, finding her bunkers getting low, determined to retrace her course to that rendezvous. This she accordingly did before proceeding to Ebon, one of the most outlying of the group. Having replenished her bunkers she started for Ebon, taking with her a chief and several native missionaries. This island it appears is the principal missionary rendezvous, and was occupied by three Americans from Boston a few years ago, who are mentioned above. Arriving at the island on the 31st October, the chiefs were invited on board, and after the usual presents had been distributed, the treaty was signed and the annexation or protectorate of the Marshall islands considered as accomplished. The **Nautilus** now returned to Jaluit where more civilities were exchanged with the king, and where also a week was passed in preparing for the return voyage to Japan.

During this week the officers and crew saw more of the habits of the natives than they had done at any previous time. Amongst various entertainments, they witnessed one of the great national dances in which the king and his chiefs assisted. The second or third day of the ship's stay amongst these hospitable people, it was intimated to the king that they would be glad to witness other dances but those of war, which had not been considered so edifying to the Germans as they had been led to expect. Accordingly, Kabua gave orders that a ladies' entertainment should be given, such as is customary on high days and holidays. At 10 in the morning some two hundred young women assembled on the ground near the Consulate, all furnished with pieces of wood in their hands, after the manner of castanets. They were dressed in the national short petticoat of palm leaf matting reaching to the knees. From the waist upward no covering whatever. Their black and glossy hair long and flowing, and their necks adorned with the pretty yellow flowers which are used exactly in the same way by the Sandwich islanders.

These women, all young, faced each other in two rows and squatted on the ground. The space between them was covered with matting. Upon this matting soon assembled women of mature age, each one bearing the native drum, which is a small affair made of fish skin. At a given signal from the M.C. the drums began beating, and the younger women shrieking and beating their castanets, accompanied by such unmelodious vocal strains from the whole assemblage as generally to satisfy the German visitors. The physique of the women is described as perfect, their well-formed limbs and bodies showing to much advantage in the dances then witnessed. Coconut oil is used to anoint the body, and bathing in the sea freely indulged in.

The **Nautilus** finally left the group on the 7th November for Japan, intending to call at the various scattered islands which sprinkle the sea between there and Bonin in 27° N., but the weather setting in somewhat stormy as she progressed northward, and her bunker space not being very large, this idea was given up and a course was shaped direct for Japan.

Those which her course took her near, presented no alluring features of any kind. They appeared to be barren both of verdure and of population, and had no natural harbours. On the 28th November the **Nautilus** arrived in Yokohama, and reported to the German authorities the successful termination of her mission.

## Z2. The story published in Germany

*Source: Anonymous. "Kolonialpolitische Vorgänge: Deutsche Besitzergreifung der Marshall-Inseln" in Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, II (1885): 759-750.*

S.M.S. **Nautilus**, commanded by Commander Rötger, on 15 October [1885], raised the German flag at Jaluit (Marshall Islands). Agreements were concluded with all of the most important chiefs of the Marshall Islands and the German flag was raised at all of the most important places of the island group.

As early as 29 November 1878, the commander of the German warship **Ariadne** had concluded a contract with the head chiefs of Jaluit, named Kabua and Letabalin, according to whose terms the harbor of Jaluit was assigned to Germany as a coaling station, with the condition that no other nation could be granted these or similar rights. At that time Jaluit received a black-white-red-white-black flag. Jaluit is the most important island of the Marshall Archipelago... which consists of about 35 islands with a total area of about 400 square kilometers. Jaluit, at the south end of the Ratak Chain, is 90 sq. km. in area and is inhabited by 1,000 persons. The Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft of the South Sea Islands, with headquarters in Hamburg, has established settlements and trading stations for the procurement of copra on Ebon, Jaluit, Kili, Namorik, Mili, Arno, Majuro, Maloelap, and Bikar. The firm of Hernalshausen and Co. has a total of seven trading stations owning their own land on Ebon, Namorik, Majuro, Arno, Mili; the main station of the firm is located on Jaluit. There this company also operates a coaling station and Jaluit is the seat of Eduard Hernalshausen's present administrative German consulate. Of a total production of about 2,400 tons of copra, the two German firms receive about equal portions of about 1,100 tons; 300 tons go to the English firm of Henderson and MacFarlane.

In the year 1883 a total of 67 ships entered the harbor of Jaluit. Of these, 39 were German, 3 English, 7 American, 1 French, 1 Danish, 5 Hawaiian, and 11 flew the flag of Jaluit. Apart from the German and English firms already mentioned there are also an American company and an Hawaiian company on Jaluit, as well as a North American consular agent and an Hawaiian consulate. The latter was established because in former times Hawaiian labor-recruiting ships maintained a kind of depot at Jaluit. The

workers were brought here and assembled from neighboring island groups, like the Kingsmill Islands, by means of smaller vessels. Larger vessels then transported them to Honolulu.

Missionary work in the Marshall Islands is in the hands of the Boston Mission Society, which has its headquarters in Boston and Honolulu. Once or twice a year the steamer **Morning Star** visits all [sic] the islands of the group. The Society has mission stations on all [sic] the islands of the group; these are not operated by whites but by native Hawaiian missionaries.

### Z3. The hydrography report of SMS Nautilus

*Source: Articles in Annalen der Hydrographie 14 (1886): 161-159, 196-207.*

#### Synopsis of Commander Rötger's report.

This is a report on navigation matters, most about hydrography and meteorology. Firstly, there is a navigation report of the islands visited in the Marshall group.

The **SMS Nautilus** left Jaluit by the SW Passage, on 17 October 1885, (after the declaration of protectorate over the Marshall Islands, and arrived at Mili Atoll where she anchored at Port Rhin, on 18 December. On the 19th, she headed for Arno Atoll. There is a discussion of data from previous ship reports, notably those provided earlier by **SMS Habicht** in 1882. On 21 October, they arrived at Majuro Atoll, where they anchored near the trading station of Hensheim & Co. off Jeridy Island. After passing by Aur, they arrived at Maloelap Atoll on 24 October, and anchored at Torua Island. The next day they visited Aur where they stopped at Tabal Island. Next they sailed to Likiep Atoll where they arrived on the 26th, where they saw the U.S. flag waving at the trading station of Capelle & Ingalls. After leaving Likiep, they went southward to Ebon Atoll where they arrived on the 30th, anchoring at Ebon Island proper. On 31 October, they were back at Jaluit. Next they made their way back to Yokohama, visiting the Brown Group, i.e. Eniwetok Atoll, along the way.

There follow technical reports on wind and weather, currents, barometer and thermometer readings,

The second part of Commander Rötger's report is a "social report" about the Marshallese: "the land and the people." He mentions the names of the chiefs of the various islands in 1885, the trade in copra, the native missionaries, the food plants of the natives, rates of pay for hiring local workers, the importance of tobacco as a trade article, the children, native religion, dances, canoes and the stick charts for their navigation, fishing methods, diseases including syphilis. The missionaries were teaching some Marshallese how to write. The money in circulation was the U.S. dollar and the English schilling. Other subject matters discussed were the population, the political situation between chiefs and their mini-wars, etc. Finally, there is a report on the success of the missionary work among the islanders.

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## Documents 1885AA

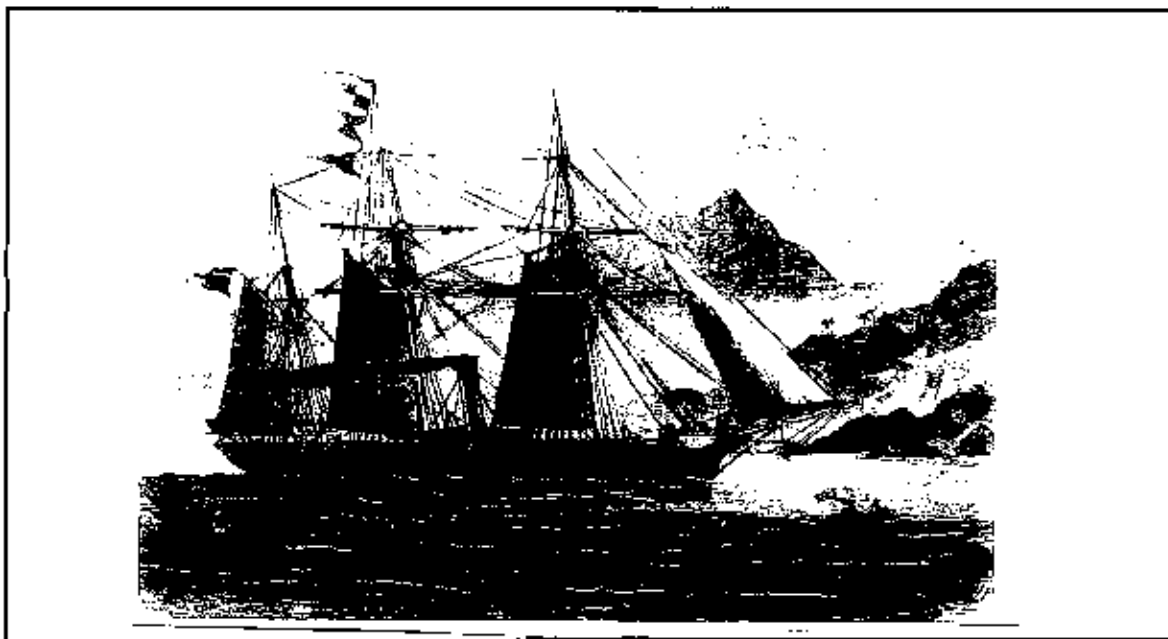
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### The occupation of Palau by German ships

*Sources: PNA Manila; AFN 5856.*

*Notes: German texts were revised and translated by Roland Hanewald and Karl Wionzek.*

*The gunboat Itis visited Palau in August, before going to Yap. The cruiser Albatross visited Palau in September. The Albatross, launched at Danzig in 1871, had a capacity of 786 tons and carried 103 men. From November 1883 to November 1885 she was commanded by Corvette-Capt. [Commander] Max Plüddemann.*



**SMS Albatross, Captain Plüddemann. (From Hildebrand et al.)**

### AA1. Report of Commander José Cano, dated 18 November 1885

*Sources: As mentioned above; copy of this document partly reproduced in S. Marengo's book entitled: La Ficción y la verdad de lo ocurrido en Yap—Reseña histórica con las instrucciones y documentos oficiales (Madrid, El Globo, 1886).*

**Letter N° 124, dated Manila 9 December 1885.****Original text in Spanish.***N° 124.**Exmo. Sor.*

*N° 4. Enviando copia de las comunicaciones a que ha dado origen las comunicaciones del Comandante del Marques del Duero sobre incidentes ocurridos en Yap.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Excmo. Sor. Comandante General de Marina en comunicacion de 4 del actual, y cuya copia es adjunta, traslada la que á aquella Autoridad dirige desde Yap el Comandante del Aviso **Marques del Duero**, dando cuenta de las noticias que le facilitó el Súb-dito Yngles [sic] Mr. David D. OKeef, residente en dicho punto, respecto á la forma y manera con que los Alemanes, tomaron posesion de las Yslas de Palaos, y de cuyo hecho he tenido el honor de dar cuenta á V.E. por la via telegráfica.*

*Dada la gravedad de la noticia, inmediatamente espresé al Exmo. Sor. Comandante General de Marina, la conveniencia de que el Aviso **Marques del Duero**, se trasladase á Palaos, para que su Comandante prosiguiese las averiguaciones que habian ya instruido en Yap, en la forma que espresa la copia n° 2, que fu<130> contestada en los términos que señala la marcada con el n° 3. En vista de esta comunicacion se autorizó á la Comandancia General de Marina para que el Crucero **Velasco** saliese á desempeñar la comision de que me ocupo. Con fecha 6 del actual, aquella dependencia me dá traslado del oficio que le dirige el Comandante del referido Crucero, y que remito en copia que fué contestada del modo que espresa la n° 5. Por último, la Comandancia General de Marina vuelve á dirigirme la comunicacion, cuya copia vá señalada con el n° 6, que fué contestada en los términos que indica la número 7.*

*Lamentable es, Exmo. Sor., que la falta de buques, y las condiciones de la navegacion, y sobre todo la carencia de depósito de Carbon, hayan sido constantemente un obstáculo, para que las comunicaciones con Carolinas, no se hayan efectuado con la rapidez que las circunstancias exigian. Y es tanto mas lamentable, cuanto que de haberse podido cumplir oportunamente las órdenes de este Gobierno General, tal vez hubiera habido ocasion para adelantarnos á los Alemanes en la ocupacion de las Yslas Palaos. De todos modos, en estos momentos, y dada la marcha, que deben seguir las negociaciones diplomáticas entabladas, quizá poco podrían modificar su curso, las averiguaciones que muy tarde han empezado á instruirse en Yap. Pero de todos modos, y si la declaracion del Súb-dito Yngles Mr. O'Keef, llega á comprobarse, es indudable, que el acto realizado por Alemania, en aquellas islas, ha revestido, si se quiere, mas gravedad, que el efectuado por el Cañonero **Yltis**, en la de Yap.*

*De cualquier manera, y asi que regrese el transporte **Julieta** de Carolinas, tendré el honor de informar á V.E. sobre lo que haya ocurrido.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.**Manila 9 de Diciembre de 1885.**Exmo. Sor.**Emilio Terrero*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Ministro de Ultramar.*

*Comandancia General de Marina—Filipinas.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Comandante del Aviso **Marques del Duero** me oficia desde Yap con fecha 18 ppdo Noviembre, dandome cuenta de no haber ocurrido novedad en aquella Ysla y participandome lo siguiente:*

*“Exmo. Sor.*

*“El dia 10 se presentó abordo con objeto de visitarme el Subdito Ynglés [sic] Mr. Davis D. O’Keef residente en este punto á donde llegó el dia anterior en el Bergantin **Swan** de su propiedad procedente de las Yslas Palaos, me manifestó que segun noticias fidedignas y directas que habia recogido allí[,] el buque de guerra Aleman **Albatross** arribó á aquellas Yslas en los últimos dias de Setiembre tocando en Artingall y Korrer, y que un naturalista llamado J. S. Kobaré [sic], segun cree subdito Ruso, que en el **Albatross** iba de trasporte trató de obligar á los Reyes Arra Klaye y Abbadule de aquellos respectivos puntos para que arriasen las banderas Españolas que tenían izadas y los cuales les habian sido dadas con tal objeto por el crucero **Velasco** en Marzo último, que resistiendo ambos Reyes á cometer el acto, lo efectuó el mismo Kobaré por sí, izando la bandera Alemana y obligandoles luego por la fuerza á firmar un papel que los presentó y que él Kobaré á cometer estos atentados estaba en compañía de algunos oficiales y gente del **Albatross**.*

*“Expuse al Mr. O’Keef si tenia algun inconveniente en darme por escrito y bajo su firma y juramento las noticias que espontaneamente me esponia de palabra, á lo que se prestó gustoso indicandome tambien que su relacion podia ser confirmada por el Capitan Sullivan de la Goleta de su propiedad **Two Boys** y por el practico de la misma Copac, que debian llegar á Yap antes de 3 dias, siendo el último el hermano del rey Abbadule de Korrer, y el que piloteó al **Albatross** en Palaos por lo que precisamente habia presenciado aquellos sucesos.*

*“La importancia y gravedad de estas ocurrencias, me han obligado á formalizar en seguida las declaraciones de Mr. O’Keef y como ninguno de los oficiales que á mis ordenes tengo poseen el idioma Ynglés con la profundidad necesaria para interpretar exactamente hechos de tanta importancia he suplicado al agente en esta Ysla de la Compañía general de Tabacos de Filipinas D. Antonio Olana me sirva como tal interprete á lo que se ha prestado admitiendo el cargo con las formalidades legales. Aunque por la gravedad de estos hechos, no se me oculta lo conveniente que seria abrir sobre ellos una mas amplia informacion en el lugar mismo de la ocurrencia, las precisas instrucciones que de V.E. tengo para permanecer en Yap hasta ser relevado no juzgo me autorizen para trasladarme con tal objeto á aquel grupo de islas en donde ademas sin ningun antecedente oficial de las operaciones que el **Velasco** efectuó en ellas, y sin instrucciones de V.E. me veria en dificil posicion para obrar si como es de suponer resultaban plenamente confirmados los actos espuestos por Mr. O’Keef.*



*He esperado hasta hoy 17 por la tarde la llegada de la Goleta **Two Boys** para obtener las declaraciones de los espresados Sullivan y Copac, pero no habiendo entrado todavia y debiendo salir mañana temprano el Vapor **Castellano** conduciendo la correspondencia para Zamboanga, en donde debe alcanzar al Vapor Correo del Sur, adelante á V.E. la cuenta de esos sucesos, aprovechando esta oportunidad para elevar á sus Superiores manos copia de la declaracion dada por Mr. O'Keef, reservandome la original hasta que obtenidas las otras dos pueda remitir á V.E. todo el espediente completo.*

*A lo que espone en su declaracion Mr. O'Keef, debo agregar que segun el mismo me ha asegurado, hoy por hoy no se iza en Palaos, bandera Alemana de guerra, pues las dos que con tal objeto le fueron entregadas por el **Albatross** á los reyes de Korrer y Artingall, las tienen guardadas resistiendose á cumplir lo que les ordenaron los Alemanes pues aun ellos son subditos del Rey de España D. Alfonso, pero en dos ó tres sitios de dichas Yslas Mr. O'Keef dice que los Alemanes han clavado en arboles unas tablas, de las que vió el mismo una colocada frente á la casa del Rey de Korrer, con la bandera Alemana pintada y con letrero Aleman, que por si no puedo entender por no conocer el idioma pero que su piloto le dijo que espresaba que aquellas islas pertenecian á Alemania.*

*En Yap no hay mas buque de guerra que este Aviso y ademas del Vapor Mercante Español **Castellano** que sale para Zamboanga se encuentran dos buques fondeados el Pailebot Aleman **Montiara** y el bergantin **Swan** Americano que entraron procedentes de Palaos en los últimos dias.*

*El **Castellano** segun manifiesta su Capitan conduce á Zamboanga como pasajero á un extranjero residente en este puerto de nacionalidad Ynglesa y quedan residiendo en Yap el agente y demas personal de la Factoria española de la Compañia general de Tabacos, alojados interinamente en la Casa de Doña Bartola hasta que terminen la construccion de su casa levantada en terreno de esta misma Señora segun me ha dicho.*

*Lo que tengo el honor de elevar al superior conocimiento de V.E.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 4 de Diciembre de 1885.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Luis Bula.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General de estas Yslas.*

**Translation.**

Nº 124. [From Manila to Min. Overseas]

Your Excellency:

Nº 4. Forwarding copies of the communications that have resulted from the communications of the Commander of the Marqués del Duero regarding incidents that have occurred at Yap.

Your Excellency:

His Excellency the Commander General of the Navy, in a communication dated 4th

instant, copy enclosed, forwards what that Authority received from Yap from the Commander of the Advice-boat **Marqués del Duero**, reporting the news that was given to him by the English [sic] subject, Mr. David D. O'Keefe, resident of that place, regarding the form and manner with which the Germans took possession of the Palau Islands, about which event I have already advised Y.E. by telegraphic means.

Given the gravity of the news, I immediately expressed to His Excellency the Commander General of the Navy the convenience of having the Advice-boat **Marqués del Duero** go to Palau, so that her Commander could pursue the investigations that had already been started, in the manner shown in doc. n° 2, which was answered in the terms shown in n° 3. In view of this communication the Commander General of the Navy was authorized to send the cruiser **Velasco** to carry out the mission in question. On the 6th instant, that dependency forwarded to me the letter addressed to it by the Commander of said cruiser, and that enclose and which was answered in the manner shown in n° 5. Finally, the Commander General of the Navy sent me another communication, whose copy, enclosed, is marked n° 6, which was answered in the terms shown in n° 7.

Your Excellency, it is regrettable that the lack of ships, and the conditions of the navigation, but above all, the lack of a coaling station, have always been an obstacle in our communications with the Carolines that could have been met as rapidly as the circumstances demanded. And it is even more regrettable, considering that, if the orders of this Government General had been carried out in a timely fashion, perhaps we would have had the chance of getting there before the Germans could occupy the Palau Islands. In any case, right now, and given the phase reached by the on-going diplomatic negotiations, perhaps little could be modified in the course of the inquiries that are presently taking place in Yap. However, in any case, if the declaration of the English subject, Mr. O'Keefe, is ever proven, there is no doubt that the act carried out by Germany at those Islands, has had more impact, so to speak, than that carried out by the gunboat **Iltis**, in Yap.

In any case, as soon as the transport **Julieta** has returned from the Carolines, I will have the honor to inform Y.E. about what happened.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 9 December 1885.

Excellency.

Emilio Terrero.

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

Commander General of the Navy—Philippines.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Advice-boat **Marqués del Duero** has sent me a letter, dated Yap 18 November last, reporting to me that nothing new has occurred in Yap but telling me the following:

Your Excellency:

On the 10th, the English subject, Mr. David O'Keefe, a resident of this port, presented himself on board for the purpose of paying me a visit. He had returned to this port the day before from Palau aboard his brig, named **Swan**. He told me that, according to trustworthy and direct information that he had picked up there, the German warship **Albatross** arrived at those islands at the end of September, touching at Artingal and Koror, and that a naturalist named Kobaré [Kubary], whom he believes is Russian and was a passenger aboard the **Albatross**, tried to force Arra-Klay and Abba-Thule, kings of those two respective points, to take down the Spanish flags that were flying and that had been given them for the purpose by the cruiser **Velasco** last March; that, when both kings resisted to commit the act, Kubary did so by himself, raising the German flag and then obliging them by force to sign a piece of paper that he presented to them, and that Kubary, upon committing such acts, was in the company of some officers and men from the **Albatross**.

I asked Mr. O'Keefe if he had any objections to give me a written report, a sworn statement signed by him, about the incidents that he had just told me about verbally and spontaneously. He readily agreed, adding that his account could be confirmed by Captain Sullivan of the other ship that he owned, the schooner **Two Boys**, and by Copac [Kobak], the coastal pilot on board her, who was the brother of King Abba-Thule of Koror. Copac had also served as local pilot for the **Albatross** when she was at Palau, and therefore had been an eyewitness of those events. Both men were to arrive at Yap in three days.

The importance and seriousness of these events obliged me to formalize the declarations of Mr. O'Keefe right away, but, since none of the officers under my command knows English well enough to interpret such important events exactly, I begged the agent of the General Philippine Tobacco Co. at these Islands, Mr. Antonio Olona, to please act as interpreter, which job he accepted and he was legally sworn in.

I have waited for the arrival of the schooner **Two Boys** until today, 17 November, in the afternoon to get the declarations of the above-named Sullivan and Copac, but they have not yet arrived and the steamer **Castellano** must leave early tomorrow morning, to take the mail to Zamboanga, where she must meet with the southern mail ship. I therefore anticipate to Y.E. the report of these events, by taking the opportunity to send to your superior hands a copy of the sworn statement of Mr. O'Keefe, while keeping the original until I will be able to get the other two declarations, so as to remit to Y.E. the whole file later on.

Besides what Mr. O'Keefe has expressed in his declaration, I must add that he has also told me that, until this day, the German flag does not fly over Palau, because the two flags that had been given to the kings of Koror and Artingal for that purpose have been kept out of sight, as they refused to comply with the orders of the Germans; in fact, they say that they are subjects of the King of Spain; however, at two or three places in said islands Mr. O'Keefe says that the Germans have nailed to trees some boards, one of which, located in front of the house of the king of Koror, he saw himself; it was a painted German flag with a notice in German upon it, which he himself could not

read, because he does not know the language, but a pilot told him that it said that those islands belonged to Germany.

In Yap there is no other warship than this Advise-boat and, besides the Spanish merchant steamer **Castellano** which is leaving for Zamboanga, there are two other ships anchored: the German packet-boat **Montiara** and the American brig **Swan** that have come in from Palau during the last few days.

The **Castellano**, according to her Captain, is taking a passenger to Zamboanga, an English resident of this port, and his agent remains in Yap, as well as the other personnel of the Spanish trading station of the General Tobacco Company, temporarily lodged in the house of Doña Bartola until the completion of their house, which is being built on land belonging to said Lady, as I have been told.

This is what I have to bring to the superior knowledge of Y. E.

May God save Y. E. for many years.

Manila, 4 December 1885.

Excellency.

Luis Bula.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

[Figure (facing page): **One of the markers representing the German flag** that had been nailed to coconut trees in Palau by the crew of SMS Albatross. The written words, in German, were: "Kaiserlich Deutsches Schutzgebiet" which means "Imperial German Protectorate." The caption, in Spanish, reads: "Fac-simil de las tablas pintadas que existen clavadas en troncos de arboles frente á las casas de los Reyes Abbadule, de Korrer y Arra-Klay, de Artingall, en las Yslas Palaos; colocadas allí por el Cañonero Aleman "Albatross" en Setbre 1885.—Cano - Manuel." This means: "Facsimile of the painted boards nailed to tree trunks in front of the houses of the Kings, Abbadul in Korrer and Arra-Klay in Artingal, in the Palau Islands; placed there by the gunboat **Albatross** in September 1885.—Cano - Manuel."]

## AA2. O'Keefe's report about the actions of the Germans at Palau

### Declaration of Captain O'Keefe, dated Yap 10 November 1885

Original Spanish translation.

*Aviso Marques del Duero—Comandancia*

*Abordo del buque de S.M. Católica Marques del Duero anclado en el Puerto de Tomil Ysla de Yap, Archipiélago de las Carolinas, el diez de Noviembre de mil ochocientos ochenta y cinco.*

*Yo, Mr. David Dean O'Keefe Subdito Británico establecido en la Ysla de Yap, Palaos y en St. David's, habiendo regresado á Yap procedente de Palaos abordo del Bergantin Swan de su propiedad, el 10 de Noviembre 1885 y habiendose presentado, á saludar al Comandante del buque de guerra Español Marques del Duero, fué inter-*

Documento N<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>



Jac-simil de las tablas pintadas, que exist  
clavadas en troncos de arboles frente a las casas  
de los Reyes Abadule, de Korror y Arra-Klay,  
Artingall, en las Islas Palao; colocadas allí por  
el Comodoro Herman "Mattison" en Setiembre 1885.

Claro-Morund

*rogado por dicho Comandante acerca del estado de cosas en Palaos y manifestó espontáneamente lo siguiente:*

*Que según noticias de origen fidedigno, la bandera Española arbolada por el buque de guerra **Velasco** algunos meses antes en Artingall y Korrór y confiada al cuidado y custodia de los reyezuelos Arra Klaye y Abbathule, respectivamente, de aquellas dos localidades, fué arriada en Artingal en los últimos días de Setiembre por J. S. Kobaré, naturalista, quien pertenecía al Buque de guerra Aleman **Albatross**, y quien iba acompañado de algunos oficiales de la dotación del indicado buque, no sin haber hecho antes esfuerzos para obligar á los naturales á que llevarán á cabo el indicado acto, pero reusaron acceder á ello desde el Rey hasta el último de sus subditos, y Kobaré arboló la bandera Alemana, y apoderándose de la mano de Arra-Klaye, le obligó á que tomase una pluma y pusiese una Cruz al pie de algun escrito. El buque de guerra Aleman, ya indicada, dió la vela despues de esto, y se dirigió á Korrór, donde se reprodujó el mismo acto y esta noticia puede quedar confirmada por testigos oculares tales como el Capitán Sullivan de la Goleta **Two Boys** y Copac hermano del Rey Abbathule, quien se hallaba a bordo del buque de guerra Aleman **Albatross** sirviendo de piloto práctico cuando ocurrió lo ya narrado y que ahora se encuentra desempeñando el mismo cargo a bordo de la Goleta **Two Boys** siendo todo lo espuesto la verdad lo juro y firmo en Yap, el día 10 de Noviembre de 1885*

*(firmados) José Cano Manuel*

*David D. O'Keefe*

*Testigo: (firmado) A. Olana.*

*Valga por traduccion fiel y literal del original inglés.*

*Manila Diciembre 5 de 1885.*

*Ramon Blanco.*

### **Re-translation.**

Advise-boat **Marqués del Duero**—Commander's office.

On board His Catholic Majesty's vessel **Marqués del Duero** anchored in the Port of Tomil, Yap Island, Caroline Archipelago, on the 10th of November one thousand eight hundred and eighty five.

I, Mr. David Dean O'Keefe, British Subject established in the island of Yap, Palaos and St. David [Mapia], arriving from Palaos on board the Brig **Swan** of his property on the 10th of November 1885 to Yap and having been to present his respects to the Commander of the Spanish man-of-war **Marqués del Duero**, been questioned [was asked] by the said Commander how were things going in Palau, manifested spontaneously as follows:

That the reports from reliable sources that the Spanish flag hoisted by the Spanish man-of-war **Velasco** some months previous in Artingall and Korrór, left to the care of Arra-Klaye and Abbathule, kings respectively of the said places, was hauled down at Artingall by J. S. Kobaré [Kubary], a naturalist who was on board of the German man-

of-war **Albatross**, and accompanied by some officers of the said vessel on the last days of September after various attempts on their part to press natives for to do it, but they refused from the King down, and Kobaré hoisted the German flag grasping the hand of Arra-Klaye put a pen into it and made him make a cross under some writing. The German man-of-war left then proceeding to Korror where the same things were repeated; and this report can be substantiated by eyewitness certainly as one Capt. Sullivan of the Schooner **Two Boys** and Copac, brother of King Abbathule, who was first on this German man-of-war **Albatross** when things occurred and was first on board the **Two Boys**.

Being all the truth, which I sign voluntarily and I swear, in Yap on the tenth day of November one thousand eight hundred and eighty five.

José Cano Manuel.—David D. O'Keefe.—Witness: A. Olona

### **AA3. Proclamation by the commander of the *Iltis*, dated Koror 23 August 1885**

*PNA (Philippine National Archives) [seal].*

#### **Original text in German.**

*Duplicat*

*Korror den 23 August 1885*

*Palau-Inseln*

*Im Namen der Kaisers Wilhelm I von Deutschland.*

#### ***Proclamation.***

*Auf Allerhöchsten Befehl Seiner Majestät der Kaisers Wilhelm I von Deutschland erkläre ich am heutigen Tage die sämtlichen zur Gruppe der Palau-Inseln gehörigen Inseln als Deutsches Schutzgebiet und heiße zum Zeichen dieses auf der Insel Korror im gleichnamigen Orte in Gegenwart der Königs Aba Thule von Korror die Deutsche Flagge.*

*Hofmeier*

*Kapitän-Lieutenant u. d. Kommandant S.M. Kbt. Iltis.*

[Note added in Spanish:] *Hay un sello que dice: Kaiserliche Marine Commando S.M. Kbt. Iltis.*

*Es copia.*

*José Cano - Manuel*

[Seal:] *Aviso Marqués del Duero—Comandancia.*

#### **Translation.**

Duplicate copy.

Koror, 23 August 1885.

Diplomat

Konstanz, den 23 August 1885  
Haben - Inseln



Im Namen des Kaisers Wilhelm I.  
von Deutschland.

Proclamation

Auf Allerhöchsten Befehl Seiner Majestät des Kaisers  
Wilhelm von Deutschland erkläre ich anheftigen Tage  
die heimlichen Zeit Gruppe der Bataren Inseln gütigen  
Juden als Deutsche Schutzgebiet und besetze zum Zeichen  
dieser auf der Insel Konon im gleichnamigen Ort  
in Gegenwart des Königs selbst von Konon die  
Deutsche Flagge.

J. J. J. J.

Kapitan - Lieutenant ...  
dant ...

Hayun selto que dies - Kononische Marine Kommando  
do ...

Es Copra  
...





Palau Islands.

In the name of Emperor William I of Germany.

### Proclamation.

By the highest order of His Imperial Majesty William I of Germany, I today declare all islands belonging to the Palau Group as a German Protectorate, raising, in token of this, the German flag in the town of Koror on the Island of the same name, in the presence of King Abba Thule of Koror.

Hofmeier

Lieutenant-Captain [i.e. Commander] in command of H.M. Gunboat *Iltis*.

[Note added in Spanish:] There is a seal that says: Imperial Navy Command—H.M. Gunboat *Iltis*.

It is a copy.

José Cano - Manuel<sup>1</sup>

[Seal:] Advice boat *Marqués del Duero*—The Commander.

## AA4. Treaty dated Koror 22 September 1885

### Original text in German.

*Zwischen dem deutschen Reiche, vertreten durch den Commandanten S.M. Kreuzer Albatross, Corvetten-Capitain Plüddemann und dem Könige Abbathull von Koror ist am heutigen Tage folgender Vertrag geschlossen worden:*

#### 1

*Seine Majestät der Deutsche Kaiser übernimmt die Oberhoheit und Schutzherrschaft über das Land von Koror und alle unter der Herrschaft des Königs Abbathull stehenden Länder.*

#### 2

*Der König Abbathull, die Häuptlinge und Einwohner der obengenannten Länder sollen, sowohl in diesen Ländern wie überall außerhalb denselben Schutz Seitens des Deutschen Reiches genießen wie alle Deutschen Unterthanen.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Captain Cano visited Palau the following February (see Doc. 1886C).

Handwritten header text, possibly a date or reference number.

Handwritten text, possibly a date or reference number.



Handwritten paragraph starting with a large initial letter, possibly 'J' or 'I', containing several lines of text.

Handwritten paragraph starting with 'Pius', containing several lines of text.

Handwritten paragraph starting with 'Der Pöney', containing several lines of text.

Handwritten paragraph starting with 'Pius', containing several lines of text.

Handwritten paragraph starting with 'Ollan', containing several lines of text.

Die Kaiserliche Regierung hat beschlossen, die  
Verhältnisse der Inseln zu untersuchen und  
sicherzustellen, insbesondere die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea. Die Kaiserliche  
Regierung hat beschlossen, die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

Der Kaiserliche Kommissar der Provinz  
Neu-Guinea hat beschlossen, die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

Der Kaiserliche Kommissar der Provinz  
Neu-Guinea hat beschlossen, die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

Die Kaiserliche Regierung hat beschlossen, die  
Verhältnisse der Inseln zu untersuchen und  
sicherzustellen, insbesondere die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

Die Kaiserliche Regierung hat beschlossen, die  
Verhältnisse der Inseln zu untersuchen und  
sicherzustellen, insbesondere die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

Die Kaiserliche Regierung hat beschlossen, die  
Verhältnisse der Inseln zu untersuchen und  
sicherzustellen, insbesondere die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

Die Kaiserliche Regierung hat beschlossen, die  
Verhältnisse der Inseln zu untersuchen und  
sicherzustellen, insbesondere die Inseln  
zu besuchen, die sich befinden in der  
Provinz Neu-Guinea.

## 3

*Seine Majestät der deutsche Kaiser wird Beamte in das Land schicken, welche in Seinem Namen für Frieden, Ordnung und Gesetz sorgen werden,<sup>1</sup> König Abbathull verpflichtet sich, die Beamten in jeder Beziehung zu unterstützen und dafür zu sorgen, daß seine Unterthanen dasselbe thun.*

## 4

*Allen Deutschen und unter dem Schutze des Deutschen Reiches stehenden Personen soll es gestattet sein, überall wo es ihnen geeignet erscheint, Handel und Gewerbe zu treiben und sich niederzulassen. Der König Abbathull verpflichtet sich, dieselben in ihrer Person und in ihrem Elgenthum zu schützen.*

## 5

*Die Landesflagge der unter der Herrschaft des Königs Abbathull stehenden Länder ist die Deutsche Flagge.*

## 6

*Dieser Vertrag tritt sofort in Kraft vorbehaltlich der Genehmigung durch die Kaiserlich Deutsche Regierung.*

*In Urkunde dessen haben wir hierunter unsere Unterschriften gesetzt.*

*Geschehen zu Korrör den 22ten September 1885.*

*Plüddemann  
Corvetten-Capitain  
Commandant  
S.M. Krzr. Albatross.*

*X X X  
Aybathul [sic]  
König von Korrör*

*J. S. Kubary  
als Zeuge und Dolmetscher*

*Schröder II  
Lieutenant zur See als Zeuge*

*Hay un sello que dice Kaiserliche Marine-Commando S.M. Krzr. Albatross.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: These last two words are probable, as they are hidden in the crease of the original paper.

**Translation.**

On this day the following Treaty has been concluded between the German Empire, represented by Lieutenant-Commander Plüddemann, Commanding Officer H.M. Cruiser Albatross, and King Abbathull of Koror:

1

His Majesty the German Emperor assumes the sovereignty and protectorate over the country of Koror and all lands under the rule of King Abbathull.

2

King Abbathull, the chiefs and residents of said lands shall enjoy the same protection as all German subjects in these lands as well as outside them.

3

His Majesty the German Emperor will send civil servants into that land, who will, in His name, care for peace, law and order. King Abbathull pledges to support the civil servants in every respect and see to it that his subjects will do the same.

4

All Germans and [other] persons under the protection of the German Empire shall be permitted to engage in trade and industry and to settle in any place they deem suitable. King Abbathull pledges to protect their persons and their property.

5

The national flag of the lands under the rule of King Abbathull shall be the German flag.

6

This Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect subject to the approval of the Imperial German Government.

In witness thereof we have set our hand and seal.

Done at Koror on September 22nd, 1885.

Plüddemann  
Lieutenant-Commander  
Commanding Officer, H.M. Cruiser Albatross.

X X X  
Aybathul [sic]  
King of Koror

J. S. Kubary  
as witness and interpreter

Schröder II  
Navy Lieutenant, as witness

[Note added in Spanish:] There is a seal that says: Imperial Navy Command—H.M. Cruiser Albatross.

## AA5. The deposition of Captain Sullivan of the schooner Two Boys

Source: *AHN 5856 (cont'd), n° 135.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Como continuacion á mi carta oficial fecha 9 de Diciembre último, tengo el honor de elevar á V.E. la adjunta copia de la comunicacion que he recibido del Excmo. Sor. Comandante General de Marina de este Apostadero, transcribiendo la que le dirige el Comandante del Aviso **Marques del Duero**, remitiendole copia de la declaracion prestada por el Subdito Britanico Mr. James G. Sullivan, Capitan de la Goleta **Two Boys** acerca de la forma en que los Alemanes tomaron posesion de las Yslas Palaos.*

*Lo que tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. para su superior conocimiento y efectos que estime oportunos.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 4 de Enero de 1886.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Emilio Terrero*

[A] *Excmo. Sor Ministro de Ultramar.*

*Comandancia general de Marina—Filipinas.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*El Sr. Comandante del Aviso **Marques del Duero**, en comunicacion de 14 del actual me dice lo siguiente:*

*"Excmo. Sor.*

*"Como continuacion á mi oficio n° 332 fecha 1° de Noviembre, que remití á V.E. por el Vapor **Castellano**, tengo hoy el honor de participarle que la Goleta **Two Boys**, de Mr. O'Keef entró en Puerto el día 22 procedente de Palaos, que su Capitan Mr. Sullivan vino abordo del **Duero**, al siguiente día, confirmando por su parte los hechos que Mr. O'Keef espuso habian cometido en Palaos los Alemanes del buque de guerra **Albatross**, y de los cuales fué el mismo testigo presencial en Koror, casa del Rey Abba-*

*thule; ofreciendose voluntariamente á exponerlo por escrito bajo su juramento y firma procedí en seguida á formalizar la declaración que en copia acompaño á V.E., reservandome el original hasta que sea cogida la del Practico Copac, quede terminado este expediente. El Copac no pudo venir en este viage por quedar enfermo en Korrór, pero me aseguran llegará dentro de pocos días, en la misma goleta que volvió á salir para aquel grupo el 29 del pasado.*

*Mr. Sullivan me ha asegurado ademas, que en Palaos no se izan hoy mas banderas Alemanes de guerra, que las que aparecen pintadas en las tablas que clavaron en los arboles, asi como tambien que aquellos naturales siguen afirmando ser Españoles, y Súbditos de S.M. el Rey D. Alfonso XII. Que el principal agente de los Alemanes en todos estos sucesos, ha sido Mr. Kobary el cual hacia largo tiempo andaba por estas Islas como naturalista, dedicado á formar colecciones para los museos, por lo que conocia perfectamente á todos los reyes y gefes de los indigenas, hablando ya algo de sus dialectos, y especialmente del de Palaos, que en Marzo cuando el Velasco estuvo en Yap Kubary tambien estaba, que luego en Mayo él lo vió en Hong-Kong, donde eran ya públicos los preparativos para el establecimiento de Autoridades españoles en Yap, y que desde Hong-Hong lo trajo el mismo, á últimos de aquel mes, de pasajero en la goleta **Two Boys** hasta este puerto de Yap; y por último que el referido individuo ahora debe estar por la Isla de Nueva Bretaña; noticias todas que juzgo oportuno trasladar á V.E. por si las considera de algun interes.*

*En la noche del 22 del pasado Noviembre, me pidió urgente auxilio el Capitan del Bergantin Americano **Swan** para reducir al Contramaestre del mismo Walter Scott que en completa insubordinacion habia herido á un individuo del buque y amenazaba la vida del mismo Capitan; mandé mi bote armado con mi oficial que prendió al referido individuo, y por instancia escrita del Capitan y asegurarme no contaba con elementos algunos para vigilarlo, concedi, como auxilio, el que lo trajesen abordo y continuará bajo nuestra custodia.*

### Translation.

Your Excellency.

As a continuation of my official letter dated 9 December last, I have the honor to bring to the attention of Y.E. the communication, enclosed, that I have received from His Excellency the Commander General of the Navy at this Naval Station, transcribing one that he received from the Commander of the Advice-boat **Marqués del Duero**, with a copy of the declaration made by the English subject, Mr. James G. Sullivan, Captain of the schooner **Two Boys** regarding the proceedings of the Germans upon taking possession of the Palau Islands.

This is what I have the honor to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. for your information and timely effects.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 4 January 1886.

Excellency.

Emilio Terrero

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

Commander General of the Navy—Philippines.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Advise-boat **Marqués del Duero**, in a communication dated 14th instant, tells me what follows:

“Your Excellency:

“As a continuation of my letter n° 332 dated 18 November last, which I sent to Y.E. with the steamer **Castellano**, today I have the honor to tell you that Mr. O’Keefe’s schooner **Two Boys** came into this port on the 22nd, coming from Palau, that her Captain, Mr. Sullivan, came on board the **Duero** the next day, and confirmed the facts reported earlier by Mr. O’Keefe, regarding the acts carried out at Palau by the German warship **Albatross**, of which he was an eyewitness when they were at Koror, at the house of King Abbathul. He offered to make a voluntary deposition under oath, so, I proceeded immediately to formalize his declaration, whose copy I enclosed for Y.E., keeping the original until I am able to get the declaration of the Pilot Cobac, to close this case file. Copac was unable to come in this trip, on account of illness, and he remains at Koror, but they tell me that he will soon show up aboard the same schooner that went back to that group on the 29th last.

Mr. Sullivan has also assured me that the German war flags are no longer waving at Palau, except for the boards nailed to the trees, also that the natives there continue to affirm that they are Spanish, and subjects of H.M. King Alfonso XII; that the agent provocateur in all of these incidents was Mr. Kubary, a man who has been around these islands for quite some time, acting as a naturalist, whose work is dedicated to collecting specimens for museums, and that is why he knows perfectly well all the kings and native chiefs, and speaks some of their languages, specially that of Palau; that last March when the **Velasco** was at Yap, Kubary was also there, that he later personally saw him at Hong-Kong, where the preparations for the establishment of Spanish Authorities in Yap were already public knowledge, and that he himself took him from Hong-Kong at the end of said month, as a passenger aboard the schooner **Two Boys**, to this port of Yap; and finally, that said individual is probably now at the Island of New Britain. These are all news that I think timely to forward to Y.E., in case they may be found interesting.

On the evening of the 22nd November last, the Captain of the American brig **Swan** asked for urgent assistance to control the Boatswain of said ship, Walter Scott by name, who was in complete insubordination, having wounded another crew-member and threatening the life of the captain himself. I sent my armed boat with my officer who arrested said individual, and at the written request of the Captain, in which he told me that he had no-one to watch over him, I granted it, and allowed that the man be brought on board and he will remain in our custody...



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## Document 1885AB

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### S.M. S. Albatross visited Chuuk and other Caroline islands in September-October

*Source: Article entitled "Bericht über die reise S. M. Kr. "Albatross" von Matupi durch die Caroline- und Palau-Inseln, zurück nach Matupi und weiter nach Cooktown, und die angestellten hydrographischen und kartographischen Beobachtungen," in Annalen der Hydrographic 14 (1886).*

#### Synopsis of the trip report by Commander Plüddemann

The **Albatross** left the harbor of Matupi [New Britain] on 4 September 1885, passed La Vandola on the 8th, heading northward.

At noon of 12 September 1885, they sighted at Yap, and at 5:30 p.m. anchored in Tomil Harbor.<sup>1</sup>

On 15 September, they headed for Palau, sighting the coast of Babelthuap on the 18th. A mention is made of the recent visit there by H.M.'s Corvette **Iltis**. They first went to Melekeok, anchoring near Korak Island on the 20th.

On 22 September, they made their way to Koror, using steam, with Kobak Ivo, a native, acting as pilot.<sup>2</sup>

Without waiting time, they were on their way back to Yap, by way of Sorol. On the 25th, they were back at Yap, anchoring on the south side of Blelatsch Islet. Included is a new set of sailing directions for entering Tomil Harbor safely.

They left Yap on the 25th, bound to Woleai Atoll, where they arrived on the 30th, anchoring near Raur Island. Soon they were on their way to Chuuk, anchoring near Tsis Island on 4 October (see map).

[Figure (next 2 pages): **Chart of the Chuuk lagoon**, by the officers of the German Cruiser **Albatross**, Commander Plüddemann, October 1885. There is a mention that it is based on a manuscript map drawn earlier by J. S. Kubary, and also notes made by the Russian clipper ship **Naiesdnik** in 1883.]

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1 Ed. note: Although this is not mentioned by Commander Plüddemann, they picked up Kubary here and took him to Palau, to act as their interpreter and facilitator.

2 Ed. note: There is no mention of the political document signed on that day (see Doc. 1885AA).

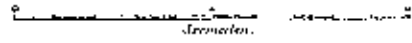
Königl. Stillor Ocean - Karolinen I<sup>o</sup>

# RUK ATOLL (HOGOLU GRUPPE)

Nach Erkognosirungen S.M. Kreuzer, Albatross  
Kommandant Kapr. Kapit. Plüddemann,  
1885.

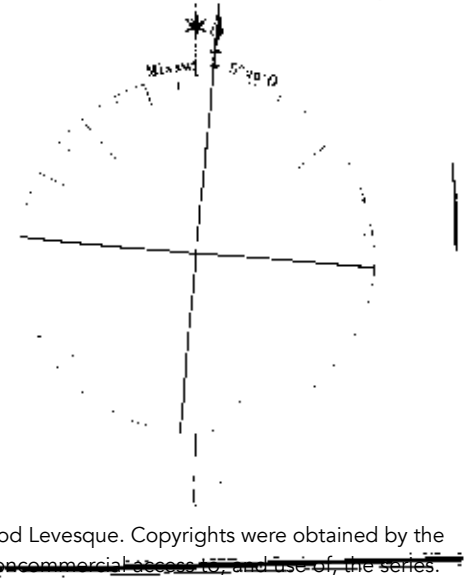
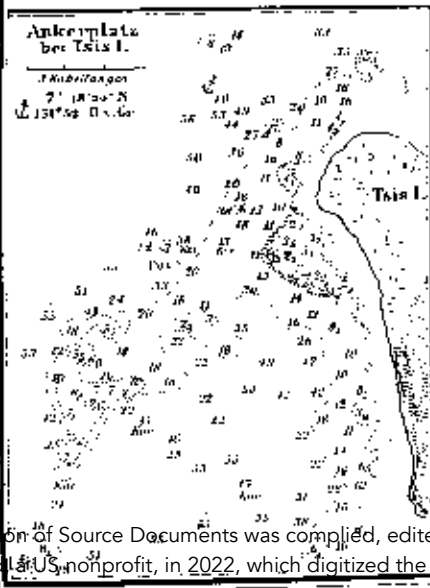
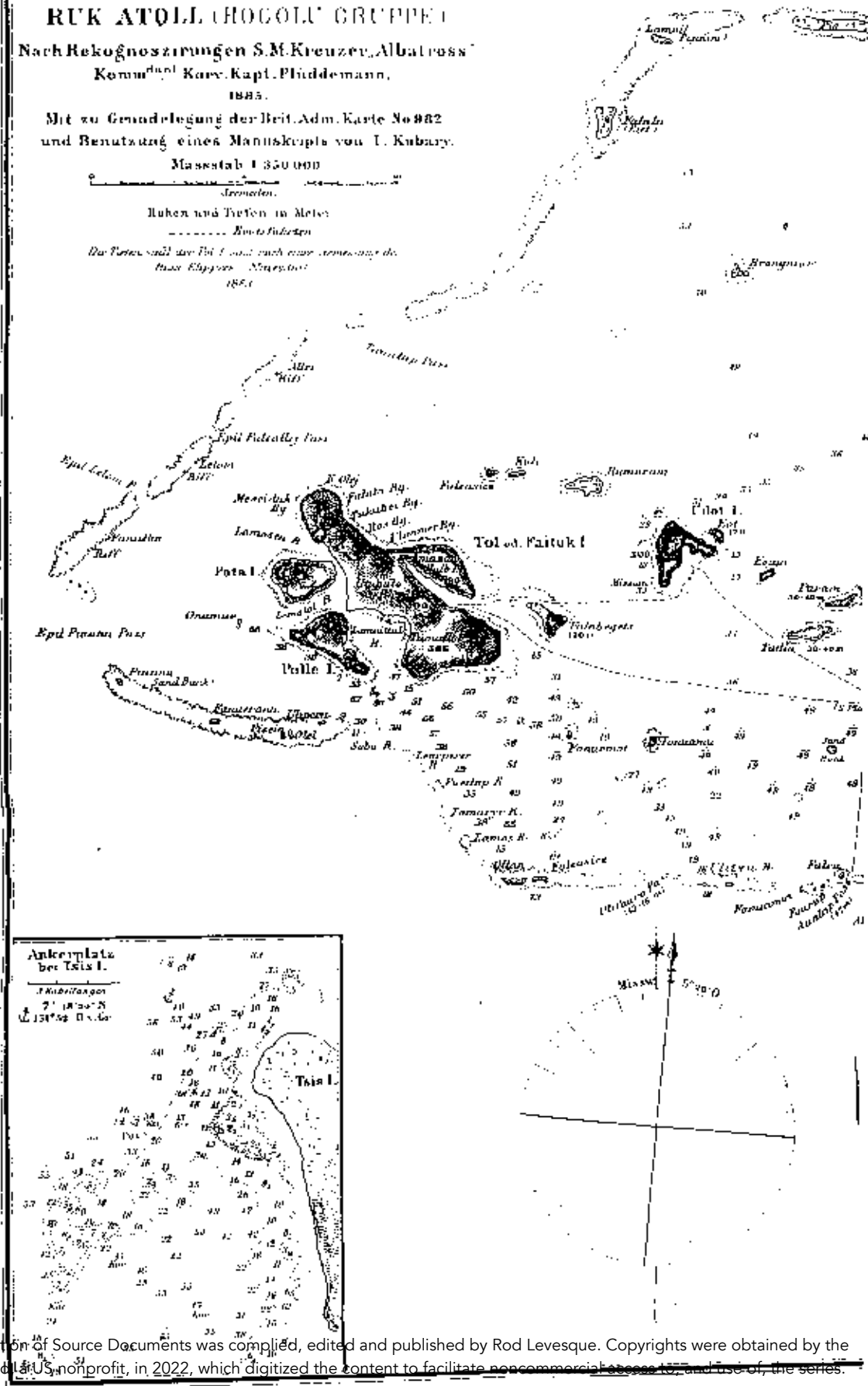
Mit zu Grundlegung der Brit. Adm. Karte No 982  
und Benutzung eines Manuskripts von I. Kubary.

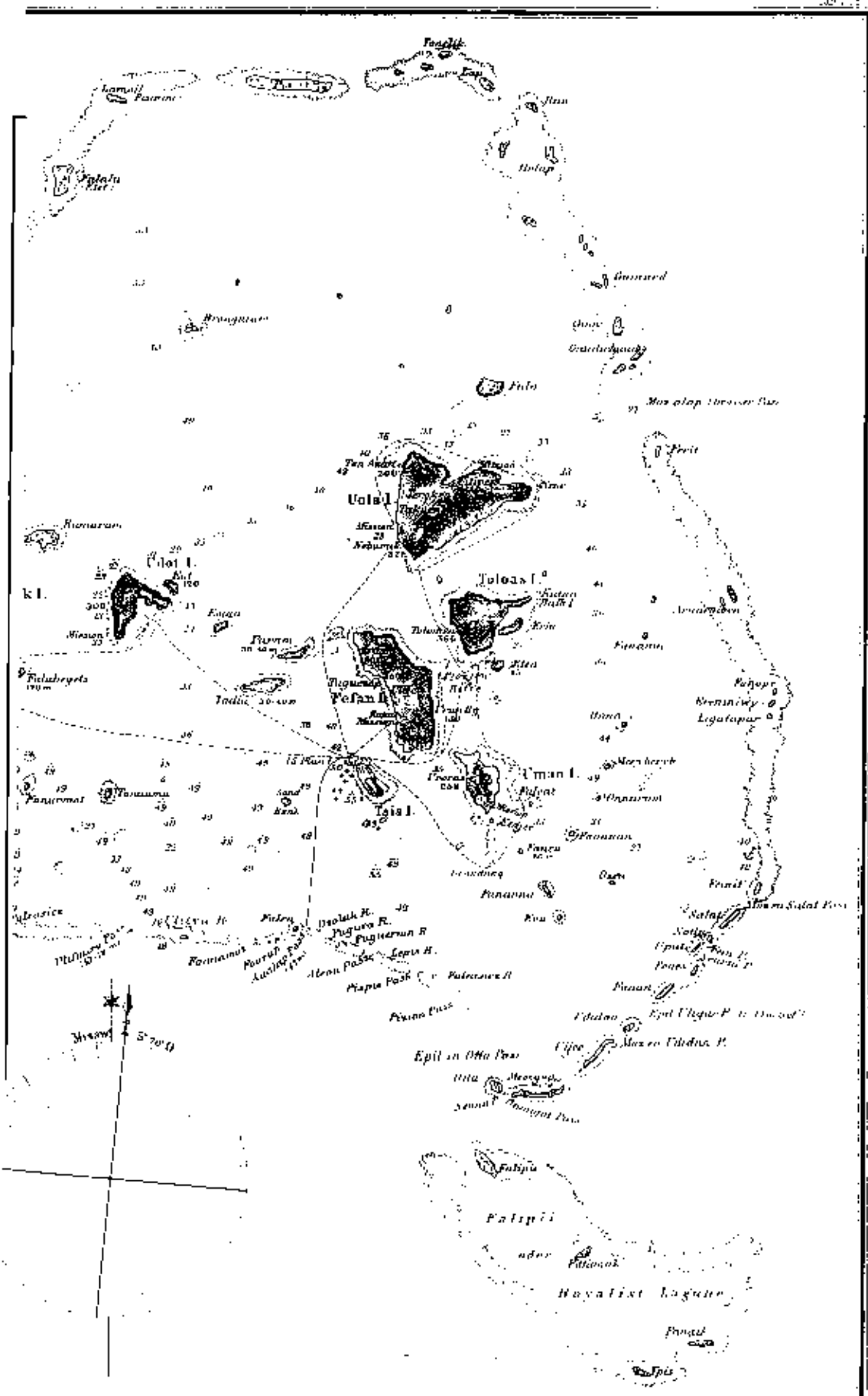
Maassstab 1 : 350 000



Ruhen und Tiefen in Metern  
..... Riffs-Füßchen

Die Tiefen sind der Pol. I. nach einer Vermessung des  
Russ. Klippers "Naryn" 1851.





On 7 October, they left Chuuk for the Mortlocks, where the chart previously made by Kubary was of some use. At noon on the 11th, they anchored in Jamestown Harbor, Pohnpei, near the trading station on Langar Island, in 48 meters of water. The hydrographical notes collected by **SMS Habicht** [in 1881] were verified. Following the advice of Mr. Kubary, they used the Pillapenchocola as a watering place.

On 14 October, they moved to the Metalanim Harbor, using steam. Here there were abundant food supplies (pigs, chickens, fruits, taro and yams). Water could be had in the Pillapletao.

In the morning of 16 October, they departed Pohnpei, heading eastward. The next morning they were on the west coast of Pingelap. Here the major trade article was nigger-head tobacco, with white cotton cloth being second. Other items in demand were mouth organs, fishhooks, and fishing-spears.

At noon on 18 October, they anchored in Lele Harbor, Kosrae. That same night, they were on their way back to Matupi, where they arrived on 28 October.

...



Leitmeritz (Austria)  
19 de Noviembre de 1885

Excmo. Sr. D. Emilio Ferrero

Muy Sr. mio y de mi mayor consideracion  
He tenido la satisfaccion de recibir su  
muy amable carta del 9 del mes pasado,  
con que se ha servido V.E. honrarme  
y crea V.E. que le quedo profundamente  
reconocido por haber colocado mis humil-  
des folletos en la biblioteca del Colegio  
de S. Tomas cuyos dignisimos padres  
han trabajado tan mucho para el cristian-  
ismo y la corona de España. Hoy permito  
me V.E. ofrecerle mi humilde trabajo  
sobre la cuestion de Carolinas, dignese  
V.E. aceptar este tratado, escrito en favor  
de los derechos españoles, como testimo-  
nio de respetuosa consideracion que  
le profesa su mas atento y S.

q. b. s. m.

F. Blumentritt

Letter of F. Blumentritt to Governor General Ferrero.

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## Documents 1885AC

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### Blumentritt's paper on Spanish rights to the Carolines

#### AC1. Letter from Ferdinand Blumentritt to Governor General Terrero, dated Leitmeritz 29 November 1885

*Source: PNA Varios personajes, Book 2, p. 548.*

[Original: See previous page.]

#### Translation.

Leitmoritz (Austria)<sup>1</sup>  
19 November 1885

[To] His Excellency, Don Emilio Terrero:

Your Excellency:

Dear Sir, please accept my deepest regards.

I have had the satisfaction of receiving your very kind letter dated 19th of last month with which Y.E. has been pleased to honor me. I am very grateful to Y.E. for having placed my humble pamphlets in the library of the College of Santo Tomas<sup>2</sup> whose most worthy Fathers have worked so much for Christianity and the Spanish Crown.

Today, let me offer Y.E. my humble paper on the question of the Carolines. May Y.E. accept this treatise, written in favor of Spanish rights, as a proof of my respectful consideration.

Your most attentive and faithful [servant], who kisses the hand of Y.E.,  
F. Blumentritt.

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1 Ed. note: Leitmoritz is now part of the Czech Republic; its name in Czech is spelled Litoměřice.

2 Ed. note: Now called the University of Santo Tomás, still nominally run by Dominican Fathers.

## AC2. Synopsis of Blumentritt's article

*Source: Article entitled "Die spanische Ansprüche auf die Carolinen" in Mittheilungen der Kaiserlichen Königl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien. 1885, Pages 434-444.*

*Note: The original article was accompanied by a map of the Caroline Islands, by Dr. Franz Ritter von Le Monnier, the General Secretary of the Imperial Geographic Society in Vienna.*

Blumentritt mentions the Memoir of Captain Butrón (which had been published a few months earlier in Madrid) and other writings by Chamisso, Father Cantova, Carrasco, Pazos and the Frenchman Gibert [sic]. He then recapitulate the history of the Caroline Islands, starting with Captain Rocha's visit in 1525, Berito [rather Quirós] in 1595, Lezcano [rather Lazcano] in 1686, who discovered Yap and called it Caroline, which was the source of the name for the whole archipelago, then known as New Philippines.

The early Jesuit interest, after the report of Fr. Klein of 1696, led to numerous expeditions and attempts at establishing missions with links with the Marianas. In 1710, Sonsorol was discovered. In 1731, a settlement was established at Ulithi by Fr. Cantova; it had a military detachment. The Carolinians themselves made frequent voyages to the Marianas. The Spanish possessions in the Pacific have been clearly marked as geography textbooks published in Spain; they are mentioned as dependencies of the Government of the Philippines.

The present conflict cannot be considered a discussion between a *de jure* and a *de facto* occupation. Madrid cannot claim the Congo, because there is a prior claim by Portugal. Australia cannot be claimed, because the English were there first, etc.

In early 1885, Butrón had visited the Carolines aboard the **Velasco** to prepare the installation of an effective government. Governor General Terrero, who replaced Jovelar, issued orders to establish said government. On 5 June, a letter from Archbishop Payo to this effect was published in the *Diario de Manila*. The same newspaper published news about this project, which had missionaries and military detachments. The conflict was caused because this military detachment left Cavite in July instead of June...

### Editor's comments.

It is true that the new Governor General delayed the effective occupation of the Carolines, because of his absence from Manila. After taking over the government, he and his Secretary Canga-Argüelles toured the Philippines, going as far as Mindanao. Canga was blamed for this later on, but not Terrero.

Anyhow, the letter of Blumentritt was designed to show Terrero that not all German-speaking persons sided with Bismarck on this issue. He himself later admitted in Parliament that his claim had been a mistake.

After the proposal of the Pope for the settlement of the conflict had been accepted by Bismarck, the Pope wrote him a letter, dated 31 December 1885, to offer his congratulations and making him a Knight of the Order of Christ (to a Protestant, no less). Prince Bismarck answered from Berlin on 13 January 1886 to say that he had never

doubted in the impartiality of the Pope's verdict, and that "the relations between Germany and Spain are such, by their nature, that the peace which reigns between these two countries is not threatened by any permanent divergence of their interests, nor by resentments resulting from the past or from rivalries due to geographic disputes; their normal relations are good and need not be troubled, except by fortuitous causes or by disagreements. It is therefore to be hoped that the peaceful intervention of Your Holiness will have lasting effects..."



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 Documents 1885AD
 

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## Occupation of the Carolines—The aftermath—A tempest in a teapot?

### Letters between Commander Emilio José Butrón and Commander Felipe Canga Argüelles, Secretary of the Governor General

*Source: MN 2011, doc. n° 14.—1885-noviembre-10 a 18-Cavite.—Cartas de D. Emilio José Butrón, comandante del crucero "Velasco" a D. Felipe de Canga Argüelles, sobre el motivo de no haber ido con su buque a Gap [sic] (islas Carolinas) y contestaciones.—Copia mecanografiada. - Fol. 105-116.*

*Note: The order of the letters here were out of sequence, and has been rectified.*

#### Original texts in Spanish.

*Manila 10 Noviembre 1885*

*Sr. D. Emilio Butrón*

*Mi querido amigo y compañero: Acabo de recibir tu favorecida de 8 del actual y en su contestación te diré, que desconozco en absoluto las instrucciones que a ti, como Comandante del Crucero **Velasco**, te haya podido dar el Comandante General del Apostadero. Por lo tanto no comprendo ni me explico el sentido de tu carta, ni lo que en ella me quieres decir, y me causan tal extrañeza tus afirmaciones, cuanto que el General de Marina no ignoraba las que por el Gobierno General se dirigian al P.M. de Carolinas, que son las únicas que yo conozco.*

*A tu clara inteligencia no se ocultará la imposibilidad material en que me encuentro, dado el cargo que desempeño, para dirigir sueltos a los periódicos, tratando asuntos oficiales que me son desconocidos.*

*Do lo cual me deduce que fué una suerte que el **Velasco** no llegara a Jap, y que no fué a dicha isla porque le ordenaron que no fuera.*

*Como la verdad a medias es mas falsa que la misma mentira como en las Colonias la Prensa no dice mas que lo que se le manda que diga[,] yo te ruego que en la forma y modo que mejor te pareciese pongas un suelto que deje a un compañero tuyo en el lugar que le corresponde sin insinuaciones jesuísticas que admiten toda clase de interpretaciones.*

*De tus principios religiosos y de la rectitud de tu conciencia espero así lo harás evitándome a mi el tener que publicar en España un folleto en el que demuestre que estoy resuelto á no ser último mono.*

*Tuyo afectísimo amigo y compañero  
Emilio José Butrón*

*Crucero Velasco—Comandante—Particular  
Cavite - 14 Noviembre 85*

*Sr. Don Felipe Canga Argüelles*

*Mi querido amigo y compañero: Con mucho gusto he recibido tu afectuosa del 10, ella me da tiempo para explicarme con mas claridad.*

*El 15 de Agosto dió el Gobernador General instrucciones a Capriles que llamaremos belicosas y el 16 me dió a mi [el General] Bula las instrucciones cuya copia te acompaño con el n° 1.*

*Yo protesté con fecha 21 en la forma que indica el n° 2.*

*El vapor **Romeo** (portador de esas instrucciones) salió de Manila el 17 de Agosto y llegó á Zamboanga el 19; como yo estaba en Jolo salió para Jolo la **Sirena** y llegó allí el 20 de Agosto, á las 12 de la noche[.] salí yo para la **Isabela de Basilan** (fíjate en el plano y ve si era prudente salir de noche con el **Velasco**). Los días 21, 22, y 23 los empleé bajo una horrorosa calor y trabajando de noche en hacer 220 Toneladas de carbón y 25 sobre la cubierta.*

*El 24 fui á Zamboanga[,] hice rancho para 2 meses y á la una de aquella noche el Teniente de Navío Castaños me entregó la comunicación n° 3, que llevó en el vapor **Don Juan**.—*

*¿Como con fecha 21 de Agosto podía afirmar el General de Marina que Yap estaba en poder de los alemanes cuando la **Iltis** entró en Yap á puesta de sol del 25 ó sea cuatro días después — Misterio para mi incomprensible y quizá clarísimo para ti.*

*Hizo el **Velasco** una avería (el día 20 de Agosto en Jolo) y temo no fué obstáculo para salir yo para Yap que pasó el oficio n° 4.*

*El carbón se ardía y pasó el oficio n° 5 — El n° 6, prueban lo malo del carbón. Estas comunicaciones mías no llegaron a Manila hasta el 26 y la orden de no ir yo a Yap, era del 21. Ahora bien, mi querido Felipe al obrar yo contigo como un amigo y compañero enviándote copia de lo ocurrido á este buque, es con objeto de que la censura no se oponga a que mi amigo D. Baltasar Girendia ponga en el Diario lo siguiente:—*

*“... Segun manifestaste nuestro amigo el Capitán de Fragata Butrón Comandante del **Velasco**, el no haber salido este buque para Carolinas no obedeció como algunos periodicos de Madrid, faltos de datos han insinuado á tenido avería en sus máquina, sino á que hallándose las dos calderas encendidas y listo para emprender viaje á Yap recibió orden para no ir, por no ser allí necesaria su presencia.”*

*Aquí no se nombra ni se lastima a nadie y se dice la verdad.—Si te rogué que pusieras tu el suelto era una prueba de confianza de que lo harías dejando la verdad en su lugar.*

*Mucho me hubiera alegrado de tener contigo una larga conferencia y acaso en ella se hubieran aclarado algunos puntos oscuros, de todos modos te aseguro que sé de muy buena tinta que el General de Marina afirma que **no** sabía que se le daban a Capriles instrucciones belicosas.*

*El Secretario del General de Marina jura y perjura que el General Bula nada sabía, dice mas dice que habiendo preguntado el Ministro de Marina por Telegrafo al General Bula—¿Que instrucciones recibió V.E. del Capitan General? Y que el General de Marina contestó:—“Ninguna.”*

*Te ruego pues: por ser para mi asunto vital que si en decirselo en confianza no tienes inconveniente me asegures si el General Bula recibió dichas instrucciones. Porque si las recibió y sabía que en Yap me esperaban acaso los alemanes y no me habló del asunto ni una palabra indica una maldad tan refinada que no se la perdonaré nunca.*

*Pasé al General Bula una larga y pesada comunicación sobre lo ocurrido en Pujada en los 40 días que allí estuvo el Velasco. En ella le suplicaba que diese traslado al Gobierno Superior Civil y recomendaba a tu amigo el Capitan Don Bartolome García, excelente persona y que trabaja de muy buena fé, yo te ruego que influyas para que les digas algo a esos pobres[,] pues el Sr. Bula ni se ha dignado siquiera acusarme el recibo de esa comunicación.*

*Adios repito que agradezco tu carta y no dudo que la lectura de las comunicaciones cuya copia te envio (poniendo a tu disposición los originales) te harán modificar algunas ideas.*

*Tuyo afectísimo amigo y compañero  
Emilio José Butrón*

*Crucero Velasco—Comandante—Particular  
Cavite - 18 November 85*

*Sr. Don Felipe Canga Argüelles.*

*Mi querido amigo y compañero: Lo que yo llamé misterio es lo siguiente.—*

*Con fecha 21 Agosto (Manila) ordena el Governador General que regresera de ó no vaya a Yap el Crucero V. por “estar Yap en poder de los alemanes.”*

*Como la Iltis no llegó a Yap hasta el 25 es evidente para un ciego que el Gobierno de Madrid fue el que se metió a falso profeta.*

*Tienes mucha razón, los deberes de tu destino te aconsejan prudente reserva y claro está que si el Gobierno Superior ordenó que el V. obrara de la manera seria, energica y patriótica que las circunstancias aconsejaban y el Almirante se limitó a decir al Velasco vaya V. a llevar ese pliego, alguien ha cometido una gran falta pero (no dirás que*

*empleo mal el adverbio) afortunadamente el Velasco no llegó a tiempo - Ni hubiese llegado nunca si el Gobierno Superior ordena con fecha 21 que no vaya a Yap -*

*Acatando [rather atacando?], cual debo la opinión para mi respetabilísima del General, te diré que la defensa entiendo que ha de ser en el mismo terreno y con las mismas armas que el ataque. ¿En qué se opone a los principios militares el que un militar hable con un periodista? ¿Como me he de considerar ofendido porque un periodista botarate use con poca propiedad un adverbio?*

*No quiero que se diga de mi "Picome una araña y ateme una sábana."*

*Bueno fuera que cuando veo a personas llenas de entorchados, cuyos nombres andan rodando por las columnas de los periódicos, llenos de lodo y que sin embargo se quedan tan frescos fuere yo ahora a quejarme .... ¿a quien? ¿en que forma? ¿con que fundamento?*

*No, Felipe, sii yo me considero ofendido ni tengo nada de que defenderme.*

*Algunos Generales y Jefes de Marina (cuya opinión tengo en mucho) están ya enterados por mí de lo enterado al Velasco, nuestros compañeros de cuerpo me juzgan con harta indulgencia y me colocan muy por encima de mis merecimientos, de suerte que mi afán de corregir el adverbio era por puro amor a la verdad, por odio a insinuaciones villanas.*

*Dices "Respecto a las protestas del Secretario de la Comandancia General nada tengo que decirte."*

*Esa frase no la entiendo pues tanto afirma como niega. Yo tengo medios (que emplearé) de saber la verdad verdadera.*

*Tu sobrepones tus deberes de Secretario a todos los afectos y a todas las consideraciones de compañerismo; yo opino enteramente lo contrario, yo anhelo ser 1º cristiano, 2º buen hombre social y por último pero muy último lugar cumplir con los deberes de mi empleo o destino.*

*Puesto que aquí no se puede publicar un suelto tan anodino, bien a mi pesar lo envío (con pruebas) á ciertos hombres políticos que sabran hacer uso de el en su día.*

*Bien sabes lo poco que yo he intervenido en la nebulosa cuestión de Carolinas; mi nombre a decir verdad mas bien ha merecido elogios que censuras de los periodistas y te aseguro que lo siento pues yo opino como aquel sabio de la Grecia que al verse aplaudido por el vulgo preguntó — ¿He dicho alguna necedad?*

*La Comandancia General nada se ha dignado decirme respecto á Pujada, sé por García que se trasladó á la Capitania General la aprovaciñn asi es que si por tu parte no hay inconveniente hare una respetuosa solicitud al E.S. Gobierno Superior civil para hacer constar en mi hoja de Servicios la aprobación superior.*

*Desearé que no se haya aburrido esta fastidiosa correspondencia. Yo he tenido en ella la satisfacción de desvanecer ciertas dudas y de afirmarme en ciertas creencias, agradezco tu atención y se repite tuyo como siempre afectísimo amigo y compañero.*

*Emilio José Butrón*

*Gobierno General de Filipinas—Particular  
18 Noviembre 1885*

*Sr. Don Emilio Butrón*

*Mi querido amigo y compañero: Una rectificación que reclaman los fueros de la verdad. Por el Gobierno General ni de palabra ni por escrito se dijo nunca que el Velasco dejara de ir a Yap. Y como lo había de decir, si hasta el día 30 de Agosto que llegó el correo del Sur, no se supo que aquel buque, permanecía todavía en Zamboanga, ignorando la razón por la cual había dejado de cumplir la orden del Gobierno General, y lo que es Más, oficialmente ignoró hasta hace muy pocos días, la avería que había sufrido el Velasco.*

*Si algún día tienes ocasión de venir a Manila, confidencialmente, te pondré al corriente de algunos detalles, que no son para confiarlo a una carta.*

*Me despide tuyo afectísimo amigo y compañero  
Felipe Canga Argüelles.*

*Crucero Velasco—Comandante—Particular  
Cavite - 20 Noviembre 85*

*Sr. Don Felipe Canga Argüelles*

*Mi querido amigo y compañero: Tan luego como dije a la Comandancia General que acudiría con solicitud al Gobierno General para anotar en mi hoja de Servicios la aprobación de lo hecho en la Bahía de Pujada recibí el traslado. Te ruego que con el mayor respeto hagas presente a dicha Superior Autoridad mi gratitud por las benevolas frases que emplea y a las cuales Marina no ha creído deber añadir nada.*

*Dispensa esta nueva molestia a tu afectísimo amigo y compañero  
Emilio José Butrón.*

*Crucero Velasco—Comandante—Particular  
Cavite 20 Noviembre 85*

*Sr. Don Felipe Canga Argüelles*

*Mi querido amigo: Con mucho gusto he recibido tu grata de 18 (sin firma) y me alegra mucho que me hagas esa advertencia para rectificarla yo pero ¿Como puede nadie concebir que el Almirante le quite a un buque una comisión que le dió el Gobernador General?*

*En el correo del Sur que llegó el 30 de Agosto tuvo noticia el Almirante de que el 20 por la noche había hecho el Velasco una avería que **no era obstáculo para desem-***

*peñar la comisión. Con fecha 21 me ordenó que no fuera Yap ó que regresase por estar dicha isla en poder de los alemanes.*

*Luego la no ida del Velasco nada tuvo que ver con la avería.*

*Haré un esfuerzo para ir a Manila y llevaré conmigo documentos originales, y grande sería mi satisfacción si pudiese presenciar nuestra conferencia (puramente confidencial) el Gobernador General.*

*Tambien te explicaría yo ciertas cosas que no se pueden ni deben escribir. Te agradecería pues que me dijeras las horas fijas o al poco mas o menos en donde te puedo ver.*

*Cuando yo me convenza de que se me enviaba a Yap **vendido** acaso le dé a alguien un disgusto de muy diversa índole que el que con tanta candides ha tratado de darle Capriles.*

*Tuyo afectísimo amigo y compañero.*

*Emilio José Butrón*

[P.S.]

*Esta mañana te puse 2 letras para darle gracias al General.*

## Translation.

Manila, 10 November 1885/

[To] Mr. Emilio Butrón.

Dear friend and comrade,

I have just received your favor dated 8th instant and in answering it I will tell you that I absolutely ignore the instructions that were given to you, as Commander of the cruiser **Velasco**, by the Commander General of the Naval Station. Therefore, I do not understand nor find an explanation for your letter, nor what you mean. Your statements caused me a great deal of surprise, although the Navy General knew about the letters that the Governor General sent to the Politico-Military Governor of the Carolines<sup>1</sup> and they are the only ones that I know about.

I will not hide from you clear intelligence that the physical situation in which I find myself. It is impossible for me, given the post that I occupy, to send communiqués to the newspapers about official matters that I do know about.

This said, I think it was a question of chance that the **Velasco** did not reach Yap, and that she did not go to said island because orders were given for her not to go.

As half-truths are more false than bare lies, and as the press in the colonies does not publish more than what they are told to publish, I beg you to write, in the manner that seems best to you, a communiqué that leaves one of your comrades in the place that belongs to him, without Jesuitical insinuations that might admit all types of interpretations.

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1 Ed. note: Navy Licut. Enrique Capriles.

From your religious convictions and from the rectitude of your conscience, I hope that you will do so, in order to prevent me from publishing a communiqué in Spain in which I would demonstrate that I am not willing to be the scape-goat.

Your most affectionate friend and comrade,  
Emilio José Butrón

Cruiser Velasco—Commander—Personal.  
Cavite, 14 November 1885.

Mr. Felipe Canga Argüelles.

My dear friend and comrade,

I have received your kind letter of the 10th instant. It gives me an opportunity to explain myself with greater clarity.

On 15 August, the Governor General gave instructions to [Lieut.] Capriles that, let us say, were bellicose and on the 16th [General] Bula gave me instructions whose copy I enclose as Exhibit n° 1.

On the 21st, I protested in the manner indicated, see n° 2.

The steamer **Romeo** (the carrier of these instructions) left Manila on 17 August and arrived at Zamboanga on the 19th; as I was in Jolo [Sulu] the **Sirena** left for Jolo and arrived there on 20 August, at midnight. I left for Isabela on Basilan [Island] (have a look on the chart and see if it was prudent to leave at night with the **Velasco**). On the 21, 22 and 23, I was busy, under a very hot climate and working at night, taking 220 tons of coal, and 25 [of which] on the deck.

On the 24th, I went to Zamboanga where I took on food supplies for 2 months and at 1 a.m. that same night Lieutenant Castaños delivered to me the letter (n° 3) that had arrived aboard the steamer **Don Juan**.—

How is it possible for the General of the Navy to say that Yap was occupied by the Germans when the **Iltis** arrived at Yap [only] at sunset of the 25th, that is, four days after? Mystery that is incomprehensible to me but perhaps is very clear to you.<sup>1</sup>

The **Velasco** had some damage (on the 20th of August in Jolo) but that was not the reason for me not to go to Yap (see n° 4).

The coal was blazing and I sent a report about it (n° 5). It and n° 6 are proofs that the coal was bad. Such reports of mine did not reach Manila until the 26th and the order for me not to go to Yap was dated the 21st. Now then, Felipe, my friend and work companion, I send you copies of what happened to this ship to make sure that there will not be any censure against my friend Balthazar Girendia could publish in the *Diaria [de Manila]*, as follows:

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1 Ed. note: Since the **Iltis** had visited Palau before Yap, perhaps the error had been to say Yap, instead of Palau.

"... As communicated by our friend, Commander Butrón of the **Velasco**, this ship did not go to the Carolines as a result of a breakdown in her engine, as the newspapers in Madrid have indinuated for lack of information, but because she received an order not to go to Yap, because her presence there was not needed."

Here no-one is mentioned by name, no-one is blamed, but the truth avails.—If I begged you to write the communiqué instead, it was a proof of trust on my part that you would re-establish the truth.

I would have liked very much to have a long conversation with you and perhaps a few obscure points might have been made clear at that time. Anyway, I assure you that I have learned from a good source that the Navy General asserts that he did **not** know that Capriles was given bellicose instructions.

The Secretary of the Navy General swears that General Bula knew nothing; he also says that, when the Minister of the Navy asked General Bula by telegraph, "What instructions did you receive from the Captain General?" the Navy General answered, "Nothing."

I beg you therefore, as this is a vital matter for me, to please tell me confidentially, if you don't mind, whether or not General Bula received said instructions. Because, if he did receive them and knew that the Germans were perhaps waiting for me in Yap and he did not speak of the matter nor said one word about it, this indicates such a refined wickedness that I will never forgive him.

I sent a long and heavy report to General Bula about the events that occurred at Pujada during the 40 days that the **Velasco** was there. In it I begged him to send a copy to the Superior Civil Government and I recommended your friend, Captain Bartolomé - García, an excellent man, one who did his duty with good faith. I beg you to please say something to these poor people, because, Mr. Bula did not see fit to even acknowledge the receipt of that report.

Good-bye. I repeat that I appreciate your letter and have no doubt that, after you have read the enclosed letters (I am sending you the original copies), you will modify some of your ideas.

Your affectionate friend and comrade,  
Emilio José Butrón

Cruiser Velasco—Commander—Personal.  
Cavite, 18 November 1885.

Mr. Felipe Canga Arguëlles

My dear friend and comrade,  
What I called a **mystery** is this:



The Governor General issued an order, dated Manila 21 August, that the effect that the cruiser **Velasco** was to return from Yap or not go there **because Yap had been occupied by the Germans**.

Given that the **Iltis** did not get to Yap until the 25th, it is clear to a blind man that the Government at Madrid was the one that made a false prophecy.

You are quite right, the duties of your position imply a wise secrecy but it is clear that if the Superior Government ordered that the **V.** should act in the serious, energetic and patriotic manner that the circumstances called for but the Admiral limited himself to say to the **Velasco** "go and deliver that mail," **somebody** has committed a great mistake but (you will agree with me that I use the adverb correctly) **fortunately** the **Velasco** did not arrive on time — nor would she have arrived on time, if the Superior Government ordered, on the 21st, not to go to Yap.

With respect, to what do I owe the 'respectfully yours' of the General. I will tell you a defence must be fought on the same battlefield and with the same weapons as the attack. What military principles prevent a military man from speaking to a reporter? Why should I be offended if a madcap reporter uses an adverb inappropriately?

I do not wish anyone to say when talking of me: "A spider has bit me; wrap me in a blanket."<sup>1</sup>

Well, if I were to see persons, who wear many stripes and whose names often appear in newspaper columns, being full of mud yet coming out clean, and then go myself and complain to them... How? On what basis?

No, Felipe, even if I consider myself offended, I have nothing with which to defend myself.

Some Generals and officers of the Navy (whose opinion I value) have already been made aware by me of what happened to the **Velasco**, our comrades-in-arms judge me with due indulgence and place me much above of what I deserve, so that my desire to correct the adverb was out of pure love for the truth, out of hate for vile insinuations.

You tell me, "Regarding the protests of the Secretary of the Commander General, I have nothing to tell you."

I do not understand that sentence; indeed, it affirms as much as it denies. I have means (which I will use) to find out the real truth.

You put your duties as Secretary on top of the affection and all the considerations of comradeship; I think exactly the opposite, first I try to be a good Christian, second a good social man, and then, in last place, I try to comply with the duties of my occupation or position.

Since I cannot publish here such an innocuous communiqué, it is much to my regret that I send it (with proofs) to certain politicians who might know how to use it some day.

You know very well that I have had little to do in the nebulous question of the Carolines; to tell the truth, my name has received more praise than blame on the part of

1 Ed. note: Literal translation of a Spanish proverb.

reporters and I assure you that I am sorry about it; indeed, as that wise old man of Greece said, upon being applauded by the plebeians, "Did I say something perfidious?"

The Commander General's office chose not to tell me anything about Pujada, but I have learned through García that my report was approved and forwarded to the Captain General, so that if you don't mind I will apply to H.E. the Governor General for a this citation to me added to my service record.

I do hope that this fastidious correspondence was not boring to you. For my part, I have welcomed the opportunity to erase some doubts and to affirm certain beliefs. I thank you for your attention and repeat that I am, as always, your most affectionate friend and comrade.

Emilio José Butrón

Government General of the Philippines—Personal.

18 November 1885.

Mr. Emilio Butrón.

My dear friend and comrade,

There is something that must be rectified so as to maintain the truth. The Government General has never said, either in writing or verbally, that the **Velasco** should not go to Yap. And, as it had to say it, if it did not learn before 30 August, when it received the mail from the south, that that ship was still in Zamboanga and had not obeyed the order of the Government General, and what is more, officially it did not know, until a few days ago, that the **Velasco** had suffered some damage.

I some day you have the opportunity to come to Manila, I will let you know confidentially about a few details that cannot be mentioned in a letter.

Good-bye, from your most affectionate friend and comrade,  
Felipe Canga Argüelles.

Cruiser Velasco—Commander—Personal.

Cavite, 20 November 1885.

Mr, Felipe Canga Argüelles.

My dear friend and comrade,

As soon as I told the Commander General's office that I would send a request to the Governor General to have their approval of my actions at Pujada recorded in my record of service, I received the copy. I beg you to please approach the Governor General on my behalf and thank him for the kind phrases that he used in the citation, to which the Navy has thought better not to add anything.

Excuse this new bother from your affectionate friend and comrade,  
Emilio José Butrón.  
Cruiser Velasco—Commander—Personal.  
Cavite 20 November 1885.

Mr. Felipe Canga Argüelles.

My dear friend and comrade,

It was a pleasure to receive your favor of the 18th (unsigned) and I am very pleased that you sent me this correction. As far as I am concerned, I cannot understand how the Admiral can remove from a ship a commission given to it by the Governor General.

From the mail that arrived [at Manila] from the south on 30 August, the Admiral learned that on the 20th the **Velasco** had suffered some damage that **did not prevent her from complying with her commission**. I was given an order, dated the 21st, not to go to Yap or to return from there, **because that island was occupied by the Germans**.

Therefore, the non-going of the **Velasco** had nothing to do with the damage.

I will try to go to Manila and will bring along some original documents, and it would be good if the Governor General were to attend our interview (purely confidentially, of course).

I too will explain certain things that cannot and must not be mentioned in a letter. So, I would be glad if you tell me the fixed time or the approximate time that I could see you.

When I become convinced that I was being sent to Yap **betrayed**, I will perhaps show somebody my disgust in a much different manner than that shown to him by Capriles.

Your most affectionate friend and comrade,  
Emilio José Butrón  
[P.S.]

This morning I sent you a few words to send my thanks to the General.

### **Editor's note.**

Canga Argüelles wrote a book about the Yap Conflict. It is to be found in MN as mss. 779 and 785. It is too repetitious of the above squabble to be reproduced here.

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## Documents 1885AF

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### The Velasco sent to Yap in December 1885

*Sources: PNA; AHN Ultramar 5856.*

*Note: This is Tome 2 of the general AHN file on the occupation of the Caroline and Palaos Islands, and contains Documents 110 to 139 inclusive.*

#### AF1. Letter from the Ministry of Overseas, dated 24 November 1885

The Ministry of Overseas.

**Confidential.**

Dear Sir:

The negotiations regarding the events in Yap are about to finish and without prejudice to the instructions that the Government could communicate to Y.E. for that purpose, it is appropriate to adopt measures in this case so that, in due course and upon previous notice given by this Ministry, a warship is to visit the Archipelago of the Carolines and palau in order to study the islands of the group which besides Yap, seat of the Government in the ARchipelago, should contain subordinate authorities who would, with the help of missionaries, represent the sovereignty of Spain in those seas; the results are to be submitted to the Government for approval.

I tell Y.E. this by Royal Order, for your knowledge and other actions.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 24 November 1885.

Tejada.

[To] the Governor General of the Philippines.

#### AF2. N° 114. Telegram from Manila, received at Madrid on 5 December 1885

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Comandante **Marqués Duero** 18 Nov. desde Yap, manifiesta por declaración súbdito inglés O'Keefe procedente Palaos, consta que "**Albatross**" estuvo últimos días Setiembre en Artinga Guinia de Miranda Kon [sic] puerto donde violentando a los Reyes y naturales, les obligó a arriar bandera española donde vian(?) alemanes firmar con una*

*cruz a pesar de protestar ser súbditos Rey España, lo que puede confirmarse testigos oculares entre otros un Capitan buque inglés. Dispongo se haga informacion. Correo detalles.*

### Translation.

Commander of the **Marqués del Duero** in a message dated 18 November from Yap says that, according to a declaration of the English subject O'Keefe proceeding from Palaos, it happens that the **Albatross** was there during the last days of September in Artingal Guinia de Miranda Kon [sic]<sup>1</sup>, a port where they forced the Kings and natives to sign documents with a cross, in spite of their protesting to be subjects of the King of Spain, and this can be confirmed by eyewitnesses, among whom was the captain of an English ship. I am arranging for an inquiry to be held. Details follow by mail.

[On 5 December, Governor General Terrero asked Admiral Bula to send a warship to Yap to relieve the **Marqués del Duero**. On the same day, he answered that the only ship available was the cruiser **Velasco** that was about to go to Hong Kong; however, the **Velasco** was instructed to proceed forthwith to Palau to investigate. The Governor General replied immediately that it was fine, but that "any type of conflict was to be avoided with German warships." But Butrón has questions of his own to ask...]

...

## AF3. Letter from Admiral Bula to Governor General Terrero, forwarding Butrón's concerns about his second mission to Palaos

### Original text in Spanish.

*Comandancia general de Marina*

*Reservado.*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*El Sr. Comandante del Crucero Velasco en comunicacion que acabo de recibir me dice lo siguiente:*

*"Excmo. Sr.*

*"Demorada la salida para Palaos de este buque, y con objeto de que la comision que se me confia salga con lucimiento, me permito exponer á V.E. ciertas dudas cuyo esclarecimiento contribuirá á que se logre el deseo del Excmo. Sr. Gobernador General de estas Yslas.*

*"1ª ¿El grupo de Palaos es independiente, pertenece á España, ó á Alemania?"*

---

1 Ed. note: This name was badly transcribed and coded, for sure.

"2ª ¿Si de la informacion resulta que en efecto el naturalista ruso Kobaré, de transporte en la fragata Alemana *Albatross*, en presencia de los oficiales de la misma, arrebató á Abbadule y á Arra-Klaye el tratado de paz, que yo autorizé con mi firma y les hizo arriar la bandera española que yo les di en el mes de Marzo, obligando á Abbadule á que pusiese la señal de la cruz en un papel que le presento. ¿Deberé yo permanecer inactivo si los reyes insisten en querer ser españoles y no Alemanes?

"3ª Habiendo prometido el Comandante del *Velasco* un Bote, y una pareja de ganado vacuno ¿Será político en las actuales circunstancias esa promesa sin cumplir? ¿Será oportuno no llevarles ninguna clase de regalo á los que están habilitados?

"4ª ¿En que terminos se deberá manifestar en Palaos la desgraciada muerte del Rey Don Alfonso XII (q.e.g.e.)?

"Que convencido como lo estoy, por haver oido referir en Yap, en Koror y en Kong-Kong, las fechorias de Mr. O'Keef y siendo asi que él solo acusa al naturalista ruso (que antes era su compadre) de que todo ello debe de ser el enredo de un intrigante ansioso de hacerse valer.

"5ª Que segun declaraciones solemnes y públicas el Gobierno de nuestra Nacion desea ocupar las Yslas Palaos y aun sostiene que pertenecen á España, parece con que es desairadisima la posicion del Comandante de un buque de guerra que despues de hacer ciertas investigaciones no obrar con arreglo á lo que de ellas resulta.

"7ª Ymposible de toda imposibilidad será el ocultar á un buque de guerra Aleman el objeto de mi comision en Koror, puesto que he de preguntar á los reyes valiendome del mismo interprete de que se valdrán los Alemanes por ser el único de su clase. Me refiero al mismo Mr. Gibbon de quien me valí para firmar el tratado de paz entre ambos reyes.

"De no resolver estas dudas se corre el riesgo de que yo no acierte á interpretar los deseos del Excmo. Sor. Gobernador General.

"Lo que tengo el honor de poner en el Superior conocimiento de V.E. por si hubiera tiempo de resolver estas dudas y obrar de acuerdo con lo que se me ordene.

*Lo que tengo el honor de elevar á conocimiento de V.E. para la resolucion que estime procedente.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 5 de Diciembre de 1885.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Luis Bula.*

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador General de estas Yslas.*

### **Translation.**

The Commander General of the Navy.

Confidential.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Cruiser **Velasco**, in a letter which I have just received, tells me the following:

“Your Excellency:

“As the departure of this ship for Palau has been delayed, and for the purpose of ensuring the success of the mission that has been entrusted to me, I beg leave to expose to Y.E. certain doubts that, if they are cleared up, might lead to the success that His Excellency the Governor General desires.

“1° Is the Palau group independent, belonging to Spain, or to Germany?

“2° If it turns out to be true that the Russian naturalist Kubary, a passenger aboard the German frigate **Albatross**, did, in the presence of the officers of same, snatch from Abbathul and Arra-Klay the peace treaty that I authorized with my signature and made them take down the Spanish flag that I gave to them last March, obliging Abbathul to put his mark on a piece of paper that he presented him, shall I remain inactive if the kings insist in wishing to be Spanish and not German?

“3° As the Commander of the **Velasco** promised to give them one boat, and a couple of cows, would it now be proper, under the present circumstances, to leave this promise unfulfilled?

“4° How is the unfortunate death of King Alfonso XII (r.i.p.) be revealed at Palau?

“Being convinced as I am of the misdeeds of Mr. O’Keefe, for having heard about them at Yap, at Koror, and at Hong-Kong, and the case being that he alone accuses the Russian naturalist Kubary (who was chummy with him before), what if this is a plot on the part of the man to give himself some importance.

“5° Given that, according to the solemn and public declarations of the Government of our country, it wishes to occupy the Palau Islands and it even maintains that they belong to Spain, it would seem very odd, if the Commander of a warship, after making certain inquiries, dis not take action bease on their results.

“7° It would be most impossible to hide the purpose of my mission to Koror from a German warship, given that I must question the kings through the same interpreter that the Germans would use, as there is only one in that category. I refer to Mr. Gibbon whom I employed to sign the peace treaty between the two kings.

“If these points are not resolved, I run the risk of not satisfying the wishes of His Excellency the Governor General.

“This is what I have to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. in case there is time to resolve these doubts and to act in accrdance with my orders.

This is what I have the honor to bring to the attention of Y.E./ for the resolution that you may wish.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 5 December 1885.

Excellency.

Luís Bula.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

## AF4. Directions given by the Governor General on 7 December 1885

### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno General de Filipinas.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Recibo la atenta comunicacion de V.E. del dia de hoy trasladandome la que le ha dirigido con igual fecha el Comandante del Crucero **Velasco**; y si bien alguna de las dudas que se le ocurren son poco pertinentes y ajenas por completo al asunto de que se trata, he tomado en consideracion los compromisos que aquel Jefe tenia adquirido con los reyes de Korrer y Artingall para retenerlo de verificar la comision que V.E. le ha conferido para las Yslas Palaos. Pero interesando al mismo tiempo que el Comandante del **Marques del Duero** se traslade á aquellas Islas para confirmar de viva voz, y sin formalidad ninguna de expediente, las afirmaciones hechas por el Súbdito Yngles Mr. O'Keef, respecto á los procedimientos empleados por los Alemanes para tomar posesion de las mismas, convendría sin embargo que el Crucero **Velasco** se dirija á Yap y permanezca en aquel punto hasta tanto que no regrese de su comision el **Marques del Duero**, en cuyo caso, si V.E. así lo dispone, puede volver á esta Capital conduciendo las comunicaciones que le entregue el Comandante del **Marques del Duero**.*

*Aunque ya he manifestado á V.E. la prudencia con que debe proceder el Comandante del **Duero** en el desempeño de la Comision que se le confiere, no estará de mas significarle que la averiguacion que se va á practicar, ha sido repetidas veces solicitado por este Gobierno General por la necesidad que existe de conocer por version directa lo que ha pasado en aquellas Islas, tanto por lo que afectar puede á las negociaciones diplomáticas, ya entabladas, cuanto por lo que al conocimiento histórico de los hechos allí ocurridos se relaciona. En tal concepto no entiendo que pueda crear ninguna dificultad la presencia en Palaos de un buque de guerra nuestro, aun encontrando allí alguno de Alemania, pues fácil le será á su Comandante encontrar pretexto que justifique ostensiblemente su arribada á aquellas aguas; y medios debe tambien encontrar para que sin que se enteren los Alemanes, pueda evacuar su Comision. Sin embargo, si tales dificultades se presentasen, que el Comandante del **Duero** las considerase insuperables queda autorizado para regresar á Yap, dando por terminada su comision, puesto que lo que mas principalmente interesa en estos momentos es no crear nuevos conflictos.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 7 de Diciembre de 1885.*

*Emilio Terrero.*

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Comandante General de Marina del Apostadero.*

### Translation.

Government General of the Philippines.



Your Excellency:

I am in receipt of the communication of Y.E. of today, forwarding the concerns of same date of the Commander of the Cruiser **Velasco**; and, although some of his doubts are of little concern and completely foreign to the subject-matter at hand, I have taken note of what that officer had promised to give to the kings of Koror and ARtingal that would now prevent him from carrying out the commission that Y.E. had given him for the Palau Islands. However, it would still be interesting for the Commander of the **Marqués del Duero** to go to those islands and get a verbal confirmation, with no need for a formal inquiry, of the affirmations made by the English subject, Mr. O'Keefe, regarding the proceedings employed by the Germans to take possession of them; nevertheless, it would be appropriate for the Cruiser **Velasco** to go to Yap and remain there until the **Marqués del Duero** has completed his commission; in which case, if Y.E. so arranges it, he can then return to Manila with the report given him by the Comamnder of the **Marqués del Duero**.

Although I have already told Y.E. that the Commander of the **Duero** must be prudent in carrying out his commission that is being given to him, this Government General has many times requested, as it is necessary to know directly what really happened at those islands, because it may affect the diplomatic negotiations, now taking place, to make sure of the certainty of the historical facts in the case. Under this concept, I do not see how the presence of one of our warships in Palau could create difficulties, even if a German warship should be there; indeed, it is easy for her commander to invent a pretext for being in those waters; and he must find ways to achieve his commission without the Germans finding out. Nevertheless, should such difficulties present themselves, and be such that the Commander of the **Duero** consider them insurmountable, he is authorized to return to Yap, and consider his commission as completed, given that what is mainly of interest here is not to create new conflicts.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 7 December 1885.

Emilio Terrero.

[To] His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station.

...  
[The Governor General, having been advised that the **Velasco** had only enough coal to use steam for 7 days, recommended to the Admiral that they should await the return of the transport **Julieta** from Paragua, to use as a collier. This idea was accepted by the Admiral.]

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## Documents 1885AG

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# The settlement of the Caroline Island dispute with Germany

*Source: Original documents published in the Vatican newspaper, the Osservatore Romano.*

*Note: It seems that there exist official Latin, French, Spanish and German versions, e.g. a Spanish version was published in the Revista de geografía comercial (1886), pp. 213-215. The English translation that follows was made by the Times of London on 19 January 1886, and copied by the Nautical Magazine 1886, pp. 131-135.*

*Notes: It is curious that Pope Leo XIII is not mentioned either by name or title in the body of the proposals made by him, but only as "the mediator." By the way, Spain and Germany had continued their negotiations during September and October, before they heard from Rome.*

## AG1. Proposition made by His Holiness Pope Leo XIII as Mediator in the Question of the Caroline and Pelew Islands pending between Germany and Spain

### Original text in Spanish.

*El descubrimiento hecho por España, en el siglo XVI, de las islas que forman parte del archipiélago de las Carolinas y Palaos, y una serie de actos llevados a cabo en diversas épocas en esas mismas islas por el Gobierno español en beneficio de los indígenas, han creado en la convicción de dicho Gobierno y de su Nación un título de soberanía, fundado en las máximas del Derecho internacional, invocadas y seguidas en esta época en el caso de conflictos análogos.*

*En efecto, cuando se considera el conjunto de los actos mencionados, cuya autenticidad se halla confirmada por diversos documentos de los archivos de la Propaganda, no puede desconocerse la acción benéfica de España respecto a aquellos isleños. Debe notarse, además, que ningún otro Gobierno ha ejercido sobre ellos una acción semejante. Esto explica la tradición constante, que conviene tener en cuenta, y la convicción del pueblo español, relativamente a esa soberanía; tradición y convicción que se ha hecho manifiestas hace dos meses con un ardor y una animosidad capaces de comprometer por un instante la paz interior y las relaciones de dos Gobiernos amigos.*

*Por otra parte, Alemania, y asimismo Inglaterra, han declarado expresamente en 1875 al Gobierno español que no reconocían la soberanía de España sobre dichas islas. El Gobierno imperial opina, por el contrario, que la ocupación efectiva de un terrero-*

*tio es lo que da origen a la soberanía sobre el mismo, y esta ocupación nunca se ha efectuado por parte de España respecto a las Carolinas; en conformidad con este principio, ha procedido en la isla de Yap, y en esto, como por su parte lo ha dicho el Gobierno, el mediador se complace en reconocer toda la lealtad del Gobierno imperial.*

*En su consecuencia, y a fin de que esta divergencia de miras entre los dos Gobiernos no sea un obstáculo para su arreglo honroso, el mediador, después de haberlo considerado bien todo, propone que el nuevo convenio que se estipule se atenga a las fórmulas del protocolo relativo al archipiélago de Joló, firmado en Madrid el 7 de marzo último entre los representantes de la Gran Bretaña, Alemania y de España, y que se adopten los puntos siguientes:*

*Punto 1.º Se afirma la soberanía de España sobre las islas de Carolinas y Palaos.*

*2.º El Gobierno español, para hacer efectiva esta soberanía, se obliga a establecer lo más pronto posible en dicho archipiélago una administración regular con una fuerza suficiente para garantizar el orden y los derechos adquiridos.*

*3.º España ofrece a Alemania plena y entera libertad de comercio, de navegación y de pesca en esas mismas islas, como asimismo el derecho de establecer en ellas una estación naval y un depósito de carbón.*

*4.º Se asegura igualmente a Alemania la libertad de hacer plantaciones en esas islas, y de fundar en ellas establecimientos agrícolas del mismo modo que los súbditos españoles.*

*Roma, en el Vaticano, a 22 de octubre de 1885.—*

*(L. S.)—(Firmado).—*

*El Cardenal Jacobini, Secretario de Estado de Su Santidad.*

### **Translation.**

The discovery made by Spain in the 16th century of the Caroline and Pelew Islands and a series of acts accomplished at different periods by the Spanish Government in those same islands for the good of the indigenes have, in the conviction of that Government and of that nation, created a title to the sovereignty founded on the maxims of international law invoked and followed at that period in the case of analogous disputes.

And, in fact, when one examines the *ensemble* of the above-mentioned Acts, the authenticity of which is confirmed by divers documents in the archives of the Propaganda [Fide], one cannot fail to recognise the beneficent work of Spain towards those islanders. It is also to be remarked that no other Government has ever exercised a similar action over them. This explains the constant tradition, which must be taken into account, and the conviction of the Spanish people relative to that sovereignty—tradition and conviction which two months ago were manifested with such an ardour and animosity as for a moment to compromise the internal peace and the relations of two friendly Governments.

On the other hand, Germany and England in 1875 expressly informed the Spanish Government that they could not recognize the sovereignty of Spain over the said is-

lands. On the contrary, the Imperial Government thought that it is the effective occupation of a territory which creates the sovereignty, occupation which was never carried into effect on the part of Spain in the Caroline Islands. It was in conformity with this principle that it acted in the island of Yap, and in that—as on its part the Spanish Government has also done—the mediator is pleased to recognize the complete loyalty of the Imperial Government.

Consequently, and in order that this divergence of views between the two Governments be not an obstacle to an honourable arrangement, the mediator, after having well considered the whole question, proposes that in the new convention to be stipulated they shall observe the forms of the protocol relative to the Sooloo Archipelago signed at Madrid on the 7th of March last between the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and Spain, and that the following points be adopted:—

Point 1. To confirm the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline and Pelew Islands.

2. The Spanish Government, to render her sovereignty effective, engages to establish as quickly as possible in that archipelago a regular administration with sufficient force to guarantee order and the rights acquired.

3. Spain offers to Germany full and entire liberty of commerce, of navigation, and of fishing at the same islands, as also the right of establishing a naval station and a coal depôt.

4. The liberty of making plantations in those islands and of founding agricultural establishments on the same footing as Spanish subjects to be also guaranteed to Germany.

L. CARD. JACOBINI.

Rome, from the Vatican, Oct. 22, 1885.

## AG2. Protocol agreed upon between the German and Spanish Governments

*Note: This protocol was made on the bases proposed by the Pope and signed at the Vatican on the 17th of December, 1885, by the Spanish Ambassador and the Prussian Minister accredited to the Holy See.*

### Original text in Spanish.

## PROTOCOLO

*Los infrascritos:*

*El Excmo. Sr. Marqués de Molins, Embajador de S. M. Católica cerca de la Santa Sede, y el Excmo. Sr. de Schlözer, enviado extraordinario y ministro plenipotenciario de S. M. el Rey de Prusia cerca de la Santa Sede, debidamente autorizado para ultimar las negociaciones que los Gobiernos de España y Alemania, bajo la meditación de Su Santidad el Papa, han seguido en Madrid y en Berlin relativamente a los derechos que cada uno de dichos Gobiernos podía haber adquirido a la posesión de las islas Carolinas y Palaos, considerando las proposiciones que su Santidad ha hecho para que sir-*

van de base a la mutua inteligencia de ambos, se han puesto de acuerdo sobre los artículos siguientes, conforme a las proposiciones del agosto mediador.

*Artículo 1.º*

*El Gobierno alemán reconoce la prioridad de la ocupación española de las islas Carolinas y Palaos, y la soberanía de S. M. Católica que en ella resulta, y cuyos límites están indicados en le artículo 2.º*

*Artículo 2.º*

*Estos límites están formados por el Ecuador y por el grado 11 de latitud y por el 133º y el 164º de longitud Este (Greenwich).*

*Artículo 3.º*

*El Gobierno español, para garantir a los súbditos alemanes la plena y entera libertad de comercio, de navegación y de pesca en los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y de las Palaos, se obliga a ejecutar en dichos archipiélagos estipulaciones análogas a las contenidas en los artículos 1.º, 2.º y 3.º del protocolo sobre el archipiélago de Joh firmado en Madrid el 11 de marzo de 1877, y reproducidos en el protocolo del 7 de marzo de 1885, a saber:*

*I. El comercio y el tráfico directo de los buques y súbditos de Alemania en los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y las Palaos y en todas sus partes, así como el derecho de pesca, serán absolutamente libres, sin perjuicio de los derechos reconocidos a España en el presente protocolo en conformidad con las declaraciones siguientes.*

*II. Las autoridades españolas no podrán exigir en lo sucesivo a los buques y súbditos de Alemania que vayan libremente a los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y Palaos, o de un punto a otro de estos archipiélagos o de uno de ellos a cualquiera otro del mundo, que toquen antes o después en un punto determinado de los archipiélagos o en otra parte, que paguen cualquier clase de derechos o se provean de un permiso de aquellas autoridades, los que por su parte se abstendrán de poner impedimento y de toda intervención en el referido párrafo. Queda entendido que las autoridades españolas no impedirán de manera alguna, ni bajo ningún pretexto, la libre importación y exportación de toda clase de mercancías, sin excepción alguna, salvo en los puntos ocupados, y de conformidad con la declaración III y que asimismo en los no ocupados efectivamente por España, ni los buques, ni los súbditos referidos, ni sus mercancías se someterán a impuesto alguno, derecho o pago cualquiera, ni a ningún reglamento de Sanidad o de otras clases.*

*III. En los puntos ocupados por España en los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y los Palaos, el Gobierno español podrá establecer impuestos, reglamentos sanitarios y de cualquier otra clase durante la ocupación efectiva de dichos puntos. Pero España se compromete por su parte a sostener en ellos las dependencias y empleados necesarios para las exigencias del comercio y cumplimiento de los referidos reglamentos.*

*Queda, sin embargo, expresamente entendido que el Gobierno español, resuelto por su parte a no imponer reglamentos restrictivos en los puntos ocupados, contrae espontáneamente el compromiso de no introducir en los indicados puntos mayores impuestos o derechos que los establecidos en los aranceles españoles, o en los tratados y*

*convenios entre España y cualquier otra potencia. Tampoco pondrá en vigor, en aquellos puntos, reglamentos excepcionales que hubieran de aplicarse al comercio y a los súbditos alemanes, que gozarán bajo todos conceptos del mismo trato que los súbditos españoles.*

*A fin de prevenir las reclamaciones que podrán resultar de la incertidumbre del comercio respecto a los puntos ocupados y regidos por reglamentos y aranceles, el Gobierno español comunicará en cada caso la ocupación efectiva de un punto en los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y de las Palaos al Gobierno alemán, y al mismo tiempo informará de ello al comercio por una notificación publicada en los periódicos oficiales de Madrid y de Manila.*

*En cuanto a las tarifas y a los reglamentos que hayan de aplicarse a los puntos que estén o posteriormente sean ocupados por España, queda estipulado que no entrarán en vigor sino después de un plazo de ocho meses, a partir de esta publicación en el periódico oficial de Madrid.*

*Queda convenido que a ningún buque o súbdito de Alemania se le obligará a tocar en uno de los puntos ocupados, ni al ir ni al volver de un punto no ocupado por España, y que no podrá seguirle perjuicio alguno por tal motivo ni por ninguna clase de mercancías destinadas a un punto no ocupado de los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y Palaos.*

#### Artículo 4.º

*Los súbditos alemanes tendrán plena libertad para adquirir simientes y para hacer plantaciones en los archipiélagos de las Carolinas y Palaos, para fundar en ellos establecimientos agrícolas, para ejercer toda clase de comercio y efectuar contratos con los indígenas, y para explotar el suelo en las mismas condiciones que los mismos súbditos españoles. Sus derechos adquiridos serán respetados.*

*Las compañías alemanes que gozan en su país de los derechos de las personas civiles, y especialmente las compañías anónimas, serán tratadas bajo el mismo opie que dichos súbditos.*

...<sup>1</sup>

#### Artículo 5.º

*El Gobierno alemán tendrá el derecho de establecer en una de las islas Carolinas o de las Palaos una estación naval y un depósito de carbón para la Marina imperial. Los dos Gobiernos deerminarán de común acuerdo el sitio y condiciones de este establecimiento.*

#### Artículo 6.º

*Si los Gobiernos de España y Alemania no rehusan su adhesión al presente protocolo en el término de ocho días, a contar desde hoy, o si se adhieren a él antes de esperar este plazo por conducto de sus respectivos representantes, las primeras declaraciones entrarán inmediatamente en vigor.*

*Hecho en Roma, a 17 de diciembre de 1885.—*

1 Ed. note: One small paragraph missing here in the Spanish copy available to me (see English text below).

(L. S.).—(Firmado).—*El Marqués de Molins*  
 (L. S.).—(Firmado).—*Schlözer*.

## Translation.

# PROTOCOL

...

### ARTICLE 1.

The German Government recognises the priority of the Spanish occupation of the Caroline and Pelew Islands and the sovereignty of His Catholic Majesty as specified, and the limits of which are indicated in Article 2.

### ARTICLE 2.

These limits are formed by the Equator and by the 11th degree of North latitude, and the 133rd and the 164th degrees East longitude (Greenwich).

### ARTICLE 3.

The Spanish Government, to guarantee to German subjects full and entire liberty of commerce, navigation, and fishing in the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagoes, undertakes to carry out in the said archipelagoes stipulations analogous to those contained in Articles I, II, and III of the protocol regarding the Sooloo Archipelago, signed at Madrid on the 11th of March, 1875, and reproduced in the protocol of the 7th of March, 1885, as follows:—

I. "The commerce and traffic of German ships and subjects with the Caroline and Pelew Archipelago, and in all parts thereof, as also the rights of fishing, shall, without prejudice to the rights of Spain, as recognised by the present protocol, be absolutely free in conformity with the following declarations:—

II. "The Spanish authorities cannot in the future require that the ships and subjects of Germany, which repair freely to the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagoes or from one point to another of them without distinction, or from thence to any other part of the world, shall touch, either before or afterwards, at any determined points in these archipelagoes or elsewhere, or that they shall pay dues of any kind, or be required to obtain permission from the authorities, who on their part shall abstain from any intervention in or placing any impediment in the way of the said traffic. It is at the same time understood that the Spanish authorities shall in no way, nor under any pretext, impede the free importation and exportation of whatever kind of merchandise without exception, except at the points occupied in conformity with Declaration III.; and likewise that at all the points not effectively occupied by Spain neither the ships nor the subjects aforesaid, nor their merchandise, shall be subjected to any imposts or duties or payments of any kind, nor to any sanitary regulations or other.

III. "At all points occupied by Spain in the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagoes the Spanish Government can establish duties and sanitary and other regulations during the effective occupation of the points indicated."

But on her side Spain undertakes to maintain the establishments and officials necessary for the requirements of commerce and the observance of the said regulations. It is

nevertheless expressly understood, and the Spanish Government, being resolved not to impose restrictive regulations at the points occupied, voluntarily undertakes not to introduce at those points imposts or duties of a higher rate than those fixed by the Spanish tariffs or by the treaties or conventions between Spain and all other Powers. Neither will she put in force exceptional regulations applicable to German commerce and subjects, who shall in all respects enjoy the same treatment Spanish do.

In order to anticipate any claims or complaints which may result through commercial uncertainty with respect to the points occupied and subjected to the regulations and tariffs, the Spanish Government will in each case of the effective occupation of a point in the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagoes make communication thereof to the German Government, and at the same time inform commerce by means of a public notification in the official journals of Madrid and Manila.

As regards the tariffs and regulations to be applied at the points which are or shall be occupied by Spain, it is stipulated that they shall not be enforced or levied until after a delay of eight months from the date of the publication in the official journal of Madrid.

It is understood that no German ship or subject shall be obliged to touch at one of the points occupied either on going to or returning from a point not occupied by Spain, and that no penalty can be inflicted on German subjects for this reason, nor for any kind of merchandize destined for a point not occupied in the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagoes.

#### ARTICLE 4.

German subjects shall have full liberty to purchase and make plantations in the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagoes, to found agricultural establishments, to exercise all kinds of commerce, and to make contracts with the inhabitants and utilise the land (*d'exploiter le sol*) under the same conditions as Spanish subjects. All their acquired rights shall be safeguarded.

German companies will enjoy recognized rights in their own country, and especially anonymous companies (*compagnies anonymes*), shall be treated on the same footing as the aforesaid subjects.

German subjects shall enjoy, for the protection of their persons and their goods, the acquisition and transmission of their properties, and for the exercise of their professions, the same treatment and the same rights as Spanish subjects.

#### ARTICLE 5.

The German Government shall have the right of establishing in one of the Caroline or Pelew Islands a naval station and a coal depôt for the Imperial navy. The two Governments will determine by common consent the place and conditions of that establishment.

#### ARTICLE 6.

If the Governments of Spain and Germany have not refused their adhesion to this present protocol within a period of eight days from this date, or if by the intermission



of their respective representatives they notify their adhesion within that period, the present declarations shall immediately enter into force.

MARQUIS DE MOLINS    SCHLÖZER.

Done at Rome the 17th December, 1885.

### Epilogue.

*Source: Article in the Revista de geografia comercial, 1886, page 106.*

#### **Honorable confession of Bismarck regarding the Carolines.**

In a most important speech made in the Reichstag by the illustrious Chancellor on the 13th of this month, we found the following example of the sincerity that should be brought to the attention of our statesmen. Confessions of this nature, far from diminishing, enhance the glory of a person who has realized so many and such high undertakings as did the Prince of Bismarck:

“I did not look upon the Caroline affair as something trivial. The Carolines were for me like a blindfold over my eyes. If I had been able to predict the complications with Spain that such a question had to incur, I would not have tried to seize said islands; however, when I came to understand it, it was too late, and then I called on the Pope, in order to avoid a war, that would not have been in any way dangerous for us, but that might have cost us dearly.”



**Bismarck.**

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## Document 1885AH

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# The voyages of the German bark *Brazileira*, 1885-87

*Source: Article in the Annalen der Hydrographie (1888)*

*Notes: The captain was H. Schlüter until December 1886, when he was replaced by Captain Robeck. The bark was owned by the Deutschen Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln, popularly called the Long Handle Co. The pilot's journal is mostly concerned with the wind and strictly navigational details.*

### Synopsis of the journal kept by Pilot Rasmussen

The voyages in question originated from Apia, Samoa, and lasted from September 1886 to October 1887. At 2 p.m. on 5 October 1885, they arrived at Jaluit.

On 23 October, they left for a first tour of the Caroline Islands. They signed Ebon Atoll on the 25th and on the 26th the supercargo took a boat to go ashore.

On 27 October they sailed for Pingelap, but due to storms they did not reach it until 17 November. On 19 November they stopped on the west coast of Mokil. After they came in sight of the north coast of Pohnpei, a native came on board to guide them to the anchorage off Langar Island, where they anchored in 28 fathoms of water and 60 fathoms of chain.

On 5 December, they left Pohnpei, for Pakin where they took on some copra. Next they went to Ngatik where they arrived on 7 December. On the 11th, they were off to Nukuoro Atoll. On the 17th, they were at Satawan in the Mortlocks, where they anchored in the lee of Ta Island, where the bark laid until the 21st. The next day they spent in the lagoon of Lukunor. On 23 December, they weighed anchor and headed for Losap, which they soon sighted. After a one-hour stop, they headed for Lamotrek, stopping at Pulusuk on the 25th, at Satawal on the 26th, and arriving at Lamotrek on the 27th at 11 a.m. Two days later they were off to Faraulep where they landed on 30 December. On the last day of 1885, they reached Woleai Atoll. On 4 January 1886, they shifted their anchorage within the Woleai lagoon.

On 6 January, they left Woleai for Yap, which they sighted on the 8th, but could not anchor until the 11th, with the help of a trader.

They left Yap on 29 January 1886 and sighted Kama, i.e. Eauripik, on the 24th, where the captain went ashore in a boat. They next day they left for Woleai where they spent another 2-3 days, and on the 28th they were off to Chuuk, passing by Elato on

31 January, and by Satawal the next day, and where the captain went ashore. At 6 a.m. on 7 February, they sighted Chuuk. At 6 p.m., they anchored off Falabeguets; since they considered the natives of this group to be hostile to foreigners, the night watch had three men—one European and two native sailors. At midnight, an American having a trading station on Fefan came alongside with his schooner and climbed on board. He reported that there was an American mission station on Moen or Wola. The next day the bark to an anchorage on the SW point of Fefan. They left that anchorage on Sunday 14 February, and were sailing southward when they saw the **Morning Star** sailing NW.

At 8 p.m. on 27 February they were again at Ngatik. There, from the 29th to 21st, they salvaged the mast and yards of the former schooner **Mazeppa**. On the 23rd they sighted Pakin and were back at Pohnpei the next day. They remained there until 12 March.

On that date, they left to go back to Jaluit, visiting or sighting Pakin, Mokil, Pingelap and Kili along the way. They reached Jaluit on 3 April. They remained there for two months.

During that two-month period, Jaluit was visited by the following ships: the brig **Emma** came in and left for Pohnpei and Yap; also the three-masted schooner **Estelle** arrived from the Gilberts; the schooner **Mili**, owned by Robertson and Hershheim, came with copra from other Marshall Islands; one (unnamed) schooner from Honolulu; the German bark **Ingeburg**, Captain Zimmermann, from Hamburg bound to Sydney, with a load of copra for Europe. Also **SMS Bismarck** and **SMS Olga** arrived with Dr. Knappe, the Government new Government Commissioner for the Marshall Islands.

On 4 June 1886, they began another tour of the Carolines. On the 9th they were at Providence [Ujelang] where they anchored in the lagoon. The latitude of their anchorage was 9°46'5" N.

On the 15th, they left for Pohnpei via Pingelap. They arrived at Pohnpei on 21 June, and entered through the Mant Passage on the east side of the island. They left their anchorage at Langar on 29 June and on 7 July they were at Lukunor. The next day they were at Satawan. They sighted Chuuk on 15 July, and the day they were guided to an anchorage on the west coast of Wola by Captain Narruhn. They changed their anchorage a few times within the lagoon, with the captain and supercargo landing on many islands to trade.

On 28 July, they made sail for Lamotrek, arriving there at noon on 31 July. On 3 August they left for Woleai where they stay from 7 to 23 August. On the morning of that date, they sailed for Yap. They were piloted in by the head of their trading station, Mr. Consenn. They were at Yap from 24 August until 5 September 1886.

On the morning of 8 October 1886 they began their return journey back at Jaluit, where they arrived on 30 October, having visited Pohnpei and Pingelap along the way.

While they were at Jaluit for almost two months, until 25 December, there was a change in captain, and the following ships arrived: the three-masted **Anna**, Captain Meinschien, of Blackenese; the iron bark **Sophie**, Captain Schönwand, of Hamburg; the three-masted schooner **Amoy**, Captain Kröger, of Blackenese; the schooner **Estelle**, Captain Schneider; and the **Milly**, Captain Lesemann, of Jaluit.

On 24 December they made ready for a third voyage through the Carolines, reaching Yap on 23 January 1887. The bark **Sophie** was in the harbor, but the three-masted schooner lay wrecked on the south reef.<sup>1</sup>

On 14 March,<sup>2</sup> they began their return trip, visiting Lukunor and Satawan on the way. On 13 May, the **Brazileira** was back at Jaluit, and 1 June, they were back at Apia.

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1 Ed. note: She was refloated, because she is reported later as leaving for Cadiz (see Doc. 1886X).

2 Ed. note: The Spanish records indicate her departure date as late from Yap on 4 February. (see Doc. 1886X).

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**Document 1885AI**

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**The Fleetwing of San Francisco, Captain Gifford, 1885-86**

*Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 327; Log Inv. 1753.*

**Extract from the logbook of the bark Fleetwing**

...  
Thursday Dec. 29 [1885]

... Raised Know [Mili] Island at daylight distant 10 miles. Ran down to leeward of the Island and Captain went ashore trading. Came back in two hours and squared away again, steering W by S... Lat. 5°48' [N]. Long. 171°29' [E].

Wednesday Dec. 30.

... Squared away at daylight and steered WSW. RAised Elizabeth [Jaluit] Island at 1/2 past 10 ahead. RAn down the lee side and the Captain went on shore trading. Came on board and squared away again steering W by N... Lat. 5°40' [N]. Long. 169°33' [E].

...  
[They missed Kosrae. At noon on 31 Dec., they were at 6°28' and 166°31']

...  
Sunday Jan. 3 [1886]

Raised McAskill's [Island at 1/2 past 2 distant 15 miles. Shortened sail. At dark, land 8 miles distant bearing WSW. Lat. 6°05' [N]. Long. 160°47' [E].

Monday Jan. 4

... Raised the land at daylight and steered for it. At 1/2 past one, lowered the Waist Boat and the Captain went on shore, trading. Came back at 5. Squared away steering W by N1/2N.

Tuesday Jan. 5

... At daylight raised Wellington [Mokil] Island. At 7, ran down to leeward and boat went ashore trading. Left at 8 p.m. steering W by N.

Wednesday Jan. 6

... Raised the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] at 9 a.m. Took a pilot at 12 M and went in to Middle Harbor and anchored at 1/2 past 2.

Thursday Jan. 7

... Laying to an anchor. Employed in breaking out and overhauling shooks<sup>1</sup> and tarring down rigging, etc.

...

Saturday Jan. 9

... Employed in stowing off between decks, etc.

...

Monday Jan. 11

... Employed in tarring down rigging. Sent in a raft for water. Took aboard 15 pigs.

...

Thursday Jan. 14

... Took aboard 5 boatloads of wood.

...

Monday Jan. 18

... Employed in taking aboard wood, etc. Steamer **Belvedere**<sup>2</sup> passed by at 10 a.m.

Tuesday Jan. 19

... Got under way at 10 a.m. Stood out of the harbor and kept off steering WSW (one passenger for Guam).

...

Monday Jan. 25

... Raised the Island of Saipan at daylight distant 25 miles. Came to an anchor at 2 p.m. Washed the Ship outside.

Tuesday Jan. 26

... Took on board 12 pigs and 22 barrels of potatoes. Got under way at 7 p.m. and steered for Guam.

Wednesday Jan. 27

... Raised the Island of Rota at 2 a.m. Raised Guam at 8 a.m. Took a Pilot at 3 o'clock. Came to an anchor at 5 and furled the sails.

Thursday Jan. 28

... Employed in washing Ship and getting ready for painting.

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1 Ed. note: Barrel staves.

2 Ed. note: Another whaler from San Francisco, Capt. Philip Cook.

Friday Jan. 29

Fine weather. Employed in painting ship outside.

Saturday Jan. 30

... Employed in breaking out and painting ship outside. Starboard Watch ashore on liberty.

...

Monday Feb. 1st

... Employed in painting yards, etc. Starboard Watch came on board and Port Watch went ashore on liberty. William Barker, Seaman, deserted.

...

Friday Feb. 5

... Employed in painting ship inside. Received on board five seamen from shore.

...

Monday Feb. 8

... At 2 o'clock, got under way and went out of the harbor and steered N by W. The Bark **John Carver**<sup>1</sup> came in and anchored at 1 o'clock. Received on board William Barker, the deserter.

...

[They headed north to the Arctic. Along the way, they gammed with the Belvedere near Lot's Wife.]

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1 Ed. note: Of San Francisco, Captain H. Montross.

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**Document 1885AJ**


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## Official budget for Micronesia, 1885-1886

*Source: Article in the Revista de geografia comercial (1885), p. 80.*

### Micronesia.

#### Government of the Island of Guam, Saipan, Rota, etc.:

Governor General [sic] de Marianas: salary and emoluments .....	3.700
Standing Company (Captain, Lieutenants, Second-Lieutenants, Gunsmith, Sergeants, Corporals and 80 soldiers .....	11.934
Administrative staff .....	2.474
Port Captain of Apra (Navy Lieutenant, boat service) .....	1.641
Presidio (personnel, property, rations for prisoners, etc.) .....	7.715
Church (coadjutor; missionaries who administer the towns of Agaña, Agat, Inarajan, Merizo, Rota and Saipan: materiel) .....	4.020

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Total ..... 31.484

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Postal service: charter of a steamer ..... 25.000

#### Government of the Island of Yap, for the Carolines and Palaos:

Military Governor (Navy Lieutenant) ...	
Standing Company ...	
Medical personnel and hospital ...	
Mission (Discalzed Augustinians) ...	
Materiel and installation costs ...	
Total .....	10.000

“To attend to the costs of a provisional installation of the new authority, the construction of a church, a combination barracks and hospital, a house for the Missionary Father, the acquisition of tools and other equipment for the work, by the Directorate General of Civil Administration, there will granted an extraordinary credit of



10,000 pesos, to be charged against the central account of Local Funds..." (Art. 9.<sup>o</sup> of the Decree issued by the Captain General of the Philippines, as approved by Royal Order dated 11 March last).

"The installation costs of a Politico-Military Government in Yap has been authorized, and shall be charged to Section 7, Chapter 1, Art. 3 of this budget" (Art. 4 of the Law of Budgets for the Philippines).

— O —

### News.

...  
The Politico-Military Government of the Marianas has recommended to the Governor General of the Philippines the creation at that place of a **police platoon**. The file that was opened to that effect is being pursued actively.

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## Document 1885AK

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### Chart of Tomil Harbor, Yap

*Sources: MN Mapas, Carolinas LVII-12; article in the Revista de Geografía Comercial (1887).*

*Note: Lieut. Otal was second commander of the Marqués del Duero, Captain José Cano Manuel. It appears that Lieutenant Otal was German on his mother side and may have spoken that language.*

#### Map drawn by Navy Lieutenant Manuel Otal y Rautenstrauch

##### Tomil Harbor.

We publish the map of Tomil Harbor, Island of Yap, where the infamous incident took place in 1885 that was at the origin of the conflict between Spain and Germany regarding the Caroline Islands. It was drawn that year by Don manuel Otal, Navy Lieutenant, and it has just been engraved by the Directorate General of Hydrography that will publish it next month. Our reproduction is a reduced copy of this engraving.

Its extent, from the bar to the bottom, equals 6 kilometers. The entrance channel is very deep (average of 20 to 35 meters but for the first half no bottom was found at 40 meters). This channel is bounded on both sides by coral reefs almost at sea level, and with such a steep shore that ships can go almost up to them, as they are much like natural piers.

Behind these reefs, which constitute something unique for this port, the island shore is hidden from view by a thick mangrove forest that here and there reveal many houses and huts distributed along the shore. Overlooking the port are various hills from 100 to 170 meters in altitude, covered with palms, coconut trees and other species of trees.

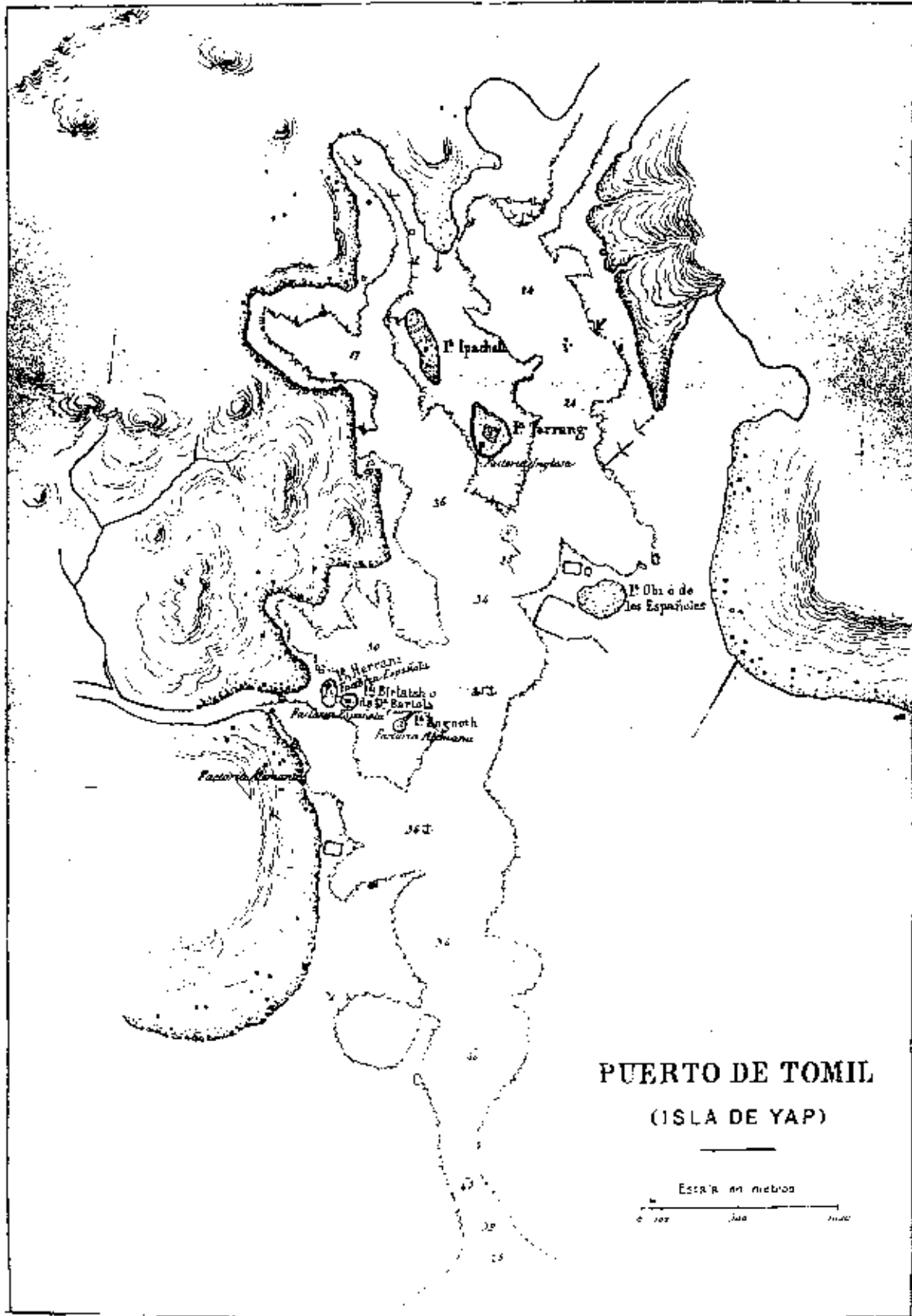
The waters of this port are rich in fish; the chart shows the location of many fish-traps, up to a number of 35 or 40.<sup>1</sup>

There are five active European trading stations in the port, a German one located on firm ground, another German one, two Spanish ones and an English one located on islands within the port. These islands are from 100 to 300 meters in diameter approximately and are as follows:

1. Ipachel.
2. Tarrang, English station owned by Mr. O'Keefe.

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1 Ed. note: Those that are shown look like arrow-heads on the chart.



3. Herranz, Spanish station owned by the Transatlantic Co.
4. Blelatch or Doña Bartola's Islands, a Spanish station owned by this lady.
5. Obi or Spanish Island.<sup>1</sup>
5. Engnoth, a German station.

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1 Ed. note: Local tradition says that the Manila brigs fishing for trepang in the 1830s were cut off here.

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**Document 1886A**

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**The settlement of the Caroline Island dispute  
with England**

*Source: Article in the Revista de geografía comercial, 1886, pages 260-261.*

**The question of the Carolines.—Protocol with England**

Upon learning officially that the Pope accepted the mediation that Germany and Spain had conferred upon him in the question of the Carolines, His Lordship the Marquis of Salisbury sent instructions to the Chargé d'Affaires of Great Britain in Madrid, ordering him to notify our Government that the government of Her British Majesty wished to participate in all the advantages that might be granted to Germany in the agreement to be signed between the two above-mentioned powers regarding the Caroline and Palau Islands; expressing his wish that the Spanish government would not raise difficulties in granting this petition, since that of London was disposed to recognize our sovereignty over the islands in dispute.

To this effect, there was an exchange of notes between the two Governments, for the purpose of obtaining from England the promise that she would not seek authorization for the creation of a naval station in Spanish Micronesia and would content herself with the same advantages to be given to Germany. On this basis, there was signed at Madrid on 8 January of this year, by Sir Francis Clare Ford and Mr. Moret, the following protocol:

**Protocol.<sup>1</sup>**

“As the two Governments of Great Britain and Spain wish to prove the friendly feelings that unite their two nations, the undersigned, Sir Francis Clare Ford, C.B., K.C.M.G., Special Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her British Majesty at the court of Madrid, and His Excellency Don Segismundo Moret y Prendergast, Minister of State of Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, duly authorized for it by their respective Governments, do declare as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Translated from Spanish. There may very well be an official French and/or English version.

"1° It is agreed that the Government of Her British Majesty shall recognize the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline and Palau Islands, in the same manner and extent that this sovereignty has been or will be recognized in future by the German Government.

"It is agreed that all the privileges, advantages, favors and immunities that have been granted or might be granted in said Islands in future by the Spanish Government to the Government or subjects of the German Empire, shall be immediately and unconditionally granted to the Government or subjects of Great Britain."

The question of the naval station was excluded. Following an exchange of notes between Sir Francis Clare Ford and Mr. Moret, it was recorded that the English Government renounced the naval station.

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**Documents 1886B**

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**Effective occupation of the Caroline Islands by Spain**

*General sources: PNA; AHN 5856.*

**B1. N° 125. Coded telegram from Ultramar to Manila, 6 February 1886****Original text in Spanish.**

*Consecuente telegrama Ministro Guerra, ruego a V.E. me diga si al izarse pabellon aleman en Yap para despues ser remontado, se le ha de saludar por nuestros buques, y si luego procede izar el español en tierra debiendo corresponder a saludar buque aleman.*

**Translation.**

Having received a telegram from War Ministry, I beg Y.E. to tell me whether, upon raising the German flag in Yap in order to have it raised again later on, our ships must salute it, or whether, upon raising the Spanish one ashore later on, the German ship must similarly salute it.

**B2. N° 126. Semi-coded telegram from Ultramar to Manila, 6 February 1886****Original text in Spanish.**

*Gobierno encuentra aceptable formula V.E. si convenido previamente buques alemanes estos la aceptan.*

*Cifrado, Rodrigañez. Fecho.*

**Translation.**

Government finds acceptable the formula proposed by U.E., but only if German ships agree to it beforehand.

Coded by Rodrigañez. Done.

### B3. Creation of governments in Micronesia.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Reconocida la soberanía de España en las islas Carolinas, el Gobierno ha considerado conveniente ejercer desde luego los actos de dominio que se deducen de aquella, y al efecto, el Consejo de Ministros adopta (20 Enero) los siguientes acuerdos:*

*1.º Disponer que se establezcan gobiernos que representen los derechos de España en las islas Carolinas y en las Palaos. Para las primeras se señala la capitalidad en Yap, y para las segundas en Babelthuap.*

*Estos gobiernos estarán dotados de la correspondiente guarnición, á cuyo fin se dispone que dos compañías del batallón de infantería de Marina que está en Filipinas presten este servicio, relevándose periódicamente.*

*El resto del batallón parece que regresará á la Península, por no considerarse indispensable su residencia en aquel archipiélago. Con el regreso se produce una economía en el presupuesto de Marina.*

*2.º Disponer que se organice una expedición que recorra las islas donde la cañonera **Albatross** ejerció actos de soberanía en nombre de Alemania, toda vez que por el protocolo se reconoce en todas ellas la de España. Esta expedición se hará inmediatamente.*

*3.º Aumentar la importancia y categoría del gobierno de las Marianas, reforzando su guarnición.*

*De convenir todo lo necesario para poner en práctica estos acuerdos, disponiendo la forma de realizarlos y arbitrando los medios materiales necesarios, ya para la designación de los territorios que han de ser ocupados, ya para organizar las expediciones ya para dotarlas de personal y recursos pecuniarios, quedaron encargados los Ministros de Estado, Marina, Ultramar y Hacienda.*

#### Translation.

The sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline Islands being recognized, the Government has therefore considered appropriate to exercise the acts of possession that follow from it, and to this effect, the Council of Ministers adopts (20 January [1886]) the following decisions:

1º To arrange for the establishment of governments to represent the rights of Spain in the Caroline and Palau Islands. Yap is chosen as the capital for the former, and Babelthuap for the latter.

These governments are to be endowed with the corresponding garrison, and for this purpose there are available two companies of the Infantry Battalion of Marines presently in the Philippines, that would be rotated periodically.

It appears that the rest of the battalion could return to the Peninsula, as it is not considered indispensable for it to remain at that archipelago.

2º To arrange for an expedition to be organized to visit the islands where the gunboat **Albatross** exercised acts of sovereignty in the name of Germany, since the proto-



col recognizes the sovereignty of Spain over all of the them. This expedition is to take place immediately.

3° To increase the importance and category of the government of the Marianas, by reinforcing its garrison.

In order to agree on everything that is necessary to carry out these decisions, by arranging the form of realizing them and choosing the necessary material means, either for the organization of the expeditions or to endow them with personnel and pecuniary resources, the Ministers of State, Navy, Overseas and Treasury are to be responsible.

## **B4. N° 128. Royal Decree of 19 February 1886 creating two governments for the Carolines**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

#### *Exposición.*

*Señora:*

*La necesidad de regularizar la administracion colonial en nuestros territorios de Oriente, defender los derechos de los súbditos yextrangeros en ellos residentes, y fomentar la riqueza que encierran, ha sido sentido por todos los gobiernos cuyo patriotismo ha empleado para realizar esos fines las medidas que el Estado de nuestra Hacienda consentia. Esta misma necesidad, siendo hoy el Gobierno de V.M. con relacion á los Archipiélagos de las Carolinas y las Palaos, sometidos por la expresa y no interrumpida voluntad de sus habitantes y por la audacia de nuestros marinos al dominio de España, dominio recientemente confirmado en el Protocolo de Roma de 17 de Diciembre de 1885.*

*La nacion Española se ha comprometida a establecer en los mencionados Archipiélagos una administracion que represente su autoridad, y que de hecho y constantemente la haga efectiva; cosa que el Gobierno de V.M. desea realizar no tanto por ceder á la santidad de lo pactado como porque á ello le obligaban los antecedentes y las glorias páginas de nuestra historia colonial. Las autoridades españoles habian en efecto, señalado la conveniencia de establecer un Gobierno especial en las citadas islas y el último Gabinete del Rey D. Alfonso XII (q.s.g.h.) habia proveido á estas proporciones por medio de la autorizacion consignada en el artº 4º de los Presupuestos generales de las Yslas Filipinas.*

*El actual Gabinete cree que el desarrollo que han tomado la navegacion y el comercio en la Oceanía y el mayor incremento que adquirirán en lo sucesivo, con la apertura del istmo de Panamá, no solo aconsejan realizar los indicados pensamientos, sino ampliarlos estableciendo dos gobiernos en los Archipiélagos de las Carolinas y las Palaos.*

*El personal de estos gobiernos debe, en concepto del Ministro que suscribe deberia ser igual en número, categoria y atribuciones al que se halla establecido en algunos otros distritos del Archipiélago [Filipino] cuya situacion es bastante analoga á los de las islas de que se trata.*

*La fijación de las fuerzas necesarias para ejercer debidamente el protectorado debe quedar confiados á la Direccion del supremo delegado del Gobierno en aquellos archipiélagos, pero independientemente de estos, entendiendo el que suscribe, que prestará efficacísimo concurso en la realizacion de ese fin el establecimiento de comunicaciones frecuentes y seguras entre la ciudad de Manila y las residencias de los nuevos Gobernadores.*

*No se fija el punto en que estos habrán de instalarse, aun cuando las islas de Yap y Ascension (Ponapé) parecen las mas indicadas por su situacion geográfica y las condiciones de sus puertos para evitar que cualesquiera obstáculos imprevistos susciten dilaciones en la ejecución de una obra tan patriótica como necesaria.*

*Fundado, pues, en las precedentes consideraciones el Ministro que suscribe, de acuerdo con el consejo de Ministros, tiene el honor de someter á la aprobacion de V.M. el adjunto proyecto de Decreto.*

*Madrid 19 de febrero de 1886.*

*Señora.*

*A.L.R.P.D. V.M.*

#### **Real Decreto<sup>1</sup>**

*De conformidad con lo propuesto por Mi Ministro de Ultramar de acuerdo con el Consejo de Ministros, Vengo en decretar lo siguiente:*

*Artículo primero.—Para el régimen y administracion de las islas denominadas Carolinas y Palaos se establecerán dos Gobiernos políticos uno en la region oriental y otro en la occidental bajo la dependencia del Gobierno General de las islas Filipinas. El Gobernador General fijará la residencia de los Gobiernos, teniendo en cuenta los medios de comunicacion y el mejor servicio.*

*Artículo 2º—Los dos expresados Gobiernos quedarán constituidos con el personal y dotaciones que determina la plantilla adjunta y serán desempeñados por Gefes del Ejercito ó la Armada ó Gefes de Administracion Civil, de 4ª clase que nombrará el Ministro de Ultramar.*

*Art. 3º—La categoria y atribuciones de estos funcionarios hasta que otra cosa se resuelva, serán las mismas que las disposiciones vigentes otorgan al Gobernador politico militar de las Marianas ó los de Samar, Antique, Leyte, Capiz, ..., y Bohol, el Gobernador General de Filipinas dando cuenta á los Ministros de Ultramar y de Guerra ó Marina segun los casos fijará las fuerzas militares que sean necesarias para la defensa del pais y para garantizar la seguridad de las personas y de las propiedades.*

*Artículo 4º—Se establecerán las misiones que se consideran necesarias por medio de las ordenes religiosas existentes en el Archipiélago ó en otros residentes en la Peninsula, que lo soliciten.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Publicado en la Gaceta del 20 Febrero 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. note: El borrador de este artículo decía: "La Orden religiosa de Padres Capuchinos se encargará de establecer las misiones indispensables en los Archipiélagos de que se trata."

*Artículo 5º—El Ministro de Ultramar cuidará de establecer comunicaciones periódicas entre estos Archipiélagos y la ciudad de Manila ya utilizando y mejorando las que actualmente existen con las islas Marianas ya aprovechando la Marina de guerra destinada á las ordenes del Gobierno General de Filipinas.*

*Asi mismo proveerá á los nuevos Gobiernos de las lanchas de vapor ó barcos necesarios para el servicio interior de cada uno de los Distritos y adoptará cuantas disposiciones estime oportunas para el cumplimiento del presente Decreto.*

*Dado en Palacio á 19 de Febrero de 1886.*

*María Cristina.*

*El Ministro de Ultramar,*

*Germán Gamaze.*

*Plantilla de los Gobiernos políticos de las Yslas Carolinas y de las Palaos, creados por Real Decreto de esta fecha.*

**Personal**

	Pesos		
<i>Un Gobernador de la categoria de Teniente Coronel ó Capitan de Fragata ó Gefe de Administracion Civil de 4º clase .....</i>	<i>1300</i>	<i>1400</i>	<i>2,700</i>
<i>Un Secretario Oficial 4º de Admon. ....</i>	<i>400</i>	<i>800</i>	<i>1,200</i>
<i>Un Ynterprete con .....</i>			<i>600</i>
<i>Un Escribiente con .....</i>			<i>150</i>
			-----
			<i>4,650</i>

**Material**

<i>Para gastos de escritorio .....</i>	<i>250</i>
	-----
<i>Ymporte maximo del presupuesto en cada gobierno .....</i>	<i>4,900</i>

*[Nota:] Si el Gobernador tuviese la categoria de comandante de ejército ó teniente de navio de primera clase su sueldo será de 1,200 pesos con un sobresueldo de 1,200.*

**Translation.**

**Exposition.**

Madam:<sup>1</sup>

The need to regulate the colonial administration in our eastern territories, to defend the rights of the subjects and foreigners residing therein, and to develop the wealth that they contain, has been felt by all the governments whose patriotism has employed to realize those purposes the means that the State of our Treasury allowed. This same need is being felt today by the Government of Y.M. in relation with the Archipelagos of the Carolines and Palau, submitted by the express and uninterrupted will of their inhabi-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The proposed text of the decree is thus presented to the Queen by the Minister of Overseas.

tants and by the bravery of our mariners to the domination of Spain, a domination recently confirmed in the Protocol of Rome, dated 17 December 1885.

The Spanish nation has promised to establish in the above-mentioned Archipelagos an administration that represents its authority, and to maintain it effectively and constantly; something that the Government of Y.M. wishes to realize not only to yield to the sacredness of what has been convened, but also because it is so obligated by the past and the glorious pages of our colonial history. The Spanish authorities had indeed already planned the establishment of a special government in said islands and the last cabinet of King Alfonso XII (r.i.p.) had subscribed to this idea by means of the authorization consigned in Art. 4 of the General Budget Provisions for the Philippine Islands.

The present Cabinet thinks that the development that navigation and trade in Oceania have taken and the advances that they will enjoy in future, with the opening of the Isthmus of Panama, not only beg for the realization of the said plans, but also for their expansion to two governments in the Archipelagos of the Carolines and Palaos.

The personnel for these governments, in the opinion of the undersigned Minister, should be equal in number, category and attributions to that already found in other districts of the [Philippine] Archipelago<sup>1</sup> whose situation is analogous to those of the islands in question.

The decision as to the forces necessary to properly exercise the protectorate must remain entrusted to the direction of the Supreme delegate of the Government in those archipelagos, but independently of those, in the understanding of the undersigned, he will afford his very efficient support to the establishment of frequent and secure communications between the city of Manila and the new Governors.

The places where they should be installed is not specified here, but the islands of Yap and Ascension (Ponape) appear to be the best places on account of their geographic situations and the conditions of their ports to avoid any unforeseen obstacles to the execution of this project, as patriotic as it necessary.

Therefore, based on the preceding considerations, the undersigned Minister, with the agreement of the Council of Ministers, has the honor of submitting the enclosed project to the approbation of Y.M.

Madrid, 19 February 1886.

Madam.

At the Royal Feet of Your Majesty.

#### Royal Decree.<sup>2</sup>

In conformity with the proposal of My Minister of Overseas with the agreement of the Council of Ministers, I have granted the following decree:

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1 Ed. note: The Minister did not like the direct mention, in the draft, of governments that would be similar to that established in the Marianas.

2 Published in the Gazette of 20 February 1886.

Article 1.—For the management and administration of the islands called Carolines and Palau, there shall be established political Governments, one in the eastern region and another in the western region, unde the dependency of the Government General of the Philippine Islands. The Governor General shall fix the points of residence of the Governments, taking into account the means of communication and the better service.

Article 2.—The two Governments in question shall remain constituted with the personnel and staff shown in the enclosed list and shall be run by Army or Navy officers or fourth-class officials of the Public service whom the Minister of Overseas shall appoint.

Article 3.—The category and attributions of these officials, until such time as other measures be taken, shall be the same as those presently in force for the politico-military governments of the Marianas or those of Samar, Antique, Leyte, Capiz, ..., and Bohol. The Governor General of the Philippines shall report to the Ministers of Overseas and of the Army and Navy, as the case may be, on the size of the military forces that might be necessary for the defence of the country and to guarantee the security of the persons and properties.

Article 4.—There shall be established the [religious] missions that may be considered necessary by means of the religious orders existing in the Archipelago or in others residing in the Peninsula that might solicit same.<sup>1</sup>

Article 5.—The Minister of Overseas shall endeavor to establish periodical communications between these Archipelagos and the city of Manila, either by making use of and improving the existing communication links with the Mariana Islands or by making use of the resources of the Royal Navy at present under the orders of the Government General of the Philippines.

In addition, he shall provide the new Governments with the necessary steam launches or ships for the internal service of each district and shall adopt any measures he may find timely for the accomplishment of the present Decree.

Given at the Palace on the 19th day of February of the year 1886.

María Cristina.

The Minister of Overseas,  
German Gamaze.

**List of the Personnel for the Political Government of the Caroline and Palau Islands, created by Royal Decree of this date.**

Personnel.	Pesos
One Governor of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or Navy Commander or Civilian Official 4th-Class .....	1300 + 1400 = 2,700
One Secretary, Administrative Official 4th-Class.....	400 + 800 = 1,200

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The draft of this article said: "The religious Order of the Capuchin Fathers shall be entrusted with the established of the indispensable missions in the islands in question."

One Interpreter with .....	600
One Clerk with .....	150
	-----
	4,650
<b>Materiel.</b>	
For office expenses .....	250
	-----
Maximum budget for each government .....	4,900
	====

[Note:] Should the Governor be a Major in the Army or a Navy Lieutenant First-Class, his salary shall be 1200 pesos, with a additioanal allowance of 1200.

### Edito's note:

On 27 February 1886, two more royal decrees were issued, appointing Navy Lieutenant Manuel Eliza y Vergara Governor of the Western Carolines and Navy Commander Isidro Posadillo Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

### B5. N° 133. Coded telegram from Manila to Ultramar, dated 25 March 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*No tiene noticias Consul aleman vayan Yap buques para remontar pabellon y me consta ha escrito comerciante establecido [sea] amable para no izarlo mas. Ruego V.E. instrucciones para ocupacion inmediata Carolinas y Palaos que creo conveniente. Tengo personal nombrado...*

#### Translation.

German Consul does not have any news about any ships going to Yap to put flag back up but he tells me that he has written trader[s] established there to be good enough not to raise it any more. I beg to receive instructions from Y.E. for an immediate occupation of Carolines and Palau which I believe appropriate. I already have personnel appointed...

### B6. N° 138. Semi-coded telegram from Ultramar to Manila, 27 March 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Por el correo del primero del actual recibirá V.E. instrucciones para establecimiento Gobiernos de Carolinas y Palaos...*

**Translation.**

Through mail dated 1st instant Y.E. will receive instructions for the establishment of Governments of Carolines and Palaos...

**B7. N° 139 Coded telegram from Manila, received Madrid  
21 April 1886****Original text in Spanish.**

*Regresó de Yap vapor **Manila** vuelbe estacionarse allí. Buques alemanes todavia no han ido remontar pabellon. Ruego V.E. instrucciones sobre tomar posesion inmediata ó si sigo esperando...*

**Translation.**

Steamer **Manila** has returned from Yap and is going back to act as station ship there. German ships have not yet been there to raise flag anew. I beg Y.E. for instructions about taking immediate possession, or if I go on waiting...

**Editor's note.**

On 22 February 1886, two more royal decrees were issued, appointing Commander Isidro Posadillo as Governor of the Eastern Carolines, and Navy Lieutenant Manuel Eliza y Vergara Governor of the Western Carolines.

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 Document 1886C
 

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## Report of a mission to Palau by the Marqués del Duero, Captain Cano

*Source: PNA. Note: For copies of the German documents cited therein, see Doc. 1885AA.*

### Letter from the Admiral to the Governor General, dated 27 February 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Comandancia General de Marina, Filipinas.*

*Manila, 27 Feb. 1886*

*Excmo. Sor.:*

*En la noche de ayer ha fondeado en esta bahía el transporte **Julieta**, que conduce pliego del Aviso **Marqués del Duero**, cuyo Comandante me da cuenta del resultado de su Comisión in Palaos en los términos siguientes.*

*"Exmo. Sor.:*

*"En cumplimiento de las instrucciones reservadas de V.E., fecha 3 de Diciembre pasado, desde mi llegada á Korrór, empecé el tratar de facilitarme los medios indispensables para poder averiguar de viva voz y del modo mas fidedigno y reservado posible, los actos que en estas Islas habían realizado los buques Alemanes **Iltis** y **Albatross** en los pasados meses de Agosto y Setiembre del próximo anterior año; para cuyo fin me era de todo punto preciso, en primer lugar, buscar persona que me sirviera de interprete cerca de los indigenas. Con tal objeto y con el de explorar previamente el estado de ánimo de los naturales, mande un oficial al pueblo de Korrór que dista unas 2 millas del fondeadero, oficial que regresó manifestandome, haber encontrado un súbdito inglés, Mr. Gibbon, residente en Palaos desde hace largo número de años, y dos Filipinos, naturales de la isla de Bohol, que los tres le habían ofrecido venir abordo al siguiente día; que tambien había visto á los reyes primero y segundo de Korrór, Abbadule y Aracoco, mostrandose como reservados recelosos y quizás con miedo por las instrucciones pudieramos traer. No habiendose presentado como ofrecieron, aquellos tres individuos entre los que tenía que escoger interprete, me decidí á no esperar más y fui á Korrór acompañado del Comandante del **Julieta** y algunos oficiales; en el desembar-*



cadere nos recibió el segundo rey Aracoco, y se unió unos de los Tagalos y poco después Mr. Gibbon y el otro Tagalo, procedente á casa del primer Rey Abbadule, que se encuentra situada algo al interior. En frente de ella y clavada en el tronco de una palmera de bonga, existe la tabla con la bandera alemana y escrito, cuyo simul, tengo el honor de acompañar á V.E. con el No. 1 entre los unidos documentos. En mi visita dije al Rey, valiendome como interprete de Mr. Gibbon, pues los Filipinos de Bohol hablan muy poco el Castellano para interpretar bien, que llegaba á Korrer con el otro barco para hacer un transbordo de carbon, que estaríamos algunos días y que tambien aprovechaba esta ocasión para noticiarle la muerte de S.M. el Rey Don Alfonso, y la exultación de la Princesa de Asturias, bajo la Regencia de S.M. la reina madre Doña María Cristina; luego incidentalmente demostré extrañeza por aquella tabla que veía en frente con la bandera Alemana, explicandose sobre ella, aunque con cierta reserva conforme con los hechos ya conocidos por el expediente formado en Yap; me enseñó la bandera Española que le entregó el Velasco, la que tiene guardada en un baul junta con otra Alemana que le dió el Comandante de la *Iltis*, y me dió á leer 3 documentos, uno el tratado hecho abordo del Velasco, y los otros dos Alemanes, que le dieron respectivamente los Comandantes del *Iltis* y *Albatross*, este último firmado por él con tres Cruces; ofreciendome devolver la visita abordo, no estrene en aquella primera entrevista mis preguntas, tratando más bien de hacer que perdieran el recelo que tenían por mis intenciones, encargandoles que cuando viniese abordo trajese todos aquellos documentos.

“Al siguiente día cumplió en palabra y vino Abbadule abordo del *Ducro*, acompañado de Aracoco, otros principales, Mr. Gibbon y los Tagalos, y aprovechando el tiempo que permanecieron de visita, hice sacar las copias de los documentos Alemanes, que acompañó con los No. 2 y 3, los cuales por no haber nadie en los buques que conociese el Aleman, tuvieron que ser trasladada, letra por letra quizás con errores, que aunque juzgo que en esa dificultaran la traducción, no creo la imposibiliten: hice algunos pequeños presentes á los dos Reyes, y mostrandose más confiados, valiendome de Mr. Gibbon como interprete, obtuve que confirmarán que el documento No. 3 no quería firmarlo Abbadule, y Kobary le obligó á hacerlo, cojiendose la mano, no resistiendose más por miedo á los Alemanes; les dije que antes de empezar la faena del carbon iba á ir á Artingale á ver a el EraKe-so [sic], y noticiarme que Arra-Klay se encontraba muy enfermo, bajé á tierra acompañado del segundo Comandante y Mr. Gibbon para visitarle; me recibió hechado pudiendo apenas incorporarse, tanto por esta circunstancia como por prevenirme Mr. Gibbon que ahora este rey era partidario de los Alemanes, me reserve más en las preguntas, pero luego por su hermano EraKe-so cuya casa tambien estube, pude aclarar todos los hechos. Arra-Klay me mostró la bandera que le dió el Velasco, otra Alemana que le dió el Comandante del *Albatross*, y los documentos del Velasco y un semejante al No. 3 en todo, firmado por él y demás personas que en este figuran, el cual no copié por faltar de oportunidad allí y suponerlo en todo igual al No. 3, documento semejante al No. 2 no tiene este rey pues la *Iltis* no llegó á su fondeadero; por último frente á su casa y tambien clavada en el tronco de un arbol hay

*otra tabla pintada en un todo igual al simil No. 1. Aquí en Artingale, según dicho de EraKe-so, tenían izada la bandera española, junto á la casa del rey, que se encuentra bastante internada, cuando llegaron los Alemanes con Kobary, el cual la arrió izando la Alemana, y obligando tambien por fuerza á Arra-Klay á firmar el ya expresado documento; hoy día no izan ni una ni otra guardando las banderas juntas y cuidadosamente ese en un baul caja.*

*“A mi regreso á Korrer, estuve incomunicado con el pueblo los días 3 y 4 á causa del mal tiempo y continuando en los siguientes mis investigaciones resulta que el Cañonero Itis, en Agosto, desembarcó en Korrer gente armada en total unos 20 hombres, que formaron frente á casa de Abbadule é izaron la bandera Alemana, dando los hurras al emperador, y que entregaron á este rey la bandera y el documento No. 2, que la bandera Española, fuera por miedo á los Alemanes, fuera por descuido, cuando estos llegaron, ni por consiguiente ellos pudieron aquí arriarla, que la Itis de Korrer se fue á la mar sin ir á Artingale, y según me ha asegurado Mr. Gibbon, que sirvió de interprete en esta ocasión á los Alemanes, pues en la Itis no venía Kobary, y fué testigo de lo que entonces ocurrió, el Comandante quizo dejarle un documento semejante al No. 2 y una bandera para que él se lo llevase á Arra-Klay, a lo que Mr. Gibbon no accedió, disculpandose con su posición de mero comerciante, ser súbdito inglés y creer que estas Islas pertenecían á España.*

*“Posteriormente en Setiembre llegó á el Albatross piloteado por el indigena Cobac y trayendo abordo á Kobary, en cuya ocasión desembarca con solo el Comandante Kobary y algunos Oficiales, siendo entonces cuando Abbadule se vio obligado á firmar el documento No. 3 y clavaron la tabla con la bandera y despues se trasladaron á Artingale, y efectuaron los hechos ya expresados.*

*“Para el aclarecimiento de los dos hechos, he necesitado la cooperación de Mr. Gibbon como interprete y aun como testigo presencial de algunos, juzgando dignas de crédito sus manifestaciones y fielfes] sus interpretaciones, pues tanto por su nacionalidad inglesa, como por ser el agente comercial de Mr. O’Keef, de Yap, en este grupo de Islas, le considero opuesto á los Alemanes y más inclinado á nosotros, por considerar nuestro dominio en Palaos y Carolinas más conveniente para sus intereses comerciales, siendo enemigos irreconciliables de las casas Alemanes que negocian en estas regiones. Por mi parte he tratado de tranquilizar á estos Régulos respecto á los temores que mostraban hacia nosotros, pues con su primitiva y salvaje lógica deducían que en la cuestión pendiente entre España y Alemania, ellos experimentarían las malas consecuencias, caso de inclinarse por unos ú otros; les expuse, que yo no teniendo instrucciones particulares de V.E., dejaba todo como estaba y nada exigía de ellos, con esto conseguí por los de Korrer completamente tranquilos me hicieron protestas de quererse de España, como siempre lo habían creído ser, y no de Alemania, indicandome con su llana franquesa que lo que no deseaban son soldados de fuera de las Islas, porque temían que estos les maltratarían y les quitarían las mujeres, que España mandase comerciantes que los recibirían como hermanos y de vez en cuando un buque de guerra para visitarlos y cuidar de ellos.*

*"Creo, Exmo. é Ilmo. Sr. dejar con estas noticias, cumplida la comisión reservada, que para este grupo de Islas, se dignó conferirme, habiendo procurado esclarecer los hechos consignados, de entre las diversas versiones más ó menos explicitas y concretas que he recibido de los naturales y que ha sido necesario depurar convenientemente."*

*Lo que con inclusión de las copias y croquis que se citan, tengo el honor de transcribirlo á V.E. como resultado de sus respetables comunicaciones referentes al particular.*

*Dios Guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 27 de Febrero de 1886.*

[A] *Exc. Sr. Gobernador Gral. de estas Islas.*

### Translation.

The Commander General of the Navy, Philippines.

Manila, 27 February 1886

Your Excellency:

Last night the transport **Julieta** came into this port, bringing in mail from the Despatch boat **Marqux del Duero** whose Commander reports to me the result of his mission to Palau in the following terms:

"Your Excellency:

"In compliance with the confidential instructions of Y.E., dated 3 December last, as soon as I arrived at Koror, I began to look for a way to acquire the indispensable means to get verbal confirmation, and with the most trustworthy and confidential manner possible, about the events that surrounded the visits of the German ships **Iltis** and **Albatross** during the months of August and September last. For this purpose, I first of all had to look for a person who would serve me as interpreter with the natives. To do so, and to find out the state of mind of the natives, I sent an officer to the town of Koror, which is about 2 miles distant from the anchorage. This officer returned to tell me that he had met with an English subject, Mr. Gibbon, who has resided in Palau for a large number of years, and two Filipinos, natives of the Island of Bohol; the three of them had promised to come aboard the next day. He had always seen the first and second kings of Koror, Abbadul and Arracook, and found them to be shy, perhaps for fear of the instructions that we may have brought regarding them. Since none of these three men, among whom I was to choose an interpreter, came, as promised, I decided not to wait any longer and I went to Koror accompanied by the Commander of the **Julieta** and a few officers. At the landing, we were met by the second king, Arracook; one of the Filipinos joined us and a short time later, Mr. Gibbon and the other Filipino, joined us and we went to the house of the first King, Abbadul, which is located somewhat inland. In front of it, nailed to the trunk of an areca palm, was the board with the German flag and writing, whose drawing I have the honor to send to Y.E. as Document

N° 1 among the enclosed documents.<sup>1</sup> During my visit to the King, I used the services of Mr. Gibbon as interpreter, because the Filipinos from Bohol spoke too little Spanish to interpret well. Through him I told the King that I came to Koror with the other ship to transfer coal, that we would be there a few days and that I took the opportunity to tell him about the death of H.M. King Alfonso XII, but that the Princess of Asturias had been exalted, under the regency of Her Majesty the Queen Mother, Doña María Cristina. Then, I casually expressed surprise at seeing that board in front of his house with the German flag. He explained it, though with a certain reserve about it that confirm the events already made known in the file opened about it at Yap, by showing me the Spanish flag given to him by the **Velasco**; he kept it put away in a trunk, jointly with a German flag given to him by the Commander of the **Iltis**, and he let me read three documents, one the treaty made aboard the **Velasco**, and the other two in German, which were given to him by the Commanders of the **Iltis** and **Albatross** respectively. The latter document was signed by him with three crosses. He offered to visit me on board. At this first interview, I did not dare broach the subject with more questions, as I was intent on reducing the shyness he had toward my intentions. I asked to bring the documents along.

"The next day, Abbadul did as promised and came on board the **Duero**, accompanied by Arracook, other chiefs, Mr. Gibbon and the Filipinos, and, taking advantage of the time that their visit lasted, I had copies made of the German documents, which I enclose as N° 2 and 3. Since there were no-one on board who knew German, they had to transcribe the documents letter by letter, perhaps with errors being made; although I think that this will make the translation more difficult, I do not believe that it will be impossible. I made a few small presents to the two Kings, and, as they became more trusting; using Mr. Gibbon as interpreter, I was able to get confirmation that Abbadul had refused to sign Document N° 3, that Kubary had forced him to do it, by grabbing his hand, and that he had not resisted for fear of the Germans. I told them that, before beginning the transfer of the coal I was going to Artingal to see EraKe-so [sic], having been warned that Arra-Kaly was very sick. I stepped ashore accompanied by the second Commander and Mr. Gibbon to pay him a visit. In fact, he received me while lying down, and could hardly sit up. For this reason and also because Mr. Gibbon had warned me that this king was partisan of the Germans, I was more careful in my talk, but later on, through his brother, EraKe-so, whose house I also visited, I was able to confirm all the events. Arra-Kaly showed me the flag given to him by the **Velasco**, also a German flag given to him by the Commander of the **Albatross**, and the documents of the **Velasco** and one similar to N° 3 in everything, signed by him and other persons who appear therein; I did not copy said document for lack of opportunity therebut I suppose it is equal to N° 3; this king did not have a document similar to N° 2, because he was not visited by the **Iltis**. Finally, in front of his house, and also nailed to the trunk of a tree, there was another painted board, completely similar to the other, N° 1. Here at

1 Ed. note: See Doc. I885AA.

Artungal, according to EraKe-so, they had the Spanish flag up, next to the king's house which is located somewhat inland, when the German arrive with Kubary, who took it down and raised the German one, and then forced Arra-Klay to sign the already mentioned document. Nowadays they do not raise either flag but keep them put away together and carefully inside a box trunk.

"Upon returning to Koror, I remained without communication with the town on the 3rd and 4th days because of bad weather and on the following days I continued my investigations. It turns out that the gunboat *Iltis*, last August, landed some armed men, about 20 men, who lined up in front of King Abbadul's house where they raised the German flag, giving the hurrays to their Emperor, and then they gave the flag and Document N° 2 to the king; as for the Spanish flag, it was out of sight, for fear of the Germans, but perhaps it was for lack of care; in any case, they could not have taken it down here. The *Iltis* then left Koror and went to sea, without visiting Artungal, and according to Mr. Gibbon, who served as interpreter to the Germans on that occasion, Kubary not being aboard her; he says that the Commander wished to leave him a document similar to N° 2 and a flag for him to give to Arra-Klay, but Mr. Gibbon did not agree, excusing himself by saying that he was but a trader, and an English subject, and also believing that these islands belong to Spain.

"Later on, in September, there arrived [from Yap] the *Albatross* piloted by the [Palauan] native Cobac and with Kubary on board. On this occasion Kubary came ashore with the Commander and some officers, and it was then that Abbadul was forced to sign Document N° 3 and they nailed the board with the flag and they carried out the events already mentioned.

"To elucidate the two events, I needed the cooperation of Mr. Gibbon as interpreter and even as an eyewitness to some, and I judge his statements to be fully trustworthy and his interpretations faithful; indeed, given his English nationality, and being a trader employed by Mr. O'Keefe, of Yap, in this group of islands, I consider him opposed to the Germans and more partisan to us, because our possession of Palau and the Carolines is more compatible with his commercial interests; both are irreconcilable enemies of the German trading houses that carry out trade in the same regions. For my part, I have tried to calm down these petty kings with regards to the fears that they were showing toward us; indeed, with their primitive and savage logic, they had deduced that, in the on-going dispute between Spain and Germany, they might experience only bad consequences, if they sided for one against the other. I explained to them that I did not have any specific instructions from Y.E., and I was leaving things as they were, making no demands on them. That is how I managed to get those of Koror to completely calm down and they stated that they wanted to belong to Spain, as they had always thought they did, and not to Germany, and they told me very frankly that what they did not want was to see soldiers from outside the islands, because they feared that they would treat them badly and take their women, that Spain should send traders, that they would welcome them as brothers and to send a warship now and then to visit them and take care of them.

“Most Excellent and Illustrious Sir, I believe that, with this information, I have completed the confidential mission which you have been pleased to confer upon me for this group of Islands, as I have tried to elucidate the events in question, from among the many versions that were more or less explicit and concrete that I received from the natives and that I had to judge appropriately.”

The above report, with the above-mentioned copies and sketch enclosed, I have the honor to forward to Y.E., as the result of your respectable communications concerning the case.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 27 February 1886.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

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**Documents 1886E**

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**The death of Captain Holcomb****E1. Letter from the U.S. Consul regarding the death of Captain Holcomb**

*Source: PNA. Note: The original ms. letter was in Spanish.*

**[From] The Consulate of the United States of America at Manila.**

[To] the Office of the Secretary of His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

Your Excellency:

In the middle of last year [1885], the sea captain Crayton P. Holcomb, American citizen, resident or land owner of the Spanish island of Yap, Carolines, was killed there [sic], where he owned farms and considerable property.

A letter has been received at this consulate from the closest relative, a sister of the deceased, in which she asks me explanations and details of the crime committed in Yap, and also she wishes to know something regarding the goods and properties left by Holcomb in that town; and ignoring absolutely anything about both subjects, I take the liberty, supposing that in that Government General there can be found some details about what happened in the said Spanish territory, to approach Y.E. for the purpose of helping me to satisfy as much as possible the questions of the American family of the above-mentioned captain.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 22 February 1886.

Julius G. Voigt, U.S. Consul.

**E2. Answer from the Governor General**

*Source: PNA.*

[To] the Consul of the United States in this Capital.

In answer to your letter dated yesterday, I must let You know that there is no official knowledge in this Government of the assassination of the American citizen Cray-

ton P. Holcomb, that occurred in the middle of last year, in the Caroline Islands, because there was no Spanish authority as yet established in the said islands on that date.

Through individual reports, it has been learned by this Government General that, when he died, the American in question left debts in some commercial houses established in Yap, whose owners, are making inquiries about the whereabouts of the family of the deceased for the purpose of claiming the sums of money that he left unpaid.

That is all that can be said to You in reply to your letter.

May God save You for many years.

Manila, 23 February 1886.

### **E3. Letter from Captain McGlensey to his sister, dated Yokohama 14 September 1886**

*Source: Holcomb's Papers, in the possession of Louis Gutierrez of Buffalo, New York, a descendant of Captain Holcomb's sister, Arlesta Holcomb Gutierrez.*

U.S.S. Ossipee  
Yokohama, Japan  
September 14, 1886

Mrs. Manuel Gutierrez.  
Hartford Co., Conn., U.S.A.

Madam,

Your letter of July 2 has just been received.

The only information I can give in regard to the death of your brother, Captain C. P. Holcomb, is that he was killed some time in May 1885, by the inhabitants of Tench Island, which is situated near the Admiralty Islands.

I heard the story from two of the Yap men who accompanied him, and one of whom was in the boat at the time he met his death.

It seems he went to the island for the purpose of buying some shells from the natives, and while standing up in the boat showing them some cloth, they speared him; he fell overboard into the water and was dragged ashore.

Every man in the boat was wounded, but they managed to get the boat back to the ship.

I do not remember the names of the two natives, nor did I bring them away. I am, also, unable to tell you the name of the ship, or, of any of her officers.

I should be very much pleased if I could hold out the slightest hope that your mother might again meet her son, but I am of opinion that there can be no doubt of Captain Holcomb having met with his death in the manner stated.

Assuring you that I deeply sympathize with your mother and yourself in your sad bereavement.

I am, Madam,



Very respectfully  
 John F. McGlensey  
 Commander, USN, Commanding "Ossipee"

#### **E4. Letter from Isaiah Bray to his sister, dated Oakland 18 November 1886**

*Source: Holcomb's Papers (op. cit.)*

*Note: Captain Isaiah Bray had been in charge of the missionary vessel Morning Star at one time.*

Office of the Young Men's Christian Association, No. 565 Broadway, bet. 7th and 8th Str., Oakland, Cal. Nov. 18 1886

Mrs M. Gutierrez,  
 Hartford, Conn.

My Dear Madam

Your request of Nov. 8/86 came to hand. I am sorry to say that I can give you no definite information regarding Capt. Holcombe. I have often heard his name mentioned among the islands, but do not remember of meeting him. I never went as far as Yap in the **Morning Star**. My mate, Mr. George H. Garland went there on his way home in 1884, and I think he met him. He is still mate of the new **Star**, and I will send your letter to him to Honolulu, and ask for any information he can give. He will be back there from his voyage in Feb or March. Since the Caroline Is. have come into possession of the Spanish I understand that communication is open between there and Manilla, but probably not regularly. At any rate it might be advisable to write to Yap, and direct a letter to 169 Capt. H. or any of his friends." This letter should be directed "via Manila Phil. Is.," and perhaps the sooner you write the better. I doubt if you could get any information from the missionaries, and yet it is very probable. You might write and direct in the same way as above, to "Rev. E. T. Doane, Ponape, Caroline Is." He would know if any of them did. You might also write at the same time to Messrs. Hensheim & Co. Jaluit, Marshall Is." They are a trading firm and will be able to give you correct information, altho. it may be 6 months or a year before an answer would reach you. I think Mr. Garland however will be able to inform you.

Very cordially Yours,  
 Isaiah Bray

#### **E5. Letter from Bartola Holcomb to her mother-in-law, dated Yap 26 August 1886**

*Source: Holcomb's Papers (op. cit.)*

Tapalao  
 Yap, Caroline Islands

26th August 1886

Dear Mother,

I take this earliest opportunity of replying to your last letter to my husband. I would gladly have written to you before only I have been so upset. I am very sorry to have to tell you that I have lost my husband. Crayton is no more in the present life. He was killed a while ago at the Island of St. Matthias whither he had gone to trade. This is indeed very sad news for you but we must all bear with our gloom, remembering that "to every one upon this Earth death cometh soon or late." But his loss is indeed very great to me and can never be repaired. Life for all without him is devoid of that cheer and spirit which it had with him. He was grived to learn of your troubles and now he is pas--- Reconoity(?) and I do [know] how fond he is of you for he used ever to speak very fondly of you—his mother.

I express his will as well as my own when I tell you that while the whole of his family are to be allowed to live together on his property, you as long as you live, are to be the head of the whole, and the other members of the family should assist you by paying you such reasonable rent for the use of the place as you require and they are able to afford, and if any one should like to sub-let, let his or her portion to stray(?) after paying you your requirements all right it away be done. The proceeds to go to your common support. Crayton never expressed himself in writing or authorize in any other way than this. You must all live together in peace and happiness and not quarrel amongst yourselves, for you are all one family. Let all know this. α When you yourself oldse [= ought] to exist in the present life then the others are still to live together on the property who like and are not toke [=at all] require to pay any rent. Caryton's eldest sister Arlesta is then to be head of the family as long as she lives or at least till I myself require to use the place, but I do not whink this a very near possibility with however as early as possible take a trip to West Granby to see how you are all getting on. Life is too brief for quarreling. It is surely the duty of the family to live together happily. I have had a lot of expenses to settle at Crayton's death, so that I am not able to send you a present just now as I would wish, but I will do so when I am able.

There is your daughter-in-law. I wish her toke treated as one of ... all the others. You must all write to me as often as you can and let me know how you are all getting on. I do not know all your names. Send me your photographs with your respective names on each. I have a photograph of the old pand of Aunt Awit(?) and one of Arlesta and her family a long while ago but that is all I have. Hoping that this will find you all well and happy.

I remain,  
Yours affectionally,  
Bratola [sic] Holcombe

[To] Mr. Betsy Dean,  
West Granby, Connecticut

## E6. Statement of Captain O'Keefe, dated Hong Kong 1 April 1887

*Source: Holcomb's Papers (op. cit.).*

U.S. Consulate Hong Kong, April 1st 1887  
Statement of Capt. O'Keefe  
Master of Brig **Swan**

I knew Capt. C. P. Holcomb for several years residing in the same neighbourhood in Yap. He resided in that Island from 1875 to the date of his murder May 6th 1885.

He went from Yap to Tenche Islands near the Coast of New Guinea on a trading expedition, and while there was killed by the natives. The cause of this difficulty is unknown to me. The mate of his vessel, Mr. Wigmore an Australian, brought the vessel back to Yap, and it is now in possession of Mr. Williams, a ship broker of Sydney, N.S.W.

Capt. Holcomb was largely in debt at the time of his death and his property was not sufficient to discharge them. His reputed wife, Bartola Garrido, is a native of the Island Guam, and still resides in Yap.

Signed D. Dean O'Keefe,

Master of Brig **Swan**

Signed before me this 1st day of April 1887

R. E. Walters,

U.S. Consul

## E7. Letter from Captain O'Keefe, dated Yap 24 June 1887

*Source: Holcomb's Papers (op. cit.)*

Yap the 24th of June 1887

[To] Julian G. Voigt, Esq.

U.S. Consul Manila

Dear Sir:

Your favour ... give you the information you require as the late C. P. Holcomb and myself were neighbours here for the last twelve years. In 1874 he took charge of a small vessel that belonged to Captain Hayes whom the crew and passengers had been away with from Guam leaving the Capt. on shore there being no navigator on board the vessel was at the mercy of the winds and seas and after several days sailing they seen the Pel-  
lews the northern of whom came out and took them into the Port of Araklay. A month after Captain Holcomb arrived in the Sch. **Scotland** and took possession of the Schooner named the **Rabbi** [sic = Arabia] after several months had passed he took the vessel to Hong Kong and put her through the Admiralty Court buying her himself he

then gave up command of the **Scotland** and returned in the **Rabbi** to Yap after various cruises around he remained on shore in Yap and sent the vessel away to the Admiralty in charge of his mate twice which time she has never been heard of. When Captain H. took possession of the **Rabbi** there was on board various peoples amongst whom was Miss Bartola Garrido and in admiration of the courage the late C. P. H. displayed in taking charge of the vessel from the Pellows natives she fell an easy prey and since lived as man and wife up to the time of his death he has openly acknowledged her as his wife and has written the same on some kind of a document to that effect and also has made a will in her favour just previous to his leaving Yap on his last fatal voyage.

At the time that those things took place there was not Missionarys of any denomination here nor were they up to the time of his death although there are now. As regards his properties there is some grass Enan [sic] the man at the time of his death was being heavily mortgaged and some of his creditors was glad it for the whatever they could get and I must give Mrs. Bartola H. credit for making every effort when trying to liquidate all the claims. I am not speaking in a cheaped(?) manner as Mrs. Bartola and myself has not spoken three times in several years, so you may not property easy that anything here that Mby receive in her ... barred and is only thing the simple truth what she has now is what she has made since the Spaniards has taken possession.

I am in possession of a Power of Attorney from Mr. John Williams of Sydney to collect the sum of £1100. ... from the estate of the late C. P. H. but ... fit I have observed him not to troubling himself any further about it as the assets would not pay a tithe of the expressed of ... I am really sorry to think that it should have acted in the manner he seems to have towards the woman acknowledged as his wife and one who has done well towards him for so many years; any further information you may require I shall feel happy in giving. I assure you again that all the information I give you here is carried as it is the interest to me only to see justice done when it should be.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,  
D. Dean O'Keefe.

## E8. Official information in Spanish government files

*Source: PNA.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Secretaría del Gobierno General de Filipinas, Año de 1887, Núm, 2, Negociado 1. Expediente relativo al Sr. Holcom [sic] que se supone haber sido asesinado en las Islas Carolinas.*

*Ministro de Ultramar—No. 18.*

*Excmo. Sor.:*

*El Sor. Ministro de Estado dice á este de Ultramar con fecha 21 del actual lo que sigue:*

*“Excmo. Sor.:*

*“El Sor. Ministro Plenipotenciario de los Estados Unidos ha acudido á este Ministro con objeto de obtener algunas noticias acerca de un Sor. Holcom, ciudadano Norte Americano que se supone haber sido asesinado en las Islas Carolinas, asi como respecto de los bienes que haya podido dejar á su fallecimiento. Y como quiera que en este Centro no hay noticia alguna oficial relativa al hecho que se denuncia Mr. Curry me dirijo á V.E. rogandole se sirva comunicarme los datos que puedan existir en el Ministerio de su digno cargo respecto de los extremos antes mencionados, en el caso de no tener noticia alguna de ellos, los solicite con la posible brevedad de Sor. Representante de la Union Americana.”*

*Lo que de Real orden comunicada por el Sor. Ministro de Ultramar traslado á V.E. para los efectos que se interesan en el anterior inserto.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Madrid 31 de Diciembre de 1886.*

*El Subsecretario—F. Rodríguez.*

*[Al] Sor. Gobernador Gral. de Filipinas.*

*[Minuta:]*

*Manila 22 Febrero 1887.*

*Cúmplase y expidanse al efecto las órdenes oportunas.*

*Molto.*

...

*Gobierno Político de la region occidental de las Islas Carolinas y Palaos—(Yap 19 Aug 1887)*

*Nº 59—Dando noticias del Señor Holcom, sñbdito, ó Ciudadano Norte Americano y de sus bienes de fortuna que dejó en esta Isla á su fallecimiento.*

*Exmo. Señor:*

*Tengo el honor de contestar á su muy respetable y atenta comunicacion de V.E. fecha 25 de Febrero último en la que se sirve darme traslado de una Real Orden del Ministerio de Estado de fecha 21 de Diciembre por conducto del de Ultramar en 31 del mismo mes y año 1886.*

*Las noticias adquiridas por este Gobierno con toda veracidad que el caso requiere sobre el Señor Holcom ciudadano Norte Americano, son que efectivamente, fué asesinado por los naturales de la Isla de Tinchs [Tench], y según documento que presenta la Señora esposa que fué de dicho Holcom, Doña Bartola Garrido, este, antes de su salida para dicha Isla donde fué asesinado, la dejó heredera y propietaria de lo poco que poseía, siendo además dichos bienes adquiridos entre ambos, pues según manifiesta la esposa viuda, nada aportó aquel al matrimonio, como aquí nada se la conoce á la citada Doña Bartola Garrido más que una pequeña Isla [i.e. Topelau] donde tiene su casi-*

*ta de tabla y nipa y en ella habita, sin que la Isla produzca hoy, ni en adelante pueda producir nada en absoluto.*

*Si Doña Bartola Garrido puede hoy atender á sus necesidades más perentorias, es debido única y exclusivamente al sueldo como Interprete del Gobierno Político de esta provincia, y maestra de escuela le tiene señalados el Gobierno de España por los buenos servicios que como española, ella tiene prestados, y que se los ha tenido en cuenta.*

*Es cuanto puedo manifestar á la Superioridad de V.E. sobre el particular.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Yap 19 de Agosto de 1887.*

*Excmo. Señor.*

*Mariano Torres*

[A] *Exmo. Señor Gobernador General de Filipinas.*

### **Translation.**

Secretariat of the Governor General of the Philippines, Year of 1887, No. 2, Business office 1.

File regarding Mr. Holcom [sic] who is supposed to have been assassinated in the Caroline Islands.

Minister of Overseas—Nº 18.

Your Excellency:

The Minister of State writes the following to the Minister of Overseas, on 21st instant:

“Your Excellency:

“The Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States has approached this Ministry for the purpose of obtaining some news regarding a certain Mr. Holcom, a North American citizen who is supposed to have been assassinated in the Caroline Islands, as well as regards to the property that might have been left at his death. As it happens, there is not one official note about the incident that Mr. Curry deplors. I therefore address myself to Y.E. to beg you to please send whatever information that may exist in the Ministry that is in your care, regarding the above-mentioned points. Should there be nothing about them, you may request them as soon as possible from the Representant of the American Union.”

This is what I have to forward to Y.E. by royal order from the Minister of Overseas for the effects that may result from the earlier enclosure.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 31 December 1886.

The Sub-secretary—F. Rodríguez.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

[Minute:]

Manila, 22 February 1887.

Carry on and issue the timely orders to this effect.

Molto.

...  
 [Editor's notes: Antonio Moltó was then serving as Interim Governor General of the Philippines, replacing Terrero, although he was not confirmed as interim leader until the following year. On February 1887, Moltó told the Minister of Overseas that he had asked the Governor of Yap for information. For unknown reasons, he did not allow the following sentence to appear in his final communiqué: "Halcomb [sic] was married to Doña Bartola Garrido whose services and loyalty to Spain you know about and who has been named by this General Government interpreter for the Political Government of the Western Carolines and primary school teacher in Yap."]

...  
 Political Governor of the western region of the Caroline Islands and Palau—(Yap, 29 Aug 1887)

Nº 59—Sending news of Mr. Holcom, North American subject, rather citizen, and of his property of fortune that he left at this Island when he died.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to answer the very respectable and caring letter of Y.E. dated 25 February last in which you were pleased to forward to me a Royal Order from the Minister of State dated 21 December through the Minister of Overseas dated 31st day of said month and year 1886.

The news that have been obtained by this Government with the complete truth that the case required regarding Mr. Holcom, the North American citizen, are indeed that he was assassinated by the natives of the Island of Tinchs [Tench], and according to a document provided by his former wife, Doña Bartola Garrido, the man had, before leaving for said Island where he was kelled, chosen her as his heir and the owner of the little he owned; in fact, his widow says that said property had been acquired by the two of them together, that the man had brought nothing into the marriage. Overhere, said Doña Bartola Garrido is not known to own anything besides a small island island [i.e. Topelau], where she has her small board house roofed with nipa and in which she lives, without any product from the island, not today nor at any time in the future as it is completely infertile.

If Doña Bartola Garrido may today look after her most preemptory needs, it is only and exclusively due to the salary earmarked for her as Interpreter of the Political Government of this province, and school teacher, by the Government of Spain, for the good services she has rendered as a Spanish subject, and which have been taken into account.

That is all I have to report to the Superior government of Y.E. regarding this matter.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Yap, 29 August 1887.

Excellency.

Mariano Torres

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Bartola Garrido was to have a hard time receiving payment for such services from the Spanish Government. The archives contain a pathetic note from her addressed to the Government Secretary in Yap, Mr. Gil, asking for help one night when she did not even have oil for her lamp; she had been renting part of her house to a man who had not paid his rent for months...



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 Documents 1886F
 

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## Father Ibañez' requests for his salary as military chaplain

*Source: PNA.*

### F1. First request dated Manila 16 February 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Secretaría del Gobierno Gral. de Filipinas, Año de 1886, Negociado de Carolinas. Expediente promovido por Fr. Aniceto Ibañez en solicitud de abono de haberes como Capellan Castrense de las Islas Carolinas.*

*Exmo. Sor. Gobor. gral. y Vice-Patrono de Filipinas.*

*Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, agustino recoleto y superior de la misión de Carolinas, á V.E. respetuosamente expongo:*

*Que, nombrado por el Excmo. Sor. Metropolitano y mi prelado regular Misionero de las islas Carolinas, necesito, para poder llevar debidamente mi cometido, hacerme con ornamentos, vasos sagrados y demas que es preciso é indispensable para el culto y ejercicio de mi ministerio santo; y, estando prevenido y mandado que, para dicho objeto, se abonen quinientos pesos (\$500),*

*A V.E. pido y suplico tenga á bien dar sus superiores órdenes á fin de que me sean entregados los dichos quinientos pesos (\$500) al objeto expresado.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Convento de recoletos de Manila 16 de Febrero de 1886.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen*

#### Translation.

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines, Year of 1886, Business office for the Carolines.

File promoted by Fr. Aniceto Ibañez requesting payment of back wages as Military Chaplain of the Caroline Islands.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General and Vice-Patron of the Philippines.

I, Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, Augustinian Recollect and superior of the Ca-

roline Island Mission, wish to expound the following to Y.E.:

That, having been appointed by His Excellency the Metropolitan Bishop and my regular prelate as Missionary for the Caroline Islands, I need, to be able to carry out my duties properly, to buy ornaments, sacred vases and other things that are needed and indispensable for the cult and exercise of my holy ministry; and, being told to make use of the 500 pesos budgeted for this purpose,

I beg Y.E. to please give your superior orders so that I may be given said \$500 for said purpose.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Convent of the Recollects of Manila, 16 February 1886.

## F2. Second request dated Manila 6 October 1886

### Original text in Spanish.

*Excmo. Sor. Gobor. y Capitan general de Filipinas.*

*Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, religioso de la orden de agustinos recoletos á V.E. con el mayor respeto expone:*

*Que nombrado Capellan castrense de la expedición á Carolinas, cargo que empezó á desempeñar el día ocho de Agosto del año pasado de mil ochocientos ochenta y cinco hasta el día treinta de Abril de este año, en que se ha declarado cesante: resuelto por la intendencia militar y aprobado y comunicado por V.E. en treinta de Abril último, le fué asignado el recurrente el sueldo ó haber de ciento veinte y cinco pesos mensuales al igual de los capellanes castrenses de la Paragua y Balabac.*

*Como quiera que el recurrente ha percibido solamente cuatrocientos pesos á título de su sueldo, que le entregó bajo recibo el entonces Gobernador de Carolinas Don Enrique Capriles, é importando los haberes devengados por el exponente en el tiempo indicado mil y noventa y seis pesos con setenta y siete centimos de peso (S.I.) (\$1096, cent'77); por lo cual,*

*A V.E. benditamente suplica, se digne ordenar, quien corresponda, como es de reconocida justicia, el abono de dha cantidad que le falta que percibir.*

*Gracia que no duda alcanzar de la rectitud y conocida bondad de V.E., cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años.*

*Convento de Recoletos: Manila 6 de octubre de 1886.*

*Excmo. Sor.:*

*.Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen*

### Translation.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, Religious of the Order of Augustinian Recollects, respectfully expounds the following to Y.E.:

That, having been appointed Military Chaplain on the expedition to the Carolines, an assignment which he began to fulfil on the 8th of August of last year 1885 until the

30th of April of this year, the date at which he has been terminated: it was decided by the military intendant, approved and communicated by Y.E last 30 April, that he would be allotted the recurring salary or credit of 125 pesos per month, the same as for the military chaplains of Paragua and Balabac [Islands].

As it happens, so far he has received only 400 pesos from his recurring salary account, which were received from the then-Governor of the Carolines, Don Enrique Capriles, and duly acknowledged, but since the total salary due to the exponent for the period indicated amounts to \$1,096 pesos and 77 cents; therefore,

He humbly begs Y.E. to please order whomever it may concern, as it is a matter of recognized justice, to pay him the sum that remains to be perceived.

A favor which he does not doubt he will get from the rectitude and well-known kindness of Y.E., whose life may God save for many years.

Convent of the Recollects, Manila 6 October 1886.

Excellency.

Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen.<sup>1</sup>

### F3. Report dated 16 October 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Intendencia General de Hacienda de Filipinas.*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*No consta en esta Intendencia el nombramiento de Capellan Castrense de la expedición á las Islas Carolinas y Palaos á favor del M.R.P. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, que en la precedente instancia solicita del Excmo. Sr. Capitan General el abono de los haberes por tal concepto devengados y dejados de percibir, y solo aparece que por decreto de V.E. de 31 de Julio de 1885 fué nombrado Misionero en dichas islas, en unión del R.P. Fr. Gerónimo Sanchez [sic], y que por otro decreto de 30 de Abril último tuvo á bien disponer V.E. cesasen ambos en dicho cargo de Misioneros, en razon á haberse dispuesto por Real orden de 27 de Febrero del corriente año, que interin se establecieren en dichas Islas las Misiones que designare el Ministerio de Ultramar, fuese el Capellan Castrense de las fuerzas á las mismas destinadas, el encargado del servicio del Culto en ellas.*

*Por tal virtud nada en concreto puede informar esta Intendencia con respecto á la expresada solicitud, que debe volver á las oficinas militares, á quienes compete proponer la declaración de los derechos que pudieren corresponder al recurrente, caso de haber sido nombrado, como dice, para el referido cargo de Capellan Castrense, derechos que en todo caso deberían ser reconocidos y liquidados por la Intendencia Militar. Lo expuesto es cuanto este Centro directivo tiene el honor de informar á V.E. en cumplimiento á su precedente decreto de 9 del actual.*

*Manila, 16 de octubre de 1886.*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Governor General asked for an administrative report, which follows.

### Translation.

Intendant General of the Treasury of the Philippines.

Your Excellency:

There is no record in this office of the appointment of the Rev. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez as military chaplain for the expedition to the Caroline Islands and Palau, with reference to the preceding request addressed to His Excellency the Captain General for the payment of the earned salary under that concept, and amounts still due him. We found only the decree of Y.E. dated 31 July 1885 appointing him Missionary to said Islands, along with Rev. Fr. Gerónimo Sanchez [sic], and another dated 30 April last when you were pleased to terminate both in that employment as missionaries, the reason for this being a Royal order dated 27 February of this year, which states that, until the missions for said Islands are established and staffed by the Ministry of Overseas, the military chaplain of the forces to be sent there will take care of the religious offices ashore.

That is why this office cannot inform precisely regarding said request, which should be directed to the military branch, where competent authority exists to inform on the potential rights of the petitioner, if indeed he served, as he says he did, as military chaplain; said rights would in any case have to be recognized and paid out by the military intendance. The above is all this directorate has the honor to report to Y.E. in compliance with your preceding decree of 9th instant.

Manila, 16 October 1886.

### E4. Note dated 6 November 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Nota de la Secretaría del Gobierno General.*

*Examinados con la debida detención cuantos antecedentes obran en este negociado, con relación á las Islas Carolinas, no aparecen ni el nombramiento del R.P. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, como Capellan Castrense en dhas Islas, ni el oficio de la Capitania Gral. antes mencionado de 30 de Abril anterior, solicitando la autorización del gesto de que se trata, y si los Decretos de V.E. de 31 de Julio de 1885 por el que se nombró al P. Ibañez, Misionero en las Islas Carolinas, y el de 30 de Abril último por el que se dispuso cesase en dicho cargo de Misionero, por las razones antes expuestas y consignadas en Real orden de 27 de Febrero próximo pasado, y no siendo posible que por V.E. se conceda ninguna autorización de gasto sin la existencia de los documentos que la justifiquen, el Jefe de Negociado opina, se conteste á la Capitania General la necesidad de que remita copia del expresado nombramiento de Capellan Castrense, que reproduzca su oficio de 30 de Abril próximo pasado por no existir en esta Secretaría, y que acompañe liquidación demostrativa de la importancia del gasto cuya Autorización se interesa.*

*V.E. no obstante resolverá como siempre lo más acertado.*

*Manila 6 de Noviembre de 1886.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Manuel Bores.*

### **Translation.**

Note from the Secretariat of the Government General.

Having carefully examined the background information about this business, related to the Caroline Islands, we do not find either the appointment of the Rev. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez as Military Chaplain for those Islands, or the above-mentioned decision of the Captain General dated 30 April last, requesting the action in question, but only the Decrees of Y.E. dated 31 July 1885 appointing Fr. Ibañez Missionary for the Caroline Islands, and that of 30 April last, that terminates him as Missionary. For the above reasons and those recorded in the Royal order of 27 February last, and it being impossible for Y.E. to authorize a payments without the presence of the documents justifying them, the Head of the Business office thinks that the office of the Captain General should be requested to provide a copy of the above-mentioned appointment as Military Chaplain, of which there is mention in their letter of 30 April last, because there is no such copy in this Secretariat, and they should accompany it with an analysis of the expenditures which need an Authorization.

Y.E. will nevertheless decide what is best, as usual.

Manila, 6 November 1886.

Excellency.

Manuel Bores

### **E5. Report dated 5 January 1887**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Excelentísimo Sor.*

*La Capitania gral. contestando al oficio que se le dirigió en 6 de Noviembre último, en el que se pidían las copias del nombramiento y cese del Capellan Castrense de Carolinas Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, con fha 23 de Diciembre ppdo. remite copia del oficio, que le dirigió la Intendencia Militar en 16 de Noviembre, manifestando que pedía considerarse al reclamante con la categoría de Cura Castrense de término, como lo son los de Paragua y Balabac, asignándosele 125 pesos pesos de sueldo mensual que aquellos disfrutaban y que en perfecta analogía con lo que á los mismos sucede no debe concedersele el plus de campaña.*

*La Intendencia expresa que no le es posible remitir la liquidación de los haberes del citado Capellan toda vez que no aparece habersele reclamado ni abonado cantidad alguna por el cargo que desempeñó.*

*Posteriormente y como continuación al oficio de 23 de Diciembre ya citado, la Capitania Gral. en 4 del mes actual, remite á V.E. copias del nombramiento y cese del referido Fr. Aniceto Ibañez como Capellan Castrense de las Islas Carolinas.*

***Nota:*** *Examinados con la mayor atención estos documentos, el Negociado opina,*

*que procede otorgue V.E. su Superior aprobación al nombramiento de Capellan Castrense de las Islas Carolinas hecho á favor de Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, diciendolo asi á la Capitania Gral. para que pueda ordenarse por la misma á la Intendencia militar el abono de los haberes que hayan correspondido al interesado, durante el tiempo que desempeñó dicha plaza, con arreglo á las disposicionesd vigentes.*

*V.E. sin embargo resolverá lo que juzgue más oportuno.*

*Manila 5 de Enero de 1887.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency:

The Captain General's office, in answer to the letter addressed to it on 6 November last, the one that requests copies of the appointment and termination as Military Chaplain for the Carolines of Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, bearing date 23 December last, sends a copy of the letter that was received by it from the Military Intendant on 16 November, which says that the petitioner should be considered a Military Chaplain in the same terms as those for Paragua and Balabac, assigning him a salary of 125 pesos per month which the others enjoy but that, for a perfect analogy to be maintained, the same thing should happen and he should not get the additional field allowance.

The Intendent says that he cannot remit the analysis of the accounts of said chaplain, because there are no records of any amounts having been claimed by him or paid to him for the position that he filled.

Later on and as a continuation of the letter of 23 December last, the Captain General remitted to Y.E. on the 4th instant copies of the appointment and termination of Fr. Aniceto Ibañez as Military Chaplain for the Caroline Islands.

**Note:** Having carefully examined these documents, the Business office thinks that Y.E. should say that the appointment of Fr. Aniceto Ibañez as Military Chaplain for the Caroline Islands has received the superior approval of Y.E., and the Captain General's office so advised, so that it can in turn order the Military Intendant to pay the amounts due to the interested party, for the time he served in said post, in accordance with the present regulations.

Y.E. will nevertheless decide what you may judge appropriate.

Manila, 5 January 1887.

## **E6. Third request dated 23 March 1887**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Excmo. Sor. Gobor. Capitan gral. y vice patrono real de Filipinas.*

*Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, agustino recoleto y Ex-capellan castrense de Carolinas, á V.E. respetuosamente expongo:*

*Que, resuelta mi instancia y decretado por este gobierno general de su digno cargo, que se me abonen los estipendios debidos, como capellan de término, á los nueve meses,*

*que tuve á mi cargo dha capellanía, ó sea desde principio de Agosto de mil ochocientos ochenta y cinco (1 Agosto 1885) hasta fin de Abril de mil ochocientos ochenta y seis (30 Abril 1886), no fué posible hacer la reclamación dentro de los presupuestos por la sencilla razon de estar el expediente en tramitación; de lo que resulta, que mi reclamación pertenece á presupuesto cerrados.*

*La obediencia, Excmo. Sor., quiere que vuelva á las islas Marianas, en donde estuve veinticinco años, y necesito hacer mis provisiones, erogar gastos de pasage, flete, etc. etc. y puesto que á V.E. consta las grandes pérdidas que sufrí por mi viage á las Carolinas,*

*A V.E. pido y suplico encarecidamente se digne disponer que, como anticipo, se me abone ó pague lo que tengo devengado, según se ha hecho otras muchas veces en casos análogos.*

*Favor que espero de su rectitud y justicia, cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años.  
Convento de Recoletos, Manila 23 de Marzo de 1887.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen.*

### **Translation.**

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General, and Vice-regal Patron of the Philippines.

I, Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen, Augustinian Recollect, and former Military Chaplain for the Carolines, do respectfully expound to Y.E.:

That, since my request has been granted and it was decreed by this government general under your worthy command, that I should be paid the stipends due me, as retired Chaplain, for the nine months that I served as said post of chaplain, that is, from the beginning of August 1885 until the end of April 1886; that it was not possible to present my claim within the budget periods in question for the simple reason that my case file was pending, and that is why my claim belongs to budgets that have been closed.

Your Excellency, obedience is sending me back to the Mariana Islands, where I have already served for 25 years, and I need to make my provisions, pay for my passage, the freight, etc. etc. and, given that Y.E. knows of the great losses that I have suffered due to my voyage to the Caroline Islands,

I earnestly beg and beseech Y.E. to please order that I be paid what is still due me, as I expect, as was done in so many other similar cases.

A favor which I expect from the rectitude and justice of Y.E., whose life may God save for many years.

Convent of the Recollects, Manila 23 March 1887.

Excellency.

Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen.

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**Document 1886G**

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**Ship report from Yap, February-March 1886**

*Source: PNA.*

**Forwarding the report of the Marqués del Duero**

[From] Naval Headquarters in the Philippines.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Despatch boat **Marqués del Duero**, in a letter dated 21st of last month [March] says the following:

“Your Excellency:

“I take the opportunity of the departure of the steamer **Castellano** for Zamboanga to report to Y.E. that nothing has occurred of much importance aboard these ships nor in the island of Yap since my last communication dated 22nd of last month [February].

“On the 24th of February, there arrived at this port the Danish merchantman **Embla** coming from other parts of the Archipelago; it departed on the 3rd instant for Europe.

“On that same day, the 3rd, there arrived the United States war corvette **Ossipee** of 2,000 tons, 8 guns, coming from Yokohama; her Commander, Mr. McGlensey, said that his official visit would last one week, to paint [the ship], but I learned that the true purpose of the visit was to find out the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr. Holcomb, husband of Doña Bartola, as well as those of the execution of two natives who, on account of theft and complaint by Mr. Holcomb, were hanged by their Chiefs or kings six years ago; this ship left on the 11th for Yokohama.

“The next day, the **Castellano** arrived from Zamboanga.

“The German ship or ships that are to come for the question of the acts of possession, which Y.E. has warned us about, have not arrived so far. If they do not arrive at Yap during what is left of March, in the first days of April the food supplies aboard the two ships will force us, in accordance with Article 3, Title V, Section 2 of the Navy Regulations, to part ways. I have arranged with the Commander of the **Manila** that the said transport would leave for that Capital, leaving me all the rations possible, to avoid in this way that both ships would have to leave Yap soon after for lack of food, which in our opinion and in these circumstances is what can be determined by the spirit



of the commission with which we were honored, and by the unforeseeable delay of the German ships that make the situation unpredictable.

“The health of the crew of this ship is no better than ordinary; the cases of fever continue; today I have 4 sick people, among whom is the chief engineer.

“Through the well in the poop quarters we continue taking soundings of the calm waters of this port, from 4 to 6 soundings every 24 hours.

“All of which I have the honor to bring to Y.E.’s attention in compliance with my duty and my instructions.”

Which I have the honor to forward to Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 19 April 1886.

Pedro de Alvarado(?)

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## Documents 1886H

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# The Spanish finally took formal possession of Yap

*Source: PNA.*

## H1. Report from the Marqués del Duero

[From] Naval Headquarters, Philippines.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the despatch boat **Marqués del Duero**, in a letter dated 30th of last month [April], says the following:

“Your Excellency:

“IN the morning of the 28th, the steamer transport **Manila** anchored in this port of Yap coming from that Capital. Her commander gave me the instructions of Y.E. dated 19th instant and other official correspondence. In compliance with them, I immediately arranged for the transfer of the food supplies, intending to leave on the morning of the next day.

“After having taken note of the correspondence, I went over to Doña Bartola’s house for the purpose of delivering to her her appointment as Interpreter in Yap, which His Excellency the Governor General had honored her with. A few moments later, the German subject Mr. Robert Friedlander who lives next door came into the house, and told me that he had just received by our transport an official letter from the German Consul in Manila advising him that his Government had recognized the sovereignty of Spain over the Carolines and that he would raise the German flag no more in Yap nor exercise any other official acts. I asked him if he did not mind to put what he had said in writing and, after agreeing to do so, he left. A few moments later, he came aboard to give me a letter whose copy (Attachment No. 1) I have the honor to enclose for Y.E. The original of the letter I left with the Commander of the **Manila** who may find it appropriate for the execution of his commission. In view of the said letter, I thought the moment had arrived to effect our deed of possession, without waiting for the arrival of the German ships; furthermore, on account of Y.E.’s letter of the 19th, I positively knew, even though in a confidential basis, that there was no order for the coming of

such ships, but apart from that determination, with regard to the circumstance not being part of my instructions, I decided to consult with the Commander of the **Manila** in accordance with Article 103, Title V, Section 2 of the Regulations. That officer and myself, in appreciation of the circumstances and being of the same mind, decided that, Germany having abandoned the exercise of official acts of sovereignty that it was executing in Yap through Mr. Friedlander and having officially communicated this fact, there did not exist any obstacles to our taking possession, which had to be carried out right away.

“For this reason, I decided to delay the departure of the ship and to prepare everything for taking possession on the morning of the next day. I communicated my intention orally to Mr. Friedlander, and sent to the Commander of the **Manila** the letter whose copy is enclosed [but not reproduced].

“On the 29th at 9 a.m. on the plain of Tapalau, I had the honor to raise our national flag with the regulation honors, before the armed company disembarked under the command of the 2nd Commander of the ship, giving three hurrahs to H.M. the Queen Regent of Spain and reading the proper Proclamation in the Royal Name. After this, the chiefs and officers of both ships who attended this solemn act proceeded to sign the deed of possession in duplicate.

“I enclose two copies of the proclamation and deed of possession, the duplicates remaining, one in the files of the Government of the Carolines and a certified copy in the files of this ship.

“Following this, I notified the European traders residing in the port of Tomil about the flag raising by means of a circular. I arranged for Doña Bartola, to whom I delivered copies of the proclamation in sufficient number, to despatch notices to the principal chiefs for them to come aboard, and when the said lady told me that they could not all be here until the 1st of May, I decided to leave on the 30th [of April] for that Capital leaving the Commander of the **Manila** in charge of carrying out the last formality, to notify the chiefs, as well as take over the functions of first Authority that, in accordance with Y.E.’s instructions, I had personally assumed, and for this purpose I sent him a letter whose copy is enclosed [not reproduced].

“All of which, in compliance with my duty and the honorable commission that Y.E. was pleased to confer upon me, I have the satisfaction to report, hoping that it may meet with your approval.”

Which I have the honor to forward to Y.E., enclosing the copy of the said documents, for your superior information and actions that you consider appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 10 May 1886.

Pedro de Alvarado(?)

## H2. Enclosure N° 1—Letter of Mr. Friedlander

Yap, 28th of April 1886.<sup>1</sup>

According to your wish I herewith beg to inform you that a letter received today from the Imperial Consul at Manila, states that the German Government acknowledges the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline and Pelew Islands.

Requesting to use this without my prejudice, I sign

Yours very respectfully,

Robert Friedlander.

To the Commander of H.M.S. Marques del Duero p. A. Yap Harbour.

## H3. Deed of possession, dated Yap 29 April 1886

*Note: A final deed was signed on 1 May, with the chiefs assembled, and their signatures (marks) recorded thereon.*

### Deed of Possession

On the twenty-ninth day of April of the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty six, being gathered on the plain of Tapelau in the port of Tomil at the Island of Yap, the Commander of the Spanish despatch boat **Marqués del Duero**, Navy Lieutenant 1st-class José Cano Manuel, the Commander of the military transport **Manila**, Navy Lieutenant 1st-class Luis Bayo y Pinzón, the second commanders of both ships, Navy Lieutenants Manuel Otal and Antonio García and the following officers, Midshipmen Federico Monreal, José de la Herrán and Francisco Ruiz, and Frigate Accountant José Quevedo, before their armed complements, at nine o'clock in the morning the solemn act of raising the Spanish flag over the island of Yap was carried out with all the honors prescribed by regulations, and saluted with three cheers to H.M. the Queen Regent, as a sign that Spain has effectively taken possession of the Archipelago of the Caroline and Palau Islands, followed by the reading by the said Commander of the **Marqués del Duero**, Mr. José Cano Manuel, representing H.M. the Queen Regent, of the following proclamation:

“Doña Maria Cristina of Hapsburg-Lorraine,<sup>2</sup> Queen Regent of Spain and in her name the Commander of the Despatch Boat **Marqués del Duero**, Navy Lieutenant 1st-class José Cano Manuel y Luque, proclaims that this day the twenty-ninth of the month of April of one thousand eight hundred and eighty six, the national flag of Spain has been raised over the island of Yap in the port of Tomil, with the solemnity prescribed by the tenets of International Law, as a sign of the effective installation in the

1 Ed. note: This is the original version in English.

2 Ed. note: The House of Hapsburg-Lorraine was founded by Emperor Franz I (1745-1765) after his marriage to Maria Teresa who had owned the territory of Lorraine, now part of France.

Archipelago of the Caroline and palau Islands, these islands are definitively and in fact incorporated to the sovereignty of the Spanish monarchy and their natives under the protectorate of H.M. the Queen Regent (God save the Queen!) and of the Spanish Nation."

Port of Tomil, Island of Yap, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of April one-thousand-eight-hundred-and-eighty-six.

Which was reproduced in various copies and then distributed for its circulation and general knowledge.

In witness whereof the above-named Commanders and Officers have signed.

José Cano Manuel—Luis Bayo—Manuel Ota—Antonio García y Gutierrez—Federico Monreal—José de la Herrán—Francisco Ruiz—José G. de Quevedo y Teruel(?)

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## Document 1886I

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### Official orders to occupy the Carolines

*Source: PNA.*

#### Order of the Governor General, dated 29 April 1886

[To] His Excellency the Commander General of the Navy.  
29 April 1886.

Your Excellency:

I have just received from His Excellency the Minister of Overseas the following telegram:

“Spanish ship may raise national flag where there is no German flag, lowering the latter where found after regulation salutes. Advise result in order to communicate same to Germany.”

Consequently, I count on Y.E.'s well-known zeal to please arrange the following:

- 1) As soon as possible, please order the cruiser **Velasco** which must be in Jolo to prepare to go from Isabela in Basilan to the Island of Yap to raise our flag in accordance with what the telegram says;<sup>1</sup>
- 2) To establish a coal depot in the port of Tomil in the Island of Yap to supply fuel to the ships that are to serve in the Carolines and Palau and to this effect Y.E. is therefore authorized to arrange for the purchase and transport of the coal to that island;
- 3) The same ship that will carry the coal could also be used to transport to Yap all the effects that are stored at Isabela in Basilan and destined to the Caroline Islands. If possible the said ship could take the 25 convicts whom the steamer **San Quintin** will bring to Isabela;
- 4) The cruiser **Velasco** must take to Yap the Government personnel of the Colony and the 50 soldiers from Naval Infantry who are to constitute the garrison;
- 5) After the possession of the Island of Yap has been taken, the transport **Manila** is to go to the Palau Archipelago and to recover in Babelthuap the German flag that is there as well as the act of possession left by the Germans and the tablets that are there with the colors of their nation, substituting them with the Spanish flag which will be raised in their places and saluted as usual; the tablets are to be replaced with others

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1 Ed. note: Under to him, that was in the process of happening as he wrote.

bearing the colors of our nation. If in Palau the natives have raised the German flag, before taking it down, it will be saluted, raising as I said the Spanish flag instead;

6) The Commander of the transport **Manila** will draw up a document of what he does, leaving one of the most influential natives there in charge of our flag until something else is decided;

7) After having carried out his commission the transport **Manila** shall head for this port to provide a report;

8) The cruiser **Velasco** shall remain stationed in Yap until further notice; it would be appropriate, to ease the work of installation of the Government in that island, that Y.E. sees to it to order that the arsenal staff on that ship to be used for this;

9) As soon as the merchant ship or ships that will carry the materiel and coal to the Island of Yap have completed the unloading, it would be proper to terminate their contract.

Given that the transport **San Quintin** is busy carrying out a special mission, I will consult with Y.E. in due time regarding the warship that must reconnoiter the islands of Ascension (Ponape) and Ualan [Kosrae] to determine in which of them, and following the approval of H.M.'s Government, must be established the Government of the Eastern Carolines.

The last thing I have to tell Y.E. is that the expectation for Yap must not leave Isabela in Basilan without the P.M. Governor of Mindanao having arranged for a full complement of officers, physician, chaplain, sergeants, corporals and the European and native marines who will constitute the garrison of Tomil in that Island.

I recommend to Y.E.'s well-known zeal and national competence that the above services must be carried out as soon as possible and in a most effective manner.

May God, etc.

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**Documents 1886J**

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**Agreement between England and Germany on their spheres of influence in the western Pacific****JI. Convention between Great Britain and Germany as to spheres of respective influence in the western Pacific, dated 6 April 1886**

*Source: Appendix H of Frederick J. Moss' book (see Doc. 1886Y).*

**Declaration between the Governments of Great Britain and the German Empire relating to the demarcation of the British and German spheres of influence in the Western Pacific. (Signed at Berlin, 6th April, 1886.)**

The Government of her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Government of his Majesty the German Emperor, having resolved to define the limits of the British and German spheres of influence in the Western Pacific.

The undersigned, duly empowered for that purpose, viz. (1) Sir Edward Baldwin Malet, her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; (2) Count Herbert Bismarck, his Imperial Majesty's Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have agreed, on behalf of their respective Governments, to make the following declaration:—

1. For the purpose of this declaration the expression, "Western Pacific" means that part of the Pacific Ocean lying between the 15th parallel of north latitude and the 30th parallel of south latitude, and between the 165th meridian of longitude west, and the 130th meridian of longitude east of Greenwich.

2. A conventional line of demarcation in the Western Pacific is agreed to, starting from the north-east coast of New Guinea, at a point near Mitre Rock, on the 8th parallel of south latitude, being the boundary between the British and German possessions on that coast, and following that parallel to point A, and thence continuing to points B, C, D, E, F, G, as indicated in the accompanying charts, which points are situated as follows:—

(A) 8° south latitude 154° longitude east of Greenwich;

(B) 7°15' south latitude, 155°25' east longitude;



- (C) 7°15' south latitude, 155°35' east longitude;
- (D) 7°25' south latitude, 156°40' east longitude;
- (E) 8°50' south latitude, 159°50' east longitude;
- (F) 6° north latitude, 173°30' east longitude;
- (G) 15° north latitude, 173°30' east longitude.

The point A is indicated on the British Admiralty Chart 780 Pacific Ocean (south-west sheet); the points B, C, D, and E are indicated on the British Admiralty Chart 214 (South Pacific Solomon Islands); and the points F and G on the British Admiralty Chart 781, Pacific Ocean (north-west sheet).<sup>1</sup>

[Figure (previous pages): Plate from the Kleiner Deutscher Kolonialatlas, Berlin 1899. Note that the above convention deals only about the dividing line between the **two spheres of influence**, that is, the southern and eastern boundaries of the German Protectorate. Nauru was thus relinquished by England to Germany. Note also that the 1890 protest by Spain (see J2 below) over Ujelang Atoll does not seem to have had any effect.]

3. Germany engages not to make acquisitions of territory, except protectorates, or interfere with the extension of British influence, and to give up any acquisitions of territory or protectorates already established in that part of the Western Pacific lying to the east, south-east, or south of the said conventional line.

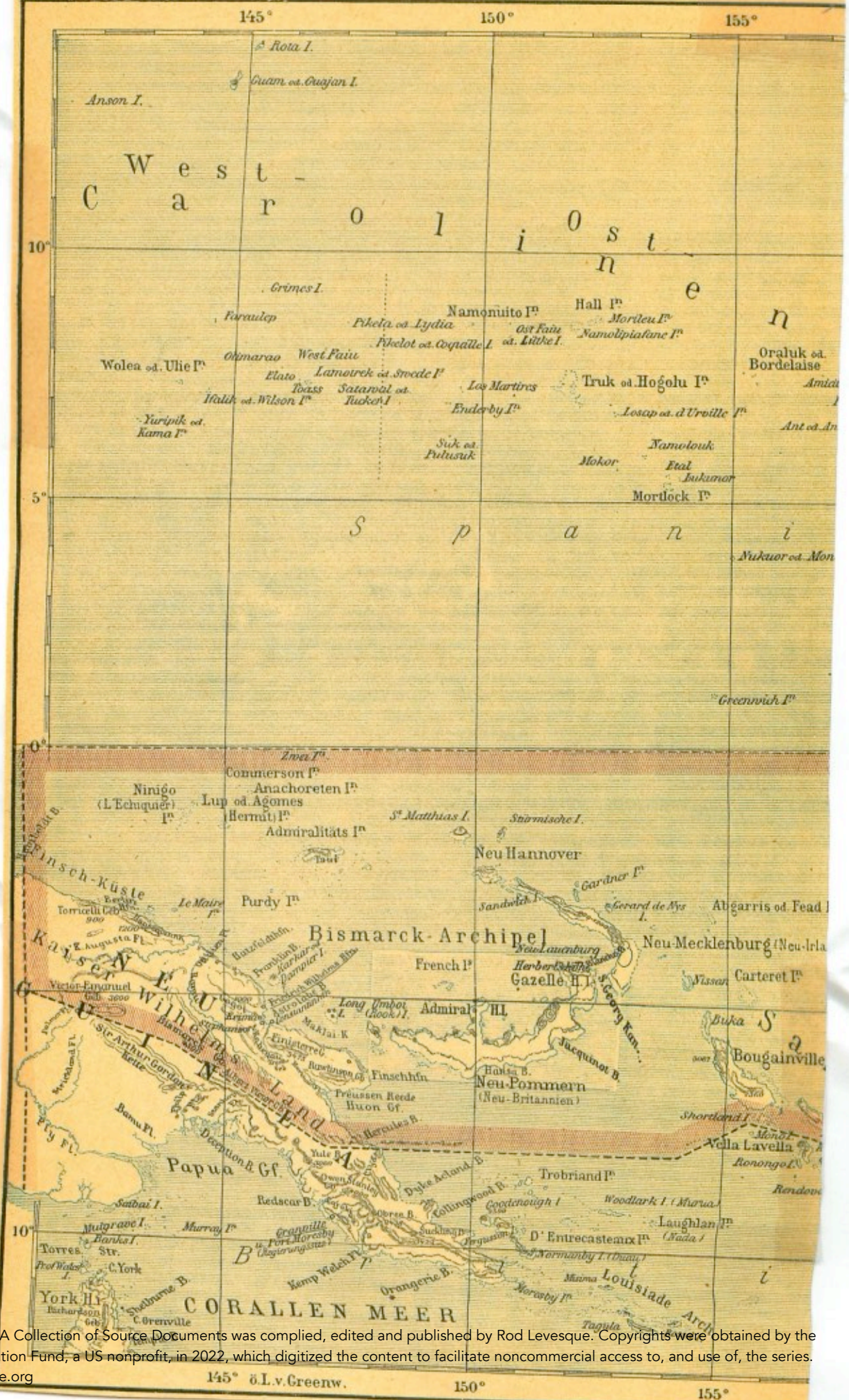
4. Great Britain engages not to make acquisitions of territory, except protectorates, or interfere with the extension of German influence, and to give up any acquisitions of territory or protectorates already established in that part of the Western Pacific lying to the west, north-west, or north of the said conventional line.

5. Should further surveys show that any islands now indicated on the said charts as lying on one side of the said conventional line are, in reality, on the other side, the said line shall be modified so that such islands shall appear on the same side of the line as at present shown on the said charts.

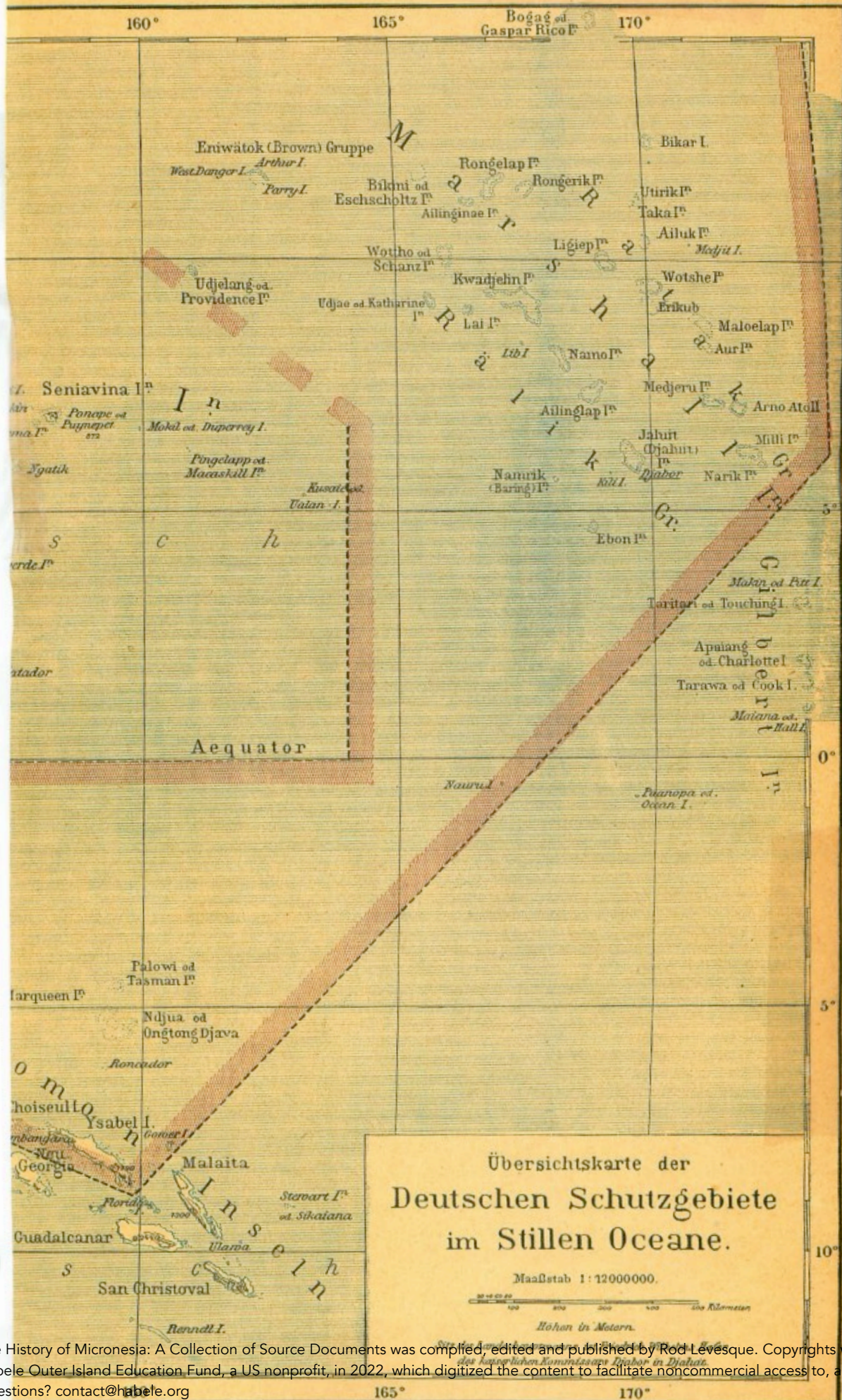
6. This declaration does not apply to the Navigator Islands (Samoa), which are affected by treaties with Great Britain, Germany, and the United States; nor to the Friendly Islands (Tonga), which are affected by treaties with Great Britain and Germany; nor to the Island of Niue (Savage Island), which groups of islands shall continue to form a neutral region; nor to any islands or places in the Western Pacific which are now under the sovereignty or protection of any other civilized power than Great Britain or Germany.<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: Chart 781 was published in London on 31 March 1875, under the supervision of Captain F. J. Evans, R.N., Hydrographer.

2 Ed. note: One cannot but notice a reticence on the part of both of these powers to recognize the rights of Spain north of the equator.



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Übersichtskarte der  
 Deutschen Schutzgebiete  
 im Stillen Oceane.

Maaßstab 1 : 12000000.

1000 Kilometern

Höhen in Metern.

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Declared and signed in duplicate at Berlin, this sixth day of April, 1886.

(L.S.) Edward B. Malet.

(L.S.) Graf. Bismarck.<sup>1</sup>

## J2. Protest by Spain over German claim to Ujelang Atoll

*Source: Article in the Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, 1890, pages 415-417.*

### The Providence Islands in the Caroline Archipelago.

The Geographical Society of Madrid, which never loses sight of anything that might interest the preservation and progress of our colonies, learned some time ago that Germany, upon taking possession of the Marshall Archipelago, extended their boundaries to lands situated within the limits assigned to Spain in Micronesia by Art 2 of the Protocol of 17 December 1885.

This fact was brought to the attention of the Minister of State in April 1886 by the Spanish Society for Commercial Geography; consequently, the Geographical Society of Madrid had presumed that H.M.'s Government had requested a strict observance of such a solemn agreement.

However, if the claim was formulated, nothing seems to have been obtained, because the German Commission at Jaluit, capital of the Marshall Islands, calls himself "German Imperial Commissioner for the Marshall, Brown and Providence Islands." At least, that is what his rubber stamp says.

Well then, the Providence Group, which is called Ujelang by the natives and is named on many charts, even foreign ones, Arrecifes Islands, because they were so called in Spanish charts when the true position of the islands discovered by Villalobos were still unknown, is to be found in the N.E. part of and completely within the rectangle formed by the Equator and the 11° parallel of Lat. N. and the meridians from 133° and 164° Long. E. of Greenwich, which are the boundaries stipulated in Ar. 2 of the Protocol. The situation of the center of the group is 9°35' Lat. N. and 161°7' Long. E. of Greenwich.

After the final declaration of boundaries agreed to in Rome, along with the other articles of the Protocol of 1885, by the representatives of Spain and of Germany, there is no doubt or pretext that remains that might justify, much less excuse, the invasion by German authorities in the Spanish zone in Micronesia.

It appears that the attempts at despoiling Spain continue and Spain must see to it that this does not stand unchallenged. That is why, the Geographic Society of Madrid reiterated the comments made earlier to the Minister of State by the Spanish Society of Commercial Geography, and, using the latter as a vehicle, to H.M.'s Government which symbolizes the prestige, the honor and the rights of Spain, soliciting on the 25th of June last, that, by means that it esteemed appropriate, it might let the Government of

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In addition, there was signed, on 10 April and by the same parties, a Declaration relating to the reciprocal freedom of trade and commerce in the same region.

the emperor of Germany know that the Providence or Ujelang Group was situated within the region delimited by the parallels and meridians quoted in Art. 2 of the Protocol of the 17 December 1885 and that, therefore, it was in Spanish territory and could not appear as a part of the German colony.

The Society added that it was urgent to make the claim known, because there were already German charts being produced that arbitrarily modified the eastern limit of Spanish Micronesia, so as to show the Providence Group within the German zone; and perhaps, if such facts were to pass unchallenged by Spain, there might be in future a supposition that our nation renounces her right to said group and thus a new conflict would be created.

### **J3. Official response of the Spanish Minister of State, dated 10 June 1890**

*Source: Same as J2 above.*

The Minister of State acknowledged the above with the following reply:

“Your Excellency:

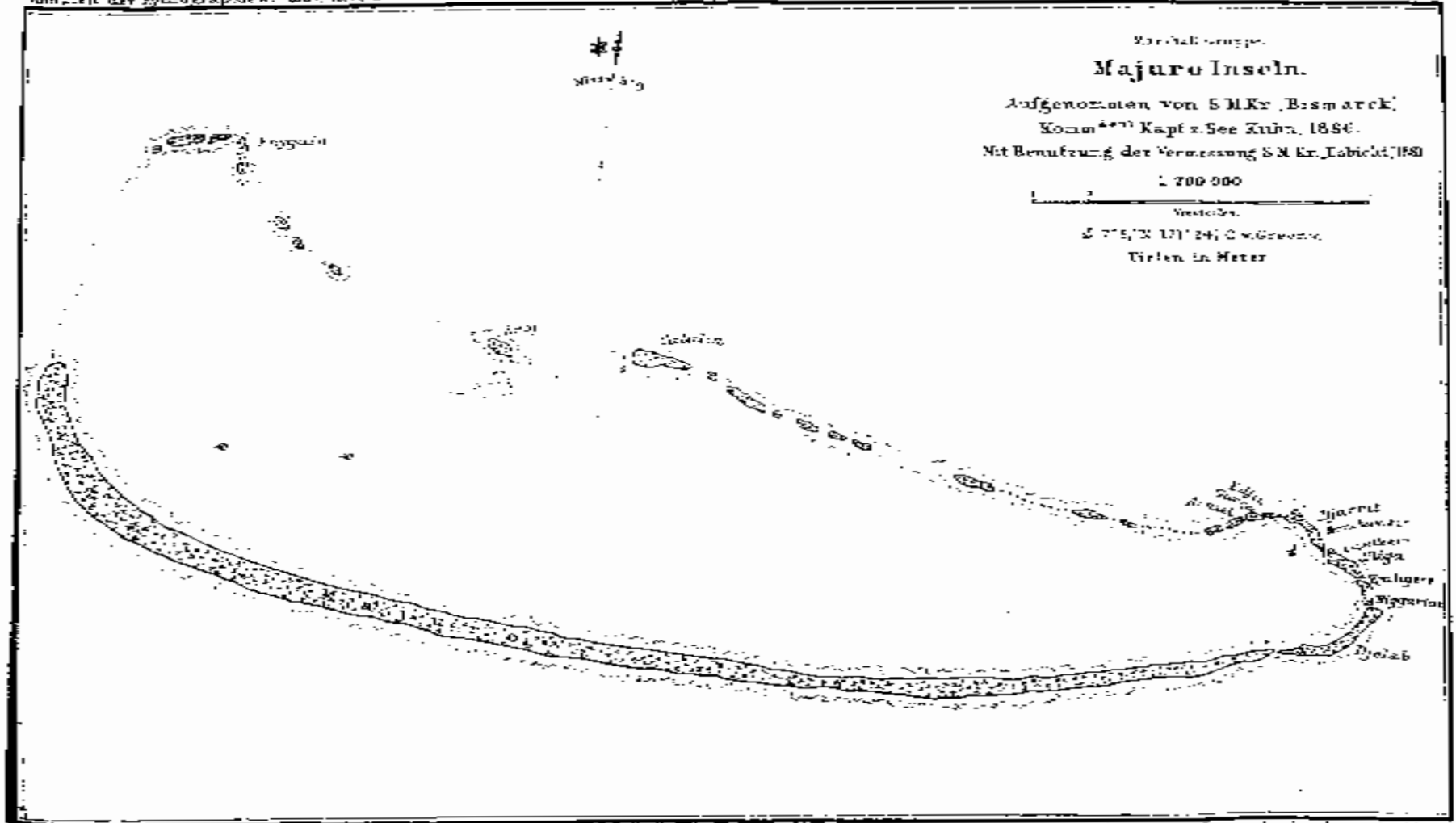
áIn answer to the communication of Y.E. of 25 June last, in which, moved by a patriotic interest, worthy of praise, you denounce the title that the German Commissioner in the Marshall Islands arrogates to himself, by which it appears that he extends his sovereignty to the island of Arrecifes or Providence, which lies within the boundaries that Art. 2 of the Protocol of 17 December 1885 assigned to the possessions of Spain in Micronesia, I am pleased to inform Y.E. that I communicate to the Representative of H.M. in Berlin the timely instructions, along with a copy of the seal stamp in question that Y.E. had enclosed, so that he may approach the German Government and ask for the necessary measures to be taken to order the Imperial Commissioner in that archipelago to cease and desist from using the mention of German Commissioner for the Providence group as part of his titles.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Palace, 10 July 1890.

The Duke of Tetuán.

[To] the President of the Geographic Society of Madrid.



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**Document 1886K**

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**SMS Bismarck brought Dr. Knappe to Jaluit****Synopsis of the hydrography report****Hydrography report for the Marshall Islands.**

*Source: Article in Annalen der Hydrographie 15 (1887), from the report of S.M.S. Bismarck, Navy Captain Kuhn, and S.M. Cruiser Albatross, Navy Captain, Count Von Baudissin I.*

**1. Jaluit Atoll.**

Previous surveys by the **Ariadne**, **Habicht** and **Hyäne** are mentioned. The remarks could only be of interest to a navigator.

**2. Majuro Atoll.**

Reference is made to DK Chart 77 and Br. Admiralty Chart 983. A new sketch of the Majuro lagoon is enclosed. The island near the north pass is properly named Calalin, not Carolin.

**3. Mulgrave (Mille) Atoll.**

Some corrections are made to Br. Admiralty Chart 984 with respect to the islands of Tokowa, Bar (or Burth).

**4. Arhno Atoll.**

Br. Chart 988 was examined and certain corrections mentioned, e.g. to the so-called High Island.

[Figure (facing page): **Majuro Islands. Chart made by Captain Kuhn in 1886, updated a previous chart by himself as Commander of the Habicht in 1881.**]

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**Document 1886L**

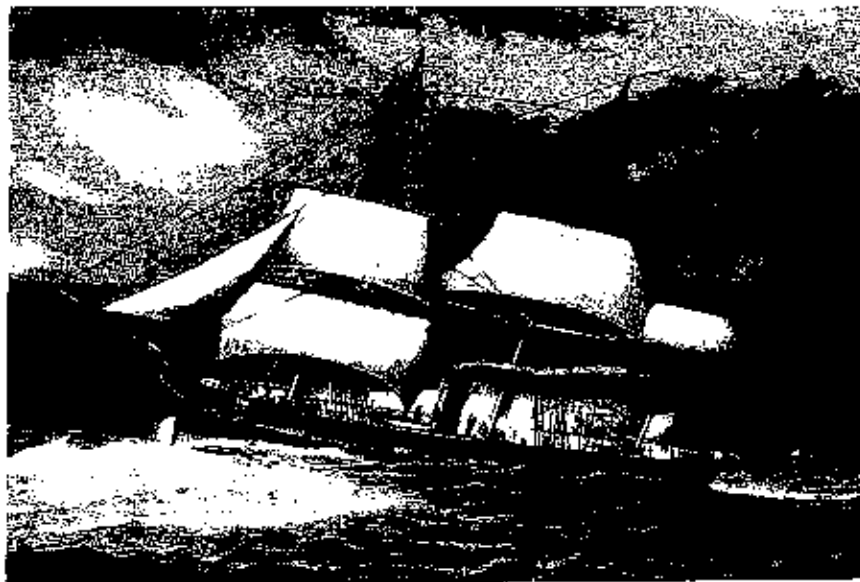
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**Official report on the Marshall Islands**

*Source: Anonymous article in the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, III (1886); translation No. 1251 in UH Pacc Collection.*

**Report attributed to Dr. Knappe**

The islands of Likiep and Kili (in the Ralik Chain) are perhaps deserving of a special note. The former is the possession of the American firm, Tiernan Venture, the latter, like Ujelang, the possession of the Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-gesellschaft. Politically the Ralik and Ratak chains are independent of one another, since no exclusive government obtains in the single atolls of the different chains. The situation is that a chief owns property in different atolls and as a result of this, exercises a certain power. Where several chiefs own property in a single atoll the power may be exercised in com-



1878. Zeichnung von H. Punmer

**SMS Bismarck, Captain Franz Kuhn. Built in 1877, she had a capacity of 3,386 tons and carried a complement of 404 men.**



mon or it may be separated, being then localized to the particular area that is owned by one chief. Inheriting their rank through the mother, the chiefs may be divided into three classes, *Iroj*, *Burak* and *Laataketak*. Greater powers are not related to a higher rank, nor does the higher chief exercise any power over the lower. Power and influence are conferred by the ownership of land. Five members of the *Iroj* class are at present to be found in the Ralik Chain, including Kabua and Loiak. Of the *Burak* class, five, including Nelu, Letokua and Lebomari. Of the third class, also five. The so-called King, Kabua, does not even remotely deserve this title as an attribute of greatest power. He has a certain, personal influence on certain islands, which is especially a result of the fact that he is the stepfather of the *Burak*, Nelu, who has large land holdings on Jaluit, Namorik and Ebon. Since Nelu has grown old this personal influence of Kabua has greatly declined. The only region in which Kabua exercises undisputed power are in the relatively unimportant northern islands of the Ralik Chain, including Ailinglaplap.

The Marshall Islanders, that is, those of the Ralik Chain, are short and thick-set and plain appearing. Their facial expression is almost stupid. Leprosy and syphilis are distributed quite extensively. Ringworm, a harmless but horrible appearing illness, is present in every third or fourth person. It is to be suspected that this is a result of lack of cleanliness—the dirt in every house mocking description. Very little can be said regarding their spiritual nature. They comprehend only with great difficulty; in the most important conversations they remain duly seated without any indication of any participation whatever. It may only occur to them on the following day to express themselves, though not before having once more brought about another intricate discussion.

The natives of the Ratak Chain produce a somewhat more alert impression. IN the southern islands of both chains clothing is already produced from European materials, and consists of a long shirt reaching almost to the ground and an under-garment. Both sexes dress in about the same manner. The hair is cut short, only the men of the Ratak Chain wearing it half-long and bound together in a knot which is placed in the center of the head. The old native clothing of the people is still found in many places; in the case of the men it consists of a skirt of tree fiber reaching below the knee; in the case of the women, of artistically prepared fine mats of pandanus leaves. For decoration they wear necklaces of polished shell disks. Men in the retire group are tattooed on the back and breast, varying according to rank; tattooing is not practiced in the case of the women.

Family life is not particularly significant. The chiefs have several wives, perhaps four, who tend to the household duties. Women are not permitted to bear children before a certain age of life. The family members attend to abortion. At a time of menstruation women are not permitted to share the same dwelling with the men, but must withdraw to special menstrual huts. If such a woman should remain in the dwelling, she would cause it to become unclean and no chief would then dare to enter it until it had been purified by magical rites. Little is known regarding the religious life. The people live from day to day. It is said that they believe in a life after death. Nothing is observable regarding gods or their worship. Medicine women play an important role; they treat

illness and are also said to be able to foretell the future; at time of death they act as wailing women.

The Boston Mission Society, Hawaiian Branch, at the present time operates mission schools on Kusaie, Ponape, and Truk in the Carolines. In Kusaie there are two divisions, the one under Dr. Pease and wife, Miss Cathcart and Miss Palmer for the Marshall Islands, with about 30 or 40 pupils, the other under Rev. Walkup and wife for the Gilbert Islands with a similar number of students. Schools for the Caroline Islands are located in Ponape and Truk. The mission has an elegant steamer of 294 tons, the **Morning Star**, at its disposal. The mission work has found strong opposition throughout the Marshall Islands group. It has so far been under the leadership of natives, who have been educated by the whites. At present not a single white missionary is to be found in the Marshall group. An ordained minister and several subordinate ministers are located on Ebon; here the natives are nearly all Christian and the influence of the mission is quite strong. Missionaries are also found on Namorik, Jaluit, Mili and Ailinglaplap. Here too, they have a certain influence, insofar as the chiefs, who have been trained in reading and writing by them, cannot do without their advice. The natives of Namorik and Mili are nearly all Christians; so are a large number of the natives of Jaluit, but only a small number of those of Ailinglaplap. Formerly there were also stations on Majuro and Arno, but these have been abandoned due to the disappearing prospects of the mission work. It is said, however, that they are shortly to be once more visited.

Trade in the Marshall Islands consists in the exporting of copra and the importing of material, provisions, iron ware, lumber and cash money. Trade is in the hands of the following firms:

Firm	Nationality	Head stn located at	White employees at these stations	White agents in the group	Share in copra exports (tons)
DHPG <sup>1</sup>	German	Jaluit	8	12	500
Hernsheim & Co.	German	Jaluit	5	8	400
Henderson & MacFarlane (NZ)		Majuro	3	5	200
Tiernan Venture	American	Likiep	4	10	200
A. Capelle German	Jaluit	1	---	---	
Pacific Navigation Co.	Hawaiian <sup>2</sup>	Jaluit	3	1	50

The following table shows the copra production for the different islands, the number of inhabitants, and the most influential chiefs:

- 1 Ed. note: Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-gesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln zu Hamburg, aka the Long Handle Co.  
 2 But under the American flag.

Island	Chief	Population	Copra produced (in tons)
<b>A. Ralik Chain:</b>			
Ebon	Nelu and Litokua	1,200	250
Namorik	Nelu and Lebomari	600	125
Jaluit	Kabua, Nelu, Loiak, and Litokua	800	100
Ailinglaplap, Lae, and Ujae	Kabua	500	100
<b>B. Ratak Chain:</b>			
Mili	Leagnat	1,500	150
Majuro	Jiberik and Kaihuki	2,000	250
Arno	Tanit and Ujilang	1,500	250
Malaelap	Murijel	500	---
Aur	Murijel	500	75
Mejit	Lataroa	300	50
Likiep	---	---	---

Copra production at present amounts to 1,350 tons [per year] for the whole Marshall Island group, and is still capable of a considerable increase. Until now only the chiefs have been interested in this production. The natives subject to them and living on their land are required to prepare the copra for the chiefs. The individual himself has no particular interest in the process, since he is always bound to deliver over the proceeds. Even what the native earns by manual labor in the service of the whites belongs basically to the chief. It is not rare for the chief to appear in Jaluit on pay-day to take possession of the wages for all his people. It is very difficult, therefore, to secure natives as laborers. They must be hired through the chief. The work they do is not worth much, yet they must be paid 2 or 3 shillings per day.

At present there are 64 whites in the Marshall Islands. They are divided into the following nationalities:

Nationality	Men	Women
German	32	2
English	11	--
American	10	--
Portuguese	3	1
Hawaiian	2	--
Norwegian	2	--
Dutch	1	--

Nearly all of the whites are engaged in the employ of the firms. Only an inn-keeper and an old captain without a position may be regarded as independent.

Plantations are found only on the islands of Likiep and Ujelang. As yet both islands yield only a small crop. Likiep is cultivated by Marshall Islanders. In Ujelang, the DHPG has imported 60 workers from the Carolines, but they also employ the services of the approximately 18 natives who live on the atoll. At present one of the three larger islands of this atoll is planted with about 100,000 coconut trees. It is intended to return 25 workers to their homeland at the next opportunity and to use the remaining number of begin cultivation of the second of the three larger islands.

Regular mail service with Jaluit has not yet been established. Mail is carried by the ships of the various firms. The DHPG has frequent sailings to Asia, Hensheim to Sydney, Tiernan Venture to San Francisco, Henderson to Auckland, and the Pacific Navigation Co. to Honolulu. From time to time, therefore, one can always count on mail service, albeit far from regular. Retail business in the Marshall Islands is conducted almost exclusively for cash; copra is largely purchased from the natives for cash. It appears though the chiefs are very eager for money and, of many it is said that they have hoarded large sums. Of Jiberik in Majuro it is rumored that in the course of a single week he took in \$1,000 and did not spend any of it again. The prevailing coin is the Chilean dollar; English money also being accepted when it appears. In retail trade the English pound is valued at only \$5.

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## Documents 1886M

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### HMS *Miranda*, Commander Rooke

#### Notes from the hydrographic report for the Gilbert Islands

*Sources: Hydrographic Notice No. 14, London, 1886; article in Annalen der Hydrographie 15 (1887).*

**HMS *Miranda*** visited Onotoa, or Clerk Island, anchoring in 11 meters of water at the NW Point of the island. In 1886 the island had an approximate population of 1,200 and only one chief. Onotoa produced about 100 tons of copra per year.

**Beru or Francis Island.** The *Espiègle* anchorage lies 5-3/4 nautical miles from the northern village. There is another anchorage inside the SW Point. The island produces 90 tons of copra per year.

**Tapiteuea or Drummond Island.**—The anchorage there is named after the U.S.S. Peacock. There were 7,000 natives, mostly all Protestant, and producing about 150 tons of copra per year.

**Nonouti or Sydenham Island.**—The population was about 2,500 and their production of copra about 600 tons per year.

**Apamama or Hopper Island.**—About 600 natives under King Tem Binoka, producing about 200 tons of copra per year.

**Maiana or Hall Island.**—About 1,700 inhabitants producing about 80 tons of copra per year.

**Tarawa or Cook Island.**—About 1,300 inhabitants.

**Apaiang or Charlotte Islands.**—About 1,300 people under one king.

**Maraki or Matthew Island.**—The *Miranda* anchored in 26 meters of water at the NW village. There were about 1,900 natives.

**Taritari or Touching Island.**—The best entrance into the lagoon is located about 1 nautical mile from the northernmost trees. There were about 3,000 people under King Napatatokia, producing about 300 tons of copra per year.

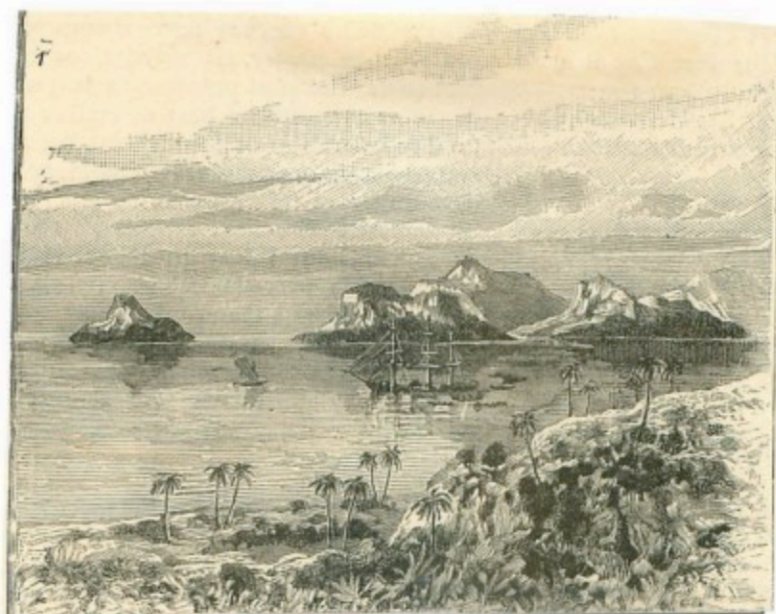
#### Report of proceedings, Apr-July 1886

*Source: Western Pacific High Commission Inward Correspondence, Gen. 87/84, e.g.*

-- Letter #137 Rear-Admiral Tryson, re Claim against the King of Ebon by Mr. R. A. Berry (Inward Corr. WHC, Fiji)

-- Letter #116 Commander Rooke, 17 June 1886: Alleged sale of firearms at Non-outi (id.); Letter #168, 17 June 1886: Petition of Nonouiti islanders for return of natives taken to Tahiti (id.)

-- Letter #84 of Admiral Tryson: Gilbert Group, non payment of fines inflicted by Commander Rooke of HMS Miranda.<sup>1</sup>



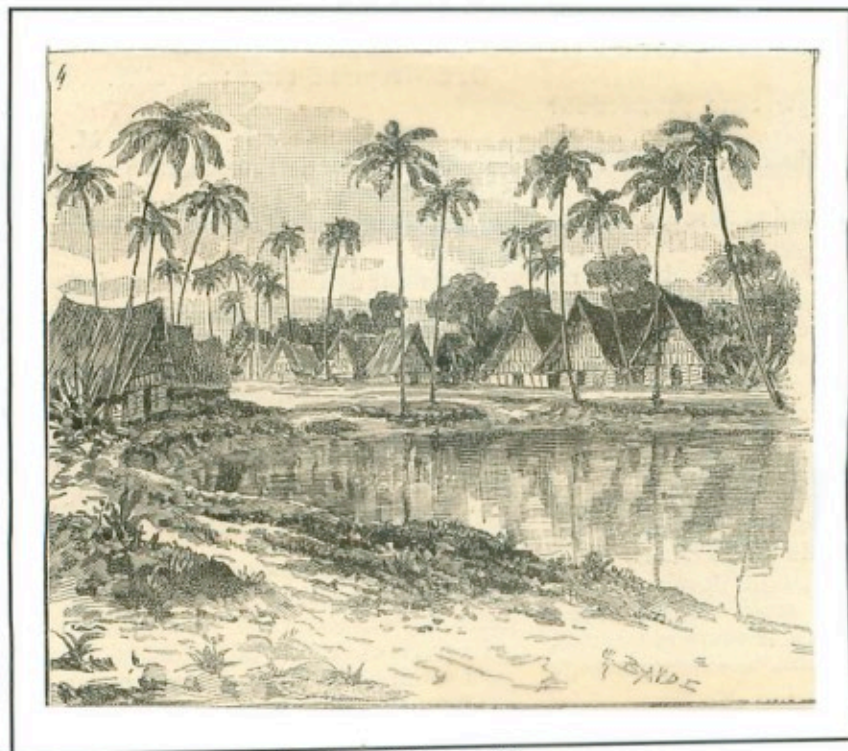
1. Yap (Western Carolines).

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There are also reports submitted by Commnader Eustace Rooke, between April and July 1886, published by HMSO, Sydney and London, 1886.



2. Typical low-lying island.



4. Carolinian village.

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## Documents 1886N

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# Revised instructions for the Governor of the Western Carolines

## N1. Instructions to the Political Governor of the Western Carolines

### Editor's note.

On 9 May 1886, there were issued new instructions that were basically the same as those issued earlier, on 25 July 1885, with some additions to them. IN summary, the new instructions cover the subject of relations with the existing trading houses, emphasizing the supremacy of the Authority of the Governor over all Government employees, advising prudence in dealing with native customs, recommending that one horse and two mares be brought there, as well as one male water buffalo and two female buffaloes, recommending fishing as an occupation of the soldiers in addition to gardening and the improvement of the existing local industries.

## N2. First report of Governor Eliza of Yap, dated 31 May 1886

Government of the Western Carolines.

[Summary:] Reports what happened to the Governor of the Western Carolines from his departure from Manila until his arrival at Yap.

Your Excellency:

In compliance with what Y.E. has ordered me to do, I departed from Manila on the 5th instant [May 1886] aboard the mail steamer **Isla de Luzon**, anchoring at Isabela of Basilan on the 12th at 9 a.m. The steamer **Visayas** chartered by the Navy to carry to Yap the materials for the installation of that Government arrived at 12:30 p.m.

Once at this port and in agreement with [about 10 words undecipherable] was not possible for him to deliver to me the materials by effects, given that he had received them from the steamer **Manila** by packages, ignoring the effects that they contained, and in this way I delivered the appropriate receipt voucher to the said ship. This, plus the hurry with the steamer **Visayas** had come on account of the little time we could use this ship in accordance with the contract of the said ship with the Navy of 7 days be-



tween the loading of the freight in Isabela and the unloading in Yap, obliged me to also receive the effects in packages without knowing their contents, because otherwise we did not know how many days would be taken in these tasks and the State would have had to pay demurrage charges; that left me with forwarding to Y.E. a report about the shortages [about 10 words undecipherable] as well as those received in excess, as soon as I find myself installed and can dedicate myself to have the boxes opened and the contents can be seen.

On the 13th at daybreak we began to load the materials, a task which lasted until the 16th at 11 a.m. when the ship was ready and at the orders of the Commander of the cruiser **Velasco** who was the head of the expedition because he had the highest rank and who had arrived at Isabela to refuel with coal.

On the 18th, we left for Zamboanga, and once there, I presented myself to the Brigadier [General], P.M. Governor of Mindanao. This gentleman told me that he had an order from Y.E. to deliver to me two mares, one horse, two cows and one bull and that I would have to pay for those out of the installation funds which I had in my possession; when I remit my accounts to the Director General of Civil Administration, I will justify such expenses.

On the 20th, we left Zamboanga and headed for Yap where we arrived on the 25th(?) at 10 a.m. I immediately set foot ashore for the purpose of reconnoitering the land and to look for the most appropriate site for the installation of the Government, and I found that all the shore lands were properties of the natives who have them planted in coconuts; I spoke with the king of Rull and nobody wanted to sell land to me nor even land bought on the site that my predecessor Enrique CApriles thought of locating the government on a piece of land somewhat hilly and far from the beach which is all full of mangrove trees. To have taken this place, the unloading of the steamer **Visayas** [about 10 words undecipherable] to unload and carry the materiel later up the hill. In view of these difficulties Doña Bartola, the government interpreter, offered me land that is behind the island where she is installed and that I, in view of not finding another thing, determined to purchase for the sum of 400 pesos. This site is ventilated, there is no clearing to do, thus saving us the possibility of fevers among the troops. It is good also as a strategic point and there is room for the installation of Government House, barracks, infirmary, officers' house, chapel.

Once in possession of this land and given that there was no place anymore where to take down the German flag because the Spanish one was already raised as I had learned from the steamer **Manila**, the unloading of the materials began. This operation was made very difficult on account of the continuous showers, and I say difficult, Your Excellency, because I was unable to find any kind of shed or house for rest to lodge the force and put the food supplies under a roof, fears which I harbored and about which I spoke to Y.E. in that [Capital]. These and the personnel, thanks to 10 field tents which the Brigadier, P.M. Governor of Mindanao made available to me, even though in bad condition, at least we avoided the food becoming wet on account of the constant sho-

wers. We can say that everything, the people, the food and the materials, found ourselves in the middle of the beach with only the sky for a shelter.

In passing by Zamboanga and taking into account that I was not to find any sheds for rent, I purchased nipa and bamboo, [so that the building] was proceeding at the same time as we were unloading, because we could not afford to pay demurrage charges to the State by [first] building a shed out of these materials. Today, the roof is finished and the troop with its food supplies will move in immediately.

That is all I have the honor to tell Y.E. for now in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Yap, 31 May 1886.

Manuel de Eliza

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

### N3. The Visayas was back at Manila on 7 June

*Source: Gregorio Miguel's Estudio (op. cit.), page 192.*

According to news published in Manila on the 10th of June last, it was reported that the steamer **Visayas** had arrived at that port from Yap on the 7th of the same month. she had been chartered by the Government to carry the materials that had been at Basilan. Aboard said ship there returned to Manila the marine infantry force that had been on that island; among the passengers there were one Englishman and one Japanese who had apparently been shipwrecked within the territory of the Carolines.

When the **Visayas** left Yap, there was nothing happening there, and in the port of Tomil there was the cruiser **Velasco** at anchor there, as the **Marqués del Duero** had left for Hong-Kong to go into a drydock to repair some damages. It is also reported that the military transport **Manila** was about to leave the next day to take Mr. Posadillo to the Island of Yap [rather Pohnpeio; there were also on board six Capuchin Missionaries and six laymen.

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**Documents 1886P**


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## Reports of the voyage of the Manila, Captain Bayo, taking possession of the Carolines

Sources: PNA; AHN 5857.

### Introduction.—Itinerary of the Manila

From the dates recorded on the documents, the **Manila** took possession of the following islands on following dates:

- 1 May: Yap;
- 9 May: Koror, Palau;
- 13 May: Enkassar, Palau;
- 15 July: Woleai;
- 20 July: Chuuk;
- 26-27 July: Pohnpei;
- 5 August: Pingelap;
- 7 August: Kosrae.

At each of the above places, one set of three documents was drawn up: a deed of possession which included a proclamation, and a deed of adherence and submission of the natives. The names of the native signatories are given below. The form or standard format used for each was as follows:

### P1. Formal occupation of the Carolines and Palau— Standard set of forms used at each island group.

#### Original texts in Spanish.

#### *Acta de posesión*

*En el día ..... del mes de ... del año de mil ochocientos y seis, reunidos en ..., el Comandante del Transporte de guerra Español Manila Teniente de Navio de primera clase Don Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzon, segundo Comandante Teniente de Navio Don Antonio García y Gutierrez, Alféreces de Navio Don José de la Herrán y Puebla, Don [Francisco Ruiz], Contador de Fragata Don [José Quevedo] y segundo Médico de la Armada Don Miguel de la Peña y Galvez, al frente de su dotación armada se procedió*

á las ... al acto solemne de arbolar la bandera Española sobre las islas ..., con todos los honores de ordenanza, saludando con tres vivas á S.M. la Reina Regente, en señal de toma de posesión efectiva por España de ... leyendose acto continuo por el ya citado Comandante del Transporte **Manila** Don Luís Bayo y Hernandez Pinzón representante de S.M. la Reina Regente, la proclama siguiente:

**PROCLAMA:**

*Doña María Cristina de Hapsburgo Lorena, Reina Regente de España y en su representación el Comandante del transporte de guerra **Manila** Teniente de Navio de primera clase Don Luís Bayo y Hernandez Pinzón:*

*Por cuanto en el día de ... del mes de ... de mil ochocientos ochenta y seis, se ha izado el pabellón nacional de España sobre las Islas ... con la solemnidad prescrita en los principios generales del Derecho internacional, en señal de toma efectiva de posesión sobre ..., por tanto quedan estas Islas incorporadas definitivamente y de hecho á la soberanía de la nación Española y sus naturales bajo su protección.*

*Puerto de ... á ... de ... de mil ochocientos ochenta y seis.*

*Lo que reproducida en varias ejemplares fué repartida desde luego para su circulación y conocimiento general. Y para que conste tan solemne acto á los fines convenientes firman esta acta, el Jefe y Oficiales, ya citados, que á el concurrieron.*

*Luís Bayo, etc.*

**Acta de adhesión y sumisión de los naturales**

*de las Islas ... á la nación Española y reconocimiento de su soberanía.*

*Don Luís Bayo y Hernandez y Pinzón, Teniente de Navio de primera clase y Comandante del Transporte de guerra **Manila**, como representante de S.M.C. la Reina Regente Doña María Cristina de Hapsburgo Lerena por una parte y por otra los ... ó Jefes de las Islas .... como representantes de sus respectivos pueblos y ante los testigos presentes Teniente de Navio y segundo Comandante Don Antonio García y Gutierrez, Alféreces de Navio Don José de la Herrán y Puebla y Don ..., segundo Médico de la Armada Don Miguel de la Peña y Galvez, ..., y los Guardias Marinas Don ... y ..., por carecer de escritura y signos los naturales de dicho grupo, reunidos abordo del expresado buque, han convenido y redactado los artículos siguientes. —*

***Artículo 1:** Queda establecida y conocida de los habitantes naturales de las islas ... la soberanía y protectorado de España sobre el territorio de todo el Archipiélago de las Carolinas y de este grupo de ...*

***Artículo 2:** Los naturales de manera liberrima aceptan y acatan la protección y soberanía establecida y prometen su adhesión á España.*

*En el puerto de ... á ... del mes de ... de mil ochocientos ochenta y seis.*

*Luís Bayo, etc.*

**Translation.****Affidavit of takeover.**

On the ...-th day of the month of ... of the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty six, assembled at ..., the Commander of the Spanish military transport **Manila**, Navy Lieutenant First-Class Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzón, the second officer, Navy Lieutenant Antonio García y Gutierrez, the Midshipmen José de la Herrán y Puebla and [Francisco Ruiz], Frigate Accountant [José Quevedo], and Navy Physician Second-Class Miguel de la Peña y Galvez, at the head of his armed complement it was proceeded at ... o'clock with the solemn act of raising the Spanish flag over the Islands of ..., with all the military honors, saluting H.M. the Queen Regent with three hurrahs, as a sign of effective possession by Spain of ..., being read immediately thereafter by the above-mentioned Commander of the Transport **Manila**, Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzón, representative of H.M. the Queen Regent, the following proclamation:

**PROCLAMATION:**

María Cristina of Hapsburg Lorraine, Queen Regent of Spain and in her name the Commander of the military transport **Manila**, Navy Lieutenant First-Class Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzón.

Inasmuch as on this ...-th day of the month of ... of one thousand eight hundred and eighty six, the national flag of Spain was raised over the Islands of ... with the solemnity prescribed in the general principles of international Law, as a sign of effective possession over ..., therefore, these islands remain definitely and in fact acquired to the sovereignty of the Spanish nation and the natives therein under her protection.

Port of ... on the ...-th of ... of one thousand eight hundred and eighty six. This act, reproduced in various copies, was immediately distributed for its circulation and knowledge of all.

In witness whereof this solemn act and for useful purposes, the above-mentioned Commander and Officers signed this deed to which they concur.

Luis Bayo, etc.

**Act of adhesion and submission by the natives**

of the Islands of ... to the Spanish nation and recognition of her sovereignty.

Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzón, Navy Lieutenant First-Class and Commander of the military Transport **Manila**, representing Her Catholic Majesty the Queen Regent María Cristina of Hapsburg Lorraine on the one hand, and on the other hand, the ... or Chiefs of the Islands of ... representing their respective peoples and in front of the witnesses present, Navy Lieutenant and second officer Antonio García y Gutierrez, Midshipmen José de la Herrán y Puebla and ..., Navy Physician Second-Class Miguel de la Peña y Galvez, ..., and Naval Cadets ... and ..., because the natives of said group lacked a way of writing and signs, assembled aboard the said ship, have agreed and subscribed to the following articles:

**Article 1:** The sovereignty of said protectorate of Spain over the territory of the whole Archipelago of the Carolines and of this group remain established and recognized by the native inhabitants of the islands of .....

**Article 2:** The natives in a free manner accept and respect the established protection and sovereignty and promise their adherence to Spain.

In the port of ... on the ... of the month of ... of one thousand eight hundred and eighty six.

Luis Bayo, etc.

## P2. Names of the native signatories to the above documents

### Editor's notes

The names of the native leaders who "signed" the deeds of adherence to Spain may be of interest to some historians. For this reason, the editor has taken the trouble to try and decipher the names appearing on the damaged copies of the deeds that are to be found in the Manila archives.

1) **Chiefs of Palau:** (1) Abbadul or Aybedull [=Ibedul] of Koror; (2) Heraikalao or Eirikalao of Koror; (3) Arakokol-Herio [=Rechucher]; (4) Arakokol-Fahagui; (5) Iracomara of Melekeok; (6) Gergunguir or Gergon-guir of Melekeok; (7) Aralocot of Melekeok; (8) Geracabo of Enkassar. Note that Araklay did not sign as he was said to have been sick and unable to attend.

2) **Chiefs of Yap:** (1) Fannabay of Rull; (2) Garagar of Rull; (3) Ronay of Anif; (4) Nafell of Nalok [in Rull]; (5) Folathol of Nalok; (6) Mafaraf of Gelenit [=Gillifith?]; (7) Mohon of Kanif; (8) Lirro of Tomil; (9) Falamoc of Tomil; (10) Fiting of Maerur; (11) Ilioc of Maerur; (12) Catabu or Cutibu of Gatchapar; (13) Calibabay of Oneam; (14) Pon of Okau; (15) Carratamac of Dogor; (16) Figueroit of ???; (17) Fonaguay of Goror;<sup>1</sup> and (18) Botin of ???

3) **Chief of Oleay (Ulie)** [=Woleai]: Orreleigoc.

4) **Chiefs of Truck or Hogolu** [=Chuuk]: (1) Emeira of Ruck [Fefan]; Eipun of Ruck; (2) Kilas of Ruk; (3) Puguey of Ruck; (4) Rakot of Ruck; (5) Anmuit of Tsis; (6) Talamo of Peron [Param?]; (7) Seres of Peron; (8) Atkip of Ruck; (9) Boquillo of Uola [Moen]; (10) Daniel Inan of Uola; (11) Inan of Uola; (12) Arran-resatanan of Uola; (13) Morretu of Udot; (14) Nayrrau of Tool [Tol]; (15) Rabatu of Toloas [Dublon]; (16) Fanni or Fauni of Param; and Monoja, or Monaja, a native Protestant teacher from Pohnpei.

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1 Ed. note: This man was well described in the report of Governor Eliza to Goror (see Doc. 1886U).

5) **Chiefs of Ponape** [Pohnpei]: (1) Nathan, Lepen of Not [Nett]; (2) Ejekaia, Namaraki of U; (3) Paul, Gapan of Metalanim; (4) Manamaraki of Kiti and Ant Islands; (5) Uajai of Jekeois [Sokehs] and Pakin Islands; (6) Tok of Pakin.

6) **Chief of Pingelap**: Nafulio.

7) **Chief of Ualan** or Kusai [Kosrae]: Balecsu or Balusu.<sup>1</sup>

### P3. Report of Commander Bayo, dated 4 September 1886

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Secretaría del Gobierno General de Filipinas, Año de 1886, Núm. 3, Negociado del Sr. Bores.*

*Expediente relativo á la toma de posesión de varias Islas en las Carolinas Orientales en la expedición verificada por el vapor Manila.*

*[Navy HQ to Gov. Gen., 6 Sept. 1886]*

*Comandancia General de Marina, Filipinas.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*El Comandante del Vapor Manila en oficio de anteayer me dice lo siguiente:*

*“Excmo. Sor.:*

*“Como continuación á mi oficio fecha treinta de Junio que tuve el honor de remitir á V.E., por el Crucero Velasco debo decir que el 12 de Julio á mediodía rellena la aguada, hechas algunas reparaciones de máquina, trasegado carbon á las carboneras, listos de todo, salí de puerto de Tomil dirigiendome al grupo de Oleay [Woleai] donde fondeamos el catorce á las dos y tres cuartos de la tarde en el fondeadero de la Isla Raur. Este grupo lo componen unas diez y siete á diez y ocho isletas de arena madreporica, anegadizas en su mayor parte, habitadas sin embargo por quinientas ó seiscientas almas la raza mayor y más bella sin duda alguna de todo el Archipiélago Carolino, sorprendiendonos agradablemente por ser el primer punto donde la gente no masca buyo vicio que afortunadamente continua desconocido desde aquí, para el E. En estas islas no hay agua; se cria algunas rimas > árbol de pan, bastante coco que con el pescado y la rima forman el alimento de sus naturales, y exportan unas setenta toneladas de copra de coco seco con lo que se proveen de herramientas, tabaco y alguna ropa; hay algunas gallinas, gatos y cerdos y como industria tejen las mugeres algunos taparrabos muy bonitos con fibra de hojas de pandanus, y cinturones muy curiosos hechos con lentejuelas de cáscara de coco y cincha de caracoles.*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: That was probably the same man who was Tocusa, Toksa, or king, also named Awane-Sa according to later sources. Among the witnesses, when the ship reached Pohnpei, there were Misdhipman Eduardo Guerra, Cadet Luis Pasquin Reinoso, and the representative of the Philippine Tobacco Co., Antonio Olona y Sanchez.

*"Enconté dos residentes alemanes que se me presentaron en cuanto llegué; á uno de ellos que ya conocia por haberlo traído en este buque de Yap á esta Capital, lo comisioné para que al día siguiente por la mañana me trayera abordo al Tamol ó Rey del grupo único que en él existe, lo que efectuó efectivamente sirviendome de interprete siempre que lo necesité. Tomamos posesión de las Islas con la solemnidad de costumbre; se repartieron las proclamas uno de cuyos ajemplares adjunto como tambien el acta de posesión, y se firmó el tratado de adhesión y sumisión cuyo original acompaño. La bandera se izó en la isla de Oleay (Ulie) quedando á cargo del Tamol ó Rey del grupo. Estos naturales son navegantes decididos y hacen en sus piraguas travesias hasta de doscientos millas, orientandose por las estrellas y la dirección de los vientos.*

*"A mediodía del diez y seis salimos de Oleay y de cuatro á cinco de la tarde reconociendo el pequeño grupo de Ifalik, pasando por su costa S. á muy corta distancia con tiempo claro; lo componen cuatro islas pequeñas y un islote que se destaca al O. del grupo; son rasas y asentadas todas sobre el mismo arrecife; este se corta entre las dos islas del S. y limitado por dos prolongadas restingas se forma un canalito bueno al parecer para embarcaciones menores, el cual conduce á una pequeña laguna interior no se ven señales de que pueda haber fondeadero. Dos casas que vimos en las proximidades del canalito y seis ú ocho canoas, que trataron de atracar abordo bien tripuladas, son las señales de población que comprobamos. Abunda en ellas el providencial coco.*

*"El diez y ocho á las ocho de la mañana yendo en demanda de la isla Susanne, reconocimos un banco de muy poca agua en el centro y diez metros en su extremo S. por donde lo cortamos, y que és lo que trae la carta como Isla Susanne, no existiendo dicha Isla; dicho banco está situado en Long 155°15'00" y Lat 7°21'00". Continuamos navegando al E. para pasar entre Posoáp [Puluwat] y Pulusuk del grupo Endervy con la máquina despacio, mucha vigilancia, y todas las precauciones debidas, por habernos dicho el Práctico D. Galo Kamenga, que ni conocia ese grupo ni sabia que ningun buque hubiera pasado por él. De nueve á dos de la tarde, barajamos y atravesemos varios bancos picando sonda de nueve á veinticinco metros, pudiendo asegurarse que desde Pulusuk la isla mas S. del grupo Endervy, hasta Olap [or Pulap] la mas N. del grupo de Los Martires no hay un solo canal franco y que será peligroso pasar por esos parages de noche ó en días oscuros. El banco Par que trae la carta, lo busqué con detenimiento y no existe; habiendolo confundido seguramente, con una restinga que larga Pulusuk en dirección E.N.E. de unas cinco millas larga, y en cuya punta sondamos veinte metros. El paso entre Pulusuk y el banco Lady Elgin, és franco según noticias y el que toman los varcos que navegan por estos mares; pudiendo servir de valiza la Isla de Pulusuk que és relativamente limpia por su parte S.*

*"Fondeamos el diez y nueve á las cuatro y cuarto de la tarde en el fondeadero del O. de la Isla Ruck [Fefan] del grupo de Truck ú Hogolú [Chuuk]. Este grupo tiene ocho islas principales y veinte ó veinticinco mas pequeñas. Las principales son de formación basáltica, montañosas y bastante fértiles; muy cubiertas de bosque y abundantes de agua. Exporta unas setenta toneladas de coco seco y se dán las mismas frutas próxi-*



mamente que en Filipinas. En el monte hay palomas y tórtolas pero no hemos visto animales domésticos. Todo este inmenso atoll, está sembrado de bajos que hay que sortear á la vista en días claros, y con sol á la espalda.

"Este grupo tiene de diez ó doce mil habitantes, los mas salvajes, feos y sucios que he visto en mi vida; andan en cueros y los principales usan como traje, unos capisayos de cualquier tela incluso cañamazo, y de la misma figura próximamente que las mantas de nuestra que en Andalucía usan para montar á caballo la gente de campo. Usan para embadurnarse aceite de pescado pudrido, lo que les hace apestar de un modo insoportable. Son velicosos y algo canivales, lo mismo que sus vecinos los de Hall, Namonuito, Los Martires y Endervy. Sus tribus están continuamente en guerra unas con otras.

"En la isla de Moen, hay establecido un misionero metodista llamado Mr. Logan con su familia, y un residente Aleman; y en la isla Udot, un residente Americano; hay ademas repartidos por todo el grupo, varios Teachers naturales de Ponapé, subordinados á Mr. Logan. El establecimiento de las misiones en este grupo data solo de tres años, conociendose ya sin embargo su influencia.

"El veintiuno tomamos posesión de las Islas con la solemnidad de costumbre, izando la bandera en Ruck; dejandola a cargo del Teacher Mr. Monaja, que como natural de Ponapi és súbdito Español por no fiarme de ninguno de los Reyezuelos para dejar-sela. Recorriendo las islas el bote de vapor con un oficial, acompañado de Mr. Logan que se prestó de la mejor voluntad, á todo cuanto se le pidió, conseguimos traer abordo á todos los Reyezuelos que son diez y seis, y que firmaran el acta de adhesión y sumisión que tengo el honor de acompañar á V.E., asi como la de toma de posesión y un ejemplar de la proclama.

"Se me presentó en demanda de protección y justicia el mestizo Sam Hartmann, á quien el Reyezuelo de Param llamado Fauni, se negaba á entregarle la Isla de Tarik que habia vendido á su padre el súbdito Pruciano Mr. Hartmann, cuya escritura de venta presentaba el reclamante; el padre fué asesinado hace tres años por otro Reyezuelo llamado Emciva. Por medio de Mr. Logan, pregunté á Fauni que estaba abordo si era verdad la venta, y dijo que sí, que se le habia vendido al padre del muchacho en cien pesos como rezaba el papel que el otro presentaba. Preguntado si podía devolverle los cien pesos sino queria darle la Isla; dijo que los cien pesos no lo podía dar, por que no los tenía, y que en cuanto á la Isla, ni se la daba por que no le daba la gana. En vista de lo insolente de la contestación y creyendo que el prestigio de España no quedaba muy bien parado dejando la cosa en tal estado, le contesté, que ó le daba la isla ó se la tomaba yo á viva fuerza, y á él me lo traia amarrado. A tan suave argumento sedió despues de pensarlo, prometiendo solemnemente entregarsela enseguida, lo que según el mestizo y Mr. Logan, no dejaría de ejecutar.

"Por indicación de dicho Sr. Misionero, y atendiendo el mal uso que de ellas hacen, invité á los dos comerciantes extranjeros que hay allí, á que no les vendieran armas de fuego á los naturales, que ya tienen bastantes, prometiendome hacerlo asi sin mucha repugnancia.

*“Creo de mi deber hacer presente á V.E. por si se creyera conveniente hacer algún uso de ello, que en el Archipiélago de Marshall tiene prohibido el Gobierno Aleman, no solo la expedición de armas bajos severas penas, sino la de ciertas bebidas, bajo fuertes multas.*

*“A la una de la tarde, del 22 salimos de Truck y creo oportuno indicar aquí, que saliendo de este atoll por el paso del Islote Falcon con derrota para el E., debe tomarse despues entre Jaquinot y Givry que és perfectamente claro, limpio y franco, como pude comprobarlo pasando por él con día claro y buena luz; este paso tiene la ventaja de ahorrar algunas millas de camino y aclarar la derrota.*

[Visit to Pohnpei, 25 July to 4 August]

*“Continuamos nuestro viage fondeando en el Puerto de Jamestown situado en la parte N. de la isla Ascensión ó Ponapi á mediodía del veinticinco. Este puerto el mejor y mas comercial de todo la Isla, tiene varios bajos, algunos de ellos avalizados, y mucha agua no entrando hasta el fondo de él, que forma una poza al N.N.O. de punta Not con diez metros de fondo fango; pero esta poza es chica, y fondeado este buque á barba de gato la ocupaba toda. Esta isla es muy montañosa, de formación basáltica, abundantísima en exquisitas aguas, fertilísima y pintoresca; hay una prodijiosa abundancia de fruta del pan, que constituye la base de la alimentación de sus habitantes, las mismas frutas y tan abundantes como en Filipinas, y las piñas son infinitamente superiores, pudiendo competir con ventaja con las de Singapur. Abundan allí las gallinas y los cerdos, y en el bosque una enorme cantidad de palomas y tórtolas. Además de los productos ya expresados, se cria en la Isla en gran abundancia y de excelente calidad casi sin cultivo, camote, ubi, gave, caña de azucar blanca y morada, y algún café silvestre que ni aun lo cojen. Creo que para cafetales habrá pocos terrenos tan a proposito como las laderas occidentales y meridionales de los montes de esta isla.*

*“Sus habitantes, son al parecer de caracter dulce y afable, visten casi todos á la Europea, algunos hasta con elegancia, no siendo raro ver, levitas de etiqueta nuevas como las que en Europa cuestan veinte ó treinta duros; muchos de ellos saben leer, escribir y contar. Las mugeres usan coronas de flores que les favorece mucho, y son por regla general, bonitas y bien formadas; sorprendiendo tambien agradablemente, verlas á todas vestidas con largas batas de colores claros que ellas se hacen; siendo muy frecuente el uso de las máquinas de coser. Casi todas tienen el pelo cortado por debajo del cogote, como suelen usarlo en Europa las niñas de ocho ó diez años.*

*“La población total es de cuatro ó cinco mil almas, la mayor parte cristianos metodistas; está repartida por la costa encontrandose despoblado todo el interior sin que ni aun se transite por él, haciendose todos los viages en piraguas, cuya navegacion es muy cómoda por hacerse dentro de arrecifes, sin tener que salir á la mar. Estas piraguas, son de elegante construcción, ligeras y muy marineras, y sin duda alguna la embarcación más a propósito para la navegacion que allí se hace; y tan lo creo asi, que si yo tuviera que residir en la Isla preferiría en vez de botes ni ninguna otra embarcación de construcción europea, dos ó tres cientos pesos para comprar tres ó cuatro piraguas de distintos*

*tamaños, en la seguridad de estas más aviada para cualquier expedición en toda época y con toda clase de mareas.*

*"Como industria solo los conozco la de patates gruesos y fuertes. La exportación de copra ó coco seco es relativamente corta, no excediendo de cien toneladas. También se exporta nuez de marfil, ó sea marfil vegetal, siendo la palmera que lo produce uno de los árboles más hermosos que he visto en mi vida.*

*"La misión americana establecida allí hace más de treinta años y cuyo Jefe es Mr. Doane, ha conseguido ponerlos en este estado de cultura. Sus escuelas bien montadas á la americana y que quizás pasen de veinte, reúnen los Domingos á casi toda la población de la Isla y á mucha de ella los demás días. Además de la educación intelectual, les hacen hacer ejercicios corporales, formando cuadros coreados de muy lindo efecto; y además á los hombres ejercicios gimnásticos-militares con armas y sin ellas. Las armas que les he visto son antiguos fusiles de pistón.*

*"Los misioneros como es fácil comprender, ejercen gran influencia sobre los naturales; y siguiendo la política tradicional en todos ellos desde el Padre Bartolomé de las Casas, de querer que el indio reze mucho y trabaje poco; secundados poderosamente en esta isla por la prodigiosa fertilidad del suelo que les permite comer sin trabajar, tropiezan los europeos establecidos para el comercio con la dificultad de la falta de brazos para el trabajo.*

*"Además de los misioneros y los cinco ó seis europeos establecidos allí con casa de comercio abierta, hay repartidos por la isla otros veinte ó veinticinco, que viven sobre el país y miserablemente la mayor parte desertores de buques y algunos naufragos, pero que al parecer no quieren salir de allí. Entre estos últimos, hay un Español natural de Santiago de Galicia llamado Manuel Torres. Filipinos y Marianos también hay unos cuantos, y uno de estos últimos llamado Santiago de Castro, creo podría ser muy útil al Gobernador como práctico é interprete, si quisiera entrar al servicio del Gobierno. Portugueses de Cabo Verde, también hay dos ó tres. La Isla está dividida en cinco provincias ó tribus que llevan los nombres de Jekoits, Not, U, Metalanim y Kiti, teniendo cada una su Nanamaraki ó Jefe particular. Está tan variado el aspecto exterior de esta Isla de como lo pintan las cartas que es casi imposible conocerlo. Por la parte O. principalmente, casi todo el antiguo arrecife forma hoy una cordillera de Isletas cubiertas de vegetación, con otras muchas de arena madreporica. En la expedición de cuatro días que hice alrededor de la isla para reconocerla, observé que toda ella es un puerto, pues entrando por cualquiera de los quebrados del arrecife que la circumbaba, se cae en aguas tranquilas aunque con mucho fondo y muchos bajos, pero toda la parte E. es inaprovechable para los barcos de velas, porque el que entra no vuelve á salir como ya ha sucedido algunas veces, á causa de la constancia de los vientos del 1 y 2 qq y no poderse boltegar por los muchos bajos que hay que barajar á todos los rumbos. Puerto Kiti es muy pequeño y de mala entrada y el ante puerto muy peligroso por que forma un embudo donde se entra la mar, entera; aquí dejamos clavado en un coco un table-ro que tiene pintada la bandera Española, y á la que hizo los honores la compañía de indígenas que salió á recibirme.*

*"Creo por consiguiente, debe excojerse para establecer el Gobierno, puerto James-town; que ademas de ser el mejor y mas frecuentado, están establecidas en él las principales casas de comercio, hay alguna mas aglomeración de población, cuatro ó cinco rios de agua abundantísima y exquisita pudiendo entrar los botes en algunos de ellos, y con excelentes terrenos. Adjunto tengo el honor de remitir á V.E. un Croquis de los que considero mas apropósito para establecer el Gobierno. Los naturales y sus Jefes, no creo presenten gran dificultad á que se declaren terrenos salvages todos los no labrados que es casi todo la Isla, porque lio? hecho comprender asi y han quedado conformes. Para evitar que los extrangeros residentes allí se aprovechasen de este interregno para apropiarse grandes porciones de terreno, y de este saque ...*

[6-7 lines undecipherable]

*... asi. Tampoco considero difícil establecer allí el sistema municipal de Filipinas nombrando Gobernadorcillos á los actuales Reyezuelos; pues casi no lo han podido valiendose de los Misioneros. Quizás tampoco cueste gran trabajo para lo algun tiempo y cuando ya el Gobernador este allí establecido de firme y haya adquirido solo los indigenas la natural influencia, imponerlos alguna pequeña tributación.*

*"Creo de mi deber comunicar á V.E. por si puede ser de alguna utilidad, que el Gobierno Aleman en el Archipiélago de Marshall, cobra ya contribución á todos los residentes Alemanes ó extrangeros que ejercen allí alguna industria ó comercio.*

*"Como és fácil ver por el croquis que adjunto, el terreno mas apropósito para establecer el Gobierno és el de Mr. Kobary, por estar ya desmontado y ser una hermosa planicie entre dos riachuelos caudalosos y de superior agua, pero és realmente propiedad suya adquirida por matrimonio, tiene labrados varios pedazos y sería preciso comprarselo, para lo que tambien por el pronto habia dificultades por no estar él allí, ni tener apoderado. Mr. Kobary aunque polaco [de] nacimiento aparece súbdito inglés. Tambien el terreno donde está la misión, y á la orilla del rio, internandose un poco á la mar unas pequeñas colinas que hay en él, lo creo bueno para establecer el Gobierno y se domina toda la Bahía, pero tendrá que hacer desmonte. El clima de esta Isla es delicioso con el solo defecto de llover demasiado.*

*"Si se estableciera el Gobierno en los terrenos de Mr. Kobary, allí podría establecerse tambien el Depósito de carbon y la Estación Naval, porque los botes pueden siempre atracar á tierra con comodidad; pero en cualquiera otro punto se necesitará un pantalan mas ó menos largo.*

*La isla Langhur [Langar], propiedad de una Casa Alemana, es limpia por su parte S.O. y casi podría un barco atracar su costado en ella; pero tiene cincuenta metros de fondo y sería muy dificultoso el hacer cualquier clase de pantalan atracadero, por lo que siempre se necesitarán las lanchas ó lancanes para la carga y descarga del carbon.*

*"La isla está toda cubierta de espesísima bosque con hermoso arbolado de buena madera, siendo sus clases próximamente iguales á las de Filipinas.*

*"Si se establece el Gobierno en el terreno ocupado por la Misión tambien puede establecerse en el mismo el Depósito de carbon y la Estación Naval, pues el canalizo que hace siempre atracables los terrenos de Kobary se prolonga á lo largo de los de la Mis-*

*ión haciendolos igualmente atracables en tres ó cuatro puntos alguno de los cuales se puede aprovechar, teniendo la ventaja de estar cerca de la poza donde estuvo fondeado este barco y que es el mejor fondeadero ...*

[1-2 lines undecipherable]

*... sitio conveniente dos muertos para los que se podria aprovechar dos hélices viejos de hierro que en mi concepto son mas solidas y seguras para esta clase de amarraderos que cualquier sistema de anclas de los conocidos y resulta mas barato por venderse como hierro viejo. Considero tambien convenientísimo y de no muy difícil ejecución, concluir de abalizar todos los bajos del Puerto desde la boca hasta dentro.*

*"El veintixete con la solemnidad de costumbre izamos nuestra bandera en el pueblo Not cerca de la residencia del Jefe ó Reyezuelo dejandola á cargo de este que és un respetable y buen anciano con brillante historia entre los suyos no habiendola dejado á cargo del Español Manuel Torres que le deseaba por ser en situación allí algo equivocada sin tener documento alguno que acredite su personalidad.*

*"Los habitantes construyen sus casas sobre pilotage de piedra y emplean la cal para dar consistencia á los tabiques. De Honolulu traen á estas islas preciosas casas de madera techadas de zin y hierro, y á precios muy módicos.*

*"En la Isla Taman situada al E. de la principal y cerca del puerto Metalanim, existe una antigua construcción llamada por mal nombre "Las Ruinas" pues de todo tiene menos de eso: se compone de un doble recinto cuadrado formado de grandes piedras basálticas de figura prismatica, teniendo el muro exterior de unos seis metros de alto, por dos de espesor, por unos veinte y siete metros de lado; y el interior cinco metros de alto, por dos de espesor y veinte de lado. Su estado de conservación y solidez és perfecto y sería facil convertirlo en una buena fortaleza quizás con poco costo.*

*"El día tres de Agosto con la máquina encendida para salir, hubo que volver á apagar y demorar la partida, por salirse el agua de las calderas por las frisas de los registros.*

*"El cuatro á la una y media de la tarde, ya bien pisados y listo de todo dejamos la hermosa Isla de la Ascención, y deplorando al contemplarla de lejos que fuese tan pequeña, la perdimos de vista navegando en demanda de la de Kusai. A la mañana siguiente llevandonos la derrota á pasar á pocas millas del grupo de Pinguelap, las circunstancias de la hora y tiempo unidas á las noticias que tenía de haber sido uno de los grupos donde había izado la Alemania su pabellón, nos determinaron á tocar en él, por lo que navegamos en su demanda. A las diez paramos la máquina á pocos cables del tan violento cantil de sus playas que no pudimos encontrar fondo con ciento veinte brazas á poco mas de medio cable de ellas. Cuatro pequeñas islas cimentadas sobre un mismo arrecife cerrado constituyen el grupo, y tan próximas unas á otras, que escasamente ocuparán todas cuatro millas cuadradas de la superficie del Occano; sin embargo, por esa superabundancia de vida que se observe en estos climas y bajo este sol, aquellos cuatro puñados de arena sostienen un semillero de cocos que á su vez mantienen, visten y dan albergue á quinientas almas. Salté á tierra y despues de izar el pabellón nacional, recabé de su Jefe que tambien lleva el titulo de Nanamaraki la firma*

*en el tratado de adhesión que es adjunto. En la Isla mas S.O. la propiamente llamada Pinguelap, reside la mayor parte de la población, el Jefe y el Teacher ó maestro delegado de la misión que dispone de un edificio ad-hoc para escuela. Vive en ella tambien un residente de nación Inglés como representante de la casa Sidney. Estos naturales tienen alguna industria en el tejido de combueros(?) ú otros efectos de hoja de pandanus; están todos vestidos como en la Ascensión y en el mismo grado de cultura.*

[Visit to Kosrae]

*"Poco despues del mediodía seguimos nuestro viage á la mas oriental de las Islas Españolas á la que dimos vista en una clara de la cerrazon á la amanecida siguiente; la doblamos por el N. y me dirigé hacia el puerto de Lela residencia del Jefe de la Isla y de la mayor parte de la población procediendo sin pérdida de tiempo á extender el tratado de adhesión con la firma del Rey ó Toncsá, y abanderar la Isla para España. Para lo primero cité á el Toncsa a bordo, y despues de explicarle el objeto de la presencia del barco y de llamarlo, conseguí su firma, no sin haber accedido á que presenciase el acto el Misionero Americano Mr. Walkup, y oír de labios del Rey la petición se quede en la Isla como hasta aquí á la referida Misión, con la cual esperanza casi firmó con gozo.*

*"A las once de la mañana siguiente, y con las acostumbradas formalidades, hicimos ondear sobre la Isla de Lela la bandera Española en señal de toma efectiva de posesión del grupo de Kusai, cuyos documentos y actas acompaño á V.E.*

*"Terminados estos actos, me dediqué al conocimiento de la isla y sus recursos; y para el conocimiento de sus costas y puertos, comisioné al segundo comandante de abordó Teniente de Navío D. Antonio García Gutierrez, que hizo la expedición en dos días con el bote de vapor y del que és su descripción:*

*"Conservando la vista algún recuerdo del agradable aspecto de las tierras de la Ascención, no puede menos de creerse al mirar la isla de Ualan, que se contempla uno de los mejores pedazos de aquella, á la cual en un todo es similar, en lo pintoresco de sus escarpados picos, en lo frondoso de sus viejos bosques, en lo humedo de sus gargantas y en lo fértil de sus pequeños valles de formación basáltica, la capa de tierra vegetal es tan rica sin embargo, que en las treinta millas cuadradas de superficie de este pequeño jardín, no hay un palmo de tierra esteril.*

*"Como todas las islas del Pacífico, tambien esta está rodeada de una corona de arrecife madreporica; pero tan ceñido á la costa que no lanza mas de medio docena de cables de ella, á excepción del pedazo comprendido entre el puerto Ut-Card [Wokat] or Coquille y la pequeña Isla Hesid, donde sale hasta una milla. El poco lanzamiento de estos arrecifes es causa de la pequeñez de los puertos, que vienen a formarse por sus quebrados, y que son: el ya citado Ut-Card ó Coquille al N.O., puerto Yela al O. y Utwe ó Lottin al S.: todos estos quebrados, abiertos en las desembocaduras de atormentados riachuelos, suelen verse visitados por buques de vela, que apesar de los pocos recursos que en ellos encuentran los prefieren á Lela, por no tener su boca en dirección de los vientos generales. Coquille con su boca al O.S.O. y abrigado del 3 y 4 cuadrante por arrecifes cuyas piedras velan, ofrece tranquilo fondeadero á dos ó tres buques; una*

ranchería de cincuenta á sesenta almas establecida en dos pequeños Islotes al N. del puerto, es toda la población que en él se encuentra. Una milla y media al S. se abre el pequeño quebrado de Yela ó Bérard; en él puede fondear con seguridad un barco; y hoy es el puerto que usa el **Morning Star**, Bergantin Goleta con máquina auxiliar y cuatrocientas toneladas, el servicio y propiedad de los Misioneros. Estos tienen establecidas las Escuelas donde preparan Maestros de ambos sexos Marshall y Guilbert [sic], en dos colinitas una milla al S. de este puerto, que es por lo que lo usan. El primer **Morning Star** se perdió en sus arrecifes. El puerto de Lotten al S. es muy pequeño y algo molesto, pues la mar del Sur recalca dentro en estos meses; ofrece aguada y hay en él dos rancherías de cincuenta almas cada una. Son pues, puertos de recurso, y su importancia solo del momento. El puerto de Lela donde estuvo este barco formado en una ensenada de la Isla principal Ualan, por esta y por la pequeña y bonita isla de Lela, es un hermoso puerto para buques de vapor; abrigado de todos los vientos por tierras altas; y de la mar del E., por las puntas de las restingas de su estrecha bocana. Siguiendo la general costumbre de estos naturales, el pueblo está establecido en la Isla de Lela; podrá contar unas doscientas cincuenta almas, y es residencia del Jefe y del Teacher ó Maestro Misionero. En este puerto puede cualquier buque encontrar auxilios de agua y de leña, algunos cerdos y gallinas, buen pescado y exquisita fruta.

“Toda la población de la Isla tirando por largo, será de unos quinientos habitantes; son afables y bondadosos, y demuestran el buen estado relativo de civilización en que se hallan, en sus vestidos, en sus casas y en su trato. Desde hace tiempo están constituido políticamente bajo una sola autoridad ó Jefe quien lleva el distinguido título de **Toncsá**, siendo la voluntad nacional la que dá la investidura; poco antes de nuestra llegada una pacífica revolución había hecho cambiar de manos las riendas del Gobierno quedando sin protesta el antiguo Monarca de Ministro ó Consejero del designado por la voluntad popular, en la que quizá no fuera extraño encontrar influencias de la Misión. Sin embargo, es difícil hallar institución mas comunista; cerca de las rancherías están los plantíos de gave, ubi, platanos, caña dulce, etc. que con el arbolado de rimas y el pescado constituyen el alimento principal; de esos plantíos que son del común, se recoje diariamente lo que és necesario; al mismo tiempo que las mugeres en pandilla van á pescar á los bajos próximos, para despues de condimentado todo en las cocinas del pueblo, ser repartido por el Rey ó anciano de la ranchería.

“Como representante de una casa de comercio vive en Lela una Americana viuda de un comerciante con cuyos negocios continua, siendo la única extranjera; pues por sistema político, ó por consejos, el Toncsá no otorgaba hasta hoy permiso para establecerse en la Isla á otros extranjeros que los Misioneros; yo la dije que desde hoy como representante de España que era, lo permitiese á todo aquel que se presentase con permiso de la Autoridad Española de la Ascensión.

“Queda pues solo para terminar con esta Isla de Kusai, la mas culta de todas como centro ú objeto principal que ha sido de las Misiones Metodistas, decir algo sobre el estado actual y organización de las escuelas, que para preparar maestros y maestras, para Marshall y Guilbert tienen éstas establecidas en las dos colinitas de que he hablado al

*S. de Puerto Yela. Con el objeto de poder llevar la propaganda religiosa y la enseñanza moral é intelectual á la numerosísimas islas de los Archipiélagos de Marshall y Guilbert, los Misioneros Americanos preparan y enseñan para maestros, á jóvenes de ambos sexos, á los que luego confían el cargo de propagar éstas. Estos jóvenes que en general procuran sean naturales de las Islas á donde mañana han de ir de maestros, son catequizados á seguirlos sin mas condición por una parte que la de enseñarlos, y por otra la de secundar sus planes y doctrinas; para subvenir á los gastos que éstos ocasiona á la Misión, bastan los presupuestos que á ellos destinan; y los jóvenes dedicando una hora al día trabajar la tierra, ayudan con el producto al sostenimiento de la pequeña colonia; la poca población de la isla de Kusai, que deja baldios hermosos terrenos, la abundancia de aguas y la fertilidad del suelo, son las razones que decidieron á los Misioneros á establecer en esta Isla esas escuelas, con preferencia á las secas y ...*

[1 line undecipherable]

*... las islas del bajo Archipiélago ...*

[2 lines undecipherable]

*á cargo cada una de un Misionero Americano, y con Maestra Americana para las jóvenes. La de Guilbert que es la que por el momento funciona con veinte jóvenes y seis muchachas de aquel Archipiélago, á cargo de Mr. Walkup, y la de Marshall, bajo la dirección del Doctor de Medicina y Misionero Mr. Pease, hoy de viage por Honolulu Sandwich.*

*“En resumen, Exmo. Sr., estas Islas del E. son tan fértiles y susceptibles de toda clase de cultivos, como...*

[4-5 lines undecipherable]

*del grupo Uluti. Su aspecto de tan completamente distinto de lo que la carta pinta; que no puedo menos de proceder á reconocerlo para lo que me favorecía la hora y buena luz. El atol que pinta la carta, no existe;...*

[1 line undecipherable]

*perfectamente limpio y claro, entré por entre los dos grupos, y en el sitio del arrecife no encontramos fondo con ciento veinte metros; siendo en realidad dos solos arrecifes...*

[3 lines undecipherable]

*la Isla Falalep, se ... desde fuera que esta ...*

[5-6 lines undecipherable]

*Cavite, rectificuemos los cronómetros para precisar mas las situaciones, tendré el honor de remitir á V.E. los verdaderas situaciones de varias islas y bajos del Archipiélago Carolino, que estan mal situados en la carta, algunos ...*

[2 lines undecipherable]

*del grupo Uluti; por ... S.E. considero oportuno remitirlo al Depósito Hidrográfico.*

*“El veintidos á las ocho de la mañana, fondeamos en el puerto de Tomil, Isla de Yap. Desembar-...*

[2-3 lines undecipherable]



*con la lancha de vapor un viage de exploración y reconocimiento alrededor de la Isla de Yap, cerciorandonos que el plano que hay de dicha Isla tiene muchos y grandes errores y que excepción hecha del puerto de Tomil, ..... de la Isla y de como de aprovechamiento para barcos grandes sobre todo se sondeaba.*

*"El día veintinueve á las ocho de la mañana listos de todo salimos de Yap haciendo derrota á San Bernardino.*

*"El Práctico interprete D. Galo Kamanga, como interprete, no conoce ni uno solo de los dialectos que se hablan en las Carolinas, y no se hasta que punto sería de confianza para intervenir en un asunto delicado; y como práctico está á su altura cualquiera que haya hecho un viaje por dicho Archipiélago.*

*"A los cinco de la tarde del dos del actual abocamos el estrecho de San Bernardino y en el día de hoy [4 Sept.] á las 8 h. y 40 m. de la mañana fondeamos en esta bahía.*

*"Quedan abordo 40 toneladas de carbon y diez y [blank] días de víveres.*

*"Es cuanto tengo el honor de poner en el Superior conocimiento de V.E. en cumplimiento de mi deber."*

*Y con inclusión de las actas originales y demas documentos referidos, tengo el honor de trasladarlo á V.E. para su superior conocimiento y resolución.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 6 de Setiembre de 1886.*

*Exmo. Sr.*

*? Topete*

*[A] Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General de estas Islas.*

### **Translation.**

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines, Year of 1886, N<sup>o</sup> 3, Business office of Mr. Bores.

**File regarding the occupation of various islands in the Eastern Carolines during the expedition carried out by the steamer Manila.**

[Navy HQ to Gov. Gen., 6 Sept. 1886]

Commander General of the Navy, Philippines.

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Steamer **Manila**, in a letter dated the day before yesterday, tells me the following:

"As a continuation of my report dated 30 June that I had the honor to send to Y.E., by the Cruiser **Velasco**, I must say that, on 12 July, at noon, after the watering had been completed, a few small repairs to the engine done, the coal bins full, with everything being ready, I left the port of Tomil bound to the Oleay [**Woleai**] group where we anchored on the 14th at 2:45 p.m. in the anchorage of Raur Island. This group consists of about 17 or 18 islands of coral sand, at sea level for the most part, inhabited

nevertheless by 500 to 600 natives—undoubtedly the best-looking race in the whole of the Caroline Archipelago. We were pleasantly surprised to find here for the first time people who do not chew betel nut, a vice that fortunately continues to be unknown from here on eastward. There is no water in these islands; a few breadfruit trees grow, enough coconut trees also; they, plus fish, constitute the food of the natives, and they export about 70 tons of copra [per year] which provide them with tools, tobacco and some clothes. There are a few chickens, cats and pigs and by way of an industry the women weave a few very pretty loin-cloths with fiber from pandanus leaves, and very curious belts made of roundels of coconut shells and waist-bands of shells.

"I met two German residents who came up as soon as I arrived; I already knew one of them for having taken him from Yap to Manila aboard this ship. I commissioned him for bringing on board the Tamol or King—the only one existing in the group—the next day in the morning, which in fact took place, he serving me as an interpreter whenever I needed. We took possession of the Islands with the usual solemnity; the proclamations were distributed, one copy of which I enclose, the same as for the act of possession, and the treaty of adherence and submission, whose original I enclose, was also signed. The flag was raised on the island of Oleay (Ulie) and it was left in the care of the Tamol or King of the group. These natives are determined sailors and they make long voyages of up to 200 miles in their canoes, buided by the stars and the direction of the winds.

"At noon on the 18th we left Oleay and between 4 and 5 that afternoon we surveyed the small group of **Ifalik**, passing a short distance from its southern coast in clear weather. It consists of four small islands and one rock that stands out on the west of the group; they are flat and all of them sitting on the same reef, but the reef is interrupted, setting the two southernmost islands apart and it appears that the channel in question is good enough for boats; it leads to a small inner lagoon but there are no signs of a possible anchorage. The two houses which we saw in the vicinity of the small channel and the six or eight canoes that tried to come alongside proved that they are inhabited. The providential coconut tree is abundant on these islands.

"On the 15th at 8 in the morning, as we went in search of Susanne Island, we surveyed a bank with very little water in the center and 10 meters on its southern end which we crossed over, and that is what the chart calls Susanne Island; this island does not exist; said bank is situated in Long. 155°15'00" and Lat. 7°21'00".<sup>1</sup> We continued sailing eastward to pass between Puluwat and Pulusuk of the Enderby Group, with the engine running at slow speed, high vigilance and all due precautions, because the pilot, Don Galo Kamenga, had told us that he did not know that group nor knew of any ship that had attempted to pass there. From 9 o'clock to 2 p.m., we swept across and through various banks, getting soundings of from 9 to 25 meters, so that we may state that be-

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1 Ed. note: Today the Susanne Bank is called the Manila Reef, after Licut. Bayo's ship. It is located at about 7° N. and 149° E. of Greenwich. However, at lat. 7°21' is located the Ureanie Bank which is probably the one described here.

tween Pulusuk, the southernmost island of the Enderby Group and Pulap, the northernmost of the Martires Group, there is not one clear channel and that it would be dangerous to pass through these neighborhoods at night or on cloudy days. The bank called Par on the chart, which I search for quite some time, does not exist; it must surely have been confused with a barrier reef that extends ENE from Pulusuk for about five miles; at this extreme point, we sounded and found 20 meters of water. The passage between Pulusuk and Lady Elgin Bank is free of danger according to reports and is the one taken by ships sailing through these seas; the Island of Pulusuk can be used as a marker, as its south part is clean.

"On the 19th at 4 p.m. we anchored in the anchorage of the Island of Ruck [Fefan] in the Truck or Hogoleu [**Chuuk**] group. This group has 8 main islands and from 20 to 25 smaller islands. The main islands are basaltic in origin, mountainous and rather fertile; they are covered entirely with trees and they have abundant water. The group exports about 70 tons of copra [per year] and produces approximately the same fruits as the Philippines. In the woods there are pigeons and doves, but we have not seen any domestic animals. The whole of this huge atoll is strewn with shallows that must be avoided by sight on clear days, and with the sun behind one's shoulders.

"This group has from 10 to 12 thousand inhabitants, the most savage, ugliest and dirtiest whom I have seen in my life; they go around naked but the chiefs cover themselves with some ponchos made with any available cloth, including burlap, and almost with the same shape as our blankets, such as the country-folk of Andalusia use when they ride horses. They daub themselves with rotten fish oil, which makes them smell disgustingly. They are warlike and some are cannibals, the same as their neighbors in the Hall, Namonuito, Martires [Pulap], and Enderby groups. Their tribes are continuously at war with one another.

"A Methodist Missionary has settled in the Island of Moen with his family; his name is Mr. Logan. There is also a German resident there, and an American resident in the Island of Udot; in addition, there are various Teachers distributed throughout the group; they are natives of Pohnpei, supervised by Mr. Logan. There have been missions in this group for only three years, but their influence can already be recognized.

"On the 21st we took possession of the island with the usual solemnity, by raising the flag at Ruck; afterwards it was left in the care of the Teacher, Mr. Monaja, who, being a native of Pohnpei, is a Spanish subject; I did not trust any of the petty kings for that purpose. One officer went to visit the islands with the steam launch; he was accompanied by Mr. Logan who willingly agreed to help with anything that was asked of him. They managed to bring on board all the petty kings, all 16 of them, for them to sign the act of adherence and submission which I have the honor of enclosing for Y. E., as well as the deed of possession and one copy of the proclamation.

"I had one petition presented to me for protection and justice by a half-breed named Sam Hartmann, to whom the petty king of Param named Fauni refused to deliver to him the Island of Tarik that had been sold to his father, the Prussian subject, Mr. hartmann. The petitioner presented a copy of the bill of sale with him. His father was as-

sassinated three years ago by another petty king named Emciva. Through Mr. Logan, I asked Fauini who was on board if the sale was true, and he answered yes, that he had sold it to the father of the boy for 100 pesos as was stated in the paper presented by the other man. When asked if he could return the 100 pesos, if he did not wish to give him the island, he answered that he could not give the 100 pesos, because he did not have them, and that, as far as the island was concerned, he did not give it because he did not feel like it. In view of his insolent answer and believing that the prestige of Spain would not amount to much if I were to leave this affair unresolved, I told him that, either he gave the island or else I would myself take it by force and would tie him up and carry him away. To such a sweet mode of persuasion, he yielded after thinking about it, and he made a solemn promise to deliver it immediately; according to the half-breed and Mr. Logan, he would not fail to carry it out.

"At the suggestion of the Missionary, and given the bad use that they make of them, I invited the two foreign traders who live there, to stop selling firearms to the natives, that they already had enough; they promised me to do so without much repugnance.

"I believe it my duty to propose to Y. E. that, if you should think it convenient, a law such as they have in the Marshall archipelago where the German Government has prohibited the trade in firearms under severe penalties, and also the sale of certain beverages, under heavy fines.

"At 1 p.m. on the 22th, we left Truck and I believe I should point out here, that, when leaving that atoll by the passage of Falcon Islet on the way eastward,<sup>1</sup> one must then pass between Jacquinet and Givry Islands where the channel is perfectly clear of dangers and easy, as I found out by passing through it on a clear day and a good light; this passage has the advantage of saving some distance and time.

[Visit to Pohnpei, 25 July to 4 August]

"We pursued our voyage, anchoring in the Port of Jamestown located in the north part of Ascension Island or Ponapi at noon on the 25th. This port, the best and more commercial of the whole island, has many shallows, a few of them marked out, and water enough if one does not go too far in; there is a basin to the NNW of Not Point with 10 meters of water with muddy bottom, but this basin is so small that, once this ship had been moored with the two bower anchors and their cables, she occupied the whole place. This island is very mountainous, basaltic in origin, abundantly provided with exquisite water, very fertile and picturesque; there is a prodigious abundance of breadfruit which constitutes the food staple of its inhabitants; there are the same fruits and as abundantly as in the Philippines, but the pineapples are infinitely superior, and they could easily compete with those of Singapore. Chickens and pigs are abundant, and in the bush there is an enormous quantity of pigeons and doves. In addition to the

1 Ed. note: No islet by the name of Falcon appears in Bryan's Place Names in the SE part of Chuuk atoll. However, Lieut. Bayo may have used the Otta Pass next to Otta Islet, south of where he had been anchored near Fefan Island.

above-mentioned products, there grow in this island, almost without cultivation, a great abundance of other products of excellent quality, such as sweet potatoes, *ubi*, *gabe* [taro], white and purple sugarcane, and some wild coffee that they do not even harvest. I believe that coffee plantations would be possible, as there are few soil so appropriate as that on the western and southern mountain sides of this island.

"Its inhabitants appear to be of a sweet and affable nature; most of them dress in the European fashion, some even do so with elegance, and it is not rare to see coats that are of the same new designs that in Europe cost 20 or 30 pesos; many of them know how to read, write, and count. The women use wreaths of flowers that suit them very well, and they are generally pretty and well formed. We were also agreeably surprised to see them all wearing long robes of bright colors that they make themselves; indeed, the use of sewing machines is very frequent. Most of them wear their hair cut above the shoulders, a style that the girls of 8 or 9 used to follow in Europe.

"The total population is from 4 to 5 thousand, most of them Methodist Christians. It is distributed along the coast, the interior being completely unpopulated and not even accessible by any road; all their trips are done aboard canoes that are easy to navigate as it is done within the reefs, without having to go out to the sea. These canoes are of elegant design, light and very good sailers, and without any doubt the most appropriate craft for the type of navigation used there; I am so convinced of this that, if I were to reside at this island, I would prefer them to any other boat of European design; 200 or 300 pesos would suffice to buy 3 or 4 canoes of various sizes, suitable for use for any expedition in any season and all kinds of tidal conditions.

"As far as industry is concerned, I only know of the manufacture of rough, strong, mats. The export of copra is relatively small, not exceeding 100 tons [per year]. Also exported are ivory nuts, the palm producing them being one of the most beautiful trees that I ever saw in my life.

"The American Mission, established here over 30 years ago, and headed by Mr. Doane, has placed in the present state of culture. Its schools have been set up in the American style; there are about 20 of them, and that is where most of the population meets on Sundays, and almost as many on other days. In addition of an intellectual education, they also do physical exercises, by forming choreographed squads of very pleasing effect; and also the men do gymnastico-military types of exercises, with weapons and without. The wespans that I have seen in their hands are old cartridge-type rifles.

"The missionaries, as it is easy to imagine, exercise a great influence on the natives; and by following the traditional philosophy of all missionaries since Father Bartolomé de las Casas, to have the Indian pray a lot and work little, assisted very much in this island by the fertility of the soil that allows the people to eat without having to work, the result is that the European traders who have settled here have to contend with the difficulty of finding laborers.

"In addition to the missionaries and the five or six Europeans established here with open trading stations, there are from 20 to 25 more distributed throughout the island

who live like the natives and miserably; most of these are deserters from ships and some are shipwrecked people, but it appears that they do not wish to leave. Among the latter, there is a Spaniard from Santiago in Galicia, named Manuel Torres. There are also a few Filipinos and Marianos, and one of the latter group, named SANTIAGO de Castro, I believe could be very useful to the Governor as a coastal pilot and interpreter, if he agrees to enter the service of the Government. There are also two or three Portuguese from Cape Verde [i.e. negros]. The island is divided in five provinces or tribes that bear names such as Jekoits [Sokehs], Not [Net], U, Metalanim, and Kiti. Each one has its own Nanamaraki or main chief. The external aspect of this island is as varied as shown on the charts, and so much so that it is almost impossible to know it all. On the western side mainly, most of the old reef forms today a chain of islets covered with vegetation, with many others of coral sand. During the four-day expedition that I made around the island to get to survey it, I observed that all of it is one port; indeed, by entering through any of the breaks through the reef that surrounds it, one finds smooth water, although with many shoals and coral heads, but the whole eastern part is not suitable for sailing ships, because one that enters cannot leave again, as has happened many times, on account of the constancy of the winds from the 1st and 2nd quadrants, and the impossibility of tacking through so many shoals strewn in all directions. Kiti Harbor is very small and has a bad entrance; its outer part is very dangerous because it forms a funnel where the sea piles in; here we left nailed to a coconut tree a board that has the Spanish flag painted upon it, and it was saluted by a company of natives who came out to welcome me.

"Therefore, I believe that Jamestown Harbor must be chosen to establish the Government; besides being the best and most visited port, the most important trading houses are established there already, there is the largest population center, there are four to five rivers with lots of exquisite water and a few of them can be entered with boats, and there are excellent land properties. Herewith please find a Sketch of the land plots that I consider most appropriate to establish the Government. As for the natives and their Chiefs, I do not believe they will object much to the idea of declaring wild lands all lands that are not cultivated, and that is most of the island, because I have had them told about this and they did not make any objection. In order to avoid that the foreign residents there do not take advantage of this period without a government to grab large portions of land, and from there gain ...

[6-7 lines undecipherable]

... thus. Furthermore, I think it would be possible here to establish the same municipal system as in the Philippines, by appointing the present petty kings as Gobernadorcillos [Mayors], although the missionaries have been unable to create such a system. Perhaps it would not be hard either, after a while and when the Governor is well established here and has gained some influence, to impose upon them a small tax.

"I believe it is my duty to report to Y.E., in case it might be useful information, that the German Government in the Marshall Archipelago is already taxing the German and foreign residents who exercise there some industry or commerce.

[Figure (next 2 pages): **Map of the north side of Pohnpei in 1886.** Sketch of land plots near Jamestown Harbor, Pohnpei. Explanations: Navegable para botes = navigable for boats; Aguada = watering place; Terrenos de la misión = land belonging to the [Protestant] Mission; Cubierto por follaje = covered by shrubbery; Buen atracadero = good landing-place; Baradero = careenage; Salto = rapid; Zacatal = grassy area; Sitio sombrío y tranquilo = shady and quiet place; Se cruza el ramaje = intertwined branches; Cahido [[sic] árboles = fallen trees; Restauero sombrío = shady rest area; Arboles viejos = old trees; Bosque claro = clear bush; Bosque espeso = thick wood; Casacada = waterfall; Tierra colorado sin vegetación = red soil, bare; Vereda = trail; Terrenos de Mr. Kubary = lands belonging to Mr. Kubary.]

“As can be easily seen on the sketch that I enclose, the most appropriate land for the establishment of the Government is that of Mr. Kubary, as it is already cleared and is a pretty plain between two streams with abundant water of superior quality, but it is really his property as he acquired it through his wife; he has planted various plots and it would be necessary to buy it from him; that would be difficult at this time because he is absent, and has no agent. Mr. Kubary, though born in Poland, may be an English subject now. Also I believe the land occupied by the Mission would be good to establish the Government; it starts on the side of the river, goes inland a little and from there to the sea, including some small hills that are there. It overlooks the whole bay, but the land would have to be cleared. The climate of this island is delicious with the only disadvantage being the excessive rains.

“If the Government is established on the lands of Mr. Kubary, there could be established also the coal depot and the Naval Station, because the boats can always moor by the shore with ease; but at any other place, it would be necessary to build a pier, of varying length.

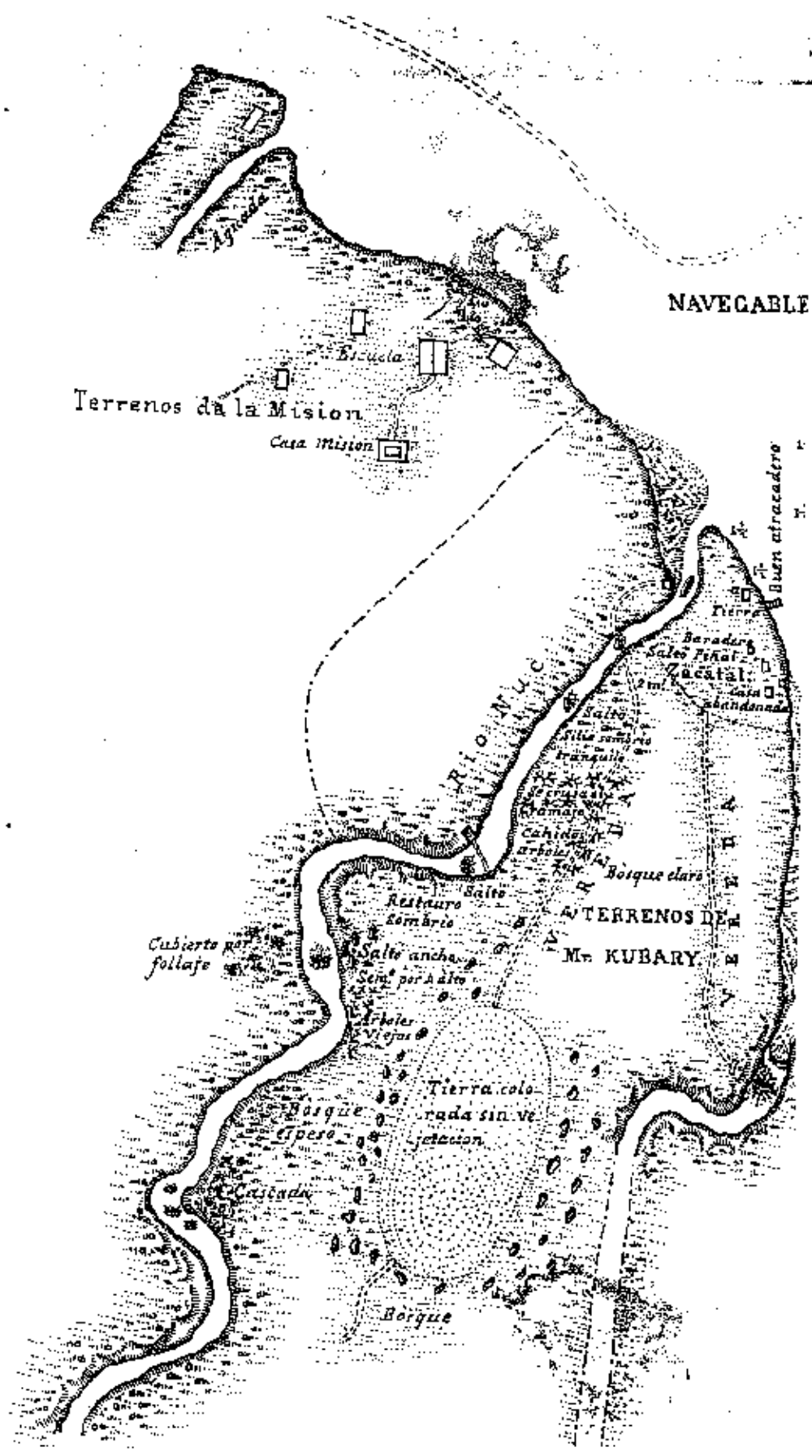
“Langhur [Langar] Island, the property of a German firm, is free of dangers on its SW side and a ship could almost go alongside it, but the bottom there is 50 meters down and it would be difficult to build any type of pier there, so that launches or barges will always be necessary to unload and load coal.

“The island is completely covered with a very thick wood with beautiful trees of good wood, the types of wood being very similar to those in the Philippines.

“If the Government is established on the land occupied by the Mission, the coal depot and the Naval Station could also be built there; indeed, the channel that make the Kubary lands always approachable extends along those owned by the Mission, rendering the shore there accessible at three or four places, one of which could be taken advantage of, and it would have the advantage of being near the basin where this ship was anchored in, and that is the best anchorage...

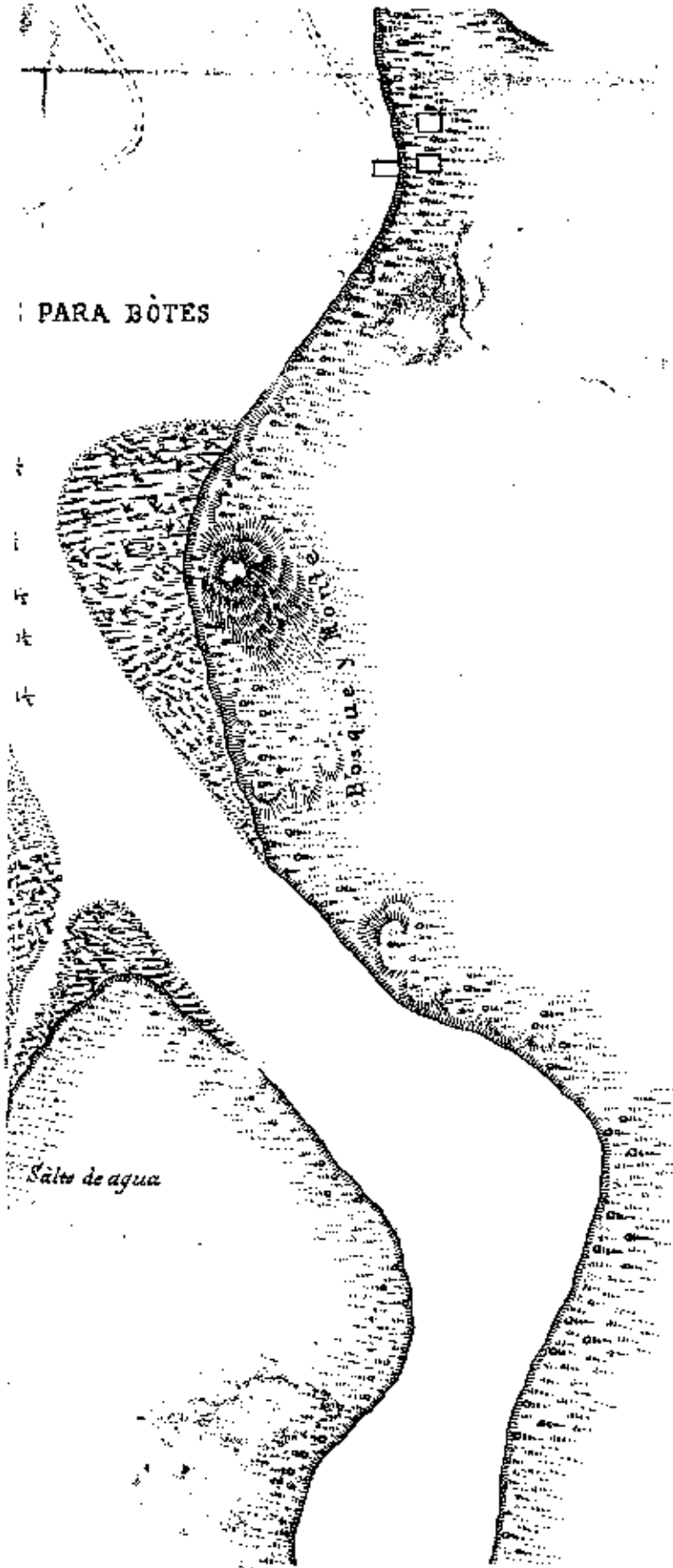
[1-2 lines undecipherable]

... a convenient spot to have two permanent mooring buoys, for which two old iron propellers could be used in my view, as they are more solid and secure for this call of moorings than any other known system using anchors, and it would be cheaper as such





PARA BOTES



D.<sup>o</sup> Agapito Asuncion lo delineo

propellers sell at prices for scrap metal. I also consider very appropriate and not to difficult to achieve, to finish putting up markers on all the shoals in the port from the mouth inward.

"On the 27th and with the usual solemnity, our flag was raised in the town of Not near the residence of the chief or petty king, leaving it in his charge, as he is a respectable and good old man with a brilliant reputation among his people, and I did not leave it in charge of Manuel Torres, the Spaniard, who wished to have it, because he is there in a situation that is somewhat dubious and he did not have any document proving his who he is.

"The inhabitants build their houses on top of stone foundations and they use lime to give consistence to the walls. From Honolulu they bring to these islands good-looking board houses with zinc or iron roofs, and at very moderate prices.

"On Taman [Tamwen] Island, located off the east coast of the main island and near Metalanim Harbor, there is an old construction named "The Ruins" for lack of a better name; in fact, it is anything except that. It consists of a double square enclosure formed of large basalt stones in the form of prisms, the outer wall being about 6 meters in height, by 2 in thickness, by about 27 meters on each side; the inner wall is 5 meters in height, by 2 in thickness and 20 to each side. Its state of preservation and solidity is perfect and it would be easy to convert it into a good fortress, perhaps at little cost.

"On the 3rd of August, with the steam up and ready to go out, we had to extinguish the fire and abort our departure, because water from the boilers was leaking through the pipe fittings.

"On the 4th at 1:30 p.m., with everything well tamped and completely ready, we left the beautiful island of Ascension, but when seeing it from afar, and deploring the fact that it is so small, we soon lost sight of it and headed for Kusai [Kosrae]. The next morning, as our track led us a few miles from the Pingelap group, the time of day and the weather were fine; that, plus the news that I had that this was one of the groups where the flag of Germany had been raised, we decided to touch at it, and so we headed for it. At 10, we stopped the engine at a few cable lengths from such an abrupt wall of a beach that we could not reach bottom at 120 fathoms at a distance of over half a cable from it. Four small islands sharing the same circular reef constitute the group, and so close to one another that all of them would scarcely occupy four square miles of ocean; nevertheless, on account of that superabundance of life that is observed in those climates and under this sun, those four handfuls of sand sustain a plantation of coconut trees that in turn maintain, provide clothing, and shelter, to 500 souls. I stepped ashore and after raising the national flag, I managed to get from its Chief, who also bears the title of Nanamaraki, his signature on the treaty of adherence, enclosed. In the southwesternmost island, that properly called Pingelap, resides most of the population, the Chief and the Teacher or delegate of the Mission who has at his disposal an ad-hoc building for a school. There is also one foreign resident there, an Englishman representing the Sydney house. These natives have a small industry in the form of woven

mats(?) or other effects made with pandanus leaves. They are all dressed as at Ascension and have the same level of culture.

[Visit to Kosrae]

"A little after noon, we continued our voyage to the easternmost of the Spanish islands, which we spotted through a break in the weather at daybreak of the next day. We rounded it by its north side and I headed for the port of Lela, the residence of the Chief of the island and of most of the population. Without losing any time, we proceeded to extend the treaty of adherence by getting the signature of the King or Toncsa on it, and by raising the Spanish flag over the island. To achieve the first thing, I invited the Toncsa on board, and after I had explained the objective of our visit and the reason for calling him, I managed to get his signature, but not before I had accepted his suggestion that the American Missionary, Mr. Walkup, be present and hear for himself the request of the King that he remain on the island as before as head of said Mission; having gotten this promise, he signed almost with pleasure.

"At 11 a.m. the next day, and with the accustomed formalities, we raised the Spanish flag over the island of Lela as a sign of the effective occupation of the Kusai group, whose documents and acts are enclosed for Y.E.

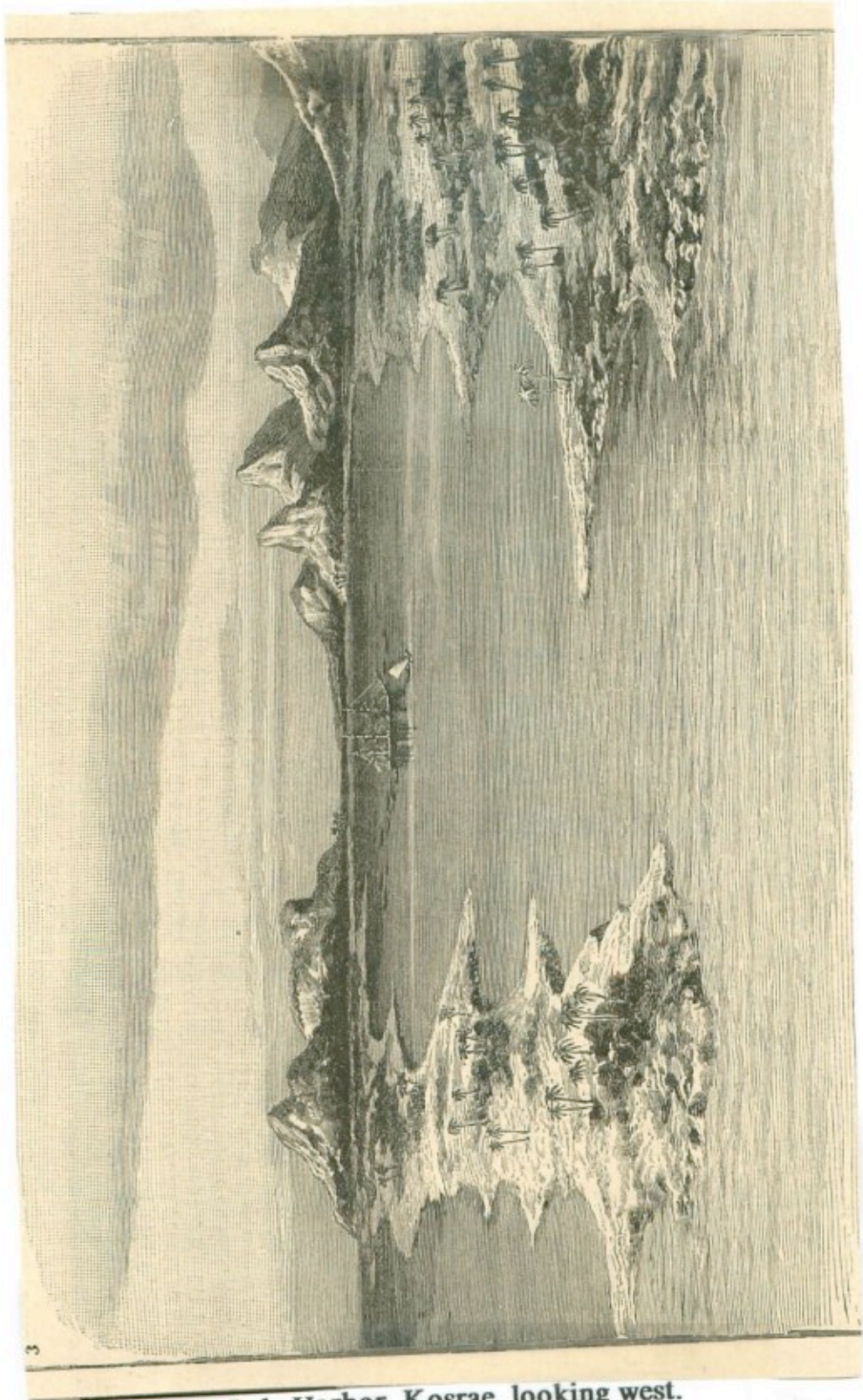
"Once these acts were over, I dedicated myself to getting to know the island and its resources. To investigate its coasts and ports, I commissioned my second commander, Navy Lieutenant Antonio Garcia Gutierrez, who made the excursion in two days with the steam launch and the following is his description:

"The view of Ualan Island reminded me somewhat of the pleasant aspect of the lands of Ascension; in fact, it is very similar to the better part of the latter, not only in the picturesque scenery of its sharp peaks, the luxuriance of its old forests, the dampness of its gulches, the fertility of its small valleys of basaltic origin, but also in the fertility of the topsoil that is so rich that, in the 30 square miles of its surface area,<sup>1</sup> this small garden isle there is not one span of infertile soil.

"Like all the other Pacific islands, this one is also surrounded by a belt of coral reef, but wound so tightly around the coast that it does not leave a space of more than half a dozen cable-lengths from the shore, except for the stretch lying between Ut-Card [Wokat] or Coquille Harbor and the islet of Hesid,<sup>2</sup> where it lies up to one mile from the coast. This tightness of this coral belt is responsible for the smallness of the ports that are formed where there are gaps in the reef, and that are as follows: the already-mentioned port of Ut-Card or Coquille in the NW; Yela Harbor in the W and Utwe or Lottin Harbor in the S. All of these are gaps in the reef that have been created at the mouths of torrent-like streams; they tend to be visited by sailing ships which prefer them to Lela, in spite of the shortage of supplies in them, because their entrances are not fac-

1 Ed. note: Kosrae has an area of 42 square miles.

2 Ed. note: Hesi I., Car. 1-105 in Bryan's Place Names. It is close to close to the former Mwot Mission Station.



Lele Harbor, Kosrae, looking west.

ing the prevailing winds. Coquille, with its entrance facing to WSW and sheltered from the 3rd and 4th quadrants by reefs whose rocky spurs give protection, offers a quiet anchorage for two or three ships at a time; there is a hamlet of 50 to 60 souls located on two small islets on the north side of the port and that is all the population in that port. One and a half miles further south, there is a small gap forming the port of Yela or Bérard; a ship can safely lie here, and nowadays it is the port used by the **Morning Star**, the brig-schooner with an auxiliary engine and a capacity of 400 tons in the service of the Missionaries and their property. On top of two small hills one mile south of this port, the Mission has training schools for Marshallese and Gilbert Teachers of both sexes; that is why they use this particular port; the first **Morning Star** was wrecked in its reefs. The port of Lottin on the south coast is very small and somewhat bothersome; indeed, the waves roll in from the south during this season of the year; it offers a watering place and there are two hamlets there, each with about 50 souls. The above harbors are, in fact, ports of resort but their importance can only be temporary. The port of Lela, where this ship was anchored, is formed in a bay in the main island of Ualan, by this island itself and by the small and pretty island of Lela; it is a beautiful port for steam ships; sheltered from all winds by highlands, and from the sea on the east side by the points of the barrier reefs at its narrow entrance. Following their tradition, these islanders live mostly on the island of Lela; the population is about 250 souls. There also is the Chief and the Teacher or native missionary. In this port any ship can find supplies of water and wood, a few pigs and chickens, good fish and exquisite fruits.

"The whole population of the island is at best 500 inhabitants; the people are friendly and kind, and they demonstrate the good relative effect of civilization, in their dress, their houses and their manners. For a long time they have been politically organized under a single authority of a Chief who bears the distinguished title of **Toncsá**, which is granted him by the national will. A short time before our visit there was a peaceful revolution has resulted in the reins of government having changed hands, and the old Monarch had become Minister or Counsellor of the new one designated by popular will; perhaps we can see here some intervention on the part of the Mission. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find a more communist institution; near the hamlets there are plantations of *gave*, *ubi* [taro], banana, sugarcane, etc. which, along with the breadfruit forests and the fish, constitute their staple food. These plantations being common property serve the daily needs of everyone; at the same time as gangs of women go out to fish every day on the nearby shoals. After the fish has been cooked in the town kitchens, it is distributed by the King or elder of the hamlet.

"The representative of a trading house living in Lela is an American woman, the widow of a trader whose business she has taken over; she is the only foreigner there; indeed, due to the political system, or from advice received, the **Toncsa** did not until now grant permission to foreigners other than the Missionaries; I told him, as the representative of Spain that I was, that from now on he was to allow anyone who appeared carrying a permit from the Spanish Authority at Ascension Island.

"Now, to finish with this island of Kusai, the most civilized of all as a center or principal station of the Methodist missions, we may mention the present condition and organization of the schools that, to train male and female teachers for the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, have been set up on two little hills that were mentioned previously, that are located south of Yela Harbor. With the objective of spreading religious propaganda and moral and intellectual teachings to the very heavily populated archipelagos of the Marshalls and Gilberts, the American Missionaries prepare and train teachers, young men and women, who are in turn put in charge of the propaganda in question. These youths, who are generally chosen from among the natives of the same islands to which they will return as teachers, are taught on this condition of becoming in turn teachers and to do so following their plans and doctrines. The costs of running these schools are subsidized by a special budget of the Mission, supplemented by having the youths themselves working one hour a day in the gardens, to produce food for their small colony. The small population of the island of Kusai, that left beautiful lands uncultivated, the abundance of water and the fertility of the soil, are the reasons why the Missionaries decided to establish those schools on this island, and not on the dry and

...

[1 line undecipherable]

... the islands of the low Archipelago...

[2 lines undecipherable]

... each one in charge of an American missionary, and with an American female teacher for the young men. The school for the Gilberts, which is the one that is now functioning with 20 young men and six girls from that archipelago, is under Mr. Wal-kup, and that for the Marshall, is under the direction of the Doctor of Medicine and Missionary, Mr. Pease, now absent and visiting Honolulu, Sandwich Islands.

"In summary, Excellency, these eastern islands are so fertile and suscetible to all sorts of agriculture that...

[4-5 lines undecipherable]

... of the **Ulithi** group. Its aspect, which is completely distinct from that shown on the chart, forced me to survey it, since the time of day and the good light were in favor of this. The atoll, as shown on the chart, does not exist...

[1 line undecipherable]

... perfectly free of dangers, I passed between the two groups, and where a reef is shown we could not find bottom at 120 meters, as there are in reality two separate reefs...

[3 lines undecipherable]

... the Island of Falalep, which is from outside...

[5-6 lines undecipherable]

... Cavite, we will rectify the chronometers to give more precise positions, I will have the honor to remit to Y.E. the true positions of various islands and shoals in the Caroline Archipelago, which are badly given on the chart, a few...

[2 lines undecipherable]

... that of the Uluthi group, by ... H.E. I consider timely to send to the Hydrographic Office.

"On the 22nd at 8 a.m., we anchored in the port of Tomil, Island of Yap. We landed...

[2-3 lines undecipherable]

... with the steam launch a voyage of exploration and survey around the Island of Yap, only to find out that the chart of said Island has many and serious errors, and that, except for the port of Tomil, ... of the island and for large ships to take advantage of it, soundings were taken all along.

"On the 29th at 8 a.m., we were ready, and we left Yap, heading for San Bernardino Strait.

"As for the pilot and interpreter, Mr. Galo Kamanga [Kuminga], as an interpreter, he does not know nay of the dialects spoken in the Carolines, and I don't know how useful he might be to intervene in a delicate negotiation, but as a pilot, anyone who has made one voyage through said archipelago becomes as good as he is.

"At 5 p.m. on the 2nd of this month, we entered the strait of San Bernardino and today [4 Sept.] at 8:40 a.m., we anchored in this bay.

"There remain on board 40 tons of coal and more than 10 days of food supplies.

"That is all I have to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty."

And, along with the original acts and other documents in question, enclosed, I have the honor to forward this to Y.E. for your superior intelligence and resolution.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

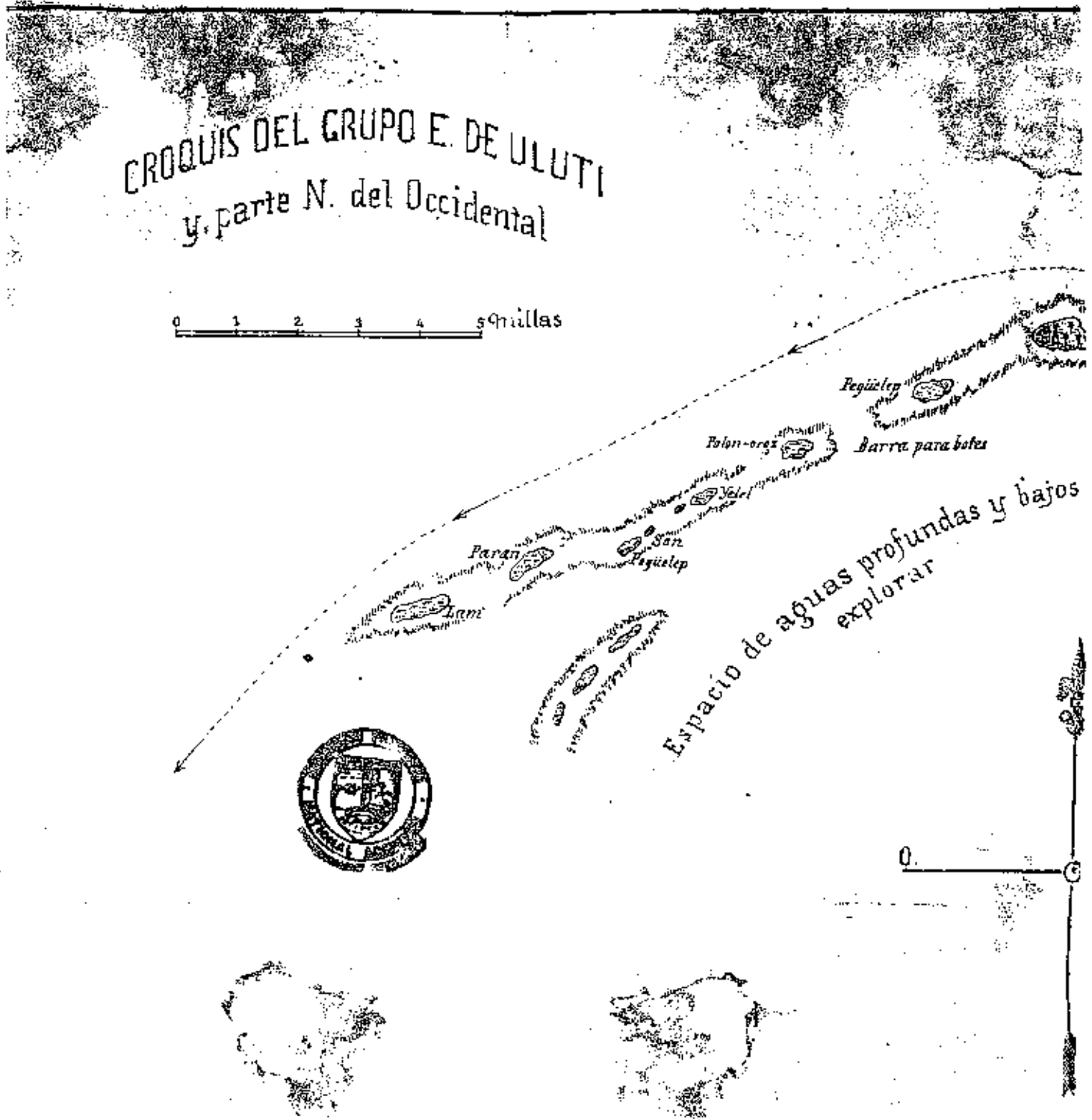
Manila, 6 September 1886.

Excellency.

J. Topete

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

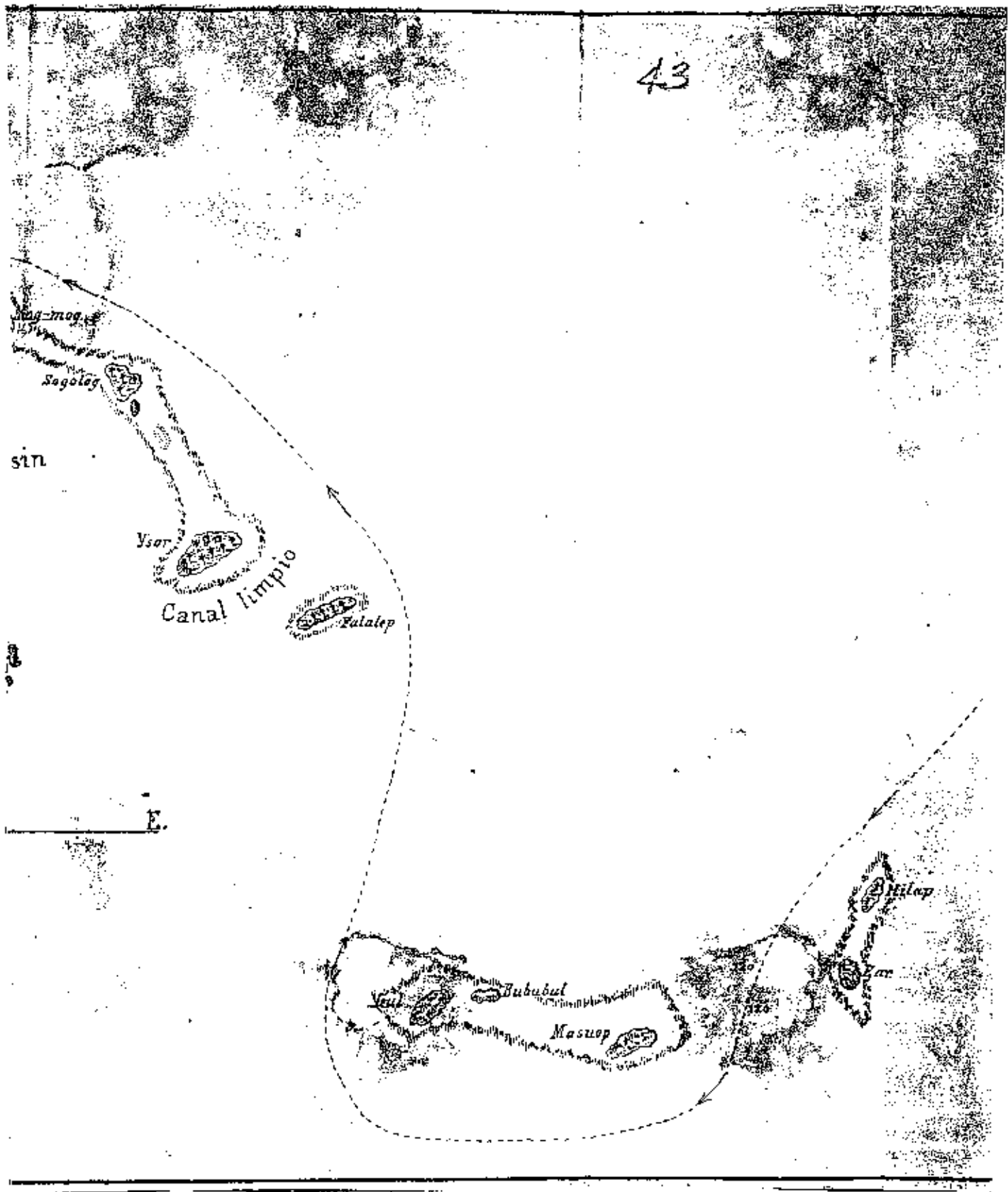
(Next two pages:) **Map of part of the Ulithi Group drawn by Lieut. Bayo aboard the ship Manila.**



Mapito Asuncion lo delinea



43





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 Documents 1886Q
 

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## The establishment of the Spanish colony at Yap

*Source: PNA.*

### Q1. The purchase of a land site by Governor Eliza

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno Político Militar de Carolinas y Palaos, 29 Junio 86.*

[Summary:] *Remite copia de la escritura formulada con motivo de la venta hecha por Doña Bartola Garrido para la instalación de este Gobierno, de una isla de su propiedad.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*.Según se sirve ordenarme V.E. adjunto tengo el honor de pasar á las superiores manos de V.E. copia certificada de la escritura formulada con motivo de la venta que ha hecho Doña Bartola Garrido interprete del Gobierno al Gobierno político de este punto para la instalación de la Colonia, de la isla Apelelan de su propiedad.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*PUerto de Tomil, isla de Yap á 29 de Junio de 1886.*

*Manuel de Eliza*

[Al] *Sor. Gobernador gral. de Filipinas.*

#### Translation.

Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau, 29 June 86.<sup>1</sup>

[Summary:] He sends a copy of the deed drawn up on the occasion of the sale by Doña Bartola Garrido for the installation of this Government, of an island belonging to her.

Your Excellency:

In accordance with the orders of Y.E. I have the honor to send to Y.E. a certified copy, enclosed, of the deed that was drawn up on the occasion of the sale by Doña Bar-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The old 1885 rubber stamp was still used; the new one was to have the additional word "Western" Carolines.

tola Garrido, the interpreter of the Political Government at this place, for the installation of the Colony, of the island named Apelelan that belonged to her.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Port of Tomil, Island of Yap, 29 June 1886.

Manuel de Eliza

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

## Q2. Bill of sale

### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno Político Militar de Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Don Manuel de Eliza y Vergara, Teniente Coronel de Infantería, Teniente de Navio de primera clase de la Armada, Gobernador Político de la Región occidental de las islas Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Certifico: que al folio dos del libro registro de propiedades de este Gobierno de mi cargo existe una escritura que copiada á la letra es como sigue:*

*"En el puerto de Tomil, isla de Yap, á los siete días del mes de Junio de mil ochocientos y seis, ante mi Don Antonio Alcaraz, Teniente de Infantería de Marina, Secretario interino de este Gobierno político de las Carolinas Occidentales con residencia en el expresado puerto de Tomil; presentes el Señor Gobernador político, Don Manuel Eliza y Vergara, por una parte y Doña Bartola Garrido, interprete de este Gobierno por otra, ambos mayores de edad y en aptitud legal para contratar, sin que me conste nada en contrario y á presencia de los testigos Señor Don Antonio Olona, Español peninsular, del Comercio de este puerto, y Don Pascual Junquera, primer Médico de la Armada y Director de la Enfermería de esta Colonia, ambos tambien mayores de edad y de mí conocidos, contrataron lo siguiente:*

*"Primero: Doña Bartola Garrido da en venta y en perpetua propiedad al Señor Gobernador Don Manuel Eliza que actua en representación del Gobierno de S.M.C. la Reina Regente de España, la isla de su propiedad conocida con el nombre de Apelelan y en los planos modernos con el de Herrans, lindando por el Norte con la bahía, por el Sur igualmente con la bahía, por el Este con la isla de Topelao y por el Oeste con la punta de Nemar, por la cantidad de cuatrocientos pesos fuertes.*

*"Segundo: El Señor Gobernador Don Manuel Eliza y Vergara en nombre y representación del gobierno de S.M.C. la Reina Regente según queda hecho mención anteriormente, acepta en venta de la citada Doña Bartola Garrido la dicha isla nombrada Apelelan ó Herrans en la expresada suma de cuatrocientos pesos fuertes.*

*"Tercero: Doña Bartola Garrido otorga la venta de la Ysla citada de Apelelan ó Herrans, y renuncia á todos los derechos que haya tenido ó pudiera tener á la propiedad de los terrenos, productos, construcciones y cuanto la misma isla contenga ó pueda contener, por la citada cantidad de cuatrocientos pesos, transmitiendo al propio tiempo al comprador todos sus derechos para enagarla [enajenarla?], hipotecarla, arrendarla y*

*cuanto tenga por conveniente hacer como tal propietario, tal y como prescriben las leyes vigentes.*

*“Cuarto: Conforme ambas partes contratantes, ante mí Don Antonio Alcaraz, y los testigos ya citados, el Señor Gobernador Don Manuel Eliza y Vergara hizo entrega á Doña Bartola Garrido de la cantidad de cuatrocientos pesos en moneda corriente, dándose la misma por satisfecha de haberlos recibido, haciendo renuncia á toda clase de reclamación acerca de la moneda recibida.*

*“Así lo convinieron y contrararon los expresados Doña Bartola Garrido y el Señor Gobernador político Don Manuel Eliza á quienes les fué leída la presente escritura, despues de haberles advertido el derecho que tenían de hacerlo por sí, y de todo lo cual se afirman y ratifican, firmando en unión de los testigos Don Antonio Olona y Don Pascual Junquera ante mí el Secretario, de todo lo cual doy fé; extendiandose este contrato en papel simple por carecer del sellado competente.*

*“Bartola Garrido.—Hay una rúbrica.*

*“Manuel de Eliza.—Hay una rúbrica.*

*“Antonio Olona.—Hay una rúbrica.*

*“Pascual Junquera.—Hay una rúbrica.*

*úAntonio Alcaraz.—Hay una rúbrica.*

*“Hay un sello que dice: Gobierno político militar de Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Y para que conste expido la presente copia certificada en el Puerto de Tomil Yslla de Yap á los veinte y nueve días del mes de Junio de mil ochocientos ochenta y seis.*

*El Gobernador, Manuel de Eliza.*

## **Translation.**

Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau.

I, Don Manuel de Eliza y Vergara, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Navy Lieutenant First-Class, Political Governor of the western region of the Carolines and Palau,

Do certify: That on folio 2 of the record book for land deeds of this Government under my care there is a writ which literally says:

“In the port of Tomil, Island of Yap, on the 7th day of the month of June 1886, before me, Don Antonio Alcaraz, Lieutenant of Marine Infantry, interim Secretary of this political Government of the Western Carolines residing at said port of Tomil, in the presence of the Political Governor, Don Manuel Eliza y Vergara, on the one part, and Doña Bartola Garrido, interpreter of this Government on the other part, both of legal age and apt to pass contracts, with no objections to the contrary and in the presence of the witnesses of this port, Mr. Antonio Olona, born in Spain and trading in this port, and Mr. Pascual Junquera, Navy Physician First-Class and Director of the Infirmary of this Colony, both of legal age also and known by me, contracted the following:

“Firstly, Doña Bartola Garrido offers to sell in perpetuity to His Lordship the Governor, Don Manuel Eliza, acting as a representative of the Government of Her Catholic Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, the island owned by her, known under the name of Apelelan and in the modern charts under the name of Herrans, bound to the

north by the bay, to the south also by the bay, to the east by the Island of Topelao and to the west by Nemar Point, for the sum of four hundred pesos.

"Secondly, His Lordship Governor Manuel Eliza y Vergara in the name of and representing the Government of H.C.M. the Queen Regent as heretofore mentioned, accepts to buy from Doña Bartola Garrido the said island named Apelelan or Herrans for the said sum of 400 pesos.

"Thirdly, Doña Bartola Garrido grants the said island of Apelelan or Herrans, and renounces all the rights that she had or might have had to the property of the land, products, buildings and whatever else the said island contains or might contain, for the said sum of 400 pesos, thus transferring to the purchaser all her rights of alienation, mortgaging, renting and any other, enabling him to act as said owner, in accordance with the laws presently in force.

"Fourthly, with the agreement of both parts, before me Don Antonio Alcaraz, and in the presence of the before-named witnesses, His Lordship Governor Manuel Eliza y Vergara caused the sum of 400 pesos in currency to be handed to Doña Bartola Garrido, who expressed satisfaction upon receiving said sum, thus renouncing any form of claim regarding said money.

"Thus it was agreed between the above-named Doña Bartola Garrido and His Lordship the Political Governor, Don Manuel Eliza, to whom the present writ was read, after they had been cautioned that they could have read it themselves, and all of which was affirmed and ratified, and they signed along with the witnesses Antonio Olona and Pascual Junquera, before me the Secretary, for which I vouch; said contract being written on ordinary paper, for lack of sealed paper.

"(Signed) Bartola Garrido.

"(Signed) Manuel de Eliza.

"(Signed) Antonio Olona.

á(Signed) Pascual Junquera.

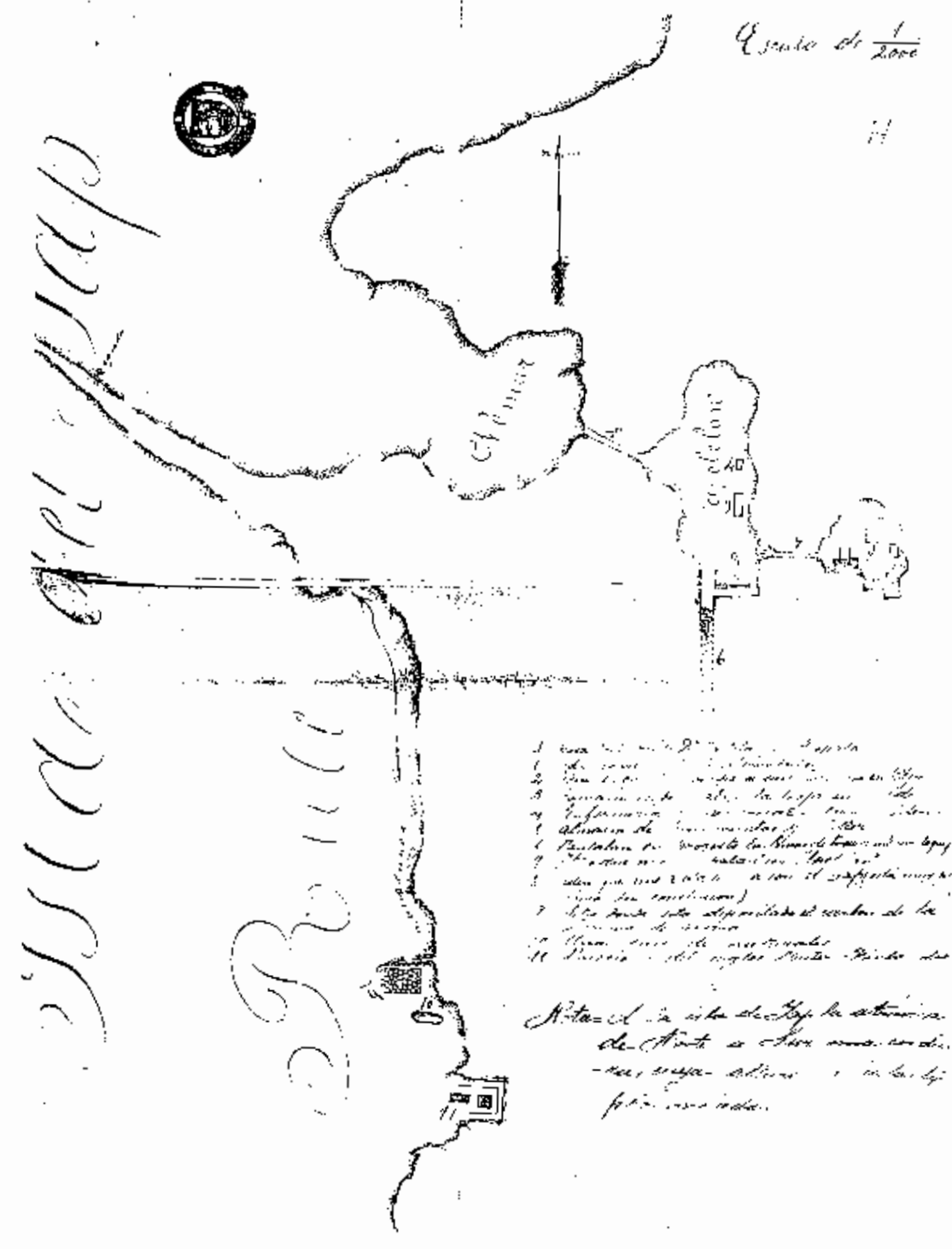
á(Signed) Antonio Alcaraz.

"There is a seal that says: Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau.

And for the record I issue the present certified copy at the Port of Tomil, Island of Yap, on the 22nd of June 1886.

The Governor, Manuel de Eliza.

Figure (next page): **Map of the site of the Colony at Yap**, in 1886. It was then centered on the Island of Apelelan and is now centered on Namar Peninsula.





**Explanation of the map, in Spanish.****YSLA DEL YAP**

[In Topalau:]

*s Casa donde reside Da. Bartola en Topalau.**1 idem idem el Sor. Gobernador en idem.*

[In Apelelan:]

*2 idem en construcción para casa Gobierno en Apelelan.**3 Camarín donde se aloja la tropa en idem.**4 Enfermería provisional en idem.**5 Almacén de herramientas y taller.**6 Pantalan en proyecto/las líneas del trazo indican lo que falta.**7 Istmo que une á "Topalau" con "Apelelan".**8 idem que une á esta última con el de Yap (está muy próxima su conclusión).*

[In Rull:]

*9 Sitio donde está depositado el carbon de la Marina de Guerra.**10 Una casa de naturales.**11 Posesiones del inglés Mister Friedlander.**Nota: A la isla de Yap la atreviesa de Norte á Sur, una cordillera cuya altura es bastante pronunciada.***Translation.****ISLAND OF YAP**

[In Topalau:]

*s House where Doña Bartola Garrido resides in Topalau.**1 House where the Governor resides in Topalau.*

[In Apelelan:]

*2 House in construction as Government House in Apelelan.**3 Shed where the troop is lodged in Apelelan.**4 Provisional infirmary in Apelelan.**5 Tool storage and workshop.**6 Planned pier/the dashed lines indicate what is missing.**7 Isthmus joining "Topalau" with "Apelelan".**8 Isthmus joining the latter island with that of Yap (it is nearing completion).*

[In Rull:]

*9 Site where is deposited the coal for the Navy.**10 A native house.<sup>1</sup>**11 Properties of the Englishman [sic] Mr. Friedlander.<sup>2</sup>**Note: The island of Yap is delineated from north to south by a mountain range whose height is rather impressive.*

1 Ed. note: The Bai, or council house, named Tomequelip (see Editor's notes below).

2 Ed. note: He was in fact a German subject.

### Editor's notes.

On the north side of the inlet to the south of Nemar Peninsula, note the word "aguada", which means "watering place". N° 3 is the present site of the Senate for the State of Yap. Isthmus N° 8 has since been enlarged, with piers located on both north and south sides of it.

There exists another document, N° 4 in the local register of land deeds, for the sale of the land for the coal depot (N° 9 on the map), drawn up on 23 June 1886. The former owner was Guillón of Rull. His witnesses were Cafec and Tumugunet. The land in question, situated next to the Bai of Tomequelip, measured 40 meters by 20 meters. The sale price agreed to was 100 pesos.

### Q3. Reasons why this site was chosen

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno Político Militar de Carolinas y Palaos.  
(29 Junio 86)*

[Summary:] *Da razones del por que adquirió el terreno para la instalación de este gobierno por la suma de cuatrocientos pesos.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*En contestación á la respetable comunicación de V.E. del 14 del actual, debo manifestarle que deplorando haya parecido á V.E. excesivo, el escaso valor según la opinión del que suscribe, de los terrenos adquiridos á Doña Bartola para la instalación de este gobierno político y fuerzas á mis órdenes, consideraciones basadas en las instrucciones que V.E. se virvió darme, me obligaron á su adquisición. En efecto, y ante todo debo manifestar á V.E. que teniendo esta isla excesivo número de habitantes en relación á su superficie, no hay terreno, árbol, ni casa que no tenga propiedad, muy apreciable para los indigenas, existiendo tan solo un monte lejano de la costa y algunos aunque cortos espacios sin propiedad. Si faltando al párrafo uno de las instrucciones de V.E. hubiera ocupado contra la voluntad de los indigenas caso de considerarlo conveniente, cualquier terreno de la costa ó habitado, aplazando para en su día la indemnización oportuna, hubiera iniciado la ocupación Española con un acto autoritario, y en vez de procurar se bendigera nuestro nombre por estos incultos habitantes, hubiera conseguido lo contrario.*

*Tales consideraciones de importancia suma, y el no existir localidad apropiada con todas las condiciones que V.E. exigía excepción hecha de la isla adquirida, me inclinaron á adquirirla. Un terreno elevado, fuera de terrenos pantanosos como lo son todos los de esta costa, con proximidad de aguas potables, expuesto á los vientos frescos de una y otra monsoon y con todas las ventajas que esta isla tiene, era difícil encontrarlo con la pressura que el desembarco que el Vapor *Visayas* exigía por ser desembarco con arreglo á su contrato, pareciendome un recurso que hoy la experiencia me ha demostrado aun ventajoso, de gran cuantía, y prueba de lo dicho es que no contamos ni tan siquiera con un enfermo despues de un mes que ya llevamos en esta localidad; quedan-*

*do en pasar á las superiores manos de V.E. el plano del terreno adquirido para la instalación de este gobierno según se sirve ordenarme.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Tomil, isla de Yap 29 de Junio de 1886.*

*Manuel de Eliza*

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador Gral. de Filipinas.*

### **Translation.**

Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau.

(29 June 86)

[Summary:] Gives the reasons why the land in question for the installation of this government was acquired for the sum of 400 pesos.

Your Excellency:

In answer to the respectable communication of Y.E. of the 14th instant, I must say that I am sorry that the sum that seemed excessive to Y.E. is, in the opinion of the undersigned, parsimonious, for the lands acquired from Doña Bartola for the installation of this political government and the forces under my orders, for the considerations that were based on the instructions that Y.E. was pleased to give me obliged me to make this acquisition. Indeed, and above all, I must tell Y.E. that in this island, which has an excessive population relative to its area, there is no land, tree, or house that does not have a high value to the natives, except only in the mountain far from the coast and a few small plots without an owner. If I had failed to obey the first paragraph of the instructions of Y.E. and had occupied land along the coast or inhabited, simply based on convenience, and against the will of the natives, and had postponed a timely compensation to be decided later, the Spanish occupation would have begun with an authoritarian act, and our name, instead of being blessed by these uncivilized inhabitants, the opposite would have happened.

Such considerations of extreme importance, and the fact that there does not exist a suitable place with all the conditions that Y.E. had expressed, except for the island that was purchased, led me to buy it. It is high ground, not swampy like all the others along the coast, with proximity to potable water, exposed to the fresh winds in both monsoon seasons and with all the advantages that this island has, would have been difficult to find, given the time pressure that the unloading of the steamer **Visayas** created, given the nature of her contract. So, it seems to be the best choice at the time, and still appears to be the most advantageous, most important, and the proof of it is that there has not been one sick person during the whole month that we have been here. There remains for me to send to Y.E. the map of the land that was purchased for the installation of this government, according to your orders.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Port of Tomil, Island of Yap, 29 June 1886.

Manuel de Eliza

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

#### Q4. First report of public works in Yap

[To] the Inspector General of Public Works, Directorate General of Civil Administration in the Philippine Islands.

[From the Adjutant of Public Works in Yap]

I have the honor to report to you that the following works have been completed thus far in this colony:

1) That of the construction of one shed [rather barracks] for the lodging of the troop and storage of the food supplies, which is rectangular in shape, the foundation measuring 19 meters in length by 5.5 meters in width, and it has next to its main façade a running gallery of 1.5 meters in width sheltered with an average slope.

The height of said shed has been divided into two stories, each of which has three rooms used as storage and lodging for officers, for European troopers and for convict [soldiers]. The materials used to build this shed are: wood for the uprights and rafters, bamboo for the crossbeams, railing of the gallery, stairways and the framework, *nipa* for the roof, and ordinary boards called *mozo* for the walls, partitions and floors; we used reed [strips] and nails in all the junctions.

2) One infirmary whose foundation measures 6 meters by 4 meters with a height of 4 meters, which is divided into two stories, as for the shed. Materials similar to the above were used, although its labor has been a little more careful.

3) One shed open on one of its sides for the storage of tools and for a workshop, which has been built next to the site where the Government House is going to be located, and whose foundation measures 8 meters by 5.5 meters, with a height of 2.5 meters and similar materials were used in its construction as for those above.

4) One oven to bake building blocks using clay as a binding agent; it has a vault shape like the corner of a cloister and the diameter inside is 1.5 meters at the base. A well was dug down to 3 meters in depth without any water coming out until now, and therefore, we are thinking about abandoning it and to try another site.

5) We have begun the work of levelling the island where we reside and the earth borrowed is used to fill an embankment on the beach; it is to measure 18 meters by 16 meters for now, with only an average height of 0.8 meter and this site has been selected by the Governor for the emplacement of Government House.

All of which I hasten to report to you for your due attention.

May God save You for many years.

Yap (Carolines), 30 June 1886.

The Adjutant 2nd-class,

Eduardo Lobo

#### Q5. Another map of the Colony

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

[From] the P.M. Government of the Carolines and Palau, Letter N° 10.

[Summary:] Remits the map of Herrans Island.

Your Excellency:

To comply with Y.E.'s order, I have the honor to enclose for your superior attention the map of Herrans Island purchased for the installation of this Government.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Port of Tomil, 5 July 1886.

Manuel de Eliza

— O —

[Figure (next page): **Draft copy of the official map of the Colony, Yap**]

[Figure (page after that): **Final copy of the official map of the Colony, Yap.** Note that the pier under construction is not shown on it; also the Nemar Peninsula has two more place names: Ken and Monri.]

[Map legend and captions]

## YAP (CAROLINES)

MAP OF THE ISLAND OF APELELAN OR HERRANZ

Heading of the baseline AB: 10°15' [East of magnetic north]

**Scale of the map:** 1/1,000

Surface area of Apelelan, at high tide: 5,876 square meters.

Maximum elevation of it above the high water mark: 7.9 meters.

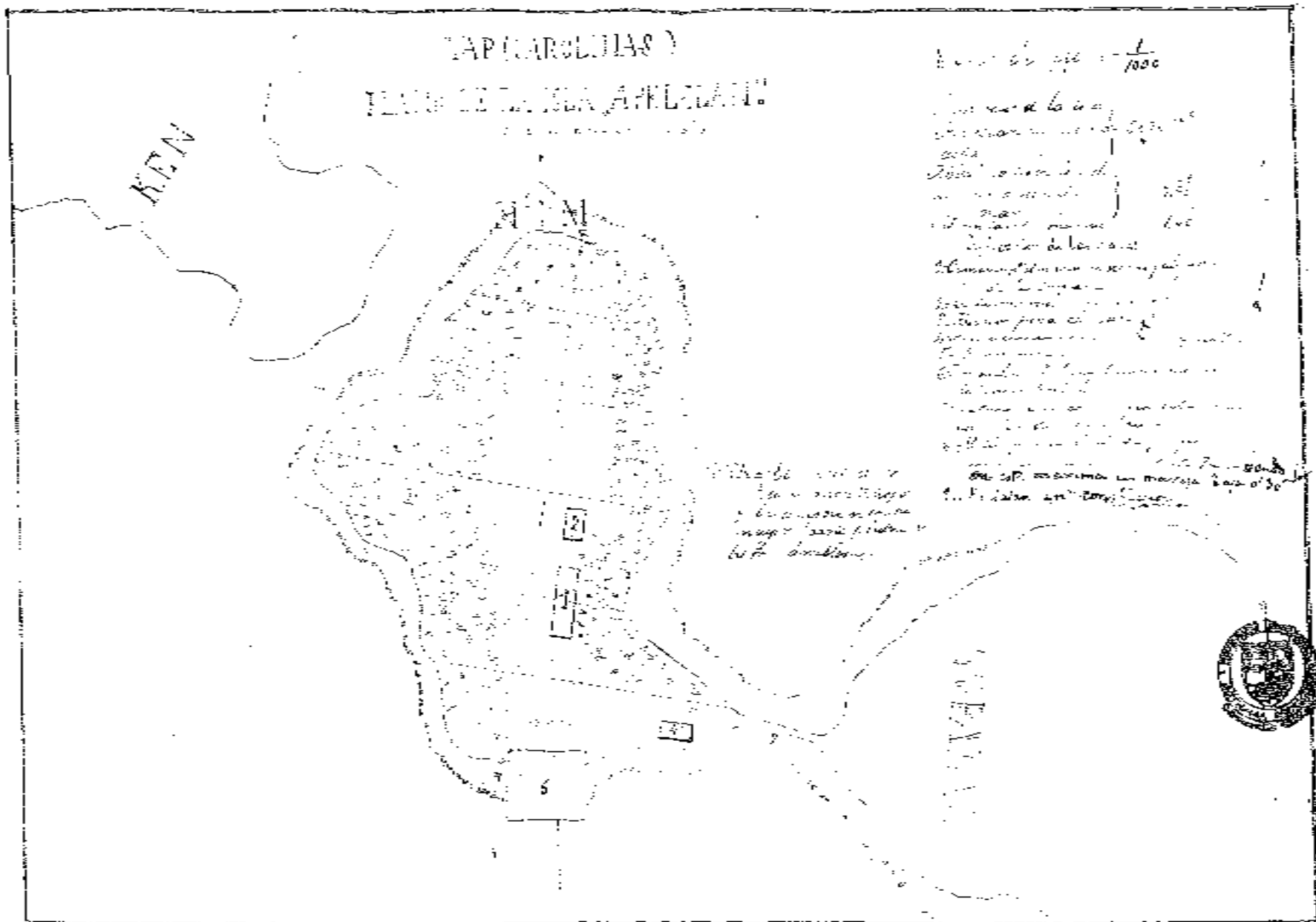
Difference between tides: 1.3 meters.

### **Explanations of the features**

1. Shed for the storage of food supplies and the lodging of the gentlemen officers, the Troop and the Convict [soldiers].
2. Provisional infirmary.
3. Oven to bake building blocks.
4. Tool shed and workshop.
5. Levelling in progress [borrowing].
6. Embankment for the emplacement of Government House.
7. Isthmus through which there is communication between this island with that of Topalau.
8. Site of the proposed project to unite this island with that of Yap; its deepest part at low tide is 0.30 meter.
9. Pier under construction.

**Note:** The look of the island is hilly and the soil consists mostly of stone and clayish earth.

Island of Topelau where Doña Bartola resides.



# YAP (CAROLINAS)

## PLANO DE LA ISLA APELELAN O HERRANZ

Nombre de la Base AEROPUERTO



NOTA: El relieve de la isla se indica por la forma de las curvas de nivel que las líneas a continuación

### Escala del plano

1 cm equivale a 100 metros  
 1:10000  
 1:10000  
 1:10000

### Características de las bases

1. Campesinato al noreste de la isla, terreno de cultivo, zona de cultivo y plantación.
2. Edificios permanentes.
3. Zona para almacenamiento.
4. Muelle de embarcaciones.
5. Zona de almacenamiento.
6. Zona para el almacenamiento de la base de datos.
7. Zona de almacenamiento de la base de datos.
8. Zona de almacenamiento de la base de datos.

ISLA DE TOPALAU  
 donde reside el Barista

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## Documents 1886R

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# Capuchin missionaries selected for the Carolines

## R1. New mission field for the Spanish Capuchins

*Source: Articles by Fr. Bernard Andermatt, written in Latin and published in their magazine entitled: *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Vol. II, Rome, 1886.*

*Note: Synopsized from the Latin by R. Lévesque.*

### Reports from the Mission—New mission assigned to our order.

The Spanish branch of the lesser Capuchin Order was chosen by their headquarters in Rome to serve in the new mission field in the western and eastern Carolines. The Royal Decree of 15 March 1886 authorized the decision arrived at by the Spanish Council of Ministers after negotiations with the Papal Nuncio in Madrid and the Moderator of the Capuchin Order in Spain. After consultation among the various Superiors in Spain, the following missionaries were chosen for the first mission band:

1) For the Eastern Region:

- Rev. Fr. Saturnino Artajona, as Resident Superior of the whole Mission.
- Rev. Fr. Fidel Espinosa.
- Rev. Fr. Agustín Ariñez.
- Brother Miguel Gorriti.
- Br. Gabriel Abertesga.
- Br. Benito Aspa.

2) For the Western Region:

- Rev. Fr. Daniel Arbácegui, Regional Superior.
- Rev. Fr. Antonio Valencia.
- Rev. Fr. José María Valencia.
- Br. Crispin Ruzafa.
- Br. Eulogio Quintanilla.
- Br. Antolín Orihuela.

The new missionaries met at the convent of Arenys de Mar. On 31 March 1886, they were ready to sail, but their Provincial Moderator, Rev. Fr. Joaquín Llevaneras, found out that the ship was already occupied by 600 passengers. After an appeal to the Board of Directors of the ship company, it was arranged for the Fathers to occupy 12 simple but comfortable cabins in the upper part of the ship, one for each individual, plus a



larger one for their common spiritual exercises.

The next day, 1 April 1886, they received a telegram from Pope Leo XIII sending a special blessing, and from the Superiors in Rome, transmitting the congratulations of Cardinal Massaia on behalf of all the members of the Mission Council, wishing them godspeed for their voyage to the Carolines.

The people of Arenys showed much affection toward the new missionaries. A solemn mass was celebrated in the church of the convent. On that important day, the Blessed Virgin Mary, as Our Lady of the Good Shepherd, was chosen as the patron saint of all Carolinians. At the end of these ceremonies, there was a general cry of "Long live the Capuchins!!" The Litany of the Saints was sung as the missionaries made their way to the railway station.

Upon arrival at the railway station in Barcelona, they were met by missionaries from other orders. Important persons accompanied them all to the ship. The image of the B.V.M. which was to be installed in the Carolines was put up in the exercise room, and stayed there until the end of the voyage. The Provincial exhorted them one last time, reminding them that, if they did not get their reward on earth, they would surely get it in Heaven.

## R2. Narrative of the voyage, by Fr. Provincial Llevaneras, dated Madrid 4 October 1886

*Note: Sama source as above; the narrative is a summary of letters he had received from some of the missionaries. It is synopsised from the original in Latin, addressed to the Superior General in Rome.*

### Report on the Caroline Island Mission.

Most Reverend Father,

After many difficulties were overcome, under the auspices of the B.V.M., Our Lady of the Good Shepherd, the voyage began happily on 1 April, aboard the **Isla de Panay**. The fares were paid by the Spanish Government.

The missionaries were well treated by the captain and officers of the ship. Six weeks after departure, as the ship was crossing the Indian Ocean, Fr. Fidel Espinosa became violently sick to his stomach, and died. His body was committed to the sea as the ship neared Colombo—the exact spot being located in 7°39' Lat. N. and 81°57' Long. E. of San Fernando (Spain)—on a Holy Saturday, at 6 a.m.

The ship spent Easter Sunday, 25 April, at Colombo. The heart of the missionaries was much affected upon seeing so many natives living in extreme poverty, like beasts, etc. their fate was in the hands of the Anglican Protestant missionaries. A sharp contrast, they thought, with the civilized natives of the Philippines, thanks to the Catholic holy faith, etc.

On 26 April, when the ship was already far from Colombo, a loud noise was heard; the propeller had broken. The ship remained immobile in the middle of the ocean during the whole day. The B.V.M. as "Stella Maris" or Star of the Sea was invoked. Finally, an English ship towed the **Isla de Panay** back to Colombo for repairs.

After a 42-day voyage, the eleven remaining missionaries finally arrived at the city of Manila [on 13 May], where they were received at the convent of the Franciscan Fathers, members of the same large Franciscan family as the Capuchins, their minor brothers. A *Te Deum* was sung, etc. The missionaries were made welcome in all the monasteries and convents of the city, and given a special welcome by the Archbishop of Manila.

All the other religious orders had headquarters in Manila, for the purpose of liaising with the Government and for their procurators to get supplies for outlying missions. The Capuchins also needed such a center at Manila, and the building of a residence there is planned.

The missionaries destined to the western Carolines left Manila on 15 June and arrived at Yap on the 29th, with their Superior, Fr. Daniel Arbácegui. On the way to Yap, the ship has visited Palau for a few hours and the missionaries had been able to visit the king and prime minister; these gentlemen were presented with rosaries and medals of the B.V.M. and were duly thankful, but there was no time to talk religion nor to learn about the local customs.

Upon their arrival at Yap, the missionaries went to pay a visit to the [local] king, but in his absence, they were received by the queen instead; she received their presents, and kept her naked torso covered with her hands the whole time, out of respect for them. Until a house is built for them, the missionaries live in a military tent provided by the civilian government. The natives build their own houses of bushes and grass, and they completely ignore agriculture, being satisfied to get their food from wild animals and fish. Their clothes are also made of grass, and can hardly satisfy the needs of decency. Their ears are horribly pierced and stretched; they use the holes to place bunches of grass, but they are said to be happier if they can stuff them with rosaries instead. The roads are paved with large stones. The fertility of the soil in this region is fabulous. There is much hope of developing agriculture, once the moral culture of the natives has been improved.

In the meantime, everything is lacking. Wooden boards will have to be imported from Manila to build a church and residence. The Yapese natives visited the missionaries in their camp and were pleased to meet them. They were delighted to see the long beards of the missionaries, and kept repeating the word *arrob* or *rob*. Carolinian children surrounded them and they were entertained by their gamboling tricks. Peace and mutual trust were established, which augurs well for the future of the mission.

Mention must be made of a Spanish lady born in the colonies, Doña Bartola. All Spaniards praised her and her assistance in establishing the colony. She was justly given the job of school teacher with an appropriate salary.

We have not receive news from the other half of the mission as yet. Rev. Father, please accept the greetings of your Spanish missionaries, candidates, and the whole Province, etc.

Your humble son,  
Madrid, 4 October 1886.

L. + S.

Fr. Joaquín Llevaneras, Provincial of the Capuchins of Spain.

### R3. Establishment of headquarters at Manila

Source: PNA.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Oficio del Gobierno general, trasladando la Real orden No. 816 de 1 de Octubre último, otorgando la competente autorización para el Establecimiento de una Casa Central en esta Capital de religiosos Capuchinos Misioneros de las Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Oficio del Gobierno General trasladando la R.O. No. 563 de 10 de Julio [1886], aprobando la cuenta de gastos de equipo y conducción de doce Religiosos Capuchinos. (Manila, 21 Dec 1886)*

*[De la] Misión de P.P. Capuchinos en las Islas Carolinas.*

*Ilmo. Sr.:*

*Aprobado por S.M. la Reina Regente y su Gobierno en Real Decreto expedido el 7 de Octubre último, la instalación y establecimiento en esta Capital de una casa central de Misioneros Capuchinos asignando para el alquiler de la misma la cantidad de seiscientos pesos anuales que deberá pagarlos la Administración general de Hacienda de estas Islas de Filipinas,*

*El que suscribe á S.S. Ilma. atentamente suplica se digne comunicar al Sr. Ordenador de Pagos autorice al Tesorero general de Hacienda le entregue la cantidad de ciento cincuenta pesos que corresponden á los tres meses de Octubre, Noviembre y Diciembre del presente año para el alquiler de la casa residencia de esta capital, y con tal cuarta parte de los seiscientos pesos consignados para todo el año por el Real Decreto ya citado.*

*Asi mismo agradecería el suplicante tuviese el bien S.S. Ilma. autorizar la entrega de los doscientos pesos que en los presupuestos generales del presente año económico, Sección 3 de Gracia y Justicia, Cap. 8, Art. 3 figuran para reducir por medio de presentes y regalos á los infieles.*

*Gracia que S.S. Ilma. indudablemente no tendrá dificultad en conceder llevado de su natural benevolencia no menos que de su acreditada actitud y justicia.*

*Dios guarde á S.S. Ilma. muchos años.*

*Ilmo. Sr.*

*Manila 21 de Diciembre de 1886.*

*Fr. Saturnino Ma. de Artajona—Presidente Superior.*

*[A] Ilmo. Sr. Intendente general de Hacienda.*

*[Minute:]*

*Manila 22 Diciembre de 1886.*

*Contestese en los términos acordados según minuta que se unirá á continuación y pase á la Ordenación de Pagos á los efectos que procedan.*

*Luna.*

### **Translation.**

Official letter of the Government General transmitting Royal Order N° 816 of 1 [or 7] October last, granting the competent authorization for the Establishment of Headquarters in this Capital for the Capuchin religious Missionaries for the Carolines and Palau.

Official letter of the Government General transmitting Royal Order N° 563 of 10 July [1886], approving the expense account for equipment and transport of 12 Capuchin Fathers.

(Manila, 21 Dec. 1886)

[From the] Mission of the Capuchin Fathers in the Caroline Islands.

Most Illustrious Sir:

The installation in this Capital and establishment of headquarters for the Capuchin Missionaries having been approved by H.M. the Queen Regent and her Government by Royal Decree issued on 7 October last, and allotting for the rental of a house the sum of 600 pesos per year, which are to be paid by the General Administration of the Treasury of these Philippine Islands.

The undersigned respectfully begs Your Most Illustrious Lordship to please communicate to the Payment Coordinator that he should authorize the Treasurer General of the Treasury to deliver to me the sum of 150 pesos which corresponds to the three months of October, November and December of the present year for the rental of the residential house in this capital, and representing the fourth part of the 600 pesos allotted for the whole year by the above-mentioned Royal Decree.

In addition, the petitioner would be thankful if Y.M.I.L. would be pleased to authorize the delivery of the 200 pesos that figure in the general budgets of the present fiscal year, Section 3 of Religion and Justice, Chap. 8, Art. 3, for the reduction of the heathens by means of presents and gifts.

A favor that Y.M.I.L. will undoubtedly find no difficulty in granting, given your natural benevolence and your well-known attitude and justice.

May God save Y.M.I.L. for many years.

Most Illustrious Sir.

Manila, 21 December 1886.

Fr. Saturnino María de Artajona—Presiding Superior.

[To the] Most Illustrious Intendant General of the Treasury.

[Minute]

Manila, 22 December 1886.

To be answered in the agreed manner, with a minute that will be placed below and pass the file to the Payment Coordinator for consequent actions.

Luna.

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**Document 1886S**

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**Deed for land granted to Protestant Mission at Owa, Pohnpei**

*Source: FRUS, page 440; quoted by Hanlon.*

Be it known to all whom it may concern.

I, Ijopau, King of the Metalenim tribe, and Uajai, and Noj, and Nanape, and Lepen Oua, chiefs of the same tribe, and all of the island of Ponape, we all and severally do this day of our own free will and consent make over to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, located in the city of Boston, State of Massachusetts, United States of America, and having one of the stations of the mission known as the Micronesian Mission on this island, all that section or parcel of land known as Oua whose boundaries are as follows:

Beginning at the lowest tide point on the flat due nearly east of the mouth of a small stream inland, running between the said piece of land Oua and Aru, the name of which stream is Leinperij, that boundary line running west from the above-said point on the flat till it strikes the mouth of the said stream, it shall thence follow the middle of this stream up to its source and pass on thence to the mountain back of it. This line shall be known as the northern and northwestern boundary line of said tract of land.

The other boundary lines are as follows: The eastern one shall start from the designated starting pint of the first and above-said line, running thence south along the low tide margin of the above-said flat till it reaches a point opposite a small stream running between Mejijo and Oua, on the south side, it shall follow the middle of that stream up to its source, the said line passing on till it reaches in the mountain the terminus of the line on the north and northwest side of the above-said tract of land.

These shall be its boundaries. These lands shall include all the flats, island or islands within them, the island especially known as Robinson's Island.

This piece of land, I, the King of the Metalanim tribe and my chiefs, whose titles are above given, do make over to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missionas, to be held, owned, and possessed by the said society or its assigns for religious, educational, and farming purposes in perpetuity.

It is stipulated by the said society, the natives now residing on the said piece of land shall be allowed to reside on their lots of land they now severally possess, but they shall

never sell or alienate any part of their land or lands, or trees, or wood in the Naniak [mangrove swamp], or water from the streams, or what may be called other natural productions of the said land, unless empowered by the above-said society or its agent so to do.

No native, unless for proper cause assigned, shall ever be removed or ejected from that residence during his or her natural life; nor shall any native or natives be allowed to take up residence on the above section of land unless so authorized and permitted to do so by the said society or its agent.

We this day do severally set our titles or affix our marks to this deed for the conveyance of the above-said tract of land.

Ijopau—his X mark

Uaji—his X mark

Noj—his X mark

Nanape—his X mark

Lepen Oua—his X mark

Witnesses: F. E. Rand

E. T. Doane

Jontel—his X mark

Ponape, July 12, 1886.

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**Document 1886T**

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**Governor Eliza's visit to Goror village in Yap**

*Source: PNA.*

**Letter dated 13 August 1886**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Exmo. Sor.*

*En el día de ayer fuí en compañía del Médico, del secretario de este Gobierno y de dos oficiales del destacamento á visitar el pueblo de Goror situado en la punta Sur de la Isla Yap y distante del puerto de Tomil diez millas. Salí de este puerto á las seis de la mañana embarcado en la canoa del Gobierno, y llegué á Goror á las ocho y media. Al saltar en tierra nos salió á recibir en la playa un europeo de bastante edad, que luego supe es de Nación Inglesa, de sesenta y seis años, llamado Thomas Shaw. Este señor que desde el principio de su entrevista con el que suscribe me dispensó toda clase de atenciones, se hace simpático desde que se le trata por primera vez por su esmerada finesa y educación, nos condujo á su casa, habitación construida con maderas de mangle, caña y hojas secas de coco y que mas bien parezca era de un carolino que de un europeo, allí despues de obsequiarnos me refirió que llevaba doce años de permanencia en la isla Yap, que al principio estuvo representando una de las casas de comercio alemanas que en la actualidad existen en este puerto, y habiendo sido relevado despues de llevar algun tiempo en ese cargo, se instaló en el pueblo de Goror, que está casado con una indigena de la isla Kinismit [KIngsmit?], de quien tiene un hijo como de veinte y ocho años que me presentó, que ya él no pensaba ir por europa puesto que en Inglaterra no tenía ya familia, que todo lo que el quería estaba en Goror refiriendose á su hijo, y por lo tanto espera morir en la isla Yap territorio español. Despues de esto fuí á ver el pueblo, siendo recibido por los naturales tanto por los hombres como por las mujeres con bastante muestras de simpatía y cariño, en particular por Fonagüay, rey de este pueblo y por su mujer, exigiendome que enlazára un dedo con otro de ellos, que entre los Carolinos significa ó representa esta demostración una gran y verdadera amistad con la persona que lo hacen; les hice varios regalos consistentes en ropa, objetos de quincalla y tabaco, y quedaron sumamente contentos y agradecidos.*

*El aspecto del rey Fonagüay es de un hombre respetable, barba blanca por su mucha edad que bien puede calcularse en sesenta y pico de años, es de estatura elevada y muy*

*grueso y es sumamente amigo del Inglés Mr. Thomas Shaw. El pueblo es mas bonito y limpio que todos los que se encuentran dentro del puerto de Tomil, los habitantes son tambien mas robustos, el piso es muy llano, no se ve por aquellos alrededores la gran humedad y bosque que se ve por los pueblos de Rull, Tomil y todos los que están dentro de este puerto, el fruto del coco en Goror, á mi juicio es bastante superior á los de los otros pueblos, lástima es que el puerto de Tomil no se encontrase situado en la punta Sur de Yap.*

*A las doce, salimos del pueblo satisfechos todos de la buena acogida de que fuimos objeto, y nos dirigimos á unas rocas que se encuentran situadas en medio del mar como á dos cables de distancia de Goror, sitio muy pintoresco y que habíamos elegido para almorzar y para el objeto nos acompañaron Mr. Shaw y el Rey Fonagüay á quienes habíamos invitado para que nos acompañasen á almorzar, y que aceptaron con gran gusto por parte de ellos y gran contento por parte nuestra, puesto que deseábamos corresponder á las infinitas muestras de cariño que nos dispensaron, y cosa rara, cual no sería nuestra sorpresa al ver que Fonagüay comía á la europea y con su cubierto tal como si toda su vida hubiese estado entre europeos, cosa que no pudo menos de llamarnos la atención por ser la costumbre de los Carolinos el hacerlo con las manos como aun se ve en la mayoría de los indígenas de Filipinas.*

*A las tres de la tarde nos despedimos del Inglés Mr. Thomas Shaw y de Fonagüay para emprender nuestro viaje al puerto de Tomil, y entonces Mr. Shaw me dijo que me agradecería infinito pusiese en el superior conocimiento de V.E. que él se conceptuaba español, y con contento aceptaría un cargo del gobierno Español en el pueblo de Goror aunque tuviese que hacerse súbdito de España, acto que le sería muy grato, lo mismo que por ejemplo ser el representante de nuestra nación en la punta Sur de Yap con algún sueldo que se le asignase y siendo muy grandes las simpatías é influencias que este señor tiene entre los Carolinos, y el gran conocimiento que tiene del personal y del territorio de la isla Yap, conceptuo en mi humilde opinión que habia de prestar grandes servicios, asi es, que no dudo al tener el honor de manifestarselo á V.E. como es el deseo de Mr. Shaw, el recomendarselo por si creyese útiles algún día los servicios de este Señor.*

*Tambien se nos dijo si el Médico podría hacer el favor de visitar á una mujer enferma desde hacia mucho tiempo, está es la esposa de un sobrino del rey Fonagüay, y debe estar muy querida en el pueblo á juzgar por el gran interés que demostraban los naturales en salvarla y verla buena; fuimos á su casa, y el Médico despues de haber reconocido detenidamente á la paciente la sometió á tratamiento curativo, para lo cual y con el objeto de que los medicamentos que se le habian de mandar cuando llegásemos al puerto de Tomil le fuesen administrados en debida forma, el Inglés Mr. Shaw se encargó de ello, que tambien parece abundaba en los mismos deseos que los naturales por verla buena.*

*A las seis y media de la tarde llegamos al puerto de Tomil recordando con gran gusto las atenciones de que habíamos sido objeto en Goror, no por nuestros personalidades, sino por la Nación que con gran orgullo y satisfacción representábamos.*

*Todo lo que tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. para su superior conocimiento.*



*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*  
*Puerto de Tomil 13 de Agosto/886*  
*Exmo. Sor.*  
*Manuel de Eliza*  
 [A] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador Gral. de Filipinas.*

### Translation.

Your Excellency:

Yesterday I went in the company of the Physician, the Government's Secretary, and two officers of this Detachment, to visit the town of Goror located at the South Point of the Island of Yap and distant about 10 miles from Tomil Harbor. I left this port at 6 a.m. aboard the Government's canoe, and arrived at Goror at 8:30. Upon stepping ashore, we were received on the beach by an old European, who later I learned was an Englishman, of 66 years of age, named Thomas Shaw. This gentleman, who from the beginning of the interview with the undersigned was full of attentions, makes himself sympathetic as soon as one meets with him by his highly refined manners and education, led us to his house, a building made up of mangrove wood, bamboo and dry coconut leaves that looked more like the house of a Carolinian than that of a European; after he had flattered us with his attentions, he told me that he had been living on the Island of Yap for 12 years, that at first he was a trader for one of the German houses that is still active in this port, and when he was relieved after spending some time in their employ, he decided to retire to the town of Goror. He is married with a woman from the Island of Kinismit [Kingsmill?], with whom he has a son who is about 28 years old (whom he presented to me). He does not think he will ever return to England where he has no more relatives, saying that all those who loved were here in Goror, referring himself to his son and therefore he hoped to die in Yap, a Spanish territory. After this interview, I went to see the town, where I was made welcome by the natives with rather good signs of sympathy and affection, particularly from Fonagüay, the king of this town and by his wife. The king insisted for me to link one of my fingers with one of his; this gesture, among Carolinians means or represents a great and true friendship with the person so honored. I made them various gifts consisting of clothes, hardware items and tobacco, and they were left contented and thankful.

The appearance of King Fonagüay is that of a respectable man in his sixties, with a white beard; he is tall, very fat, and extremely good friends with the Englishman, Mr. Thomas Shaw. The town is prettier and cleaner than all those that are met with in Tomil Harbor; the inhabitants are also more robust, the ground is flatter, and there is no sings of humidity or deep bush that are found in the neighborhood of Rull, Tomil and all the other towns in Tomil Harbor. The coconuts of Goror, in my opinion, is rather superior to all those in the other towns. It is a pity that Tomil Harbor is not located at the south point of Yap.

At noon, we left the town, all satisfied of the good welcome that had been directed at us, and headed for a few rocks that are found located in the middle of the sea at about

2 cable-lengths from Goror, a very picturesque site that we had selected to have our picnic lunch.<sup>1</sup> We were accompanied by Mr. Shaw and King Fonagüay whom we had invited on purpose, much to their pleasure and our enjoyment, given that we wished to reciprocate for the infinite show of affection that they has given us, and lo and behold, we were surprised to see that Fonagüay ate like a Ruropean, with utensils, as if he had been living among Europeans all his life; this is something that attracts attention, since it is the custom among Carolinians to eat with their hands, the same as most of the natives of the Philippines still do.

At 3 p.m., we said goodbye to the Englishman Mr. Thomas Shaw and to Fonagüay to begin our return trip to Tomil Harbor. It was then that Mr. Shaw told me that he would be infinitely thankful to me if I brought to the superior attention of Y.E. that he considered himself to be a Spaniard, and would gladly accept a position to represent the Spanish government in the town of Goror, although he might have to become a Spanish subject, an act that would please him very much, the same as he would be if he became the representative of our nation at the south end of Yap with some salary that might be assinged him. Snce this gentleman has a very great sympathy and influence among Carolinians, and has a great knowledge of the people living throughout the territory in the island of Ya, I fancy that, in my humble opinion, he would render great services; that is why I do not mind mentioning this to Y.E., not only because it is the wish of Mr. Shaw, but also my own; so, I recommend him to Y.E. in case some day you may need the services of this gentleman.

He also asked if the Physician could do him the favor of visiting a woman who had been sick for some time; she is the wife of a nephew of King Fonagüay, and she must be much loved in the town, to judge from the great interest that the natives showed in saving her and seeing her get well. We went to her house, and the Physician, after examining the patient carefully, prescribed a treatment for her. To carry out this treatment, and to properly administer the medicine that we were to send after we arrived at Tomil Harbor, the Englishman Mr. Shaw volunteered to do so; thus it seems that he too wanted to see that woman get well.

At 6:30 we arrived back at Tomil Harbor, with pleasure at remembering the good welcome that we had received in Goror, not for ourselves as such, but because we were the proud and satisfied representatives of our nation.

All of this I have the honor to communicate to Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Tomil Harbor, 13 August 1886.

Excellency.

Manuel de Eliza

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1 Ed. note: They were on the islet of Garim, 14 feet in elevation.

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**Documents 1886U**

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**Captain O'Keefe forbidden to fire his cannon,  
etc.**

*Source: PNA.*

**U1. Letter from Governor Eliza, dated 25 August 1886**

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines—Year of 1886—Carolines.

File regarding the prohibition of gun salutes to ships entering that port by the Trading House of the English subject Mr. O'Keefe.

Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau, Letter N° 16.

[Summary:] Reports his having prohibited an English trading house of this port to salute with cannon the ships of his property when they enter the port.

Your Excellency:

Given that the trading house of the English subject Mr. O'Keefe has the habit of firing gun salutes to its ships when they enter this port, as if no doubt to make the Carolinians believe his superiority over them and over the other trading houses, I have given him an order prohibiting this kind of show of force, which is proper only, in my humble opinion, for the navy representing a nation.

Which I have the honor to bring to Y.E.'s superior attention in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Tomil Harbor, 25 August 1886.

Manuel de Eliza.

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

[Minute:] Approved.

## U2. O'Keefe offers to sell coal to the Spanish Navy

*Note: This is the original letter in English.*

Yap, Carolines 10th of Sept. 86

To His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Your Excellency,

I beg to inform to inform you that I am in a position to offer to supply your government with coals for the term of two years or upwards if required at any part in the group at the following \$9.00 nine dollars per English ton either from the ship or store \$10.00 ten dollars per ton delivered on board. I have now on hand over two hundred tons of coals just arrived from Sydney.

Hoping this will meet with your approval.

I am Your Excellency's

Very Humble Servant

D. Dean O'Keefe

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**Documents 1886V**

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**Plans for the Government Houses at Yap and Pohnpei**

*Source: PNA.*

**V1. Design for the Government House at Yap, by Eduardo Lobo**

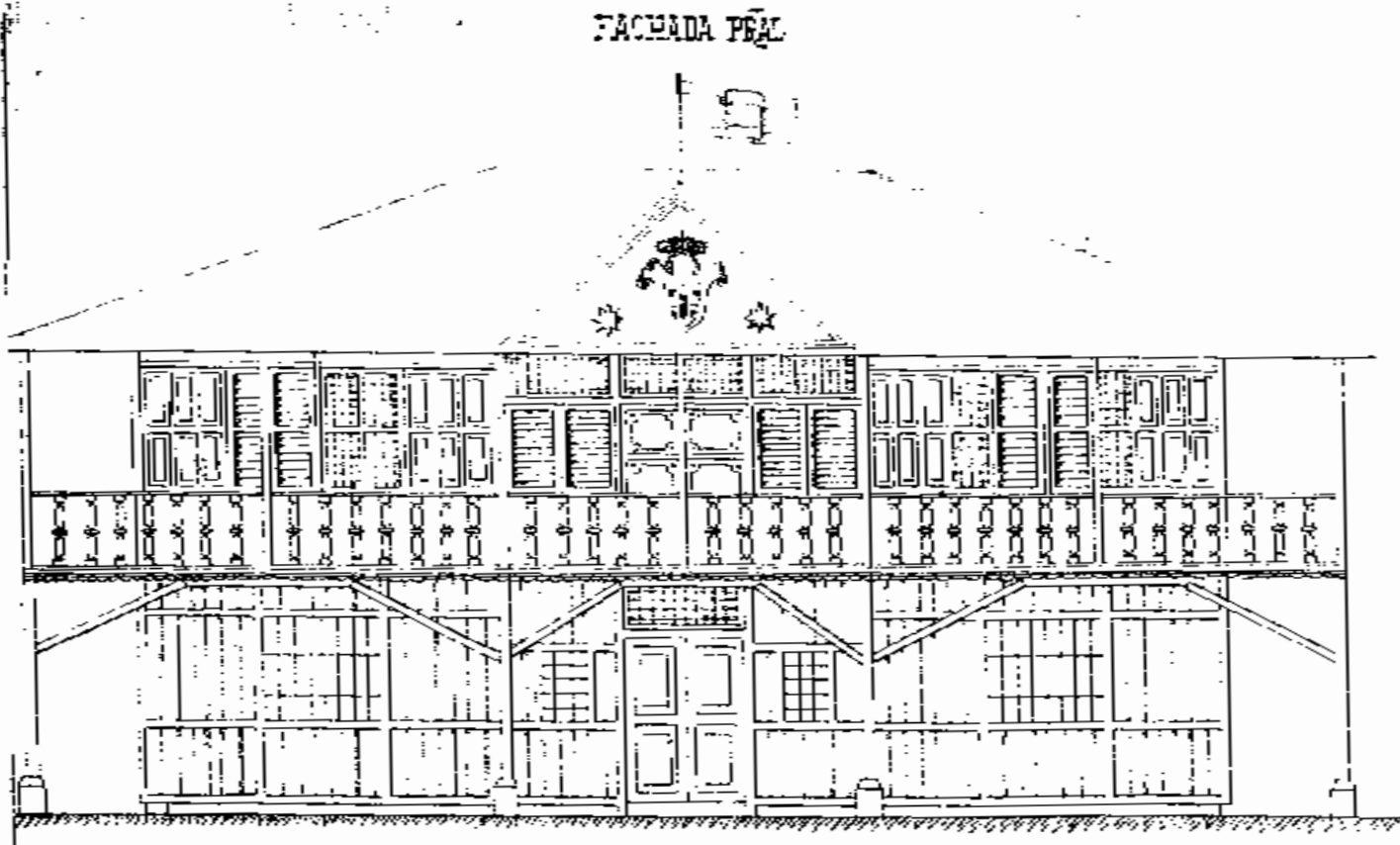
See actual drawing (next 6 pages).

**Editor's notes.**

Adjutant 2nd-class Eduardo Lobo, in a letter to the Inspector General of Public Works dated 3 October 1886, reported that the work on the Government House at Yap has been stopped by the Governor as of 25 September. On 20 February 1887, he reported that the new Governor, Lieut. Mariano Torres, had ordered him the day before to continue the construction. On 27 March 1887, he further reported the following progress: the floor of the upper story had been laid, the stairway also, he was working on finishing the inner ceiling below the attic, and the Governor had moved into the two rooms that had been completed upstairs. The windows, shutters and doors were not yet finished. He had yet to start on the water collection ducts and a cistern which was to have a capacity of 48 cubic meters.

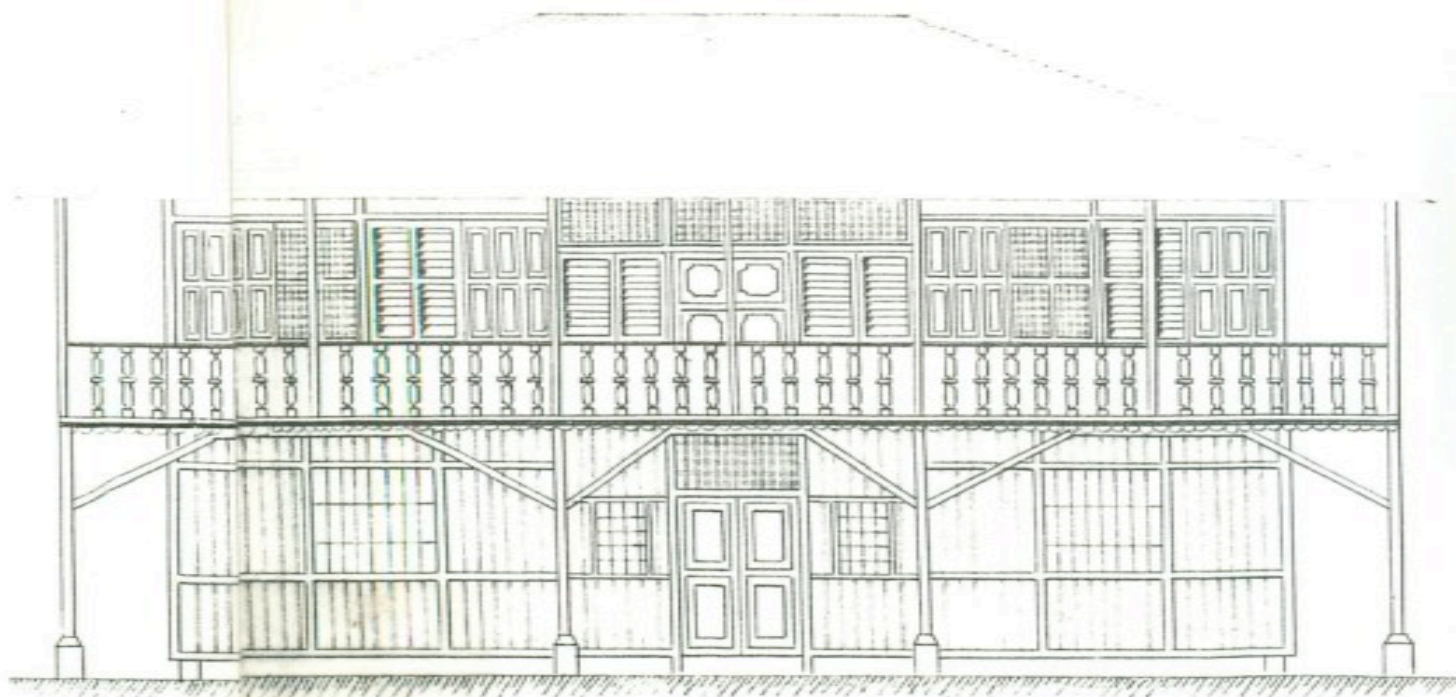
**V2. Design for the Government House at Pohnpei, by Guillermo Zarco**

[Figure (last two pages): **Government House at Pohnpei**, designed in July 1886 by Foreman Guillermo Zarco, Manila. The design, though approved by the Inspector of Public Works in August 1886, was not built until 1888, according to a government report dated 28 September 1888.]

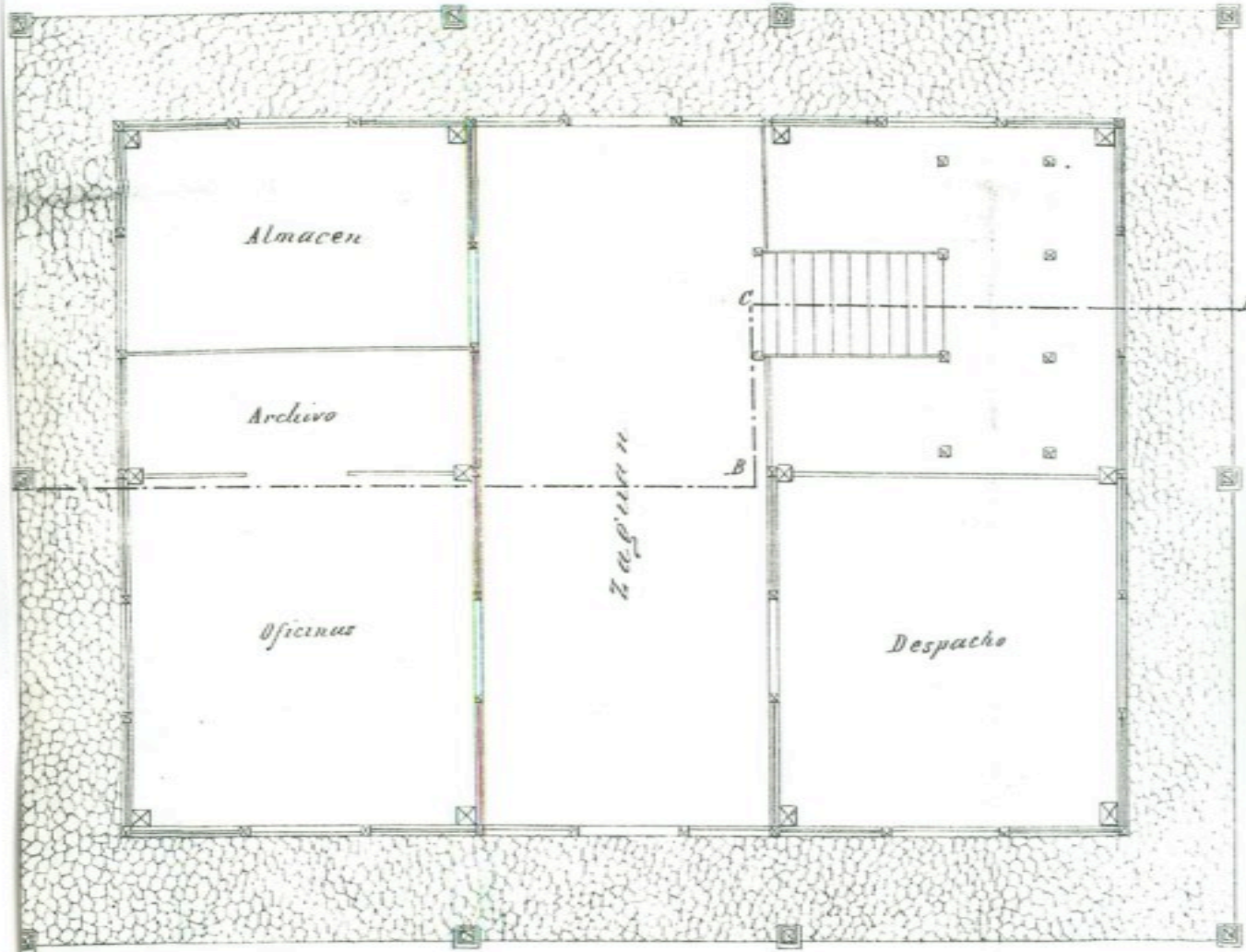


PLANO PARA LA CONSTRUCCION DE UNA CASA GOBIERNO EN YAP (CAROLINAS)

FACHADA POSTERIOR



PLANIA BAJA

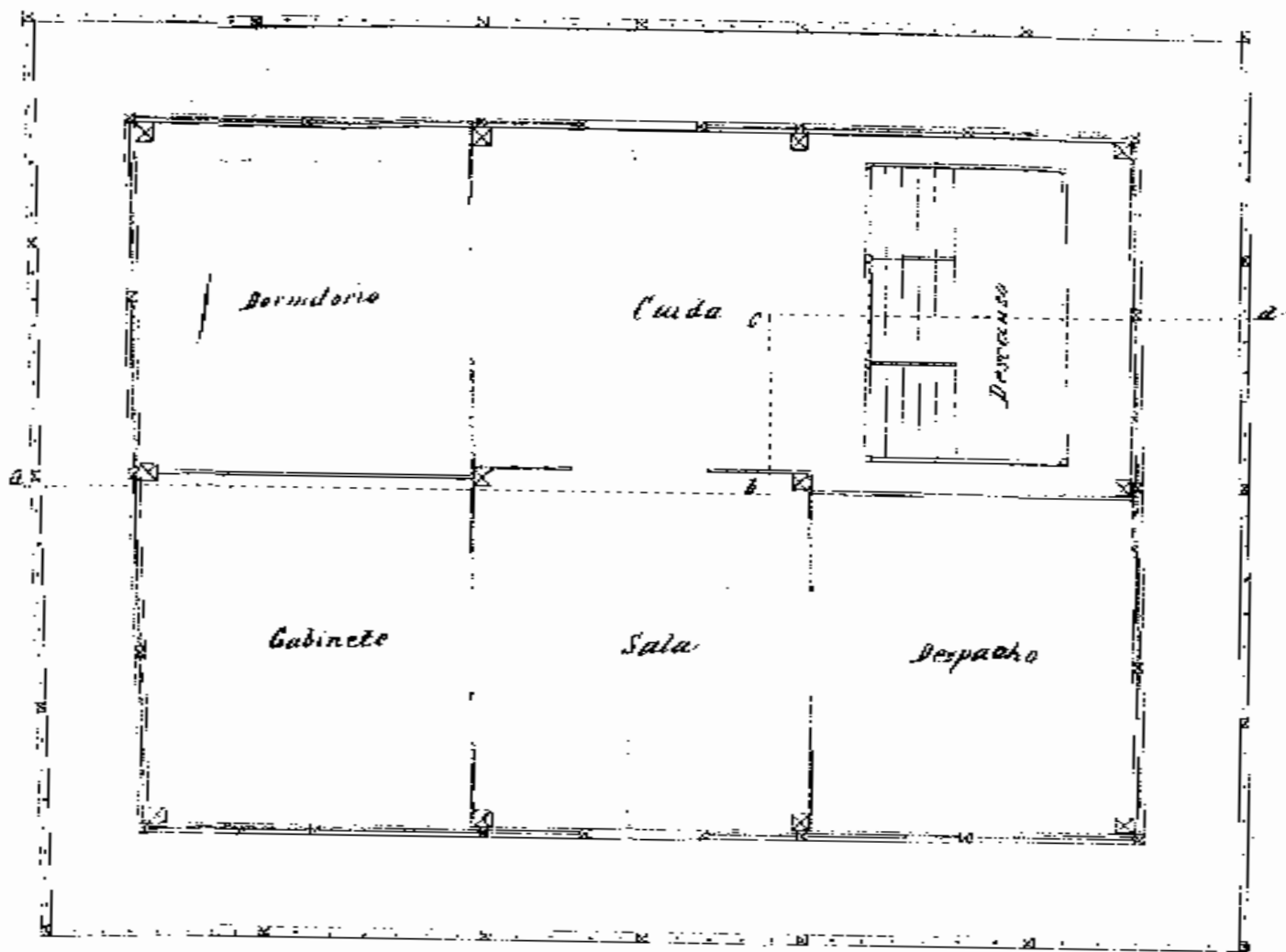


Yap (Carolinias) 2 de Octubre de 1986 - El Ayudante 2º Eduardo Lobo.

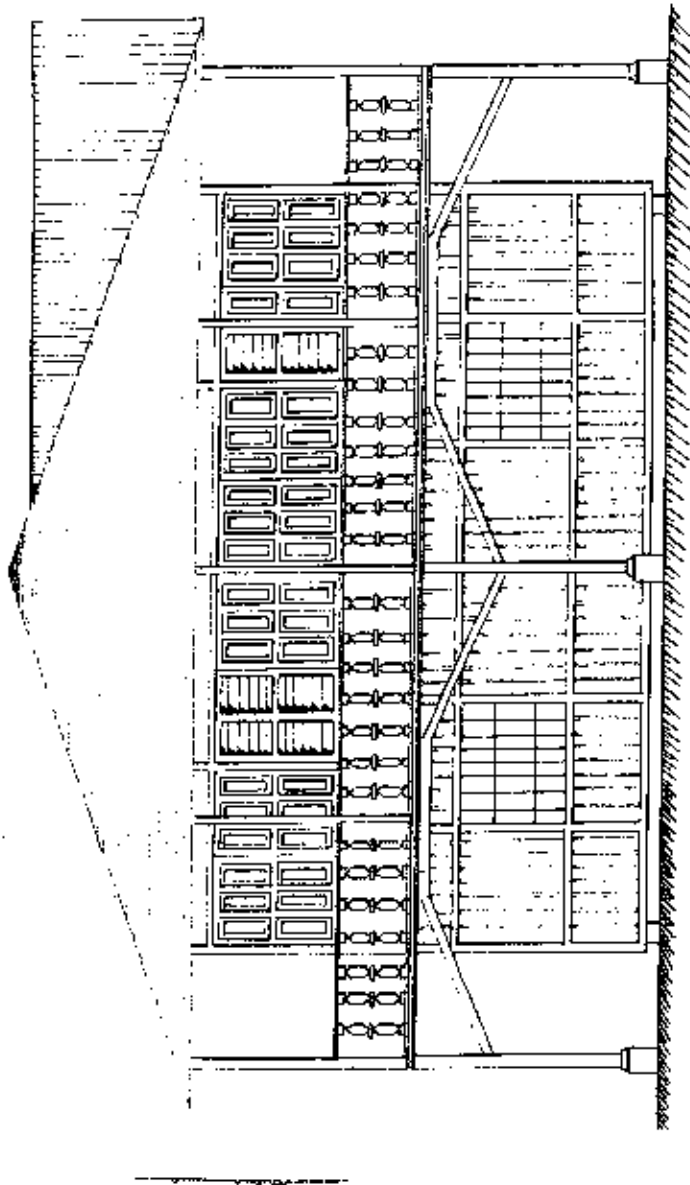
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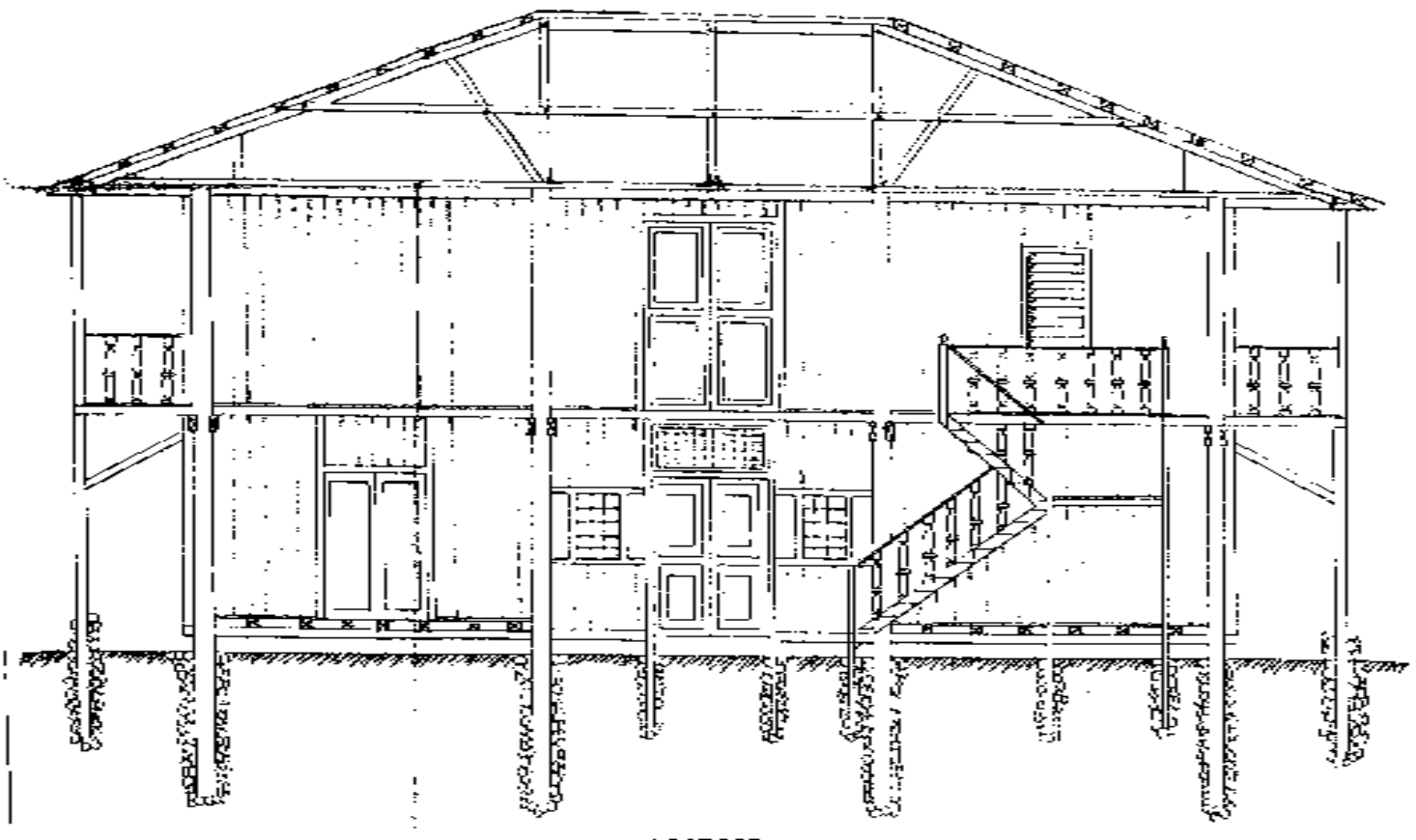
PLANTA ALTA



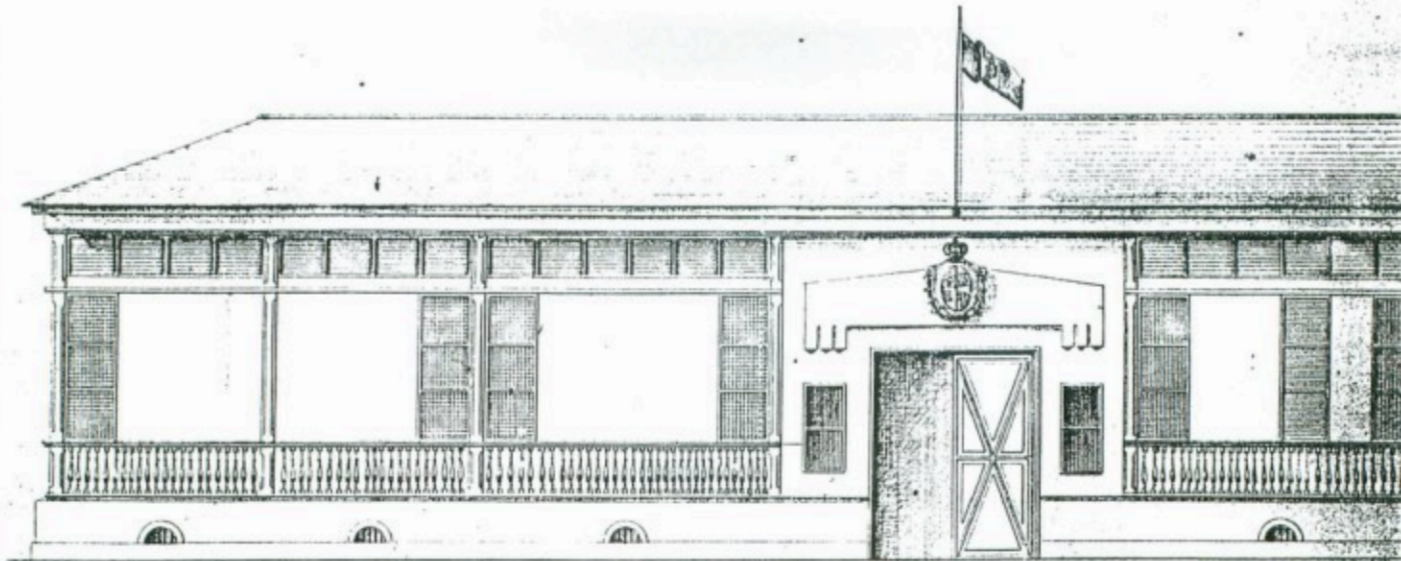
Escuela de  $\frac{1}{100}$



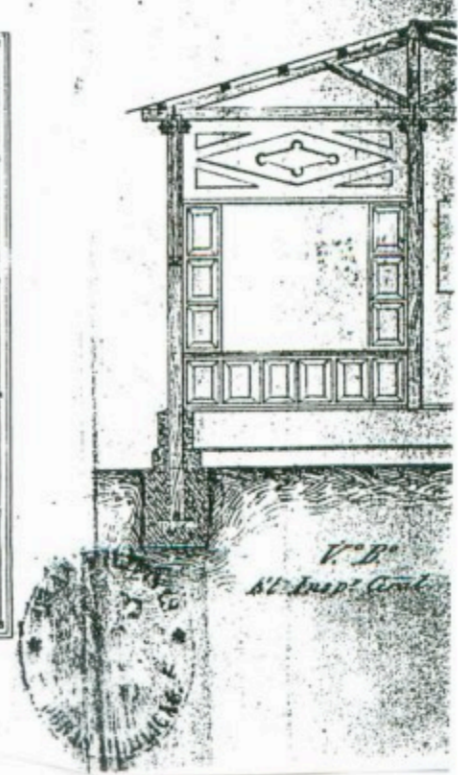
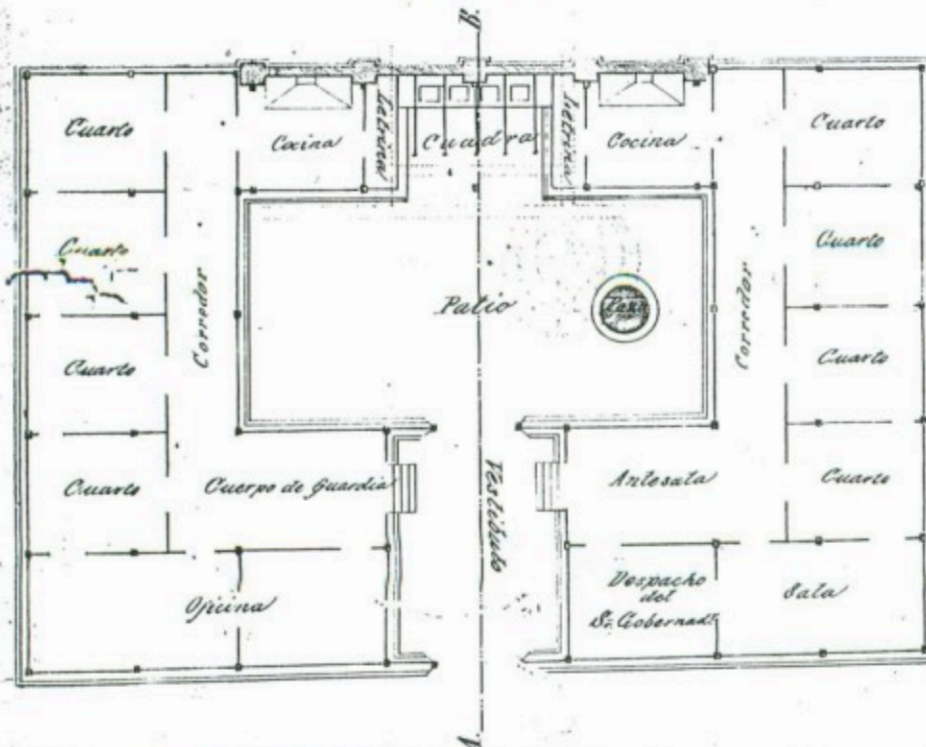
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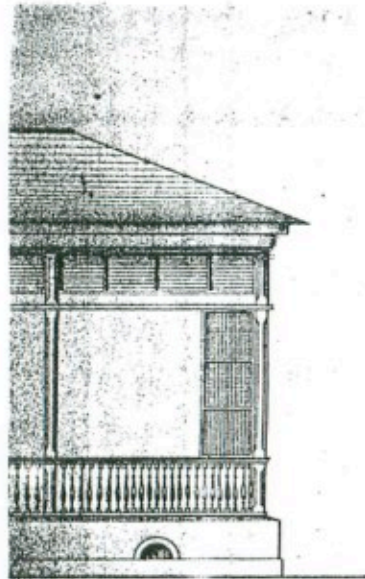


ALZADO



PLANTA

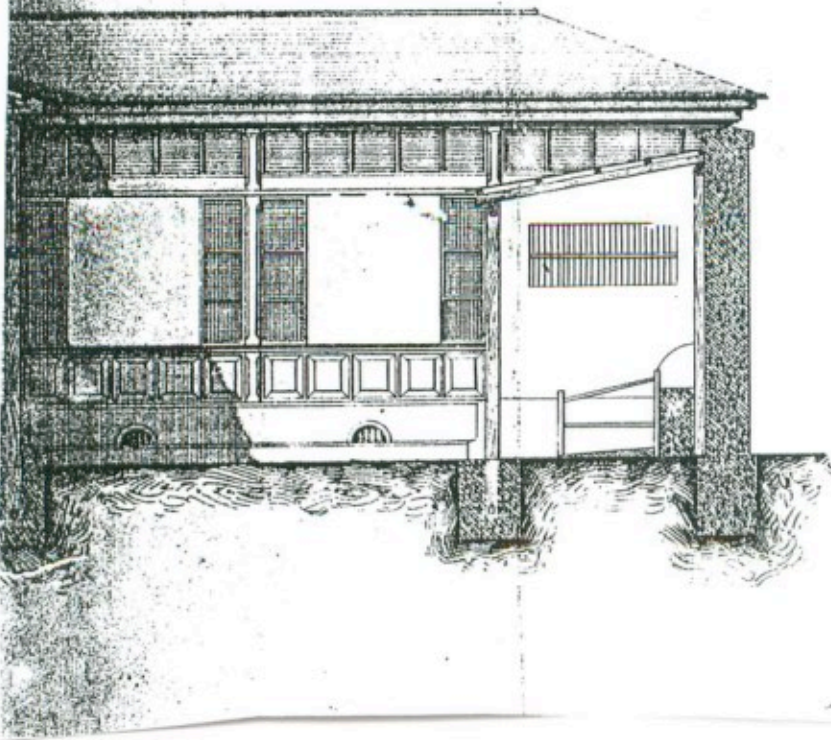




PROYECTO  
DE  
CASA GOBIERNO PARA LA ISLA  
de Panape en las Carolinas.

Escalas, { 061 metros para el alzado y corte  
          { 0005 "                      "                      la planta

POR A. R.



*Aprobado por el Excmo. S. Gobernador General de Manila y de Agosto de 1886. S. S. Augusto, 9100.*



*Manila 9 de Julio de 1886*

*El "brestante"*

*Ruil. J. arco*

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## Document 1886W

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### Expedition to the town of Kanif, Yap

*Source: PNA.*

#### Report of Governor Eliza, dated 5 November 1886

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno Político-Militar Islas de Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Dando cuenta de una expedición llevada á cabo el día 4 del actual al pueblo de Canef á consecuencia de queja producida por el súbdito alemán Mr. Friedlander, por haber recibido los naturales de dicho pueblo á los dependientes de este, con lanzas y armas de fuego en ademan(?) de tie(?), y maltratandolos.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Tengo el honor de poner en el superior conocimiento de V.E. que el día tres del que curra, y sobre las cuatro de la tarde se presentó en este Gobierno Político el Súbdito Alemán Mr. Friedlander representante de una casa de Comercio, el cual me manifestó que como de costumbre había mandado á sus dependientes al pueblo de Canef para recoger el coco que los naturales deudores le debían, y lo comprobaba con documentos, y que fueron recibidos por varios indigenas del pueblo mencionado armados de lanzas y armas de fuego, maltratando alguno de sus dependientes y amenazandoles de muerte. En vista de lo que veían(?), dos de los dependientes de Mr. Friedlander saltaron de el bote en tierra y vinieron le dar cuanta á la principal quedando en Canef cuidando su bote los otros dos dependientes sin desembarcar de él, esperando órdenes de su amo.*

*En virtud de lo manifestado por dicho Mr. Friedlander, dispuse que al amanecer del día cuatro saliera el Teniente del Regimiento Infanteria de Magallanes número tres, con veinte hombres armados de su fuerza para dicho pueblo y averigüara lo que había de verdad, y detubiera á los dos verdaderos delincuentes sin que fueran maltratados, y con el objeto de imponerles la corrección y hacerles comprender que no se falta impunemente y por capricho á los deudas contraídas, y particularmente, para hacerles comprender que hay una autoridad española que deben acudir en queja si se les pide una cosa injustamente, ó son atropellados por algun europeo.*

*A las ocho y media de la mañana llegó la fuerza mencionada al pueblo de Canef, en unión del Sr. Médico Director de la enfermería de esta Colonia Don Pascual Junquera, Mr. Friedlander, y del Sr. Secretario de este Gobierno Político, que de su voluntad quizo agregarse á la expedición, y de Don Ramón Aguon, natural de Guam de las islas Marianas, el cual sirvió de interprete por no servir para estos casos la interprete oficial nombrada, y hechas sobre el terreno algunas averiguaciones, se detuvieron á dos naturales por aparecer que eran los mas culpables y rebeldes, y que el día anterior amenazaron con armas á los depondientes del mencionado Mr. Friedlander; los naturales, detenidos á dos compañeros suyos, hicieron resistencia para salvarlos y apoderarse de ellos, y para alcanzarlos(?); le hicieron varios disparos al aire consiguiendo con esto la muda(?) de los naturales por poco tiempo, pero que no intentaron ya mas apoderarse de los detenidos, no teniendo que lamentar por una ni otra parte, la mas leve desgracia.*

*Despues se practicó un ligero reconocimiento en varias casas de mala fama entre los mismos naturales recogiendo en ellas dos fusiles, un Winchjester muy antiguo, y un sable bayoneta, y en una casa grande donde se reunen en gran número, y tienen sus conferencias se recogió un cañon sistema Whitworth, construido en Manchester el año de 1882, el cual es de acero, rayado; de siete centímetros de calibre, y dos metros de longitud, y gran número de lanzas de diferente tamaños qu todas se inutilizaron.*

*Dichas armas y cañon quedan en este Gobierno - disposición de V.E. esperando sus gratos órdenes sobre este particular.*

*Los dos indigenas detenidos despues de varias preguntas se les ha hecho, no encontramos en ellos causa grave, solo parte de ignorancia debido á su salvagismo, los puse en libertad y los mande á sus casas.*

*La expedición regresó á este Destacamento á las dos de la tarde sin la menor novedad como dejo dicho, y sin tener que lamentar ninguna desgracia por ambas partes.*

*Esto es lo sucedido E.S. según manifestación que me hicieron el Médico Director de la enfermería de esta Colonia Don Pascual Junquera antescitado, y el Sr. Secretario de este Gobierno, quienes me merecen entero crédito.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Tomil isla de Yap 5 de Noviembre de 1886.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Gobernador*

*Manuel de Eliza*

*[Al] Exmo. Señor Gobernador Gral. del Archipiélago Filipino.*

### **Translation.**

Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau.

[Summary:] Giving a report of the expedition carried out on the 4th instant to the town of Canef [i.e. Kanif] as a consequence of a complaint produced by the German subject Mr. Friedlander, as the natives of the said town have received his employees with spears and firearms, getting ready to ..., and mistreating them.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. that on the 3rd instant, at about 4 p.m., there appeared at the office of this Political Government the German subject Mr. Friedlander, representative of a trading firm. He told me that he had sent his employees as usual to the town of Kanif to collect the copra that the natives owed him, and he showed documents to prove it, and they were received by various natives of the said town armed with spears and firearms, who mistreated some of his employees and threatened to kill them. In view of what happened, two of Mr. Friedlander's employees stepped ashore from the boat and they came to the capital to notify him, while the other two employees stayed in Kanif to look after their boat without disembarking, waiting for their master's orders.

In view of what the said Mr. Friedlander had said, I ordered that on the morning of the 4th, the Lieutenant in charge of the Magellan Infantry Regiment N<sup>o</sup> 3 would go out with 20 armed men from his force to the said town in order to check out the facts and to arrest the real culprits without mistreating them, for the purpose of imposing upon them corrective measures and to make them understand that debts cannot be contracted and broken with impunity and whim, and specially to make them understand that there exists a Spanish authority whom they can approach to complain if something is asked unjustly, or if they are abused by some European.

At 8:30 a.m., the said force arrived at the town of Kanif, accompanied by the Physician in charge of the Infirmary of this Colony, Mr. Pascual Junquera, Mr. Friedlander, and the Secretary of this Political Government who indicated his desire to join the expedition, and Mr. Ramón Aguon, a native of Guam in the Mariana Islands, who served as interpreter because the officially-appointed interpreter [Mrs. Bartola Garrido] cannot be used in such cases. After a few inquiries in the field had been made, two natives were arrested as they appeared to be the most guilty and rebellious, and on the previous day had threatened with weapons the employees of the said Mr. Friedlander. After the two natives were arrested, the others made resistance in order to save them and grab them, and to reach them. A few shots were fired in the air and this caused the natives to move out of the way for a short time, but they did not try to get hold of the detainees after that. Not the least mishap occurred on either side.

Afterwards, a light reconnaissance was carried out in various houses of ill repute among the same natives. From them were recovered two rifles, one of which was a very old Winchester, and a bayonet, and in a big house used for large gatherings and meetings, one cannon was picked up; it is a Whitworth cannon built at Manchester in 1882, made of steel, with rifling, caliber 7-cm, 2 meters in length. A large number of spears of different sizes were collected and rendered useless.

The above weapons and cannon are now held by this Government, at the disposal of Y.E., awaiting your specific instructions.

As for the two natives, after many questions I put to them, I did not find them to be serious cases, but only that their ignorance was due to their wild condition; so I set them free and sent them home.



The expedition returned to this Detachment at 2 p.m. without the least incident as I have said and without the least mishap to report on either side.

This is, Excellency, what happened in accordance with what the above-mentioned Physician in charge of the infirmary of this Colony, Mr. Pascual Junquera, told me and also the Secretary of this Government, both men deserving full credit.

May God keep Y.E. for many years.

Tomil Harbor, Island of Yap, 5 November 1886.

The Governor,

Manuel de Eliza

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippine Archipelago.

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**Documents 1886X**


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## Ship movements for Yap, 1886-1896 period

*Source: PNA.*

### Summary of arrivals and departures—Tomil Harbor

#### Yap Island, for a ten-year period, 1886-96, by R.L.

Year	Date	Ship name	Nationality	From/to	Remarks	
1886	3 Sept.	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	From Sydney.	Brig. Owner O'Keefe.	
	4 "	<b>Yap</b>	German	To Palau.	12-ton sloop.	
	9 "	<b>Two Boys</b>	U.S.A.	To islands.	Schooner.	
	11 "	<b>Bertha</b>	German	From Jaluit.	Bark.	
	15 "	<b>Teresa</b>	Spanish	To Limanog(?)	Bark.	
	22 "	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.	To E. Carolines.	Brig.	
	25 "	<b>Cebu</b>	Spanish	From Pollok, Mindanao.	Warship.	
	28 "	<b>Bertha</b>	German	To Lishon.		
	1 Oct.	<b>Cebu</b>	Spanish	To Zamboanga.		
	17 "	<b>Two Boys</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau.		
	1 Nov.	" "	"	To Palau.		
	23 "	<b>Yap</b>	German	From Palau.		
	24 "	<b>Amoy</b>	"	To Marshalls.	Schooner.	
	25 "	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	From Woleai.		
	25 "	<b>Yap</b>	German	To Matelotes. = Ngulu.		
	26 "	<b>Two Boys</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau.		
	2 Dec.	<b>Amoy</b>	German	To Cadiz.	Therefore repaired.	
	1887	4 Jan.	<b>Two Boys</b>	U.S.A.	To Palau and St. David [Mapia].	
		7 "	<b>Beatrice</b>	English	From Guam.	Schooner.
		12 "	"	"	To Guam.	
23 "		<b>Brazileira</b>	German	From Woleai.	Bark.	
28 "		<b>Sophie</b>	"	From Pohnpei.	Bark.	
4 Feb.		<b>Brazileira</b>	"	To Marshalls.		
6 "		<b>Sophie</b>	"	To Lisbon.		
6 "		<b>Yap</b>	"	From Palau.		
13 "		"	"	To Palau.		
18 "		<b>Manila</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	War transport.	
6 Mar.		"	"	To Pohnpei.		
7 "		<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	To Hong-Kong.	Brig.	

	10 "	<b>Two Boys</b>	"	To Pohnpei.	Previous return not recorded.
	26 "	<b>Beatrice</b>	English	From Guam.	
	2 Apr.	" "	"	To Guam.	
	13 "	<b>La France</b>	French	From New Britain.	Bark.
	24 "	" "	"	To Cadiz.	
	16 May	<b>Nereid</b>	U.S.A.	From Guam.	Packet-boat.
	21 "	"	"	To Mogmog.	Ulithi Atoll.
	28 "	<b>Yap</b>	U.S.A. [sic]	From Palau.	Changed nationality?
	29 "	<b>Ozean</b>	German	From Pohnpei.	Bark.
	2 June	"	"	To Lisbon.	
	4 "	<b>Yap</b>	U.S.A.	To Guam.	
	17 "	<b>Swan</b>	"	From Hong-Kong.	
	23 "	<b>Manila</b>	Spanish	From Pohnpei.	
	27 "	"	"	To Manila.	
	3 July	<b>Yap</b>	U.S.A.	From Guam.	
	4 "	<b>Two Boys</b>	"	From Pohnpei.	
	10 "	<b>Yap</b>	"	To Palau.	
	14 "	<b>Two Boys</b>	"	To Pohnpei.	
	14 "	<b>Swan</b>	"	To Palau.	
	21 Aug.	<b>San Quintín</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	Advice-boat.
	25 "	" "	"	To Pohnpei.	
	23 Sept.	" "	"	From Pohnpei.	Her boat came in.
	30 "	<b>Yap</b>	German[sic]	From Palau.	Changed owner again?
	5 Oct.	"	"	To Mogmog. = Ulithi.	
	14 "	"	"	From Mogmog.	Now a "lorcha" or sampan.
	15 "	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau.	
	19 "	<b>Yap</b>	German	To Matelotes. = Ngulu.	
	19 "	<b>Don Juan</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	Mail ship.
	20 "	" "	"	To Guam.	
	20 "	<b>General Lezo</b>	"	From Zamboanga.	Gunboat.
	24 "	" "	"	To Pohnpei.	
	2 Nov.	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	To St. David. = Mapia.	
	13 "	<b>Yap</b>	German	From Mogmog.	
	28 "	<b>Confluencia(?)</b>	German	From New Britain.	Bark.
	29 "	<b>Manila</b>	Spanish	From Pohnpei.	
	7 Dec.	<b>Confluencia(?)</b>	German	To Cadiz.	
	19 "	<b>Cebu</b>	Spanish	From Pohnpei.	Transport.
	21 "	"	"	To Manila.	
	22 "	<b>Yap</b>	U.S.A.	To Lamotrek & Woleai.	U.S. again?
	25 "	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	From St. David.	
	26 "	<b>Hans</b>	German	From New Britain.	Schooner.
	29 "	"	"	To Hong-Kong.	
	30 "	<b>El Cano</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	Gunboat.
1888	7 Jan.	" "	"	To Pohnpei.	
	18 "	<b>Don Juan</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	Mail ship.
	19 "	" "	"	To Guam.	
	19 "	<b>Yap.</b>	German	From Woleai.	
	24 "	"	"	To Palau.	
	1 Feb.	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	To Woleai.	
	5 "	<b>General Lezo</b>	Spanish	From Pohnpei.	
	22 "	" "	"	To Manila.	Engine damaged.

	14 Apr.	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	From Ngatik.	
	18 "	<b>Velasco</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	Cruiser.
	19 "	<b>Don Juan</b>	"	From Manila.	Mail ship.
	20 "	" "	"	To Guam.	
	29 "	<b>Velasco</b>	"	To Pohnpei.	
----- [Data for May-July not available] -----					
	25 Sept.	<b>Montiara</b>	German	From Pohnpei.	
----- [Data for the one-year period Oct. 88-Sept. 89 not available.] -----					
1889	17 Oct.	<b>Eugenic</b>	German	From Palau.	Packet-boat.
	19 "	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau & St. David.	
	19 "	<b>Don Juan</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	
	20 "	" "	"	To Guam.	
	31 "	<b>Hindov</b>	Norwegian	From Melbourne.	Bark.
	7 Nov.	<b>Eugenic</b>	German	To Palau & Hong-Kong.	
	15 Dec.	<b>Swan</b>	U.S.A.	To Hong-Kong.	
----- [Data for Jan. 1890 not available] -----					
1890	4 Feb.	<b>G. Wilson</b>	U.S.A.	From Zamboanga.	Packet-boat.
	4 "	<b>Flink</b>	German	From Pohnpei.	Packet-boat.
	8 "	<b>G. Wilson</b>	U.S.A.	To Pohnpei.	
	18 "	<b>Flink</b>	German	To Woleai & St. David.	
	27 "	<b>Velasco</b>	Spanish	From Pohnpei.	
	3 Mar.	" "	"	To Manila.	
	5 "	<b>Flink</b>	German	From Woleai & St. David.	
	17 "	<b>Empress</b>	English	To Sydney.	
	24 "	<b>Flink</b>	German	To Jaluit.	
	29 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	From Sydney.	Schooner, <sup>1</sup>
	27 Apr.	" "	"	To Woleai & other is.	
	28 "	<b>Jenny</b>	U.S.A.	From Manila.	
	29 "	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	Mail steamer.
	30 "	" "	"	To Pohnpei.	
	4 May	<b>Jenny</b>	U.S.A.	To Palau.	
	15 "	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Pohnpei.	
	15 "	" "	"	To Manila.	
	17 "	<b>Embla</b>	Danish	From Pohnpei.	Bark.
	31 "	" "	"	To Lisbon.	
	2 June	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	From Woleai & other is.	
	4 "	<b>Jenny</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau.	
	7 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	To St. David	
	8 "	<b>Jenny</b>	U.S.A.	To Hermit Is.	
	27 "	<b>Tenyu Maru</b>	Japanese	From Guam.	Bark.
	1 July	" "	"	To Palau.	
	4 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	From Palau.	
	12 "	" "	"	To Manila.	
	15 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	U.S.A.		From H.-K. Packet-boat.
	20 "	<b>Jenny</b>	"	From Hermit Is.	
	25 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"		To Palau.
	20 Aug.	<b>Flink</b>	German	From Pohnpei.	
	25 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	From Palau.	

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The former Melanesian Mission schooner named Southern Cross, bought by O'Keefe.

	25 "	<b>F. C. Lieben</b>	U.S.A.	From Pohnpei.	Norwegian, says Dr. Rabe.
	26 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	"	From Palau.
	5 Sept.	"	"	To Palau.	
	14 "	<b>Flink</b>	German	To Pohnpei & other is.	
	14 "	<b>F. C. Lieben</b>	U.S.A.	To Lisbon.	
	20 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	To Palau.	
	20 "	<b>Jenny</b>	U.S.A.	From Hermit Is.	
	28 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	English	From Palau.	
	16 Oct.	"	"	To Palau & Manila.	
	18 "	<b>Jenny</b>	U.S.A.	To Palau.	
	18 "	<b>Don Juan</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	
	19 "	"	"	To Guam & Manila.	
	26 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	U.S.A.	From Palau.
	10 Nov.	"	"	To Hong-Kong.	
	24 "	<b>Jenny</b>	"	From Palau.	
	28 "	"	"	To E. islands.	
----- [Data for period Dec. 90-March 91 not available] -----					
1891	17 Apr.	<b>Don Juan</b>	Spanish	From Guam.	
	17 "	"	"	To Manila.	
	18 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	U.S.A.	From the East.	Changed nationality?
	21 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	"	From Guam.
	25 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	To Palau.	
	29 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	"	To Palau.
	22 May	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	From Palau.	
	23 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	"	From Palau.
	31 "	"	"	To nearby islands.	
	31 "	<b>Jenny</b>	"	From Hong-Kong.	
	4 June	"	"	To the East.	
	10 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	To Palau.	
	3 July	"	"	From Palau.	
	7 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	"	From nearby islands.
	17 "	"	"	To Palau.	
	28 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	To St. David.	
	6 Aug.	<b>Uranus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	
	11 "	"	"	To Pohnpei.	
	? "	"	"	From Guam.	
	30 "	"	"	To Manila.	
	? "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	U.S.A.	From the East.	
	3 Sept.	<b>Jenny</b>	"	From the East.	
	9 "	"	"	To St. David.	
	12 "	<b>Doña Bartola</b>	"	"	From southern islands.
	13 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	From St. David.	
	18 "	"	"	To ? islands.	
	22 "	"	"	To Woleai.	
	? Oct.	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	
	21 "	"	"	To Pohnpei.	
----- [Data from Nov. 91-May 95 not available] -----					
1895	19 June	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.	
	20 "	"	"	To Guam.	
	28 "	<b>Quirós</b>	"	From Zamboanga.	
----- [Data from July 1895 not available] -----					

	14 Aug.	<b>Saturnus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.
	15 "	"	"	To Guam.
	25 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	U.S.A.	From Hong-Kong.
	28 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	From Hong-Kong.
---- [Data for Sept. 1895 not available] ----				
	11 Oct.	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.
	11 "	"	"	To Guam.
	20 "	<b>Jidez (?)</b>	Danish	From Jaluit.
	26 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	U.S.A.	From Woleai. <sup>1</sup>
	28 "	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Guam.
	28 "	"	"	To Manila.
	29 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau.
---- [Data for Nov. 1895 not available] ----				
	21 Dec.	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.
	21 "	"	"	To Guam.
	24 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	U.S.A.	From Jaluit.
	30 "	"	"	To nearby islands.
---- [Data for January 1896 not available] ----				
1896	13 Feb.	<b>Albung(?)</b>	German	From Sydney. Bark.
	15 "	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.
	16 "	"	"	To Guam.
	16 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	U.S.A.	From Palau.
	28 "	"	"	To nearby islands.
	5 March	<b>Venus</b>	Spanish	From Guam.
	6 "	"	"	To Manila.
	15 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	U.S.A.	From nearby islands.
	20 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	"	From Hong-Kong.
	26 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	"	To nearby islands.
	27 "	<b>Albung(?)</b>	German	To Azores Is.
	29 "	<b>Santa Cruz</b>	U.S.A.	To nearby islands.
	21 Apr.	<b>Saturnus</b>	Spanish	From Manila.
	22 "	"	"	To Guam.
	25 "	<b>Eugenie</b>	U.S.A.	From nearby islands.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A sail-boat owned by Captain O'Keefe.

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## Document 1886Y

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# The Buster, Captain Theet, 1886-87

*Source: Frederick J. Moss. Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Sea (London, Sampson Low, 1889).*

*Note: Moss was a member of the House of Representatives, New Zealand.*

### Preface.

...  
My notes were made more than two years ago, during a seven months' voyage among the least frequented groups. A few things have since occurred, but I have thought it better to treat them separately, and to give the story as written at the time.

Auckland, New Zealand.

August, 1889.

## CHAPTER II. Atolls and Islands.

...  
My picture of life among the atolls is not, I fear, altogether inviting. But they have their pleasant features. The climate in most cases is bright, dry, and delicious: the beaches are beautiful and a constant inducement to sea bathing; and the facilities for fishing, and boating very great. These are their only natural attractions, but it is marvellous to see with what charms taste and refinement can adorn a home even on one of the narrowest of these little islets. Let us take as an example the lagoon of Jaluit, the German metropolis of the Marshall Islands.

The Jaluit lagoon is a very fine one about forty miles long and twelve miles broad. The entrances are wide and easy and the anchorage is abundant and safe. A great navy might find convenient shelter at Jaluit and that, I presume, was the reason for its selection. The surrounding reef is exceptionally barren of dry land. I doubt if a full seven-eighths is not under water, while the islets on the remaining eighth are of such small area that they cannot contain altogether more than 500 to 600 acres. On one of these little islets, not more than ten to fifteen acres in extent, the embryo capital is built. Opposite to it were anchored seven schooners and cutters employed in the inter-insular trade, while a large bark and schooner were loading for Hamburg with the produce which the smaller craft had collected.

A great board, on which is printed in large letters "Kaiserliche Deutsches Protektorat," is the first object that strikes one on entering the little Metropolis. The town consists of two rambling, low-built wooden public-houses of the old colonial kind, two capacious wooden stores indicating the extensive trade of the German firms to whom they belong, and three or four adjacent dwelling-houses, well built and commodious and occupied by the managers and people connected with the stores. The only other building is the unpretending residence of Dr. Knappe, an able and courteous gentleman from Samoa who administers the government of the Marshall Archipelago. The rest of the little islet is given up to the everlasting cocoanut and pandanus which flourish with their usual luxuriance on the sandy soil. The natives in the whole lagoon are few. Scarcely any live in the metropolitan islet of which the land is not more than twelve to thirteen feet above the level of the sea.

On this unpromising spot a small Paradise has been created. To those travellers who have enjoyed the hospitality of the gentleman representing the firm of Hernheim and Co., and of his accomplished wife only a year or two from Germany, Jaluit must be a green and pleasant memory. Music and paintain lend their charm to the interior, and the hand of taste is visible everywhere. The carefully cultivated garden already abounds in tropical shrubs and flowers and will soon be productive of the best tropical fruits. The tame pigeons cooing from the dovecote and the little cow grazing quietly on her patch of freshly planted grass, are homelike and pleasant to those who have wandered, as we had wandered, through so many of these monotonous atolls.

Not the least striking feature at Jaluit were the four white Australian cockatoos, tamed by a gentle hand, flying at will from shore to ship and from ship to shore or clamorously appealing for the notice of their mistress on the verandah or the little lawn. And all this on land so limited that a short walk of a couple of hundred yards across the level garden carries one from the house, built near the edge of the quiet lagoon, to the opposite side of the islet where the loud-sounding sea sends its white breakers chasing each other ceaselessly to the shore. On that side a delightful little summer-house has been built. There one may gaze wistfully on the endless ocean and revel in its cool, refreshing breezes, doubly grateful—let me add—because insuring temporary immunity from mosquitoes.

On another of the islets of the Jaluit lagoon, about a mile from the metropolis, a gentleman acting for an American Company at Honolulu has also established himself. He has only lately been joined by his wife but the hand of woman is manifest in the taste which one seeks in vain among bachelor houses in the lagoon world. That these islets, with all their natural drawbacks, are susceptible of such improvement is encouraging to those who look forward to the changes which increased facilities of communication must bring, and to the higher social life which the presence of refined women able to cope with the inevitable seclusion, cannot fail to create.

Have I succeeded in giving a clear conception of the curious little islets which form a Pacific atoll? I would fain hope so, but feel the very great difficulty of fixing in the reader's mind a picture so foreign to ordinary experience and so different to the con-



ception I had myself formed. But, it may be asked, how do so many natives subsist on these islets and what resources have they to warrant a hope of future advance? The answer is easy. They have in copra a trade capable of extensive development. They have pearl shell, tortoise shell and fibres of many kinds which may hereafter be exchanged for European food and clothing. They have also the *bêche de mer*, a sea slug much valued in China, and in the broader islets where the soil is deeper they have fine patches producing the banana, yam, and every tropical root and fruit. In such spots an indigenous taro, which they call *puraka*, is also cultivated, grows to a great size and is very nutritious and palatable. Their chief dependence, however, must always be on the coconut and pandanus, two of the grandest gifts of a beneficent Almighty to a tropical people.

...  
With its feathery palms, silver sands and glowing sunlight, with the heavenly blue of its waters and the peerless beauty of its fairy coral gardens, a lagoon island is a glorious thing to write about and to dream about. The temptation to go into ecstasies has often proved irresistible, but the prosaic skipper of a trading vessel regards the subject from a different point of view. Mere specks on the ocean, they are in his eye only dangerous obstructions. He must be forever on guard lest in the darkness of the night the strong current send his ship amid the breakers which hurl themselves with fury upon the reef. The same strong current must be counted with if he find himself to leeward of the island at which he desires to call. Weeks may be spent in making fifteen or twenty miles so lost, and auxiliary steam will be invaluable as commerce increases. In entering or leaving a lagoon, the ship may also be imperilled by a sudden drop in the wind leaving her to drift helplessly on to the rugged, ocean-beaten reef.

To the colonist the extreme narrowness of the land, the shallowness of the coral soil and the absence of vegetable mould are incurable drawbacks. To the trader the attractions are great, and of island traders the German is becoming the largest and most active. Colonial merchants are doing what they can, but their capital is limited and they have need of it on their own shores. Official blundering in England has done much harm, but it will be worse if commercial apathy cause England to lose her dominant influence among the natives and leave them and their commerce to fall under German control.

The Milli atoll is a specimen of some hundreds on which great numbers of natives live. Wherever, from the depth of the ancient valley or the turbid character of the ancient streams, the polup has been unable to flourish, openings are left in the reef wall and through them vessels enter the lagoon. Where no such openings exist a landing must be effected on the outer edge of the reef, the vessel meanwhile standing off and on at sea. For the landing natives are usually employed by trading ships and are very expert. A favourable moment is watched, and the boat pulled rapidly through the breakers. As she touches the reef the men jump overboard and run her as quickly as possible into the shallow and quiet water beyond. Cargo is landed or shipped in this way at the numer-

ous islands which have no passage through the reef. The skill with which it is handled is so great that damage is rarely done.

...  
The luxuriant growth and rich verdure generally associated with the tropics are only to be found in the mountainous island surrounded by its coral reef, sometimes four or five miles distant from the shore. Marking past subsidence, this reef also forms an impregnable breakwater of the most perfect kind. Deep, broad channels run parallel with the reef on its inner side, often separated from each other and from the mainland by shallows only practicable at high water. Openings through the outer reef lead to safe anchorage, generally opposite to some large valley or broad flat at the foot of the hills.

In these high islands the shore reef, as that attached to the land is called, runs out in broad level ledges, dry or nearly dry at low tide and separated from the ocean reef by the channels before mentioned. At half-tide, boats and canoes sail easily over the shore reef and by this means easy communication is maintained. The low shores are studded thickly with cocoanut palms and the richest tropical vegetation, while the hills are clothed with tree ferns, breadfruit and forest trees, shrubs and flowers, in the wildest luxuriance and beauty. The soil is generally volcanic and islands of this kind are the most lovely and fertile of the tropical seas. Fiji, Samoa, and Tahiti are the finest specimens of mountainous islands in the Pacific, and only upon such islands is there a possibility of extensive European settlement.

...  
The mountainous islands abound in rich scenery, are abundantly watered, and teem with animal and vegetable life. The climate, delightful in the dry, winter season, is hotter, more moist, and more oppressive in the wet, summer season than that of the lagoon or coral islands. They yield every tropical product in the highest perfection and their staples are sugar, coffee, tea, spices and tobacco. All of these are superseded, for the present, by the cocoanut, which grows admirably on the coast of the mountainous islands, but of which the low coral islands are the natural home. The cocoanut gives the valuable copra to Europeans. To the native it gives food and drink and affords material for his clothing, for his canoe, his house, and all domestic needs.

**Copra** is largely sought by Hamburg merchants on whose trade the much-talked-of German interests in the Pacific are based. No German mission, no German exploring expedition, no German sacrifice of any kind for the benefit of the natives has accompanied their trade in copra. On commerce alone can Germany rest her claim. Commerce sounds well, but call it business and the odour is less sweet. Visions of natives duped, of base Bolivian dollars made island currency and of hard grinding in all directions, rise at the name. This is surely no fitting foundation for a great nation's claims, nor justification for high-handed measures such as have been adopted by Germany towards the kindly, English-loving people of Samoa.

The influence of England, of America, and of France has been brought with the blood of martyrs, the work of missionaries and explorers and the friendly and constant intercourse of their people with the islanders of the Pacific. Of these three nations Eng-

land, in the extent and strength of her influence, is supreme. English is the only language which the natives know besides their own. Even in Samoa and in the Marshall Islands, the transactions of the German firms and their law deeds must be in English, which adapts itself to a "pigeon" form more readily than any other tongue.

Taught by English and American missionaries, serving in English and American ships, or working on colonial plantations, the natives have become thoroughly English in feeling and there are few islands in which ".pigeon English" is not to be heard. The kindly intercourse of a century has borne fruit, and from end to end of the Pacific, whether still independent or under the flag of France, Germany, or Spain, the natives would by an immense majority "belong Peritane" (belong to Britain) if a voice were given to them in the matter.

Let Germany by all means do her share in the civilization of the Pacific. She has ample work for many years in the Bismarck Archipelago and in New Guinea. But why was it thought necessary to send an English plenipotentiary to Berlin and make with Germany mutual declarations for the recognition of each other's influence within a given sphere?

Germany's influence is bounded by her copra trade and the cruising-ground of her ships of war. The influence of England is a great and glorious fact, resting on the goodwill of the native people, pervading the whole Pacific, and no more needing recognition from any other Power than does the sun shining at noonday over its broad waters.

...

### CHAPTER III. Past and Present.

...

At many of the eastern islands similar stories were told me, differing from each other only in shades of brutality. The Peruvians were materially helped by "Kanakas," a name given to the natives after a word in their own language merely signifying men. As far back as 1859 many of these kanakas, having deserted from whaling or trading ships at Callao, were serving in the Peruvian navy. There are black scoundrels as well as white and it would be odd if the kidnappers did not find among these half-savage kanakas tools only too ready to show the way—especially to those islands peopled by tribes who had been their hereditary foes.

The Kingsmill and the far western islands, with large and more warlike populations, were regarded as dangerous and the kidnappers of the Peruvian epoch kept clear of them. But in these islands, as well as in other groups, I found the English and colonial kidnappers had been at work in later days. More than once I was accosted in broken English or Fijian, and learned from the native how his canoe had been run down—accidentally of course, the kidnappers would say—and he and those with him taken on board. Or, as more frequently happened, how the white man had made presents to his chief or king who ordered him to go with the white man wherever he might choose to take him. But in no case did I find the least ill-feeling exhibited. They were treated well

on board and spoke of the kindness shown to them on the plantations where they worked. They had been sent back with wages which to them represented great wealth, were proud of their English, and as ready to "belong Peretané" as the rest of the people in these seas.

...  
Bêche de mer was another prominent source of traffic in the early days. This ugly sea-slug (*Holothuria*) is a favourite soup condiment with the Chinese who term it Tre-pang and believe that it has great restorative qualities. Chinese junks have from early days traded for trepang with New Guinea. In the western groups it soon became the "Beachcomber's" best resource. Any runaway sailor, supplied with a large iron pot for parboiling the slug and able to muster a sufficient number of natives with their canoes, could go into the business. Rough sheds were easily put up with trenches dug across the floor to hold the fires for drying and smoking the Bêche de mer after it had been parboiled. Incessant watchfulness was needed in the process, but the capital required was trifling, and the skill to discriminate between the many qualities soon acquired. The Bêche de mer trade has now [1887] fallen into insignificance. The natives prefer to devote the little energy they have to spare to the preparation of copra, the most congenial of the employments in which they engage.

...  
Pearl-shell and all other products, even sugar, coffee, and tobacco, pale for the time before copra which has replaced the cumbrous and costly cocoanut oil. Copra has only been known in the Pacific during the last fourteen or fifteen years. I have described how the preparation was introduced by Godeffroi and Company, the well-known Hamburg House who laid the foundation of the German interests of which we have heard so much in these seas. The introduction of copra changed the face of the oil trade and gave a new value to the low Atolls which are the cocoanut's natural home.

...  
[Crimes committed by natives]

Some murders that appeared at the time most horrible are seen to have been innocent when the facts are known. I heard about several of this kind from natives who took part in them or who were near at the time.

Take an early incident in the splendid Ahrno atoll in the Marshall Archipelago, as an example. There I talked with men now speaking tolerable English, but who about the year 1862 took part in the deliberate slaughter of seven sailors landing on their shores from a whaleboat with which they had, it is now thought, deserted from an American whaler in one of the islands of the same Archipelago. The men were famishing for water. Under pretence of taking them to a pool, the savages managed to separate and spear them. The natives who did this were simply panic-struck, thinking the strangers must be devils who would kill them if not destroyed. Sorry enough they were when they afterwards found out, through better-informed friends and relatives from other islands, what these devils really were. Soon afterwards they gladly received a trader—Charlie Douglas an old man-of-war's man—who has lived among them quiet-

ly for the last twenty years. Luckily they had in old Charlie a sailor of the best type, a favourite to this day with naval officers, their pilot through the islands when needed and an equal favourite with all who are brought into contact with him. How invaluable the aid which such a man might render to the missionaries! Ask him, and he will reply that he would be only too glad but that missionaries and traders don't, somehow, pull well together. There is no missionary at Ahrno to this day [1887].

At Apemama in the Kingsmills, Tem-Baiteke, father of the present king, on ascending the throne made a clean sweep of the white men in his dominions. They were but five and his reasons for their sudden slaughter are not clearly to be ascertained. It is an old affair and natives are not at any time very precise, but the only reason I could hear was that when heir apparent he had been jeered at by some of these white men. This does not, to my mind, accord with native ways and I am disposed to think, if the truth were known, that the white men would be found to have brought this fate by some more evil deed upon themselves.

## CHAPTER V. A Few Pacific Islanders.

During this cruise one of our troubles was fresh water, a trouble increased by the addition to our numbers of the shipwrecked men from Starbuck. Water is not to be had at lagoon islands. More than once we were put on short allowance, but the rain always fell in the nick of time and our cruse was never quite empty. The last occasion was just after leaving the Ebon Atoll. The padlock had been put on the water-tanks, but again the rain came in welcome downpour. All was stir and rejoicing. Tanks and tubs were soon refilled, cabin and forecastle busy with arrears of washing, and every available rope and spar was turned into a clothes-line.

Among the people are some good specimens of the native races. Bill, from Rotumah, is a fine fellow, speaking English well and our favourite steersman when landing on a reef. Two other natives, Turoa and Monakoa, are Penrhyn "boys," giants in stature and excellent pearl-shell divers. I watched them at Jaluit putting a sheet of copper on the bBusterb, each in his turn diving under the ship with a hammer and three nails till the work was done. Their longest time under water was five seconds, but they remain one and a half and even two minutes when getting shell at a depth of five to fifteen fathoms. Both speak broken English and they are identical in look and language with our New Zealand Maoris.

As deck passengers we had just taken from Namorik ten men and two women returning from a visit to their still heathen relations at Jaluit. They were themselves "missionary," under the American Mission and strictly obedient to its rules, one of which prohibits to communicants the use of alcohol or tobacco. The Namorik people were quiet, well-dressed and good-natured. They spoke more or less English and their political aspirations were to be relieved from Germany and to "belong bMorning Star,"

the name of the mission-vessel which they used to designate America. They brought on board their own coconuts for food and drink, their own bottles of water and mats to sleep upon.

On Sunday these natives used frequent prayers and hymns in a manner so simple and unpretending as to prove them sincere. They were a pleasant, well-behaved and cheerful people. Nor were they in the least an annoyance through moving about in all parts of the vessel with a freedom that would have been very shocking to cabin passengers travelling with their own countrymen and countrywomen, under the same conditions, in any other part of the world.

These Rotumah, Penrhyn, and Namorik people are fair types of island natives in their several ways. But we had also on board a native from Ocean [Banaba] Island, taken up at Majuro to be landed at Pleasant [Nauru] Island whence he hoped to get back to his own little home. He had been working at Majuro, and spoke a broken English tolerably well. Tombu was the native name for this gentleman, but he was known as Mr. Jones. His usual dress was a cotton shirt, and nothing more. It was his washing day also. The shirt was hanging up to dry, and Mr. Jones' wardrobe being exhausted he quietly promenaded the deck stark naked, and was not ashamed. His smiling face and perfectly unconscious air were inimitable, and luckily no ladies were on board. Mr. Jones told me that all the people on Ocean Island "dress that way."

I should have said that Bill was a Wesleyan, the Penrhyn boys were Congregationalists of the English branch, and the deck passengers whom we left at Namorik belonged to the American branch of the same Church. Mr. Jones was still an unmitigated heathen, I need hardly say. These people fairly represented the progress of the islanders in civilization. There are intermediate stages, but even the heathen almost invariably cover themselves now with European clothing or some other approach to costume.

...  
Passing over many hundred miles of ocean covered with islands occupied by races of mixed Polynesian and Papuan blood, with perhaps a strong dash of the Hindoo, one suddenly falls upon the pure Maori in the little lagoon island of Mukuoro, situate in the centre of the Caroline Archipelago. The Nukuoro language is Maori of the oldest and purest kind, easily seen despite the constant change in the application of words which is characteristic of uncivilized nations. I regretted that our stay at Nukuoro was too short to enable me to make any inquiry as to their traditions, but learned that they too had never been cannibals. The population of Nukuoro cannot exceed one hundred souls and quite likely they have lost all record of much of their past; but their presence in that isolated condition, surrounded by thousands of other race and tongues is strange and interesting. I was only able to observe that most of them understood a little English, that they have no king, but that they were remarkably keen traders refusing to sell their copra except at impossible prices, and that they would not have a native missionary on their island. I hardly needed further proof of their identity with our own dear but exceedingly plain-spoken and practical Maori.

»»

[Drift voyage from Java to Satawan?]

At Satoan, in the Carolines, I saw the remains of a canoe of a construction entirely unknown to any of the natives. The work was superior, the canoe broader, and the supports for the seats were cut out of the solid wood. It had drifted ashore, and the trader who was an old sailor, felt certain that it was one of the great number cast adrift at Java during the eruptions of the Straits of Sunda in 1885. The canoe must have drifted at least 1500 miles to Satoan, not at all impossible when the strong easterly current is taken into account.

I have endeavoured to give a general idea of the islands with which the Pacific is strewn, but each order has its special characteristic. The mountainous islands have their populations bright or gloomy, peaceful or warlike, kindly or savage, according to the scenery surrounding them and the circumstances under which they live. The raised coral islands have a population less diverse, but the atoll world and its people have a character little varied and peculiarly their own. Atolls are wonderfully like each other, and wonderfully unlike the rest of the world. Poetry and tradition find no congenial home in the flat little islets, so like each other in every essential feature.

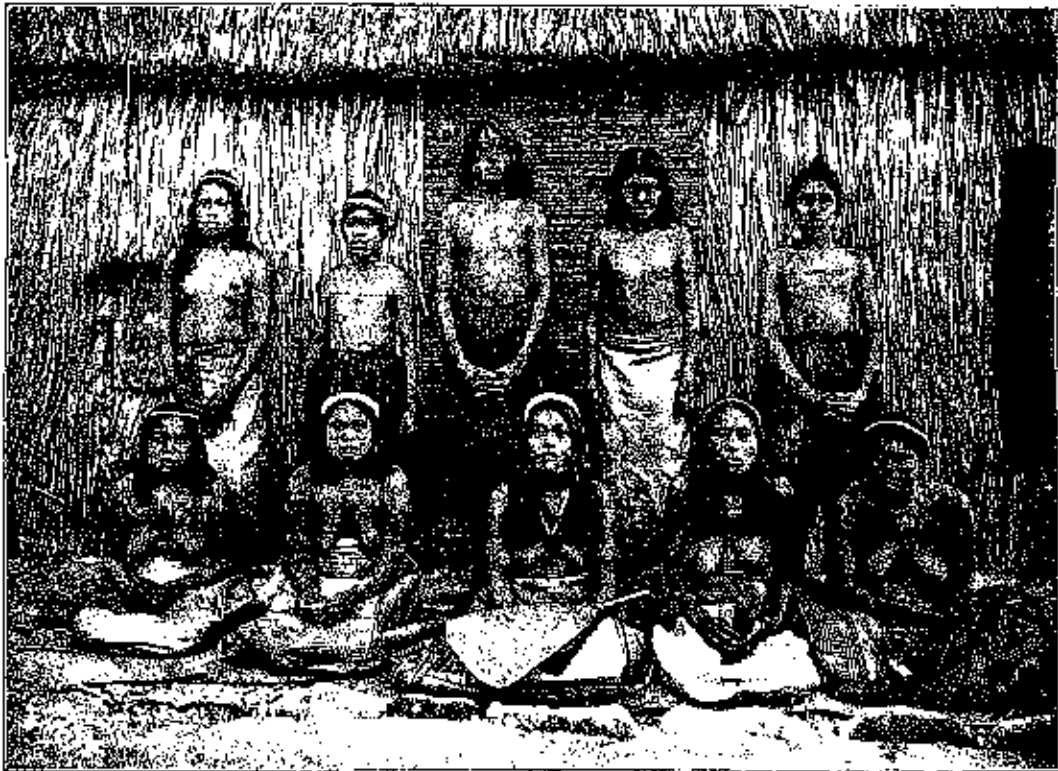
...  
In these distant lagoon islands where the population is so sparse and European missionaries with their families cannot dwell, the responsibility of those who send the native teachers who guide and practically rule these people is a responsibility of no light kind, for upon the native teachers, and upon their training and character, the future must depend.

## CHAPTER VI. Some Kings and Other People.

...  
Among these potentates, who is so worthy of note as King Jibberik, a very great man in his way and undisputed and despotic monarch of the best part of the Majuro Lagoon in the Marshall Islands. At least he was so till last year [1887], for he then became—although he does not clearly understand it yet—a subject of the German Empire.

The Majuro Lagoon is about twenty miles long and eight wide. The surrounding reef has the usual low islets dotted at intervals upon its surface. Generally they are about 200 yards wide, but in some places the reef is broader and the islets are wider in proportion. At one end of the lagoon they attain in some parts to even a mile in width. The population altogether is about 1000, pretty equally divided into two tribes of whom each has its own king.

At the narrow end reigned Jibberik, the name assumed by each successive monarch on ascending that particular throne. At the broad end reigned Kaipukè, also an hereditary title. Kaipukè owned bread-fruit and jack-fruit trees, possessed soil enough in some places for bananas and *puraka*, and had by far the best fishing-grounds. Jibberik, of the narrow end, had only cocoanuts, and looked with envious eye on his neighbour's



Copyright.

Group of Boys, Women, and Girls at Majuro.

Photographed by Mr. Andrew.





Copyright.

Photographed by Mr. Andrew.

King Jilirik of Majuro.

richer dominions, greater power and wider renown. He contrived to pick a quarrel with Kaipukè; but not before he had quietly provided a stock of repeating-rifles, while the other side had nothing but the usual old-fashioned guns.

Jibberik showed consummate statecraft too. Each kingdom had its boo-boo man who did all the oracle and augur business for the tribe, and who was held in the greatest awe and consideration. Jibberik learnt boo-boo for himself, and could soon plait and unravel cocoanut leaves and read the omens in other ways with the best of them.

He became in time his own boo-boo man and centred in himself both temporal and spiritual power. He did more, for he bought over one Capitamata who was Kaipukè's boo-boo man, and induced him to play traitor to his king and people.

So strengthened and forearmed went Jibberik forth to war. His troops advanced steadily in the native way; that is to say, at night they put a low stone wall across the narrowest part of the islet and slept under its shelter, being careful to fire their repeating-rifles with great fury in order to deter the enemy from disturbing their slumbers. At the dawn of each day they made another advance, killed any stray man, woman or child that came in their way, put up another stone wall, and gained possession of so much more of the enemy's country. All this time Kaipukè was kept in hand by his scoundrelly boo-boo man who declared the omens dead against him whenever he wanted to go out and fight.

At last Leilikè's youngest and bravest chiefs, defied the oracle, and went forth with a few volunteers. The old men shook their heads, and they were right. Leilikè was soon brought back disabled by a shot in the groin. Could anything be more conclusive? The boo-boo man triumphed. Kaipukè felt the hopelessness of further resistance and made a treaty with Jibberik, exchanging dominions, surrendering his rich end of the island and going with his own people to the other.

This occurred about two years ago [1885], and Jibberik, when I saw him, was regarded by his people as a great and conquering king. The scoundrel Capitamata had risen to be his boo-boo man and prime minister. King Jibberik is despotic, can at pleasure spear or otherwise slay any of his people who offend him, and is approached by them with due humility and awe. He rules with a firm and just hand (that, I believe, is the proper diplomatic phrase), and sternly upholds law and order, by which is meant, obedience to his own will and law. Only lately he speared to death a man who had dared to disobey one of these laws by picking a green cocoanut when the tapu had been placed upon them.

Thereby lies a tale. Jibberik, with all his cocoanuts, bread-fruit, abundant fish and other wealth, is not content. He has lately bought a pretty little cutter yacht, the **Daphne**, of which he is very proud; but she has proved to him rather a dead weight and is rapidly going to ruin in his hands. The cutter cost £700, and in order to pay for her he was obliged to sell copra. The nuts must therefore be allowed to ripen and none be picked green for drinking purposes. Hence the tapu which put his people on short allowance and caused the untimely end of the lawless individual above referred to. It is a consolation to know that these natives, when they die or are killed, leave neither wives nor

families unprovided for. The tribe and relations see to them as a matter of course, and this perhaps is one of the reasons why death is so lightly regarded.

Jibberik, with all his greatness, is still mortal and afflicted with rheumatism in the joints of the arm and knee. When I saw him he could not stand but was seated in the midst of his councilors on a mat on the damp ground. I ventured to tell his Majesty that a white man so treating rheumatism would be regarded as a fool, but I fear that habit is too strong, and rheumatism will have its way. Being unable to stand, his portrait was first taken by Mr. Andrew when sitting, and afterwards in the conveyance in which he travels over his dominions—a kind of hand-barrow made of rough tree-stems very roughly put together. For the rest, Jibberik speaks English in his own way, is powerfully built, and must have been an active man with plenty of brains and energy. He is anxious, like all the natives, to “belong Peritanè,” but a greater than Jibberik has put an annexing hand upon him, and German he is now bound to be.

Alas for Leilikè, the young and the brave! He, with 200 others, went from Majuro to Auhr, an island about 100 miles to the north. His object was to help the people there against an attack from neighbouring islanders. The party with him consisted chiefly of Auhr men, who had been to Majuro on a visit. They left about a year ago and have not since been heard of, but the remains of some of their canoes were picked up on the reef at Milli.

Remi—old Remi, as he is fondly called—is Jibberik's elder brother, and the rightful monarch if he chose to assert his claim. But he willingly gave way, being a mild, kindly man without any ambition to rule. His heart was wrapped up in a crippled son who lately died, and for whom his affection was so strong that he had a house put up over the grave and has continued to sleep in it ever since. Remi is a great favourite with all Europeans, and it did not take long to make me share the feeling.

At Arorai there was no king, and many other islands are in the same position, divided into tribes each with its own chief. Sometimes the tribes quarrel with each other, but as a rule they make copra and live in peace together. At Ahrno, for example, the young and handsome chief, Uijelan, instead of counting the skulls of his enemies was counting cocoanuts which he had just sold to the trader. They were put into piles of twenty each, and a stone for each five piles enabled him to count by hundreds. Uijelan was shown some photographs, and became very anxious to have his own taken. This was promised if he would put on his native dress instead of the absurd women's cotton gown which it is the fashion for these men to wear. No chief was at hand to lend him a proper dress, and so rigid is caste in these little out-of-the-way islets, that he abandoned the portrait rather than put on, even for a moment, the very fine native dress which old Charley Douglas borrowed from another man, who was, unfortunately, only a common person. This leads me to mention a curious natural law which I noted among these natives. Properly formulated, the law would read, that the more ignorant the people the sharper, more defined and more rigidly maintained were their caste distinctions.

No notice of the sovereigns of these lagoon islands would be complete if it omitted the most important of all, Tem-Bainooke [Tem Binoka] of Apemama, son and successor of the Tem-Baiteke whose slaughter of the white residents in his dominions has been already mentioned. Tem-Bainooke's sovereignty extends over three fine lagoons, Apemama, Aranuka, and Kuria, very fertile in cocoanuts, and with a population of 6000 to 7000 souls. Two of these are lagoon islands and the third is a raised coral island. They are part of the Kingsmill group, and it was with great regret we had to pass Apemama without calling. We had fallen to leeward, and the strong current in that part of the ocean would have caused too much delay; but I was able to get the most trustworthy accounts of this comparatively great king.

Tem-Bainooke is a very large and a very fat man, so large and fat that when he boards a vessel he brings his own side ladder with him. He is absolute and does what he likes with his people. What he most likes is sending them away to work on colonial plantations and pocketing their wages when they return. Of course once away they need not return unless they like, but as a rule they do return, and feel it a great honour that they should be able thus to help their king and have the light of his countenance shining upon them. Some meaner spirits have preferred keeping their wages. Their lot is a hard one, for their friends and their native land must see them no more. A short shrift—in fact no shrift at all—would be their fate at the hands of an outraged and defrauded king, by whose gracious favour they were permitted to live to an age at which they could earn money at all. A word from him would have caused their death at any moment. He had not said that word, and yet they were ungrateful. Such, however, is human nature, even in a coral island.

I should like to have heard Tem-Bainooke's opinions on these and other interesting points, and to have seen his house which, by all accounts, must be *unique*. Built on high wooden posts it forms two stories. In the lower he keeps his wives who vary in number from time to time but average three and twenty. The house is large and as the ladies, even in royal families on those islands, are content with a mat on the floor, there is no doubt ample room for many more. Tem-Bainooke's mode of dealing with his wives in ordinary matters is very summary, not to say startling. One among the number being ill, the master of a trading-ship who had somehow gained a medical reputation, was consulted by Tem-Bainooke about her. He pronounced the poor woman incurable. "Think me better shoot him" (meaning "her"), was the Sovereign's prompt reply. The doctor was horror-struck, and at once modified his opinion; and the poor woman's life was, for the moment at all events, spared. Not that I believe she would have much minded being killed. It was her lord and master's will and she would probably have cheerfully submitted, for they bring up women in Apemama without any nonsense about women's rights—especially when kings are concerned in the matter.

Over the harem is a second floor filled with costly incongruities—musical boxes, pistols, rifles, watches, clocks, lamps, highly-coloured pictures, pencil-cases, photographic albums (with musical boxes inside), and all kinds of showy rubbish—to which he had taken a fancy when opportunity offered. In the centre of the room stands a large earth-

enware bowl of water, holding bottles of wine and of water to be cooled for his own and his guests' drinking. Under the verandah are shelves well stored with supplies of tinned meats and other European food, as well as with wines, spirits, and beer.

Tem-Bainooke has not allowed any white man to settle in his dominions since his father so effectually freed himself of those who made the attempt in former years. Not even a missionary must settle there. He does all his own business. He sells his own copra, and also that of his subjects when money is scarce or when he fancies a new boat or any other expensive commodity.

Tem-Bainooke, however, is human, and made a mistake two or three years ago in attacking Nonouti, a neighbouring island whose people he brought as prisoners to Apemama. **H.M.S. Dart** was sent [in 1884] to look into the case, and her commander, after full inquiry, sent back the captives to their homes. To avoid further trouble he also insisted on the surrender of the fine store of firearms that Tem-Bainooke had gathered, and sunk them fathoms deep in the lagoon.

When I add that this great fat creature has five of his women told off daily to wait upon him, and that one of their chief duties is to puff tobacco-smoke from their pipes into his royal mouth in order to save him the labour of smoking, it will be admitted that I have a right to feel aggrieved at the equatorial current which cruelly swept our vessel past Tem-Bainooke's shores, and prevented my having a personal interview with so interesting a Sovereign. Despite the **Dart's** doings, the release of his captives and the loss of his arsenals, King Tem-Bainooke adopts the English dress, tries to follow English manners and customs; and would be quite ready to "belong Peritane" to-morrow, if he thought any other country likely to annex him.

#### [Nauru]

Turning from Apemama to another community even more remarkable, let me speak of our visit to Pleasant Island, so named by the master of the whaling-ship by whom it was discovered. The island may have deserved the name then but certainly does not now. A raised coral island without good harbour or anchorage and not more than sixteen or eighteen miles in circumference, it stands alone in the ocean, 150 miles from any other land, a few miles south of the Equator and within the territory which England has agreed to leave to German control.

Pleasant Island does not much exceed 100 feet in height at any part. In the centre may be seen the remains of the old lagoon, reduced to a small depression swampy in some parts but, like the rest of the country, covered with trees, chiefly cocoanut-palms. The island used to be very productive in copra. The yield has fallen off materially and so have the people, through the sanguinary tribal feuds which have of late years distracted this little world. The population does not now exceed a thousand souls. There are ten white traders, some representing Auckland and German firms, others on their own account, and all of them settled at short distances from each other round the coast.

Landing on the reef, the vessel meanwhile beating about in the offing, we were welcomed by several of the traders assembled to receive us. Going with them to Hender-



Copyright.

Photo. taken by Mr. Aud. Co.

A Pleasant Island Warrior.

son and Macfarlane's store, close at hand, a small crowd of natives soon surrounded us. They were in high good humour, but all the men and most of the boys were armed with repeating-rifles and carbines.

The dress of both sexes consisted only of a short kilt of pandanus leaves hanging to a string round the waist, and each of the armed crowd had slung over his shoulder a pouch well supplied with ammunition. Despite their formidable get-up, the people had a kindly look with fine open eyes and magnificent teeth. Polynesians, one would say at a glance, but well dashed with Indian blood if the slight, active, and graceful forms of the women might be accepted as an indication.

One of the traders, Mr. Harris, had been on the island forty-five years, and was the oldest resident. He is seventy-four years of age, hale and hearty, and looking, with his fresh-coloured face and heavy grey moustache, more like an old *militaire* than a Pacific Island trader. Mr. Harris kindly offered me a bed—a mat, to speak more correctly—in his house about half a mile further along the coast, and I anticipated a long and pleasant chat with the old man about the affairs and past history of Pleasant Island. Before starting for the house, it came out incidentally that his son, a lad of sixteen, had been shot in a fight and was lying dead in a small room put up for the purpose. He had been lying there some time—since the 29th December, in fact, and this was the 22nd January [1887]. I felt a natural delicacy in asking at what distance from his house the room had been put up. But calling to mind that Mr. Blowè, another trader, had also offered me his hospitality, I made excuse to Mr. Harris on the score of his terrible family bereavement. The old gentleman said, "Yes, it was terrible. It was the second son he had lost in the same way. This one would not rest till he had a chance of revenging his brother. He had gone out with some other lads in the same position, and this was the result. He had done his best to keep the lad without a gun, but the rest of them jeered him, called him girl, and made the boy so miserable that at last he had to give way. If he had only known what the boy was after, he should never have had the gun; but there was the trouble. His mind was bent on fighting, and he would have managed to get hold of a gun somehow. As to burying the body, the mother and the sisters would not hear of it. They were natives, and had a strong feeling against putting those they loved underground. In time they buried the bones, just like the New Zealand Maoris, and in the meanwhile they burned scented gums and put leaves on the body, and were crying over the poor boy continually. It was very sad, so different to what the island used to be when he came to it; and if something wasn't done soon, he didn't see what was to be the end of it all."

Arranging with Mr. Harris to call on him next morning, I started with Mr. Blowè for his place about a mile and a half in the opposite direction. Going along, Mr. Blowè suggested, as it was getting dusk, that it might be as well to walk along the beach instead of taking the path on the top of the low ridge. "Not that there is any fear," he added, "of the natives firing at us, but in the dusk they might mistake us for their countrymen, or we might be in the line of fire without knowing. It was as well to be on

the safe side"—a sentiment in which I readily concurred; and along the beach we went accordingly.

"Now," said Mr. Blowè, suddenly stopping after we had gone some distance, "I must show you the new style of fortification in this country." He stopped off the beach, and a few paces inland brought us to a small collection of native houses with their new fortification, which consisted of thin wires obtained by unstranding some galvanized iron rigging. The wires, cunningly crossed and recrossed, formed a maze of low network round the houses, spreading horizontally a foot or so from the ground.

"You see," said Mr. Blowè, "this is to trip up any fellows coming in the night to surprise and shoot them."

Happy, happy island, thought I; well called Pleasant. What a delightful place to live in, especially with a growing family!

At last we reached Mr. Blowè's—a well-built house standing on tall posts, with galvanized iron roof and in all respects a comfortable place enough. Mr. Blowè had been round the various islands with a German warship,<sup>1</sup> and acted as interpreter on her visit of annexation. He understood the natives well, and I passed an agreeable evening; but at one time there was just a little jar. He was telling me that he had only been two months at Pleasant Island, and had bought the place and business from one Hanson, to whom it came from Jim Mitchell.

"Jim was shot, you know, by the natives, and was buried just underneath where you're sitting."

Involuntarily I moved the chair a foot or two further from the spot, but was relieved on hearing that this little incident had occurred more than three years ago. I was further relieved by finding that it was entirely Jim's fault.

"He was one of the old set, you know, who used to bully the natives when they had no guns, and he wanted to carry on this game to the last. But when the natives got guns, they kicked at this sort of thing, you know, and then there were rows. One day, after hard drinking, Jim went out, gun in hand, vowing vengeance against the first native he came near. They tried to shoot Jim instead, but he dodged behind a cocoanut-tree. The natives dodged too, and finally got the best of it. It was Jim's own fault—not the least doubt of it, you know." He will show me the cocoanut-tree to-morrow, which he did, and I came to the conclusion that it must have been close quarters considering what poor shots the natives are and the number of holes they had managed to make in the tree.

One more little surprise awaited me. Glancing up at the roof, I noticed certain ugly-looking marks there.

"Ah!" said Mr. Blowè; "those are bullet-holes, but they were done in Hanson's time. So was that other hole you see in the door, and the one in the partition; the same ball did both. But I think they must have been accidental, for the natives have no animos-

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1 Ed. note: Perhaps the SMS *Ariadne*, in 1878.



ity against white men. At all events," he added, "I am quite satisfied, and barring accidents don't feel the least concern."

With which comforting reflection I turned in and, being tired, slept too soundly to hear the firing in the night that disturbed not only my host, Mr. Blowè, but woke up Mr. Dunnett and Mr. Andrew who were staying at the houses of other traders close to where the firing took place. The traders took no notice. "They are always at it," they tell you; "blazing away at each other, but luckily not doing so much mischief as one would expect." Still, it was very bad, and caused a great falling off in copra, and it was high time a stop was put to the whole thing.

I was curious to learn the origin of all this strife and bloodshed. It arose from a trifling circumstance at a marriage feast about ten years ago. A great collection of bottles of cocoanut oil was made as a present for the bride. Others (for the bridesmaids, I presume) were hung round the walls of the building in which the people were assembled. They were happy and agreed together in those days at Pleasant Island. The young men were joking at these bottles of oil, and one young chief in a bit of a temper prohibited another from meddling with a particular bottle on some ground of native etiquette. A quarrel ensued. They had been drinking "that hellish sour toddy," as Mr. Harris called it, and an old horse-pistol, unfortunately handy, was fired. In the *mêlée* the wong man was shot, a young chief of great connections and of high family.

The feud thus begun has extended widely since. Certain natives, no great number, living in the centre of the island and having their relations on the coast, make a practice of coming down to join their coast friends in shooting their enemies. Almost every village along the little coast has thus become involved and is at deadly feud with its neighbour. The fighting is in itself an absurdity, in fact not fighting at all. Small parties skulk about and blaze away at other parties at long distances on speculation, but shoot remorselessly any unfortunate man, woman, or child of the enemy's tribe who may chance to fall in the way of these "braves" or "warriors," as they call themselves. The whole crowd might be disarmed in less than a week by twenty or thirty sailors with native scouts to guide them, and I sincerely hope the German authorities will take the work in hand, as they only have the power to do so. As to the natives, it seemed to me they have had enough of it and would be very glad to be disarmed if it were done to all simultaneously. The position in this respect is easily understood, especially when we consider how many great nations in Europe are at the present time in much the same quandary, and would be glad to disarm "if only," as the Pleasant Islanders say, "the other fellow will begin." It is "that other fellow" who is doing all the mischief at Pleasant Island as elsewhere. He always does.

Mr. Harris gave me many interesting details about the island as it used to be when he kept as many as 500 hogs in his fences to sell to the whalers in the days when whale oil was supreme. About fifteen years ago some Kingsmill natives went to Ocean Island and taught the people there to make "sour toddy," by fermenting the sweet liquid which drops freely from the severed green fruit shoot of the cocoanut tree. Seeing the mischief, the chiefs of Ocean Island made short work of the matter. They gave the Kingsmill visi-

tors their choice, to leave in certain canoes which were presented to them and take their chance of landing elsewhere, or to remain behind and be killed. The visitors took the canoes and unhappily reached Pleasant Island safely; and that, said Mr. Harris, is how the "hellish toddy" came here. Till then every village had its big house in which the people used to dance and sing. Now they dare not even go to the beach to ship a few bags of copra without taking their arms to guard against surprise.

I handled a good many of the rifles, which the natives allowed me to do readily. They were in capital order, small bores of good quality and expensive pieces. The bores were not uniform, and the supply of ammunition must be considerable to keep them all going. The kinds I noticed were the Mauser, Winchester, Remington, Kennedy, Express, Spencer, and Martini-Henry. Gevelots were also there, and even one of Evan's thirty-four repeaters, so that the variety was as great as it well could be.

Mr. Harris had a strong desire to leave the place where he has so long lived. He wished to take passage with us to Strong's Island (Kusaie), the head-quarters of the American Mission, and to get the remainder of his children taught at the mission school. We could not take him, as no-one is allowed to settle in Kusaie without permission. I promised however to state his case, and had much pleasure in writing to Kusaie from Ponapè. He offered, if allowed to settle at Kusaie, to give his house and ground at Pleasant Island for a mission station. I cannot tell what the mission authorities at Kusaie will see fit to do, but may express a hope that the old man will be successful in saving his young family from growing up amid such wretched ignorance and barbarism. It would be also pleasant to find his offer lead to the establishment of a mission and the restoration to peace and prosperity of this singular little island and its naturally pleasant people.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VII. Missionary Work in the Pacific.

...  
No-one can read of missionary work in the Pacific without admiration for the men who abandoned home and friends to go to unknown and savage lands in the service of their Master. But only they who have witnessed the result of their labours can fully appreciate the work that has been done.

...  
[Reverend Logan]

At Lukunor, in the Carolines, we found at anchor the American mission-vessel **Morning Star**. It was Sunday and they sent us an invitation to attend the afternoon service. An American lady who had come in the vessel on a visit from Boston, played the harmonium, and we had a capital sermon from the Rev. Robert Logan. The **Morning Star** sailed next day, leaving Mr. Logan to visit the adjacent islands in native ca-

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1 Ed. note: It was not until 1908 that Rev. Delaporte came to live at Nauru.

noes, and to find his way back to his chief station, Ruk [Chuuk], 120 miles distant, in a small half-decked boat of six or seven tons. I had the pleasure of frequently meeting Mr. Logan, as we stayed a few days painting the vessel in the Lukunor lagoon. Traders of all classes speak of him with great regard and respect. They told me that he was a Northerner who had fought through the American Civil War. The war ended, he became a missionary and had been formerly stationed at Ponape, but about two years ago was removed to Ruk. The islands at Ruk, or Hogoleu, are a large group of raised coral islands, enclosed by a reef 180 miles in circumference, and with a population of 12,000 to 15,000, notorious for their wild and daring piratical life. Hogoleu is one of the few places left in the atoll world which no trading-vessel ventures to visit unarmed, but Mr. Logan has lately taken up his station there with his wife and child.

I gathered from him that he had made friends of the natives in his immediate neighbourhood and could entirely depend on them. Beyond that he could not say much, but he had faith. Patience, he added, was a necessary mission virtue. It was a monotonous life for a lady, but Mrs. Logan took a great interest in missionary work and was fond of her garden. He would have liked her to accompany him, but travelling so great a distance in canoes and small boats was neither safe nor agreeable. Conversing thus pleasantly with the tall, gaunt American, and looking into his kindly face and bright clear eye, the image of Abraham Lincoln rose involuntarily before me. I felt that here, too, was a man not likely to turn back from the work which he believed God had cast upon him, a man not only with force of character, but honest, sympathetic and fearless, and as anxious as any layman to find a solution for the difficulties that stand in the path of these people towards civilization. In such hands and to such men the solution might be safely left if they could be brought together, take common counsel, and decide upon a common course of action.

The prohibition against tobacco seems a needless addition to unavoidable stumbling-blocks, and tends to make Christianity burdensome to a people to whom smoking is the chief luxury. The disuse was rapidly insisted upon by the first American missionaries, and there might now, it is feared, be danger in any single missionary admitting the mistake. Nothing could show more clearly the need of great care in framing regulations to be enforced as religious observances. Curiously enough, while tobacco was prohibited, no attempt was made to make the natives abandon the dirty habit of smearing their bodies with turmeric and oil, or of twisting their hair into unseemly chignons on the top of the head. While we were at Lukunor, Mr. Logan succeeded in getting eleven of them to cut their long hair, and the innovation caused a considerable stir in the little community.

I should be glad to hear that it had been followed by their abandonment of the use of *taik*, as they call the mixture of turmeric and oil with which they anoint themselves. The turmeric, if such it be, is grown only at Ruk, and the preparation a monopoly enabling the people of Ruk to export the article to all the adjacent islands. The mixture adheres to everything that a native wears or touches and is generally used to dye the mats which they weave for their own clothing.

I saw a woman at Satoan weaving one of these mats which are remarkable for their neatness and finish. Seated on the ground, with a broad belt fixed round her waist to keep the threads taut, she worked with speed and skill, throwing the shuttle deftly and after each throw tightening up the threads thoroughly with a smooth piece of hard wood. At Satoan the mats are made of a fine fibre prepared from the bark of a shrub growing in profusion on many of the islands. At Ruk they are made from the fibre of the banana—veritable Manilla hemp.<sup>1</sup> This is the woven cloth of which the early Spanish voyagers speak, and on the existence of which doubt has been since cast by many writers who would find their doubts dispelled by a visit to Satoan. Two mats, sewn together at one end with a small opening left in the centre, form a Spanish poncho, the universal and only dress among the uncivilized natives. Dyed with the *taik*, the poncho is of a bright yellow, so bright that I should think the *taik* would be regarded as a valuable dye anywhere.

At Lukunor I managed to get a copy of the "Kapas Fel" or Bible Stories, which have been translated into the native tongue. Mr. Logan is said to be the translator, but the little book bears no name. It is illustrated with the good old pictures which happily are not yet superseded in the Carolines by ground-plans of the temple or photographs of Jerusalem. The great round world is floating in space on the eve of creation. Adam and Eve are in the glorious garden of Eden. The rainbow of promise, the Tower of Babel, Hagar and Ishmael, Abraham offering up Isaac, Joseph sold into captivity, Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza, all the old well-remembered pictures are in the "Kapas Fel." The book has several maps and much descriptive matter, and most altogether be the most attractive and useful reading which the natives possess. Multiply such books, and who can tell the good they would do in exciting to activity these sluggish and childish minds.

...

## CHAPTER VIII.

### A Visit to Ponapè, its Ruins, and its People.

...  
Ponapè stands prominent among the very few mountainous islands which vary the monotony of innumerable atolls in the Outer Pacific. The massive ruins of Ponapè are its most remarkable feature, speaking in their weird loneliness of some dead and forgotten race. By whom and for what purpose they were built are questions to which no answer has yet been given. A careful inspection of the country, and comparison with similar ruins if such there be in other countries, will give the only prospect of solving the mystery.

The present inhabitants of Ponapè can tell nothing about the ruins and attribute them to the devil, a solution perfectly satisfactory to their minds. They are incapable of conceiving the construction of such works, and the people who built them must have

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The 'Musa textilis', musa being the Latin word for banana.

been of a race much more numerous and greatly in advance of the two or three thousand natives now occupying this large island. Of these natives, the accompanying photographs of the chief of a neighbouring group (the Mortlocks) dressed in his woven poncho, and of a young woman from the same group with the mats and elaborate belt already described, will give a fair idea.<sup>1</sup>

...  
Ponapè lay formerly on the direct road from the West Coast of Spanish America to Manila, and is said to have been a favourite resort of the Buccaneers.<sup>2</sup> It is still in the road of sailing-vessels from Australia or New Zealand to China and Japan, and is much frequented by whalers from San Francisco. Five of these whalers (three being auxiliary steamers) were at anchor in Modok [Mutok] Harbour on the opposite side of the island, and while we were at Kitè [Kiti] two of them<sup>3</sup> passed us crowded with boats and men on their way to sea after getting supplies and water at Ponapè.

There are no towns, and of course no hotels. The natives live together in small numbers along the coast, and the interior of the country is quite uninhabited. The traders live also in detached houses along the coast, receiving produce brought to them by the natives, and selling to them in return. Travelling is entirely by boat or canoe, the mass of thickly-strewn boulders making land travel too difficult for ordinary purposes. The natives are divided into five tribes, of whom three have joined the American Mission established at the island. The other two are still heathens of the comparatively mild character that marks heathenism in these days. The Ponapè people are skiff workers, and Ponapè sleeping-mats are known over the whole Pacific. They are of peculiar make. Pandanus leaves are doubled and stitched together like thatch with one carefully-folded leaf sewn over the other so that they roll up easily, and are not only thick but soft and elastic.

The natives have abundance of turtle on their beaches, and pearl-shell is found but not so worked as to yield any quantity. Tortoise-shell is among their exports. The vegetable ivory nut is abundant, the sugar-cane very fine, and good coffee is produced but only on a small scale.

The number of inhabitants does not exceed 2500, the small-pox having killed a great many about thirty years ago. A vessel came at that time into Modoc Harbour with the disease on board and landed her patients on Pariau, a small island in the harbour. The captain warned the natives to keep off, and took supplies from them in his boats half way from the shore. But they managed to steal some sacks from the boats one day, and that was how the small-pox got into Ponapè. The houses are small and poor and only of one room, so that the disease must have proved a terrible scourge among the people.

The Ponapè canoes are very good, owing to the fine timber which enables the natives to use solid tree-trunks, instead of being obliged to build the hull with small planks

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1 Ed. note: Not published in the original 1889 edition.

2 Ed. note: A common misconception, one that some writers still repeat.

3 Ed. note: Perhaps the Fleetwing and the Belvedere.

fastened by twisted cocoanut fibre as in the atolls and other less favoured islands. As we enter the harbour of Jamestown, the first station established by the American Mission<sup>1</sup> under the Rev. W. [rather E. T.] Doane, is a prominent object in the view. The buildings are extensive and stand on a green-clad promontory, but are now in charge of a native teacher, as Mr. Doane is stationed at Metalanim Harbour on the other side of the island, about twenty miles from Jamestown.

On the 26th January, 1887, we had sighted Kusaie (Strong's Island), the headquarters of the American Mission in the Western Pacific, but feared to land lest we should lose the chance of making the next island (Pingelap) before the following night. We determined, therefore, to pass on. I regretted this, not only because it lost me the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the American missionary, but because at Kusaie there are ruins smaller in extent but similar in character to those at Ponapè. We coasted along Kusaie, which is about thirty miles in circumference, with hills exceeding 2000 feet in height, with a very good harbour and a population of only 250 to 300 souls. We had a fine view of the mission buildings and schools at Kusaie, very prettily situated on the slopes of one of the hills.

On the following day we reached Pingelap, landed there and sailed on to the next atolls, Mokil, which we reached just as the mission auxiliary steamer **Morning Star** was to call on her way back to Ponapè. I had not the pleasure of meeting Miss Fletcher who, after taking a much-needed rest, went at once to the native church service and my own stay was short at Mokil. The incident is worth mentioning, however, as an indication of the zeal and devotion for which missionary work calls. They only could sustain a lady amid the discomforts and the dearth of society which such visits necessarily entail.

At Pingelap, the land and the people are poor, but at Mokil both are richer. Pingelap has islets so narrow and low as to produce cocoanuts only, and in very moderate quantity. Mokil has islets much broader, and therefore with a greater variety of products. A Mokil native, in broken but very intelligible English, waxed eloquent in explaining the difference. He told me how the Pingelap people were so poor that they were glad to come over and work for the Mokil people under a two years' agreement, receiving at the end of the time a box filled with cotton prints and other articles.

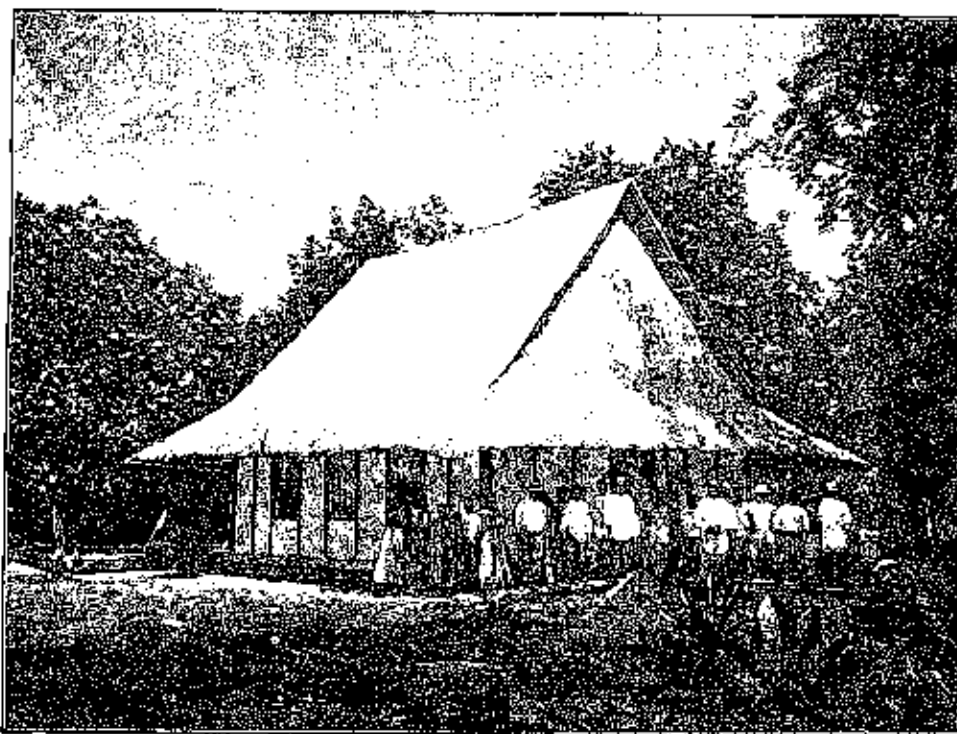
"Is not that very little?" I asked.

"Oh, no," was the reply. "Pingelap man, he glad come." And then my informant added, "He rich man when he go Pingelap again."

This is the only case I met with of natives formally engaging themselves to other natives, or being formally hired by other natives as labourers. The term labourers, be it at the same time understood, has not the meaning it would bear with us, for they are all related and live together, while copra-making is the most attractive of all employments to the native people.

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1 Ed. note: The first station was at Kiti.



Copyright:

Exterior View of Church at Mokal.

Photographed by Mr. Andrew.



*Copypix.*

*Photographed by Mr. Andrew.*

Girl of Mola.



I have referred to the great need for providing proper mental occupation and including healthy sports and pastimes in the course of mission training. The American Mission, except in its prohibition of tobacco, appears to be less rigid and to exact less conformity with European notions of dress than some of the other Congregational and Wesleyan Missions; but, even with their natives, a lamentable want of healthy mental recreation is apparent. I have frequently watched the heathens engaged in card-playing which they enjoy intensely. Surely the same taste might be turned to good account by introducing draughts and other harmless games. What would our own lives be without similar recreation, and wherein do these natives differ from ourselves? That they have an intense love of sport of all kinds is manifested in various ways. At Lukunor the small boys took the greatest delight in racing their little model canoes, just as our own youngsters do their model yachts. They spent hours in the sea around our vessel, each lying at full length on a pointed log of wood or paddling himself upon it with hands and feet, and racing each other in this way from the ship, a quarter of a mile off, to the shore.

The fondness of the natives for birds and animals is also very marked, and would lead one to suppose it well worth taking the trouble to introduce better breeds on the islands. They have some wretched cats and some dogs of no describable kind at all. Their special pet is the pig; and it is astonishing to see the cleanliness of his habits and the knowingness of his look when thus allowed to mix on friendly terms with the family. He trots about with the children, follows them like a dog, gambols and plays with them, and acquires a habit of throwing his head on one side and looking up out of one eye with comical effect. At some islands they tame the "frigate," or "man-of-war" bird, which never fishes for itself, but circles in the air, watches till some other bird has picked up a fish; pounces upon the captor and robs him of his spoil. At Pleasant Island there are several structures of open framework built as roosts for these birds; and the chiefs vie with each other in possessing the greatest number. One of the birds is used as a decoy, and others are soon caught and tamed with him. They take their sea voyage daily in search of food and return to roost with the greatest regularity.

We left Mokil towards evening on the 28th, and early next morning sighted the high land of Ponapè, anchoring in the afternoon in the fine harbour of Jamestown on the north-west side of the island. The harbour was surveyed and named by the United States frigate **Jamestown**, and its original name is now never used. Native houses are to be seen, half hidden by trees, and a few traders' houses are scattered along the shore at considerable distances from each other. A beautiful little stream opens into the harbour, and the valley through which it runs, purchased from the natives by a Mr. Kubar, is the only level land near. In front, around, and in all directions, are great hills of basalt and conical crater elevations. One of these hills is an excellent landmark resembling a huge sleeping dog. The head of the dog seemed to me a mass of distinct basaltic prisms like those that are strewn so thickly on the hill-sides and along the shore.

Ponapè, with the rest of the Carolines, has been Spanish by discovery for the last three centuries, but no attempt until now has been made to interfere with it or its people. Roused by the German attempt at annexation, the Spaniards are moving at last and a

Spanish war-ship from Manila<sup>1</sup> was at Ponapè for the first time in July, 1886. She hoisted the Spanish flag, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting the purchase of land. The captain promised to return in October, but had not done so up to the following January, the date of our visit.

The officers of the Spanish ship were very polite and considerate to the traders, giving them every assurance that they would be assisted in carrying on their business. The traders, therefore, look forward with great pleasure to the arrival of the Spanish governor and the opening of a Spanish mission. The Protestant missionaries do not share the pleasurable feeling. In no place does the unfortunate antagonism between missionary and trader seem stronger than at Ponapè. In no place could their co-operation be more beneficial to the natives who, in their natural state, are as low in ideas and as depraved in practice as they well could be.

The Spanish commander made a careful survey of the land round the harbour, with a view to selecting a site for a town. The only suitable site, with level land and fresh water and anchorage close up to the shore, is on the land owned by Mr. Kubary (about 2500 acres), to which I have referred. It may be that the Spanish Government is negotiating for the land and that this is the cause of the delay in the ship's return. Mr. Kubary was in Ponapè for three or four years as agent for Godeffroi and Co., and during his stay had made, I was told, a large collection of birds and plants, and taken many photographs. I have not been able, in New Zealand, to ascertain if he has published anything in connection with Ponapè and its ruins. He would probably have published in Hamburg, if at all.

[Nanmadol ruins]

The land near the harbour is soon exhausted for travelling purposes, it being hard work to get about on its rock-strewn shores. The stream I have referred to is the only place which one would care to visit a second time. We were anxious to start for the ruins, twenty-five miles down the coast on the other side of the island, but the weather was too wet and stormy to attempt the journey. At last a break occurred and we determined to run the risk. We had a good boat kindly lent by Mr. Rüss, agent of the German firm, who accompanied us on the trip. As boatmen we took one of our Penthyn boys (Turoa), and one Caspar, a native of the little lagoon of Nukuoro, who has lived some years at Ponapè. Both spoke tolerable English; but though coming from islands with so many hundreds of miles of ocean between and with people of so many other races intervening, Turoa and Caspar were evidently of the same original race and tongue and could understand each other perfectly.

Taking advantage of the break in the weather, we started on Tuesday morning with a pleasant breeze and began our long beat of fifteen miles to get round Takaihu Head near Metalanim Harbour. After that the wind would be fair, so we hoped to get to the trader's house before light and tide should fail. Our course lay along the coast; some-

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1 Ed. note: The Manila, Capt. Bayo.

times in the wide deep channel between the ocean reef and the shore reef, and sometimes in channels with small islands on the one hand and Ponapè on the other. Often it was across long shallows impracticable for boats at low tide. In the afternoon the weather changed, and heavy rain and squalls made us thankful to stay for the night at Takaihu, which we reached at dusk. At Takaihu there is only the trader's small house, of the kind usual at Ponapè. The owner received us most hospitably and we had a comfortable night's rest, none the less, pleasant that the wind howling outside made the house delightfully cool, and effectually banished mosquitos.

At daylight, after a cup of excellent coffee and a breakfast of the renowned tinned meat of our own New Zealand, we started gaily and with every prospect of a splendid day. A run of a few miles, with a favourable wind, soon carried us into Metalanim Harbour and past the Missionary Station which looked picturesque and homely among the fine trees on the beautiful hill-slope on which it stands. At nine o'clock we were running among a number of little low verdant islets, scattered for some miles over the shallow waters of the coral reef and distant about a mile from the high volcanic shore. The islets were thickly covered with trees, and, threading our way through them we came to a space, about 250 feet square, so regular that it looked at once as if formed by the hand of man. Channels, from 30 to 100 feet broad, debouched from this water-square like submerged streets or carefully made canals. We left the boat, and wading up one of the smaller channels over a soft mud bottom, were in a few minutes at the islet on which the ruins stand. Hidden by the overgrowing trees and vines till we were right in front, the ruins suddenly burst upon us, and amid the utter loneliness and dead quiet of the scene, were weird and startling in their unexpected grandeur and simplicity.

Before us rose a massive structure, 20 feet high and 170 feet broad, with walls of enormous thickness, formed of basaltic prisms, some of huge size, laid in alternate transverse rows the larger in one direction and the smaller in the other. It was the western wall on which we gazed in silent wonder, and through a great opening in the centre, evidently intended as an entrance, we could see the inner walls of the same height and character. The islet, like all through which we passed, was embanked with massive walls of the same style as the building. These careful embankments, the great walls, and the solemn silence, gave to the whole the appearance of a city dead and deserted now, but with canals once crowded by canoes filled with devotees eager to attend the savage rites and sacrifices of which the ruined mass before us may have been the sacred scene. That it was built for a temple seemed clear to my mind, and I think the reader, on hearing it described, will come to the same conclusion.

The weather began again to threaten, and no time was to be lost. Mr. Andrew proceeded to clear away as much of the luxuriant, overgrowing vines and shrubs as time allowed, and succeeded in taking some excellent photographs. Mr. Rüss and myself endeavoured to measure the walls and building. Our only means was by a rope, cut to what we judged five fathoms. With it we passed under the towering walls and pushed our way among the trees and shrubs as best we could in the short time at our command. Necessarily, therefore, the measurements are not exact, but with one exception they

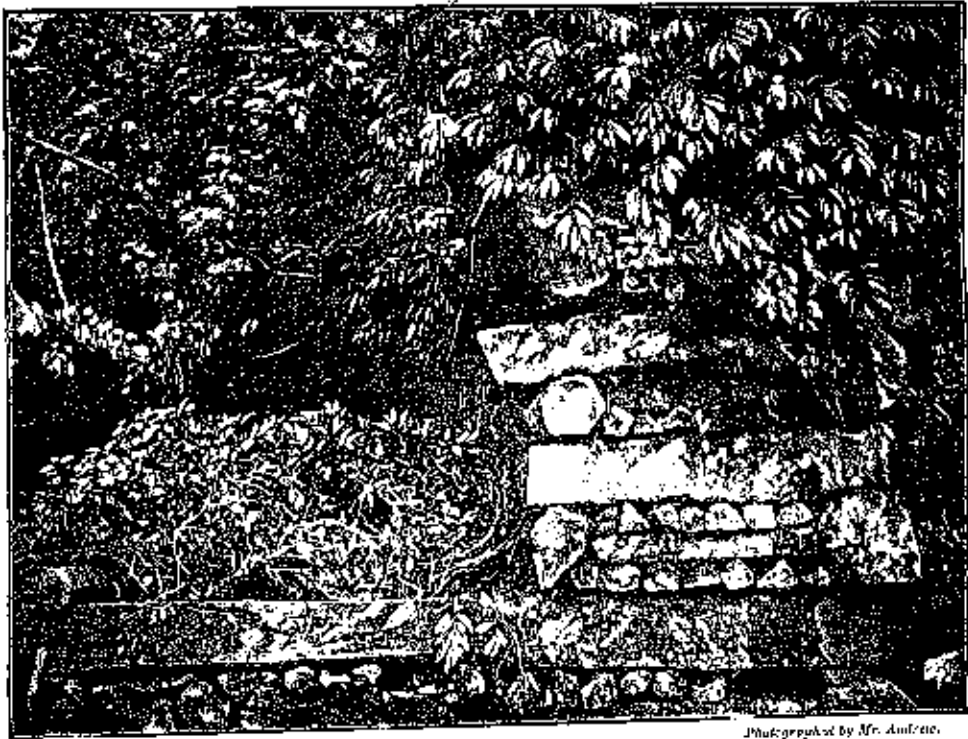
must be near the mark. That exception refers to the south and eastern walls, which bulged out in several places, overhung dangerously, and were thickly covered with shrubs, vines, and branches.

The building, according to our measurements, is 171 feet in the western front, with an open space of 15 feet in the centre for an entrance. The northern wall is 210 feet long, with a small low passage running through it, level with the ground and about four feet square. This hole or passage was distant 80 feet from the western end. The eastern wall is 210 [rather 188] feet long, and the southern 245, also with a hole or passage through it about five feet square, and distant 96 feet from the eastern end. The walls are 18 feet wide at the base, and continue of that width for the first six feet in height. For the remaining fourteen or fifteen feet they are reduced to eight feet in thickness, leaving a platform six feet from the ground and ten feet broad all round the inner side of the building.

About twenty-eight feet from the inner face of this wall there is another court with a similar opening opposite to the outer opening, and with one small low passage through the wall. The walls of this inner court are as high as the outer, but with a uniform thickness of only ten feet from base to summit. Near the east end of the inner court and fifty feet from its entrance, is a large raised platform, about forty feet square and six feet high, solidly built of the same prisms, and having in the centre of its front a vault five feet high and six feet broad. Three raised vaults of a similar structure and size are built in the outer court.

No sign of roof, door or window, or of preparation for either is to be seen. The platform, and the creek embankments, are as clearly useless for defence as these vaults would be for dungeons or buccaneer's treasure-chambers, as they have been respectively styled in old narratives. The opinion started on hearsay I fancy by Dumont d'urville, that these buildings were put up by the buccaneers has been repeated in various works but will not stand investigation. No civilized people could have wasted time and labour in raising such a structure, but that some powerful savage chief should have conceived the idea of increasing his glory and perpetuating his name by a temple to his gods, and that his people should have eagerly abetted him, is quite intelligible. Far more inexplicable are the miles of careful embankment round the islets, forming into veritable canals the ocean-streamlets that meander through them. That the so-called vaults may have been designed for holding sacrifices, human or otherwise, and the passages through the walls intended to admit them, is also a reasonable surmise. One can even imagine them as receptacles for fuel, or in other ways connected with savage rites, but certainly not as hiding-places for a buccaneer's plunder. Throughout the ruins the stones used are natural basaltic prisms. In no case are they squared or cut as old narratives say, and the embankments are of exactly the same structure.

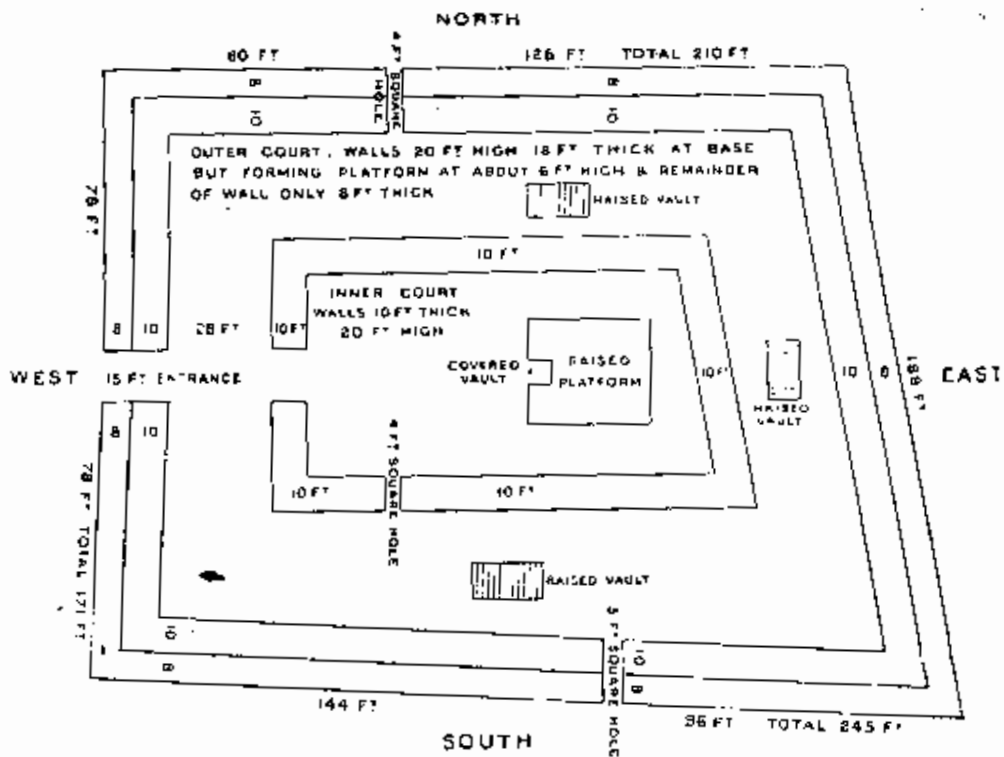
A month spent among the islets by a party properly equipped to search for relics of the dead race that once inhabited them, might throw some light upon the origin of these mysterious ruins. A hasty visit of a few hours could end in little beyond roughly gather-



Opzriakt

Rujos al Fonapla

Photographed by Mr. Amfzic.



Ground Plan of Ruins at Ponapé.

ing the data that would convey a general idea of their character. The photograph and rough ground plan attached will, I hope, aid in making that idea more clear.

The photograph is taken at an angle with the entrance, and gives a sectional view of the wall at the base and the upper part of the embankment a few feet above the level of the creek. The rude character of the whole structure is apparent. Not a vestige of art or workmanship of any kind is to be seen. The most remarkable characteristic is the enormous size of some of the prisms. I measured one at the north-west corner of the wall, about seven feet from the ground. The length was thirteen feet and the breadth two and a half feet, and many others were of greater size and weight. The volcanic hills, apparent in every part of Ponapè, contain, no doubt, many columnar basaltic prisms. Their great length in proportion to width and depth, would make it more easy to convey them to the spot and raise them to a height, provided there were a sufficient number of men for the purpose.

Who, and of what race, were those men? Whence did they come, and whither have they vanished so effectually out of mind and memory as to leave not the slightest trace behind?

...  
While gazing on the massive, mysterious ruins, and while the thoughts they suggest come rushing through the mind, we hear the rising moan of the wind, and the heavy rain clouds are gathering around. It is necessary we should get clear of these islets before the tide falls or we must spend the night among them. Very reluctantly, therefore, we left late in the afternoon, wading along the canals and drawing the boat after us, with new vistas of beauty opening at every turn. All the islets, as far as I could judge, were of coral formation; but on that point I feel by no means sure and it is one worth careful investigation. In passing through them we fell in with a few natives spearing fish, and were shown a short cut which enabled us, with some difficulty, to reach the open shallow sea between the main island and the Ocean Reef some three or four miles away.

The rain now fell in torrents, and the wind came in fitful squalls sometimes so violent that we could only carry the little jib close-reefed. Beating out to the Ocean Reef, we succeeded in getting into the broad channel and, with fair wind, sped merrily along to join the **Buster** at Jamestown. We reckoned without our host. The wind increased, and often we were obliged to keep the boat away, pull down her little jib, run bare before the furious squall into the dangerous shallows, and anchor until the squall passed by. Then we rattled along once more, keeping a vigilant eye for coral patches and two or three times striking against them with very unpleasant force. The boat was in skilful hands and, thanks to Mr. Rüss, we found ourselves at a little after midnight, once more on the **Buster's** deck. Never did her little cabin look so homelike and comfortable. We found that she, too, had felt the gale, having dragged her anchors some distance towards the opposite shore.

Next day we left Jamestown for Kitè, about twenty miles to the windward, on the other side of the island. We did not anchor, but stood off and on while a boat was sent

ashore to assist in bringing off what cargo might be ready. The harbour, like that of Jamestown, is very pretty, and the country quite as verdure-clad and broken. Ponapé will be a productive island some day. The soil is wonderfully fertile, but as far as I could see a great amount of terracing will be necessary. Then it will be a lovely garden, but not, I fear, till then.

The natives at the Kitè end of the island are still heathen and, like their brethren in the same stage in other islands, have no formula or settled doctrine of any kind. In superstitions, however, all the heathen of these seas abound, worshipping, or rather endeavouring to conciliate, their devils, and having a sublime faith in Boo-boo men and oracles. Their kings are also priests, and have the evil eye which can bewitch or kill by lingering or sharp disease. The rite of circumcision is unknown, but they have houses of refuge for offenders and for women during the days of purification. In these and in many ways their practices curiously resemble those recorded in Bible history. In some places they preserve the skulls of their ancestors, but I am inclined to think more from affection than from any religious feeling. They believe that the son of a dead man, and he alone, can cure illness caused by the spirit of the deceased father entering the body of some one who had offended him during life. Altogether, they are a strange mixture, having much that is repellent, but with so much natural grace, good-humour, and kindness, that the attraction is much greater, and must excite in all who have had the opportunity of seeing them, an earnest desire to further their progress toward the purer ideas and better habits for which nature has certainly fitted them.

At Kitè the heathen natives were in great tribulation. Their Christian brethren, impelled by a burning zeal in the cause of temperance, had just come in force and rooted up all their plantations of the "Piper methisticum," from which the kava of the eastern islands (the yagona of Fiji) is made. The root requires great labour and care in cultivation, and takes long in coming to maturity. The drink made from it is refreshing. It is not intoxicating in the alcoholic sense of the term, but narcotic and only injurious when taken in great excess. Had the heathens been strong enough, they would certainly have resisted and blood feuds have followed, but their Christian fellow-countrymen were the stronger and did what they thought the work of the Lord in their own way.

To my mind, it was too much like doing evil that good might ensue, a dangerous course in civilized communities but much more dangerous and demoralizing among ignorant and uncivilized people.

At Kitè we were passed by the two whalers from Modoc Harbour to which I have before referred. Here also we were visited by two traders so opposite in character and experience, and so remarkable in their respective ways, that I beg leave to introduce them to the reader. An hour's interesting talk with these men put me up to much of the old Pacific ways in their time.

The first was **Mr. Begg**, a quiet, reserved, and deliberate-speaking Scotchman, an engineer by trade, and an educated man. In his younger days he had lived at Mauritius and put up the first sugar-mill on that island. Thence he went to Calcutta, and took contracts for putting together the river steamers sent out in sections from the old



country. Mr. Begg prospered and was on the road to fortune, when the crash of '48 came. The people who held his money failed, and he was a ruined man. Sick at heart, he realized what was left and took passage for the South Seas, finally selecting Ponapè as his future home. Gladly would he afterwards have left, but not until he had settled down to the new life did any opportunity of getting away occur. Mr. Begg soon acquired great influence with the natives. When the American mission was established at Ponapè he rendered it great service, which the missionaries recognized by showing him kindness and attention whenever they could. He is now [1887] seventy-four years old, and a hale man still. Thirty-seven of those years have been spent at Ponapè,<sup>1</sup> and "the blacksmith of Ponapè" is esteemed for his high character by all and valued for his skill in iron-work by whalers and other vessels visiting the island. Some of these facts I gleaned from himself, others from those who knew him and knew Ponapè well.

Remarking to Mr. Begg the apparent absence of good feeling between traders and missionaries, I was much struck with his reply. "Well," he said, "it is too true, and there are faults on both sides, but I hope the feeling will wear off, though I must say I don't see much sign of that at present. The old missionaries and the old traders had a strong feeling against each other, and it has come down, though less bitter now, to those who have succeeded them. In my own case I can't complain as I have not been a trader and have always been on the best terms with the missionaries. But I am afraid they won't regard me so favourably now. My teeth are gone," said the old man, with unconscious pathos, "and I can eat little but soft native food. My eldest boy is pretty good at the forge, in his way, but there is less work than in the old whaling days. My other children have also to be provided for, and so in my old age I am obliged to turn trader for their sakes. What harm," he added, "so that it be honestly done? And yet somehow I feel that the missionaries will no longer regard me with the same kindly feeling."

"Of course," he continued, "that won't affect me. I shall do the best I can for my family, but still I shall be sorry for the change." Which change of feeling, strange as it may seem, this quiet, well-informed, kindly old man looked forward to as a matter of course, and in the nature of things to be expected.

A very different man was **Captain Rodd**, the gentleman who came on board with Mr. Begg. A short, spare, wiry, voluble personage, over sixty years of age, full of life and action, and hard as iron. With one arm, one eye, and an ugly scar across his face, *souvenirs* of native fights in the old sandal-wood days, Captai Rodd was a character not often met with and not easily forgotten. His name figures largely in the Pacific charts as discoverer of many a reef, of several harbours, and of some small islands.

...  
 "I never hurt a native if I could help it, or wronged one that I know of, all my life; is that a life a man need be ashamed of? And yet no white missionary, except Mr. Logan, has ever been near me since the old days, when they used to send out real men like those

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1 Ed. note: Therefore, he arrived at Pohnpei in 1850.

I spoke about. They spurn a white man now;" and then there burst out again that shocking "d---ed sanctified crawlers."

I suggested to the irascible old sailor that there was a good deal to be said on the missionary side. How, for instance, could a missionary, with perhaps a wife and family, have about him a trader not married to the native woman with whom he lived? But at this the old man fired up more fiercely than ever. "Who wants them to have our women about their families if they don't like it. As to marrying, what did the natives know about that in the old days? And, for that matter, what do they know or care now? At the same time," he added, "it was always a sore point even with Bishop Selwyn, Bishop Patteson, and men like them. But the traders had sense enough to know this; they didn't want to force themselves or their women on the missionaries. All they asked was to be treated like men when they met them." And the old man bubbled over once more with indignation at the thought. "Yes," in answer to my query, "if you write about these islands, put down by all means, what I say, if you like, and you can put my name too. Write that Edward Rodd said it—a man that never said behind another's back what he wouldn't say to his face and stand by." As we said good-bye to the two veterans and shook hands at the gangway, "I would na' back all friend Rodd's talk," said Mr. Begg; "he is a hot-tempered, peppery man, but I am bound to say there is a good deal of truth in it." I looked at the two old men as they climbed over the side and watched them to the last with great interest, for they belonged to a race becoming daily more rare. They scrambled into their boat, and we, calling out a final good-bye, braced the yards and were off for Lukunor, leaving behind us the last specimens we were likely to meet of the old trader of the Pacific, a race dying out so rapidly that the memory alone will soon remain.

Good-bye, too, to Ponapè, an island we left with great regret at not being able to give more time to the inspection of the mysterious ruins which I have, I fear, very imperfectly described. A more interesting voyage, in these hackneyed days of travel, it would be difficult to find than one to Ponapè and among the Line islands. Only, after past experience, I should prefer to make it in a vessel supplied with auxiliary steam power. The climate, the scenery, and the novel ways of the people would render the trip, under such circumstances, one of the most enjoyable that any voyager could hit upon or undertake.

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Note.—Since the above was written, the Spanish Governor, with a party of priests and fifty soldiers Manila men under Spanish officers—arrived at Jamestown Harbour and began road-making and laying out the town. This seems to have been in April, 1887, but affairs soon became so complicated that the Rev. Mr. Doane was arrested and sent by the Governor to Manila. There the American Consul interfered. Mr. Doane was released and sent back to Ponapè with an officer, who was to supersede the Governor and act in his place. On their arrival they found that the Governor, with forty-five of the soldiers, had been killed in a quarrel with the natives. A considerable body of troops has since been sent from

Manila, but with what result I have not heard. How so disastrous a quarrel could have occurred with such a people as those of Ponapè it is difficult to understand, and the accounts that have reached us in New Zealand are too incomplete to warrant a definite opinion.

...

## CHAPTER IX. A Crown Colony of a Severe Type.

...

Few of our countrymen are they who would not prefer dealing with Germans or French than with this High Court and High Commissioner. The men-of-war of both those nations are always ready to give assistance to the traders of every nationality, and this it is the simplest justice to admit. My friend Jibberik at Majuro tapu'd a trader with whom he had a quarrel, and consequently none of the natives dared to deal with that particular trader. He was an Englishman, but his complaint to the first German man-of-war obtained redress. The case was fully inquired into. Jibberik was ordered to pay 300 dollars in cocoanuts, and warned against any interference with traders in the future. He was told that if he suffered a wrong, he must take his complaint to the first man-of-war that came, just as Europeans were required themselves to do.

Majuro, in which Jibberik reigns, is German territory, but similar cases have occurred in islands unoccupied by any civilized power. On the other hand, the High Commissioner has officially stated that "the British Government disclaim all obligation to protect or interfere on behalf of persons voluntarily placing themselves in positions of danger in a savage country." The Government may interfere, but only as an act of war, for which adequate cause must be shown. Among these adequate causes a grievance such as I have referred to, however injurious and unjust, is certainly not included.

Our naval officers have happily not always accepted this *dictum*, and Majuro traders speak gratefully of the benefit they derived from good advice plainly given to King Jibberik by Captain Murray,<sup>2</sup> of H.M.S. *Emerald*, and given also to other chiefs and kings. But all agree that there is an increasing hesitation, a plainly growing dislike, in our navy to incur the responsibility of interference, and to face the trouble in England which that interference has often brought upon them.

About three years ago a trader was murdered by a notorious white scoundrel at Tarawa, in the Kingsmill group. One of her Majesty's ships called soon after at Apaiang, a neighbouring island, where dwelt Mr. Randolph, a friend of the murdered man, and who had formally taken his dying deposition. The murderer declared himself an American, and our captain, after mature consideration, decided that he had no right to interfere. Randolph, grievously hurt, declared that if the murderer put foot on the deck of his schooner he should certainly shoot him, but added, "I suppose, captain, you will then arrest me." "Afraid I must," was the prompt reply, "for there is no question of

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1 Ed. note: This chapter is mostly about the early history of Fiji.

2 Ed. nte: Rather, Capt. Maxwell, in 1881.

your being an Englishman." This story is eminently characteristic of the present position.

Some four or five years ago the **Orwell**, an Auckland vessel, was wrecked at the island of Peru [Beru], in the Kingsmills. She had a cargo valued at £3000, including three tons of tobacco, five tons of rice, a great quantity of biscuit, sugar, preserved meats, and other articles. The vessel lay on the reef dry and safe when the Peru Island natives looted her, leaving literally a clean hold. Complaint was formally made to the High Commissioner, who, after considerable and damaging delay, was able to spare a deputy commissioner to look into the case. He had to proceed to Peru Island from Fiji, a couple of thousand miles away, and, after due inquiry, fined the natives thirty tons of copra (worth to them about £240), to be paid within three years from date. natives, heathen or converted, enjoy nothing so much as a joke. They thought this a very good joke, paid the fine the first time the owners' next vessel came their way, and told the supercargo they were quite ready to get another supply at the same price.

I should weary the reader if I were to relate all the cases of which I heard on good authority, and for which redress is so hopeless that no one cares to seek it. The Germans have hitherto shown themselves as ready to protect our people as their own. Gratefully do the traders speak of this, but surely it is not a position in which Englishmen should be placed. It is weighting them too heavily in the contest—a contest growing continually more keen, and in which our countrymen will require at least as much aid from English war-ships as Germans receive from theirs. It would be a great boon if the visits of our own men-of-war were more frequent and their captains more free. Much good has resulted at various times from the rare chance visits of her Majesty's ships from the Pacific and Australian squadrons checking the aggressions to which all savages are prone. One could only wish that these visits were more regular, and that the captains were left to act more upon their own judgment after the inquiry they are able to make upon the spot.

Ruk or Hogoleu is an excellent illustration of the evil effects of vacillation in dealing with uncivilized people. The natives of this great lagoon have committed many murders with impunity. A German man-of-war called there soon after the attempted annexation of the Carolines, and the captain warned the natives against further bad conduct, saying that he would return within a year. This put them on their best behaviour for the time, but the islands reverting to Spain, the German ship did not return. Recently a Spanish war-ship arrived. She also promised to return in October last, but had not done so up to the following February, when I left Lukunor. I was assured by the Rev. Mr. Logan that this vacillation had produced a very bad effect, and a higher or better authority cannot be quoted.

England, France, Germany, and Spain are the Powers between whom the Pacific is now practically divided. Japan lately sent a war-ship to inquire into the murder at the Island of Lae of the crew of a Japanese trading-vessel.

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 Document 1886Z
 

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## Population statistics for the Mariana Islands

*Source: Francisco Olive y García, Teniente Coronel, ex-Gobernador P.M. de Marianas. Islas Marianas. Lijeros apuntes (Manila, M. Perez, Hijo, 1887).*

*Notes: Governor Olive's book was published in time to feature with the Philippine Exhibition at Madrid. Governor Solano, who followed Governor Olive, wrote his own report on the Mariana Islands on 31 March 1888 (see Doc. 1888...).*

### Extracts from Governor Olive's book

The inhabitants of the Mariana Islands on 31 December 1886.

**ISLAS MARIANAS**

ESTADO del numero de habitantes que tienen las mismas en 31 de Diciembre de 1886.

ISLAS.	PUEBLOS.	BARRIOS ó caseríos	VARONES.		HEMBRAS.		TOTAL POR PUEBLOS.				TOTALES	
			Adultos.		Párvulos.		VARONES.		HEMBRAS.			
			Adultos.	Párvulos.	Adultos.	Párvulos.	Adultos.	Párvulos.	Adultos.	Párvulos.		
	Agaña.		1844	495	2140	500						
		Asigna.	53	22	71	23						
		Asan.	106	20	105	26						
		Tepungan.	92	30	92	30						
		Sinajaña.	54	15	82	14						
	M.ª Cristina.	74	15	94	10	2215	597	2564	603	5079		
	Agal.		282	77	275	78						
		Sumay.	159	44	166	62	441	121	441	140	1143	
	Merizo.		163	43	178	55						
		Umata.	87	28	86	24	250	71	324	79	661	
	Inarajan.		137	40	100	47	137	40	166	47	300	
	Rota.						164	56	207	60	487	
	Tinian.	San Luis de Medica.					87	26	103	19	245	
	Saipan.	S. Inico de Garayta.					333	89	343	84	849	
	Españoles	Europeos.					12		2	2	10	
	Extranjeros.						7				7	
			Total general.				3646	1000	4090	1034	9770	

**Division according to races.**

Race	Men	Women	Total
Spanish .....	12	4	16
Chamorros .....	4081	4550	8631
Carolinians .....	496	560	1056
Half-breeds .....	18	20	38
Foreigners .....	7	0	7
Chinese .....	22	0	22
			-----
General total			9770

**Some data about the Carolinian population of the Marianas.**

1855	1865	1867 ...	1884	1885	1886
266	269	700 ...	1058	1068	1069 <sup>1</sup>

**Distribution of the Carolinians living in the Marianas in 1886**

Island	Men	Women	Children	Total	Remarks
Guam	74	94	25	193	María Cristina.
Rota	16	44	15	75	
Tinian	84	102	47	233	
Saipan	220	231	117	678	
	----	----	----	-----	
Total	394	471	204	1069	

**Level of education of 9,680 inhabitants.**

	Number	Percentage
Knew how to read and write .....	1020	10%
Knew how to read .....	2000	21%
Knew how to read and sign .....	360	4%
Illiterate .....	6300	65%

**Public schools in the Marianas—Children who attended school on 31 December 1886.**

Place	Boys	Girls	Total
Agaña	501	356	857
Agat	113	116	229
Merizo	45	44	89
Inarajan	33	22	55
Rota	33	39	72

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Note the discrepancy with the 1886 figure given above.

Saipan	62	55	117
	----	----	----
General total	787	632	1419

Note: Boys were taught the following subjects: Reading, writing, Christian doctrine, grammar, arithmetics, principles of geography, sacred history and civics.

Girls were taught the following subjects: Reading, writing, Christian doctrine, sewing and domestic chores.

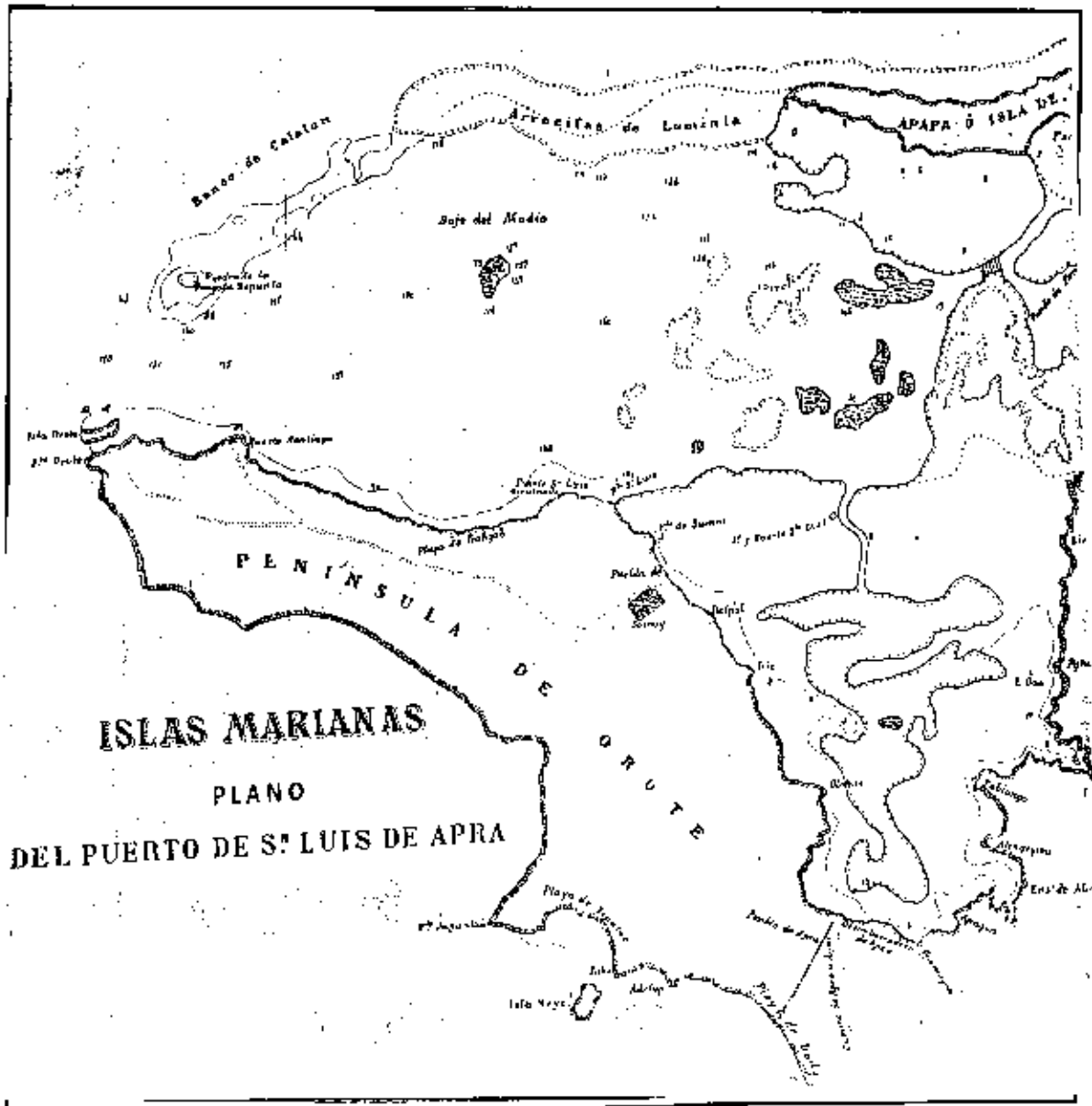


Chart of Apra Harbor in 1886.

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## Documents 1887A

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# Yap—Reports of interim Governor Gil

*Source: PNA.*

## A1. Letter dated Yap 1 January 1887

### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno Político Militar de Carolinas y Palaos, No. 34 (1 Enero 87)*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Tengo el honor de poner en el superior conocimiento de V.E., que la isla de "Apelelan" queda unida con la de Yap por medio de un gran pantalan con repunte en el medio, para que los naturales puedan atravesarlo con sus vintas en la marea alta; mucho les ha extrañado esra obra, pero han manifestando á su manera mucha alegría.*

*Ha continuación de dicho pantalan, se ha abierto una carretera espaciosa que conduce al convento de los Reverendos padres misioneros con lo cual hoy nos encontramos en perfecta comunicación.*

*Tambien se ha tomado una gran extensión de terreno que se halla cercado muy bien de madera y cañas para huerta, y en su mayor parte está sembrado de judías, habas, camote, calabazas, pepinos, tomates, pimientos, rabanos, y otras muchas semillas, que si hoy no dan el resultado que se desea, no hay duda que mas adelante será de un gran beneficio para toda la Colonia, porque así se comprende de varias semillas nacidas con mucha lozanía; pues el terreno es bueno, y mejorará mucho más con el cultivo continuo.*

*A los Reverendos padres Misioneros se les facilite diariamente seis hombres para la construcción de la Capilla que están levantando para nuestro santo culto católico, y para las demas obras que han llevado a cabo.*

*Tambien se continúe el desmonte de la isla de "Apelelan" con el objeto de que la tropa y disciplinarios estén entretenidos en lo que mañana será de provecho para la Colonia y el Estado.*

*Todo lo que tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. en cumplimiento de mi deber y para su satisfacción.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Tomil isla de Yap á 1 de Enero de 1887.*

*Exmo. Sor.*



*El Gobernador interino*

*Indalecio Gil*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Gobernador General de Filipinas.*

### **Translation.**

Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau, N° 34 (1 January 87)

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Y.E. that the island of "Apelelan" has been joined with that of Yap by means of a great pier with a lifting bridge in the middle to let the native canoes pass through at high tide; this work has much surprised the natives, but they have shown much happiness in their manner.

At the end of said pier, a spacious road has been opened which leads to the convent of the Reverend Missionary Fathers, and today we are in perfect communication.

A large land plot has also been enclosed with a fence, of wood and cane, to serve as a vegetable garden, and most of it has been seeded with string beans, broad beans, sweet potatoes, squashes, cucumbers, tomatos, peppers, radishes, and many other seeds, that have not as yet given any result, but will surely do so in future and become of great usefulness for the Colony, from what can be seen from various seeds that have already sprouted with vigor; indeed, the land is good, and it will improve much more with continuous cultivation.

Six men are provided [free] every day to the Reverend Missionary Fathers for the construction of the Chapel that they are building for our holy Catholic cult, and for the other works that they have already completed.

The clearing of "Apelelan" Island is also being pursued for the purpose of keeping the troop and the convict soldiers busy and this will be of use for the Colony and the State in the future.

All of which I have the honor of bringing to the attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty and for your satisfaction.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Tomil Harbor, Island of Yap, 1 January 1887.

Excellency.

The interim Governor,

Indalecio Gil

## **A2. A site chosen for the first cemetery**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Gobierno Político Militar de Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Acta.*

[Nota al margen:] *Queda registrado este documento en el folio ocho y vuelta del registro de propiedades de este Gobierno político.*

*En el puerto de Tomil Isla de Yap Carolinas y á los siete días del mes de Enero de mil ochocientos ochenta y siete y por disposición del Señor Gobernador de este Distrito y bajo su presidencia, se reunieron en junta en la Casa habitación de dicha autoridad los Señores siguientes: Reverendo Padre Frai Daniel de Arbácegui, de la orden de Capuchinos y superior de la misión de esta Isla, Reverendo Padre Frai Antonio de Valencia misionero, Reverendo Padre Frai José de Valencia idem, Señor Director de la Enfermería Militar de este punto Don Pascual Junquera, Señor Ayudante de obras públicas Don Eduardo Lobo, Teniente Comandante de la Sección del Batallón Disciplinarios Don Primitivo Herrero, Teniente Comandante de la Fuerza del Regimiento de Infantería Magallanes número tres Don Pedro Salazar, y como Secretario el Alférez del mismo cuerpo Don Salvador Alcoya.*

*El Señor presidente manifestó que el objeto de la reunión era para tratar de la adquisición de un terreno á distancia competente de la población y en él construir un Cementerio Católico y otro no Católico con arreglo á lo mandado por la superioridad.*

*Conformes los Señores que componen la junta con lo manifestado por el Señor Gobernador, se pusieron en marcha con dirección á la Casa misión que se halla situada á la parte Sur del pueblo de Nimar, y distante de este Campamento 578 metros, para en sus inmediaciones elegir el terreno más a propósito al objeto.*

*El Señor Director de la Enfermería Militar acompañado del Señor Ayudante de obras públicas y de los demas Señores, reconocieron el terreno situado al Norte de la Casa misión, y no hallandose en el lugar a propósito reconocieron la parte Sur, eligiendo en esta el terreno á una distancia del pueblo de Nimar de 400 metros y de 788 de esta población. Examinado el terreno por el Señor Director de la Enfermería y Médico primero de la Armada, y manifestando este reunir las condiciones necesarias, el Señor Ayudante de obras públicas trazó un rectángulo consistente en 25 metros de frente por 20 de fondo ó sea una superficie de 500 metros cuadrados.*

*Acto seguido se llamó al Carolino llamado Guimedac natural del pueblo de Nimar, y dueño del terreno que se iba á ocupar, cuyo Carolino enterado por la junta del objeto para que se tenía el terreno; manifestó que lo cedía para aquel fin gratuitamente.*

*Y para que conste en donde convenga autoriza esta acta con la señal de la Cruz hecha con dobles brazos firmandola todos los Señores que componen la junta en Tomil, Yap (Carolinas) á siete de Enero de mil ochocientos ochenta y siete.*

*El Carolino Guimedac †*

*El Alférez secretario,*

*Salvador Alcoya*

*Pedro Salazar*

*Primitivo Herrero*

*Eduardo Lobo*

*Fr. José Ma. de Valencia*

*Fr. Antonio de Valencia*

*Fr. Daniel Ma. de Arbácegui*

*El primer Médico, Pascual Junquera*

*El Gobernador Presidente, Indalecio Gil*

### **Translation.**

**Politico-Military Government of the Carolines and Palau.**

## Deed.

[Note in margin:] This deed is recorded in folio 8 and its reverse in the register of land deeds of this political government.

In the port of Tomil, Island of Yap, Carolines, on the 7th day of the month of January 1887, as arranged by His Lordship the Governor of this District and under his presidency, the following gentlemen were assembled in council at the Residence of said Authority: Rev. Fr. Daniel de Arbácegui, of the Order of Capuchins and Superior of the Mission of this Island; Rev. Fr. Antonio de Valencia, Missionary; Rev. Fr. José de Valencia, idem; the Director of the Infirmary of this place, Dr. Pascual Junquera; the Adjutant of Public Works, Mr. Eduardo Lobo; the Lieutenant Commander of the Section of the Disciplinary Battalion, Mr. Primitivo Herrero; the Lieutenant Commander of the Force from the Magellan Infantry Regiment N° 3, Mr. Pedro Salazar; and as Secretary, Second-Lieutenant of the same corps, Mr. Salvador Alcoya.

The President stated that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the purchase of a land plot at a suitable distance from the town to be used as a Catholic Cemetery, and another for non-Catholics, as ordered by the superior government.

The gentlemen of the Council being in agreement with the statement of His Lordship the Governor, set out on foot in the direction of the mission house that is found located in the southern part of the town of Nimar, and 578 meters from this Camp, in order to choose the most suitable land plot for that purpose in its vicinity.

The Director of the Military Infirmary, accompanied by the Adjutant of Public Works and the other gentlemen, surveyed the land to the north of the mission house, and, not finding a suitable place, they surveyed the southern part and found a suitable place at a distance of 400 meters from the town of Nimar and 788 meters from this town. The land plot in question was examined by the Director of the Infirmary and Physician First-Class in the Navy, and he said that it did meet with all the necessary conditions; the Adjutant of Public Works traced a rectangle measuring a base of 25 meters by 20 meters in depth, for a total area of 500 square meters.

Immediately thereafter, the Carolinian named Guimedac living in the town of Nimar and owner of said land plot was called forth; once he was made aware by the council of the purpose why the land was wanted, he stated that he was giving it free for that purpose.

And for the record and for whom it may concern he authorized this deed with the mark of a double-arm Cross, and the gentlemen members of the council signed it at Tomil, Yap (Carolines) on the 7th of January 1887.

The Carolinian Guimedac ‡

The Secretary, Second-Lieutenant  
Salvador Alcoya

Pedro Salazar

Primitivo Herrero

Eduardo Lobo

Fr. José Ma. de Valencia

Fr. Antonio de Valencia

Fr. Daniel Ma. de Arbácegui

The Physician First-class, Dr. Pascual Junquera

The President and Governor, Indalecio Gil

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## Documents 1887B

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# Instructions given to the Governors of the Eastern Carolines

*Source: PNA.*

## **B1. Instructions issued by Governor General Terrero to Governor Posadillo on 19 January 1887**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Secretaría del Gobierno General de Filipinas, Año de 1887, Negociado 1.*

*Expediente sobre instrucciones que deberán servirle de norma en el desempeño del cargo de Gobernador de las Carolinas Orientales.*

...  
*Con los Misioneros metodistas, instalados hace tiene tiempo en las islas de su mando el Gobernador observará una actitud de amplia tolerancia procurando que no haya choques ni complicaciones de ninguna clase é informará á este Gobierno Gral. acerca de la importancia que tengan las expresadas misiones y de la linea de conducta que convenga seguir para los intereses de la patria y de la civilización.*

...  
*Por último los objetos que constituen la base del comercio en aquellas islas procurará que se recojan en sazón y se conserven de una manera conveniente para aumentar su valor, enseñando á los naturales su importancia para que no se dejen engañar.*

*Manila 19 de Enero de 1887.*

### **Translation.**

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines, Year of 1887, Business Office #1.

File regarding the instructions that are to be used as guidelines by the Governor of the Eastern Carolines in the fulfilment of his duties.

...<sup>1</sup>  
 With the Methodist Missionaries, installed in the islands under his mandate a long time ago, the Governor shall observe an attitude of ample tolerance, trying to prevent collisions and complications of any kind, and he shall inform this Government General about the importance of the said missions and about the line of conduct that should be adopted toward them in the interest of the nation and civilization.

...  
 Finally, regarding the articles that are the basis for trade in those islands, he shall arrange for them to be harvested in season and be preserved in an appropriate manner to increase their value, teaching their importance to the natives so that they may not be fooled.

Manila, 19 January 1887.

## **B2. Complementary instructions issued to new Governor Cadarso on 8 October 1887**

*Source: After Governor Posadillo was assassinated in July 1887, a new governor was named and given the following complementary instructions.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Instrucciones complementarias á las dictadas en 19 de Enero último al Gobernador de las Carolinas Orientales.*

*En vista de los lamentables sucesos acontecidos en la Ascension Ponapé el nuevo Gobernador P.M. nombrado para las Carolinas Orientales deberá salir para su destino dentro de breves días á bordo del Aviso transporte **San Quintín***

*El Gobernador además á las instrucciones anteriormente dictadas ateniéndose además á las siguientes á menos que por orden del Gobierno Supremo hayan de modificarse antes de la salida de este puerto.*

*En primer término volverá á ocupar el mismo terreno en que estaba establecida la colonia, izando el pabellón nacional, con las formalidades debidas en donde anteriormente estuvo asegurandose de todo golpe de mano con la cooperación de las fuerzas que componen la expedición.*

*Continuará las buenas relaciones que el Comandante del transporte **Manila Sr. Bayo** y Pinzón entabló con el misionero metodista Mr. Doane, procurando por su conducto, no solo el conocimiento exacto de lo ocurrido, sino tambien el mejor medio para que por los naturales sean devueltos los soldados disciplinarios que retienen prisioneros, asi como los fusiles, cañones, mobiliario y demas efectos robados de la colonia.*

*Tambien hará lo posible para que se presenten á dar sus descargos el indio Macario y el que antes que este, fué interprete de la colonia.*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: These instructions are word for word those issued to the Governor of the Carolines on 25 July 1885 (see Doc. 1885R), except for the following part about the Protestant Missionaries and the traders.

*Por el mismo conducto de Mr. Doane, sin perjuicio de hacerlo por los demas que le merezcan justo crédito, se informará de aquellos extranjeros que por tener malos antecedentes conviniese invitar á que abandonasen la isla, ó fuese necesario reducirlos á prisión, abordo de un buque de guerra, inquiriendo los antecedentes de los que ya se hayan marchado asi como de los reyezuelos.*

*Facilitará al Fiscal nombrado por la Capitanía Gral. cuantos antecedentes le sean necesarios, procurando que los interrogatorios que de él procedan se evacuen con la mayor actividad.*

*Procederá á enviar en primera oportunidad á Zamboanga á los soldados Disciplinarios según lo dispuesto ya por la Capitanía General.*

*Hara saber á la familia del Portugués Kristian que en virtud de lo ocurrido no le conviene á este regresar á Ponapé por ahora pudiendo venir á Manila su muger y sus hijos si lo desean.*

*El Gobernador P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales no deberá separarse del punto en que la colonia se halle establecida, mientras las circunstancias no varien ni permitirá que los Padres misioneros vivan en tierra hasta tanto que se les construya un albergue; los domingos podrán bajar á decir la misa y solo desembarcarán para comunicar con la colonia y con aquellos naturales que deseen acercarse á ellos sin que en ningun caso los misioneros se separen del recinto.*

*El Gobernador remitirá un inventario de todos los efectos, víveres y semillas que se encuentran á bordo del Pontón **Dofia María de Molina** y que hayan pertenecido al Gobierno, asi como una vez instalada la colonia de cuantos se desembarquen.*

*Si las gestiones que practicase no dieran por resultado la presentación de los prisioneros y de los indios Macario y el otro interprete, ni tampoco la expulsión de los extranjeros que conviniese salieran del territorio y si resultara ineficaz la cooperación ofrecida solemnemente por Mr. Doane á este Gobierno Gral., bien fuera aquella ineficacia hija de voluntario propósito ó de motivos independientes de su voluntad, cesará en esta gestión y ateniendose á las instrucciones dictadas por la Capitanía Gral. de estas islas y que le sean comunicadas como Gobernador Militar de las Carolinas Orientales, usará con arreglo á ellas de la fuerza de las Armas.*

*El Gobor. procurará que la reinstalación de la colonia se lleve á cabo en el menor plazo posible y si puede ser que no exceda este de mes y medio á dos meses.*

*Manila 8 de Octubre de 1887.*

*Terrero.*

### **Translation.**

Complementary instructions to those already issued on 19 January to the Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

In view of the deplorable events that occurred at Ascension Pohnpei, the new P.M. Governor for the Eastern Carolines shall leave to go to his post within a few days aboard the Despatch ship **San Quintin**.

In addition to the instructions formerly issued, the Governor shall attend to the following ones, unless they be modified by order of the Supreme Government before he leaves this port.

In the first place, he shall return to occupy anew the same land side where the colony was first established, raising the national flag with all due formalities where it was previously flying, taking care to prevent any eventual physical interference with the cooperation of the forces that make up the expedition.

He shall continue the good relations that the Commander of the transport **Manila**, Mr. Bayo y Pinzón, has established with the Methodist Missionary Mr. Doane, trying to find out with his help what really happened during the incidents, but also the best way to get the natives to return the convict soldiers whom they are holding prisoners, as well as the rifles, cannon, furniture and other effects stolen from the colony.

Also through Mr. Doane, and without prejudice of doing so through others who also deserve his trust, he shall carry out an investigation on the foreigners who, on account of bad antecedents, should be invited to leave the island, or if it be necessary to imprison them, he should do so on board of a warship, and investigating also the antecedents of those who have already left, as well as of the petty kings.

He shall keep the prosecuting attorney named by the Captaincy General informed of the necessary antecedents, and assist him to carry out the interrogations that might follow and speed up the proceedings as much as possible.

He shall proceed at the first opportunity to send the conscript soldiers back to Zamboanga, as decided by the Captaincy General.

He shall inform the family of Kristian the Portuguese<sup>1</sup> that, in view of what happened, it is not convenient for him to return to Pohnpei for now, and his wife and children may come to Manila instead, if they so wish.

The P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines shall not leave the site where the colony is set up, while the circumstances do not vary nor shall he permit the Missionary Fathers to reside ashore until a shelter has been built for them; on Sundays they may go ashore to say mass but they are to disembark only to communicate with the colony and with the natives who wish to approach them, but in no case are they to leave the compound.

The Governor shall remit an inventory of all the effects, food supplies and seeds that are found aboard the Hulk **Doña María de Molina** and that belong to his Government, as well as those that have been landed upon installing the colony.

If the proceedings taken do not result in the capture of the [Filipino] Indians Macario and the other interpreter, and if the expulsion of the foreigners who should leave the territory cannot be implemented and if the cooperation which Mr. Doane has solemnly offered to this Government General should not be effective, it might be possible that such inefficiency be the result of a definite plot on his part, or reasons that are be-

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1 Ed. note: Cristian Barbus, the nulatto from the Cape Verde Islands taken to Manila as a prisoner. He was later released and brought back to Pohnpei in January 1888.

yond his control, therefore he shall cease any such attempts and shall then follow the instructions issued by the Captain General of these Islands that may be communicated to him as Military Governor of the Eastern Carolines, and shall make use of the armed forces at his disposal.

The Governor shall try and reinstall the colony as fast as possible and, if possible, that period should not extend beyond one and half or two months.

Manila, 8 October 1887.

Terrero.



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**Documents 1887C**


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## Visit of the Provincial of the Capuchins—Narrative of Fr. Joaquín Llevaneras

*Source: Analecta ordinis minorum capuccinorum, Vol. II, Rome 1886.*

*Note: This report was written by Fr. Llevaneras and sent to his Superior General in Rome. For the 1886 report, see Doc. 1886R.*

### Synopsis of the Latin text, by R. L.

Visit of the Caroline Mission, made by the Rev.  
Provincial of Spain.

Most Reverend Fr. Minister General,

My visit to the Caroline Island lasted from 1 Dec. 1886 to 28 August 1887, and was happily concluded after a sea voyage that lasted 111 days. I carried blessings from our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII, the benefactor of the Carolines.



#### I. Reason for the visit.

My visit was made in connection with the installation of our missionaries in the Eastern region of the Carolines and the creation of a central house at Manila, where the colonial government resides. This house is to be the residence of our local procurator.

#### II. Storms — Aden.

I left Barcelona aboard the ship **Isla de Mindanao** on 1 December 1886 with the following Fathers:

- My secretary, Fr. Ambrosio Valencina;
- Fr. Bernardo Cieza, from our Madrid Residence;
- Fr. Luis Valencia, from our Lyon(?) convent;
- Br. José Irañeta, from our Santander convent;
- Br. Justo Eraul, from our Pamplona convent.

Among our ship companions, there was the poet laureate Verdagner, and the polemicist Llander, etc. Spanish Catholics in general were in favor of spreading our missions to the faraway colonies of our nation. The officers of the ships treated us with respect. Our expenses were paid by the Spanish government, as usual.

Our first night out, there was a storm, so severe that the officers feared a shipwreck. However, we managed to reach Manila on 6 January of this year. Some of the incidents of this part of the voyage were as follows:

1. At Aden, we spent some time with our brother missionaries from the Tolosa province.

2. On 23 December, near Cape Comerin [Comorin], we passed near the spot where Fr. Fidel Espinosa was buried at sea last year.

### III. Stay at Manila.

We stayed at Manila from 6 January to 4 February 1887. This city has a European aspect. The population of the city is 300,000, all of them Catholic. There are one million natives in the rest of the country. There is a vast field for missionaries among the heathen visitors from India and China.

Our residence at Manila will serve as a refuge and hospice, and will be run almost as a novitiate where the missionaries will learn about the customs and the languages of the natives, etc. The Superior of this new Residence is Fr. Bernardo Cieza who held similar duties at Madrid. Brothers Irañeta and Eraul are assigned to him.

Six Capuchin missionaries boarded the ship that would take us to the new mission station in the Eastern Carolines. The earlier expedition had taken missionaries only to the Western Carolines. The ship carried many wooden boards for the construction of houses and chapels necessary for the new mission and that already established at the island of Yap. While at Manila I was treated with kindness by the Governor General, and shown special kindness by the Vice-Governor who had been a student of ours at Montalban.

### IV. From Manila to the Carolines.

Our second mission band to the Carolines left Manila on 4 February 1887. With us aboard the ship **Manila** was the new Governor of the Eastern Carolines, with naval and army officers, etc. Besides myself, the other Capuchins were:

- Fr. Ambrosio Valencina, my Secretary;
- Fr. Saturnino Artajona, Superior of the missionaries;
- Fr. Agustín Ariñez, Missionary;
- Fr. Luís Valencia, Missionary;
- Br. Gabriel Abertezga;
- Br. Miguel Gorriti;
- Br. Benito Aspa.

During the first night out, the ship passed by the islands of Luzon, Mindoro, and Panay. On the 5th of February, we saw 8 natives that became shipwrecked while aboard

one of their fragile canoes; they were picked up by the ship. The natives were from the island of Marinduque.

On the 7th, we sighted San Ramón, San Mateo and Zamboanga. Here the ship stayed for some time and we were visited by some Jesuit Fathers who are missionaries in this region. At 3 p.m. that day we reached La Isabela [Basilan] where many Indians, so-called Moros, live.

On the 8th, we returned to Zamboanga and we were allowed to disembark and return the visit to the Jesuit Fathers.

On the 9th and 10th, we visited the region of Pollox, a center for the defence of the southern Philippines against the incursion of the Moros from Jolo [Sulu].

On the 11th, we sailed off and reached the strait of the Island of Sarangani, and we proceeded to the Carolines without incident and arrived on the 18th.

#### V. Palau—Rejoicing on the part of the Fathers.

On the 15th, we had sighted Palau, which belongs to the Western Caroline Mission. A storm prevented us from landing there. With a deep feeling in our hearts, we saluted the natives of this region.

On the 18th in the morning we arrived at Yap, our first mission station. This is the place where the conflict occurred between Germany and Spain, that was later settled by the intervention of our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. Our residence here bears the name of "Santa María de Yap." We anchored in Tomil Harbor at 9 a.m. Soon there came to us aboard a small boat that heroic soul, Doña Bartola, who singlehandedly defended our interests against the invading Prussians. She no sooner saw me and my people that we rushed back to shore to warn our local fathers of our arrival. They had not expected my visit and they all rejoiced. They had already spent nine months in the field. We all went ashore and were led in procession to the mission station with a cross and candles and a company of many children. A solemn *Te Deum* was sung.

#### VI. Doña Bartola.

The famous Doña Bartola was born before the middle of the present century in the Spanish colony of the Mariana Islands where she received her education from the Recollect Fathers of the Augustinian Order. Her American husband disappeared at sea, either in a shipwreck or killed by savages. She has been living on the island of Yap for a few years, with other Marianos, and there she attracted the savage Carolinians by her kindness, honesty, and affection. At first, she and her nephews, Ramón and Juan, were the only Catholics in this region.<sup>1</sup> Juana is a child of about 11 years of age, of a good character but of average intelligence. He knows how to read and write and is a devoted acolyte, rendering services as a reader in the refectory, etc. His services are much appreciated as he knows the local language very well, and can act as interpreter and assistant in teaching catechism to the native children.

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1 Ed. note: Captain O'Keefe was also a Catholic, being a descendent of Irishmen.

The other nephew of Doña Bartola is an adult, of marriageable age, and a good example also, as he attends daily mass, etc.

The first local people to be baptized were three servants of Doña Bartola, who daily say their prayers with her and they have begun to receive the sacraments. Before the arrival of the missionaries, the recitation of the holy rosary was common at the house of Doña Bartola; even Carolinians, ignorant of the Christian principles, were joining the prayers there.

At the beginning of the mission, Doña Bartola was a true helper, morally and physically. Not the least help came from the fish collected daily by her nephews and shared with the missionaries. Her house was almost like a school where the Christian catechism was taught to the natives, and where the neophytes could find all kinds of assistance and always some hospitality. She is now preparing herself to join the third order of St. Francis. She is a repository of many virtues, not the least of which was her patriotism in the face of the invasion of the Prussians. She made a name for herself and is worthy of her famous reputation.

#### **VII. The life and work of our Brothers in Yap.**

Our brothers follow the same routine as their counterparts in Spain.

They rise at 4 a.m. for the matines: the litany of the saints, meditation, etc. This is followed by individual exercises of the breviary, the spiritual lecture, etc.

At 7 a.m., they partake a small breakfast. After that, and until noon, they teach the catechism to the natives, as well as reading and manual tasks.

At noon: Lunch, and then a rest.

At 2 p.m.: Vespers, etc. read in common.

From about 3 p.m. until sunset: Again catechism, reading and other lessons, and sometimes excursions to propagate the faith, and looking after basic needs.

At 7 p.m.: Public recitation of the rosary, with many natives present.

At 8 p.m.: Supper, followed by a modest recreation.

At 9 p.m.: Silence and rest, with visits to the Holy Sacrament, etc.

On official holidays: Military mass for the soldiers of the colony, etc.

On ordinary Sundays and Saturdays: Conferences on moral law, canon law, Carolinian language, ways to spread the gospel, common spiritual exercises, analysis of difficulties, etc.

None of the missionaries should have to live a solitary life; a lay brother helper should always accompany a priest.

At the island of Yap, we now have another station called San Francisco of Guror at the other end of the island; The way there overland is too difficult, so that normal communication is by sea and takes three hours. Doña Bartola makes a small boat available for this and other uses.

### VIII. Description of the island of Yap.

The name of Yap comes from the native word Uap. It is situated in 9°25' Lat. N. and 144° 24' Long. E. (Meridian of Spain). The smaller islands of Rumu and Map are separated from the main island by 25 meters of water. The whole group is about 42 miles in length by 28 in width. The maximum temperature varies between 30° and 32° [C], and the minimum temperature between 25° and 27°. The rainy season is from June to September; in 1887, it rained an average of 1 to 14 days per month. There were frequent rain showers during my stay there. The whole of Yap is mountainous, but the mountains are covered with a multitude of trees and surrounded by a plain. Earthquakes are frequent, but generally not dangerous. At various places, 100 meters in altitude or so, there are large natural pools of water which augurs well for the fertility of the soil. It is said that the origin of the island is volcanic. Yap can be seen from 25 miles at sea. Water runs in numerous streams, the result of the frequent rains, as regularly as if produced by natural springs.

The **flora** of Yap.—It consists mainly of the coconut tree (named *Utup* in Yapese). Another important plant is the breadfruit tree (named *Zou* in Yapese). There are precious woods.

The **fauna** of Yap.—There are no venemous nor harmful animals. The common lice is a plague, but bothers the people mostly at night. The domesticated animals are: dogs, pigs, cats, and chickens. Recently new animals have been imported: cows, sheep, goats, etc. thanks to the agency of the colonial government and the missionaries. The chickens can fly very high. The pigs are very abundant. Fish is not difficult to get with fish traps.

The most common illnesses are, firstly the swamp fevers, then small infections to feet and knees that have their origin from the ground. The Carolinians use coconut oil as ointment, rubbing it all over their bodies. Tuberculosis and other infections of the lungs are the main reason for death among the natives; they must be due to the nakedness and the extreme temperatures and the abundant rains. Clothing is slowly being introduced among them, not only for reasons of decency, but also for health reasons. The minuscule piece of clothing that a poor islander wears is sometimes shocking to see, but the local people do not have the same ideas as ourselves about such things as modesty. Our catechumens are fully dressed. During our excursions, the women, upon seeing us come, would run off to get something to cover their breast with. The female dress is a skirt made of coconut fiber and leaves from plants.

The Carolinians may be said to belong to the Malay race. Their skin is the color of the earth, the face long, the eyes full and not small, the hair black, nose somewhat flat, the lips full. The Carolinians of Yap are ignorant people, and their level of intelligence is but mediocre.

The Carolinians are vainglorious when it comes to ornaments. Their earlobes are horribly disfigured and they palce there flowers, leaves, and the small gifts they receive from the settlers or missionaries, even necklaces and [sacred] images. For instance, one of the kings carried a mirror recently given him as an ornament to decorate his chest.

He took pleasure at looking at his own face in the mirror now and then. The missionaries use small gifts to attract the natives to more serious things, to build benevolence toward them. The kings, once friendly, reciprocate with gifts of fruits, chickens, and other things, but those are not sufficient in quantity.

The local moeny consists of special stones. The nobles like to show their wealth by displaying these large round stones, similar to mill-stones.

Their weapons (and they are being eliminated from the colony) are primitive spears, from hardwood or the spines of some fish, etc.

Their houses are made of trees, grasses and posts. In Yap, they have roads paved with large stones, very old structures. Most of the houses are built on the beach, or else in the middle of large stone platforms.

The missionaries are preparing the people with visits to their homes, conversations, and curing of the sick. Many are those who have complaints against the government who first come to the missionaries for help. The tranquillity of the country thus enhanced by the presence of the missionaries.

As far as their native religion is concerned, they have some fish spines which they consider as semi-idols, and other objects toward which they have some reverence. However, we did not see any external practices among them. They will make good Christians, understanding such concepts as the omnipresence of God, etc. The devotion to the B.V.M. is attractive to the neophytes. Many even shed tears when they hear sermons about her kindness. But not all of them remain faithful; many have returned to a savage and idolatrous life. The women have a price and some serve in the "big houses" (such brothels have been made illegal in all civilized countries). Such a practice is, of course, opposed by the missionaries and they will eventually disappear with the help of the neophytes.

The population of the island of Yap, which is one of the largest in the Carolines, is about 10,000 (and perhaps up to 14,000).

#### **IX. The child named León.**

The first among the Carolinians to receive baptism was a child born of a Carolinian couple; this happened on 2 February 1887 in the rustic chapel, and the whole colony was rejoiced. Its god-parents were the Governor and Doña Bartola. Fr. Arbácegui named the child León, in honor of Pope Leo XIII. Thirty or so other islanders have since been baptized.

#### **X. From Yap to Pohnpei.**

After 18 days spent in Yap, we left aboard the **Manila**, crossing the archipelago of the Carolines, in the company of Governor Isidro Posadillo and other men, on the way to create the first colony in the Eastern Carolines. All of the officers under his command were very kind to us and never interfere except in the material aspects, to help us.

It was on the 6th of March 1887 that we left Yap. On the 8th we sighted and came very close to part of the island of Woleai. On the 10th, the ship passed close to the island of Pulusuk, that appeared uninhabited, but its inhabitants saw us because they lighted fires at various places, as if to call for our spiritual help. On Tuesday, March 11th, we sighted the islands of Truc [Chuuk] whose natives are renowned for their cruelty toward shipwrecked people and some early traders. On the 12th, we passed by Parkins [Pakin]. So many small islands will make the work of evangelization very difficult.

On 14 March, the expedition reached its destination. I had brought six missionaries to the Eastern Carolines.

### XI. Santiago de la Ascensión.

The island is called Ponapé, or Bonabey, but better known as Ascension; this Christian name was given to it by the old Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> A beginning was made in the installation of the colony that very day, when the Spanish Governor gave it the name of Santiago de la Ascensión.<sup>2</sup>

At 11 o'clock on that day, the ship **Manila** entered the harbor of Santiago de la Ascensión or Ponape, which the natives call Not in their language.

Ponape Carolinians soon surrounded us in their canoes. With them came various English, German and American traders who reside there, as well as a few Portuguese, Mexicans, etc. who got there following shipwrecks, and two American Protestant missionaries, Mr. Doane and Mr. Ruan [Rand]. Among those who came to Ponape as shipwrecked seamen was one Spaniard from Galicia whose joy was immense. As for the Protestant ministers, their show of happiness at the coming of the Spaniards was obviously false. Their own ministry is indeed aimed as much on commercial trading as on saving souls. They fear Spanish civilization because it is Catholic, and they judge it to be against their pseudo-reforms. In this also they are mistaken. Generally the advent of Spanish authority was well seen, by natives as well as by others.

Among the first of the colonists to go ashore that day were the Governor and myself, accompanied by Fr. Saturnino Artajona, the Mission Superior.

The next day, 15 March 1887, all the Capuchin missionaries and the first Gospel workers in Ponape stepped ashore, to wit:

- Yours truly, the Moderator of the Spanish Province;
- Fr. Ambrosio Valencia, my Secretary;
- Fr. Saturnino Artajona, Superior;
- Fr. Agustín Arriñez;
- Fr. Luis Valencia;

1 Ed. note: Error. The Spanish discovered it in 1595 but left it nameless. The name Ascension dates from the early whaling period of the 1830s, and it was so named as a counterpoise to the other Ascension Island, in the Atlantic.

2 Ed. note: The then-current name of the harbor, Jamestown, was undoubtedly the origin of the name of St. James being applied to the new colony there.

- Br. Gabriel Abertezga;
- Br. Miguel Gorriti;
- Br. Benito Aspa.

That day some of us began to write a Ponapean-Carolinian grammar [sic] by recording the first few words and their meanings, while others searched for a suitable place to build the residence and the church. Soon it was painful for us to realize how deep were the inroads made by the religious-commercial preachings of the Carolinians of Ponape. Their customs were still corrupt and they remained savages, and they showed it in their conversation and their pseudo politeness.

The American Protestants, rather the American traders, in Ponape has imposed various fines for minor misconduct, a serious impediment to religious progress. The petty kings of the island were under the despotic control of the Protestant domination, Among the scourges brought on by Protestant civility was syphilis had affected the population so much that, from 15,000 inhabitants, there remain today only 3,000. Here we can see the result of trying to replace old savage habits by disguising them under a new and horrible form of clothing. The individual Carolinian of Ponape has generally retained his ferocity, witness his cutting off one of his testicles, and after so doing propelling the same as if it were a mere stone.<sup>1</sup> Girls of nine years old become prostitutes at the request of their parents. So much for civilization brought to Ponape by the Protestants. By Jove, they are still savages!

By their writings, the Protestants have misled Europeans to thinking that the Carolinians of Ponape had been civilized and educated through primary and secondary schooling, as much as Europeans. They listed many schools, many students, not a few teachers and colleges. They said that the natives could use tools and clothes, the same as in Europe.

Here we could see the reality of it. I, and others, military men, etc. were struck with stupor at realizing that we were among barbarians, living in misery, etc. We saw these Ponapeans with our own eyes. When they went to the schools, they left their very poor huts built of sticks and shrubs to become captives to a sort of instruction. There were few pupils and, according to the Protestant minister himself, not more than six natives in the whole island could write, and very few could even read.

They dress the same as in Yap, that is, they are almost naked, although a few of them have begun to wear a mix of savage and European clothes. For example, they leave half of their bodies naked, but cover the other half with old uniforms from doctors, ministers, military men, etc.; this excites a mix of laughter and pity. Here one gets a true opinion of the sterility of Protestant "trading." And trade it is, I say, is the ministry of the Protestants. Witness their first concern in acquiring the best and the largest pieces of land. The Carolinians are like children and do not apply the same value to things. Therefore, it is no surprise that they are still very poor, after so many years of continuous

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: True this was, and few other missionaries would have had the courage to say so, albeit in Latin. That Galician must have been talking quite plainly.



Protestant presence and intercourse with men who have come from civilized countries. Here will be the greatest difficulty for our own ministry. Still we hope we can achieve peace among them and make them progress, if only they will accept us. May the Mother of God help us in this endeavor!

### XII. Description of the Island of Ponapé.

The island of Ponape, or Ascension, is situated in 7° Lat. and about 158° Long. It is similar in size to the Island of Yap but is more mountainous and rounder in shape. It is surrounded by fifty or so very small islands. The whole island, along with the small islands, have been divided among the following tribes: **Not**, where the residences of the Spanish governor and of the missionaries are located, as well as a Protestant mission station; **U**; **Metalenin**; **Kiti**; **Jekois**. A petty king is at the head of each tribe, but he governs the people under the supervision of the Protestant ministers. However, the kings of Kiti and Not have never accepted the domination of the Protestants and are constantly opposed to them. So it is that the kings of Kiti and Not see the coming of the Spanish in a good light, as they hope that justice will come to them once the colony has been established.

Many streams flow down from the numerous mountains and they are very useful to man. There are numerous birds of various types, with the diversity of species that is greater than in Yap. The animals are the same. The fertility of the soil is superior to that of Yap. The food available in Ponape consists mostly of vegetables and fish, but whenever possible, pork meat is added, and doves and chickens can be had by hunting. Our people are planning to sow the same vegetables as they were used to eating in our Spanish convents. A lay brother of ours had planted tomatoes and they were harvested, much to the excitement of the natives. Various Ponapeans tried to communicate with us in the Spanish language, whereas we are studying their language to try and communicate with them. Their own language will be a better and surer mode of communication with them.

### XIII. The Good Shepherdess.

Once a site for the Mission to the Eastern Carolines had been chosen, we lost no time in building a house and a church with rough wooden boards. Our lay brothers did the ground work, assisted by the rest of us, as well as by some volunteer natives, and some military men. The work progressed so rapidly that on April 3rd, some temporary quarters were completed, and on the 4th, Palm Sunday, we began to live in our very poor abode.

Our station is located in Santiago de la Ascensión, the capital of the whole island and region. Our hospice and church were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as Mother of the Good Shepherd, *La Divina Pastora* as we say in Spanish.

Hence, it was on Palm Sunday 1887 that the solemn exercise of the divine cult began on Ponape (the ship had previously been the center of this activity) and it was 20 days after the arrival of the mission. But what a sad thing it is to have to say here that we

celebrated mass where soon after the blood of the Spanish soldiers was to flow... the work of the Devil and of the Protestant influence!

Easter was celebrated with Alleluiahs and songs, where before only the cry of the Devil had been heard. It is important for us to retain Ponape as a mission station; our human sacrifices demand it.

#### XIV. Narciso.

On 13 April, His Excellency Governor Posadillo, who had always treated the Protestant ministers very kindly, for various causes known only to himself and his officers, imprisoned the head minister who, according to what was publicly said, had committed excesses against the Spanish occupation and the law of the natives.<sup>1</sup>

Various Carolinians came up and, seeing their minister already apprehended, they no longer feared him, and they complained of Protestant despotism, etc. In fact, many natives had reasons to complain about these ministers, but, excited by other gospel workers, they created a public disturbance in the colony. However, the prudence, tolerance and firmness of the Governor soon quieted the mind of the Carolinians and they sided with him.

Amid such vicissitudes, the Capuchins continued to zealously look after the spiritual needs of the natives.

Among the visitors, there was an Indian from the Spanish colony of Zamboanga, formerly Catholic, who had suffered a shipwreck about 37 years ago [ca. 1850] and remained in Ponape. After a few years he was deceived by the Protestant and made a deacon of their religion. Trusting in Spanish missionaries, like all other Philippine islanders, he approached us with confidence. Ignorance and solitude in the midst of savages had made him an easy target for the Protestant missionaries.

Narciso was his name and he became a collaborator of the Protestants about 27 years ago [ca. 1860]. He now declared that he was not Protestant, but Catholic, and a preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He reported on the practices and beliefs of the Protestant of Ponape in the following manner: 1) They admitted communion; 2) They admitted baptism; 3) They negated the purity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and they claimed that, after Christ, Mary had had other children; 4) They negated the cult of the B.V.M. and the saints; 5) They negated that Christ had a human soul, said that the soul of Christ was the spirit of the Father; 6) They negated confession in private; 7) They held no funeral exercises for the dead, but simply buried the corpses in the ground like dead dogs, and admitted burials in rivers and at sea; 8) They did nothing without the Old Testament, etc.

Narciso, the former apostate, became our collaborator. He began once again to pray to the B.V.M., etc. He brought me all the Protestant books that he had collected. He solemnly rejected Protestantism and began to re-learn our holy Catholic religion. Nari-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This sentence was literally translated, in view of the fact that Fr. Llevaneras was later accused in the Spanish press of having caused this conflict.

so's influence among the natives is such that he will surely be the agent for the conversion of many natives in future.

#### **XV. Routine — Baptism — Various events.**

The routine of the missionaries here became the same as in Yap.

Narciso converted the heretical school that he had been managing into a Catholic institution. Using [Spanish] books that he could understand, he explained them to his children and pupils.

On 19 April, the Spanish officially took possession of the island, all the kings signed an act of submission, and all Spaniards celebrated by raising their national flag, etc. Then, the Governor appointed the kings Gobernadorcillos of their districts, the same as in the Philippines.

Soon after there took place the first baptism of a native of the Eastern Carolines, a child of about 3 years of age, born of a recently converted father and a Catholic catechumen mother. His god-parents were His Excellency Governor Isidro Posadillo, and the wife of one of the officers, Doña Rafaela Sotillo. The boy was given the names of Isidro León Alfonso, in honor of his godfather, the Pope, and our king. His mother will soon be ready to accept baptism herself, and so will the rest of her family.

Before the arrival of the missionaries, the local women used to have various children by various fathers, and this created a difficulty in their becoming Christians.

On 24 April, the Chief or King of Kiti came to see us and brought various presents, obviously a gesture of goodwill toward us. He wanted us to set up a mission station in his district. Kiti is farthest away from our central Residence. We willingly accepted his offer, and two missionaries (a Father and a Brother) can henceforth reside legally at Kiti. Our new station has since been opened, and, unless I am mistaken, it is called San Felix de Kiti.

At about that time, there died one of the marine soldiers, named Florentino Albay, and he was solemnly buried with all the Catholic honors, which agreeably surprised the natives.

On 1 May, we celebrated the beginning of the month dedicated to Mary. Many children of the newly converted were baptized. Many native couples began to receive instructions in order to be properly baptized and married.

Ceremonies, chants and music (from the military band) were constant attractions during the month of May, the month of Mary. Our church was full, etc. The image of Our Lady of the Good Shepherd was exhibited, and brought solace to the colonists and missionaries alike. Flowers and ornaments decorated the altar, etc.

The Ponapeans have similar features as the Yapese Carolinians. They too paint permanent figures on their skin [tattoos]. However, they do not eat fish from rivers and streams, believing them to be the reincarnation of the dead. Carolinians have volunteered to work in the gardens next to our lay brothers. They are simply enraptured by guitar and violin music played by some soldiers in the colony. They also enjoy the vocal

and instrumental music during our church ceremonies. The month of June followed and our Carolinians learned that it was dedicated to the Sacred Heart.

However, after three months in Ponape, the time of my departure arrived.

### **XVI. From Ponape back to Spain.**

On 16 June 1887, at 9 a.m., I departed Santiago de la Ascensión, in the island of Ponape, aboard the ship **Manila**, with Fr. Valencina, my secretary. I need not tell you how sad we were at parting. At noon we sailed by Parkins [Pakin].

On 22 June, we arrived at Sorol Island, which we were able to visit for a short time. We were the first visitors to stop at this island in 100 years. The natives had already heard of our mission in Yap.

On 23 June, we rejoined our brothers in Yap and were able to spend 4 days with them. The residence of San Francisco of Goror was fully operational, etc. A small town has risen around our central residence of Yap, which the Governor has reserved for converted natives only.

The native couple, Guimedat and Ciemat, having been readied by the missionaries, were solemnly baptized and blessed in our church of Santa María de Yap on 25 June 1887. Guimedat changed his name to Mariano, and Ciemat changed hers to María.

On 27 June, we left our residence, with tears in everyone's eyes. On 7 July, we were back in the port of Manila, and were made welcome in our central residence there. I left Manila with my secretary on 25 July aboard the ship **Isla de Luzon**. On 15 August, we were in Aden, where we were able to visit our Capuchin mission. On the 28th, we were back at Barcelona.

Our joy at being home and meeting our friends, etc. was cut short by the news we received that the Governor of Ponape and various soldiers had been cruelly killed. There are always dangers in being a missionary. Worst of all, many evil tongues in Spain, masons and others, invented a calumny against me and my people, saying that we had raised the anger of the natives against Spanish occupation.<sup>1</sup> Still, I hope that the mission will prosper in the future, in spite of the adversity caused by our detractors. Allow me to add that the Queen Regent of Spain, who has always been benevolent toward the Capuchin Missions, received me kindly before and after my visit, and was pleased to hear of the success of the mission.

### **XVII. Synopsis.**

The mission of the Capuchins in the Caroline islands was opened at Yap in 1886 and at Ponape in 1887. The approximate statistics for the month of July 1887 are as follows:

Inhabitants .....	40,000
Newly baptized .....	30
Schools .....	4
Churches or chapels .....	4

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See the comments published in the *Revista de Geografía Comercial*, reproduced below.

Residences or stations (1 built) .....	4
Missionaries in the Caroline Islands	12 (6 Fathers and 6 Brothers)
Missionaries in Manila .....	3
Small boats .....	2
Catechumens, many at various places.	
Necessary land sites for stations and gardens.	
Nothing is perfect but progress is made daily.	

Most Reverend Father, please accept the obedience, reverence, and goodwill of all of us, who beg you to remember us in your prayers. Do not forget your sons in Ponape, Yap, Manila and Spain.

Madrid, 20 October 1887.

Your humblest servant and son,

Fr. Joaquín Llevaneras, Provincial of Spain.

L. + S.

### The arrest of Rev. Doane, according to the Spanish press—A sample.

*Source: Article in the Revista de Geografía Comercial, Madrid, 1887, pp. 491 et seq.*

...  
On board the same ship that I embarked in at Barcelona in December 1886 were some Capuchin Fathers going as missionaries to the Caroline Islands. While talking with their Provincial, Fr. Joaquín [Llevaneras], I tested his dispositions, by telling him that one could presume that, since they were going there at the expense of the State, they were going there to civilize and make Spaniards out of those natives, by teaching them our language, giving them a European type of schooling, etc. He answered me by saying that "they were going there for a higher purpose: to wrest those unhappy islanders from the claws of the Protestants." From then on, I feared the serious consequences that the installation of these missionaries would entail in islands that were already Christian and had reached a certain level of civilization to such an extent that it had become rare to find a hut in which there was not a sewing machine already.

Unfortunately, my fears have been realized, and the Capuchin Fathers have begun to give the fruit that had been expected. The war transport **Manila**, that took said missionaries to the Caroline archipelago in February or March, has returned, carrying a Protestant minister as a prisoner on board. He is North American by nationality, had gone to said islands when young and he is now 78 [sic] years old.<sup>1</sup> He spent his life christianizing and civilizing the natives of the island of Ascension (where it appears that the conflict has occurred), and he had made great efforts, they say, to convince the natives to recognize the sovereignty of Spain during the conflict with Germany two years ago.

The origin of the present conflict appears to have been the pretension of the Governor, Navy Lieutenant Posadillo, that in those islands, being Spanish, there could be

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Rev. Doane was born in 1820; so, he was 67 in 1887.

no other cult than the Catholic one, as a sort of law of the Indies! They say that, when Mr. Posadillo ordered the arrest of Rev. Edward Doane, he sent him to the transport **Manila**, then at anchor at those waters; the Commander of the ship, Mr. Bayo, seeing that the prisoner was a respectable person, worthy of some consideration, invited him at his table. When the Governor was made aware of this, he admonished Mr. Bayo, ordering him to cease such amenities and to treat the old pastor as the detainee that he was. The ship commander answered that on board his ship things were under his control so that he would do what he saw best. There followed more sour notes exchanged between the two men. I do not know what happened afterwards, but I am certain that there will be claims made by the Government of the United States, if only because, in 1885, a promise was made to it that the missions established there for more than 20 years in the main islands of the archipelago would be respected.

It is impossible that the country and the Governments do not see the worst result from the missions, unless they keep their eyes closed on purpose. I have already proved it on another occasion: nowadays, Spanish missionaries are un prejudicial element in Spanish colonies. Let them go wherever their faith and charity please them, but let them go at their own expense, without a subsidy from the State, which has more urgent services in need of money. Overthere, in the Caroline archipelagos, there are other islands, some Spanish and other foreign, whose natives are not Bhristians but idol-worshippers and savages, without books, without schools, without churches, without printing presses, without trade, without sewing machines, without impious soldiers or officials, without governors who may introduce difficulties in the propagation of the Catholic doctrines. Why do they not go there, instead of remaining in these other islands, already Christianized, and where their preachings can only produce scepticism and doubt in the virgin souls of those simple islanders?

A proof of the spirit that animates the Orders, of their narrowness of views and of their singular manner of understanding patriotism, is given to us by the teaching of the Spanish language in the Philippines. We will hardly believe me when I tell you that, after an absence of 20 years from these Islands, the Spanish language, instead of making progress, has lost ground. At the end of three centuries of domination and missionaries, it has been necessary for the Governor General of the Archipelago to publish a severe decree (of which I am sending you a copy), to remind the people of the old measures that declare enemies of the State whomever, either by negligence or for other reasons, contribute to the non-propagation of the Spanish language. Indeed, those who are opposed to teaching the Spanish language here are the friars, and nothing will be gained with that decree, as long as they are left to undermine it and they are considered indispensable.

...  
The Correspondent.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: I suspect that this man was the polemicist Llander, mentioned by Fr. Llaneroas in his report.

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**Document 1887D**

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**Visit of the Provincial—Narrative of his Secretary, Fr. Ambrosio Valencina**

*Source: M.R.P. Fr. Ambrosio de Valencina. Mi viaje a Oceanía. Historia de la fundación de las misiones capuchinas en las islas Carolinas y Palaos (Sevilla, 1898). Extracts translated by R. Lévesque.*

**My Voyage to Oceania, by Fr. Valencina****Introduction.**

We have just returned from very remote islands which first saw the Spanish flag with much astonishment some three centuries ago, and heard for the first time the sonorous language of Castile; from beautiful islands strewn all over the immense Pacific Ocean, like the stars across the wide dome of the heavens; from some islands that were recently the object of German ambition, and known to the world as the Caroline Islands.

Our own countrymen and foreigners, religious and civilians alike, have asked us: What are the Caroline Islands? What is the nature and fertility of their soil? How do the natives live and what are their customs? In what degree of civilization are they now? How do they deal with the Spanish, and above all with the missionaries? What is the actual state of those missions? How can we contribute to their propagation and progress? What can be expected with such natives? And, finally, what can you tell us about your long voyage through those God-forsaken countries?

I will answer all these questions, or better said, respond to the demands made upon me by friends, by weaving my answers to fit an orderly narrative of our voyage, and by expressing clearly what I have seen with my own eyes and touched with my own hands. I will, therefore, give a faithful narrative of the history of the creation of our missions in the Caroline Islands, and of the present activities of our missionaries toward the welfare of those poor souls; however, let me first begin at the beginning, by recording the reason for the creation of said missions.

Germany, pushed by ambition, upon seeing that our governments had neglected the Caroline Islands for a very long time, tried to take them away from us, by raising their own flag there, much to the surprise of the whole world. Spain rose to a man to protest

such an act of piracy, blaming the Germans to such an extent that a frightful war almost blew up in Europe.

However, the dispute was referred to the Holy See, and our Holy Father Leo XIII recognized the right of the side that already had it, and the Carolines remained ours. Then, it was when the Most Rev. Fr. Provincial of our Order in Spain, Fr. Joaquín María de Llevaneras, approached the government with an offer to send missionaries to said islands, provided that we would be granted the same privileges as the other religious orders that already have missions established in our oceanic colonies. Once the concession was granted, twelve religious left for said islands on 1 April 1886. The religious were to establish two mission stations: one in the eastern Carolines and another in the western Carolines. The names of these missionaries were:

Rev. Fr. Saturnino de Artajona, Rev. Fr. Fidel de Espinosa, Rev. Fr. Agustín de Ariñez, Br. Gabriel de Abertezga, Br. Miguel de Gorriti, Br. Benito de Aspa; all six destined to the eastern mission, and the following six to the western mission: Rev. Fr. Daniel de Arbácegui, Rev. Fr. Antonio de Valencia, Rev. Fr. José de Valencia, Br. Crispín de Ruzafa, Br. Eulogio de Quintanilla, and Br. Antolín de Orihuela.

One of them, Rev. Fr. Fidel de Espinosa, died unexpectedly during the voyage. Also the missionaries destined to the eastern mission had difficulties in getting to their station, a supply house had to be set up at Manila to supply the needs of the missions, which led to a second expedition, in which I participated as Secretary to our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial. This expedition was made by the following Father and I, plus Fr. Luis de Valencia, who was a replacement for Fr. Espinosa, and Fr. Bernardo de Cieza, with Brothers José de Irañeta and Justo de Eraul, who were posted to the headquarters in Manila. The long voyage made by this second expedition is what I will narrate in the first part of this book, and in the second part will deal with the creation of our missions in those remote islands.

## I

It was in the afternoon of the 1st of December 1886. Barcelona, the industrial city, was in the grip of an extraordinary activity. One hundred coaches were returning from her port and as many more were on the way there. Among the latter were the coaches headed for the wharf, carrying the Capuchin Fathers who, abandoning their homes for the sake of their religion and country, were on their way to unknown lands...

...

## VIII.

...

Finally, the Captain General, at the request of our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial, ordered the war transport **Manila** to be made ready to take our missionaries to the eastern Caroline Islands, along with their Governor, soldiers, food supplies, etc. On the day appointed for her departure, on 4 February [1887], all supplies and individuals who had



to form the new colony, had to be on board; so it was that we began another long voyage to Ponapé. With God's help, we will narrate this voyage in the second part of this book.

## IX Voyage to the Carolines.

*Departure from Manila.—Eight persons shipwrecked in Mindoro.—History of their shipwreck.—Zamboanga.—Isabela.—Pollok.*

Once everything had been arranged in the manner that we mentioned in the previous chapter, we said good-bye to the brothers who were to remain in the capital of the Philippine archipelago, and we went on board the war transport **Manila** which was to take our mission to its destination. The Tobacco Company did us the favor of taking us to the ship with one of its small steamers. It was about 3 p.m. on the 4th of February when we bade adieu to the beautiful Manila and we sailed, bound to Zamboanga. At 8 p.m., we left the bay, and, leaving Corregidor Island behind us, we reached the high sea. During the night, we passed by the islands that are between Luzon, Mindoro and Panay. The next day began cloudy and, during the whole morning, we were continually refreshed by squalls.

We had hardly completed one day of navigation when we witnessed a most sad spectacle but at the same time one that was not entirely catastrophic. We happened to be on the N.W. coast of Marinduque Island, the morning was rainy, the sky full of ominous clouds, the sea running high and the wind blowing with gale force. Between the waves that formed high peaks and deep valleys, as if they were moving hills with deep ravines in-between, we sighted a few canes tied together, and on top of them a few men who were desperately struggling with the waves, or better said, with death. At first, we could not tell for sure what it was; some thought they saw a table floating with its legs upwards, because of the ease with which it was disappearing between the waves and how it popped up now and then; others were of the opinion that it was a native hut that the sea had had swept from the shore. However, after we had gotten a little closer, we were stunned to see eight or nine men who, by shouting all at the same time, were making an anxious cry for help, though it was made faint by the rumble of the waves.

The Commander, full of compassion for the unfortunate ones, aimed the steamer in their direction, and when she was near the, the engine was stopped. One shipwrecked man, seeing that the current was taking them forward, threw himself into the water and swam toward us and grabbed a rope that had been thrown to him; he was pulled on board by Fr. Arriñez and some sailors. In the meantime, the experienced crewmen had been ordered by the officers to put down one boat and they went after the others, who had already been carried almost one kilometer from the steamer by the current. The sailors were flying to the rescue of the unfortunate, and when they had hardly reached them, those unhappy men threw themselves into the water to reach the launch with the same eagerness as a mother would throw herself at the neck of a long-lost son who had been absent for many long years. If there be in this world one thing that could repre-

sent the anxiety and then the pleasure with which one soul came out of Purgatory, when the Queen of Heaven or the angels of peace extended a helping hand to them, it is undoubtedly the same tender scene that we saw: the poor shipwrecked people were grabbing the launch with one arm, and the robust sailors in turn grabbed them and pulled one by one to safety aboard the launch, which soon brought them all on board our ship.

When they had calmed down, they began to tell the story of their shipwreck in their native language [i.e. Tagalog]. They were natives of the island of Mindoro and had been on their way to the island of Marinduque with a load of *abaca* [Manila hemp]. While they were in the gulf, a blast of wind broke the single mast; they tried to fix the problem, we do not know how, but they were so unlucky that another blast of wind carried away the sail and overturned the boat. Stirred by such a distressful incident, they nevertheless managed to cut off the canes that made up the outrigger on one side of the boat and climbed on top of it, abandoning themselves to the mercy of the waves. They spent two days that way. On the first day, they lost a companion, whose hands slipped from the canes, and was unable to grab hold of them again; he was eaten by the sharks. On the second day, early at dawn, they passed close to the steamer **Velasco** but they were not seen nor heard. It was then that the poor men thought they were lost forever; but, fortunately, when they were about to give up, Providence brought us to their neighborhood. They were in a pitiful state, half-crazed, almost dead of thirst and hunger and their skins shrivelled from having spent so much time submerged. They were taken care of very well aboard the steamer, to such an extent that, after two days, they were completely recovered.

The ship, making rapid progress, passed near the shipwrecked boat; her mast was indeed broken, and she was half buried in the water. Pursing our voyage we soon reached the west coast of the very fertile but little explored island of Mindanao; we were able to spot clearly the small towns of San Ramón and San Mateo.

In the morning of the 7th, we arrived at Zamboanga, where we left the shipwrecked people and the mail destined for that place. We then left immediately for Isabela, distant about twelve miles from Zamboanga. Its entrance is beautiful and very similar to that of Singapore—woodsy and picturesque. However, Isabela, though the capital of Basilan Island, is very average in size. The next day we were back at Zamboanga. We stepped ashore, as we had been invited by the Jesuit Fathers, and once we were at their residence, they forced us to eat, so to speak. They gave us many presents, specially one missal that we needed, and we were made very grateful by it all.

Before we leave Zamboanga behind, we would not want to omit mentioning the strange conduct of the shipwrecked people. When these unhappy individuals left the steamer, they did not even give thanks to their saviors. Perhaps it was on account of the timid character of the Indian, perhaps it was because they did not understand Spanish, or else it was because they were choked up. What is certain is that they left the ship without saying a word. A Spaniard would have gone out of his way to say thanks to his rescuers and given praise to the country where he was born. Our shipwrecked people left with good new clothes that were given them; and they went off without one look at

the tattered rags they had worn when they were rescued; they remained on the rods where they had been hung to dry. This behavior made us all think that a Spaniard would have consecrated these rags to the goddess of the sea, for having been liberated from her grip. On the other hand, a Catalan would have consecrated them to our Lady of Montserrat; an Aragonese would have carried them off to his private altar dedicated to our Lady of Pilar; a Valencian to the Sea of Deseparation; a Galician to our Lady of Covadonga and ... I, for one, would have hung them on the altar of our Lady of the Star, the patroness of my town. Such thoughts occupied our minds upon contemplating the rags left in the steamer by the shipwrecked people, when they left her at Zamboanga.

From this place, we departed once more, this time in the direction of Pollak where we arrived in the afternoon of the 9th. Its bay is beautiful and well sheltered; here we had a rendez- vous with the cruisers of our squadron, the **Aragon**, **San Quintin**, and the **Valiente**. Here we picked up the soldiers who were to become the garrison the future colony of Ponapé; and also the convicts who were to provide the manpower to build the required works and the houses. In addition, we had the pleasure of celebrating mass in the parish church and become acquainted with its worthy curate, who, like everywhere, or almost everywhere else in Mindanao, belonged to the distinguished Society of Jesus. From Pollok we left for Yap, where we arrived after we had experienced some little difficulties which I will narrate in the next chapter.

## X

*Departure from Pollok. - Storm experienced in the Pacific. - Palaos. Arrival at Yap and meeting our Missionaries.*

On the 10th of February, after dark, we left Pollok. During the whole of that night and the next day we sailed along the south coast of Mindanao, in good weather and a flat sea; however, we had hardly passed the strait of Sarangani and reached the high sea when we met with a strong N.W. monsoon wind, and a sea that was running rather high. O, what a horror is a storm in the middle of the ocean! The more we progressed, the more the sea was turning furious. The first night we spent on the Pacific was a full storm. We anxiously awaited the next morning, but the first light of day made us realize the horror of our situation.

The sun seemed palid and gloomy; its rays swept the turbulent skies with a greenish color. The ash-colored clouds that were gathering all around the horizon gave an additional horrific tone to the whole scene. The head wind was so terrific that it appeared that it would lift the steamer from its watery bed. The waves that were pushed by the wind were piled up and came at us from all direcitons. The only person on deck was some seaman on the way to his post, bending over to keep his balance, or grasping some rope in order not to fall over. Finally, the sea was boiling over, and the steamer (and we in it) was jumping like chickpeas in a pot of boiling water. So it is that, being unable to eat, or even sleep, we spent the day, until night came with its dark mantle to hide our

tired figures once again. There was no way we could rest; indeed, if we went on deck, the waves that came in were revealed to us by the lightning that shone upon them and made us instantly retreat to the cabin; if we decided to stay permanently below, the infernal noise produced by the chain of the rudder when the latter turned and it fell back suddenly upon the iron cross-bar, made us go up again to find our bearings and see if the danger was extreme.

The next morning, it was much the same, sunlight being gloomy and confused, but bright enough to see the terrible depths of the ocean, and the extraordinary height of the waves, ready to fall upon the ship and submerge her in the deep abyss. The waves were such, and the head wind so strong, that the steamer, in spite of the force of her machine, hardly made two miles an hour sometimes and at other times just enough to resist the effect of the storm.

On the 15th in the morning we passed the Palaos Islands, but bad weather prevented us from going into any of their ports, where the steamer was supposed to make a stopover to seek shelter, but those ports all have bad entrances. The same conditions lasted a whole week, until we came near Yap, when the wind started abating and the waves diminishing.

When we got up on the 18th of February, we could see the island of Yap, at by 9 a.m. we were already inside the anchorage. The anchors had not yet been dropped when already the famous Mrs. Bartola was circling our ship with her boat, greeting her with enthusiasm. When she saw us, she spoke not a word but immediately returned to the *pantalán* (that is the name they give here to the landing-place) in order to warn the Fathers of the arrival of new missionaries. They, who knew nothing about our voyage, came aboard the same boat to find out who we were and where we were going to preach the Gospel. Imagine, therefore, their surprise at boarding the steamer and finding our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial and a few brothers and comrades with whom they had spent the golden years (so to speak) of their religious youth. Imagine our own pleasure at embracing some brothers and companions whom we had bid adieu, while crying, thinking that we would never meet them again. We leave it to the pious consideration of the readers to imagine this scene, a scene that was unique among the many scenes that are usually dreamed of, but that vanish upon awakening, leaving melancholy behind. We embraced one another warmly and we were touching one another's shoulders firmly, as if to make sure that what our eyes were seeing were indeed true. What a nice surprise, so unexpected on their part! If there is something in the world that cannot be explained; if there are joys that can dull the senses, that was one of those moments for us, because we remained for a time unable to speak clearly and realize what was going on around us.

When we came out of our enrapturement, our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial decided that we should go ashore, to begin as soon as possible the pastoral visit that was the purpose of our holy mission to such remote islands. We went ashore aboard the same boat that had brought the Missionary Fathers, and we went towards the *voncent* (let us call it that) by the paved street that leads from Government House to the future church. As

we were walking in holy peace and happiness, followed by various Carolinians, we noticed, as we were nearing the house that the three lay-brothers who had remained behind had had the forethought of ringing the bell and then coming out to bid us welcome, carrying the processional cross, not even knowing who we were. Then, we formed an orderly procession and headed for the chapel while singing the *Te Deum*, with the prayers and ceremonies that the ritual prescribes for such cases.

Once the thanksgiving to the Almighty was over, the scene was repeated; we embraced the lay-brothers and gave ourselves ample proofs of the happiness that flooded our hearts.

After a short time spent in conversation, we all shared the frugal lunch that the missionaries had prepared for themselves. There was enough for all of us, and we gave thanks to Providence that feeds not only the birds in the air, but also the criminal who prefers to remain blind to it and even blasphemes against it. In the afternoon we took our first walk in the bush, and after sitting down under some palm, or at the foot of some beautiful coconut tree like so many old Patriarchs, we reflected on the greatness of Almighty God who had made it all out of nothing.

During the lucky days that we spent with our beloved brothers at the Yap mission, we participated, though in a small way, in their good works and in their joys. We visited the forest with them; with them we visited the small and dark huts of the Carolinian; with them we shared the consolation of bring the good news of peace to those who, as the prophet says, are seated in the shadow of death; and finally with them we took charge of the island and their inhabitants. What a country! What a people! What villages! What customs! What clothes! or rather, what lack of clothes! What ignorance!... We will say some few words about all of these subjects, God willing, in the next chapter.

## XI

*Island of Yap.—Its fauna and flora.—Its inhabitants.—Their customs.—Their dress and adornments.—The villages, houses, etc.*

In order to know and be able to properly appreciate the hard labor put in by an active farmer in clearing some wild piece of land and make it produce an abundant harvest, it is necessary to have seen it before when it was in its wild state, full of thistles and brush; so it is that, in order to appreciate the labor of our missionaries in that vineyard of our good Lord, it is necessary to know the state of that field before they began to cultivate it. For this reason, we will reveal in the present article the island of Yap as it was some few years ago, in 1885.

The island of Yap, as seen from the mountain that overlooks the whole of it, offers to the view a figure that is rather capricious and irregular on account of the bays that are formed by the sea cutting into the land. This island is basaltic in nature and owes its origin to a lifting of the submarine sea floor, according to the evidence provided by the surface rocks that can be seen in all the hills. It is surrounded by a coral reef that

leaves a few gaps for the canals that lead to its ports. The center and the north part of the island are covered by a rather low mountain chain whose flanks distribute the water during the rainy season. However, there are only two small streams in the whole island; they rarely become dry, even in the dry season. The center of the island was uninhabited, and without any trail whatever, but along the coast there are some strange rails that link one village with another.

The fauna of Yap is almost non-existent; indeed, besides the domestic animals, introduced there (such as pigs, chickens, etc. that are bred in abundance) there is but one other type of animal, a sort of lizard called *iguana*. Therefore, it has no harmful animals.

The flora is much more varied and abundant. The missionaries have experimented with a few Spanish vegetables, in addition to corn, and they have given good results. They got common oranges, good squashes and better watermelons. There are root crops of all the kinds produced in the tropics: sweet potatoes, *ubi*, *gabi*, yams, etc. There is no lack of pineapples, bananas, papaya, *macupa*,<sup>1</sup> sugarcane, breadfruit, and the tropical almonds. However, the main wealth of Yap is the coconut palm that grows around the island forming a band a kilometer in width, and giving it a very pleasant appearance. The coconut is the main resource of the Carolinian; its water, which is very tasty indeed, is used by him to quench his thirst; its meat to feed himself; its husk to make ropes and clothes; its husk is also used instead of firewood, to prepare food; and it also produces oil, to eat, give light, and anoint himself with. Even the trunk can be used to build his house and the leaves to provide thatch for roofing, material for weaving baskets and other utensils. Finally, it can be sold to the Germans and Englishmen who exploit the unhappy natives without pity, in exchange for adzes, axes and weapons with which to defend themselves.

The inhabitants of Yap belong to the Malay race; they are generally lean and well built. Their hair is curly and black, the forehead wide, the eyes black and large, the nose regular, the cheekbones prominent, the mouth wide, the lips thick and the face somewhat rather wide; the color of their skin is tan. The men let their hair grow long and tie it at the back, forming a very curly tail, into which they drive a long cane comb, shaped like a closed fan, and at the tip of which they have fastened a colorful ribbon. The women part their hair in two halves down the middle of their head and they tie it at the back in the shape of a bun.

The dress of these poor people is curious to describe. That of the men consists in a sort of belt from which hangs in front a band half a palm in width which they pass between the legs, and fasten to the same belt at the back. That of the women is somewhat more decent; it consists of many fibers of some long plant, resembling corn, tied to a string; this they tie around their waist, and thus are surrounded by a skirt of grass, extending down to the knees. As for the rest of the body, both sexes are completely naked.

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1 Ed. note: A Filipino fruit, reddish yellow, and whose shape is like that of a chili pepper, but sweet to the taste.

In addition to such luxury items, they wear other adornments consisting in bracelets of sea shells, necklaces of beads, belts made of stringed shells, and some huge earrings. In order to wear those earrings, they make enormous holes in their ear-lobes, and some even have drilled similar holes through the gristle of their nose. To the above adornments the men have added the painful operation of tattooing, and they draw on their body some curious sketches, but the women only paint or anoint the insides of their hands, their neck and cheeks

with a yellow pigment. Such are their other customs of the Carolinian, natural but savage. The man always carries with him a basket containing the necessaries for betel nut chewing, one adze and the pouch for tobacco. In general, they are sympathetic, of a peaceful character, approachable, hospitable and generous. The Father have found them to be respectful of property at the beginning, although some accuse them of the contrary fault.

The population of Yap is distributed among some 80 small villages, each of which has its kinglet, or *Pilum*, who looks just like everyone else, except for the authority which he has over the others. They all have the same title or class, although some of them have become more powerful or more famous than the others. All are independent and therefore have the right of life and death over their vassals and they administer justice, by punishing murders and other crimes with the death penalty. They also had slaves; they were former prisoners of war and their descendents working for their masters and they were not allowed to wear combs in their hair, nor tattoos like the other men, to identify them as slaves. The old weapons they used in their wars were stone adzes, daggers made of the spine of some fish that exist on their coasts, named ray-fish, and some long spears made of areca palm wood, or if they were made of less strong wood, they fixed a shark tooth at the end of the point. The villages are made up of huts placed helter-skelter, not lined up along some streets, nor anything that might give a semblance of order. To build houses, they first drive the piles, and in order to avoid dampness they raise the floor, after they have first surrounded it with a stone wall; then they place the beams, fastening them with coconut ropes; they thatch the roof with the leaves of the same tree, and the walls are made of slim and straight canes that are joined together with coconut rope, as this is the only type of rope material that they know of. Afterwards, they partitioned the interior, but generally only one family live in each house. Near this house there is another, smaller, one that serves as a cook-house.

There is nothing more simple than a Carolinian kitchen: there is only a place to make a fire, upon which they roast fish and roots, wrapped in banana leaves, or else they boil the same food articles in a red pot, which is made with clay found abundantly in Yap. To eat, they place the earthenware or roast directly on the bare ground or on top of a stone, and then they sit down around it, eating with their fingers, which serve them as a knife, fork and spoon all at the same time.

## XII

### *Religion and morals of the inhabitants of Yap.*

The natives of Yap did not know the very merciful and loving God of the Christians, nor did they have an exact idea of the creation and redemption of man. They thought the world had always been the same, but they can be forgiven as they knew no other world besides Yap itself and some neighboring islands. According to them there are, besides human beings, some other rational and invisible beings living in some high places. The first human beings shared that world with them, but their descendents lived here below, on account of some fault on their part. So, their way of explaining the creation of man is similar to the biblical tradition, although it is but a travesty of it. Here is their creation story.

The first men lived happy in that upper region, but they looked down, saw the island of Yap and became curious to see it. They made ready a bark, a sort of launch, hanging by many ropes; some boarded it and were lowered to Yap, while the residents of heaven hung on to the ropes. A little before the bark touched ground, the ropes were loosened but they broke, so that the men could no longer go back to the high place from which they had fallen. Thus began, according to them, the spread of man here on earth.

Who cannot recognize here the story of the fall of our first parents on account of the curiosity and disobedience of Eve? There is a paradise, there is happiness, there is a fatal fall, there is banishment from Eden; the story has simply been made simpler and became adulterated on account of the poor ideas of savage Indians.

The chief of those invisible beings (we would call them angels), is *Yalafaz nig* (big god). Next comes his wife, *Nemaguey*, and they begot *Yalafaz nitsi* (minor god). In addition to these three superior beings, who do not pay attention to mankind at all, there is another heavenly being named *Suc*, who does see deep inside the thoughts and hearts of men, and watches over them in order to give them, after death, the place that corresponds to each, that is, the right side to the good, and the left to the bad. Here we may see the parallel with the final judgment.

In addition to that final difference that exists between the good and the bad (being placed to the right or to the left of *Yalafaz*) there is another difference here on earth, which consists of the good dying a natural death, whereas the bad die of a violent death, because whoever dies of a violent death, does so as a result of the instigation, influence or evil arts of *Suc*. When the soul of the bad man arrives before *Suc*, *Suc* says: You, why are you bad and have not followed the good customs of Yap; go to the place reserved for bad men. You, because you are good and have followed the good customs of Yap, go to the place reserved for good men. Overthere, they receive some small portion of manna which they eat from and never become exhausted.

Hence, we can see that, thanks to a generous human instinct, the Carolinians believe in the immortality of the soul, and they have preserved, though in a very corrupted way, the original traditions of mankind. However, the Carolinians do not have a religion



properly so called, because they do not have any type of sacrifice, and sacrifice of one type or another is the essence of religion.

This is all the Fathers were able to learn from the Carolinians, in connection with their beliefs, during the time they have been here. Everything that has been written about the matter, beyond what appears above, is considered suspect, and we believe that their authors have been mistaken. The so-called *machimachi*, the sacred tree, the cave, etc. are errors that have resulted from not knowing the language.

The morals of said natives are not much more complicated than their dogmas. They have no observances, or better said, they know only of the fourth, seventh and eighth commandments of God. They have never heard of the first three. The fifth commandment was not part of their customs, as they killed whomever had offended them in their honor: the family of the deceased had to avenge this death by another; thus both families remained forever at war and they kept on eliminating one another, unless the offender redeemed himself for his offence, by making a payment of great value, that is, by means of big round stone disks, like those of our grist mills, but not so thick. The sixth, ninth and tenth commandments were thought to belong to some other world. They were ignorant of the virtue of chastity in any degree. They could not understand the high value and great prerogatives of virginity, nor the continence as represented by celibacy, nor conjugal chastity, and even less that of widowhood. They consider women to be inferior beings, created only for the convenience and to satisfy the pleasure of the men. So it is that when they take on a wife, they cannot rely on the good-will, or the kind love of their future spouse. To speak plainly they buy her from her father, in exchange for some tortoise-shell or piece of stone money; indeed, if the father accepts such a material offer, his daughter then effectively belongs to the suitor, and the next day the wife goes to the man's house, and the marriage takes effect without further ceremony.

Once she is in her new house, the chores in the field and in the kitchen are hers; in other words, she becomes responsible for maintaining her husband. She does not consider herself to be a companion for the man, but his servant. So it is that if the husband should take another woman, she is not offended; on the contrary, she is happy, because she gains a work companion and they can split between themselves the chores in the field and household. For the same reason, the wives never dare give or receive anything while the husband is absent, because he is the exclusive owner of every such thing. When the husband receives a visitor, the wife observes a deep silence or absents herself, unless she be invited by the husband in joining him. She treats him with much respect and kindness, because if she did not, and dared cause some anger or bother in the husband, the latter would surely sell her for what she cost him, more or less, and she would become a slave.

Since the arrival of our missionaries, there has occurred such a case. The unlucky woman learned that her husband was not happy with her and, knowing that she might be sold, she would hide at night, so that the kidnappers or buyers would not find her; no-one missed her, because Yapese men do not sleep at home, but in the "big house," a sort of harem, where they keep cloistered some strange women, who have been robbed

from their fathers or husbands, or else purchased as in the present case. They kept on looking for the poor woman for two nights, and on the third night they found her hiding on the roof of her house, like a bird; they threatened her with death, if she spoke up; they bound her legs and hands, and two men, with a pole, carried her on their shoulders to the big house in her village. The first chance she got, the poor woman escaped and came to relate her misfortune to the missionaries; the latter roughly rebuked the kidnappers and threatened them to report the case to the Governor, for him to punish them, unless they made amends. So, the poor woman was freed, and she later became a Christian.

Such was the island of Yap, such was the life and customs of its inhabitants, when our missionaries arrived there. Today, in spite of the short time they have been there, a great difference can be observed. The natural ferocity of the savage has been tamed somewhat; their wars and mutual revenges have completely disappeared; in some villages, slavery has been abolished; in others the natives have been regenerated with the waters of holy baptism, and full of faith they come to the chapel to say a prayer to the Patroness of the Spaniards, as they call the Immaculate One. However, such happenings, which are but a prelude to what promises to be a fertile field, did not take place without a lot of work on the part of our Religious, as we will now explain.

### XIII

*Situation of the Religious as they stepped ashore.—Their first shelter.—They buy land for a settlement.—They plant a cross on it.—Labor involved in building a house as a shelter for themselves.*

The six missionaries, whose names we have already mentioned, arrived at Yap on the 29th of July 1886. They had hardly stepped ashore that, like good Spaniards, they went to introduce themselves to the Governor, and offered their respects. This man, who was a person of much merit, from among the few who are worthy of the posts they occupy in these calamitous times, was happy to see them and made them welcome (given that he had been waiting for them impatiently); however, his joy was tempered by the sorrow he felt at not being able to accommodate them as well as he wished.

The situation of the Fathers was indeed a cause for anxiety. The steamer that brought them stayed in the harbor only enough time to unload their furniture and food supplies, and immediately sailed westward, so that the poor religious were left ashore with no place to store the few food supplies that they had. Here we must mention that the Governor himself had experienced the same thing one month earlier, upon his arrival at Yap, and since that time he had been unable to build sufficient space to shelter the soldiers, the supplies, etc. Therefore, the only thing the Governor could do for the missionaries, in spite of his good-will, was to let them have a field tent, in which they managed to squeeze themselves, like sardines in a tin can, as best they could; some slept in a bed-frame, while others did so on top of the food crates. Before the doorway of the tent, they built a simple shelter, that consisted in a few zinc-iron sheets on top of of a

framework of canes. This improvised shelter served them as an office, a living room to receive visitors, a dining room, and God only knows what other purposes.

Having found a temporary solution to their most pressing needs, they turned their attention to finding a place to build a church and residence. For this purpose, they chose a hill emplacement, the site where the German gunboat had raised their flag. They met with many problems before they could achieve their purpose; indeed, the plot of land had many Carolinian owners; according to their customs, some had five coconut trees there, others three, yet another owned a plot of sweet potatoes, another a hole in which to plant *gabi*, etc. Seeing that it was impossible to come to an agreement quickly with so many owners, they decided to buy the land from the kinglet of Rull, in whose territory it was, leaving him to distribute the money from the sale among his subjects in a fair manner. A deed of sale was written up and it was signed by the King, the Governor, his Secretary and interpreter, and the Superior of our people. Thus they became the owners of the land, by means of a payment of 100 pesos.

On the 16th of July, the Religious took advantage of the feast-day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, to raise the symbol of our holy redemption on top of the hill. The act was a very solemn one, worthy of being described in detail. Let us use the words of one of the Fathers, who was an eyewitness to the event.

“There were present the most honorable men in the colony; the Governor with his Secretary, the Lieutenant with his armed force, Doña Bartola with her people, etc., etc. Once we had arrived at the spot, the sacred wood was blessed, before it was placed in the hole that had been previously dug; while this happened, the soldiers were presenting arms, with their rifles and fixed bayonets. The ceremony ended with some hurrahs for Religion and Spain, hurrahs that the hills of Yap were echoing for the first time, and our hearts were made glad with that enthusiasm and that love for one’s country that one feels when far from the motherland.”

Once they had taken possession of the plot of land, our apostolic men began to collect and carry materials with which to build their small house. However, how much sweat had to flow and what labor they had to endure under the blazing sun of the tropics, and how much torrential rain soaked through their habits! After so many soakings and on account of having their feet continually in mud, they got sick, or better said, their feet and legs began to be covered with painful wounds that made them, not only unable to work but also to say mass; in fact, there was one Father who was unable to say mass during half a month.<sup>1</sup> Full of compassion for the sad situation in which the missionaries found themselves, the Governor and the officers sent two men, soldiers or convicts, every day to help them out. Doña Bartola did the same thing a few times, sending her servants to work and render services for our missionaries.

Meanwhile, government house was taking shape, but, in order to complete its roof, it became necessary to remove the tin sheets that had been on top of the lean-to that

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1 Ed. note: The reader should be reminded that Capuchins are discolored Franciscans, i.e. they wear sandals, not shoes.

the religious had used as dining room, bedroom, etc. The unfortunate men were left with some field tents and a shed wherein the rain fell somewhat less than outside.

So it is that they were unable to let go of the umbrella on rainy days. When they prayed, it was with the breviary in one hand and the umbrella in the other; the same thing when they were reading, and when they were writing, someone had to stand behind the desk and hold an umbrella so that the paper would not get wet. But meal times were the funniest. "On the feast-day of the wounds of our seraphic Father St. Francis," writes one of the Fathers, "our lunch period turned out to be a time for recreation. Some of us were standing, while others sitting, all with a spoon in one hand and an umbrella in the other; the table was wet and our feet were covered with mud. It was raining so hard that every one of us would contribute to augment the broth in the bowl of his neighbor with the water being shed by his umbrella. That night there was one of us who used two umbrellas while sleeping (there were not enough for others to do the same); he had one in each hand, but his bed got soaked just the same."

Such were the little bothers that the Missionaries suffered through in Yap, but they supported them with that resignation, that holy joy and that sweet satisfaction, that are normal for any just soul willing to make such a sacrifice for the glory of God or in compliance with his sacred duty.

#### XIV

*The new residence of the missionaries.—A Protestant baptism.—Obvious punishment.—Christmas celebration.*

Although the hut was not yet habitable, the religious wished to move in on the feast-day of our Father St. Francis,<sup>1</sup> while they intended to continue working at it, to make it liveable in their present circumstances. Imagine with what pleasure our holy Patriarch must have looked upon his true sons! What a seraphic convent it must have been! The one built by St. Peter Alcantara in Monte Pedroso was not so poor nor so small! Nor that built by our illustrious Patriarch in Porciúncula either, as theirs was poorer and smaller still. As for us, we are able to describe it in detail, as we had the consolation of living in it for a few days.

The posts holding the building in place were made with coconut tree trunks. The frame is made up of a few trees that were cut in the bush. The roofing materials are *nipa* shingles placed on top of cane poles. The walls are made of Moorish [sic] boards placed one on top of the other, and the windows are of the same style of construction. The cloister is so narrow that two persons cannot pass each other at the same time; and the cells are so small that a person with above-average height could not stretch out while sleeping—and that we know from experience. The other rooms suffer from the same problem, and the corresponding furniture fit that description also. The dining-room table consists of two boards fastened together; the chairs are in fact empty crates, and

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Therefore, it was on 4 October 1886.

a bench was made of areca-nut palm trunks. The latter bench can be seen in the area that they used as a school-room; this room is extremely well ventilated as it has no door nor windows. Finally, the floor is plain dirt, made up of the original surface, but it has become level and flat with so many feet and the passage of time. The chapel was the only place different from the rest of the house; indeed, though as small as the other rooms, it was decently adorned.

This is the house that our missionaries occupied on the feast-day of our great Patriarch, but at that time it did not contain all the commodities that we have described.

A short time after [sic] our Religious had moved into their first house, there occurred an event on the island, that we wish to record for the sake of posterity. There was born a son to one of the German traders residing in the neighborhood. His birth coincided with the arrival of a German ship bringing him supplies. The religion, if any, of the captain of this ship and the father of this unfortunate creature, was not known; perhaps they were Protestant, Jews, rationalists or indifferent, or all at the same time. They decided to have a party on the occasion of giving a name to the newborn. As rumors abound in such a small place, some people were saying "that he had been baptized, others that he had been circumscized, others that the so-called baptism had been carried out in a form only to make fun of the Catholic ritual, with the ship captain (acting as minister) have made the following oath at the end of the ceremony: Let my ship sink, if this child has not been as well baptized as he would be if it had been done by Papists!" Well, we do not know for sure what happened, but what we do know is that the ship in question sank in sight of the island, and that her hulk can still be seen in the breakers, broken and dismantled.

This incident happened as follows: A few days after the party, said ship left the port bound to Seville and Lisbon, with a load of copra.<sup>1</sup> The morning was rainy, but with no strong winds; however, upon reaching the breakers that surround the port, where the channel is narrow, there came a strong squall, with such stiff blasts of wind that the sailors had no time to react, and the vessel was pushed onto a shoal and she broke up. Some of the sailors fell into the water and others were wounded during the crash; fortunately, none of them died, though some remained wounded and in bad shape. The captain was not among those who came out untouched. Thus God punished him for his daring words (if it be true that he said them). We record this tale for the edification of those who swear.

The first functions that were celebrated in Santa María of Yap were the feasts of the Immaculate Conception [8 Dec.] and the week following it. When, in order to explain the purpose of the function to the Indians, there were revealed to them the sublime and sacrosaint dogmas of our august Religion, the creation of our first parents, their happiness, their innocence, their terrible fall, and the miserable state in which it left us; when they were told that God in His mercy decided to raise the fallen man, by becom-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Doc. 1886X records a German bark named *Bertha* as leaving for Lisbon on 28 September 1886, although no shipwreck is recorded there.

ing man Himself; when they were told how God, to carry out His plan, created a Mother worthy of Himself, with more innocence, more beauty, more graces and privileges than the first Eve; when these things were told them, full of admiration upon learning of the infinite mercy of God and the greatness of His divine Mother, protectress and advocate of mankind, they would be moved and they shed tears, wishing to place themselves under the protection of such an excellent Lady.

During the Christmas holiday season, the final touches were made to the preparation of the first neophytes. They had been instructed into the mysteries of the Blessed Virgin Mary: how she became pregnant with our Lord supernaturally, by means of the Holy Spirit; how she gave birth in a poor grotto, also supernaturally, but not at the detriment of her virginity; and how that divine child was born to save us and free us from the tyranny of the devil; that is why we celebrate his birth with feasts and rejoicing. Indeed, that Christmas was celebrated with much solemnity. The whole colony was present at midnight mass, and a multitude of Carolinians as well. They formed an orchestra for the occasion; it consisted of a bugle from the company, a flute played by a soldier, an enormous drum, a tambourine played by a Father, and we do not know if there was some guitar or some other instrument; all of them played together must have produced a terrific noise, but it must have been harmonious to the poor natives, as much as the works of Eslava and the voice of Gyarre to ourselves.

That is how our religious spent the first year of their mission, with a mix of pleasure and sorrow, their labor mixed with consolation; indeed, they experienced a good deal of both, because the life of a zealous missionary is filled with a constant succession of fatigue and rest, suffering and happiness.

## XV

*The first baptism.—Doña Bartola.—An expedition to the south part of the island.—Memories and hopes.*

The Fathers had already made a few neophytes among the local population when, one morning, one of them came up to their residence, with a sad countenance and somewhat pensive.

The three Fathers, who happened to be taking a walk along the road to the new vegetable garden, asked him what was the matter, but he answered them with some pleasantries.

—Come on, what is bothering you? Why are you so sad?

—Sir, the wife sick. Cries a lot.

—What's the matter with her?

—Father, she has a child, and the child is also crying!

—Do you wish us to go and see her, to see if we can do anything to give her some relief?

—Yes, Father, I will accompany you.

The missionaries with their walking sticks began to follow the poor man who had already regained some courage, now that the Fathers were going to visit his house. It was rather far from the mission, and it was necessary to cross part of the bush to get there. After they had walked for some time through the brush, they finally saw the miserable hut that was used by the family; it was low and dirty like the others. They made their way in as best they could, and they saw a very sad scene, one that all the European ladies should see, to make them realize what they owe to Religion.

The good woman was lying on the bare ground, without even a pillow, and without any mat or cover, except for her ordinary clothes of long leaves, like those dried leaves from the corn plant. Her eyes were sunken and wet with tears; her face emaciated and sad; her voice hoarse and her breathing irregular; everything indicated that she was affected badly by a fever, and finally, her new condition as mother required some more solid food that they usually get, and a more comfortable bed than she had. As for the baby that was by her side, God's little angel! He was a few days old, and was shivering from the cold. He was as naked as when he was born, and was lying on a leaf from the areca palm, that took the place of a cradle. But what a narrow cradle! The birds in their nest have more room and comfort! There was the poor little baby on the ground, on top of that leaf; his body has been smeared with coconut oil, to keep the mosquitos away. What a pity it was to see him squirm! Tears came to the eyes of the missionaries, who consoled the mother as best they could and they made a few presents to the mother and for her child. The grateful mother generously offered that leaf, the cradle of her child, to the Most Rev. Fr. Provincial, who kept it to send it to the Vatican Exhibition, where it figured prominently.

As the parents of this little one were already neophytes, as we have said, the missionaries were able to convince them easily of the need to administer baptism to the tender child, to erase the original sin with which he had been born, and to make him a living member of the Church of Christ. The parents gladly consented and agreed to take the child to be baptized, when his mother would be in good health, because she wanted to be present at such an august ceremony. Finally, they decided that the baby should be purified from the original sin on the same day as the feast-day of the Purification of our Lady, February 2nd.

Candlemas Day came. The parents also came with the small one and were followed by a curious crowd of Carolinians who wished to see the ceremony of baptism. The missionaries took advantage of the occasion to give new instructions to those present. They talked to them about the creation of man, the sin that our first parents committed in Paradise, sin which we ourselves inherited because of our very nature, how the Redeemer of the world wisely ordained that such a sin be washed with the waters of baptism, and how His divine command was being fulfilled with, by administering that holy sacrament to the tender child in order to make him an adoptive son of God and heir to His kingdom.

The sacred rite was then administered, and that child became the first Christian native of Yap. He was given the name of Leo, in honor of Pope Leo XIII who had shown

so much interest in the Carolines, during the conflict between Spain and Germany. His god-parents were the Government Secretary and Doña Bartola.

Now that we have mentioned this good lady many times already, gratitude makes us say a few more words about her. She was born in the Marianas and was there educated in the Catholic religion by the Recollect Fathers. While still young, she married an American, the captain of a ship that was trading among those islands, and they settled in Yap, as it was a more central location. Her husband died during one of his voyages and she has remained alone, her only company being a young nephew, and a few servants who continue trading with her ships. She is a very honorable woman, and she has done as much as she could for the missionaries and for all Spaniards on the island, because she is very fond of being Spanish herself. She was the one who supported the sovereignty of Spain over Yap during the attempt made by Germany to occupy the island; this act is what has made her famous.

The news of the first baptism spread through the island faster than the wind, and so too the high truths that the Fathers were preaching. From everywhere people flocked, asking the missionaries to go and settle near them, until finally it was decided to Guror, a town in the south part of the island, and one of the more populous places. To this effect, an expedition was prepared, but it did not take place until we ourselves arrived. Accompanied with the Most Rev. Fr. Provincial and the new Governor who wised to visit the island, our missionaries embarked in a boat to go there by sea, because there is no passable road overland, except for some rarely used trails that cause anyone to get lost in the bush. After a few hours of sailing with a good wind, they arrived at said town. As they neared the shore, a few boys who were playing on the beach saw them and they ran to warn the chief of the tribe. He was a venerable old man, with an expressive face and a peaceful character. His gray hair gave us a certain signity. He looked like one of those ancient Patriarchs sitting there with his children under a coconut tree or on the shore of the Jordan River. He ordered all the people in the neighborhood to come and present their respects to the Governor and the Fathers. The latter arranged for a round-table discussion; the table which was nothing more than a green patch of grass; they took out the provisions that they had brought along and distributed them among the natives; although it was not much, it still provided a small quantity to everyone present. Then they made a few presents to the natives who were pleased with the kindness of the Governor and missionaries, so much so that they ran out of words to express their thankfulness. The chief of the tribe promised to build a house and school, so that a Father could stay there and instruct his people. He complied with his promise, as the work was supervised by a Father and a brother who settled there. This became the second mission station on the island.

The members of the expedition returned at dark, but very happy. They sat down at the door of the convent to enjoy a little of the fresh air and silence of the night. I sat down among them. I steered the conversation towards my imminent return to Spain, and one of the Fathers told me: "When Your Reverence will step once more on our native soil, the curious people there will surround you and ask you to narrate to them the



customs of the savages here, and the scenes, happy and sad, that you witnessed here. Our present hardships will then appear to you as sweet memories. You shall tell them that you saw some people living in the forest, who claim to have come from heaven; that in said forests there are many numerous tribes who love and venerate the name of Spain, and when they are asked about their nationality, they say that they are Carolinian Spaniards. Finally, among our brothers overthere, Y.R. shall be seen as a great traveller, who has seen the world, one who will leave them entranced with your marvelous stories.”

At that moment, the clock struck the hour, and it was time to rest. We all went first to the chapel to ask the blessing of the Virgin, so that we may be freed during our sleep of the traps laid down by the evil enemy of mankind.

## XVI

*Carolinian scenes.—The box of matches.—The clock.—The crucifix.—Our Lady of the Good Counsel. The mirror.*

The admiration caused in the natives by the simplest objects that they saw in our house, or that the Fathers would show to them, gave rise to many curious scenes—best seen than described. I will limit myself to a few that I myself witnessed at both mission stations, in order to entertain the readers and to give them an idea of the simplicity and backwardness of those unfortunate people who live in our enlightened century, as the 19th century has been called by some. For people who have never seen matches, a box of matches is an incomprehensible mystery. The act of opening the box, picking up a match, rubbing against the side of the box, the crackling sound and the flash of fire, caused them as much surprise as for a child here to have a street magician pull an egg from his nose, or converting a peseta into the molar of a donkey. On one occasion, we gave a match to one of those Indians who was most stunned by the experience, for him to try it: the man, with a smile on his face, but wavering and trembling hands, took the box, and began to rub the match. When the head of the match burst into flame, he threw it and the box down, and stepped back, turning his head as if he had seen a poisonous snake before his eyes. The spectators burst out laughing, and he began to laugh himself, after he had examined his fingers and found them to be intact.

These people considered any trade tool, such as for carpentry, cultivating or some other trade, as a great advance. However, this is not surprising, given that until a few years ago they did not have (and some still don't have) a knife other than the dorsal spine of a fish, their adze or axe was in fact a sharpened piece of stone, tied to a stick. When we left, the natives gave many such objects to our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial. They asked one of them how much time they used before to cut a big tree down and make a canoe with those stone adzes, but he could not say exactly. However, he made us understand that, when he was big enough, he used to go with his family to cut a tree down. First, they began to hurt the tree, by striking the trunk; when one man became tired, another continued; when everyone was tired, they all went home. The next day was

spent in sharpening the adze that had become as dull as a round stone. This operation cost them as much labor, but by rubbing two stones together, they at least sharpened two of them at the same time. The result was that, while they spent time cutting the tree and digging it out to make a canoe, a lifetime had passed. Even today, now that they have axes and adzes like ours, they take months and years to finish one... How much time did they take before?

Another thing that caused excitement among them was the clock that we placed in the hall that was used as a classroom. A machine that worked by itself, marking the hours of the day and striking a bell; the fact that the number of bells corresponded to the number of hours, and the pendulum and the hands that turned and marked the passage of time, this was a mystery they could not fathom. No-one, upon seeing it for the first time, believed that it could work by itself. They walked around, even looked inside the box, to see if some person was moving it, until they finally admitted that the Spanish knew how to make things that they could not even understand themselves.

On another occasion there came to the mission an individual from a faraway place, attracted by the things that he had heard about. Another Carolinian, already a catechumen, was explaining everything to him. When he showed him the crucifix, he began explaining the mercy of the Man-God, who had given his life for the salvation of all men; but the other Carolinian, surprised, interrupted him: "Look here, this very good man was a Carolinian. Can't you see? the long hair... barefoot!... naked like ourselves. He only wear a wrap! Carolinian! Carolinian!" and he hugged the cross in his hands as a sign of affection.

"Nothing like that," said the catechumen, who proceeded to explain to him that he was the son of God, born of the Virgin, that the Jews removed his clothes to crucify him, and that such nakedness was a sign of punishment and of an affront.

The very beautiful painting of our Lady of the Good Counsel did affect them much, specially the women. In seeing such a lovely God child, and the face of the mother so humble and divine, they found something supernatural. We saw many women shed tears while looking fixedly at the painting. They were asking us if she was someone we knew; and our answer was that she was the Mother of God, the Empress of Heaven, the queen of the Angels, and of men. They, being attracted by that aspect of greatness and that benign expression that is painted on the portraits of our sweet Mother, asked us: "Would she also be our queen?" "*Ca!*" was our answer. "*Ca!* she is the one who sent us here so that you may all go to heaven."

Full of happiness and enthusiasm, they called the Virgin by various names "beautiful eyes, saintly face, lips of flowers," and other expressions that we do not dare translate.

One of the things that happened and would made stones laugh, if they could laugh, was the following. One day, the missionaries left our house, carrying a few objects that they use to attract the good-will of the Indians, and they headed for the bush. They chanced upon some huts, surrounded by banana plants, and they approached them. They announced themselves as Spaniards who had come to live with them, to teach

them the law of God, the good customs of Spain and usual things to make their life easier. The inhabitants of those hovels, who had already heard of the Fathers, were glad to see them, but, shy and ashamed, they did not dare appear naked before persons who wore clothes. They called two or three, sat down and began to converse in a friendly manner with them. Little by little the heads of some others began to appear in the openings of the huts; soon women and children came out through the door, until finally they were surrounded by a squad of Indians of all ages. The missionaries paid attention to all; one would caress the children, another gave long earrings to the women, who would place them indistinctly in their noses or in their ears; yet another would give the men some medal of the Virgin complete with a red ribbon to put them around their necks, but the poor men would take them off and place them in their ears instead. One Father who had brought along a small round mirror which he hung on the neck of the man who seemed to be the head of the family. When the children began to see themselves in the mirror, they began to shout, with surprise then joy. The women in turn were amazed. As for the good man in question, he bent over his head, to see what all the fuss was about; but when he saw himself, head upside down, his surprise knew no bounds: with amazing speed, he straightened himself up and began to touch his head, to see if it was still on top of his shoulders. He peered down once more, and checked his head once more, this time turning it on all sides; but then he began to smile upon realizing that it was all an illusion. Then they began to turn the mirror around, to try and guess what the mystery was all about, but it was all in vain.

The missionaries went home satisfied with their expedition and the people were now their friends and the admirors of the country that had sent them there.

The Carolinians, though almost naked, are fond of dressing up, and they like to have clothes, specially colored ones. When the Fathers give them a shirt or a colored kerchief, they think that they have acquired a treasure. They keep it carefully and only wear it on special days, or when they go and visit the Fathers, because the latter do not allow them to present themselves naked, except for the poor ones that have nothing to put on. Now then, how many readers may ask themselves how they can participate in the spiritual fruits of those missions? They may do so by sending toys for the children, pieces of clothing or ragged clothes, from those that make many ladies laugh when they inspect their closets! Everything, even the most insignificant thing may be used by the missionaries to gain the sympathy of the Carolinians, because they have nothing, they lack everything, and therefore they are grateful for any small thing that they receive.

Before we end this article, I am going to give the following explanation, the better to reveal the whole truth: although I mentioned the above incidents before I left Yap, they did not all occur there; but I placed them all together, for convenience. Furthermore, I was not an eyewitness to them all, as some were simply given for reference purposes.

Now that I have made the above remark, I can go on with the thread of my story, but leaving for a moment the narrative of the Mission of Santa Maria of Yap, to go on with the missionaries to the eastern Carolines, whose mission I will soon talk about.

During the time that we were all in Yap, they saw from experience that they would have to overcome a thousand difficulties in order to make progress with those souls. Their language was completely unknown; their customs entrenched and barbarous; their ignorance of religion total, and so the practices of anything spiritual; the natural roughness of their relationships; and a thousand other things that might make the hardest soul vacillate in his vocation, and realizing that God sometimes chooses the simplest things to confound the strong, but that, as the Gospel says, all things are possible to those who believe. With all these considerations in mind, they were preparing themselves to pursue their voyage.

## XVII

*Departure from Yap.—Islands along the way to Ascension. Arrival at Ascension. --Provisional house.—Holy Week.—Surrender of weapons and first baptism on Ponapé.*

We spent fifteen days at Santa María of Yap, enjoying the friendly company of our brothers, and the pleasing impressions produced in the soul by the novelty of an unknown climate, and the variety of customs that we saw in those savages who, in the last third of the 19th century had not yet left their primitive natural state. But finally, there arrived the day that the steamer had to pursue her course, and we had to separate from our brothers, with the hope of seeing them again on our return journey.

On the 6th of March [1887] we left the island of Yap and began our new voyage to Ascension. When we were on the high sea, we found it to be calm and this condition lasted until we reached our destination. During our crossing we passed a multitude of small islands, which appeared like so many oil drops in the vastness of the great ocean, or mounds of dirt that providence has placed there to show the way to the new world to an intrepid traveller. Thus appeared to us the archipelago of Oleay [Woleai], which was the first landfall that we made after our departure from Yap.

At nightfall on the 10th, we passed close to the islet of Pulusuk; before it had been thought to be uninhabited, but we were able to see some people there. Twice we saw fires along their coast, with such brightness that some of us thought that they were asking for help or at least that the steamer should get in closer; but that was not possible on account of the many shoals that surround the island on all sides.

Most of the 11th was spent in sight of TRuc [Chuuk], an archipelago made famous by the ferocity of its inhabitants; indeed, it is said that they have killed and have eaten not only some shipwrecked people brought to its shores by a storm, but also Europeans who wished to set up trading stations there, and even the Protestant missionaries who went there from Ascension to civilize them (to exploit them, say I). After Truck, we passed by the Parkins [Pakin] Islands, and finally, on the 15th at daybreak we sighted Ascension, the final destination of our voyage.

At 11 a.m., the steamer anchored in the narrow port of Not, and immediately she was surrounded by the launches that carried the most select personalities of the islands; they were the Americans, Englishmen, and Germans who had trading stations; one

Galician born in Santiago [de Compostela], who had been shipwrecked and thrown upon that coast; Portuguese, Mexicans, and many others of various nationalities who had been brought to that remote region as a result of some storm or bad luck. There was no lack of natives either, nor the Protestant ministers. We had been told so much about the knowledge of piety of the latter men, so much so that we thought we might meet with some new Augustine or Jerome, but afterwards we had the consolation to see that they were only two milksops worthy of compassion.

Also we had been told so much about the inhabitants having made some progress along the road to culture and religion, that we thought we would find at Ascension the culture of people from Cadiz people and the flourishing Christianity as it used to be at Edesa and Alexandria. How deep was our surprise at finding a barbarous people who had simply added some vices from the civilized world to their own natural savageness! How stupefied were we at discovering that they did not even have an idea of the creation, and did not know anything beyond the natural morality that God implanted in all human hearts! We recognized therefore that we had had a wrong concept of the natives, and that we would have to make many more efforts to erect the religious monument here than at the other islands.

The day following our arrival at this island, the missionaries, at the order of the Most Rev., fanned out to develop their plan of action, as good soldiers of Christ. Some made contact with the Carolinians, others explored the surroundings to find a place suitable for a church and convent; and others went to check the moral weather, so to speak, and try and forecast a storm or some fair weather. The signs of an impending storm were so clear from the beginning that we could foresee the bloody events that were to take place four months later.

When the scouts had selected a site that pleased all of them, there began the building of a provisional house, or better said, hut, and the progress was such that, on April 4th, it was habitable. On that day, which was Palm Sunday, we left the steamer and settled ashore definitively; but the work went on to make the house more comfortable. The offices of Holy Week were observed in the chapel of the house for the first time at Ascension. How pathetic and sublime seemed to us the dirges of Jeremiah! How truthful seemed to us the following words of the prophet: The streets of Sion have been abandoned, because nobody comes there to celebrate... its priests are eaning!... etc. etc.

Many things happened then, but I do not wish to mention them; however I must state here that, on those early days, the Governor of the island, Mr. Posadillo, invited the kinglets of the island to surrender their weapons (they had many) and to swear allegiance to Spain. In exchange he confirmed them in their post and give them the insignias of their command. To that effect, they all came to a pavillion that had been raised in the middle of the square. A huge crowd of natives came up to the function. The Governor and the religious were the only ones in the pavillion; the soldiers occupied the posts that had been assigned to them; the natives were jammed closely on all sides. Finally, the kinglets appeared to swear their oath upon the holy gospels, and afterwards they each receive a Spanish flag from the Governor and their staff as mayors. The func-

tion ended with a discharge of firearms and a hurrah for Spain which all the natives repeated. When they surrendered their weapons, they turned over more than 500 rifles.

Immediately thereafter and in the same pavillion, in full view of the natives, the Most Rev. Fr. Provincial administered holy baptism to a child of two years of age. His godfather was the Governor himself. He was given the name of Leo Alfonso and Isidoro, in honor of Pepe Leo XIII, of the King of Spain, Alfonso XIII, and of his godfather, Don Isidoro Posadillo. The ceremonies associated with this sacrament attracted the attention of the Carolinians who began to honor us with their veneration.

From that date, which was the 19th of April, until the end of May, we had already baptized fifteen children, two of them adults, and generally the children of Europeans or Americans residing there, some of whom were Protestants; the latter had never agreed to have their children baptized by the ministers of their sect. They had been in such good terms with them that they did not even admit them into their own houses. In addition to those baptisms, there was celebrated the sacrament of marriage between two Catholics: he Polish and her Carolinian, but educated in one of the Sandwich Islands.<sup>1</sup>

As expected, the poor Carolinians behave better already. The king of Kiti has paid many visits to the Fathers and he has sent them various gifts (chickens, local fruits and useful objects). The king of Kiti also wants to have one Father settle among his tribe, and he has already built a house and school for him. Well, the field has already been prepared and promises an abundant harvest. May the Lord support his work, because, without it, neither the man who sows nor the man who harvests will get anything; *sed incrementum dat Deus*.<sup>2</sup>

## XVIII

*A Protestant deacon.—His story.—The Pastors, their mission and purpose.*

Among the Protestant pastors there lived an assistant, or a Deacon (as he called himself); he was a Filipino born in Zamboanga. He had left his home aboard a ship bound to Hong Kong to make his fortune. He met with bad luck, everywhere he went in China; finally, he signed on board a ship that was hunting whales in the Pacific. When at sea he became sick from severe rheumatism that prevented him from working and, as he was being a bother on board, the captain put him ashore at the first island that they visited, which was that of Ascension.

This happened in the year 1850, and he was then 37 years old. When he saw how backward these natives were, he began to teach them what he knew, which was very little, until two Protestant merchants [sic] came there from the United States [in 1852], and he was one of those who joined them. As he already knew the local language, he rendered great services to the Protestants, who (according to his own words) conse-

1 Ed. note: Kubary and the illegitimate daughter of Rev. Roberts. Their own daughter became a Catholic nun in Singapore.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: He who makes it prosper is God.

crated him as a Deacon, and he was able to preside over the communion service, preach the bible and teach in the school. This man was the one person who could cause the most prejudice to our mission, because his old age [74 years] and apparent wisdom has gained him the veneration of the Carolinians and the Protestant pastors.

When the Spanish and Filipino soldiers arrived got to meet him, they called him an apostate to his face, and the poor man, seeing himself harassed, began to struggle in a sea of doubts. Finally, he decided to go to the convent and have a conference with the Fathers. He came out of this conference convinced of his misconduct, and ready to leave protestantism, and he seemed genuinely convinced. However, a few days later, he returned, but he then refused to come in; he simply handed a piece of paper to the door-man, saying: "Please give this to the Fr. Provincial on my behalf." It was a letter which said the following:

*Rev. Fr. Provincial.*

*I, Narciso de los Santos, born in Zamboanga, son of Juan de los Santos and María del Rosario:*

*Having had the misfortune of joining the sect of the Protestant Methodists, in which I have been for the last twenty- seven years, preaching and teaching pernicious doctrines to the natives, and being convinced that outside of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church there is no salvation, wish to make a public confession of my errors, and humbly beg to be received in the bosom of said Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, in which I wish to live freely and die.*

*Ponape, 4 May 1887.*

*Narciso de los Santos.*

This letter, though written by his own hand, must have been dictated by some countryman of his, with a better knowledge of Spanish, because it is much different in style than another written by Narciso himself later on, which we will also reproduce.

The Fr. Provincial, accepting the sincerity of the man, gave him a catechism so that he could instruct himself well in Catholic dogma before renouncing protestantism, and at the same time could prepare his family to receive holy baptism. With this the good man Narciso, former Protestant Deacon, returned to his town, being already a neophyte. From there he sent Fr. Provincial a small gift with the following letter, which we have already mentioned, which we copy as is, with all its spelling mistakes.

*Kiti, 11 May 1887.*

*My dear Father:*

*I am sending you my Spanish Bible and Ponape Bible, and a Ponape wreath, as well as a little coffee and cacao.*

*My dear Father, please pray for me always, the same as I will never forget you in my prayers.*

*My dear Father, please extent my regards to all the Fathers.*

*Your humble servant,  
N. de los Santos.*

While Narciso the catechumen was reviewing the catechism that he had learned in his youth, and was proclaiming aloud the errors of protestantism and the truth of catholicism, we were learning little by little about what the life and miracles of the Protestant ministers and the over-rated progress of their mission. We do not pretend here to write their history, because such a history is better not be written about. We only wish to indicate the purpose that they had when they settled in this island and the means that they used to achieve it.

While the Spanish kept the Carolines out of sight and out of mind, some German and U.S. companies were sending sailing ships there to exploit them and make as much profit as possible. The ships went out empty and returned loaded with local products, which they had gotten in exchange for old flintlock rifles, bottles of liquor, boxes of matches, red belts and toys for the children. One of those companies, under the color of religion, mixing the divine with the human, was also trading (with the profanated bible) there in the Marshall Islands. Some individuals considered that field to be too small for their ambition and they went on to occupy our islands of Oualan [Kosrae] and Ascension, calling themselves Methodist missionaries. Their ship would visit once or twice a year and went back full of copra (coconut meat) and other products of these islands. Therefore, as can be seen, their prime purpose was commercial, and religion was only their secondary purpose.

Hence one can guess what progress toward a true civilization that the natives could possibly have made. The whole thing consisted in their learning how to say hello in English and how to sing out of tune and with full throat bits of Psalms that they did not understand. According to the census that the same Protestants presented to the Governor, only seven natives had learned how to write with pen and paper, and the same number more or less with a pencil. Quite an accomplishment! Those who could read were also a very small number, but we are not at all surprised by this result. The material progress is even less than the intellectual progress. No-one has learned to work the land, no-one owns the tools to do it with. Tattooing exists here, the same as at Yap. Generally they do not wear more clothing than the kilt, the same as in the other islands, and to say that they wear clothes and expensive frock coat, is an exaggeration worthy of being revealed. It is true that among the tribal chiefs and their relatives there are a few who wear frock coats with their kilts or some short pants without a shirt; it is true that there are some men with a full set of clothes and women with a long smock; but to introduce this small improvement, how many vices have they also introduced there? How many barbarous and shameful practices? Well then, there is no civilization there, except for a few things that make it appear to be so from afar, but when studied closely, one can see that they are simply the peak of barbarity.

In order to achieve their commercial purpose and with it that semblance of civilization, the Protestants would pass arbitrary measures. If someone refused to obey them,



in the name of the Gospel and freedom he would be placed in leg irons or handcuffs, be put in jail and be treated with the full tolerance worthy of a Protestant.

Such were the Protestant ministers who had settled in the Carolines; such were their proceedings and the rare progress that they had introduced. Fortunately, they had occupied only two islands, from among the 500 or so that make up the archipelago.

## XIX

*The work of the mission begins.—The month of Mary.—A scenery in the forest.—Its magnificence.*

The mission having been founded, and a poor hut having been built to shelter it from the elements, our missionaries laid out the line of conduct that they were to observe at the beginning. The purpose was for everyone to work for the good of the mission, as best they could and according to their own skills. One had to dedicate himself to catechizing the heathen; another in teaching them to read in the language of Cervantes; another in writing a grammar and a dictionary of this rare language; another in creating a small vegetable garden to teach them how to work the earth; and the others to attract them, speak to them of Spain and her marvels. Everyone was complying with his duties during the daytime, and in the evening went to offer his labor to the Queen of Heaven, so that she would bless their efforts and make them bear fruits. There at the feet of Mary they sought counsel and found rest from their hardships.

This was going on during the month of May, and the Fathers did not forget that it was also the month of Mary. Remembering with happy tears how splendidly it was celebrated in Spain, they wished in this matter also to act and be seen as Spaniards. They decorated the chapel with red cloth, placed in the center the Divine Shepherdess of our souls, and adorned her with flowers that the Indians would bring in; they recited her Rosary every evening, and would sing canticles of her beautiful month with a full orchestra. But what an orchestra! The poor soldiers, with the love for one's country that is discovered only when one is so far away from home, offered themselves to accompany the religious canticles with a violin and a guitar, the companion of their solitude, as they were saying. Masters in the art, our musicians found it no problem adjusting their music during the trials, and then at night it became a pleasure to listen to the melody from the instruments, mixed with the religious canticles, that the wind carried to the woods, where the trees added the rustle of their leaves, to accompany that loving invitation.

*Venid y vamos todos  
Con flores á porfia.*

And the echo from the deep valley and the summit of the mountains would continue:

*Con flores a María,  
Que madre nuestra es.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Roughly translated, this canticle says: Come, let us all go with flowers in emulation, with flowers for Mary, who is our Mother.

Oh, such beautiful words and what beautiful memories did they excite in our hearts!

The poor Carolinians would flock to these functions and they remained seated there with their eyes fixed on the portrait of the Virgin; they were enchanted, enjoying those sweet impressions of a cult unknown to them. From then on, they began to recognize the advantages of our mission over the Protestant one, and they attended our own with all the trust and all the simplicity common to the Indian: a simplicity which is not always seen on account of the shyness that sometimes accompany it; indeed, the Carolinian Indians differ very little among themselves. However, the same cannot be said about their islands, as they are very different as to their size and fertility. Having read about the island of Yap, one must not assume that the rest of the Carolines are the same; that is why I will give a light sketch of Ascension. This island has a volcanic origin and is very mountainous; but it has some delicious valleys and a few plateaux that are easy to climb. From the sandy beaches up to the highest peak, everything is covered by a luxuriant vegetation, under the permanent influence of a spring-like weather. The whole island has the appearance of a thick bush, which the visitor, that is foreigner, cannot penetrate without the risk of becoming lost. It is crossed in all directions by streams with crystalline and sweet waters, full of tasty eels that the Carolinians do not eat, because they believe them to be inhabited by the souls of some deceased relatives. The fruit trees are so numerous and so fertile that everywhere one finds something to eat without more work than that of extending one hand towards the tasty pineapple, the sweet banana, the delicious papaya, the beautiful coconut, to abundant breadfruit or the green orange. Unless one prefers to bend over, to grab a piece of sugarcane, a ripe melon or yam and other roots hidden below the earth. Some reader may think that I am exaggerating the fertility of this island; nevertheless I will add that one who has never seen the vegetation of the tropics and its products cannot possibly imagine the wildness of their soil, and how gigantic are their trees. The appearance that nature there offers to one's view is pleasing and enchanting. I cannot resist the temptation of describing here one of those spectacles.

One afternoon, two or three of us Fathers went for a walk in the bush, and we made it as far as a wide river. The sun, which seemed to have hidden itself behind the mountains behind our backs soon began to set, and we saw everything about us becoming dark. The birds stopped singing and they began to look for shelter among the branches of the tree that concealed their love nests. The murmur of the waters was very gentle, and the old trees whose trunks bent over them seemed to tell them to keep quiet. We began to feel the holy horror of the forest, the mysterious noises of nature, and the sweet melancholy of solitude. The moon arose in the east and its silvery light pierced through the gaps between the trees, trying to illuminate the darkness of the dark bushes. The grass, pushed by a soft breeze, created with this light the illusion of some imaginary waves. Overthere in the waters this same light appeared quiet, covering the ocean with a mantle of brightness. From the zenith as far as the pole shone those stars from the southern hemisphere that we do see in this [Spanish] sky. Those stars reflected themselves in the smooth waters of the river at our feet and seemed to be so many constel-

lations that had migrated from heaven to the earth. From far away oozed the sound that the waves make when they hit the beach, or the cooing of a pigeon resting upon its nest. Oh, what a beautiful night and what what a potent idea it gave us of the power and beauty of God! We looked at the sky and saw there His name written in indelible characters; we looked down to the earth, and there we saw His beauty and providence; we looked at the ocean, and there was reflected His immensity. Our hearts became enraptured with an unexplainable pleasure that one only experiences in solitude, and we were reminded of the verse by Zorilla:

*Señor, yo te conozco  
Mi corazón te adora.<sup>1</sup>*

After we gave thanks to the Creator, we slowly wended our way back home.

## XX

*Return voyage from Ascension to Yap.—Progress of the mission. The first Christian family.—Sorrow of the Carolinians during our visit.—Return to Manila.*

On the last day of May there anchored in that port the warship **María Molina**, after a voyage of 85 days, because she came sailing in and the wind was against her all the way. The purpose of her visit was for her to remain in that port as a hulk, to guard the colony, and as her coming had been the only thing that had kept the steamer **Manila** there, the beautiful frigate had no sooner taken possession of the port that the steamer made ready to return to the capital of the Philippines. We also had to prepare ourselves for the return voyage. Before we left we had the consolation of seeing the mission well established and free, seemingly, from the dangers that had at first threatened it; and I say seemingly, because, thirteen days after we had ourselves left, the rebellions and bloody scenes that have been so much talked about. I will not occupy myself with them here, because I wish to leave it to others, with better pens than mine, to record the history of our missions or that of our effective occupation of that small piece of the earth called Ponapé.

Finally, the day of our departure arrived: we wiped tears from our eyes, and left that house that we helped build with our own hands, and we said farewell to those very loving brothers, whom we were leaving behind, some 4 to 5 thousand leagues from Spain, at the eve of that terrible and bloody persecution.

It was on the 16th of June in the morning that we left Ascension bound to Yap. That same day we passed the meridian of the Parkins Islands, and on the following days those of the other islands previously mentioned: Truc with its high mountains, and Pulusuc with its coral reefs. On the 22nd, we were off Sorol, an island that had not been visited by a Spanish ship in 100 years, and, according to what the natives said, ours was the first steamer they saw. As the distance between Sorol and Yap is not great, we made it to Yap the next morning.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: O Lord! I recognize you, my heart worships yo

The meeting with our missionaries was as interesting as our previous meeting with them, described earlier. What surprised us this time was the progress that the mission had made in the meantime, thanks to the work done by the Fathers, the good conduct of the Governor and officers, and the good harmony that reigned among them all.

Near the mission house had arisen a sort of town. There was the house of the practitioner and his family, the infirmary and other houses built in a straight line by order of the Governor, for the families of those who had been baptized and were becoming Christians. In these houses one could see their beds, chairs, dishes, glasses and the crate that served as a sewing table, with its machine, for the use of the wife. Around them was a sort of vegetable garden to occupy the husband and the recreation of the children; such a house, with its garden, which here would have little value, was nevertheless called a model house. Nevertheless, it was truly a model home, when compared with the huts of the poor Carolinians.

One of these houses was occupied by the first family that the Fathers had instructed. It consisted only of a man and his wife, because their only daughter had died while still young. Both were in their thirties; his name was Guimedat and hers Cicmat. They were the first Yapese to have relations with the Fathers and the first to open their hearts to the inspirations of grace. They had already been fully instructed in the mysteries of our holy religion and were anxiously awaiting the return of our Most Rev. Fr. Provincial to be baptized, and to bless their union to the status of a sacrament; indeed, the missionaries had reserved for their worthy Provincial the honor and the consolation of blessing the marriage of the first Christian natives of the island.

Guimedat was now wearing European clothes, a suit that the Fathers had given him, and Cicmat wore a beautiful dress that her future godmother had given her as a present. When they cut their hair, threw away the kilts and put on these clothes, their relatives cried for a whole day, but in spite of this, when they saw that they were gaining something, they soon encouraged the couple to keep on with their new life; indeed, they recognized that they were abandoning the venerable and ingrained customs of their forefathers.

The much awaited day arrived (26 June). Our Fr. Provincial, wearing the sacred vestments, began the solemn, majestic and long ceremony that the Roman ritual prescribes for the baptism of adults. Their godfather were the Governor of the island and the godmother Mrs. Medina (wife of the colony's doctor). Each one had given his godchild a new set of clothes: Guimedat's suit was black, and Cicmat's dress was white. The crowd was numerous and the people enthralled by the august ceremonies. Both shed tears of consolation and gratitude when they bent their heads over the baptismal font; the water poured over their heads regenerated them and God accepted them as part of his Church. They were given the names of their spiritual parents: he became Mariano and she became María.

The ceremony of marriage followed that of baptism. What a wonderful simplicity! Two spouses who had just renounced Satan and his worldly vanities were now swearing for each other an inviolable and perpetual fidelity. One could only live for the other,

and both for God. The nearby coconut trees and the trees in the bush had never witnessed such a holy oath and a love so pure, one that God confirmed through a blessing by the hand of his minister in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

There remains to be said that that this couple is happy, zealous Catholics and a model of virtue. The better to confuse us, let us say here that María, from the time she had been instructed, and before she was baptized, had kept herself pure. This was the fruit that the divine seed had placed in those souls, and a consolation for the missionaries, something to make them forget their hardships.

The day that we left Yap, it was almost as difficult for us to say good-bye to the new Christians and neophytes as to our own brothers. They surrounded us on all sides, began to cry, begging us not to go. "What!... Have we been treating you so badly? Have we been so unworthy of the gifts of Heaven? Who will now instruct us in the things of the other life? Who will teach our children? Why are you going, Fathers?" To all those questions, we answered: "To get more missionaries." Then they became content and shouted in their language: "Yes, yes let more of them come!"

Upon witnessing such simple demonstrations, one was a little tempted to remain there, and to forget Spain, where so little attention is being given to the divine word nowadays. But in the end our duty was calling us back to the Peninsula, so that, embracing our missionaries once more, we boarded the steamer, which began to move at noon in the direction of Manila. This was on the 27th of June.

On the first day of July we were doubling Cape San Agustín and passing the strait of Sarangani. Along the coast of Mindanao we saw eight whales, and extensive pools with the color of blood over the water; our sailors threw in a bucket to see what it was: it was an infinite number of red waterworms that made the surface of the sea red. On the 2nd at midnight we reached Zamboanga. On the 4th we left for Isabela, and from there, towing the gunboat **Samar**, we headed for Manila, where we arrived on the 7th in the evening. The religious whom we had left in that residence, came out to greet us, and we spent in their pleasing company the few days that remained before undertaking our return voyage to Spain.

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## Document 1887E

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# Report on the Island of Yap, by Governor Torres

*Source: PNA. Note: The document was hard to decipher in many places. It may be that Governor Torres produced this report as a result of a request from the commission for the General Philippine Exhibition that was to be held at Madrid that summer.*

**Report dated 31 March 1887.**

**Original text in Spanish.**

### *Memoria sobre la Isla de Yap.*

#### *Situación y descubrimiento.*

*La isla está situada en 9°30 N. y longitud E. (S.F.) 144°10'40", está dividida en 107 pueblos ó rancherías cuyas cabezas ó Pilunes más principales han sido los de Tomil y Rul, despues siguen Gaguil, Map, Fenif, Luedoy, Numigil y Lamer y ultimamente los de menos categoría que son Adolip, Levinao, Guinefay, Dulucan, Dugor y la isla llamada Rumuñg, quedando 94 pueblos ó caseríos insignificantes con una densidad total de población que no llega á 9.000 almas teniendo el pueblo que más 200 y existiendo no pocos de 6, 10 y hasta 30.*

*Hay tres extranjeros Mr. O'Keefe (Irlandés) Mr. Luis (Escocés) representante de la casa Alemana Handels Pantonquin [sic] y Mr. Friedlander de la de Hernstein [sic] tambien Alemana; trabajando por su cuenta el primero y por su larga estancia en la isla puede ... [comprar] copra el doble de los que las otras dos casas reunidas ... [por un total] de unas 350 á 400 toneladas al año.*

*No queda duda fué descubierta por los españoles lo que el P. Cantova mandó algún buque para reconocerla. Existe dentro de la bahía una isla que los naturales llaman Obi ó de los españoles, pues parece fué dada por los naturales á unos españoles que arribaron aquí y que algunos de los más ancianos de la isla aun conservan sus nombres como tradición y son estos Carlos, Francisco, Meliton, (que debía ser el capitan del barco por que le llamaban capitan), Joaquín, ... (al que nombraron Pilun y Don Benito) creen tambien ... la y que fueron ellos los que introdujeron el ... [tuba?] que ... conservó en Goror hasta pocos años antes de nuestra ocupación y el uso del bullo [buyo]. Posteriormente parece que arribaron aquí algunos otros pequeños barcos españoles en diferen-*

*tes épocas y en mal estado a causa de los temporales contándose de uno cuya tripulación fué asesinada y destrozado el buque por los de Tomil, y otro que si se salvaron algunos fué debido a que se refugieron en ... [Goror] cuyo Rey ó Pilun Fonagüey (que ha muerto hace tres meses) los cogió bajo su amparo defendiéndolos de los de Tomil.*

*De ... [esto no] se pueden fijar épocas pues estos naturales no tienen ninguna idea del tiempo, este lo cuentan por lunas, pero en pasando estas de diez ya no se dan más cuenta.*

#### **Naturaleza del suelo.**

*Viendo lo que poco á poco van ganando los arrecifes puede creerse que la isla toda es debida á un levantamiento del suelo submarino. En todas partes donde se ha trabajado el terreno que en su superficie es arcilloso en su mayoría, se ha encontrado la piedra porozosa [porososa] al metro, ó metro y medio de profundidad.*

*Existen los temblores de tierra, pero estos son de poca intensidad y duración, pasando con ... [des-?]... percibidos para la Colonia hasta que el sonar del caracol en los indígenas no los indican.*

*No escasea el agua solo que como los indígenas no la usan mas que en las chacras(?) para las plantaciones de gabe y ube, siendo la del coco la única que beben, no tienen encauzadas las filtraciones de la ... cha de lluvia que contiene el suelo.*

#### **Topografía.**

*La isla está toda rodeada de arrecifes, saliendo en mas extensión estos por la parte del Sur, y comprendiendo en toda ella un ... [area] de unas 260 millas cuadradas contando la tierra firme mas que unas 20 de largo por 6 ó 7 millas de ancho. Dentro del arrecife, por la parte N. se presentan dos isletas de que la mayor Map tendrá unas 5 ó 6 millas cuadradas y como tres la de Rumuffg, las dos isletas se para al continente en marea baja con agua nada mas que hasta la rodilla.*

*Casi al centro de la isla se elevan tres picachos llamados por los naturales Maki, Madadi [Matade] y Cabul [Kuva], y es el mas alto Cabul cuyo elevación medida por el barómetro és de 142 m., está la farola del Puerto y un Reducto llamado Alfonso XIII.*

*Atravesando la isla en todas direcciones, no existe en mas que un gran espacio sin cultivar, porque los Carolinos no tienen sus casas y sus pocas siembras, mas que á dos ó tres millas de la costa.*

#### **Hidrografía.**

*Los datos hidrográficos mas importantes que podemos dar á los navegantes que intenten tomar este puerto, son que sirviéndose de la carta de él levantada por el Teniente de Navio Manuel Otal, tienen colocadas boyas y balizas rojas y blancas: en la boca de la entrada (roja) restinga Duero (roja) restingas y cabeza Otal (blanca) y en todas los demas puntos salientes por babor y estribor que forman el canal, estando pintadas las de estribor al entrar en puerto de rojo, y las de babor de blanco; cuyas balizas continúan hasta el fondeadero que hay frente al muelle del Carbon, y casa Aleman de Rul,*

*pudiendose fondear á diez ó quince metros del muelle de la Colonia frente a la casa de Gobierno llamado "del General Terreros [sic]" en nueve ó diez metros de agua.*

*Hoy pueden hacer agua cómodamente los buques enviando un bote frente á la Iglesia donde hay construido un canalizo, y al final de él una cañería de hierro debajo de la cual puede colocarse el bote en marea alta recibiendo el agua de la cisterna construida ultimamente en la ladera por debajo de la Iglesia.*

### **Clima.**

*El clima es como templado la mayor parte de los meses de seca, no pasa de 35° grados de [temperatura, la] altura barométrica ... es 759 mm. Hay sin embargo en las noches de luna llena y en los meses de Junio á Noviembre (época de las lluvias) mucha humedad, estando la relativa comprendida entre 36?, 27? y 16 con 9, los vientos mas generales son del 1er y 3er cuadrante según la monzon, la velocidad del viento media, es ?2 á 2 metros por segundo[.] la de lluvia hay meses que llega á ... mm. en los meses de ellas, el número de días que llueve al mes, es de 20 á 22 en los mismos, y de 6 á 11 en los de seca, la evapocación de ... 5 mm.*

### **Fauna.**

*No se conocen en Yap otros animales que el cerdo doméstico y las gallinas en estado salvaje, unos pájaros pequeños que en el país llaman Capelú parcidos al todo zarapicos y alguna que otro más de laguna; no existiendo variedad de pájaros de los países tropicales, de insectos hay poca abundancia. Abundan los mosquitos y moscas, por eso los naturales para librarse de estas y del frio en las Cellas [casas?] siempre duermen cerca de hogueras que hacen con bonote de coco dentro de las casas grandes y particulares.*

### **Flora.**

*Las flores casi no las conocen, pero dan muy bien algunas de las traídas de Manila, con especialidad la sampaguita.*

### **Frutas.**

*Diversas clases de plátanos, guayabana, papaya en abundancia, melon, sandia, piña, rima, castaña parecida á la de España menos en la cáscara y ser su tamaño mayor, panlan?, arrafay? ó macupa, arroel ó manga, bilimbin, camila y algunas otras.*

### **Productos.**

*Para la exportación(?) no tienen otros que la copra, pues aunque no escasea el bonote en sus playas, no cuidan de recogerlo.*

### **Maderas(?) y productos utilizables para construcción.**

*La mayoría de las maderas que se encuentran en sus bosques son como las de Filipinas, y estas son, Aninapla(?), Balibago, Balete, Bitoc, Narra blanca, Palo Maria, arbol del pan, Antipolo, Talisay, Molachao, Malacanit, Dap-dap, nipa en corta cantidad y*



*descuidada, bonga y Pandanus cuya hoja [sirve para cubrir los techos] con especialidad los de las casas grandes.*

**Minas.**

*Aunque en ciertos sitios han aparecido vetas ... [aparentemente] de hierro, al profundizarlos tres y cuatros metros no se han acertado mas estas señales por lo que creo no existir.*

**Fertilidad.**

*Se ha dicho que estos terrenos no podían producir mas que el coco, pero con las huertas de la Colonia se ha comprobado que son aptos para poder recoger en ellos Café, maíz, azúcar, cacao, arroz, tabaco, abaca y ramie?, de cuyas semillas se ha repartido por este Gobierno á los naturales prometiendo estos sembrarlas, lo que no han hecho mas que con el maíz y tabaco en algunos puntos, efecto de su caracter apático y aragan(?).*

**Industria.**

*Aunque muy curiosos para saber todo de donde viene y como se arma y desarma cualquier pieza, ya en muebles ú objetos de uso? como en armas siendo esta causa de haber [ya?] ulizado no pocas de estas últimas, la industria del país es muy escasa, consistiendo esta, en cordeles que hacen con el bonote del coco despues de nacido? de los ..., un hilo que fabrican de una yerba muy fina para redes de pesca, algunos tejidos de hombre?, otros tejidos hechos de hoja ... [para] petates; velas de sus embarcaciones, cuerdas mas ó menos delgadas hechas con pelo de muger, sus lanzas hechas de bonga, cazuelos de cocina ... [mala-]mente labradas y peor cocidas y ... sus embarcaciones con una sola batanga y un contrapeso pero de madera que flota en el extremo de la palanca que hace la batanga, cuyo flotador tiene la misma figura que la embarcación aunque de dimensiones mas reducidas.*

**Comercio.**

*Este es uno de los puntos en que los? extranjeros han sacado mas pinques que ... as con la copra pues dada la timidez de los naturales, y su afición á las baratijas de Europea y China y muy particularmente la de las armas de fuego antes de nuestra ocupación no bajaba la esportación que hacían de la copra que por cambios adquirían de estos de unas 600 toneladas, pues solo por una tercerola ó carabina de moderno sistema que en fábrica su costo no pasaba de 10 á ... [20 pesos?] daban los naturales 200 y 400 canastos de copra que pesaban por término medio 2 á 4 toneladas, vendiendose en Europa por 80 ó 100 pesos una.*

*Despues de nuestra ocupación prohibido el comercio de armas y municiones, y últimamente el de bebidas espirituosas (á las que se habían aficionado muchos) puede que no teniendo este incentivo ó por haber desaparecido la esclavitud esta haya bajado algo, pero aun se esportan de 500 á 600 toneladas, cuyas transacciones hacen hoy por cambio de concha-nacar, escoplos que luego ellos arman á modo de azuelas, alguna*

ropa, mantas, enseres de cocina de hierro, mosquiteros, telas, galletas, carne salada y arroz, siendo preferida sobre toda la concha-nacar por la que es asombrosa la cantidad de copra que dán.

Sensible es tengan tan pocas necesidades que no tengan que trabajar para satisfacerlas, pues trabajando un poco y desperdiciando tan siquiera una décima parte menos del coco que hoy desperdician despues de comer y beber de él, con el millón y pico de cocoteros que hay en la isla, la esportación no bajaría de 1.000 á 1.200 toneladas por año.

### **Caracter.**

En general los Carolinos son tímidos, y si bien es verdad que antes de nuestra ocupación siempre andaban en guerras unos pueblos con otros por los robos que se hacían, éstas por las narraciones que nos hacen no debían ser muy sangrientes, (aunque el de mucho pillage y saqueo) contentandose en perder el que llegaba a tenerlos á tres bajas.

Son viciosos, supersticiosos, embusteros de no decir palabra que sea verdad, falsos en sus promesas, y si alguna buena calidad tienen es la de no robar y respetar bastante la propiedad.

El Carolino nunca ha trabajado, de eso se han ocupado las mugeres que son las que siembran y cogen el gabe, ube, camote, calabaza, frutas, cuidan de algun que otro cerdo que los mas ricos de aquí suelen tener, y son las encargadas de limpiar sabadas(?) y hacer la comida para mantenerlos á ellos, y en muchas ocasiones á las mugeres que tienen en las casas grandes, que son las que gozan de la inmunidad de no trabajar. Ellos se pasan el dia entero en la casa grande de conversación, fumando y tomando bullo; casi siempre se duermen muy tarde por la noche, por los bailes que con mucha frecuencia tienen ó por dedicarse á esta hora alguna que otra vez á pescar, y por lo general no son nada madrugadores. Antes solían trabajar algo los esclavos, que desde el año pasado se les dió la libertad.

### **Constitución y estatura.**

La constitución en los hombres aunque á primera vista algunos de ellos parecen fuertes y robustos carecen la generalidad de musculatura efecto de la vida ociosa que llevan, siendo sus formas algo afeminadas pasando en muy pocos su estatura de 1m70 y no ... [pasando de] peso aun los que aparecen mas robustos de 68 Kilogramos.

Las mugeres por lo general son de estatura baja ... mas fuertes que los hombres efecto del trabajo das(?) en ... temprona(?) lo mismo que en lo demas de sus figuras [piernas?]; solo tienen la boca muy hechada á perder ... y dentadura por el uso constante del bullo; mugeres y hombres padecen muchas enfermedades de la piel.

### **Tatuage.**

Los que son de raza mas noble tienen tatuado el pecho y piernas con esteticos dibujos, imitando mucho mas camisetas interiores de ... en sentido vertical[,] los plebeyos solo se contentan con algunas figuras que representan pescados en brazos y piernas.

*Las mugeres en su mayoría tienen tatuadas las manos imitando los mitones que usan las señoras [españolas].*

*Todos estos tatuages, y muy particularmente los primeros les cuestan varios días de calentura. También se oradan las orejas en edad temprana llevádo en ellas dos medios cocos para preservarse del aire.*

### **Cabellera.**

*Los hombres se dejan todo el pelo largo haciendose una especie de moño por detras que luego sugetan con una peineta de rabo largo hecha de bonga. Las mugeres no usan peinetas (como pasaba antes á los esclavos) y se parten el pelo con una raya al centro haciendose un moño en la nuca, en estas por regla general no es tan abundante el pelo como en los hombres.*

### **Adornos.**

*Cualquier cosa es un adorno para los Carolinos, retazos de papel ó telas que se ponen en la peineta que usan los hombres, prefiriendo los colores de blanco y rojo[;] también se colocan estos ó cualquier hoja de ... á modo de pulseras en los brazos y tobillos, anillos y pulseras ... otros de concha ... y cáscara dura del coco, collares de cuentas ó bien de productos(?) entrelargos de tadovo(?) rojo de Palaos que es el de mas precio y mas estimado, y por último, para prepararse para los bailes se pintan unos lunares rojos en la frente, nariz, mejillas y barba con especialidad las mugeres, que parece que es ... de etiqueta para ... [atraer] á ellos.*

### **Etnografía.**

*Los habitantes de la isla de Yap, pertenece á la raza Malaya Polinésica, una de las ramas desprendidas de la raza amarilla ó mongólica según la clasificación de Quatreforges. Es opinion bastante admitida que en época no muy remota, los habitantes de las islas del archipiélago Indico emigraron hacia el E. ocupando las Carolinas Occidentales y Orientales y llegando hasta el Archipiélago Marshall donde se establecieron. En esta escursión ocuparon por primera vez algunas islas, y en otras encontraron á los Papuas ó Negritos fundiendose más ó menos con ellos.*

### **Caracter físico.**

*La forma del cráneo es globular, y mirando de arriba abajo presente una forma algo piramidal, debida á la proyección de los arcos cigonogéticos(?) [bizigonéticos?] á la estrechez de la frente y su inclinación hacia trás. La parte inferior de la cara se estrecha rápidamente desde los arcos cigonogéticos hasta el mentón. Los ojos son grandes, negros, rasgados y la apertura de los párpados trasversal aunque algunas veces es ligeramente oblicua. La nariz muy poco deprimida, en su arranque de la frente algo achatada y con las aperturas grandes y poco visibles. En algunos individuos es rectosa algo encorbada. Boca grande, labios poco gruesos y dientes implantados perpendicu-*

larmente. El cabello negro, largo ... algo ondulado. El color de la piel moreno oscuro y amarillento. Barba poca poblada aunque mucho mas que en los Tagalos.

Obligados á trabajar y ... [con] buena alimentación ... tan desarrollado la misma actividad ... que los indigenas Filipinos. Estas notas de su caracter físico son tomadas del Médico Mayor de la Armada Don Medina y Gonzales.

### **Lengua.**

Sin saber de donde deriva ... [he podido] asegurarme que es una lengua ... [sometida] á reglas, y que si ha tomado algunos nombres de las Europeas que aquí han frecuentado con especialidad la Inglesa y Española, ... de efectos desconocidos para ellos, traídos aquí de dichos países; que lo demas y por los estudios hasta aquí hechos de ella se ve no es lengua pobre y que no tiene nada de monocilaba como algunos se han querido suponer.

Hoy existe un ensayo de Gramática escrito por uno de los Reverendos P.P. Misioneros de esta Colonia.

### **Religión.**

No conocen ninguna positiva, como supersticiosos en sumo grado, tienen en los pueblos uno á quien llaman **Mates Mats** que es una especie de Santón ó adivino que les predice con ciertos sortilegios sobre la muerte ó la vida de los que están enfermos, si saldrá bien el baile que van á dar, si tendrán suerte en la pesca etc. etc. Tienen según ellos el poder de evocar las tempestades haciendolas cesar según su voluntad, y el de cambiar el giro de los vientos ... cuyos individuos todo Carolino cuenta mil patrañas.

Creer en la inmortalidad del alma, la que se separa del cuerpo al morir y habita por ciertas regiones estrañas que unos creen sean los bosques y otros las nubes. Estos santones antes dichos son los que ... y dan virtud á ciertas [cestas?] como reliquias que consisten en espinas de pescado, áspas hechas con politos(?) ó piedrecitas las que atadas por ellos á las espuestas [cestas?] que siempre ... [llevan?] consigo tienen ... [virtudes?] diferentes, como la de preservar de una desgracia en la guerra, evitarles caiga encima un rayo etc. etc. cuyas reliquias valen á los santones bastantes conchas ó dinero del país.

### **Moneda.**

Casi puede asegurarse ... [que] los Carolinos no conocían la de ningún país civilizado hasta nuestra ocupación, enej... nos pocos que ya como criados de los Europeos que aquí halla, ó ya de marineros en los barcos la habían recibido como sueldos ... demás en sus transacciones por la copra no habían cambiado estas más que por conchas, telas para taparrabos, alguna que otra pieza de ropa, armas y otras baratijas.

Una de las que ha servido como moneda, son unas piedras redondas y labradas torcamente á la que ellos daban valor según su tamaño, habiendolas hasta de 400 y 500 pesos, de esta moneda esa fábrica unas canteras que hay en Palaos, por lo que cada vez que salía un barco para allí, emigraban 40 ó 50 hombres para labrarlas, regresando con

ellas en el barco y sacándolas de él despues de haber pagado un buen flete y pasage en copra, que no bajaba en las más grandes de 200 á 300 canastos de arroba [cada uno].

Hoy ya en casi toda la isla prefieren nuestra moneda, pero se han caído las piedras hasta para los tratos entre ellos, aun siguen las conchas que tienen en tanta estima.

### **Costumbres y bailes.**

**Bailes:** Estos duran toda la estación seca, es lo único formal que hace los Carolinos. Hay pueblos que los tienen todos los años, y otros en su mayoría, les toca tenerlos cada dos ó cuatro años, en estos últimos son más en grande pués duran dos y más meses, y como todos los pueblos amigos vienen á ellos, concluyen con tal las viandas y hasta con la concha de coco. Una vez concluidas las provisiones de este pueblo, ... [no] cesarían por esto, se van retirando ... - dados á buscar ... [más] en los suyos respectivos y vuelven con nuevo ardor otros 15 días ó un mes más, y así la fiesta queda más lucida.

Hay pueblos tambien, que solo dan bailes, pero no de comer, pues en la temporada que daran estos los árboles, las plantas y los cerdos que ellos crían tienen Mates Mats [=tabu] y no se les puede tocar, estos son los que salen mejor librados porque llevan los forasteros la comida y no les ponga como á los otros que quedan como si hubiera pasado por ellos una plaga de langosta.

Empiezo esta reseña diciendo que los bailes es lo más formal que hacen los Carolinos, y me fando(?) para decirlo, en que no hay ocupación, enfermedad ni nada que queda con esto de baile ó boy? al baile, los que bailan y los que miran tienen sus cinco sentidos puestos en él; para él echan el Mates Mats un millón de veces a ver si su horóscopo dice si ha de salir bien, si no ha de llover, si vendrá mucha gente, en una palabra, al hablar de baile se acaba para ellos todo lo poco que conocen del mundo.

Estos son de tres clases, de hombres, de mugeres y de niños, pero nunca mezclados los sexos. Los pueblos donde se verifica el baile, tienen á gala el presentar en las casas grandes donde se dan todas sus riquezas como son sus tesoros de piedras y conchas (moneda corriente entre ellos), petates, pintura amarilla y roja con que se tiñen, montones de cocos para obsequiar á los convidados que por muy pobres que sean, nunca dejan de traer sus presentes consistentes en lo mismo.

Tanto hombres como mugeres y niños, ademas de estar embadurnados de aceite de coco, se pintarragean cara, brazos y piernas de ... rojo, y adornandos con coronas de ramas verdes y otras más caprichosas hechas de bejuco y madera, y con brazaletes en los brazos y piernas de hoja de coco, quedan listos para el baile.

Puestos en filas, unas veces sentados y otras de pié, empiezan el baile con un canto monótono y cadencioso cuyo significado es indescifrable aún para ellos mismos, y haciendo mil variadas flexiones con brazos, piernas, cintura y cuello acompañadas de golpes con la palma de las manos en turno, y de gritos un poco más altos, terminan por el grito salvaje, para empezar con otro canto con el mismo ritmo hasta que llegan á cansarse y esto lo hacen una parte, contando cada baile de 2 ó 5 de ellas.

Cada pueblo tiene su baile especial y como todos los bailes son de un compás matemático, necesitan para ello multitud de ensayos, siendo estos todas las noches de luna

*llena, de modo que se puede decir muy bien, que el Carolino está en baile mientras la luna alumbrá.*

*Los hombres bailan por lo general dentro de las casas grandes, los demás todos bailan al encampado. Entre los bailes figura la guerra en que puestos en dos hileras una frente de la otra, representando el acometerse y con mil gritos, señas con las manos y pasos muy acompasados tratan de imitar esta, no sin dar de reir poco al que la presencia, pensando que como fuerza cualquiera, con el armamento del día tomaría segundos en dar fin de ambos combatientes.*

*El baile de las mugeres, viene á ser lo mismo que el de los hombres, con la diferencia que los golpes secos que éstos dan, ellas lo hacen dando golpecitos con unas cañas más largas ó más cortas, con la de su bisabís, haciendo unas veces media ca-..., y otras cambiando puestos; su conjunto no es feo, y como sus voces son más dulces, resulta un todo di- [divertido?] ... Estarían(?) mucho mejor, con otros trages diferentes del que ... [llevan] que no es más que una especie de enaguilla ... [hecha] con hojas de coco al hilo, y pintada para los bailes ... de aparada(?) de amarillo, rojo y azul.*

*Los bailes de los niños no son más [que] una imitación cada uno en su sexo; la gran cosa de todos ellos es ...-gar(?) resulten todos sus movimientos uniformes y que no se oiga más que un grito ó golpe.*

*Costumbres: El Carolino se despierta tarde porque le gusta mucho la conversación por la noche ó el baile, duerme generalmente en la casa grande cerca de un sitio en donde quemán bonote de coco para alumbrarse y con el humo ahuyentar los mosquitos.*

*Las mugeres no viven en la misma casa de los hombres, ellas tienen unas casitas pequeñas algo parecidas á perreras y de ellas no salen más que cuando las necesita el marido harto hace éste con comer lo que le traen, estar de charla fumando y tomando bullo. Ni aún comer lo hace el marido con la muger, sería rebajarse; así que la situación de estas, no puede inspirar más lástima; la muger propia ni aún celos le inspira, en cambio son celosos y mucho para las que tienen en la casa grande que son robadas á otros pueblos y que son á las que atienden y agasajan llegando hasta salir á pescar para ellas.*

*Su comida principal es el coco, y de estos el gran plato, son los que despues de cojidos y abandonados en un montón empiezan á retoñar, toman también gabe, ube y camote cocidos, el pescado crudo y pasado y algunas veces se suelen regalar con carne de cerdo que ellos crían con coco. No beben más agua que la del coco, y son muy aficionados á las bebidas espirituosas particularmente á la ginebra dándoles á todas el nombre de rum. Los bullos son un [mys]-terio pues consiste en la bellota entera de la bonga, la hoja del betel y un puñon de cal; mugeres y hombres abusan de él.*

*Por regla general son sucios y más las mugeres que los hombres, pues aunque acostumbran a bañarse en la mar todas las mañanas, tienen el pelo largo y tan mal cuidado que se puede afirmar habitan otros se-... la superficie de su cabeza á más del achuete, aceite de coco y otras mil cosas que se tiñan por todo el cuerpo que no dejan de ensuciarlos.*

*El coco es el árbol indispensable en Yap, él facilita casa, comida, bebida y ropa limpia, pues los taparrabos en su mayoría se tienen de él, el que les sobran y recogen en un*

*momento que quieren hacer algo (que son los menos) en el que dedican á copra partiéndolo y poniéndolo á secar.*

*Padecen bastantes enfermedades de la piel, y no escasea el **Lupus** y los cánceres. Son muy sensibles al frío y se puede afirmar que en una temperatura de menos de 24 centígrados no salen del lado del fuego. Tienen mucha propensión al contagio, pues el año pasado de resultas de haberse lavado en Rul las ropas de un marinero del **San Quintín** que estaba incomunicado por tener el sarampión, se contagió toda la isla no bajando de 400 á 500 las defunciones que tuvieron con esta enfermedad.*

*Son cariñosos para los niños hasta cierta edad en que ya pueden coger los cocos y ayudar á las mugeres en sus faenas agrícolas, entonces ya no les hacen caso, y les dejan juntarse ambos sexos de donde viene la decadencia de la raza.*

*A las proximidades de las casas grandes tienen unas plazoletas perfectamente empedradas y con piedras colocadas verticalmente para recostarse, y en estas son donde tienen sus conversaciones las noches de luna que no bailan, y en las que también ... [se dan los] bailes de mugeres y niños.*

***Las casas grandes.** Estas son una especie de camarines de grandes dimensiones, y con ventanas de dos en dos metros, están levantadas sobre el terreno en una base hecha de piedra un metro ó metro y medio y carecen de puertas, las cubiertas ó techos tienen una caída grandísima, y en su menor ... [dimensión?] son muy lanzadas para afuera. Los materiales de ellas, todos son salidos del coco, pues la techumbre es de su hoja amarada con liza hecha del bonote curado en agua dulce, sus harigues, vigas y demás son cocos y bongas y sus paredes formadas de una especie de persianas hechas con tiras ó rajadas de bonga, y sujetas por la citada cuerda, por lo que es un sin número de maderas de esta los que gastan en la construcción de una casa. Las que tienen piso de madera, son regularmente medios troncos de árboles con especialidad castañas y árbol del pan. Estas casas suelen estar muy adornadas por fuera con esculturas que más tienen de caricatura que de arte.*

*Las casas carecen de luz y ventilación, pues aunque construidas en la playa ó sus alrededores, buscan estén casi siempre á cubierto de árboles. En estas casas tienen opción todos los del pueblo, á tener sus cocos, redes para pescar, armas y todo lo que quieran, y están más seguros que en su casa propia. Lo demás de su hacienda siempre lo llevan consigo en una esportilla larga que no dejan de la mano; esta por lo regular contiene los avios del bullo y de fumar, un espejo roto, una cucharra que les sirve para sacar la comida del coco, un par de conchas pequeñas con las que se arrancan los pelos de la barba y no les falta cualquier baratija más, regalada por un Europeo, faltando á muy pocos el amuleto del santón que en otra parte hablé.*

*Suelen también llevar consigo, un escoplo montado en una asta en forma de azuela sobre el hombro, pero esto no indica que el que lo lleva sea el mejor trabajador.*

### **Matrimonios.**

*Estos son convenios que hacen entre sí los padres de los novios muchas veces concertados cuando tienen estos 3 ó 4 años, para efectuarse regalan los padres del novio á*

los de la novia algunas cosas de comer como camote, gabe, ube, castañas ... teniendo que responder los de la novia á estos regalos con otros parecidos, quedando ya el matrimonio hecho, estos lazos son muy frágiles, pues por la menor cosa se rompen y vuelven los pichones á buscar pareja, habiéndose dado muchos casos ... [en que] poco despues de nuestra llegada de vender el marido á la muger para las casas grandes.

Ellos en general dan poca importancia á esto, que son ... [muy pocos] y contados los maridos que tienen hoy su primer muger.

#### **Funerales.**

Cuando muere algún enfermo, lo espositan sobre una especie de ... ó andas que ellos hacen, se reúnen todos los del pueblo y conocidos, y por las mugeres en coro le cantan un aire triste y monótono ciertas canciones recordando lo que gustaba más al enfermo y que en su salvagismo no carecen de poesía, ordinariamente no entierran á ninguno sin ... [asistir?] toda la familia y con especialidad los hijos, la mayoría de los que asisten á estos entierros traen al difunto ofrendas de conchas ó piedras pequeñas según su gerarquía enterrándoles sentados y rodeados con las primeras.

Si acaece la muerte cuando reina algún temporal de aguas entonces no cantan las mugeres porque hay mates mats por haber muerto el enfermo.

Los duelos consisten en abstenerse la muger y los hijos de pasar(?) al interior de la casa del difunto, y en privarse por más ó menos tiempo de algo de la comida que de ordinario hacen, és la duración de estas privaciones unas tres lunas.

Tienen en gran respeto las sepulturas dejándolas ... [solas?] para siempre.

#### **Colonia.**

En esta se cuenta con una buena casa de Gobierno, dos Cuarteles de tablas y nipa para la tropa y disciplinaria, con 4 pabellones para Oficiales el primero y uno el segundo, dos huertas en muy buen estado de cultivo y capaz de proporcionar verdura en abundancia para los ranchos de las fuerzas, una enfermería capaz de alojar dieciseis enfermos con sus accesorios y Pabellon para el Médico, una Cisterna, con cabida de 42 toneladas de agua para el campamento, y otra con manantial y lavadero en las proximidades de la Enfermería para las atenciones de esta y poder refrescar su aguada los Buques, Cementerio, horno para pan, polvorín, fragua, un camarín que se puede dedicar á carpintería, un Reducto Alfonso XIII, suficiente para defenderse de los naturales, pero que necesita algunas modificaciones y dar más amplitud á las esplanadas para poder contar en él la Artillería, un istmo que une esta isla con la tierra firme, y una buena calzada de 500 m de largo, por 4 de ancho, que conduce á la Iglesia y Enfermería, la farola del Puerto que está colocada en el Reducto antes citado á 142 m de elevación que da un alcance medio de 20 millas, y á su alrededor tiene habitación para los torreros, y alojamiento para 20 hombres y un oficial, una factoria de materiales lijeros para las provisiones, un buen muelle para descarga, Iglesia con techo de zinc, paredes de bonga, y piso de tabla, está, tanto por su ornato interior como por el sumo cuidado con que la conservan los R.R. P.P. Misioneros puede competir con ventaja con la de muchos puntos del Archipiélago Filipino. Además existe ya establecida á unas cinco millas del Campamento, y en el pueblo de Goror, uno de los Reverendos Padres Mis-



*ioneros, el cual ... -peda muy eficazmente las gestiones ... este Gobierno teniendo abierta una Escuela á la que cada día asisten más naturales, y de la que uno de los más asiduos asistentes, és el Gobernadorcillo puesto por este Gobierno á la muerte del que había cuando la ocupación; en los limites del Campamento hay un Barrio en el que habitan ya tres matrimonios de Carolinos Católicos.*

[Regulations of Governor Torres, dated 31 March 1887]

*Al encargarme de este Gobierno ví la necesidad que había de dar ciertas reglas para la conducta que debían seguir en lo sucesivo los Carolinos, las que fueron traducidas á la lengua del país por el Reverendo Padre Capuchino Fr. Antonio de Valencia de esta Misión, las que se copian en este escrito.*

**Artículo 1.** *En toda la estension que abraza el Ecuador hasta el grado 11 N. y el Meridiano 1544° E. de San Fernando no se reconoce de otra Autoridad que el Gobernador nombrado por S.M. El Rey de España.*

**Artículo 2.** *En todas las Carolinas de este Gobierno se respetarán los usos y costumbres de los naturales en todo aquello que no ataquen á los artículos de éste, prohibiéndose en absoluto la esclavitud, ventas y robos de mugeres.*

**Artículo 3.** *Existiendo una autoridad responsable del orden en todo lo que comprende estas Carolinas la cual puede derimir contiendas, hacer se respeten los derechos y la propiedad de los Carolinos, tanto entre ellos mismos y la Colonia como en sus negocios con los estrangeros, no se permitirán otras armas que las de caza, y eso con licencia del Gobierno, siendo preso y juzgado en el acto el que se cogiese con ellas en la mano.*

**Artículo 4.** *Con arreglo al art. anterior se entregarán todas las armas bajo la responsabilidad de los Pilunes ó Gobernadorcillos, á los poseedores del valor de ellas, excepto en los pueblos de Inuf y Rul que las tomaron en ... [alto?] para oponerse á órdenes.*

**Artículo 5.** *Siempre que el Gobernador con arreglo á los recursos de cada pueblo pidiese maderas, hojas de coco, cuerda ó algún otro auxilio lo mismo que el de gente para los trabajos se le facilitará por los Pilunes ó Gobernadorcillos bien entendido que lo primero siempre se ha de pagar á gusto de los que lo faciliten en justicia, y cuando concurren los segundos la comida se les dará además de los regalos á los más constantes.*

**Artículo 6.** *Los Gobernadorcillos ó Pilunes facilitarán tambien los auxilios que puedan á los R.R. P.P. Misioneros para que libremente puedan dirigir la educación intelectual y espiritual de los que voluntariamente quieran ser enseñados por ellos, dándoles una recompensa á los que faciliten sitio ó casas para este objeto.*

**Artículo 7.** *La solicitud del Gobierno Español ha dotado á la Colonia de Médico y abundantes medicinas, los Carolinos que quieran curarse de sus enfermedades podrán venir á la Colonia donde se les facilitará asistencia y medicinas.*

**Artículo 8.** *Como prueba de garantía de que se cumplirán todos estos artículos, se respetarán los derechos de los Pilunes ó Gobernadorcillos que existen en la actualidad,*

*y que conformes con este Reglamento, lo firmen con mi autoridad, siendo relevados por otros los que así no lo hiciesen.*

*Yap 31 de Marzo de 1887.*

*El Gobernador.*

*Mariano Torres*

## Translation.

### Report on the Island of Yap.

#### Situation and discovery.

The island is situated in 9°30' N. and its longitude is 144°10'40" E. of San Fernando. It is divided into 107 villages or hamlets whose principal chiefs or Piluns are those of Tomil and Rull; next come those of Gagil, Map, Fanif, Luedoy [Lueis], Numigil, and Lamer and finally those with less importance which are Adolip, Leninao, Guinefay, Dulucan, Dugor and the island named Rumung, but leaving unnamed 94 villages or hamlets with a total population density [sic] that does not reach 9,000 souls, the largest having more than 200 and the smallest as few as 6, 10, and as many as 30.

There are three foreigners: Mr. O'Keefe (Irishman); Mr. Lewis (Scotch) who represents the German house of Handel Plantagen; and Mr. Friedlander, agent for Hershheim, also German. The first-named works for himself and, on account of his long residence on the island, can buy twice as much copra as the other two houses together, for a total of some 350 to 400 tons per year.

There is no doubt that the island was discovered by the Spanish, given that Fr. Cantova sent some ship to reconnoiter it.<sup>1</sup> There exists within the bay an island that the natives call Obi or the Island of the Spanish; indeed, it appears that it had been given by the natives to some Spaniards who arrived here and are still remembered by the oldest natives of the island, who still know some of their names: Carlos, Francisco, Meliton (who must have been the ship captain because they called him "Capitan"), Joaquín, ... (who was made Pilun by them) and Don Benito. They also believe that it was they who introduced tuba(?), a custom that was still preserved in Guror until a few years before our occupation and the use of betel nut. Afterwards, it appears that a few other small Spanish ships arrived here at different times and in bad shape on account of storms, one of which had her crew killed and was destroyed by the people of Tomil, and another also but part of her crew was saved because they took refuge in Goror whose King or Pilun was Fonaguey (who died three months ago); he gave them his protection and defended them from the Tomil people.

The years of those disasters cannot be fixed with precision because these natives do not have any idea of time; they reckon time by the number of lunar months, but a period greater than 10 moons, they stop counting.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He did not, but it was discovered earlier by the Spanish in 1686.

**Nature of the soil.**

Given that the reefs are little by little gaining ground, one may be justified in believing that the whole island is due to an uplifting of the submarine floor. Indeed, at every place where the soil has been worked, after digging through the surface layer—which is clayish—down to one meter or 1-1/2 meters deep, porous stone has been encountered.

There are earthquakes but they are of low intensity and do not last long; they are not noticed in the Colony, except when the natives who notice them begin to blow the conch trumpet.

There is no shortage of water but, as the natives use it only in their plantations of *gabe* and *ube* [taro], and the only water they drink is that from the coconut, they do not channel the rainwater that has infiltrated the soil.

**Topography.**

The island is completely surrounded by reefs, although the reefs extend farther out at the south end; the whole area comprised within this barrier reef is about 260 square miles, but the island itself is only about 20 miles in length by 6 to 7 miles in width. At the north end and within the reef, there are two small islands, the larger of which is called Map, which would be about 5 to 6 square miles in area and that of Rumung about three; the two islets are [virtually] joined to the mainland at low tide, when the water becomes only knee-deep.

Almost in the center of the island there are three hills that the natives call Maki, Madadi [Matade] and Cabul [Kual]; Cabul is the highest; it is 142 meters, as measured with the barometer.<sup>1</sup> The lighthouse for the port is located there and also the Redoubt of Alfonso XIII.

When criss-crossing the island in all directions, one notices that center is nothing but a vast empty space, uncultivated, because the Carolinians have their houses and their plantations only within two or three miles from the coast.

**Hydrography.**

The most important hydrographical information that we can give to navigators who may use this port are the following: using the chart drawn by Navy Lieutenant Manuel Otal, they can count the buoys and markers that have been put in place at the entrance (red), the Duero Shoal (red), Otal Shoals and Point (white) and in all the other points along the channel, those on starboard upon entering the port are painted red, and those on the port side are painted white; the markers continue as far as the anchorage which is in front of the Coal Pier and the German trading station, where they can anchor in from 10 to 15 meters from the pier of the Colony, in front of Government Huse called General Terrero House, in 9 to 10 meters of water.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Not a bad estimate of elevation, but, in fact, Matade is slightly higher. Bryan's Place Names, C42-E2c, states that Mount Kual, where the small fort was located, is actually 160 meters.

Nowadays the ships do their watering easily by sending a boat in front of the church where a waterway has been built, at the end of which there is an iron pipe under which the boat can place itself at high tide to receive water from the water cistern that has been built there recently on the bank below the church.

#### **Climate.**

The climate is mostly temperate during the dry months, the temperature not exceeding 35°. The atmospheric pressure ... is 759 mm. Nevertheless, on the nights of full moon and during the months of June to November (the rainy season), there is much humidity, the relative humidity being from 36? 27? and 16 with 9 [?]. The prevailing winds blow from the 1st and 3rd quadrants according to the moon, the average wind speed is ? to 2 meters per second. During the rainy season there are months when the rain can be as much as ... mm.; the number of rainy days per month can go from 20 to 22 during the rainy season, and from 6 to 11 during the dry season; evaporation is of ... mm.

#### **Fauna.**

There are no animals in Yap other than domestic pigs and chickens that run wild, a few small birds that the natives call Capelù that look like *zarapicos* [grosbeaks?] in all respects and some other birds of the marine type. There is not the variety of tropical birds that one can expect, but plenty of insects. Mosquitos and flies abound; that is why, in order to free themselves from them and from the cold, the natives always sleep near fires that they maintain inside their houses by burning coconut husk, inside the big houses and their private homes.

#### **Flora.**

Flowers are almost unknown, but those that have been brought from Manila grow very well, specially the *sampaguita* [jasmin].

#### **Fruits.**

There are various species of bananas, *guayabana* [custard apple], papaya in abundance, melon, watermelon, pineapple, breadfruit, a chestnut similar to that in Spain except for its shell and its smaller size, *panlan*(?), *arrafay*(?) or *macupa*, *arfoel* or mango, *bilimbing*, *camila* and a few others.

#### **Products.**

For exportation they have only the copra; indeed, although there is plenty of coconut coir lying around their beaches, they do not care to collect it.

#### **Woods and building materials.**

Most of the trees that are found in their forests are the same as those of the Philippines, for instance, the Aninapla(?), Balibago, Balete, Bitoc, white Narra, Palo Maria, breadfruit, Antipolo, Talisay, Molachao, Malacanit, Dap-dap, Nipa in short quantity

and neglected, Bonga [Areca palm] and Pandanus whose leaf serves for roofing, specially the big houses.

### **Mines.**

Although at certain sites some veins that appeared to contain iron have been seen, after digging three and four meters such veins have disappeared, and that is why I believe that it does not exist.

### **Fertility.**

I have already said that the soil cannot produce anything but coconuts, but in the gardens of the Colony it has been proven that the soil is good enough to produce coffee, corn, sugarcane, cacao, rice, tobacco, hemp and ramie, seeds of which have been distributed by this Government among the natives, who promised to plant them, but they have not done so, except for the corn and tobacco in some places, as a result of their apathetic and lazy(?) character.

### **Industry.**

Although they are very curious to know where everything comes from and how it works, when dealing with furniture or useful objects such as weapons, perhaps as a result of having used many weapons, the local industry is very little, consisting only in making rope with coconut coir after the nut has been born(?), some very fine thread which they make from a grass, and used to make fishing-nets, a few clothes for men, other woven materials from leaves to make mats, sails for their canoes, cords more or less thick made with women's hair, spears of bonga wood, cooking vessels badly made and baked even worse, and finally their canoes with a single outrigger and a counterweight, of wood, that floats at the end of the lever made by the outrigger; said float has the same shape as the main boat, although it is of smaller dimensions.

### **Commerce.**

This is one of the places where foreigners have made more profits with copra than elsewhere, because of the timidity of the natives and their love for European and Chinese trinkets and very particularly the love of firearms before our occupation when the exportation of copra that they got in trading with them reached some 600 tons [per year]; in fact, for just one carbine or a modern rifle that would cost from 10 to ... [20 pesos?] to manufacture, the natives gave from 200 and 400 hampers of copra that weighed on the average from 2 and 4 tons, which sells in Europe for 80 or 100 pesos per ton.

After our occupation the trade in firearms and ammunition was prohibited, and finally that of alcoholic beverages (to which many had become addicted), it could be that, no longer having this incentive or on account of slavery having disappeared, this exportation would have decreased somewhat, but there are still from 500 to 600 tons being exported. However, today's transactions are made with mother-of-pearl, steel chisels

from which they natives make adzes, some clothes, blankets, iron cooking pots, mosquito nets, linen, biscuits, salted meat and rice, but their favorite item is the mother-of-pearl, so that the quantity of copra they give is amazing.

It is a shame that they have so few needs as to make them work very little to satisfy them; indeed, if they worked a little and wasted less, even one-tenth less of what they now let go to waste after they have gotten their food and drink from the coconut, with the more than one million coconut trees that there are now on the island, exports of copra would exceed from 1,000 to 1,200 tons per year.

### **Character.**

In general, the Carolinians are shy, and although it is true that before our occupation they were always at war with one another on account of the thefts [of women] they carried out, such wars could not have been very bloody, from the narratives of them that they have made to us (though there was much pillage and plunder), given that they agreed to become the losers after suffering three casualties.

They are vicious, superstitious, cheaters as not one word of theirs is true, false in their promises, and if they have one good quality it is that they do not rob and rather respect the property of others.

The Carolinian [man] has never worked, as work is left to the women who are those who plant and gather the taro, sweet potatoes, squashes, fruits, and may take care some pig or other that the wealthiest among the local people usually keep, and they are the ones who have to clean the sheets(?) and do the cooking to maintain the men, and many times to maintain the women that the men keep in the big houses as well, because the latter enjoy immunity from work. The men spent the whole day in the big house in conversation, smoking and chewing betel nut; almost always they go to sleep very late at night, on account of the very frequent dances that they hold or because they may have gone fishing at night, but generally they are not early risers. Before, the slaves used to do some work, but they were given their freedom last year

### **Constitution and stature.**

As far as the constitution of the men is concerned, although some of them first appear to be strong and robust, they are in fact lacking in muscles, the result of their idle way of life, and their shapes are somewhat effeminate. As for stature, very few of them exceed 1m70 in height, and even those who appear robust do not exceed 68 kilograms.

The women are generally short, but stronger than the men, the result of the work they do ... the same as in the rest of their figures [legs?]. However, their teeth are in a very bad state on account of the use of betel nut. Both men and women suffer from many skin diseases.

### **Tattooing.**

Those who belong to the noble class have their chest and legs tattooed with esthetical drawings, along vertical lines, and much resembling some underwear. The plebeians content themselves with some figures that represent fishes on their arms and legs.

Women for the most part have their hands tattooed, and the effect is similar to that of our ladies wearing mittens [sic].<sup>1</sup>

All of those tattoos, and very particularly the first group, cause them many days of fever. They also pierce their ears at a young age, when they wear the two halves of a coconut shell for protection against the wind.

### **Hair styles.**

The men let their hair grow long and they make a sort of knot behind their heads which they secure in place with a back comb with a long handle, made with areca wood. The women do not wear combs (in the past the slaves did not either) but they part their hair in the middle, tying it in a knot on their nape. The hair of the women does not grow as abundantly as that of the men.

### **Adornments.**

For the Carolinians, anything can be used as an adornment: pieces of paper or cloth that the men place on their comb, with the colors red and white being preferred; they also place some leaf from ... to act as bracelets on their arms and ankles, rings and bracelets ... others made of shell ... and the hard shell of the coconut, necklaces of beads or of red beads brought from Palau which are most precious and most costly, and finally, to prepare themselves for the dances they paint red beauty spots on their forehead, nose, cheeks and beard, specially the women, and it seems to be considered fashionable for them to do so in order to attract the men.

### **Ethnography.**

The inhabitants of the island of Yap belong to the Malayo-Polynesian race, one of the branches of the yellow or Mongol race, according to the classification of Quatreforges. It is an accepted fact, it seems, that not too long ago, the inhabitants of the islands of the Indian Archipelago emigrated eastward, occupying the Western and Eastern Carolines and reaching as far as the Marshall Archipelago where they settled. In their excursion they were first in occupying some islands, but in others they found some Papuans or Negritos, and they became more or less mixed with them.

### **Physical characteristics.**<sup>2</sup>

The shape of the skull is globular, and when looking down from above, it presents a shape somewhat pyramidal, due to the projection of the cigonogetical [bizigonetical?] curves, to the narrowness of the forehead and its inclination towards the back. The

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1 Ed. note: Rather, their fancy embroidered gloves.

2 I owe the notes in this paragraph to Don Medina y Gonzales, Senior Navy Physician.

lower part of the face becomes rapidly narrower from the cignogetical curves down to the chin. The eyes are large, black, wide-open and the aperture of the eyelids is transversal, although sometimes it is slightly oblique. The nose is very little depressed; it is somewhat flat at the base near the forehead and the nostrils are big but not too visible. In some individuals it is straight but a little arched. The mouth is big, the lips a little thick and the teeth planted perpendicularly. The hair is black, long, ... somewhat curly. The color of the skin is dark brown and yellowish. The beard sparse but thicker than among the Tagals [Filipinos].

### **Language.**

Without knowing its origin, I was able to find out that it is a language ... with grammatical rules. Although it has borrowed a few words from the languages spoken by the Europeans who have visited the island, mostly from English and Spanish, from unknown effects upon them, brought overhere from those countries. As for the rest, and through studies that have been made so far, it can be seen that it is not a poor language and that it none of the monosyllabic words that some people had us believe.

There already exists a draft of a grammar written by one of the Reverend Missionary Fathers of this Colony.

### **Religion.**

They do not know any positive religion, being superstitious in the extreme. In the villages they have a man whom they call **Mates Mats** who is a sort of fortune-teller who makes predictions with certain withcraft regarding the death or survival of those being sick, whether or not the dance that is planned will come out alright, whether or not the fishing excursion will be successful, etc., etc. They have, according to them, the power to evoke storms and make them stop according to their will, and to make the winds chage direction... Any Carolinian will tell you a thousand hoaxes carried out by such individuals.

They believe in the immortality of the soul, as it separates from the body at death and it lives in certain strange regions that they believe might be in the forests, but others think it is in the clouds. The above-mentioned fortune-tellers are those who ... [make] and give power to certain bundles in the shape of relics that consist of fish-bones, x-shaped figures made with small stones, and once they have been tied by them they are carried in the baskets that they always carry.<sup>1</sup> Such bundles have different powers, for instance, to preserve the wearer from misfortune in war, to avoid being hit by lightning, etc., etc. Such relics earn a lot of money for the fortune-tellers, in the form of shells or local money.

### **Money.**

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1 Ed. note: For the sake of clarity, this paragraph could not be literally translated.



It can be affirmed that the Carolinians did not know any money from any civilized country before our occupation, and we are not a little startled(?) by this fact because they were already at the service of the European residents, or serving as sailors aboard some ships and should have receive salaries... also in their copra transactions, but they have receive only mother-of- pearl shells, cloth for their loin-cloths, some or other piece of cloth, weapons and other trinkets.

What they have used for money are some round stones, roughly crafted, to which they have given value according to their size, some valued as much as 400 and 500 pesos. This money is manufactured in some quarries that exist in Palau, so that every time a ship leaves for Palau 40 to 50 men go with her to create some more, and they return with them aboard the ship. They unload them after they have paid well in copra for the transport and their passage, as many as 200 to 300 baskets weighing one arroba each for the largest stones.

Nowadays they prefer our currency in the greater part of the island, and the stones are losing value among them even for their own dealings among themselves, although they continue to use the pearl shells.

#### **Customs and dances.**

**Dances.**—They take place during the whole of the dry season, and are the only formal social events among the Carolinians. There are villages that hold dances once a year, but the majority of them hold them once every two to four years; however, the less frequent they are the more important as they may last two or more months. As all the friendly villages come to such dances, they soon run out of food, even coconuts, to eat. Once the supplies of this village are exhausted, the dance does not stop for all that; the participants go home a few at a time to look for more food and they return to continue with more ardor for 15 days or a month longer, so that the festivity can be more splendid.

There are also some villages that hold dances, but do not provide food; indeed, during the season that the dances are held, the trees, plants and pigs that they raise are made taboo and cannot be touched; these people are those who come out best, because the visitors have to bring in the food, and they do not suffer as much as the others who are so cleaned out that their place afterwards look like it has been hit by a plague of locusts.

I begin by saying that dancing is the most formal thing that the Carolinians do, and I insist upon saying that there is no occupation, sickness or anything that prevents them from going to the ball, when both the participants and the spectators have their five senses fixed upon it. Before the ball, they consult the fortune-teller a million times, to see whether the omen says that it will go well or not, if there will be rain, if many people will come; in one word, when speaking of dancing, for them, it is as if the rest of the world had stopped turning.

There are three types of dances: the men's, the women's, and the children's, but the sexes are never mixed. The villages where the dancing takes place, have to prepare their

big house for the event; that is where they show all their wealth, such as the above-mentioned stone money and the pearl shells (the current money among them), mats, yellow and red powder to paint themselves with, piles of coconuts to give to their guests who, on their part, though very poor, have to bring the same type of articles as presents.

Men, women and children alike, in addition to being daubed with coconut oil, paint their own face, arms and legs with the red [powder], and adorn themselves with wreaths of green branches and other more capriciously made of cane and wood, and with bracelets on their arms and legs of coconut leaves; now they are ready to dance.

They line themselves in two rows, sometimes sitting and sometimes standing. They begin the dance with a monotonous and rhythmical chant whose meaning of which is unknown, even to themselves, and they make a thousand varied motions with their arms, legs, waist and neck, accompanied with hand clappings and shouts in a higher tone, and they end with a wild shout, to begin anew with another chant with the same rhythm until they begin to get tired and then, another group takes over, the dancing continuing until 4(?) to 5 groups have danced.

Every village has its own special dance and, as all dances have a mathematical beat, they need to hold many trials, and that is what they do on moonlit nights, so that one could very well say that the Carolinian dances whenever the moon is shining.

Generally the men dance inside the big houses, the others all dance in the open. Among the dances, there is a war dance in which the two rows face each other, and they act as if to attack one another [two at a time] with a thousand shouts, signs with the hands and very rhythmical gestures as they try to imitate a war; the spectator should not be blamed if he smiles a little, because, as a force whatever, with the modern weapons at our disposal, it would take seconds to finish off with both combatants.

The dances of the women are more or less the same as those of the men, with the difference that the dry blows that the former gave, are given by the latter more softly, with some sticks that are longer or shorter, with her partner, while some of them make half turns(?) and others trade places. The whole scene is not ugly, and as their voices are softer, the result is much fun. The dances would be even better with other clothes, other than the type that they wear which is a sort of kilt... [made] with coconut leaves, stripped down, and, for dancing, painted yellow, red and blue.

The dances of the children are nothing else but imitations of the adults of their own sex; the great thing with all of them is ... [uniformity?] so that all their movements come out so uniform and only one shout or a blow is heard.

**Customs.** The Carolinian gets up late because he likes to converse at night or to dance; he generally sleeps in the big house near a place where they burn coconut husk to make light and to chase away the mosquitos with the smoke.

The women do not live in the same houses as the men; they have their own small houses, that look somewhat like dog-houses and they do not leave them unless the husband needs them, to bring him something to eat, to where he sits, conversing, smoking and chewing betel nut. Indeed, the husband does not even eat with his wife; it would be to lower himself. So it is that the status of the women can only inspire compassion;

the men do not even feel jealous with respect to their own wives, but they are very jealous for the women whom they keep in the big house who have been robbed to other villages; indeed, they take good care of these women and they entertain them, going so far as to go out fishing for them.

Their principal food is the coconut, and among their coconut dishes, their favorite comes from a pile of coconuts that have been abandoned and left to sprout. They also eat cooked *gabe, ube* [taro] and sweet potatoes, raw and roasted fish, and sometimes they use to have a feast eating pork from pigs they raise with coconut. They do not drink water, except that from the coconut, and they are very fond of alcoholic drinks, specially gin, but they call all of them rum. The betel nuts are a ... [mystery?], indeed it consists of a whole acorn from the areca palm, the leaf of the betel and a handful of lime; both men and women abuse it.

As a general rule they are dirty, and the women more than the men; indeed, although they use to bathe themselves in the sea every morning, they keep their hair long and so badly taken care of that one can affirm that the surface of their head is inhabited by other ... [lice?] in addition to the *achuete*,<sup>1</sup> the coconut oil and a thousand other things that they daub themselves with all over the bodies, so that they never stop dirtying them.

The coconut is an indispensable tree in Yap; it provides for a house, a meal, a drink and clean clothes; indeed, most of the loin-cloths come from it. The nuts that are surplus and which they collect when they think of doing something (which is rare) are meant to produce copra, by splitting them open and letting them dry.

They suffer from many skin diseases, and there is no shortage of *Lupus* and cancers. They are very sensible to cold, and it can be said that when the temperature falls below 24 centigrade they remain by the fire-place. They are very susceptible to infection; in fact, last year, as a result of someone having gone to Rull to wash the clothes of a sailor aboard the **San Quintín** who was kept in isolation on account of measles, the whole island caught the disease and from 400 to 500 died as a result.

They are kind with the children until they get old enough to be able to gather coconuts and help the women do their agricultural tasks, then they are no longer paid attention to, and they let both sexes pair themselves, the result being the decadence of the race.

In the vicinity of the big houses there are some small squares perfectly paved and with stones placed vertically to lean against; and that is where they hold their conversations on moonlit night when they are not dancing, and it is also where the women's and children's dances take place.

**The big houses.** These houses are like sheds of huge dimension, and with window [openings] at every two meters. They are built upon a base made of stone raised one to 1-1/2 meters off the ground. Their roofs have a very pronounced slope, and their narrower side projects outward very much. The building materials for these big houses all come from the coconut tree; indeed, the roofing is from its leaves tied with cords made

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1 Ed. note: Name given to *achiote* in the Philippines; it is *Bija* and the dye from it.

of coconut coir that has been cured in fresh water, its pillars, beams and other timbers are coconut and areca, and its walls are made like blinds and are trellis made with slats or strips of areca, and fastened with the above-mentioned cord, so that there is an awful lot of wood that goes into making one of these houses. Those that have a wooden floor, generally have it made of half trunks of trees such as the chestnut or breadfruit trees. These houses are usually well adorned on the outside with sculptures that look more like caricatures than art.

The houses lack light and ventilation; indeed, although built on a beach or near one, they chose a shady location for them. The whole population of a town has access to these houses, to store their coconuts, fishing-nets, weapons and anything they want, and their things are more secure there than in their own houses. The rest of their personal possessions they carry with them in a long basket that never leaves their hand; inside these baskets they normally carry what they need for betel-nut chewing and smoking, a broken mirror, a spoon that they use to take the coconut meat from the shell, a pair of small shells to pull the hairs of their beard out and some other trinket that they may have received from some European, and most of them also carry the amulet from the fortune-teller that I mentioned earlier.

They also usually carry along on their shoulder a chisel that has been mounted on a handle, in the shape of an adze, but this does not mean that the bearer is more of a worker than the next man.

### **Marriages.**

These are agreements made between the parents of the engaged couple, oftentimes when the latter are but three to four years of age; to fulfil the agreement the parents of one party make a present to the parents of the other party, and vice versa; the mutual presents consist of foodstuffs, such as sweet potatoes, taro, chestnuts... then the marriage has taken place. Such marriages are fragile; indeed, for the least excuse they break up and the young doves begin to look for some other mate. Even after our arrival, there have been many cases in which the husband sold their wife to the big houses.

### **Funerals.**

Some a sick person dies, they exhibit the body upon some sort of ... or bier which they make themselves, everyone in the village and acquaintances come together, and the women together sing a monotonous song, to remember what the deceased used to like the most. In spite of their savagery, these songs do not lack poetry. They do not ordinarily bury the corpse without the whole family, and specially the children, being present. To these burials they bring to the deceased offerings of shells or small stones, according to hierarchy, burying them in a sitting position and surrounded with the former.

If the death occurs during the rains are falling, then the women do not sing, because there is a taboo on account of the sick person having died.

The mournings consist for the wife and children to abstain from going inside the house of the deceased, and from eating certain food that they normally eat, for a period of more or less duration, normally for three moons.

They hold the graves in great respect, leaving them ... [alone?] forever.

### **The Colony.**

The Colony has a good Government House, two barracks made of boards and mipa [roof] for the troop and the convicts, with four rooms for the officers in one of them, and one dormitory in the other, plus two vegetable gardens in very good state, able to provide fresh vegetables in abundance to the kitchens for the forces, one Infirmary that can accommodate up to 16 patients with its accessories and a room for the Physician, one cistern with a capacity of 42 tons of water for the camp, and another with a spring and laundry in the vicinity of the Infirmary, for its own use and for the ships to take on water, a Cemetery, an oven to make bread, a powder magazine, a forge, a shed that can be used for carpentry work, a Redoubt named Alfonso XIII, sufficient to defend itself from the natives, but which needs some modifications and to have its terraplains widened to be able to receive guns, one isthmus which links this island with the mainland, and one good paved road, 500 meters in length by 4 meters wide, which leads to the church and infirmary.<sup>1</sup> The port lighthouse is located in the above-mentioned Redoubt, at an altitude of 142 meters, and it has an average range of 20 miles; in its vicinity there is a room for the towermen, and lodging for 20 men and one officer, a store-room built with light materials for the provisions, a good wharf to unload, a church with a tin roof, walls of arca wood and a floor of boards; this church, not only on account of its ornate interior but also for the extreme care that it receives from the Rev. Missionary Fathers, can compare fairly with another at many places in the Philippine Archipelago. In addition, there is another church already built at some five miles from the camp, and in the village of Guror, where one of the Reverend Fathers is located, who had presented very effective petitions to this Government, so that there is now a School where every day there are more natives who join, one of them, one of the most assiduous, being the Gobernadorcillo who was appointed by this Government upon the death of the other who was there at our occupation; within the confines of the camp there is a Ward where live already three Carolinian couples, all Catholics.

### **[Regulations of Governor Torres, dated 31 March 1887]**

Upon taking over this Government, I saw the need for certain regulations for the conduct that the Carolinians must follow in future. These regulations have been translated into the local language by Rev. Capuchin Father Antonio de Valencia of this Mission, and they are reproduced hereunder.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 Ed. note: It is obvious that both the church and the infirmary were built close together on the nearby hill on the mainland near Tomil. The Catholic church is still in the same area.
  - 2 Ed. note: See next Doc. 1887F for Fr. Valencia's interpretation of these formal rules.

**Article 1.** Within the whole territory comprised between the Equator and latitude 11° N. and as far as Meridian 154° E. of San Fernando, there is no other Authority than the Governor appointed by H.M. the King of Spain.

**Article 2.** In all the Carolines under this Government the native customs are to be respected in everything that is not prohibited by the articles herein, being it known that slavery, the sale and kidnapping of women are strictly prohibited.

**Article 3.** Now that there is an authority responsible for order in the whole of these Carolines, one that may settle disputes, enforce the respect for the rights and properties of the Carolinians, not only among themselves, and the Colony, but also with Foreigners, the only weapons allowed shall be those used for hunting purposes, and that with a permit issued by the Governor; whoever is caught with them in his hand shall be arrested at once and judged.

**Article 4.** In connection with the previous article, all weapons are to be delivered under the responsibility of the Piluns or Gobernadorcillos, with a compensation in accordance with their value, for the owners thereof, except for those living in Inuf and Rull who have raised their weapons in opposition to orders received.

**Article 5.** Whenever the Governor, in line with the resources of each village, may request wood, coconut leaves, rope or some other material, as well as the assistance of some workers, they are to be provided by the Piluns or Gobernadorcillos, with the understanding that the materials will be paid at a just price asked by the provider, but when the workers will be given their food, in addition to some gifts to those who will attend regularly.

**Article 6.** The Gobernadorcillos or Piluns shall also provide the help required by the Rev. Missionary Fathers, so that they may freely address themselves to the intellectual and spiritual education of those who voluntarily wish to be taught by them, and a reward will be given to those who provide them with a site or houses for this purpose.

**Article 7.** The obliging Spanish Government has provided the Colony with a Physician and an abundant supply of medicines. The Carolinians who wish to be cured of their diseases will be able to come to the Colony where they will be given assistance and medicines.

**Article 8.** As a guarantee that all of these articles will be complied with, the rights of the Piluns or Gobernadorcillos who are now in place shall be respected, as long as they sign this Regulation, along with my authority, but those who refuse to do both shall be replaced by others.

Yap, 31 March 1887.

The Governor,  
Mariano Torres

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**Document 1887F**


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## Regulation for Yap, March 1887

*Source: Philippine National Archives, Manila: annexed to a report dated 31 March 1887, written by Father Antonio de Valencia.*

*Notes: The manuscript is in bad shape, but worth a try at transcribing, because of its relative historical importance. In the reproduction below, the Yapese is in bold characters, and the English translation appears in square brackets. This regulation is an interpretation of the formal rules reproduced in the preceding two pages.*

### Original in Yapese, with literal translation.

*Reglamento traducido libremente al Carolino.*  
[Regulation freely translated into Carolinian].

**Suetchit é Gubernador un Yap co-gubin é guirehi, y- nge loan.**

Tareb. D-cori Pilung ú Yap; quètareb Pilung espaniol que mang Pilung ú Yap.

*Instrucción de Gobernador de Yap con todo de gente, para que sabe:*

*1º No hay mas Rey en Yap: Tiene uno Jefe Español convertido en Rey de Yap. (Esto es que ha sido constituido Gobernador de Yap).*

[Instruction from the Governor of Yap to all the people, so that they may know:

1. There is no more King in Yap: There is a Spanish Chief converted into the King of Yap (that is, that he has been made Governor of Yap).]

**Loqom. Fel eun un Yap mere per; biguireb eun quen'. Quen' pimate gay quen' tchuey co pin tana sueipil nop quen' ering é pen.<sup>1</sup>**

*2º Bueno de costumbre de Yap seguro permanece; malo de costumbre fuera. Fuera esclavo, fuera precio con mujer comun, fuera robo de muger.*

[2. Good Yapese custom, will continue OK; bad Yapese custom, out. Out with slavery, out with price on common woman, out with theft of woman].

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this could be: Logon. Fel sun ún Yap mere per; biquireb eun quesí. Msi pímlĩngay quesí tchuey co pin fama mequil ñge quesí criñg é pún.

**Adolib. Gobernador bay pupuan nge guetchù co guévé ne geme nge mororo un Yap, me Espania nge gubin é nain né boto el pa- queril guilin cota fen é bé. Quesi booyotch nge delac, nge gubin é quirdi que fee boogotch fa guiloc mere ne mae nge loan.**

*3° Gobernador tendrá niñe [sic=riña?] y instruccion con gente que muebla(?) el ladrón de Yap, de España, y todo de pueblo que lejos; porque fuera con propiedad de otros. Fuera fusil y lanza; y todo de gente tiene fusil y lanza seguro que ata para que sabe.*

[3. Governor will have a fight(?) and charge with persons who hides (help?) thief from Yap, from Europe, and from other parts, because [rather if] they get away with property of others. Out with gun and spear; and anyone with a gun or spear will surely be tied (i.e. arrested), let this be known].

**Anungec. Gubin Pilung botch un Yap bay fec urunguin é booyot nge. Olilac nge nam é Gobernador, nge -- Gobernador me-- -p- peluon, yamon. Co boogotch é guirdi un Rul nge Ynuf booi [=dare?] pelaon ya lagon Pilung pire berquel co melud é Gobernador.<sup>1</sup>**

*4° Todo Rey poco (gobernadorcillo) de Yap tendrá trae todo de fusil y lanza á casa del Gobernador y Gobernador seguro [hóle] recoga p[or] que dueños. Con fusil se [hóle] Rul y de Ynuf no [dá?] paga, que dos Rey mucho duro con recaudo y manda de Gobernador.*

[4. Every small king (small governor) of Yap will have every gun and spear brought to the house of the Governor, and the Governor will keep/store them for the owners. As for the guns from Rull and Inuf, there will be no pay, as these two kings are very much given a warning and order by the Governor].

**Lal. Baypé Gobernador inum(?) no bunan recibo gu ne pun tra de mutunec, mere pi péluon co guirdi. Tabel arraogion, bagni Gobernador ne los ming guirdi fana moruol botch bay pi peluon riul nge pire domu--umun co guirdi.<sup>2</sup>**

*5° Cuando Gobernador pide con pueblo madera ó hoja de coco ó cordel ó cualquiera cosa seguro dá paga con gente. Uno como eso (igualmente) cuando Gobernador pide gente para trabajo tendrá dá paga cierto, y mucho comida con gente.*

[5. When the Governor asks the people for wood or coconut branches or cord or anything, he will for sure give pay to the people. Similarly, when the Governor asks the people to work, he will surely give pay and much food to the people].

1 Perhaps this could read: Aningec. Gubin Pilung both un Yap bay fec urunguin e boogot ñge. Dilac ñge nam é Gobernador, ñge. Gobernador mere pó peluon, gamon. Co boogotch é guirdi un Rul ñge Inuf dare pelaon, ya lagon Pilung pire berquel co melud é Gobernador.

2 Perhaps this should read: Lal. Bayni Gobernador ining co búnan renfe que ne min faanta de nuntursec, mere pi péluon co guirdi. Tabel arraogion bagni Gobernador ñving guirdi fana moruol botch bay pi peluon riul ñge pire domunumun co guirdi.



**Nel. Yap Pilung botch un Yap dar tarel é un nge dequen é Misionari, nge fel eun co Misionari, yumere fil coguiridi un Yap babier nge abaner un laramingo en Dios: mere fer nge peluon co guirdi que pi co Misionari teb fanaun.**

*6° Los Rey algo (o poco) de Yap no tronchar de palabra (acusar falso) contra de Misioneros, y bueno de palabra con Misioneros, por que seguro enseña con gente de Yap palabra de papel y con de Cielo y de Dios; seguro regalo y paga con gente tiene dá con Misioneros suelo ó casa.*

[6. The kings (or petty kings) of Yap are not to smash with words (falsely accuse) the Missionaries, and are to be good in words with the Missionaries, because they will surely teach the people of Yap the written word, about Heaven and God. Those who give the Missionaries land for a house will surely be given gift and payment.

**Madilib. Babay ei Yap tafday, nge pirè falay, aragon gubin fap Pilung botch un Yap bay fec nge vayr gubin elib' [deb?] nge que malab nge mere pi co lilifalay nge domunumun.**

*7° Tiene en Yap Medico y mucho medicina como eso (así) todos los Rey poco de Yap tendrán trae aqui todo de enfermo y tiene llega y aqui seguro dá con enfermo medicina y comida.*

[7. There is in Yap a physician and much medicine. So, all the small kings of Yap are to send here any sick person, and that sick person will surely be given medicine and food here].

**Meruc. Bay gufaleg gubin Pilung botch un Yap dagaú be guel [berguel?] nge Olac é Pilung espaniol, Gobernador,<sup>1</sup> tendrá quedá Rey poco de Yap, y Rey malo, duro con instruccion de Gobernador tiene tira de Rey ... [hole = and I give/make] Rey sobre de otro.**

*8° Tendré hago todo palabra que puesto y papel como eso todo hay por [hole] Yap no duro y amigo de Jefe español, Gobernador tendrá queda Rey poco de Yap, y Rey malo, duro con instruccion de Gobernador tiene tira de Rey y yo pone de Rey sobre de otro.*

[8. I am putting all these my words in writing, and also that any Yapese [chief] who is not hard, but friendly toward the Spanish chief, the Governor will make sure that this Yapese chief will keep his title, but for any bad chief, the Governor will be tough against him and will remove his title of chief and give it to someone else].

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1 Ed. note: At this point, the copyist made a mistake by jumping to the Spanish version.

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## Documents 1887H

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# Actions of Governor Posadillo upon arrival at Pohnpei

Source: PNA.

## H1. Proclamation issued on 1 April 1887

### Original text in Spanish.

*(Puerto Santiago 1 Abril 1887)*

*Gobierno R. Oriental de Carolinas y Palaos.*

### *Proclama:*

*El Señor Don Isidro Posadillo Capitan de fragata de la Armada y gobernador de la región oriental Carolinas y Palaos á sus habitantes hace saber:*

*Que el gobierno de S.M. Don Alfonso XIII y en su nombre Doña María Cristina regente del reino, le ha designado para representar á España en este país con objeto de hacer la felicidad y el bien estar de los naturales administrando justicia con toda equidad.*

*No se molestará á nadie por sus creencias religiosas.*

*Se procurará desarrollar el comercio, la agricultura é la industria como medio de aumentar las comodidades de la vida, pues(?) continuando la senda de la civilización ya iniciada.*

*Tanto los naturales como los extranjeros podrán dirigir a mi toda clase de reclamaciones y encontraran? a ser? justas el apoyo de la bandera española.*

*Naturales de las Carolinas Orientales, viva España, viva el rey Don Alfonso XIII, viva Doña María Cristina regente del reino.*

*Puerto Santiago 1 de Abril de 1887.*

*Vuestro Gobernador.*

*Isidro Posadillo—Su rúbrica.*

*De quedar enterados firmaron dicha proclama los cinco reyes de la isla y treinta y tres extranjeros.*

**Translation.**

(Santiago Harbor 1 April 1887)

Government of the Eastern Region of the Carolines and Palau.

**Proclamation:**

Mr. Isidro Posadillo, Navy Commander and Governor of the eastern region of the Carolines and Palau, to its inhabitants declares:

That the government of H.M. Alfonso XIII and in his name Doña María Cristina, Queen Regent of Spain, has appointed him to represent Spain in this country for the purpose of making the natives happy and well by administering justice with complete equity.

No-one shall be bothered on account of his religious beliefs.

Commerce, agriculture and industry are to be developed, as a means of increasing the necessities of life, so as to continue the path of civilization already begun.

The natives as well as the foreigners will be able to address to me all kinds of claims and they will find just the support of the Spanish flag.

Natives of the eastern Carolines: Long live Spain, Long live King Alfonso XIII, Long live Doña María Cristina, the Queen Regent!

Santiago Harbor, 1 April 1887.

Your Governor,

(Signed) Isidro Posadillo

Having been advised of the above, the five kings of the island and 33 foreigners have signed their names.

**H2. Circulars dated 2 April 1887.****Original text in Spanish.**

*(Puerto Santiago, Abril 2, 1887)*

*Gobierno R. Oriental de Carolinas y Palaos.*

*Circular:*

*Desde esta fecha queda prohibido la venta de toda clase de armas de fuego en todas las islas de mi mando (desde Ualan hasta los Martires inclusivo).*

*Los infractores pagarán la multa pecuniaria que se designe con arreglo a la falta cometida.*

*Puerto Santiago 2 de Abril de 1887.*

*Isidro Posadillo—Su rúbrica.*

*Otra.*

*Desde esta fecha hasta seis meses en adelante todos los extranjeros de esta isla presentarán los documentos que puedan justificar sus derechos á la propiedad de tierras.*

*Puerto Santiago 2 de Abril de 1887.*

*Isidro Posadillo—Su rúbrica.*

*Otra.*

*Desde esta fecha queda prohibido usar otra bandera que la española y solo los reyes (gobnadorcillos) podran izar la de guerra. Más adelante se darán instrucciones respecto al uso de la mercante.*

*Los extranjeros acreditados como Consules por sus respectivos gobiernos y aprobado el nombramiento por el de España tendrán derecho á izar la de su nación respectiva.*

*Puerto Santiago 2 de Abril de 1887.*

*Isidro Posadillo—Su rúbrica.*

*De quedar enterados firmaron dichas circulares los cinco reyes de la isla y treinta y un extranjeros.*

### **Translation.**

(Santiago Harbor, 2 April 1887)

Government of the Eastern Region of the Carolines and Palau.

Circular:

As of this date the sale of any kind of firearms is prohibited at all the islands under my command (from Ualan [Kosrae] as far as Los Martires [Pulap] inclusive).

Those who infringe this law shall pay the fine that will be imposed in accordance with the severity of their crime.

Santiago Harbor, 2 April 1887.

(Signed) Isidro Posadillo.

Circular:

As of this date and over the next six months, all foreigners on this island shall present the documents that may justify their rights to real estate.

Santiago Harbor, 2 April 1887.

(Signed) Isidro Posadillo.

Circular:

As of this date the use of any other flag other than the Spanish flag becomes prohibited and on the kings (gobnadorcillos) may raise [our] military flag. Later on, instructions will be issued regarding the use of merchant flags.

Any foreigner accredited as Consul for his respective government and whose appointment has been approved by that of Spain shall have the right to raise the flag of his respective nation.

Santiago Harbor, 2 April 1887.

(Signed) Isidro Posadillo.

Having been advised of the above, the five kings of the island and 31 foreigners have signed their names.

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**Document 1887I**

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## **The visit of the French naturalist Alfred Marche to the Marianas, 1887-89**

*Source: Article in the Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires, No. 14 (1907).  
Note: For other publications by Alfred Marche, see Bibliography, vol. 20, page 148.*

### **General report on a Mission to the Mariana Islands, by Mr. Alfred Marche**

#### **To the Minister of Public Education.**

Having entrusted with an exploration of the Mariana Islands, I left France during the month of December 1886, and arrived at the Philippines on 27 January 1887. The mail ship to the Marianas had already left 15 days earlier and I had to wait for the next sailing which occurred on 15 April.

I decided to spend the intervening period of about three months in making a few excursions in the island of Luzon.

...  
In February 1887, I sent to the Minister a copy of a report on the Mariana Islands written by the Spanish Governor of that archipelago. This report was being sent to Spain, along with collections of all kinds being gathered at Manila for the colonial exhibition to be held at Madrid in 1887. All the collections from the Spanish possessions in the Pacific had been brought together under the heading: "Philippine Section".

On 15 April, I left the Philippines. The steamer **Don Juan**, of 15 to 1800 tons capacity, took me rapidly to the Marianas. It was a six-day crossing that a hurricane, that reached us on the 17th, stretched to the 22nd. On that day, the **Don Juan** anchored in San Luis of Apra, on the west coast of the island of Guam, a rather large harbor, not too well sheltered from northerlies and westerlies, but protected on its south side by a mountainous peninsula whose point is called Orote. To the north of the harbor is the small island of Cabras, which is extended southwest by a coral reef.

The entrance to the harbor is to be found between this coral reef and Orote Point. The whole bay being strewn with coral banks, that are not marked by buoys, anchoring is a dangerous affair; that is why mariners prefer to anchor near the barrier reef, which acts as a breakwater and in the neighborhood of which the bottom is cleaner. The passage, being dry at low tide, is suitable only for small boats, that go as far as Piti

where the landing is. It is a small hamlet of a dozen huts inhabited by some natives, and also the residence of the port captain and the mayor.

An old Spanish fort can still be seen overlooking the harbor and the village of Sumay, whose inhabitants, and above all its female inhabitants, trade with the whaling ships that come here every year to get food supplies.

According to the chart by Captain Duperrey (1819), the Mariana Islands are situated between 142° and 143°46' longitude East of Paris and between 13°14' and 20°30' latitude north. The island of Guam, the most important, lies between 142°31' and 142°48'40" longitude and between 13°14' and 13°33'29" latitude north.

The day following my arrival, I went to Agaña, the capital of the site of the Spanish institutions in the archipelago and the residence of the Governor, the authorities and the European colony. Agaña is the only place that can be called a town in the whole archipelago.

I was very well received by Lieutenant-Colonel Olive, who had already been advised of my arrival.

After this regular visit, I went looking for some accommodation as the town of Agaña was to serve as my headquarter during my stay in the archipelago. I had to come back to it after every one of my excursions and leave my baggage, my new collections and the whole of my supplies there. So, that same day I rented a hut, at the rate of 50 franks per month, too much, but, being a foreigner, I was expected to pay more than a Spaniard. I set up house as quickly as possible and began my work without delay.

Magellan, after his crossing of the Pacific, discovered the Mariana Islands in 1521 and gave them the name of Ladrones or Thieves' Islands, because the natives who had gone on board his ships had stolen all the iron objects that they found within their reach.

They were also named "Islas de las Velas Latinas" - (Islands of Lateen Sails), because of the large number of small canoes that came sailing to the Spanish ships and surrounded them (ref. Le Gobien).

The latter name has no more reason to exist today, because one can see today in the Marianas but a small number of boats that are far from resembling the canoes described very well by Dampier when he visited Guam in 1686; they were then deep-sea canoes that could make long voyages. Nowadays, with their small outrigger canoes, the natives do not dare go beyond the reef barrier.

If the people of the Marianas no longer dare making the long voyages that they used to make on the high sea, it is not just on account of laziness, but also because of the fear they have of having an accident; indeed, many canoe accidents have taken place at sea in the last few years.

At the beginning of the year 1563 [rather the end of 1564], during the monsoon season, Admiral Miguel Lopez de Legazpi left Mexico to go and take possession of this archipelago as well as that of the Philippines.

Legazpi made a simple landing at the Marianas, to take possession of them in the name of the king of Spain and he pursued his voyage to the Philippine archipelago.

The Spanish definitely settled in the Marianas only in the year 1668. At that time, a

ship brought in the Jesuit Father Diego Luis de SAnvitores and a few other members of the same society to convert the natives.

It was only then that the islands became known as the Marianas, a new name they were given in honor of Maria Ana of Austria, the wife of King Philip IV.

According to the Jesuit Fathers, who were not only the first missionaries but also the first governors of the archipelago, at the time of their discovery, the Marianas had a high population that was estimated at 100,000 inhabitants, but there are reasons to believe that this estimate was much too high.

An official census taken in 1710 state that there were then only 3,678 inhabitants; the rest had perished during the many attempts made by the natives to recover their independence and get rid of the Spanish, and as a result of diseases imported by the latter, more specifically infectious diseases.

These 3,678 inhabitants lived on the main island of Guam and the neighboring island named Sarpana or Rota.

Today, according to the census of 31 December 1886, there are 9,770 inhabitants in the archipelago, of which 9,631 are classified as Chamorros, but they, with few exceptions, are half-breeds, the result of different races that have visited these islands. The ease with which the local women yield to the first-comer is the reason why we can affirm that the crews of all the ships that have visited the Marianas have left a few descendants behind.

If the information provided by the Jesuits (1662) are exact, there is reason to believe that, by 1710, less than 50 years after the arrival of the Spanish, the native population had decreased in a frightful manner.

One of the causes, and the most important no doubt, of the depopulation of the archipelago, at the beginning of Spanish occupation, was the continuous warfare in which the natives were engaged to chase away the newcomers and regain their independence.

The unfortunate natives, who had only spears and slings for weapons, had few chances of defending their country against the Spanish who, provided with firearms and little inclined to mercy, made a terrible carnage of them.

Besides the horrible and bloody encounters of this unequal struggle, there was, as in all the other archipelagos of the Pacific Ocean where Europeans have occupied, infectious diseases, such as smallpox, scarlet fever, that contributed to the decrease in population.

The first epidemic that was mentioned occurred lasted from 1709 to 1713, unless the two dates in question represent two separate epidemics.

According to documents, the population in 1710 consisted of 3,197 natives and 417 Spanish who had come from Spain, Mexico and the Philippines. The white men,<sup>1</sup> married to local women, were at the origin of a mixed race which, in 1725, consisted of only

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1 Ed. note: Most of so-called Spanish were in fact Indians, i.e. natives, from Mexico and the Philippines, not white men.

95 such half-breeds, but their number must have increased rapidly because, in 1797, there were 1,907 half-breeds, whereas the number of pure Chamorros kept decreasing continuously, so that, at that time, there were only 1,111 of them left.

In order to get the total population, one must add to the number of half-breeds and pure Chamorros, 609 Spanish, 144 soldiers and officers and 28 other individuals whose category is not given. The only two islands that were inhabited, Guam and Rota, had therefore a population of 2,989 inhabitants.

In 1800, there were only 2,206 inhabitants left, of which 1,752 were half-breeds. However, in 1825, one notes a considerable increase: 2,683 natives and 3,218 half-breeds. The number of half-breeds has almost doubled, that of the pure Chamorros has increased five-fold and more.

The census of 1830, however, shows a slight decrease in the number of natives, 2,628, whereas the number of half-breeds had continued increasing to 3,865.<sup>1</sup>

At that time, the inhabitants are distributed all over the island of Guam and live in villages. Previously each family had lived isolated and their huts were to be found scattered in all directions. From then on, census taking was carried out without differentiating between the pure [sic] Chamorros and the half-breeds, and all of them were called Chamorros,<sup>2</sup> a name that no doubt came from the word *Chamorra* by which the chiefs and nobles were called at the time of the conquest. However, this manner of seeing things is not shared by all the visitors to the Marianas.

The increase in the population continued between 1830 and 1855. There were then 8,775 inhabitants, but following a violent epidemic of smallpox, the number decreased in 1856 to 5,241.

It is not easy to find people belonging to the original race of the Chamorros in Guam and in the northern islands today. One can meet some such individuals only at Rota. There one can find about 15 families that represent what is left of the blood-line of the original, unmixed, natives.

The mixed race, that comes from various mixtures that we have mentioned, has retained all the faults of their ancestors, and none of their qualities.

The present-day natives are intelligent, but very lazy, proud, dissembling, unable to show gratitude, and like their ancestors, without any morality, lovers of fiestas and pleasures.

The *fandango*, the dances and all that is amusing in some way attract them and they become addicted to them without moderation.

The native lives in a bad hut, with only a bench as furniture, and if the authority did not force him to wear clothes, he would go around naked, and his family too, as in the old days.

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1 Ed. note: It must be said at this point that the definition of the two categories change over time, the main reason being that the so-called natives were exempt from taxes, hence claimed that ancestral status. See HM19, the reports of the Freycinet Expedition, for the most complete set of population statistics available.

2 Ed. note: It is better to refer to this mixed race by the name Neo-Chamorro.



Sunday is the only day of the week when he puts on clothes that are more or less decent; the poorest of them now appears in public with the richest clothes that he can find.

He works seriously only to earn money; indeed, besides the purchase of clothing, he must now and then have some money to pay his taxes and, when necessary, pay for the burial of a child or relative. In the latter circumstance, even the poorest must make a show of it: every burial ceremony is accompanied by the ringing of the bells and the playing of music, and a feast must be given at the end of it.

For all the feasts—and there are all kinds of them, no matter what the occasion, happy or sad—the invited guests must contribute more or less, according to their means or generosity.

For weddings, the feast takes place during the night that **precedes** the religious ceremony.

As soon as the new couple has gone to confession, the fiestas begin; one takes place at the house of the bride and the other at the house of the groom.

The whole night is spent singing, dancing, drinking and eating; in the morning, the people go to church, and after the marriage ceremony, they go back to finish the feasts of the previous night, then every invited guest enjoys a siesta.

The birth of a child is one of those occasions for dancing and feasting.

The best fiestas, and the longest ones, are those in connection with novenas that take place inside the huts. The household that sponsors the novena have arranged at the bottom of the hut a table that serves as an altar, upon which are laid out any small statues of the Virgin and the saints that are available, as well as all sorts of religious images, more or less decent. The whole thing is surrounded by mirrors and lights as brilliant and numerous as possible.

The family and a few invited guests meet; they sing some hymns, in nasal tones, and at the top of their voices. Nothing is more unpleasant than these monotonous tunes rendered by high-pitched and screaming voices, accompanied by a rhythm that bring to mind some Hindu or Arab songs. Between songs, they drink coconut brandy, chew betel nut, dance and talk.

If the man sponsoring the novena is poor, he limits himself to distributing to his guests an abundant supply of tomatoes, with some pork cooked with very hot peppers, wrapped in banana leaves.

When the feast is given by a rich man, the dishes and the desserts are abundant and varied: pork, chicken, fish, cakes, preserves at will, and after the meal there follows the usual ball.

However, for the novena to be complete, it must be accompanied by a religious ceremony, usually a high mass, with singing, that costs 15 pesos (76 francs). One must not, however, believe that religious feelings enter into this affair; show and fun are the main reasons for it.

Death itself gives rise to feasts and rejoicings, and tears are banished that way.

If one hears that a friend or relative is seriously sick, this calls for a *chinchuli* or picnic to be held at his house. The dying person is presented with images of saints, with

the singing of hymns, the better to tell him that he will soon die, and that lasts until he actually dies.

Once the sick person has died, as much money as possible is borrowed from friends and acquaintances to pay for the funeral costs, because everything must be done in grand style, no matter the expense. In the meantime, people drink, eat, pray and, on the last day, the ceremony ends with as abundant and prolonged a meal as is possible to manage.

During my stay at Agaña, I witnessed a typical event that reveals the mindset of the natives very well. A young man, about 20 years of age, had gone up a coconut tree to collect *tuba*; he fell and broke his arm. He was taken home, but the physician was not called, because that would have cost money. The unfortunate young man, without any other care than the application of a few green leaves, soon developed some grangrene in the wound produced by some bone fragments and, nine days later, death came to deliver him from his sufferings.

The family, that had not been able to afford the money to pay for the physician and the medicine, had a high mass sung and **other ceremonies** carried out, so that the church expenses rose to about 76 franks, and after the religious ceremony, the family invited their friends and acquaintances to a *chinchuli* that cost them an additional 50 franks or so.

With half of this sum, the son would have been treated and perhaps cured, but they prefer to spend money on fun activities of all sorts, rather than on physicians and salutary treatments.

The Chamorro is always ready to spend, and even more easily money that he has borrowed, never thinking about paying it back, unless he be forced to do it.

The food that the Mariano people eat shows how lazy he really is. The native is satisfied with a piece of breadfruit or a piece of some other fruit that gave him no trouble, except in picking it up. When he goes fishing, he remains within the reef, no longer going outside like his ancestors; in fact, little of his food comes from the sea.

His food is mostly vegetarian; pork and chicken are added on holidays. The fish is either dried, or salted.

The fauna of the Marianas did not include any mammals at the time of discovery. Since that time, cows, sheep, and goats have been introduced; that is why, these animals are not in very large numbers.

Few of them eat beef, even at Agaña where cattle are butchered twice or three times a week, whereas this occurs only twice a year in the other villages.

Flat corn bread, i.e. *tortillas*, are made and taste rather good when they are still hot. To prepare them, the natives first place corn in water to macerate for about 20 hours, in order to separate the pulp, then the grain is reduced to a rough flour by means of a mortar, transformed into a paste and baked in an oven or on top of hot stones. This

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1 Ed. note: Strictly speaking, bats were present and are mammals. Also cows were numerous at Tinian even then; besides, the deer were numerous in Guam.

corn cake replaces wheat bread, but it is not that common and sometimes it is not available, because the production of corn, which never exceeds 1.5 million kilograms per year, is never enough to satisfy the demand.

The rest of the year, the inhabitants eat tapioca which they call *gaogao*, sweet potatoes, coconuts and above all breadfruit, so precious in these regions because it grows by itself. Cassava also gives them arrow-root, which, after being dissolved in coconut milk, then mixed with grated coconut and a certain quantity of *tuba* (sap extracted from the coconut tree), serves to make small balls called *ojo*.<sup>1</sup>

A different type of cakes are obtained by mixing tapioca with corn flour, dampened with coconut water.

The *dago*, *suni*,<sup>2</sup> and sweet potatoes are eaten boiled or roasted.

The wild *nica* cooked with coconut and slightly salted has a sweet taste, but this dish is eaten only during famines.

The breadfruit is eaten roasted on an open fire; roasted in this manner, it can be cut into slices and preserved.

Rice is scarce and, like pork and chicken, is eaten only during feasts.

One favorite dish of the all these islanders is the flesh of the *paniké* [fanihi], a large-size bat that they cook without getting rid of the entrails first.

A few years ago, the Spanish settlers have introduced the culture of coffee and cacao, for export purposes. At present, there are from 25 to 30,000 coffee plants in Guam but they are neglected; the tree produces little, but the seed is of good quality; with more care and a better choice of land plots for their cultivation, I believe that better results would be gotten. The cacao plants, about as numerous as the coffee plants, also produce fruits of good quality, but their culture is also as bad as for the coffee plants.

The presence of cotton should be noted, but that is all; however, it could give good crops.

The *añil* or indigo is growing wild, but nobody takes care of it, and the natives buy the product ready-made to dye their clothes, rather than harvesting it and preparing it themselves.

Exports are almost non-existent; they consist in only a few hundred kilograms of coffee and cacao. The most common trade takes place with the whalers that exchange bad stuff for pigs, sweet potatoes, clay pipes and other items of little value.

On 1 May, there arrived at Guam 23 shipwrecked Englishmen, aboard two boats. They had spent 21 days at sea. The poor men could hardly move their legs. During these 21 days, they had lost only one man, the mate, who fell overboard and could not be saved. They had hit a reef near New Guinea.<sup>3</sup> Pushed by the winds and currents, they had drifted to Guam.

During my stay at the Marianas, they were not the only shipwrecked people whom

1 Ed. note: Now written *ahu*. They are coconut dumplings.

2 Ed. note: Types of yams.

3 Ed. note: Not so. The shipwreck occurred at Lisiansky Island, NW of Hawaii (see Doc. 1887L).

I saw arrive at the archipelago.

On 4 May, I boarded a small schooner,<sup>1</sup> the only vessel that is available to visit the archipelago, because the steamer that provides the service between Manila and the Marianas does not provide an inter-island service. The next day I landed at Rota.

This island does not have a port. To land, one must board a whale-boat, cross a channel lined on both sides by coral reefs, but only at high tide.

The Governor, on a yearly tour of inspection, and his secretary, had also taken passage aboard the schooner. Most of his predecessors normally did not go to the trouble of visiting the archipelago, as the voyage aboard such a small vessel was far from comfortable and not at all pleasant.

As soon as we got there, the Governor asked me to accompany him; we were visited by the priest and the mayor; the latter is a half-breed Chamorro.

Upon stepping ashore, the Governor was received with happy songs in the native language; these songs, rather discordant, praised his virtues, his kindness, his qualities, but the Governor who had been continually suffering from seasickness during our crossing, postponed the recital and we went directly to the hut that had been reserved for us.

The next day, we went to visit a cave that shelters the inhabitants when a hurricane hits the island, something that occurs rather frequently.

Nevertheless, during my two-year stay at this archipelago, I experienced only one hurricane, but the center of it passed far from the archipelago and caused only minor damage.

On the 7th in the evening, we resumed our voyage northward. At nightfall, the bad weather forced us to run before the wind.

On the 8th at daybreak, we sighted the island of Rota once again, followed its coast and, in the morning of the next day, we anchored at Tinian.

We had hardly stepped ashore then the Governor was taken from his boat by three to four young Carolinian girls, the youngest and prettiest—if one may call them that—and we went to visit the monuments that I will talk about later.

At Tinian, there is no potable water and one is forced to drink the water of some wells, which is slightly brackish.

On the 11th, at 8 a.m., we weighed anchor to go to the island of Saipan, where we arrived at noon.

Same reception as at Rota, but we rushed to have lunch, this bypassing the reception ceremony.

Saipan, aligned north-south, is 13-1/2 miles in length, and 6-1/2 miles in width at the widest point.

It is situated between 143°32' and 143°40' longitude east of Paris and between 15°7'59" and 15°20' latitude north.

The highest point on the island is Mount Tapochau, which is but 410 meters in ba-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The **Beatrice**, Captain Williams.

rometric altitude. It has been reported as being 600 meters high, and an extinct volcano, according to some writers, and an active one, according to others.

I visited it from its base to its summit, and found it to be made of coral limestone; its peak is a crest, 2 meters in width, also made up of coral.

The island is mountainous for the most part. Its southern part is low-lying; its base is also coral limestone, except for 4 or 5 small hills of 100 to 150 meters in height; it is covered with red clay that shows no traces of any metals.

What is striking at first, is the very flourishing vegetation that covers this island, and the fact that all cultures are productive. The layer of vegetal earth is here thicker than anywhere else in the archipelago; also it receives more rain and is wetter. One can find many coconut and banana trees, the breadfruit tree, sweet potatoes (very sweet), some corn, sugarcane and tobacco.

European vegetables grow well, but the seeds must be renewed often; the locally-produced seeds either do not grow or else they produce only stunted or dwarf plants.

Saipan was depopulated at the beginning of the 18th century. The Spanish transported the inhabitants of the northern islands to the island of Guam, although some remained at the island of Rota.

The leper hospital that was there was then moved to the island of Tinian, which is separated from it by a channel that is only 3 miles wide.<sup>1</sup>

Saipan began to be repopulated only in 1815, when some Carolinians got permission to settle there.

At present, the island has from 850 to 900 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are immigrants from the Caroline Islands.

Saipan has only one village, named San Isidro de Garapan, divided in three wards: two on the south, occupied by Carolinians, and the one in the north, occupied by Chamorros who have been allowed to settle there these past few years.

With two or three exceptions, the houses are made of wood, and coconut leaves, built on top of piles, from 50 cm to one meter off the ground. They are all separated one from the other by a space of about 10 meters, a useful measure in case of fire.

The village is situated in the most unhealthy place on the island, far from sources of potable water which, in spite of what some governors and various other writers have said, does exist at various places, for instance, at Tanapag, where, at little expense, water could be channeled from three small streams and brought as far as the beach; these streams used to flow naturally as far as the beach.

Garapan is located along a sandy beach where one can land after following a narrow channel through the reefs. The soil can easily be reduced to a powder; it is so brittle that the piles of the huts are very easily pulled out by a hurricane and the huts themselves destroyed.

The inhabitants, who live with this perpetual fear, have built a small, low, hut be-

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1 Ed. note: The author gives a confusing report about this leper hospital that existed more than a century later.

hind each house, shaped like a tent, where they seek refuge during a storm. Once the storm has passed, they can put their house back up again.

Since potable water does not exist in the village, it has to come from a small spring in the mountain behind the village; there the water comes out one drop at a time and can only provide enough water for 2 to 3 people in 24 hours.

Further north there are some small streams with clear and fresh water, but the people would have to walk for an hour, so, rather than make such a long walk, most of them prefer to drink the brackish water from the wells dug near the village.

On the east coast, there are also a few small streams; one of them, at the foot of Mount Tapochau, flows rather steadily, but over a short distance on a plain that is 50 meters above sea level, and then it falls into the sea where it forms a small waterfall. Its water is running and of very good quality.<sup>1</sup>

On the west coast, where the village is situated, there exists a badly sheltered port, where the bottom is strewn with coral patches; it is here that ships come to an anchor, because they can find drinking water there.<sup>2</sup>

At the south point of the east coast, there is Magicienne [or Laulau] Bay. Small boats can land there at two or three places on the beach, but, when the wind is strong, there is no safe place anywhere around this island. In fact, there is then no shelter anywhere in the archipelago, except at the port of San Luis of Apra at the island of Guam, where the anchorage is safe; the bay of Merizo is not very safe, because it is not sheltered from westerlies.

There are many caves at Saipan, generally small; in some of them I have found human bones, almost always affected by lime, and very brittle.

In one cave I found a layer of bones that was more than one meter in depth, but all the bones were so modified that I was unable to salvage one single piece.

At other sites, in holes or cracks of the mountain, I was able to pick up a few skulls, rather well preserved; I have found skeletons that had been properly buried in only one small cave; but only one such skeleton was in a sufficient state of preservation to reveal something of this race.

Among these human remains, there were a few stones, oval in shape but pointed at both ends; they must have been used as projectiles for their slings. I also found two or three heads of spears made of human bones, barbed along their full length, but in bad condition.

I have found and kept some stone adzes and fragments of pots or vessels of red earth, baked in a fire; moreover, I have discovered later on, during my excursions to other islands, two big earthen pots, one of them intact and showing traces of fire.

I insist on mentioned traces of fire, it is because certain writers have pretended that the natives did not know about fire at the time of discovery of the archipelago.

1 Ed. note: He refers to the Donni (or Denni) spring and stream (MI 11- 21a & b, in Bruan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: He has just said that water there is brackish; in fact, the whalers stopped for food supplies only and went to Umatac, Guam, for their water supplies.



(Previous page:) **Village of Saipan, Mariana Islands.** *Based on a photograph by Alfred Marche, and published in Élisée Reclus' Nouvelle géographie universelle (Paris, Hachette, 1889).*

I have met with pottery shards in all my diggings and in all the islands; the shape and the grain of the earth used to make them prove that the pots were of native manufacture.

Finally, the island where I recovered the two big pots mentioned above had not been visited since its abandonment in the 17th century.

The Chamorros of the island of Saipan do not differ from those of Guam.

The Carolinians, above all the women, are even dirtier than the Chamorros, but not as lazy; each race has similar defects, but that does not stop the Chamorros from thinking that they are very superior to the Carolinians.

This could be true in certain ways: the Chamorros speak Spanish, sometimes English, are Catholic in name, because they seemed to me to have preserved their old superstitions, which they have mixed up confusely with the teachings of Christianity. However, on the other hand, the advantage could be tilted in favor of the Carolinians, who are better workers, and whose wives do not yield as much to white men or colored men as do the wives of the Chamorros.

There are certainly a few exceptions among the Chamorros, but the exceptions are few; indeed, among them, there are some individuals who have taken advantage of our civilization, but how rare indeed!

I have made a friend and a companion in my excursions in the priest named Palomo, a Chamorro half-breed, known of almost every inhabitant in Guam. He is an educated man, speaking Spanish, French, English and even Carolinian, which is not an easy language to learn, even for Chamorros, and who is one of those rare specimens among the Marianos to have gotten out of the rut.

The few crops that the Chamorros and Carolinians maintain are far from being sufficient to the needs of the whole native population. We have said earlier that, less brave than their ancestors, the Marianos did not go out to the high sea to fish, but the Carolinians still do so.

In this part of the Pacific Ocean there are numerous species of fish of all sizes and that can sometimes be found in large schools. However, the main fishery is that of the trepang or bêche de mer, which exist in two or three species in this neighborhood.

Now and then, a turtle is killed, or a shark that ventured between the reefs. Sharks are very numerous along the coasts and, many times, I have had to get out of the water rapidly so as not to get bit by sharks pursuing schools of fish.

The turtles, rather numerous, give a bad shell, very thin, too brittle, therefore, without commercial value.

In this archipelago, one meets many persons who are alcoholics.

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1 Ed. note: In his other reports, Marche identifies the island as Alamagan.



Both Carolinians and Chamorros abuse tuba, or coconut brandy. So it is that, during the feasts, weddings and even during funeral ceremonies, one meets with many drunken men, and even drunken women.

On 16 May, we accompanied Governor Olive and went visiting the mountain of Calaveras.<sup>1</sup>

The governor, in a report of his that I mentioned previously, stated that, according to certain stories, there were to be found skeletons that had been buried standing up in the caves of this mountain.

In fact, these caves, whose walls are solid stone and in which the earth is not to be found at all, cannot have been used for such burials; the natives were too lazy and disliked fatigue too much to have carry enough earth there to cover the bodies of the dead that might have been deposited there vertically.

I was lucky enough to find in one of these caves one skeleton, almost complete, laid horizontally; any other position would have been impossible in any case.<sup>2</sup>

This cave is to be found at 100 meters in altitude, behind a mountain of 190 meters that must first be climbed to reach the place in question.

On the 23th, 24th and 25th of May, I went to visit other caves, but without any result.

On the 27th, in the neighborhood of my lodging, much noise was made and there was a crowd of people who had come to renew the roof of a house; this led to a feast, that is, a meal offered by the owner of the house.

Firstly, some coconut leaves are spilt in half lengthwise, then they are woven [into shingles] and left to dry. When they are ready for use, the old roofing and the new one installed. All of those taking part are in a happy mood, on account of the feast that will follow.

On the day when the roof of a hut is reshingled, the friends of the family who are to work are invited to come together. During this time, the women of the household prepare the meal, which is always plentiful, if not elaborate; indeed, on such a day, a pig or a cow is killed.

The tuba is prepared at the same time, as it is a necessary element in the rejoicing and much of it is consumed. By noon or 1 p.m., everything is over and done with, the work and the meal; everyone goes home to have a siesta and hope that it will hide the damage done by the tuba.

This feast is a very old custom, mentioned by [early] writers who add that passers-by were often made prisoners and had to participate in the work, but were later accompanied home by those who had made them prisoners.

On the 28th, I visited a cave located on the slopes of a mountain named Marpi. I

1 Ed. note: Now referred to as the Betosukara Mountain in the Calaveras District, MI11-11b in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: He does not specify the missing parts, but I bet they were the legs, as such bones were recycled to make spear points.

found three complete skulls, a few thigh bones and two spear tips made of human bone.

This coral limestone mountain rised at the north end of the island, its slopes are very vertical and I have not been able to reach the plateau that crowns it.

On 2 June 1887, I left at 5 a.m. to go and look for many caves that are to be found at Inagen Point.<sup>1</sup>

In one of them, I noticed a piece of wood, that seemed to have been a part of a coffin, but without any design or carving on it.

In another, eight skulls were laid down in a row.

This was the best outing from an anthropological point of view, because I brought back a dozen skulls, but I also brought back a serious case of fever.

On the 6th, I explored a cave that was full of stalactites, whose roof had collapsed and that had a circle of galleries and indentations that had been part of the old cave. There were only some nests and eggs belonging to some swallows. These birds look like those of the Philippines, whose nests are much appreciated by Chinese gourmets; however, the nests that I brought back were made only of grasses and rubbish.

I also visited the small island called Mañagaha, where I found a few sea birds and an old Carolinian cemetery from the beginning of the century. My researches yielded a few skulls, some ethnographic objects, pieces of tortoise-shell, glass beads, etc.

On the 15th, I made an excursion by canoe to the east coast; however, the weather became dangerous and we had to turn around and come back to the west coast to seek shelter.

On the 21st, I climbed Mount Tapochau. I had been said that no European could climb it, but, having visited most of the island, climbed up and down many places that had been considered inaccessible, I was able to convince a guide to lead me there. This climb is relatively easy, in fact; once a few lianas had been cut, I was able to walk easily with my shotgun hanging from my shoulder. Having left the village at 5 a.m., I reached the summit at 9 o'clock, having stopped a few times during sudden rain showers.

The summit of the mountain is formed in large part of coral blocks; towards the middle, two rocks from 10 to 15 meters high formed the peak of the mountain, which reaches 410 meters, according to the barometer. From this peak, one can see the whole island, a magnificent view. A mountain chain runs from the north point, at Marpi, as far south as a small lake with brackish water. This mountain chain follows the center of the island, except for Mount Tapochau which is off to one side.

On the 27th, I went to visit Mount Haguina in the center of the island; it is 303 meters high and in the center of the chain.<sup>2</sup>

All of these mountains are entirely naked at the top. The vegetation climbs as far as 200 to 300 meters only; it consists of Guinea grass. The rest of the soil is a red earth,

1 Ed. note: Probably the same as Naftan Point, which means Grave Point, at the SE end of Saipan.

2 Ed. note: The name Haguina is no longer used; perhaps this was the same peak as Froilam, where a lighthouse was once located.

mixed with a few stones that appear to bear traces of iron. The rains effectively erode the slopes of these mountains, carrying away the thin layer of ear that is found there.

On the 30th, I made an excursion to the small southern lake<sup>1</sup> whose surface is only 2 to 3 meters above sea level; its water is brackish and infertile; indeed, I found only a few insects and no mollusks at all.

The 4th of July was the day chosen for the installation of the new *gobnadorcillo*, who is a pure-blooded Carolinian, a handsome and tall man, but the biggest drunkard on the island. On this occasion he gave a feast to which I was invited; I took my place of honor next to him, at the head of the table. During the meal, he took advantage of my distraction to grab a bone from my plate; this he tore apart under the table with his fingers, and swallowed the pieces. He does not have the decorum required of his post.<sup>2</sup>

On 5 July, I attended the marriage ceremony of the Mayor;<sup>3</sup> this ceremony had more the look of a funeral than a wedding; there was no life or fun to be had.

When the people left the church, the bride went to the house of the groom, all by herself, and followed by the invited guests who paid no attention to her and, once there, only a few relatives or guests even spoke to her. It is true that the previous night was spent with a party, everyone drinking, eating, dancing, until dawn. They now felt the need to rest.

From the 14th to the 19th, there was continuous bad weather, although no hurricanes.

My researches in the island of Saipan have gotten me a total of 35 skulls of the old inhabitants and of Carolinians, a few ethnographic objects, 300 specimens of birds of various species, 600 insects, reptiles, fish, 70 species of plants with their seeds, flowers and fruits.

On 25 July, I saw the arrival of Captain Williams' schooner and I was soon able to return to Guam.

On the 29th, while the schooner was becalmed between Rota and Guam, we were surrounded by a school of seven sperm whales, three of which were very large indeed. These cetaceans were playing around the ship for more than two hours, jumping one over the other, chasing each other, spurning water out of their vent holes, with the greatest of carelessness.

On the 30th in the morning, we anchored at Guam, where I remained until the month of November.

I was forced to stay there on account of an accident that I had during my last excursion in Saipan. I had sprained my ankle in a bad way and this prevented me from making long excursions on foot; so, I took advantage of this period to complete my collections of fauna and flora of Guam, specially the zoological part of them.

The natural history of Guam is very poor.

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1 Ed. note: Lake Susupe.

2 Ed. note: The name of this man was Juan Cotomunt (see Driver's Carolinians, top of page 56.

3 Ed. note: Probably Benigno de la Cruz, *idem*.

The means of communication being very rare, I sometimes regretted not to have a small cutter at my disposal; I was at the mercy of the only sailing vessel visiting the northern islands and Japan and such voyages were long and rare. If a traveller boards it at the beginning of the voyage, he must wait for her to return at the place he landed, perhaps for three to four months when a stay of from 15 days to a month would be amply sufficient for all types of investigations.

After a rest of about four months, and fully recovered from my sprain, I decided to leave again and, on 26 November, after a short crossing, we anchored before the island of Saipan and the next day we were off heading north.

On the 28th, at daybreak, we passed to the east of **Anatahan** Island that lies between 143°19'15" and 142°20'32" east of Paris and between 16°19' and 16°20'32" latitude north. It is made up of a mountain block; the highest peak, situated in the western region, may be 350 to 400 meters in height.<sup>1</sup>

In the center of this massif, in the heights, one notices a huge cavity that appears to be an extinct crater where there is a lake, fed by the rains, so frequent in these regions.<sup>2</sup>

The island is covered with vegetation as far as the summit, but there are few trees, except in the southern part where there are a few coconut trees and bushes.

It is presently uninhabited; however, at the time of discovery, the inhabitants massacred the first Jesuit missionaries who had come to convert them.

At 11 o'clock, we passed to the east of the small island of **Sarigan** which is situated between 143°38'35" and 143°29'40" longitude east of Paris and between 16°39'50" and 16°40'45" latitude east.

This island, almost circular in shape, is formed by a single mount that reaches from 200 to 250 meters in height; it is probably an extinct volcano.<sup>3</sup>

Besides a few small trees, one can see only grasses and a vegetation made up of low bushes.

At 3 p.m., we recognized Zealandia Bank, also called Farallon de Torres, situated between 143°40'42" and 143°44'35" longitude east of Paris and between 17°15'30" and 17°17'40" latitude north.

The tide being high, we could only spot the two highest rocks of the bank; this bank is very dangerous but is very well marked, with respect to Sarigan Island to the south and Gubuan Island to the north.

The former, though farther, is visible in the daytime, and can serve as a reference point.

Guguan Island, though nearer, at a distance of 18 to 19 miles, has a round shape and is high, an easy reference point for the bank for the ships that sail in this neighborhood.

**Guguan** Island is situated between 143°42'31" and 143°44'30" longitude east of Paris and between 17°34'29" and 17°36'30" latitude north.

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1 Ed. note: It is twice that.

2 Ed. note: The volcano is no longer dormant; it erupted on 10 May 2003.

3 Ed. note: Again, his estimate for height is half of the reality.

At nightfall, we passed on the north side of this island. It is small, not high, and not remarkable; however, when the Sunda Islands were rocked by an earthquake, its volcano opened up, or rather reappeared.

Captain Williams, who is my present pilot, told me that, at that time, he was visiting the northern islands. On his way back, he noticed that the volcano was in full eruption. Before this event, the same captain has often sailed by this island without even suspecting that there was a volcano there.

The next time he came by, some three months later, the island was quiet, and since that time, the volcano appears dormant once again.

During the night, we passed before **Alamagan** Island, situated between  $143^{\circ}39'$  and  $143^{\circ}46'15''$  longitude east of Paris and between  $18^{\circ}1'38''$  and  $18^{\circ}6'58''$  latitude north.<sup>1</sup>

The volcano here is active. In passing it we saw nothing, but, a few days later, from Pagan, we saw smoke rising from its crater.

Alamagan Island which, in the French hydrographic Chart N<sup>o</sup> 666, is shown to be larger than Pagan Island, seemed to me to be smaller.<sup>2</sup>

On the 29th, in the morning, we approached **Pagan**. It is situated between  $143^{\circ}38'05''$  and  $143^{\circ}41'$  longitude east of Paris, and between  $18^{\circ}13'$  and  $18^{\circ}.16'30''$  latitude north.

From the south point, one discerns a volcanic mountain chain trending NE-SW and smoke is clearly seen rising from one of the summits.

We went to anchor along the NW coast, in front of a plain that lies to the south of the northern volcano, and located almost in the center of the island. This plain, which appears to be flat when seen from the sea, is in fact very rough and covered with materials deposited by the eruptions of the volcano at the foot of which it lies. It is covered, as well as I was able to see during my excursion the next day, 30 November, by grasses and tufts of bushes, in the middle of which stand some coconut trees; in the south, these trees can be found amid abrupt mountains.

After a walk of 1-1/2 hours, I arrived at the SE coast, before a vast bay, but opened to the northerlies and southerlies. The island protects it against westerlies.

The only inhabitants of Pagan are some Carolinians brought here to harvest coconut, for the trade in copra that Captain Williams carries out.

Hunting gave me a very bad result, the birds being rare; before the big hurricanes of 1884, there were more birds.

No mammals, except for a few wild pigs and goats.

Potable seems to be entirely lacking in this island; I was unable to find any but I did find the hot spring where they told me it was, at the south point at the foot of the mountains.

The Carolinians drunk coconut water and water from the rain. When the latter fails, they are forced to drink the brackish water from some holes that they have dug on the

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1 Ed. note: His latitude readings are 25 minutes too high.

2 Ed. note: The French chart in question may have been based on the 1819 survey by Freycinet, and may not have taken the more correct 1864 survey by Sanchez.

plain.

On 1 December, I went to visit a small lake located to the northwest of the hills that form the base of the northern volcano and is separated from the sea only by a natural barrier of black pebbles and sand. The Carolinians drink water from this lake, although it has a very pronounced sulphuric taste; this lake seemed to me to be devoid of life, but I was told that some large fish had been caught in it.

On 2 December 1887, I visited the south part of the island, looking for some ruins that I was told were to be found there. We followed a trail, about 50 to 60 centimeters in width, that ran along the cliffs, with a mountain on our left that was more like a wall for most of the way.

On the right, the sea was from 150 to 200 meters below us.

After walking one hour on this difficult track, we arrived at the beach, then we found a trail between two mountains of 150 meters in altitude, leaving the southern volcano on our right.

In the middle of this trail, which leads to the east coast, we found four stones standing upright that must have been used as the pillars of a hut of the old islanders.

This hut must have been square and measure from 3 to 4 meters to each side.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing around there seemed to indicate that there might have been other houses in the area.

One must not forget that two centuries have passed since the inhabitants of these islands have been either killed or moved to the southern islands.

I dug a trench to a depth of more than one meter, right on the site of the hut and found only a few pottery shards, two stones that appeared to have been used as weapons or agricultural tools, and a few sea shells.

While pursuing my excursion, I did not find any other trace of former habitation until I reached the shore. There, on a tongue of land cut sharp, at a flat site about 3 or 4 meters above sea level, there were two rows of four matching pillars each, forming the foundation for an old house; they were perfectly located, facing the sea on one side and at the foot of the mountains that constitute the island itself.

The pillars were taller than those met with previously, about 90 centimeters tall, but not counting the semi-spheres that used to cap them and were now lying on the ground, all of them on the same side of their own pillar and at the same distance; no doubt, they had been shaken off the pillars by one strong earthquake.

These pillars are made of one solid block; one of the pillars was still covered, on its side facing the sea, by a thick layer of lime mortar, that was not found on the others.

The stone pillars did not bear any signs of having been carved and seemed to have been placed there as is; they all had the same shape, almost square in cross-section but of varying sizes. I reconnoitered the surrounding land but did not find any possible source for them. As far as the semi-spheres were concerned, they had all been carved

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1 Ed. note: Since such huts were rectangular and had a set of six latte stones as a minimum, two end stones were probably missing.

to fit.

I regained our encampment by another route, following the crest of the mountains that lead to the plain where we had set up our tent. The trail sometimes follows this crest very close and joins with another trail that descends abruptly to the west coast. The descent is made easy by a few steps cut in the rock, which allows one to arrive without accident at the main trail that I mentioned earlier that leads back to the plain.

On the 4th, I went to take photographs of the northern volcano. The photo [not published] is taken from the east. To the right is an old extinct [sic] crater with an average elevation. At present, it is completely naked from its base to its summit and smoke is seen rising from it at all times, but without force.

About 15 years ago, this volcano, much higher then, had a conical shape, but it has become truncated following a giant eruption that took place at that time.

On the 5th, I was about to go and visit the south coast that was very populated two centuries ago, but the arrival of the schooner<sup>1</sup> forced me to return to Guam.

During this excursion, I found three skulls in a cave in this part of the island.

Upon returning from this expedition, I packed my second shipment, which contained 11 objects for the ethnography Museum, 200 and a few birds with their skins, 450 mollusks in alcohol and about 300 emptied, over 500 insects, some mounted some in alcohol, about 100 species of plants with flowers and fruits. In alcohol, there were also fishes, from the sea and rivers, but there were few of them because the natives do not venture beyond the reef to fish; therefore, I was unable to get a wide representation of the fishes of this part of the Pacific. As in the former shipment, there were also seeds from different species and a few mineral samples from the island of Pagan.

On 2 February 1888, I began to explore the southern part of the island of Guam.

A quick survey enabled me to discover the places where I had the best chance of increasing my collections; Most of the time, I followed the coast as far as the Pago River, that is, as far as 13°23'30" latitude north on the east coast of the island, which I crossed from east to west to get back to the capital where I arrived on the 12th.

From the Pago River to Agaña, after I crossed the small Ilic River, which can be reached after a walk of half an hour at most, one climb along a trail in very bad condition, as are most of the roads on the island, and after a walk of 1-1/2 hours, arrives at Agaña.

On the 17th, I repeated the same route, but this time it was only for the purpose of making collections.

The road from Agaña to Piti is rather good as far as the vicinity of the wooden bridge that is found in the bay of Apra.

A short distance from that place, the road, because it cannot be called a highway, turns westward and passes through two bogs where my two pack bulls become stuck in the mud.

The trail follows the bottom of a hill where the last mangrove trees grow, then one

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1 Ed. note: From Agrigan.

passes a series of five culverts over as many streams that drains the swamp of Atantano, flowing into the bay of Apra.

The Atantano plain, formerly covered with trees, is almost always flooded. A governor had this plain cleared and converted it into a rice field that is still given very good harvests.

Beginning at this place, the road is practicable and passes by some small hills that mark the border of the plain.

Having departed Agaña at five in the morning, I reached Agat at 10:30 and stopped in front of the house of the priest who offered me his hospitality.<sup>1</sup>

Agat is located to the south of the Orote Peninsula and much better situated than Agaña, the capital. It is separated from the bay of Apra by a small isthmus, easy to cross, and where a canal for small boats could easily be dug.

The capital would then be near the port, in a site that is much healthier and with much potable water nearby.<sup>2</sup>

The town of Agat, now unimportant, is nevertheless the biggest town after Agaña. It consists of three to four streets, the main one being on the road itself. There are a few stone houses with coconut shingles on their roofs; the church and the parish house, called a convent here, the same as in the Philippines, are built that way.

The coconut tree provides the materials for all the other huts: the piles, the walls, the roofs are all generally made with various parts of this palm tree.

The windows of the stone houses measure 60 centimeters in height by 70 cm in width; this makes them look like loopholes from afar.

This type of building, so defective on account of the lack of aeration and light, has been inspired by the fear of hurricanes that hit these islands periodically and play havoc with the towns and villages and everything that offers resistance to the storm.

Agat has one dependency in the small village of Sumay, located in the bay of Apra on the Orote Peninsula, where the inhabitants, specially the women, patiently await the arrival of the whalers when they expect to carry out some trade with them.

On the 23rd, I pursued my journey towards Umata, by following the seashore itself, and necessarily so, because the trail was impracticable for the bulls in my train. Since horses are too few, trained bulls and water buffaloes are used as beasts of burden and mounts instead.

The trail cuts across a few hills that rise about 100 meters; along this route there can be found a few farms. Most of the high ground is covered with grass, and the trees can be seen only in the ravines and valleys.

I left Agat at 6:15 a.m. and arrived at Umata at 1:30 p.m. The heat was oppressive, from 32° to 34°; my transport bulls, extenuated by this heat, could not go farther. Already, half way back, the bull that I used as a mount had given up.

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1 Ed. note: The priest was then Father Francisco Resano.

2 where old Agat used to be, was the largest town on the island (see Fr. Pobre's relation), and the next in importance was Umatac. Agaña was chosen by chance by Fr. Sanvitores in 1668.<sup>2</sup>



Umata was the residence of the governor at one time and in the last century its port served as a port of call for galleons coming from America.

The palace of the governor there has received great navigators and numerous adventurers on their way to seek fortune in the Philippines.

Today, there is nothing left of this ancient splendor; the palace and the two forts that defend its port are in ruins. The church was rebuilt in 1845, as the previous one had been destroyed the previous year by an earthquake. Here as in the Philippines, the most solid buildings in the European style are those that are least resistant to earthquakes.

The port is small and formed by a bay that is open to southerly winds.

At the bottom of this bay is a small stream that serves as a watering place; it is the only place where the sailors may find good water easily.

During my stay here, a whaler came to replenish her water supply; the men who man such vessels are generally anything but sailors. It is made up of the scum of San Francisco. There are also a few real sailors but, morally, they are not much better.

On board of her, there were two Frenchmen, one of whom, a Breton, deserted. He told me that he did so in order to get away from the bad treatment given him on board; also, the food on board these whalers is of bad quality. The unfortunate man is now ashore, like so many deserters from other whalers and without means of support. The Governor granted him one *real* (63 cents) per day. Father Juan,<sup>1</sup> the curate of Merizo, accepted to keep him in his house until the arrival of the mail steamer from Manila, and I agreed to pay his fare to that point.

At Umata, I was lodged in the old convent whose roof was recently redone, and it was a good shelter for me.

On the 24th, at 4 a.m., I was awakened by an earthquake that reminded me of the old disasters. It was followed, at 9:45, by another one, which was stronger and lasted longer.

On the 28th, I undertook the climbing of Mount Mateo,<sup>2</sup> but I was unable to reach the summit which is at an altitude of 300 meters; a rain shower intervened and made the trail impracticable. Descending is a dangerous exercise, because the trail follows a very narrow crest, with chasms on both sides; besides, some rocks and thorny bushes are constantly in the way.

From the top of this mountain, the whole island can be seen. Down below can be seen Umata, Merizo, Agat, the port of Apra; Agaña cannot be seen because it is behind small mountains that are near it. I found nothing interesting as far as natural history was concerned.

On the 29th, I moved to Merizo, which has no real importance, although it has the largest population of this part of the island.

This village has from 70 to 80 huts, a few made of boards, but most of them of co-

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1 Ed. note: Father Juan Herrero, whose religious name was Juan de la Virgen del Amor Hermoso. He was curate of Merizo from 1886 to 1890 when he returned to the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Later renamed Mount Schroeder by the Americans.

conut wood and leaves; the only stone houses with thatch roofs belong to the curate and the teacher.

On 6 March, I took a boat with Fr. Juan and we went to visit the small island of Danao, also known as Cocos Island, situated 2 miles off the village; there I found a few interesting land mollusks and a few web-footed birds. Up to that point, I had not found too many items for my collections, but I looked forward to the rest of my journey.

On the 17th, I went to visit other small islands, but, except for some sea mollusks, I found nothing.

I took a photograph of a banyan tree that the natives fear, because this tree, with its many subsidiary trunks, is regarded as the asylum of bad spirits.

On 29 March, I moved to the village of Inarahan, intending to spend a few days there. It is on the east coast of the island. The trail follows the seashore almost constantly, and it lined with rancherías (farms) that belong to the inhabitants of Merizo and Inarahan.

Along this part of my journey, I met with the ruins of an ancient village, similar to all those that existed before the conquest, always marked by the presence of vertical stones that were the pillars of the Mariana buildings.

Near these pillars can be found some very hard stones, in which have been dug a hole, sometimes many holes; these holes were used, and are still used, to crush the grains that serve as food.

The village of Inarahan, the only one that remains on the east coast, consists of two main streets, where a few huts made of stone and boards can be seen, but the rest are of coconut leaves.

Here, as in the rest of the archipelago, the European-type buildings become rapidly delapidated; the church may soon fall into ruins, and so does the priest's house as well.

A cave full of inscriptions was pointed out to me; I went to visit it and found only a few lines traced by a crazy woman who had used the place as an asylum. I copied these drawings that offer no meaning, nor any form of writing.

Near the village are found some beautiful rice fields, but the lack of communication makes the sale of this product impossible.

During my stay at Inarahan, I made an excursion to Lake Suñe and to two or three smaller ones that were all dry at the time. Only Lake Suñe is a real lake, the others being ordinary ponds that dry up as soon as the rainy season is over. These lakes are little natural life; their fauna and flora are almost nil. Only the local water buffaloes go there to get their mud baths.

Lake Suñe, and Lake Mapao also, flow into the small Talafofo River, that is the most extensive river basin on the island. This river, completely blocked at its entrance by a sand bar, which is only 40 centimeters deep at low tide; up from this bar the river is deep and its width about 110 meters. Many farms have been built along this river valley.

On 29 March, I left Inarahan to go to Ilic, a small river that is located further north. To go from Inarahan to Ilic, the trail at first cuts through some plateaux, about 100

meters above sea level, and completely bare, the color of the ground changing at every step. The natives use this colored earth to paint their houses and their canoes.

Further along, one crosses some small woods that, further north, could be considered stands of tall trees. This wooded plateau is cut through by a small river; it is at the bottom of a deep ravine with coral limestone mountains on either side, in the flanks of which are some caves. Beyond this river, the road penetrates a wood and follows the sea as far as the mouth of the Talafoto River.

Once this river has been crossed, the road clings sharply over a headland. On the other side of this headland is located Ipau Cave. It is a hole, full of water that is saturated with calcareous salts. At the bottom of Ipau Cave lives a type of small bat; I was able to capture a few samples.

Along this route can be seen, at two different places, ruins of ancient houses such as have been already mentioned.

At noon, we crossed the small Ilic River and I set up my camp on a plateau on its left bank, overlooking the river valley.

The next day, I went up this river aboard a single-outrigger canoe, like all those of this region. After more than one hour of navigation, the water was no longer deep enough to float the canoe and I landed on the right bank, and continue walking up toward the source of the river. This river flows from west to east and has many small tributaries that augment its volume considerably during the rainy season. There are plantations established on both banks of this river, and a few farms.

Since I had left my people behind, to look for mollusks and insects, I crossed over to the left bank, intending to return to my encampment, but a native whom I met along the way, showed me a trail that leads directly to Agaña. So, instead of going back to Ilic, I went to Agaña instead and arrived at 2 p.m., having fasted since the previous day, the temperature being 32° [C] in the shade. Thus back at Agaña, I despatched one of my men to look for the rest of my party; they made it to Agaña later at nightfall.

I had crossed mountains that are completely bare; they belong to the calcareous mountain chain that follows the west coast. Along my route I met with two rows of pillar stones, about one meter in height—the ruins of a large building; the pillars were made from a single slab but their capitals, or semi-spheres, had all been toppled.

During this trip, which lasted almost two months, I got meagre results, from any points of view.

During the first days of May 1888, I sailed to Rota to explore this island, where I planned to stay one month; however, I was forced to spend three months there, waiting for the schooner to return; she had been delayed further north by contrary weather.

The island of Rota is situated between 142°58'55" and 153°9'20" longitude east of Paris and between 14°45'2" and 14°51'29" latitude north.

This island does not have an anchorage. On both sides of the isthmus that separates the island from the mountain that forms the south-west point, there are two open bays, one on the north-west side, the other on the south-east side; however, they are badly sheltered and their bottoms are strewn with coral patches that makes anchoring

a difficult and dangerous exercise.

To land on the island, there is only one passage through the reef, that is suitable for small boats and only at high tide.

Although its climate is considered salubrious, nevertheless there are frequent fevers during the rainy season.

The population of Rota is about 500 inhabitants, 75 of whom are Carolinians.

There is little running water, except along the east and south-east coast, and only during the rainy season; during the dry season, there is hardly any water to be found. Near the sea, there is a small spring that gives potable, but slightly brackish, water.

The inhabitants of this island had a reputation for being good navigators and good fishermen, but they no longer venture beyond the reefs, the same as the other islanders of this archipelago.

They continue to use fishing method called *pogo* [poio] that is used exclusively to catch a fish called *achuman* [hachuman].<sup>1</sup> The apparatus consists in a stone, flat on one side and rounded on the other; on the flat side is fastened a coconut, one-third of which has been cut off first. Then the coconut in question having been filled with grated coconut, it is immersed beyond the reef, and its position marked by a buoy. Under the influence of the movements made by the fisherman or from the current, the grated coconut slowly escapes. The achuman, attracted by the bait, approaches and, when it is within reach, the fisherman throws its fishing-spear. However, I have not witnessed the capture of a single achuman during my stay in the Marianas.

On 28 May, I went to visit the south-west extremity of the island<sup>2</sup> which is separated from the island itself by a narrow tongue of land upon which the village is presently located.

It consists of three huge calcareous blocks superposed on top of one another; this feature gives it the appearance of a fort when seen from afar. The summit is 100 meters above sea level. Despite the lack of soil, this mount is very wooded. It serves as a refuge for a few wild pigs and deer, the latter the descendents of those brought to Guam by one of the governors of the archipelago.<sup>3</sup>

On the other side of this isthmus, which separates this point from the rest of the island, one finds calcareous massifs that are of equal formation but more extensive and higher by a few meters; they occupy most of the island surface.

On these plateaux,<sup>4</sup> water does not stay, but soon disappears through the several cracks that marked this area.

At the summit of these plateaux, whose vegetation is very poor, there live some cows in a wild state. Like the pigs and deer, they too were introduced to the island of Rota, to provide the inhabitants with a richer food than simply fish and vegetables.

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1 Ed. note: See page 38 of Larry Cunningham's Ancient Chamorro Society. The base is a semi-spherical stone with the flat side on the top.

2 Ed. note: Mount Taipingot.

3 Ed. note: Governor Tobias (see HM14:603).

4 Ed. note: The Sabana District.

On 6 June, at 5 a.m., I left to visit a place named Macham, that had been inhabited before the discovery and is situated on the north coast, near the end of the island; I was to find there some ruins located on a plateau about 2 meters above sea level, at the foot of the coral limestone mountain that covers the center of the island.

One must first follow the north-west coast along a trail that leads to coconut tree plantations; the last third of the distance is through the brush, as there is no apparent trail.

At 2 p.m., we arrived at a vast plateau, bordered on the sea side by a forest of coconut trees, which is about 100 to 150 meters in width and many kilometers in length. Behind these trees we found the pillars of three huts.

They had been aligned parallel with the shore-line, one after the other, as if along a street. Each contained a double row of eight stones. The forest has not yet invaded the area where the old village was located; there was only one big tree growing between the first two huts and reminded me of an African village where such a tree would have been the center of village life.

Farther up, and aligned with the first group, there were other ruins indicating the former presence of seven or eight more buildings.<sup>1</sup>

The latter ruins are like that had met previously: the pillars, made of a single block of stone, were lined up in two parallel rows, from 1 meter to 1.2 meters in height and with a cross-section that was more or less square or rectangular. These pillars were surmounted by a capital, shaped like a full cauldron, whose dimensions were relative to the pillar and had served to support the beams of the huts.

To the south of the first three huts, one finds four or five pillars placed in two parallel rows that mark the site of a small hut, perhaps that of a sorcerer; farther, in the same direction, are the ruins of a hut that had been much larger than all those seen previously by us and that had served as the house of a king or chief of the tribe. What made it different than the others was the wall that constitute its southern façade; it is 1.2 meters high, 0.5 meter wide and 17 meters in length. It was pierced by four openings, separated rather regularly and wider at their top.

Parallel with this wall, and about 3 meters from its northern façade, is a row of pillars placed directly facing the openings in question. These pillars are 1.2 meters high and their bases are 0.6 meter to the side, whereas the summit is but 0.40 m. Both pillars and openings are surmounted by capitals shaped like cauldrons that had served to support the wooden frame of the hut.

These buildings, as well as a few other pillars, seemed to have been made of a mixture of line and calcareous stones, and constituted a solid masonry; their cohesion reminded me of stone.

On 22 June, I visited other ruins situated on the east-south-east coast. To get there, the road follows the sea shore at the foot of mountains that came as far as the shore; I

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1 Ed. note: This part of the modern Inagan District is where the ancient villages of Guacho and Tatgua used to be.

was able to notice along this route the ruins of many old buildings, because they are to be found all over the island of Rota.

I saw three huge blocks of stone superposed one on top of the other, and from 6 to 7 meters in height; they were supported and maintained in that position by the roots of a banyan tree that had grown in the cracks at their summit and the roots had come down to the base of the cliff in question.

At about 9 a.m., we crossed some plains that were tilted towards the sea. A few thin streams flowed down them, and fed some rice fields that the natives had made at that location.

I stopped to set up my camp at the end of these plains, where the present natives have built their huts.

The next day, the 23rd, I pursued my journey, but the trail had disappeared; we had to open our own trail through the brush.

This whole area is very mountainous and very wooded. The mountains that must be climbed are branches of the central massif.

At 8 a.m., we crossed a low plain that is deeply embanked between the mountains and where the first rain waters of the season had collected; it was a very unhealthy place to be, and I soon felt its nasty effect. One hour later, I was hit by a violent fever, and could no longer take a single step.

Once the attack was over, at about 1 p.m., I continued my journey and arrived at the ruins in question. They consist in a double row of six pillars, about 4 meters high and surmounted by their capitals.<sup>1</sup> It must be said that the larger pillars had preserved their crowns, but the small ones were without them.

In a nearby cave, I found the skull of an ancient islander; this skull, and another one that I found later, were the only two that I found on this island.

During another excursion, I discovered some masonry pillars lying on the ground and they seemed to have been built to support some huts; they were covered with a layer of lime that was brittle and not too consistent.

I continued to go hunting and looking for anything that might be of interest from the point of view of anthropology, ethnography and natural history; unfortunately, this island is the poorest, except for Tinian.

The schooner made its appearance on 10 August and I board her that same day. The weather was bad and the island being surrounded by reefs, the captain of the *Beatrice* did not dare come closer than one mile from the coast. I boarded a canoe with all my materials to go to the schooner in the high sea.

I have half way there when a wave capsized my canoe. I was fortunately able to grab the boat and had to wait half an hour until I was rescued by the schooner where my plight had been noted.

Thanks to some of my men who were good swimmers, I was able to save a part of my baggages, and I lost none of them, although two of them were non swimmers like

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1 Ed. note: The area described appears to be the Western Talakaya District.

myself.

I lost a part of my baggages, some firearms and half of the collections that I had made at Rota.<sup>1</sup>

Back at Agaña, I was sick for some time, as a consequence of this forced bath.

During the months of September and October 1888, the weather was very bad.

On 15 October, we felt the effects of a hurricane whose center must have been situated at some distance from the Marianas. On the 13th and 14th, there had been almost constant rain. On the 15th, at 3:15 p.m., the aneroid barometer was indicating 751 millimeters and was beginning to decrease in the following manner:

Until 10:10 .....	741 millimeters.
" 10:35 .....	741.5 " (increase).
" 3 a.m. ....	750 <sup>2</sup>

etc.

...

Given that the center of this hurricane passed far from the archipelago, it did not suffer much from it. The island of Guam, on account of its southernmost position, was the only that felt anything and suffered some damage.

On 8 November, I departed once again for Tinian, situated between 143°26'2" and 143°31'52" longitude east of Paris and between 1457'25" and 15°7'45" latitude north.

Since the photographs that I had taken at this island earlier at the beginning of my voyage had suffered from the humidity, they were a complete loss. I thought it was indispensable to make new photographs of the monuments, which have already been described, and of some Carolinian immigrants as well! I was hoping to be able to take a few anthropometric measurements at the same time.

At the present time, there are only Carolinians living on Tinian. Some of them are occupied by the government in fishing and hunting the wild cattle and pigs, very numerous on this island. The meat from the cattle and the pigs is salted or dried, for the benefit of the government that pays to have it transported to Guam where it is sold at public auction.

Those of the Carolinians who are not in the employ of the government are occupied in fishing and agriculture.

The wild cattle and pigs of Tinian are descendents of those that the Spanish imported there a long time ago to feed the lepers who had been banished to that island. Nowadays, the lepers, still very numerous, in spite of the reports of certain governors, live in among their families. I was able to note that those of Guam are also affected by syphilis.

The government gives them some assistance; a few of them receive as much as 1 frank per day, but such help is given very irregularly, during a short time, perhaps from 51 to

1 Ed. note: His photographic plates were also damaged by sea water in this incident.

2 This barometer could mark a maximum of 760 mm. I followed its increase until midnight, time at which it stopped increasing.

52 days every year. Still, to benefit from the generosity of the administration, one must submit to an examination by the physician assigned for this purpose, in order to be recognized as a *lazariono* [leper]. As far as treatment is concerned, nobody cares.

There is no running water on Tinian; the only water available is either salty or calcareous in taste. The brackish water comes from two small lakes and the calcareous water from a sort of well, not deep, that is behind the Mayor's house.

The vegetation shows the signs of this lack of water; it is very poor. The coconut trees are the only tall trees that are found there.

As far as means of communications are concerned, there are only a few trails.

The village consists of 25 to 30 huts, baldy built and badly maintained.

During my first visit, I immediately noticed the near nakedness of the natives: the men wear a belt of beaten bark with a part that passes between their legs; the women have only a small mat fastened to their waist.

that name. He was but a legendary figure.<sup>1</sup> They measure 3.9 meters in height and their shape is that of a quadrangular pyramid whose base measures 1.37 meters to the side and whose top is 1.25 meters. They are surmounted by a semi-spherical capital; the diameter of its lower surface area, that which is in contact with the column, is 1.23 meters in diameter, that of the top surface is 2.25 meters, while its thickness is 1.33 meters.

We suppose, given the large size that this building must have had, that it was supporting the house of the king or high chief. As the preceding ones, these pillars are made up of a mixture of coral debris and lime; they must certainly have been built on the spot, including the capitals, but they have been placed directly upon the ground, without any foundation at all.

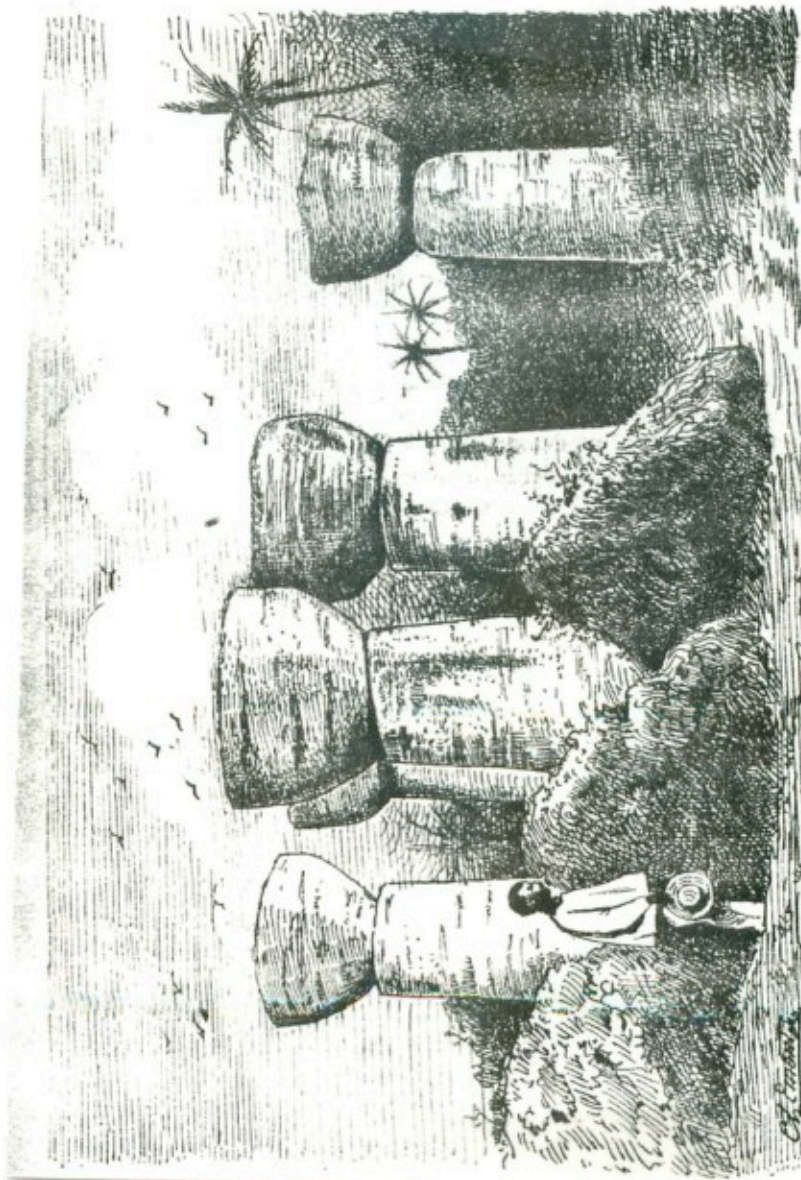
These columns are aligned in two rows of six. Half of them have been toppled either by men or by earthquakes.

On top of one of the columns that had retained its capital, one notices a cavity in the shape of a coffin, in which, according to tradition, the body of a child of the chief had been laid; this skeleton had been recovered by one of the governors of the Marianas.

The [present] village lies south of these ruins and ends right next to them. Other pillars had existed, closer to the sea, but they were demolished to make room for new huts.

The next day, I went to a place about 1.5 kilometers from these ruins, to see other ruins that resembled those of Rota. There was one row of five pillars, 1.3 meters in height, which was the seaward side of a hut; the other side was made up of a wall 16.5 meters in length, also 1.3 meters in height, like the pillars, and 0.7 meter thick. The two





ASTAGA OU COLONNES DE PIERRE DE L'ILE TINIAN  
d'après une photographie de M. Marche.

semi-spheres at the opposite ends of the wall have fallen down, and the openings left by missing pillars had been filled with a mixture of stones and lime.<sup>1</sup>

At this location, called Tachuna, besides the above ruins, one can see other ruins, from smaller huts, with pillars that were solid blocks of volcanic stones.

This place must have been that of a former village—a strange phenomenon in these islands where the ruins are generally distributed widely at independent sites.<sup>2</sup>

During my first visit at Tinian, I had taken the body measurements of six Carolinians, and they had agreed to be photographed. During my second visit, I was not permitted to either photograph or measure any of them.

The Carolinians of Tinian come from a different island than those of Saipan, but they are related to or at least the [former] neighbors of those living at Rota.

I was not able to get detailed information regarding their religion, beliefs, or customs of these Carolinians, for lack of a proper interpreter.

The Carolinians are polygamous, with loose morality, and these are the real reasons why it is difficult to make them accept Christianity. The adults become converts only at the moment of death. Only a few children have been baptized.

When they are sick, they call the priest or the physician only in the hope that they will get a glass of wine, considered a strong medicine by them. During my stay at Rota, the priest begged a woman who was extremely sick and seemed to be nearing death. It was only a strong attack of malaria fever. I gave her some quinine sulphate that I diluted in some wine, the better to accelerate its effect; the attack lasted three to four days.

After this cure, I was continually bothered by Carolinians who pretended to be sick, begging me to give them some of my medicine, which I did, but only after diluting my wine; the sick soon stopped consulting me.

Among the Carolinians, when a woman is about to give birth, she lies down naked in the middle of her hut, keeping a fire going between her legs until the arrival of the baby. After the birth, the mother and the women assisting her, are supposed to clean the baby with their own tongues. This was told me, but I had no opportunity to witness it myself.

As far as the men are concerned, they go round and round the hut, dancing, while calling on the spirit to take care of the newborn.

Immediately after giving birth to bathe in the sea, and she repeats the process until the lochia have stopped.

1 Ed. note: Therefore, after earthquake damage to the latte stones themselves, the ancient Chamorros often replaced them, not by new latte stones, but with supporting walls, often in makeshift fashion.

2 Ed. note: The exact location of this village, then called Tachuña, can no longer be ascertained. If only Marche had mentioned the direction! Marpi was located 3 km NE of Sunharon. I suspect that it was at Tipúan (see Doc. 1798A), where the Japanese runway used to be as well, as this site is, in fact, 1.5 km from Sunharon, NW of it. Tachuña, therefore, referred to the property of a modern Chamorro family.

The matrons wash the baby, then they go around in a circle inside the hut, with the baby in their arms, stopping at every sixth step to slap the buttocks of the baby while calling on the spirit.

Meanwhile, the men go to the sea and watch for a fish called *tuninas*; if they see one, they jump into their canoes and push it between their canoes and the shore, thus forcing it to swim; the greater the distance covered by this fish in the sight of the fishermen, the longer will the child live.<sup>1</sup>

A marriage takes place when both parties agree to it, without ceremony or previous advice given to the parents.

Carolinian men can have more than one wife, but the consent of the first wife is necessary before a second one can be admitted into the marriage. It is customary for the relatives of the first wife to come and give a beating to the second wife, destroying everything that she owns. After this incident, the second wife is admitted as part of the household on the same basis as the first wife.

If the first wife did not consent to the second one, something that rarely happens, she breaks and destroys everything that belongs to herself, demolishes the canoe of her husband, and abandons her husband. Then she goes and lives with one of the brothers, uncles, or cousins of her husband.

Because Carolinians do not have any knowledge of medicine, then they get seriously sick, they see their own condition deteriorate rapidly and they soon die.

Immediately after the death of an individual, his relatives bring all sort of gifts that will be buried with the deceased. The body is bent in half, the knees bent, the heels forced up the groins. In fact, the better to achieve this position and get the smallest volume possible, the articulations of the arms and knees are broken, and the body is wrapped in mats given by the relatives and friends.

The relatives cut their hair short and cry upon the body that is then carried at some distance where a hole has been previously dug. There, the body is laid down inside a small canoe and the hole filled up. On top of the grave, a few wreaths of flowers are deposited, and no-one should ever touch them again.

Some food is also brought and deposited on the grave, and they are renewed now and then over the course of one year.

I heard rumors to the effect that certain families kept the body of the dead for some time and drank the liquid oozing from the putrefacting body. I can hardly believe this at all; in any case, I cannot verify or deny this assertion, nor say anything about a superstition that would allow it. However, it is true that they eat their parasites, the pus from their eyes, and even the scabs from their wound; I have personally witnessed such events many times.

On 27 November 1888, I left this area and went to live at Agrigan, an island situated between 143°30'20" and 143°35'35" longitude east of Paris and between 18°45'

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1 Ed. note: Since the word *toninas* is Chamorro for 'dolphin', his informant, or interpreter, must have been a Chamorro.

and 18°49'38" latitude north.

During this crossing the weather was very bad and we were able to anchor off Pagan Island only on 4 December.

On the day of our arrival, I noticed that one of the volcanoes at the south point was emitting smoke, but less so than the northern volcano.

The former is rarely active, and that is why I had thought it was extinct; on the other hand, the northern volcano is constantly active. Since my first visit, the summit of the mountain had continued to collapse into the interior of the crater.

I took advantage of the three days that the schooner stayed anchored at Pagan to make a few more excursions throughout the island. In some caves, I found three skulls of the ancient natives, in good condition.

I was able to purchase three large earthenware pots that had been found a few days before at the island of Alamagan. This island, that has an active volcano, is south of Pagan; it certainly had not been visited since its abandonment at the beginning of the 18th century, because the pots were found almost intact; one was complete, both having been made with the same rough clay I had seen in the numerous shards I had already found. These two pots were found sheltered by a large stone that was slightly inclined towards them; they were standing, top down; their opening, according to their shape, it could not have been otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

Inside them, I have found traces of smoke, but nothing on the outside; surely the constant rains of so many years had erased any trace of it there.

These two pots have nothing remarkable, but what is interesting is that they are the only ones found in this archipelago and they provide an additional proof to the effect that fire was known by the natives, before the Spanish conquest.

I was unable to go and visit the island of Alamagan; the sea being very rough. Any attempt by the schooner to leave the protection of the reef and test the bad weather would have been foolish.

On 7 December 1888, at 6 p.m., we left Pagan. The next day, at daybreak, we were before Agrigan.

From afar, this island seems to be formed by a single wooded mountain, but once ashore, its appearance changes and one notices some plains that stretch along the shore. We anchored in front of one of the rare places where a landing is possible.

Most of the coast is a cliff, below which are rocky bulwarks upon the sea breaks furiously.

As of the next day, I built myself a hut, in order to have a shelter during the two or three months that I feared I would have to spend on this island. The schooner that had brought me here continued her voyage to Hong-Kong and was to come back at the end of February [1889].

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Some words, perhaps one line, appear to be missing from the original text in French, making this paragraph confusing at best.

The place where I landed was a beach where the sea rolled in. It is very dangerous to land there at certain times of the year, and it is almost imposible for a whaling-boat to land unless it be rolled in<sup>1</sup>

This island is made up mostly of high massifs that reach 250 19 300 meters in height. It is everywhere volcanic in origin, but its volcanoes have been extrinct for many long years.

The mountains are wooded to their summits, but I was unable to measure their height exactly, since my barometers had bee lost, during my near shipwreck on the preceding August.

Potable water is rare, but behind my hut there was a torrent cascading down to the sea and fed by rain water. This ravine seemed to have been carved by some lava flow; the water collects in some holes and remains there.

In the center of the island, behind the calcareous mountains that border it, there is a small stream that descends from the highest mountain and comes down was a water-fall 100 meters from the beach; but this occurs only during the period of heavy showers.

During the whole year, except in February and March, the rains are frequent.

Wild pigs, goats, and chickens can be found in this island, in abundance; during my stay of over three months, I did not spend 10 days without fresh meat; the meat of the chickens is not too tasty; at the time I was there, they were unedible, probably because of the food avaiable to them at that season.

The vegetation is luxuriant, but without tall trees, except for coconut trees, which are cultivated, grow well, and produce abundantly. This island is visited only at the time of the coconut harvest.

As for natural history, I met with only two sea birds that I did not yet have in my collections. One of them was a frigate bird that had some eggs in a nest; it lays its eggs in Novembewr or December; the other bird was a gull with a wide tail.

I collected about 50 species of insects, and many of them were different species from those already collected in this archipelago. I found a new lizard and a few mollusks and a small starfish that seemed interesting to me. Although the season was not favorable for the collection of seeds and plants, I was able to put together a sew species and at the same time some rock samples that will illustrate the geology of this small island.

At the end of February 1889, I was back at Agaña.

On 10 March, I set out once again, this time to visit the north end of Guam. In this part of the island, there is no potable water; in the rainy season, there are a few streams but they do not last long, the water disappearing among the coral limestone that form this plateau.

Upon leaving Agal64a, the trail taken follows the sea-shore for about 40 to 50 minutes, then one heads north-east towards the enter of the island by climbing up to a low plateau that extends as far as the north point and is no more than 80 meters in altitude.

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1 Ed. note: Pushed up coconut tree trunks.

I raised my tent at the foot of Mount Santa Rosa which does not reach 300 meters in elevation. This part of the island is almost completely occupied by some farms, where people cultivate sweet potatoes, corn and yams. It is also in this neighborhood that one finds the coffee and cacao plantations that do not produce good harvests, because the plants are little, or not at all taken care of. However, the fruit is generally good. There is in this region a few small herds of wild cattle, deer and pigs.

During my stay at Santa Rosa, I made a few excursions to the north and north-east ends of the island. This region is wooded and bordered by limestone mountains that rise sharply from the sea-shore to 80 or 100 meters in height.

On this side, there are few or no beaches at all; the shores are mostly formed of rock walls upon which the sea breaks with fury.

The sides of these cliffs are very wooded; in fact, some tall trees grow on these steep slopes and are preserved because it is impossible to remove them.

I found nothing new during these excursions; moreover, on account of the lack of water, it is the worst part of the island for someone in quest of natural history.

During the months of March and April, we have felt a few earthquakes, but always very weak.

On 4 May 1889, the mail steamer arrived and, a few days later, I was on my way back to the Philippines, and Europe.

I found that Manila was being attacked by an epidemic of cholera and experiencing great heat, without any breezes or rains. The thermometer kept reading 35, 36 and sometimes 37 degrees during the night; the mortality was very high, not only on account of the cholera, but also on account of other illnesses caused by this strong heat.

On the eve of my departure, on 26 May 1889, we felt during night a strong earthquake that lasted 70 to 72 seconds; the quake was oscillating, strong, but without jolt, or change in direction; that is why there were no major damages, only a few accidents caused by fear.

On the 27th, I left for Hong-Kong, in order to catch the mail ship for France. I arrived at Hong-Kong in the morning of the 30th. The weather was rainy, and had been so for a few days already.

The main streets that occupy the strip of land lying below the mountain and where the town has been built, were in certain places covered with more than a meter of sand; the sand had been brought there by water that had swept everything in its path.

There is a small funicular railway, which climbs to the top of the mountain where there is a view over the town, is now unuseable because its trestles were undermined by erosion.

A few unfortunate beings were also caught within collapsed buildings that had also been undermined by the waters.

On 27 July 1889, we made it into the port of Marseilles, after a rather bad voyage.

A. Marche.

26 October 1889.

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**Documents 1887J**

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**The Doane Affair—April-July 1887**

*Source: PNA. Note: Translated by R. L.*

**Office of the Secretary of the Government General of the Philippines—Year of 1887, Political Bureau, N° 11.**

**File regarding the incident between the Political Governor of the Eastern Carolines and the Commander of the Transport Manila, on account of the detention aboard said ship of the American missionary Mr. Doane.**

**J1. Letter of Governor Posadillo.**

[To] The Captain-General of the Philippines.

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines.

Most Excellent Sir:

I have the honor to hand over to Y.E. the enclosed copy of the letters that have been exchanged between this Government and the Commander of the **Manila**, on account of the detention aboard said ship of Mister Doane, and I believe also that I have the duty to transcribe my letter of transmittal of the same letters to His Excellency the Commander-General of the Naval Station, which says the following:

“Most Excellent Sir: With deep regret I hand over to Y.E. the enclosed copies of the letters which have been exchanged with the Commander of the **Manila** with regard to the stay aboard his ship of the Protestant missionary Mr. E. Doane.

“My understanding is that the Commander of a fort cannot eat with any prisoner whom he receives for solitary confinement, the more so when the above-mentioned could bring the food from ashore and even subject it to careful inspection. If this was the principle, as the Commander of the **Manila** recognizes, in my opinion it was bad and the consequences were also bad, of course.

“Aboard, I have seen during more than 30 years that it is perceived as the highest honor to eat with the Commander, whoever follows in rank eats with the officers, then with the machinists or petty officers, and then with the sailors.

"All of these ranks have their respective class, so that one deserving a higher place is concerned with a higher official distinction.

"In a private area, the common formula employed in inviting someone to eat is to accompany him to the table. If the Commander of the **Manila**, instead of being in a man-of-war had been in a merchantman, I would not have been bothered in the least that Mr. Doane ate with him or with the boatswain, but as it is not like that, the moral effect reverberated in the Colony and in the whole island of Ponape. I believed that my authority had been undermined and I begged him orally and in a private letter, then requesting him formally, and finally ordered him in any form possible and he did not head me in any way, the Commander retreating behind personal considerations and articles from the Standing Orders, despite the fact that he would not hurt the responsibility and the orders he had received from Y.E. in the least by acceding to my first requests.

"I do not believe that any Commander has the right to tell a Governor that the prisoner who is aboard is not guilty because he has not yet been sentenced, when the file about the case is confidential and does not have a sentence from the judge, but he was previously sentenced for disrespect to the Authority of Spain in the Eastern Carolines and pending therefore a resolution by the Royal Council in Manila; I warned him that the confidential part had something to do with the prestige of the Spanish flag, besides what was investigated with respect to the usurpation of land and falsification of documents which is a common crime.

"Thus as it is that aboard any ship they cannot fire any shot even blanks without permission from the Port Captain, I understand also that an official manifestation more important than a shot cannot be permitted by a Port Captain nor a Governor of the place, and he cannot tolerate either a conspiracy aboard a warship or a game in the bush without it being reported to the Governor and nevertheless he could not make any decision in the matter as this is all happening on board and the Commander governed as if the Governor and Port Captain did not govern inside the port where the ship was located.

"If I had the right as Governor to expulse from my ports any foreign ship whose presence or acts did not suit me, with more reasons I believe I have such a right towards a Spanish ship that is found in the same circumstances.

"I did not give the final order for two reasons. The first one because I supposed that it would be ignored and in this case it would have been necessary to throw the ship out of the port with cannon shots which would have been sad as it was a Spanish ship, and [secondly] for the great expense represented by its having to return to fetch the surplus equipment and personnel from the **Molina**.<sup>1</sup>

"When the latter anchored, I found myself empowered by the Regulations as senior Navy Commander to take timely action against a senior one on account of complaints

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The **Manila** was then awaiting the arrival of the **Molina**, which was to become a hulk in the harbor, and thus be partly stripped.



from the officers of his ship who would not have been attended to in court. I understand that if complaints against Navy Commanders, [acting as] Governor, Judge, Port Captain, Naval Commander and Chief of the Naval Division, I had more than enough authority to suspend him in his functions. I did not do so, to avoid a scandal and to show once more in the Carolines disputes between a Governor and a ship commander, both wearing the same uniform.<sup>1</sup>

"I made that sacrifice for the sake of the Navy but my authority has suffered a setback.

"The prisoner has continued to sit at the Captain's table until I ordered him to be moved to the **Molina**.

"I would have liked to see in the Commander of the **Manila** less tendency to quote from the REglations and more adherence to the Spanish Government in the Eastern Carolines.

"Therefore, I limit myself to presenting a report; it is very sad one, Sir, that when a Governor and naval superior places his head on the execution block in order to implant fully the authority and sovereignty of Spain in a vast region, he has not seen himself blindly supported by the Commander of a Spanish warship.

"This is all I place at Y.E.'s attention for the purpose that you believe proper.

"May God save Y.E. for many years.

"Santiago de la Ascension, 13 [15?] June 1887.

"The Governor,

"Isidoro Posadillo

### **Letters exchanged between myself and the Commander of the Manila on account of the Doane affair.**

Letter Nº 1: To the Commander of the **Manila**, 12 April 1887.

I have decided to arrest Mr. Doane and not having a jail in the Colony nor believing it to be proper to have him stay among us, I am turning him over to you so that in confinement with no contact with the shore he may respond to the two charges that I institute against him, one for dispossession of property belonging to the natives and another for defiance to my authority.

They can bring food to him from ashore but it will be the object of a scrupulous search so that he does not communicate, I repeat, with the natives and that his arrest be the reason for serious conflicts with Spain.<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: Governor Posadillo refers to the incident that occurred in Yap in 1885 between the then-Governor, Navy Lieutenant Capriles, and Commander España, captain of the **San Quintín**.

2 Ed. note: This letter did not receive any comments from the addressee, except a receipt signed by the officer of the watch upon receiving the prisoner on board.

Letter N° 2: To the same person, 15 April 1887.

The prisoner whom you have aboard is to remain under detention for 15 days as sentenced by this court of first instance and this date the interested party is being notified. You may tell him.

With regard to his food, this Government will pay each day, and one week at a time in advance, the sum of 3 reals which is what is officially paid to the European prisoners in the Philippines.

*Ed. note: No answer was given.*

Letter N° 3: To the same person, 29 April 1887.

In view of the steps made necessary by the confidential government file, in the case that I have instituted against Mr. Doane, I have decided on the continuance of his detention aboard the steamer **Manila** until further notice.

*Ed. note No answer on record.*

Letter N° 4: To the same, 6 May 1887.

Even though I have a copy of the instructions that you have received from His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station [in Manila], I do not know how many days of food you have left at present and therefore the precise date when you will have to leave this port. I would like to know it for my information in any eventuality that might occur.

At the same time, I want to mention that rumors have arrived as far as me to the effect that officers from your ship have made comments more or less light and public concerning my actions as Governor in the case touching the prisoner whom you have aboard.

I suppose them, of course, not deserving of any credit, but if it be true, it is my duty to tell you that I instituted proceedings in matters of interest to the Spanish flag and that may give rise to international conflicts. Leaving it then to your recognized zeal and good judgment to put a cover on the rumors, that if they have personal opinions they should keep them under their hat, taking into account that your ship is within my jurisdiction.

Letter N° 5: Answer from the Commander of the Manila.

May 6.

To answer your letter that I have just received, I must tell you that the latest that I may stay in this port is until the week of next June 6th.

With respect to the second point mentioned in your letter, it is my duty to tell you that none of the officers whom I have the honor to command is capable of making demonstrations neither in actions nor in words contrary to discipline and to good civilian and military education as prescribed by regulations. Therefore, if rumors have arrived to you to the contrary, they are false and the perpetrator of same is a villain, because, if one of my officers has held with some person a conversation of character purely interior and private about the prisoner whom we have aboard, not a single word was said

that could attack your actions as an authority nor can it be interpreted as a commentary, and if they have formed an opinion contrary to what happened they have kept it under their hat, thus anticipating your wishes, as not even aboard ship do we know one another's opinion.

As for the last paragraph of your respectable communication, I regret to inform you that I have been unable to comprehend what you mean when you say that I should take into account that this ship under my command is within your jurisdiction as Governor and Port Captain, as I do not know if I have disobeyed any Government proclamation or port regulation, for instance, while setting up markers for navigation and making a map of the harbor, for which, unless I remember badly, I have your verbal authorization.

May God save you for many years.

Letter N<sup>o</sup> 6: To the same, 7 May 1887.

I have received your letter which was an answer to mine and having taken knowledge of its contents, I must inform you that I have a real satisfaction [to learn] that the rumors that had arrived to my ears were as false as I supposed them to be and must be so because you say so, I was not referring to any private conversation nor to the perpetrators of same and in the last paragraph of the letter, if those rumors were true, the abuse was committed within my jurisdiction and, for this reason, I gave more importance to the matter.

For the rest, you were and are perfectly authorized to place markers in the harbor, and I am happy about it.

I would wish, however, that you would oblige me by not being so considerate toward the prisoner aboard, like having him sit at the Captain's table, for various reasons. The first is that he is under investigation in accordance with the laws of the Spanish Government and as I told you in my previous letter, the prestige of the flag is involved in the charges that I bring, and therefore, all sorts of overt considerations must cease without affecting personal consideration in the least. Besides, the Government has foreseen the case and pays three reals per day to each white prisoner in the Philippines. You may make use of this letter with respect to the prisoner and this way your personal consideration remains covered.

Letter N<sup>o</sup> 7: Answer.

I have received your letter and you may believe that I truly regret being unable to please you for the reasons that I will allow myself to expose to you. According to the official news that I have from the Governor of this Colony, there has not yet been a resolution of the case formed against the prisoner who is aboard and therefore he is not a convict. Furthermore, when I came last year with this ship at my command to take possession of this island in the name of Spain, the above prisoner assisted me and provided as many means as were necessary so that the Nanamarikis [Namwarkis] would sign the treaty of adherence and submission to Spain by placing his person and his influence to

my service and therefore to that of the nation that I represented in such a way that after 40 hours of my having dropped anchor, all the Nanamarikis were aboard and signed as I told them to without the least repugnance, as well when I went on a tour of the island, at his residence in Oua he presented me with whatever was at his disposal, he lodged me in his house and very willingly provided me with pilots, guides, boats and all that was necessary to comply the best way possible within my limited resources and the least time possible the orders that I had from the superior authorities; all this makes me grateful to him, as you will understand, I cannot be any less. With regard to what the Governor of the Colony had told me that the prisoner is pending of a confidential government docket, it can be deduced that he is a political prisoner. About this matter, I recall that when I was in command of the gunboat **Dardo** in Cuba and when there had been made prisoners in the jurisdiction of Holguin personalities no less than the Estrada Brothers, who had titles such as President and Secretary General of the Republic of Cuba, I was commissioned to transport them in the said gunboat from Gibara to Havana. Four joint communications from His Excellencies the Commander General of the Naval Station, the General of the ARmy in charge of operations, the Governor General and the Commander General of the Central Station, all four authorities insisted that I treat the prisoners with all the consideration, and nevertheless the said prisoners could not be greater enemies of our flag. Furthermore, my dear Navy Commander, try as I may I cannot convince myself that it can be prestigious for our flag to pull ignominiously from my table an old man of seventy years of age and with venerable white hair and such would be the thing in form and content, as no-one can deny that I am the only one who can pull a person from my table except in certain cases stated in the Regulations but this case is not one of them.

If the Governor wishes for whatever reason which I respect that the prisoner be treated with less consideration, he may move him to any other place which he thinks proper and you may believe that I will not regret it, but now right away and without a plausible reason in my opinion, according to the reasons that I have just had the honor to mention to you, to pull from my table an old man who has obliged me and who has been seated at it for almost one month, it is so difficult for me that you must excuse me if I do not please you in this specific matter.

As for the rest, I thought that the point that I had discussed with the Governor about himself on one of the days when he came to take a declaration from the often-called prisoner, Mr. Doane, was already a closed case.

Letter N<sup>o</sup> 8: To the Commander of the Manila, 9 May 1887.

I am surprised to see written in your letter that the prisoner whom you have on board is not a convict because the case that I instituted against him has not been resolved.

I have in my power the receipt for the prisoner on your ship as the only answer to my letter in which I said that he was under arrest for disrespect to my authority and therefore to the Spanish Government, as I represent the State here and that in addition I was continuing proceedings for usurpation of property and other events that I thought

it proper to say. Days later I remitted another letter in which the person guilty of disrespect was sentenced to 15 days of detention. Later on, he was sentenced also to give back the usurped property and other things that I report to the Royal Council in Manila and I gave you a copy of the sentence that I sent to the prisoner. Days later, I told by letter that it is by virtue of actions in a confidential case that I instituted against him and that is on-going, that he remained under arrest until further notice.

If I told you the reasons the file would no longer be confidential, I find sufficient to have indicated in two letters, and this one is the third, that the prestige of the Spanish flag was at stake.

In my humble opinion then, he is a convict, and in spite of being so, he is the one you serve, given that I am the only one capable of applying this adjective.

At the end of your letter, you indicate that you thought that the matter of the food was a closed case and I am again surprised, given that verbally I indicated to you that I regretted your attitude, then in a private letter, I repeated the same thing and not having paid attention to my two observations I was obliged to beg you in my last letter as I was believing again that my authority was misunderstood.

I never obliged you nor never tried to have him pulled ignominiously from your table, and only begged you to put the blame on me and send him to eat at the passengers' mess where I have lived and the officers and missionaries taken their meals during the voyage. If he has had considerations for you, good for you, but I cannot base my judgment in the actions that I institute upon those deferences and respect that he may have held for Spain. You may make a mistake in appreciating him as you do with regards to the age of the prisoner, which does not surprise me because you lack the information that I possess and I am the only one in charge while I remain alive,<sup>1</sup> and in possession of this post to appreciate the old and more recent [data] under the official and political points of view, and to pass judgment when I believe or it appears to me proper, my superiors being the only ones able to give or to take away the reason, but never my inferiors in category as you are.

I must warn you, in case you ignore it even though the stamp indicates it, that I have taken charge of my post as Chief of the naval Division in this region, **materially** as of last June and more materially so, since my arrival at this port and I need only have in it ships belonging to it to become a Commander senior to you and therefore with the attributes indicated by the Regulations in everything concerning external things and movements either in peace or in war, and I appreciate as such the fact that a Commander sits a convicted prisoner at his table, one serving a sentence imposed by a Governor and within his jurisdiction, this does not leave his authority in good standing, given that such external considerations are not ignored by anyone aboard, in the Colony, and in the whole island of Ponape. When the Governor punishes and the Commander of a Spanish warship treats the punished with considerations, the former does

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1 Ed. note: A prophetic statement in view of the imminent rebellion in which he was to be killed, on 4 July next.

not, I repeat, remain in good standing before public opinion and more so before these savages who discern little. At the price also that it does not suit my political aims which are those of the Government of the Metropolis and therefore those of Spain during the time that this affair will be pending.

Also I must warn you, in case you ignore it, that your ship which has come to bring the Colony has been stationed here temporarily to assist me **in everything** and **for everything**, the exact words of His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station and I have believed that it was an assistance to have an important prisoner aboard, not having a jail in the Colony nor any adequate installation. I believe that it is not assisting to treat him officially with consideration, as you know as well as I that it is a major consideration to offer to a stranger to sit at your table daily and when contrary indications have intervened and your last letter also, I believe that it is failing to assist.

By the way, I have not bothered to ask help from your ship for the installation, as you very well know, I paid many daily wages to kanakas and to rent a boat to unload and carry materials to the place, taking into account that you had to paint the holds.

I will tell you also that if one can presume that there will be official claims on the part of the prisoner, I have concrete reasons to suppose that those considerations with which you treat him will serve as a basis to attenuate or counteract the measures taken by me, as such has already happened with me. I leave it to your consideration, if faced with the eventuality of an international conflict, whether to weigh or not even the smallest details. With respect to what you have done in gunboats in accordance with instructions received, I repeat what I have said before that they are of no help to me in making up my judgment which is inspired by what I think proper and not in what other people do. We are not in Cuba but in Ponape, I am the Governor here and others govern elsewhere.

In view of what I said as Navy Commander, Port Captain, and as a Commander senior to you, I command you for the last time to stop treating Mr. Doane with official considerations; you may make claims or protests in accordance with the Regulations if you think it proper but obeying and giving me a report to confirm having carried it out; I will advise His Excellency the Commander General about this and His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippines.

As a Governor I am authorized by current international law to invite any foreign ship whose presence or acts are not compatible with my political designs to leave the ports of my jurisdiction without giving rise to any claim by the nations that they represent.

As a Governor, my dear Commander, I eagerly beg you not to place me in the saddest position to create a ridiculous scandal for all those of us who wear the honorable button featuring an anchor and for which we have the deepest affection, to oblige a Spanish warship to leave the port because his presence is believed inconvenient to my political aims that are presently those of the Government and therefore, I repeat, those

of the Spanish nation in general before whose high interests those of others must disappear, whatever type they may be.

Letter N<sup>o</sup> 9: Answer, 10 May 1887.

I have received your letter which caused me true regret and surprise by the severe charges made against me and that I do not believe to have merited in any way.

It is the farthest thing from my mind to take away from you the reason as you tell me in your last letter to intervene or to meddle in the least in the multiple matters that you have to attend to on account of your various superior mandates in this Colony. I do not believe that you can quote me one single word in any of my letters to demonstrate the opposite of this assertion as it is expressed and to remove essence from it, in any case I am not a great orator and do not know what effect I might have.

I do not ignore that you are the head of this naval division and therefore a Commander senior to me; however, in accordance with Article 105, Subject 11, Title V of the Navy Regulations, there has to be two or more squadrons in a port or ships representing different squadrons for the Commander with more seniority to have command of them in matters regarding service and public discipline, for instance, in making the rounds, in boarding ships, salutes or any other demonstration of this type and according to Article 106 of the same Title and Subject that gives a private character and no restriction whatever to the junior Commander of the squadron or boat, everything that is particular to the command of his own squadron or ship. And surely or at least according to my judgment and as Commander of a ship, even though I have the most up-to-date copy of the regulation in question, the table of a ship commander is not included in the prescriptions of Article 105, Subject 11, Title V.

To have named you in my last letter Navy Commander, without adding “.and Chief of the Naval Division of the Eastern Region of the Carolines and Palauá for the sake of brevity and because all your titles are quite long, it was not my intention, much less to decrease your authority in the least.

My ship is not a penitentiary, it can be considered like any State fortress to be a prison where a prisoner can be detained accidentally in complete security, but there can be no doubt that it is perfectly a private domain, even more when I pay out of my own pocket for the form and content for this prisoner's food and I cannot comprehend, try as I may, that the fact that the prisoner eats at my table can represent a decrease in your authority and prestige.

I was hurt by your phrase that it appears that I ignore my instructions and I must tell you that I am generally accustomed to become well aware of the orders that are given to me. If His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station had believed proper for my assistance to be unconditional, I would have placed myself unconditionally at your orders; and as he did not do that, so it will be, because he did not think proper for me to act differently from what is stipulated in the Regulations. Nevertheless, I have not made any fuss in receiving and holding the prisoner, in spite of the

fact that you did not consult me when you send him to me nor have you done it later on with regards to the practicality of detaining him aboard.

Concerning what you tell me about the copy that you have received of my instructions not being the same as the original, well, not only it does not tell me that I am here to assist **in everything** and **for everything** but that the main object of my stay here is to await if possible the **María de Molina** to carry with me the personnel, food and equipment that become surplus when its status changes to that of a hulk, and then he tells me what I quote literally in order for you to see that it rather differs from yours:

"You will give him all the assistance possible for his establishment ashore, providing not only six workers whom you bring from the Arsenal for that purpose but also all those whom you can from the ship as well."

I have the conviction that, even though you rented a boat and kanakas, the ship has done everything humanly possible.

My mind refuses to accept, dear Division Commander, that the greater or smaller consideration with which I treat a person, whether I offer my table or make him eat at the bow or anywhere else can be taken as a basis for complaint in international law or by any serious government or by any person with common sense. I understand that it would please you in private but from there to say that it could serve as the basis for a complaint, there is a world of difference and I protest energetically if that has been done and I will protest also if it will be done in the future because the way in which I treat Mr. Doane in private has nothing to do with the official acts of the Governor of the Colony.

I have no doubt that the example of the orders given to me under similar circumstances by the authorities in Cuba does not influence your judgment but they influenced mine no doubt because it is more limited. And as the letter of transmittal of the prisoner only told me "that food could be brought to him, even baggage, from ashore, it should be checked over carefully as the prisoner is in solitary confinement," it appears to be more suitable for him to eat with me and when days later, speaking to me in private, you indicated that I should stop feeding him, the thing was already done and it was very tough to undo it.

According to the Regulations, the Commander of a ship cannot receive orders for its administration, policing or discipline from anyone other than his regular superior; therefore, you are not authorized to give me orders of any sort in matters concerning the internal affairs of the ship. This thing about disobedience and making representations that you mention to me about the Regulations will never apply between independent Commanders; so says Article 116, Subject 111, Title I, with respect to officers versus their Commanders, specifically Commanders versus their Commanders General but never between independent officers. Ship commanders have very sacred duties to comply with, as you know better than I; their responsibility is immense and they cannot therefore observe orders beyond those authorized by authorities competent to authorize them.



About the case of my inviting a person to eat, I cannot admit ever that it is an official act, the invited person not being one of those whom the REgulations authorize me to invite officially, I absolutely deny in the most definite manner, and protest with all my strength any assertion to the contrary that I have shown Mr. Doane who is aboard this ship any official consideration, ostensibly or not.

I know the titles of international law that say that the Governor of a place may admit or refuse a foreign ship in port, but the transport **Manila** is a Spanish warship, as well as all the crew from CAptain to cabin boy, we are all Spaniards; therefore, the ship that I have the honor to command is subject to those titles of international law in whatever port that is not Spanish; however, not in Santiago de la Ascension where I am anchored and from where I cannot sail until I can bring with me the equipment and personnel of the **Molina** or until the 6th of next June in compliance with my instructions and AR-ticle 107, Subject 11, Title V of the Navy Regulations.

Given that you tell me in your letter that you will report this incident to their Excellencies the Captain General and Commander General of the Naval Station in the Philippines, I will also see myself obligated to let His Excellency the Commander General know so that he may apply justice in the case.

Believe me, dear Division Commander, I deplore with all my heart the extreme situation in which we now find ourselves, if only I could find an honorable way to please you by making Mr. Doane leave my table, because I believe that the table is the gist of the matter, even though you may not call it quits, I would do so only to please you and to avoid quarrels, always unpleasant between two officers and that in my humble opinion does not have a true motive that cannot bridge this gap; protesting on my part that not to give in to your insistence was done only to comply with what I believe the Regulations and the decorum of the uniform that I wear oblige me to do, and I deplore with all my heart that you insist.

Also I dare beg you, without this being considered meddling in the least with your functions, if you do not see any inconvenient, with all due respects, to remove the prisoner from aboard my ship, thereby removing any source of discord, considering, even though there is no jail in the Colony, perhaps there could be in the barracks where there is a guard as I have seen in passing there once.

Letter N<sup>o</sup> 10: To the Commander of the Manila, 26 May.

Among other things, I say the following:

In the event that you leave this port without the **María de Molina** having arrived, I would like that in accordance with the Regulations you provide me with the means that you may have at your disposal.

I need a physician and even lack a medical practitioner. I also lack basic medicines and, as two physicians have taken turns in the official visit of the Colony, in order to fulfil the grave responsibility imposed upon me by circumstances, you may give me one of them to be in charge of the health department of the Colony.

I was unable to understand, try as I may, any part of your letter, the one before last, with regard to the rest of it negating rights that I conceive as assisting me.

My understanding is that Mr. Doane continues to enjoy the honor to sit at your table.

Santiago de la Ascension, [early June] 1887.<sup>1</sup>

I certify that the above letters are exact copies of the originals that are found in these offices.

Isidro Posadillo.

## J2. The Admiral's decision of 11 July 1887

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the PHilippines.

[From] Command General of the Navy in the Philippines.

**Confidential**

Dear Sir:

The letter dated 15 June from the Naval Commander of the Eastern Caroline Division, and that of the 6th instant from the Commander of the transport **Manila** have made me aware of the incident that occurred between these two Commanders because of the disposition taken by the Governor of the [Eastern] Carolines to detain the Protestant missionary Mr. Doane aboard the **Manila** and the invitation to his table of the said missionary by the Commander of the **Manila**. I have approved the conduct of the said Commander of the **Manila**, that he did not break the arrest nor the confinement, as the Governor did not wish him to be in contact with the shore, and because he was in his perfect right to invite to his table the missionary, which action was not merely by whim but rather for reasons of gratitude, that matter to Y.E., for the services that he provided to the Commander of the **Manila** when he went to explore and take possession of the Carolines in the name of Spain.

I have also disapproved the conduct of the Naval Commander of the Eastern Caroline Division, because his procedures were not inspired by the precepts of the General Navy Regulations and specifically those found in ARTicles 103, 106, and 108 of Subject 2, Title V.

As it happens that in some of the letters that the said Naval Commander of the Eastern Caroline Division sent to the Commander of the **Manila**, he says that he will tell Y.E. about the incident, I have believed proper to let Y.E. know about my decision for the purpose that Y.E. may find appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 11 July 1887.

Federico Lobaton<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: The **Manila** left for Manila on 16 June 1887.

2 Ed. note: This Navy officer was to serve as interim Governor General for only one day in 1888.

### **J3. Verdict of the Royal Audiencia, or Council, dated 15 July 1887**

Royal Audiencia of Manila—The President.

Dear Sir:

On this date the full court of this Royal Audiencia has decided what follows:

This full court having been informed of the cases instituted by the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Caroline Islands against the Protestant missionary Mister Edward Doane for having falsified a public document and usurpation of land, and those against the same person by the same authority for disrespect, by virtue of the decree of the President of this Royal Audiencia by which the file was remitted to the Criminal Section in accordance with what the Ministry of Justice requested, given its legal opinion and having heard it *in voce*, the gentlemen who subscribe have said:

“Whereas the case files in question have been examined before this court in full session, within the limit of its faculties, the doubts and questions of jurisdiction about the exercise of judicial functions of first instance in the Caroline Islands because of the charges brought by the government authority of the said Eastern Islands;

Whereas the Royal Decree of 12 February 1886 by which the Government of the Caroline Islands was created does not say anything specific about judicial functions nor their exercise [...];

Whereas when the Supreme Government organized with normal character the administrative and political life of these Islands [...] the judicial prerogatives cannot therefore belong to the constituted authority, whatever its name might be, as long as the representation of Spain and its sovereign, in whose name justice is administered;

[...]

Whereas relating to the necessary legal advice to illustrate the dispositions about points of law and judicial verdicts, that given the present means of communication, it is more appropriate to forward the case files to this Capital, in order for them to be distributed by this Audiencia among the Manila judges, for them to be the counsellors, as it was done with those coming from the Mariana Islands when they did not have a lawyer as a judge there;

[...]

It is declared that in accordance with the precepts and precedents quoted, the ordinary civil jurisdiction of first instance is to be exercised in the Caroline Islands by the P.M. Governors of the islands in question, being counselled by the opinion of one of the judges of this Capital, for which reason the case files shall be forwarded to this Audiencia and the applicable legislation in criminal cases is that in effect in the Philippine Islands before the publication of the Criminal Code and its law of application;

This decision is to be reported with all haste to His Excellency the Governor General, urging him to publish it for general knowledge and report it also to His Excellency the Minister of Overseas for the worthy and respectable knowledge of the Supreme Court of Justice, by means of a certified copy of same.

And, in compliance with the above decision, I have the honor to transcribe it to Y.E. for your Superior knowledge and necessary effects.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 15 July 1887.

Antonio Izquierdo.<sup>1</sup>

#### **J4. Letter of the Governor General to Governor Posadillo, dated 23 July 1887.**

*Note: Nobody in Manila yet knew about the violent death of Governor Posadillo in Ponape on 4 July. The much-amended draft of this letter is here reconstituted for publication.*

[To] the Political Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

[From] Governor General of the Philippines.

In a separate letter, I acknowledge all the measures that you have adopted since taking possession of that Government, having the opportunity to appreciate once more your zeal and activity. The only matter left for me to deal with is the thorny question of the detention and transport to this Capital of the American missionary Mr. Doane.

Your good judgment cannot fail to grasp the great importance that this question involves and, taking this into account, I decided to consult the Council of Authorities of this Archipelago for the purpose of hearing their authorized opinion; inasmuch as claims had already been presented officially by the Consulate of the United States in these Islands to protest against the deed and requesting an indemnification.

Such claims will certainly be pursued at this hour by diplomatic channels in Madrid, as the Minister Plenipotentiary of that Republic at the Court has already been advised about the incident.

Without my nagating in the least the strength of the principles that you have held to take the measures in question, it is certain that what has been done until now does not justify the decision taken. It was thus appreciated by the Council of Authorities and in view of this, I see myself incapable to agree with you; to the contrary, I cannot decide anything less than the return of the said missionary to Ascension and he will in fact do so aboard the transport **San Quintín** which carries this letter; without this resulting in any prejudice toward the responsibility of Mr. Doane for deeds he may have done, and certainly not authorizing him to avoid the compliance of the law.

This Government General, in appreciating the special conditions under which you operate, does believe necessary to recommend to you the greatest calm and dignity in the present circumstances, given that your illustrious judgment will be able to appreciate the high considerations that you should always keep in mind and the serenity of judgment with which you must adorn your decisions and specially in dealing with such a delicate matter.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The specific case of Mr. Doane is **not** mentioned in the above verdict. It was probably considered a political question best left to the discretion of the Governor General.

The Council of Authorities of this territory has on the other hand declared null and void the charges instituted by you as judge against Mr. Doane and would have already informed you directly about its decision.

Finally, in desire to hear from you and to discuss at length about what happened, taking into account the difficulties in communications with those islands, I have decided that, with the return of the transport **San Quintin**, you are to embark for this Capital, for the indicated purpose, leaving the Commander of the hulk, Lieutenant Juan Fernandez Pintado, in charge of that Government.

May God save you for many years.

Manila, 23 July 1887.

### **J5. Rev. Doane's report to the Governor General, dated 8 July 1887**

*Note: The original, which must have been in English, was not found in the Manila Archives; therefore, it had to be re-translated into English.*

To His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines and Caroline Islands.

Your Excellency:

I take the liberty, while I am in Manila, to make some observations to Y.E. relating to the work of spreading the Gospels of Our Common Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the Eastern Carolines.

I refer only to this part of that Group of Islands because our work has not been extended west of the central point constituted by the island group of Truk.

1. The Society which I serve is called the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the United States of America. It is a venerable Society supported by persons of high social, literary and political positions.

2. This Society undertook its missionary work in the Eastern Carolines in the year 1852; missions were located in the islands of Ualan [Kosrae] and Ponape.

3. The original condition of the inhabitants of these two islands was truly deplorable, and the same can be said about the whole group of the Carolines.

In the island of Ualan, the natives spent their time in tribal warfare, and specially after trade started to come to the island, in plotting to cut off ships. Four whaling frigates were here captured, the crews assassinated, the cargoes stolen, taken ashore and hidden, the ships burned to the water line in order to erase the traces of such barbarous deeds. That island is now Christian and such bloody deeds have not been repeated.

In the island of Ponape or Ascension the original population was not, morally-speaking, any better. True, they did not spend their time so much in cutting off ships, but they nevertheless spent it warring among themselves, and devoting themselves at times to many forms of pagan and barbarous worship. This depravation became worse due to the residence among them of convicts escaped from Sydney, New South Wales, and of deserted sailors. Living on one island where there was no law they were at constant warfare among themselves, envious of one another's prosperity, and this made life

something uncertain and problematic. As further proof of their perversity, I will say that, when the ship carrying the Christian teachers to Ponape entered a certain port, and they asked a certain chief if they could reside among them, they were answered in the negative. The perversity of the white people had terrorized the natives making them believe that, if they let the missionaries live among them, they would soon see themselves dispossessed of their lands, and made slaves. That small ship of charity had to retreat but, entering the port of the kinglet of another tribe, it was received with joy. Such was, in a few words, the original condition of the people in the two above-mentioned islands.

4. During the first years of missionary work in those islands, the mission had to fight many adversities. Greedy and savage chiefs, and natives of lesser importance vied to get their hands on the clothing of their teachers, on their furniture, and even on their work tools, such as knives, axes and other things.

[5.] Oftentimes, it happened that during meals, some apparently friendly natives would sit in the living room to avoid suspicion, but in the bedroom next door, others pulled the bed clothes off the bed to take them away. This early part of the life there was not exempt from frequent dangers. Smallpox broke out on the island, from which thousands died, reducing the population to half of what it was, that is, from 10,000 to 5,000. In this hard crisis, terror took over the natives and some of them accused the missionaries of having brought in the terrible disease, and one irate chief begged his kinglet to let him finish off the Christians who, during that period in which the disease reigned and specially one of them who was a physician, did everything they could to save the lives of the inhabitants. That kinglet refused the permission that he was asked as he was a humane and prudent man. These missionaries, full of self-denial, with their lives, those of their wives and children in constant danger, without pulling back, went on with their gospel work, learning the language, reducing it to a written form, writing works for elementary instruction and establishing schools, visiting the sick, and to studious youth anxious to get a good education they gave what was necessary. Each native hut was converted into a school, and from them could be heard the echoes of the harmony of the hymns, of the reading and lessons. This was twelve years ago, and such events produced a deep impression among the masses in the villages.

6. I will now describe in a few words the results obtained by missionary work in the Eastern Carolines. In these will be included the work done recently in Truk, although in part:

(a) Slightly less than half of the people of Ualan and Ponape are converted to Christianity. Many are members of some church; others kept a wait-and-see attitude, seeing their pagan worship practices being abandoned; thus, polygamy has been converted to monogamy, and they have stopped their tribal wars and their barbarities.

There are many schools for both sexes, headed by native teachers of one sex or the other of average competence. There is a good number of churches with large congregations that assemble on the Lord's days to hold services. There is in Ualan two high schools headed by ladies and gentlemen of distinguished education; the former are in

charge of the girls, and the latter, the boys. In Ponape, there are two schools of the same category that occupy European-type buildings. In Truk, there will exist, soon, the same state of affairs.

(b) Life and property are, now, secure in those islands, and specially in the first two mentioned. Shipwrecked people find a friendly land to help them and feed them. No native lives off petty thievery. Commerce has not taken, for sure, a great development in value, but such as it is, meets in those islands the necessary guarantees. The ships, in their anchorages, are free from attack and theft as in other times.

(c) The native population is adopting many forms of civilized life, in clothes, food, houses, and work tools.

7. One of the excellent results obtained in Ponape by the Christian missions is that of having been able to send native teachers to the low islands of the Carolines belonging to the Mortlock Group, west of Ponape. They met there a terribly pagan people and no less wild and they were rejected. Nevertheless, now, there are schools there, the language has been reduced to writing, books have been printed, and there are many Christian schools. It is a satisfying fact to know that the native is susceptible to culture and able to take his place among his fellow-men.

8. There reside in the island of Truk the Reverend Logan and his family; a few native teachers from Ponape assist them. The work of civilization in this island is not yet advanced due to their having been undertaken only recently. But it is pleasing to know that such people who, for a long time deserved the name of savage, yield now to the humanitarian and enlightened influence of Christianity. About this gentleman, the Commander of the **Manila**, Mr. L. Bayo, speaks in high terms, because it was he who contributed, by his knowledge of the native dialect, to make a success of the visit of that Commander in 1886.

To summarize what I have said, I am going to venture a few remarks:

1. The American Board (name of the above-mentioned Society) did not enter the Caroline Islands, nor any field of its gospel work, with the sole purpose of propagating, exclusively, one of the religious forms of the present era. Its great purpose consists in introducing the Gospel of Jesus, the good news that mankind needs. "In Him is the Life." This is the great theme of the mission and its teaching in all the lands where it arrives.

2. I feel that it is eminently in harmony with this theme, whenever possible, to educate the people with precepts, books and schools for the purpose of giving examples(?) that it is just to do whatever is possible to provide these peoples with good laws. To fulfill this objective, and given that in the Carolines when they were still in their primitive condition, there did not exist laws based on justice, I feel, that it was highly just that its missionaries instructed the Christian kinglets and chiefs, teaching them to govern themselves, not with a savage and vindictive spirit but in charity and justice. For this, the missionaries have seen themselves obliged to make frequent contact with the kinglets(?) to write the laws, examining(?) those that were just and those that were not, suggesting the punishments they should impose for the violation of the laws, and that laws with-

out punishments can hardly be called laws. But the missionaries, while they were thus helping to put in motion the machinery of a good Government, did not take upon themselves the titles of Kings or Presidents. They were simply teachers. But, this gave rise to frequent clashes with foreigners who did not want laws and who wished to live in disorder. They did not spare calumnies by attributing to the missionaries ambitious designs to elevate themselves as Kings, despots who would subjugate the people, but all this was false, because they did not wish any such thing. They wished, of course, to see the kinglets govern and punish with justice and equity. But it was never their wish, as I have already said, to constitute themselves as a Government and to execute the laws. This they left, always, to the native government and its officials.

3. But as a Society, it has had nothing to do with commerce in order to secure for itself, by this manner, any wealth. It does not export any products either nor import any goods nor did it establish trading stations, nor allow the missionaries to contemplate such occupations.

4. As a Society, it has never desired to possess large land properties. As it was establishing itself in some village and wished to build stations for the mission personnel, or buildings for schools or churches, it only wished a few acres of land here and there, according to each case, taking from those who gave, Chiefs or Kinglets, with a simple note, written and signed, in simple terms, that were supposedly valid. At least, it had ventured to place its buildings on them, not thinking that such documents might lose their validity, and even less that the ownership of a few acres would give rise to disputes, given that it is supposed that occupation of the land demonstrated that those documents were valid.

5. As a Society, it did not enter into plans to foster any form of political government more than any other. Its preceptors or missionaries, coming from the great Republic of the United States, and being republicans, do not form part of a mission to propagate that form of government. This they leave to the initiative of the people where they reside.

As a Society, it has missionaries who reside under all forms of government that now exist in all the countries of the world. They reside in them as good citizens. When unjust laws exist, what they do to improve them is, always, done in a peaceful manner. This is not being anarchist, certainly not nihilist, this is being citizens who respect the law. I spoke earlier about the formation of the small governments in the Carolines; such a form as given to those simple people is the best one in harmony with their simplicity. It was not intended to introduce republicanism, and the same has been done in other places.

6. The good work done, whose outlines we have dealt with, has been of great service to Y. E.'s sovereignty. The prefect or Governor sent to Ponape has been able, since then, to start his work. The people, more or less educated, understand something about laws and the obedience that such laws require; he has been able to gather his forces, put them into action, bring wood, clear the land, erect buildings, open roads, and deliver his weapons; all of this was done without rebellion and without attempts on lives. They had



been taught to obey, and they have done so. Nevertheless, it has been painful for all those who love peace and order to see how these simple people have been made to work, without compensation, without food, trusting only friends brought from 10 and 20,000 miles away. And, before them, they saw the perspective of an extensive project, that of cutting and building a road through the island, passing through mountains over 2,000 feet high; but for this work also there was to be no compensation. Naturally, one can ask until when, such people without compensation, not even the least bit, can be made to work before they rebel.

7. The Society that I represent has now in the Eastern Carolines:

Missionaries .....	5
Their wives .....	3
Assistant teachers (women) .....	3
Foreign assistant teacher (man) .....	1
Native assistant teachers .....	20
	---
	33

A mission ship of over 350 tons with an auxiliary steam engine supplies us with foreign provisions in necessary quantity, as well as clothing, materials for houses, schools and churches. It also carries to the various islands personnel or some Delegate to inspect the work done by the teachers, and also provides the means for the personnel to meet every two months [years?] to consult about the work of the mission.

Three dialects of those islands have been reduced to writing, in which have been translated the New Testament with part of the Old Testament. Then there have been written books for reading in the schools, for the use of the people.

The total number of churches, in the Eastern Section is 25. The total number of natives who have joined as church members with those who sympathize with Christian work can be estimated to be from 8 to 16,000 [...]

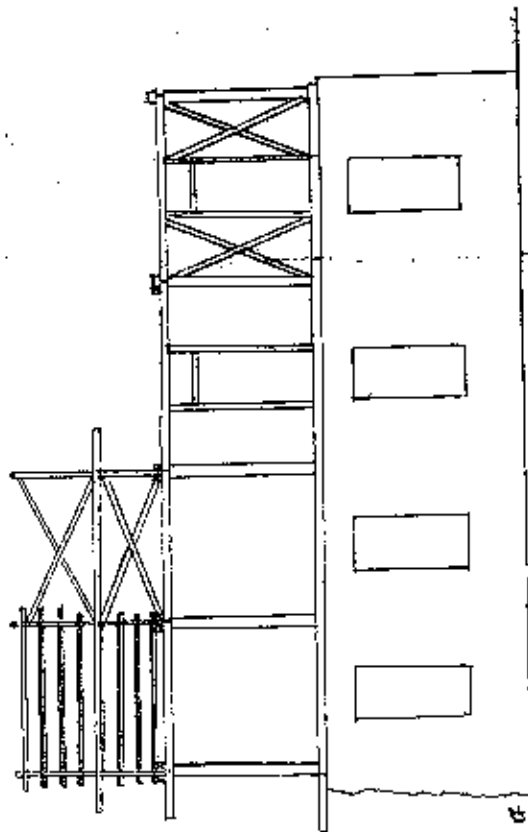
## Epilogue.

On 1 August 1887, Governor General Terrero advised the Director General of Civil Administration that he was sending 5,000 pesos to be shared equally by the two Caroline governments. He had appointed an Officer 2nd class of military administration, Patricio Pogores y Arjona, as the bearer of the money, 1,000 pesos of which he was to use to buy seeds and other articles for the Colonies.

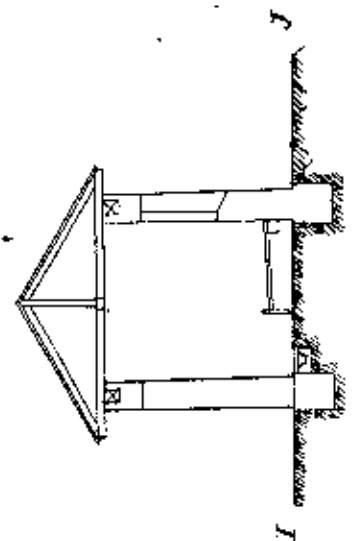
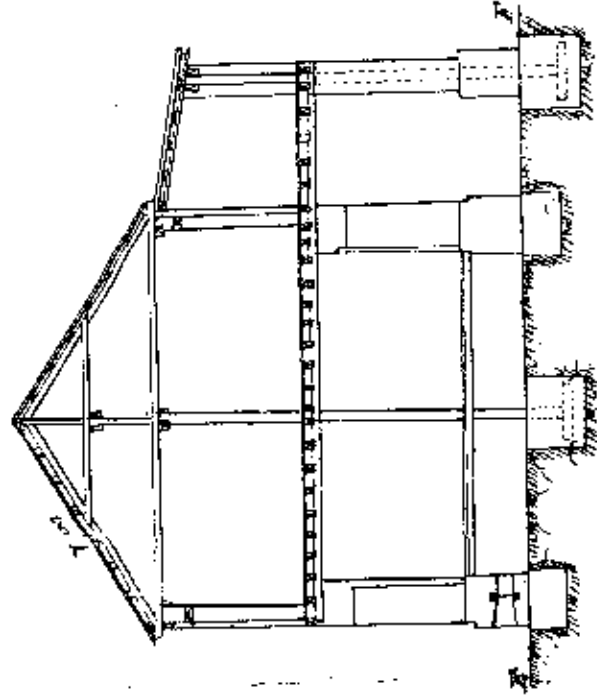
The **San Quintín** arrived at Ponape on 1 September 1887.

(Next two pages): **Plan of 1887 for rebuilding the Palace at Agaña.** *The budget for it was not approved.*

*Profil par G.H.*

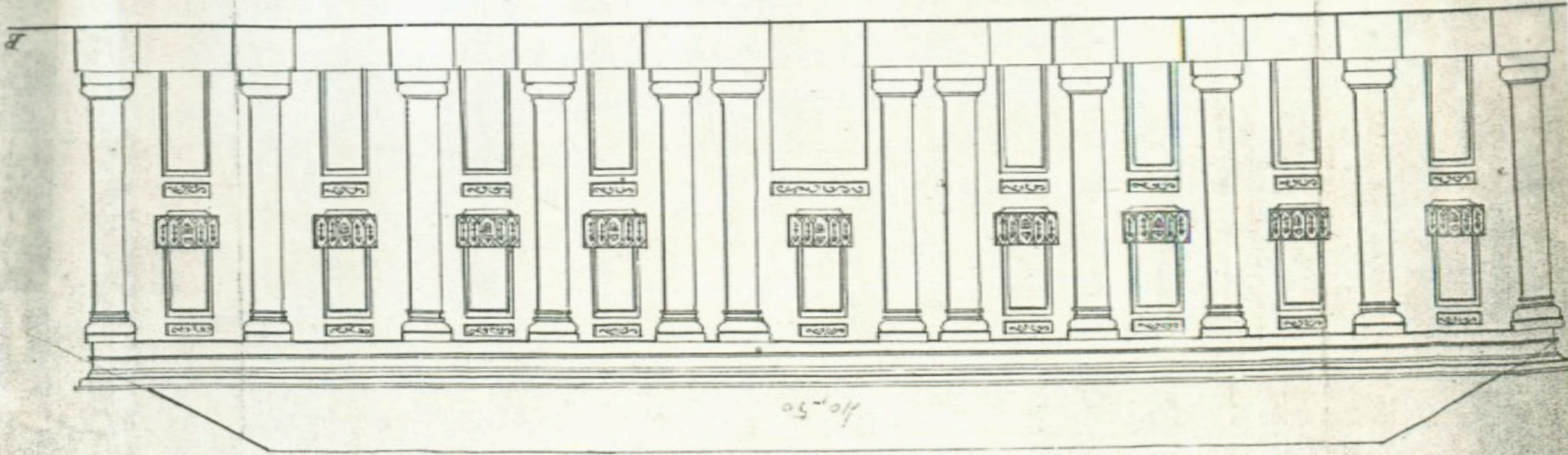


*Profil. R.E.*



*Handwritten notes:*  
 Vista de la Fachada  
 St. Martin de los Andes  
 1887

*Handwritten title:* Vista de la Fachada



*Handwritten number:* No. 50

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## Documents 1887L

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# Shipwreck of the English barque *Afton*

## L1. The file that originated in Guam

*Sources: PNA, Bundle marked "Marianas 1850-1894;" copy in LC Mss. Division.*

### Summary of the investigation report which contains 64 folios.

Captain John Gilmour and 17 individuals were shipwrecked on 31 March 1887 at 10:30 A.M. on the shoals of Lisianski Island (NW of the Hawaii chain of islands). They made their way to Guam in two small boats. Their ship had been conveying coal from Australia to San Diego, California, when the mishap occurred.

## L2. Letter from the Spanish Consulate in Tokyo

*Sources: PNA; AMAE Japón H1633.*

To His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippine Islands.

Letter N° 25.

Your Excellency:

My dear Sir:

The Minister of England in a communication dated yesterday, asks me to give the most expressive thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Olive, P.M. Governor of the Marianas, for the help that he has given to Captain Gilmour, one mate and 16 sailors, crewmen of the English bark *Afton* which was wrecked in waters of the Lisiansky Islands. The shipwrecked persons were picked up at the island of Guajan and sent on board the *Beatrice*, thanks to the efforts of the Governor, and have arrived at Yokohama safe and sound.

I beg Y.E. to please be the interpreter of the statement of thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Olive sent by the Minister of England in this Empire, for his worthy conduct toward the shipwrecked Englishmen.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Tokeyo, 6 July 1887.

He who kisses Y.E.'s hands,

José Delavat y Aveas.

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**Documents 1887N**

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**The General Philippine Exhibition at Madrid****N1. Articles published in the *Revista de geografía comercial***

*Source: Revista de geografía comercial, 1886 and 1887.*

**Spain in Oceania.—The Philippine Exhibition.**

At the proposal of the Council of the Philippines and of our possessions in the Gulf of Guinea, the Minister of Overseas, Mr. Gamazo, has issued a decree, dated 19 March last [1886], organizing the general Exhibition of the Philippine Islands, whose opening is scheduled for 1 April 1887, "to publicize the importance and value of those vast and rich regions in the many branches of agriculture, industry and commerce and in all the various manifestations of work."

The preamble of the decree mentions the transcendental importance of this type of competitions, their results for the development of commerce, the usefulness for nations to foster all kinds of relations between their metropolis and their colonies and the favorable results that, for the wealth of our Archipelago, were obtained in the Exhibitions of Philadelphia and Amsterdam.

"The products of the soil," adds the decree, "and the sources of wealth in those very fertile islands are not properly recognized; and this ignorance among the people who live in the metropolis is perhaps the reason why there are not been any great commercial movements established as a result of the growth of agriculture and industries of the Peninsula and the Archipelago, in tune with the increasing patriotic links between them.

"The main objective of this decree is for the industries to arrive at a complete and practical knowledge of the products of the Philippines, in order to make use of them for the good of the Peninsula and the islands. This objective will result in the great masses of currency that comes out of the metropolis to acquire in foreign countries cotton, sugar, cacao, tobacco and other products be directed instead to our possession in Oceania, where foreign traders will grasp them, with an obvious damage to the material interests of the country.

"A necessary part of a good colonial administration includes all those measures that tend to increase the ease and the advantages of commercial relations between the colonies and the metropolis, and to channel emigration so that through them the country as a whole may propagate its culture, its civilization and its mode of living in the na-

tions to which it has extended its protectorate. The planned Exhibition may therefore fulfil these two objectives and contribute with the powerful stimuli of interest to avoid for Spanish citizens the deceptions and miseries that they suffer in foreign lands and to maintain in the very loyal inhabitants of the Archipelago their love for the mother country and the respect that they profess for its institutions."

For the realization of this Exhibition, there were created, in Madrid, a Royal Commission, consisting of the Director General of the Council of the Philippines, as President; the Director General of Administration and Development of the Ministry of Overseas, as Vice-President; a senator of the kingdom, a deputy of the Congress and seven individuals from the above-mentioned Council, as Members, and its Secretary, as Secretary; and in Manila, a Central Commission with sub-commissions in the provinces or districts, which will consist of the Governor General, the Archbishop of Manila, the General who is second in command, the Commander General of the Navy, the Director General of Civil Administration, etc., etc., and the members, to be appointed by the Governor General, are to represent all social classes and specially the religious orders, the secular clergy, the Corporations of the Administration, the press and the national and foreign trade.

The Commissioners, and the Manila Commission, are to decide the procedures for the competition, so that the exhibits offered can be judged by a Panel composed of 15 individuals known for their probity and intelligence, whose appointment is to be decided by royal order.

The expenses of the Exhibition are to be paid out of the general budgets and of the local funds of the Philippine Islands, in equal parts.

[Reprinted from the Madrid Gazette of 21 March 1886.]

### **Chronicle.—Micronesian natives in Madrid.<sup>1</sup>**

Mr. Serrano Gómez, the very zealous former secretary of the Society of Commercial Geography, and to whom we owe the very interesting notes about Mindanao, that he sent from Manila and that we reproduce in another part of this issue of our magazine, has visited the three individuals from the Caroline Islands and Marianas who arrived to that city and are to be sent to Madrid for their appearance at the general Philippine Exhibition. He gives us some particulars about them:

"There are two women, Antonia and Dolores, and one man, Luís. The face of the latter is enclosed with a beard, and he only speaks a little Chamorro, in addition to his native dialect. Antonia is a Chamorra; in addition to the language of that country, she speaks Spanish, English and some Tagalog. Dolores is a young native of the Carolines, who also speaks Spanish, English and Chamorro, and among her confused memories

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1 Ed. note: Article in the *Revista de Geografía Comercial*, Madrid, 15 April 1887.

there is one that haunts her: it is the memory of an oceanic tragedy that will probably never be explained. In a matter-of-fact candor, she related to me that, when she was very young, there arrived a ship at her island—neither Yap nor Ponape—and all the people fled into the bush.<sup>1</sup> They were joined by an interpreter who told them that, if they did not appear on the beach, the crew would come ashore and ill them all with knives. Terrified by this threat, they went to the beach, and then, many of them were forcibly taken on board and transported to the Marianas; among them was her mother. Her father, who was the king of the island—she thinks he may still be alive—managed to escape and he has remained behind, along with a few others. Which ship was that? She does not know, and those in charge of the collections for the Madrid Exhibition do not know either. The only thing I have learned, from an official who has recently arrived from Agaña, Marianas, is that, near that town, there is a village of Carolinians, where Dolores lives with her mother and grand-mother; that they are peaceful people; and that, on account of the distance (two kilometers) the curate never visits them and they continue to live in paganism, though without idols.

Dolores told me that her mother and grand-mother are not Christians because they are poor and they have to work; she herself is a servant in the house of some Spaniards, and so she was able to get baptized; she learned English from an English woman. She is going to Madrid without regret, but without enthusiasm (unlike Antonia), because the Governor has so decided and she must obey; she is anxious to return to Agaña, to look after the two old ladies who depend on her; now that she is away, the Governor has promised to look after them, so she says. According to the Chamorro woman, Luis the Carolinian is going unwillingly, because his wife, with whom he has children, was sick when he left; but he must obey the Governor.

At the beginning, upon their arrival at Manila, they suffered from hunger, and at night cold; they were being given only 20 quarters per day. They were complaining, saying that they were better at home. General [Antonio] Moltó, the interim governor of the Archipelago, chanced to hear about this, and he arranged for them to be given adequate shelter and food, which corresponds to a rate of half a peso per day each. But now they receive one peso a day for all three, and they are satisfied.

One day the two women were crying, as they longed for the comforts of home and were complaining about their seclusion, because they could not go out, not knowing the streets. Upon seeing them in this state, the Carolinian man became much sorry for them and he asked them, with complete simplicity: "Is it because they are going to kill us now? This simple observation had the effect that the two women stopped crying and began to laugh instead.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The island in question was Onoun, or Ulul, in the Namonuito group. The ship belonged to Captain Johnston, who 'recruited' them for his agricultural projects in the northern Marianas, either in 1865 from Pulusuk, or in 1867 from Namonuito (see Doc. 1855P).

### **Chronicle.—The general Exhibition of the Philippines**

Fifteen days ago,<sup>1</sup> on 30 June last, although there were open at Madrid two exhibitions—one of Fine Arts and the other of Horticulture—there opened that of the Philippines, set up in the Crystal Palace in Retiro Park, where they placed the throne that the Queen [of Spain] occupied. There were present, in addition to the Ministers, the Presidents of the Senate and the Congress, the provincial deputies and city officials, the diplomatic corps, the ladies and employees of the Palace, ex-Ministers and high functionaries of the State, deputies and senators, the Executive Committee and the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition who witnessed the act in bleachers that had been built for the purpose, as well as a huge concourse of individuals who had been invited from everywhere.

The Commission of natives, from Jolo, the Carolines, Chamorros and Filipinos, including Igorots—the latter armed with spears, arrows and shields, adorned with feathers and half-naked, and showing their tattoos—formed two columns to the right and left, and then they paraded before the throne.

This Exhibition has suscitated a great interest and curiosity among the public. In spite of the fact that there was not one free day per week earmarked for it—as for the exhibition of Fine Arts—and the fact that the opening did not correspond with any feast-days that normally would attract a crowd to Madrid, a total of 10,000 persons, excluding the participants, have attended it during the first three days.

The Exhibition is very good and its presentation has been done with much taste. The vast Central Palace is an admirable compendium of what our archipelagos are and can be. Most of the objects exhibited are to be found there, divided among eight sections, as follows:

1. Geography, Geology, Mining and Metallurgy, Meteorology, Antropology: charts, maps, drawings, photographs and numerous 3-D models [of volcanoes]; there are very complete collections of minerals, skulls and skeletons, furniture, tools, workshops and ovens, weapons and instruments, from the Philippines, Jolo and Micronesia; Igorot idols; Tagalog theater, etc.

2. Population, Architecture, Native dress, etc. A large collection of models of huts (cane, nipa, rattan, etc.); mannequins of moros (men and women), of Indians, mestizos, etc.; hats of rattan, *nito*, *anahao*; raincoats; slippers, sandals and clogs; bracelets, combs, rings and other adornments; weapons, shields, numerous panoplies, etc.

3. and 4. Army and Navy: mannequins representing various institutes of the Philippine Army; projects, models and photographs of bridges, stores, hospitals, ports, forts, arsenals, batteries, bulwarks, etc; models of steam machines and gunboats built in Cavite; maps and itineraries; flags and home-made guns seized from the Moros, etc.

5. Flora, Fauna, Forest products, a rich and select museum of natural history: mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, mollusks; an herbarium of 4,000 specimens: plants of all sorts (medicinal, industrial and food); very rich collections of woods; samples of

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Rev. geo. comercial, 15 July 1887.



rubber, pitch, various balsams, tree nursery; plan and photographs of the Manila Botanical Garden; maps from the Inspection of Forests; swallows' nests from Paragua [Palawan]; etc.

6. Agriculture and Cattle Breeding: installations and glass cases showing samples of sugar products, cotton, hemp, century plants, and pineapple, dry rice and wet rice, cacao, coffee, indigo, oils, tobacco, coconuts, peanuts, vegetables, corn and millet, flours and starches; models of sugar mills, crushing mills, and apparatus for the manufacture of sugar, hemp, etc.; models of ploughs, harrows, carts, sickles, etc.; samples of earths; collections of seeds; sketches of haciendas and schools.

7. Industry and Commerce: cloths of pineapple fiber, silk, *busi*,<sup>1</sup> cotton, mixtures, etc. with drawings, originating from various provinces; cotton and silk blankets; white and dyed calicoes; handkerchiefs; linen cloth; table cloth; hammocks; models of looms; cords and ropes of hemp and other fibers; great variety of mats, simple and fancy; etc.; coaches, ordinary and de luxe; various large-size models; harnesses; cigars from various factories; leather trunks; carved works; sets of knives; perfumes of ilang-ilang and other essences; furniture made with hardwood, rattan, and cane; hats; liquors, alcohol from various substances; etc.; fruits in syrup; noodles, etc., etc.

8. Painting, Sculpture, Typography, Teaching, etc.: numerous oil paintings, aquarelles, wood carvings, lithographic prints, photographs, albums of various sorts, statistical reports, books newspapers (weeklies and dailies), magazines, printed scenes, handicraft from various schools, scientific instruments, etc.

In separate pavilions there are live demonstrations of three types of works:—1° **Tobacco** manufacturing, an exhibit of the General Tobacco Company: some native women work incessantly in tying the leaves, their skill causing surprise in all the visitors: their product is sold to the public. 2) **Abaca** or hemp production: an exhibit of Mr. Aramburu, a producer from the province of Albay: on the 9th there took place a so-called "feast of the abaca," in which Madrid was able to witness the operation of the stripping of this plant by the native José Nacido using the rudimentary tools that are still in common use, and also with a machine improved by Mr. Cuesta, who is featured in the exhibit: in addition, a newspaper was distributed—The Correo de España—which had been printed on paper made in Madrid from the 75-80% of the material that is left over once the fibers have been extracted: the result is considered so satisfactory that a new industry may have been born for the Philippines, and it is a matter of some importance, considering that 200,000 tons of waste pulp is produced every year.—3° **Weaving**, an official exhibit: various looms are in operation, where native women are seen manufacturing those light and transparent cloths made of hemp and pineapples, which attract so much attention in Europe.

One of the great novelties of the Exhibition is the Igorot village, inhabited by eight of these natives: they represent a living photograph of the wild society living in the mountains of Luzon.

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1 Ed. note: Fibers of banana and pineapple webbed together.

The hot-house contains 3,000 live plants from the Philippines: *musa textilis* or abaca hemp, sugar-cane, ilang-ilang, tobacco, *gabe* [taro], guavas, bread-fruit, rice, banana, coconut, coffee, etc. Among the live animals, there is a huge serpent, vipers, carabaos [water buffalos], cows, deer, monkeys, roosters and hens, doves, pheasants, a crane, an eagle, etc. In the annexes, there is a workshop. On the lake, there are a few Philippine canoes.

We will make a more detailed study of the very important exhibits shown here. Let us say for now that the organizers of this Exhibition ought to be proud of what they have done.

The Manila newspapers have begun to foster the idea that a Public Library and Museum should be built in that capital, on the ground formerly occupied by the Military Hospital outside the walled city. Here in Madrid another one has been proposed, as a complementary one to the Manila institution: the idea would be to use the objects in the Exhibition as a basis for the future Museum.

## N2. Extracts from the Guidebook to the Exhibition

*Source: BN Madrid; book n° VC 2529-62.*

### There were four Micronesians present in Madrid during the Exhibition. They were:

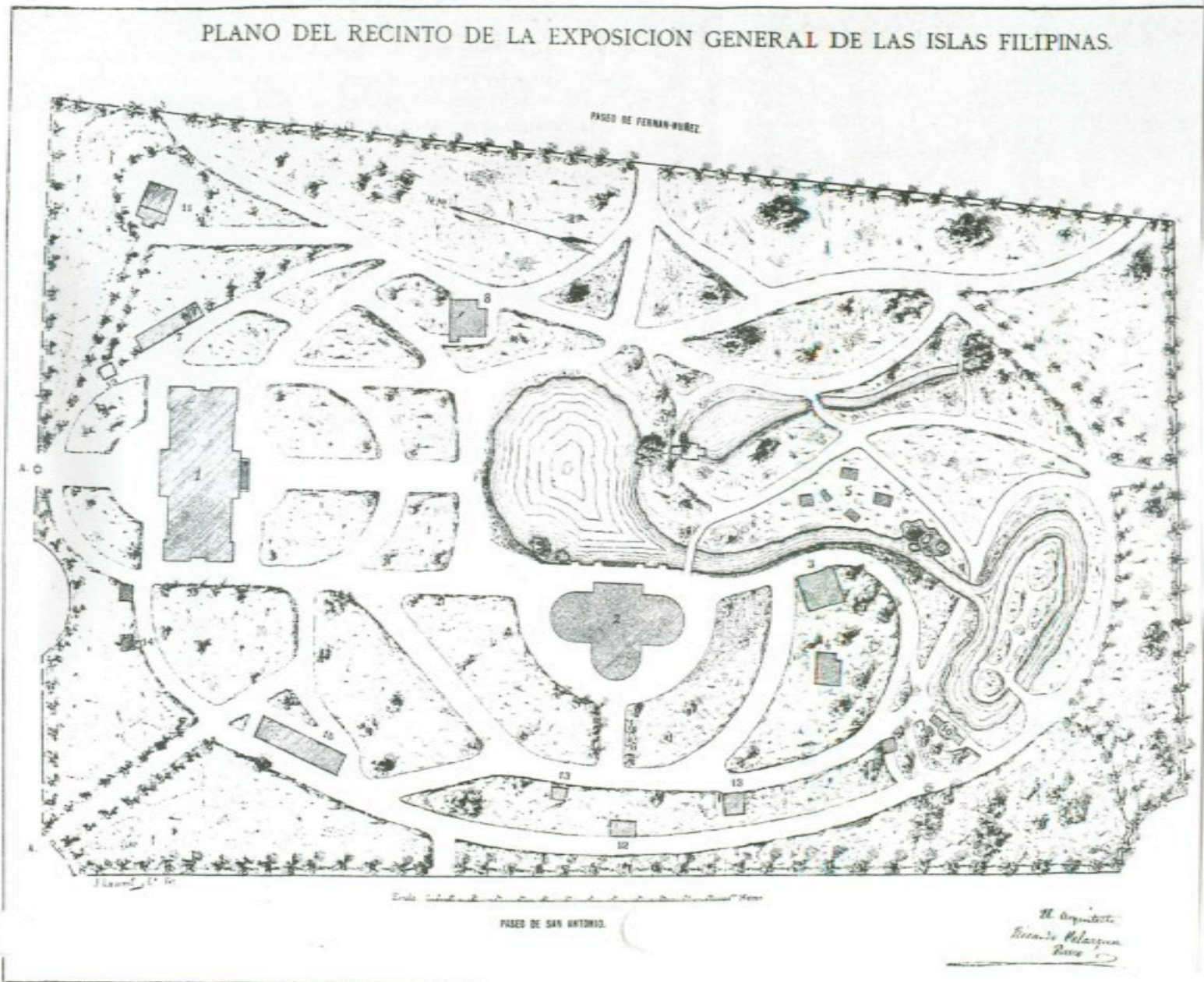
- José Flores, Chamorro man (native of the Marianas and 21 years old at the time);
- Antonia de los Santos, Chamorro woman (later to become known as Antonia Ada);
- Dolores Nesseru, Carolinian woman;
- [Luís] Pe-aripis, Carolinian man.<sup>1</sup>

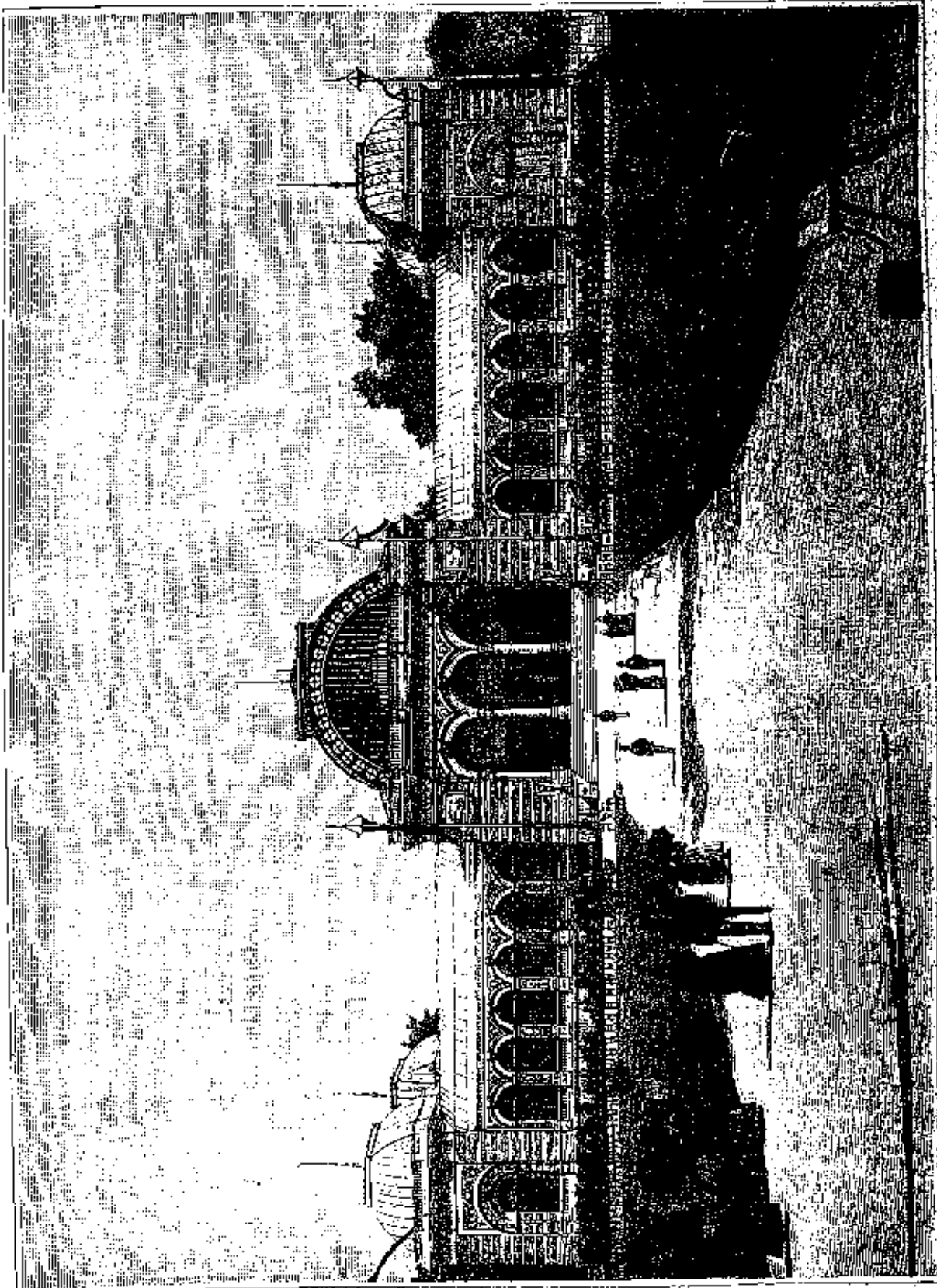
...  
A few steps from the official entrance (A) one finds the former Mining Pavillion (Central Pavillion), where the eight sections are to be found; here are shown the main objects of the Philippines, in the following manner:

[Figure (next page): **Plan of the south-east quarter of Retiro Park in Madrid where the Philippine Exhibition took place in 1887.** Sketch of the grounds drawn by Architect Ricardo Velasques Bosco. Legend: 1 = Central Pavillion. 2 = Annex [i.e. Crystal Palace]. 3 = Pavillion for the weavers. 4 = Workshop. 5 = Igorot village. 6 = Deer park. 7 = Hot-house for Philippine plants. 8 = Bamboo house used for the exhibit of the Tobacco Company. 9 = Royal Pavillion. 10 = Commissioners Pavillion. 11 = Offices of the Executive Committee. 12 = Police guardhouse. 13 = Restaurants. 14 = Wash-rooms. 15 = Store-rooms.]

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1 Ed. note: Both Carolinians were to die at Madrid (see below).

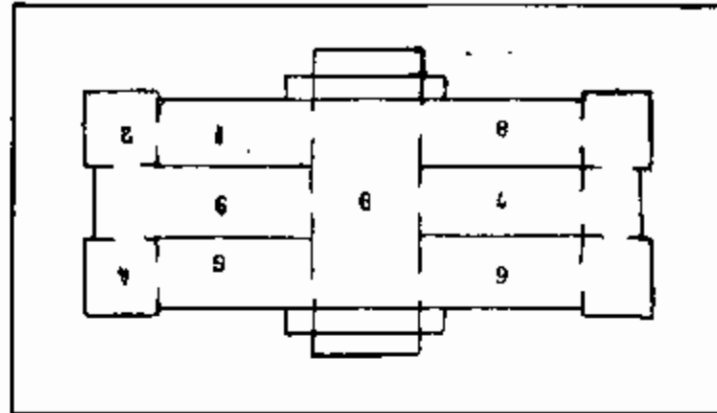




PALACIO CENTRAL DE LA EXPOSICIÓN

[Figure (previous page): Central Pavillion of the Exhibition]

Figure (on the right): **Layout of the Central Pavillion:** 1 = Section 1. 2 = Installation of Mr. Alvarez Guerra. 3 = Section 2. 4 = Sections 3 and 4. 5 = Sections of the Museums of the Navy, Artillery, Engineers and Military Administration. 6 = Section 5. 7 = Section 6. 8 = Section 7. 9 = Section 8.



Also in Section 1 can be found the special collections from the Marianas, Carolinas and Palaos.

Given the conditions of those Islands, their rare and primitive culture and the almost total abandonment that they have been in until very recently, except for the Marianas, their products, as can be expected, do not call for much attention, except to show the typical and rather complete way in which their soil is fertile and rich, the morals, customs, and few products of the natives.

The P.M. Governor of the Marianas presents a magnificent collection of woods that those islands produce abundantly, and that are used mostly in construction of all types, from the lightest used to make shoe-trees, to the hardest of the hardwoods even being used in building houses, making tool handles, barotos (dugout-type canoes) etc. etc.

Among the woods in the collection there is found that of the tree named *camalendo* (n° 14) which produces the appreciated fruit called *tamarindo* or *sampaloc*.

The *pago* (n° 24) is known in Europe by the vulgar name of iron-wood.

The *lemac* or *rina* (n° 44) gives the fruit that is called bread-fruit, the food of the natives.

The bark of the *pago* (n° 59), when soft, is fibrous, and can be used to make ropes.

The wood of the *sibucao* (n° 65) is a red dye material, very similar to the 'campeche'. It is abundant in the whole Archipelago, as much or more than in the Marianas.

The *talisay* (n° 69) produces the almond.

The Mariana Islands have almost all the commercial materials that are produced by the Philippine Archipelago; and to prove the point, they have sent samples, though few in number of high quality, of abaca [hemp], cotton, indigo, cacao, pitch, corn, *gaogao* [arrowroot], rice, etc., etc.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, although it is the first time that those very remote Spanish possession take part in a show of this nature, the national commerce has been ignoring almost completely their products, and they are not part of any

foreign trade either, because it is limited to the simplest but profitable trade in copra or dry coconut; in actual fact, such products are mostly reserved for internal consumption. However, it is almost certain that, once external trade begins to move, the production will be developed as fast as needed, unlike the present situation, in which such a stimulus is lacking, that is to say, their consumption being so very limited, nevertheless a rather considerable natural production can be observed.

The brandies and vinagers, as well as the fruit preserves exhibited by Messrs. Rodes Dungca, Díaz & others, show the development, though slow, of the industries of that country, thanks to private enterprise.

With regards to clothes and tools used for tilling, hunting and fishing, all and every one of the exhibited objects are worthy of attention; indeed, as was said before, they reveal the primitive customs of those natives, for example, the *bahaque* or skirt, the only clothing worn by the natives, as well as the curious hat of the warrior; also the amulet that they believe will forewarn them of a possible attack, as well as the adornments used by the women for their dances, and the *tagman* [rather *sagman*] or canoe that they used in transport... or piracy.

Among the poor and rare objects from the Carolines and Palaos, some are also worthy of notice, for instance, the basket for carrying the *buyo* (mixture of betel with line) with all their accessories, the mortar to pound the *bonga* (betel nut) and the tray with its tortoise-shell spoon, because such objects were presented by the famous Mrs. Bartola, now school-mistress of Yap and government interpreter, a just reward for having been always a supporter of the Spanish government, but mainly during the unlucky events of August, 1885. She is the widow of a trader who was eaten by the Indians of one of the Palaos Islands,<sup>1</sup> where he was trading with a small bark. The second of the above-mentioned objects is a gift of the Kinglet of Coror, and the third is a gift of Captain Holcomb to Luís Cirera, a Navy physician, who is the owner of this object, as well as of all the others that appear in the same installation. On account of its roughness and strangeness, there is a platter, with a base in the shape of a tripod, that will also attract one's attention; it is used by a family to eat together.

...

Finally, the anthropologists will find in the collection of Mariano and Carolinian skulls included in this Section, a motive for close study; indeed, they are all deserving such attention as they are undoubtedly very rare. Furthermore, the visitors who are interested in prehistoric studies will find an interesting collection of stone adzes in two frames hanging on the wall, and another containing sling-stones, very ancient, and proceeding from the Marianas.

In the round cabinet that occupies of bottom of that hall [Section 2] Don Juan Alvarez Guerra, a former employee and collector in the Philippines, has installed his col-

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1 Ed. note: Not so. Captain Holcomb was killed at Mapia, north of New Guinea.

lection of weapons, shells, woods, books and other curiosities which he has amassed during his long stay there.<sup>1</sup>

### N3. The Micronesian race, by Manuel Antón

*Source: Article from a book entitled: Exposición de Filipinas. Colección de artículos publicados en EL GLOBO, diario ilustrado, político, científico y literario (ilustrados con 34 grabados) (Madrid, El Globo, 1887).*

#### iii. Anthropology.—The Micronesian race.

The nature, origin and even the true ethnic characters of the Micronesians are the most obscure and most difficult mysteries to resolve among the problems of oceanic anthropology.

Beginning with the two famous French naturalists, Dumont d'Urville and Lesson, who have already studied with an anthropological spirit the peoples inhabiting that myriad of small volcanic and coral islands, strewn over the immensity of the ocean between the equator and the northern tropic, as far as latitudes are concerned, and between the Philippines and the Sandwich Islands, in longitudes, and until Michuho Maklay, the Russian anthropologist who offers the most recent measurements of those peoples, a good number of naturalists have tried to find out if the Micronesians constitute a special and distinct race, with its own characteristics, or, otherwise, they are peoples belonging to the Polynesian race, the Malay or the Indonesian, or if they originated from America, or Asia—as all these hypotheses have been suggested.

The famous Lesson, perhaps the travelling naturalist who has done the most work in Natural History of Oceania, understood that Micronesians came from central Asia and form with them a race which he baptized *Pelagic Mongolian*. Chamisso considered them to belong to the same race as the Malays who spread out eastward in their sea voyages. Dumont d'Urville considered them Polynesians who had come from the west. Lütke saw them as Polynesians who had come from the south, or from the Sandwich Islands, an archipelago that was peopled by them. Finally, most of the modern anthropologists believe in a distinct Micronesian race, the product of cross-breeding between Papuan negroes and either Indonesians or Polynesians; however, not all of them accept the last opinion, and the other points of view have found no-one to support them.

A close look at the specific and special data that have been used to construct the bases for so many diverse opinions will show quite clearly that in Micronesia the migrations have been numerous and the origins very heterogenous. Much the same thing has occurred in other maritime regions of the globe; the coastal areas exhibit the greatest diversity of races. If such a diversity were greater in the oceanic islands than elsewhere, in this phenomenon we would find an easy explanation of the relatively modern

1 Ed. note: For more details about the artifacts from Micronesia, see the article by Dale S. Miyagi, in *Guam Recorder* 4:1 (1974) 31-43.

age of those islands, and, therefore, the modernity of their populations that would not have had time to form a completely homogeneous race following their migrations; so it is that nowadays we can still notice the traces, more or less pronounced, of the component ethnic elements. On the other hand, the geographic dispersion of the distinct archipelagos justifies the distinct nature and different origin of their migrations: in the Marianas the Tagalo-Malayan blood is evident, and in the Gilberts, the Polynesian; also it is undoubtedly true that the Papuan negro races, and perhaps the Negritos as well, were the first to arrive and populate, if not all, the greater part of the numerous islands of Micronesia.

The fusion of this Papuan element with another, the Indonesian, has engendered the Micronesian race, according to modern anthropologists; but this phenomenon has not yet been demonstrated, and our studies in the Philippine Exhibition would permit us to present some very serious objections.

However, there is no doubt that, among so many pure or mixed forms, Negrito or Papuan, Malayan, Indonesian or Polynesian, American or Mongolian, there exists a predominant population in the heart of the Carolines, which is mixed with the Malayan in the Marianas, and with the Polynesian in the easter archipelagos; it plainly deserves the name of Micronesian race. To this race belong the two ill-fated and extremely sympathetic Carolinians in the Exhibition, Luís Pe-aripis and Dolores Nessern; they the most genuine and pure-blooded representatives examples of this race. Indeed, typical examples are now very rare, perhaps the only ones with so much authenticity whom have been brought to Europe. That is why they deserved that we should study them as completely as possible, in spite of certain unjustified preoccupations that are by no means popular nowadays. From now on, our Museum of Natural Sciences will be able to boast of being the owner of a bust of the unfortunate Carolinian woman, whose memory will thus be perpetual and will be an example, perhaps unique, in the museums of Europe, and it is to the discredit of the anthropological collections of the same institution, the only special ones and unique in Spain, should not have obtained a similar bust of the other, no less unfortunate, Carolinian.

[Figure (next page): **Pe-aripis, the Carolinian.** *He died of sickness at Madrid soon after his photograph was taken.*]

Although this is not a typical technical publication, the extraordinary importance of the Carolinian, as a typical example of a race that is almost extinguished and still not well known, forces us to extract a good many parts from our diary of observations. Our readers may take a look at the attached engraving, whose reproduction is so exact and faithful that it deserves applauses for the photographer, engraver, and the administration of *El Globo*. It is only fair to mention that, at the time this photograph was taken and we were making our observations, **Pe-aripis** was already exhausted by the illness that was to send him to his grave a few days later, a circumstance that was not unfavorable to the study of his ethnic forms, but that should not make us forget his vigor





«PE-ARIPIS» EL CAROLINO

and exuberance. In the Exhibition he was our favorite friend, and that of our assistant, Luía Hoyos, a young student at the Museum.<sup>1</sup>

The Micronesian was somewhat above average in height, as he measured 1,652 mm. The color of his skin was dark brown, 43 on the Broca chromatic scale, but his face had lighter spots. His head was bulky and thick, 560 mm in total curvature, and extraordinarily long; it reached a maximum antero-posterior diameter of 198 mm, the longest that we have ever measured; and, given that the transversal, very posterior to be sure, did not reach 140 mm, the cephalic index remained at 70.07 which indicates a very pronounced dolicocephaly, a characteristic of this extraordinary race from this point of view among all the oceanic races. The inferior and anterior part of the cephalic case is somewhat reduced; the supraauricular diameter being 127 mm, the minimal frontal diameter being 100, and the middle and superior line runs down as far as a round, convex, forehead, a shape that is very common among European children. A deep transversal furrow separates it from a very pronounced space between the eyebrows; the eyebrows themselves are black and naturally with a permanent frown. His eyes were very beautiful, large, black in color, had a wild look, intense and phosphorescent-like, made the more lively by the contrast they made with the white of the eyes, more dull than brilliant; the iris was the darkest color known, that is, an intense black, 1 on the Broca scale—the black eyes described by the man on the street and the poet do not exist. His face, elongated, measured 248 mm, as measured from the inius; 145 mm in bizygomatic breadth, that is, in its greatest width; 114 mm in orbitary height and 112 mm in bigonial breadth. His nose was long, 53 mm, sunken between the eyes and protruding further down, ending up in a forward gristle and wings that are so flat that they form openings that were very wide, 44 mm. His large mouth and lips that were rather thick hid a jaw-bone whose lower part, above all, was of the most simian and curious shapes that can be studied: the branches are notably parallel; the molars strong and thick, and the eyeteeth as well, which are blunt and planted in the anterior part, in the line of the incisor, with the internal face looking towards the rear; the incisors are equal and notably vertical. The ear did not have any tubercle, and the ear-lobe has disappeared, having been stretched in a wide orifice of the shape of a hoop, from which they hang things dangling as far as the waist on feast-days, things such as pendants, rosary-like, made of shells, teeth, feathers and other trifles. His hair, long, curly, fine and unruly, presented a texture that was intermediary between the smooth hair of the white man and the woolly hair of the negro. His beard, stronger and entangled, did not differ markedly from those well-furnished beards that we found over here. His limbs were

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Standards in measurements of the skull had just been re-defined at a conference of anthropologists held at Frankfurt, Germany, in 1882, but its findings were published only in 1884. Antón was probably still using the terminology used by earlier scientists, those of the Frenchman Broca, and others.

slim and lean; his shoulders high; his thorax narrow and his collarbones protruding; his arms fallen and stretched; his legs skinny and weak, made his walk appear vacillating and somewhat inclined to one side, and accordingly his body swung, insecure, loose and forsaken.<sup>1</sup>

He told us that he was born in Onong in the Carolines,<sup>2</sup> that he was almost 32 years old, married, and with one child. His character was docile and quiet; his conduct humble and resigned, in spite of the natural harshness of his facial expression. He had a natural inclination to pay immediate attention to whoever addressed him, trying to understand what they wanted and, above all else, everyone noticed the drawn lines on his face that foretold the terrible affliction that was to end his days in Europe; so, when he died at Madrid, those who had known him were moved to compassion and a great sorrow.

**Dolores Nessern**, a most beautiful specimen of her race, has large expressive eyes, a long face in the semitic style, a correct mouth, with pronounced lips, hair abundant and curly, a distinguished posture and graceful deportment; she reproduces the same anthropological characteristics of the other Carolinian, except for the normal differences due to her sex, normal in all races. Like Luis, she ended her days at Madrid, where she had come with a strong desire to visit Europe and get to know Spain. She spoke various languages, European and oceanic, and, on account of her outstanding intelligence, she had gained so much sympathy among all the Filipinos that she was considered the queen of the colony. Upon her death, the press of the capital reflected the public sorrow with sentences expressing sadness and regret. The Museum of Natural Sciences in Madrid preserves in its anthropological collection a bust, which will perpetuate her name as well as help the teaching aspect of the institution.

Two other persons also exhibited the characteristics of the Micronesian race, though only partially. Both are Marianos or Chamorros, born in Agaña: **Antonia de los Santos** and **José Flores**. The former is a beautiful and robust youth of 22 years of age, with a simple but very kind character, who assisted very carefully her Carolinian companion during her illness. She hides in her veins traces of Malayan blood, and perhaps also some European blood. The latter plays the piano, the flute and is part of a choir at Agaña. His character is simple and modest, his face is sympathetic; he was educated in the European style and is notably intelligent, and is surely a half-breed, with a mixture of white and Micronesian blood, judging from his small mouth, his strong and tall molars, his eyeteeth forward, the yellowish-white color of his skin, 47-54 on the Broca scale, and his other facial features.

In the collection of skulls there are as many as nine specimens proceeding more or less from Micronesia: six were gifted by Don Mariano Fausto and three by Don Hipólito Fernandez. Among the latter group, the most notable is that of **Igueteta** (meaning Trembling Fish), the king of the Carolines; it is a magnificent example of the

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1 Ed. note: His gait may have been affected by his illness.

2 Ed. note: Onoun, or Ulul, in the Namonuito group. Probably brought to Saipan originally, in 1867, aboard the schooner Ana, Captain Johnston.

Micronesian type, even more perfect than Pe-aripis. His forehead shows a regular convexity, forming a depression that begins to fall from a point immediately posterior to the bregma; in the middle line there stands out is a keel, as in the Papuan skulls, not less than 90 mm; the coronal suture is linear, simple and deep on the sides of the bregma, a little sinuous in the stephanic region; the sagittal, at first simple, becomes complicated as it advances towards the lamboid, very complicated towards the center, simpler towards the asterios; the lines of the occipital are double, very strong, prominent and bow-shaped; the protuberance, robust; the crest, marked, and the condyles are notable by their width, chortness, forwardness, and by the border that invades the hole. The styloid processes are large and long; the nasal bones, very narrow at their bases, become wider and higher, forming a concave arc; the columellar alveolar, forward and round; the incisors, not too oblique; the jawbone robust, very thick towards the middle of the lower edge, the angle, rough and the symphysis, concave. Total glabalic curvature, 545 mm; preauricular, 260 mm; supraauricular, 326 mm; frontal, 138 mm; parietal, 140 mm; occipital, 130 mm; antero-posterior diameter, 193 mm; maximum transversal, 115; minimum, 93; basilo-bregmatical vertical, 151 mm; horizontal cephalic index, 69.09; vertical, 78.07; height of the face from the ofrius, 106 mm; intermaxilar, 20 mm; bizogomatic breadth, 127 mm; interorbital breadth, 21 mm; orbital breadth, 40 mm; orbital height, 38 mm; length of the nose, 58 mm; width, 25 mm; orbital index, 95; nasal, 43.10. Bigonial curvature, 215 mm; loength of the jawbone branch, 56 mm; width, 37 mm; coronoid condyle, 46 mm. Facial angle, 78°; occipital, 6°; goniocal, 54°; symphious, 108°. Cranium capacity, 1650 cubic centimeters; thick and strong walls. It is, in fact, a hipsistenocephalic skull, that is, long and high, proceeding from a very tall individual, robust and strong, as indicated by its capacity and structure. Its two outstanding characteristics are the extraordinary length of the antero-posterior diameter, and the orbitary index, so high that it might, of itself, characterize the race, whose orbits are, then, almost round.

From among the remaining eight skulls, all are from the Marianas; seven of them show this index with very little difference, which proves its characteristic importance, notwithstanding the fact that other relative dimensions vary much, the result of cross-breeding, specially with Malayan types. One of them, from Rota, Marianas, a gift of Mr. Fausto, reaches a capacity of 1,815 cubic centimeters, comparable only with the skull of Cuvier and some other record, very rare in Europe.

According to Lütke, Lesson and other naturalists and travellers who have visited the remote archipelagos of Micronesia, the government of the Carolinians is a feudal monarchy: the chief bears the title of Tamol, and the disputes are settled by a council of judges selected among the old men. There are three social classes: the nobles, the middle class, and the servants; the individuals belonging to the first two classes are on the average taller than the highest average in Europe, and of a lighter complexion, whereas those of the last class are small and their skin is darker; this demonstrates that they have preserved a greater part of the blood of the primitive inhabitants who were conquered by another race, more powerful and with clearer skin.

They are mainly fishermen and very skilled navigators. Their food consists of all sorts of sea-food, and of the fruits of the coconut and breadfruit trees.

Their weapons are the spear, the club, the hatchet and the knife; such weapons are of stone and wood, wherever there are no constant contacts with Europeans; when there are frequent contacts, the points and the hatchets are made of iron. One characteristic of these peoples is that they do not use bows and arrows.

They wear a minimum of clothing, because they do not need to protect themselves against the cold, as it is there unknown; the bits of clothing is on account of modesty, a feeling that appears to be general among all the peoples of the world, with very few exceptions. As all other savage (and not so savage) peoples they enjoy wearing adornments, and they decorate themselves with picturesque tattoos, feathers, flowers, shells, whale or shark teeth, small stones, etc. They dwell in wooden houses and thatched huts raised upon piles.

Their character is above all kind, though inconstant. They are extremely fond of music and dancing; and in their moral conduct, scrupulous and chaste, according to some, and licentious and negligent, according to others.

They believe in the existence of a supreme being and a paradise, and they worship or fear the spirits of the deceased. Freycinet says of the old Chamorros that, when someone dies they place a basket next to his head to collect his spirit, or at least, for him to find a place in which to rest when he comes down to visit them. There a funeral meals, and the corpse is covered with flowers, palm branches and shells. They preserve the skulls and bones of their ancestors in baskets which they keep in their own house, as well as their images roughly sculpted on pieces of wood. Others prefer to deposit the bones in caves, which they call *goma alom ig*: "houses of the dead."

This very noble Micronesian race is disappearing, like the Polynesian, upon contact with Europeans, on account of the phthisis and other diseases that were unknown in those islands. Statistics and trustworthy data, recorded in all books on anthropology, show a rapid decrease, which announces its complete disappearance within a few years. The European has planted among those islanders, not the seeds of his progress and civilization, but the devastating germs of his diseases and vices. Certain it is that man, in spite of the privileges of his exceptional intelligence, cannot completely escape the fatal laws of his animal nature, which makes him subject to the *law of survival*, in accordance with the conditions of the environment in which he lives.

Therefore, the study of the anthropological examples and data in this Philippine Exhibition allows us to conclude that the natives in the possessions of Spanish Oceania, belong to four distinct races, more or less confused and mixed at some places: the Negro, the Malayan, the Indonesian, and the Micronesian. However, there still remain a few unresolved problems which we have expressed, and whose solution we have proposed, such as the one that has to do with the doliocephaly of the Negritos, the close relationship between the Malaysians and Indonesians, and between them and the Micronesians, and the origin of the latter, which it would be proper to prove with a larger set of data than the ones exposed and described here. Such information would not be dif-

difficult to collect, if His Excellency the Minister of Overseas, whose enlightenment is well known, would take into account the fact that our Museum of Natural Sciences has, in its anthropological collections, over two dozen skulls and one collection of photographs, whereas the Museum of Natural History in Paris (Jardin des Plantes), and that of Dresden as well, will have by now, after the voyage of Dr. Montano, thousands of specimens of Philippine Anthropology; and, nevertheless, in actual fact, the specimens collected by Montano are mainly due to the collaboration (much to our glory), gifts and help provided by the authorities and clergy in the Philippines.

We do not wish to omit here another conclusion that was arrived at in our study of Philippine anthropology, and it is that the native population of the Spanish possessions in Oceania, far from having decreased in number after the Spanish conquest, has increased considerably (with the exception of the Carolines, that were only recently occupied by us), and there have been improvement in their civilization, welfare and progress. Such a result is unequalled in the history of colonizations; this should not be forgotten by the natives of the Philippines, and other archipelagos, in their dealings with the metropolis, and it is the best claim and much to the glory of this Spanish nation, a nation which has excelled in her navigations and colonizations and the most cosmopolitan ever found in the history of nations.

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**Documents 1887O**


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## Investigation of the first Pohnpei rebellion

*Source: PNA.*

### O1. Announcing the death of Governor Posadillo

#### Original in Spanish.

*Secretaría del Gobierno General de Filipinas, Año de 1887, Núm. 5, Negociado 1. Expediente instruido con motivo de la destrucción de la Colonia de Santiago de la Ascension (Ponape), Carolinas Orientales y muerte del Gobernador Sr. Posadillo y personal de la Colonia.*

*Gobierno P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales y Pontón Doña María de Molina, 4 (?) Julio 87.*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Habiendo muerto en la acción de 4 de Julio, el Gobernador P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales, el Secretario de dicho Gobierno y Oficiales del destacamento, me he hecho cargo de este Gobierno.*

*Lo que tengo ...*

...  
[Folio 3 missing]

...  
*250 á 300 hombres, los cuales teniendo su cuartel dentro de un fuerte con cuatro ó seis cañones, podrían, no solo rechazarlos, sino hacer salidas para darles el castigo que se merezcan y mucho más despues de lo sucedido con lo que se habrán envalentonado a pesar de no haberse podido apoderarse de este Pontón como deseaban.*

*Con dichas fuerzas auxiliadas por este Pontón y un buque de guerra que pudiera en caso de necesidad salir con objeto de dar cuenta de cuanto ocurriera, creo no habría no solamente nada que temer de estos indigenas, sino que se evitaría á la par que quedase este Pontón, como ahora ha sucedido, en circunstancias tan críticas como me atrevo ...*

...  
[Folio missing]

...

### Translation.

Secretariat of the Government General of the Philippines. Year of 1887, N° 5, Business Office 1.

File opened as a result of the destruction of the Colony of Santiago de la Ascension (Ponape), Eastern Carolines, and the death of Governor Posadillo and the personnel of the Colony.

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines and Hulk Doña María de Molina, 4(?) July '87.

Your Excellency:

Since the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines has been killed, as well as the Government Secretary and the Officers of the Detachment, I have taken over this Government.

What I have the honor to ...

...  
[Folio missing]

...  
250 to 300 men, who, by having their headquarters inside the fort with 4 to 6 guns, could, not only repulse them, but make sorties to punish them accordingly, the more so after what happened and they might have become arrogant, in spite of the fact that they were unable to take over this Hulk as they wished.

With such a force, assisted by this Hulk and a warship, that might, if required, go away for the purpose of reporting whatever might have happened, I believe that there would not only be nothing to fear from these natives, but that at the same time that this Hulk would survive, as she did now, in such critical circumstances as I dare ...

...  
[Folio missing]

## O2. Cease-fire of 6 July 1887

### Original in Spanish.

*Ejército y Capitanía General de Filipinas—E.M.G. [=Estado Mayor General].*

*D. Juan Fernandez Pintado, Teniente de Navio de la Armada y Comandante del Pontón Doña María de Molina: Certifico: que he recibido un documento dirigido por los Jefes de los distritos de esta Isla en el que prometen cesar todas las hostilidades contra los Españoles y demas Extranjeros residentes en ella, prometiendo por lo tanto no hostilizarlos tampoco, al no faltar ellos á este compromiso.*

*Santiago de la Ascension Julio 6 de 1887.*

*Juan Fernandez Pintado.*

*Es copia del original, que sin rúbrica se entregó en dicha fecha.*

*Juan Fernandez Pintado—Sigue una rúbrica.*



*Es copia.—El Brigadier Jefe de E.M.G.—L. de la Torre.*

*Hecho en Jocation, Not, Ponape, Julio 6 de 1887.*

*Este sirve para certificar que nos los Jefes abajo mencionados convenimos en cesar toda clase de hostilidades con los Españoles ú los extranjeros que se encuentran en la actualidad en Ponape.*

*Nombres de los Jefes*

<i>Nanamaraki en Jekoy .....</i>	<i>su X marca</i>
<i>Leban en Not .....</i>	<i>su X id.</i>
<i>Sank en Jokoy .....</i>	<i>su X id.</i>
<i>Leban en Param .....</i>	<i>su X id.</i>
<i>Jolik en Auah .....</i>	<i>su X id.</i>
<i>Krown en Koi .....</i>	<i>su X id.</i>
<i>Leban Nalaka .....</i>	<i>su X id.</i>

*Testigos.*

*R. Peplowski  
A. Bruggemann  
Joaquín Limete  
James Curry  
John H. Oldham*

*Es traducción fiel y literal del original inglés.  
Manila 22 de Setiembre de 1887.*

**Translation.**

General Army Headquarters and Captaincy General of the Philippines.

I, Don Juan Fernandez Pintado, Navy Lieutenant and Commander of the Hulk **Doña María de Molina**, do certify:

That I have received a document addressed to me by the Chiefs of the districts of this Island in which they promise to cease all hostilities against the Spanish and other Foreigners residing in it, and therefore they in turn promise not to attack them any more as long as they keep their promise.

Santiago de la Ascension, 6 July 1887.

Juan Fernandez Pintado.

It is a copy of the original, which was delivered today without a signature.

Juan Fernandez Pintado—There follows a signature.

It is a copy—Brigadier General in charge of Headquarters.—L. de la Torre.

Made at Jountin, Not, Ponape, 6 July 1887.

The present is to certify that we, the undermentioned Chiefs agree to cease all types of hostilities against the Spanish or foreigners who are now in Ponape.

## Names of the Chiefs.

Nahmwarki en Sokeks .....	su X	marca
Lepen en Not .....	su X	id.
Dank en Sokehs .....	su X	id.
Lepen en Param .....	su X	id.
Soulik en Auah .....	su X	id.
Kiroun en Koi .....	su X	id.
Lepen Nalaka .....	su X	id.

## Witnesses.

R. Peplowski  
 A. Bruggemann  
 Joaquín Limete  
 James Curry  
 John H. Oldham

It is a faithful and literal translation of the original in English.  
 Manila, 22 September 1887.

### O3. Report of Lieutenant Pintado, dated 2 September 1887

#### Original in Spanish.

*Gobierno P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales y Pontón Doña María de Molina—Comandancia (2 Set. 87)*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Habiendo caído en poder del enemigo, en 4 de Julio último, todo el equipo y armamento de la guarnición y disciplinarios de esta Colonia, á excepción de cuatro carabinas y correages incompletos que trageron algunos de los individuos salvados abordo de este Pontón.*

*Tengo el honor de manifestarlo á V.E. en cumplimiento de mi deber y para la resolución que estime oportuna.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*2 de Setbre de 1887.*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Juan Fernandez Pintado*

*[Al] Excmo. Sr. Gobernador Gral. de este Archipiélago.*

#### Translation.

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines and Hulk Doña María de Molina—The Commander (2 Sept. 87)

Your Excellency:

As all the equipment and weaponry of the garrison and the convict soldiers of this Colony have fallen into the hands of the enemy on 4 July last, except for four carbomes

with incomplete straps that were brought in by a few of the individuals who escaped safely aboard this Hulk.

I have the honor to let Y.E. know this in compliance with my duty and for whatever decision you may find timely.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

2 September 1887.

Your Excellency.

Juan Fernandez Pintado

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of this Archipelago.

#### **O4. Letter of Lieutenant Pintado, dated 3 September 1887**

*Note: He wrote a full report to Admiral Lobaton while on the way to Manila aboard the San Quintin (see Doc. 1887P).*

##### **Original in Spanish.**

*Gobierno Político Militar de las Carolinas Orientales (3 Set. 87)*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Tengo el honor de remitir á V.E. el acta adjunta y recibos á ella unidos de los caudales recogidos en la casa Gobierno de esta Isla y depositados desde el 1 al 4 de Julio último; significando á V.E. que el resguardo de la Caja de Depósito de Manila por valor de 650 pesos á que se refiere la citada acta perteneciente al Capitan de Fragata de la Armada Gobernador que fué de esta Isla Don Isidro Posadillo, muerto por los naturales en la noche del 3 al 4 del indicado mes, lo remito con esta fecha al Sor. Ordenador Gral. de Pagos de Filipinas, según órdenes de dicho Señor.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Abordo Santiago de la Ascención 3 de Stbre. 1887.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Juan Fernandez Pintado*

*[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador Gral. de Filipinas.*

##### **Translation.**

Politico-Military Government of the Eastern Carolines (3 Sept. 87)

Your Excellency:

I have the honor of forwarding to Y.E. the enclosed statement and receipts for the funds recovered from the Government House of this Island and deposited between the 1st and 4th July last. I let Y.E. know that the voucher from the Deposit Account in Manila for the sum of 650 pesos that is mentioned in the above-mentioned statement belong to Navy Commander and former Governor of this Island, Don Isidro Posadillo, killed by the natives during the night of the 3rd to 4th July, and I remit same on this date to the Paymaster General of the Philippines, in accordance with orders received from said gentleman.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard Santiago de la Ascension, 3 September 1887.  
 Your Excellency.  
 Juan Fernandez Pintado  
 [To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

### Editor's note.

There followed the list of the effects and funds found in two safes, after they were forced open:

\$2,252.20 pesos in one safe; and  
 \$2,886.30 pesos in the other.

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 \$5,138.50 pesos in total. Also, there was found a voucher worth 650 pesos to be credited to Governor Posadillo.

## O5. Report of Lieutenant Pintado, dated 5 September 1887

### Original in Spanish.

*Gobierno P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales y Pontón Doña María de Molina—Comandancia. (5 Set. 87)*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. que en el Aviso Transporte **San Quintín** y a petición propia, pasa á esta capital en calidad de preso el individuo Cristian Barbus Portugués de Cabo Verde residente en estas Islas, cuyo individual no solo odiado por los extranjeros que habitantes de la Isla, sino que ha sido uno de los causantes con sus hechos vandálicos de la sublevación de los naturales de esta Isla el 1 de Julio.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Abordo Santiago de la Ascensión 5 de Setre. 1887.*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Juan Fernandez Pintado*

*[Al] Excmo. Sr. Gob. Gral. del Archipiélago Filipino.*

### Translation.

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines and Hulk Doña María de Molina—The Coommander (5 Sept. 87)

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Y.E. that aboard the transport advice boat **San Quintín**, and at his request, there is going will the status of prisoner, the individual named Cristián Barbus, a Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands, residing in these Islands. Said individual is not only hated by the foreigners living on the Island, but also he has been one of the persons who, by his vandalistic deeds, caused the uprising of the natives of this Island on July 1st.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard Santiago de la Ascension, 5 September 1887.

Your Excellency.

Juan Fernandez Pintado

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippine Archipelago..<sup>1</sup>

## O6. Report of Lieutenant Concha, dated 6 September 1887

*Gobierno P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales y Pontón Doña María de Molina—Comandancia (6 Set. 87)*

*Excmo. Sr.*

*Tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. que en esta fecha he pasado á los reyes de los diferentes distritos de esta Isla una circular que copiada dice así:*

*“Don Juan de la Concha y Ramos, Comandante de Infantería de Marina, Teniente de Navio de la Armada, Comandante del Pontón **Doña María de Molina** y Gobernador P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales:*

*“Hago saber:*

*“1) Que me he hecho cargo de este Gobierno en relevo del que lo desempeñaba, Teniente de Navio de la Armada Don Juan Fernandez Pintado y Diez de la Cortina, que pasa por enfermo á Manila.*

*“2) Que los Jefes de las distintas tribus de esta Isla que permanezcan fieles al Gobierno Supremo de la Nación, se me presenten en el termino de una semana con el objeto de reiterar su adhesión á España, debiendo tener entendido que, al que dejara de hacerlo sin causa justificada dentro de dicha plaza, se le considerará como rebelde.*

*“3) Que cada Jefe de Tribu me traiga una relación nominal filiada de todos los Extranjeros residentes en sus demarcaciones, expresando en ellas su profesión, tiempo de residencia en esta Isla é informando sobre su conducta.*

*“4) Que comuniquen la órden á todos los espresados Extranjeros de que, en el improrrogable plaza de ocho días, á contar desde esta fecha, se presenten á mi Autoridad trayendo, los que los tengan, los documentos justificativos de su personalidad, en el bien entendido de que el que no lo hiciere sin causa justificada, perderá todos los derechos de Extranjería y serán tratados como vagamundos [sic].”*

*Y le pongo en el superior conocimiento de V.E., en cumplimiento de mi deber, debiendo asimismo notificarle que, segun confidencias, el espíritu de la generalidad de los naturales del país en esta fecha, parece ser de conciliación creyendo desistirán del aspecto hostil que hasta ahora habian demostrado y se someterán nuevamente al Gobierno de la Nación, en atención á haber devuelto en este día y el de ayer, por mediación del súbdito Americano Mr. Doane, varios efectos de los que tomaron en la Colonia, y han prometido devolver un cañón y armas.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Abordo Santiago de la Ascensión 6 de Setbre de 1887.*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Licutenant Fernandez, feeling sick on that date, named Lieutenant Juan de la Concha to replace him as interim Governor and he left for Manila.

*Juan de la Concha*

[A] *Excmo. Sr. Gobernador General de estas Islas.*

### Translation.

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines and Hulk Doña María de Molina—The Commander (6 Sept. 87)

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Y.E. that on this date I have sent to the kings of the different districts of this island a circular that says the following:

"I, Don Juan de la Concha y Ramos, Commander of Marine Infantry, and Navy Lieutenant, Commander of the Hulk **Doña María de Molina** and P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines:

"Make it known:

"1. That I have taken over this Government from the officer who held the post, Navy Lieutenant Don Juan Fernandez Pintado y Diez de la Cortina, who is going to Manila on account of sickness.

"2. That the Chiefs of the various tribes of this Island who remain faithful to the Supreme National Government are to appear before me within one week for the purpose of repeating their adhesion to Spain, with the understanding that whoever might ignore this order without a just cause within said time period, will be considered a rebel.

"3. That each tribal Chief is to bring me a list of the names of all the Foreigners residing in his territories, complete with their profession, time of residence on this Island and a reference as to their conduct.

"4. That they are to communicate the order to all the above- said Foreigners that, in the firm deadline of eight days as of today, they are to appear before my Authority, bringing along with them the documents that justify their identity, with the understanding that whoever might not ignore this order without a just cause will lose all his rights as foreigners and will be treated as a vagabund."

And I forward same to Y.E. for your superior intelligence, in compliance with my duty, and I must also inform Y.E. that, according to information received confidentially, the spirit of most of the local natives as of this date, seems to be one of reconciliation, and it is believed that they will desist from the hostile attitude that they had shown up to now and will submit once more to the National Government, in view of their having given back various objects taken from the Colony, today and yesterday, through the mediation of the American citizen, Mr. Doane, and have promised to give back one gun and weapons.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard Santiago de la Ascension, 6 September 1887.

Juan de la Concha

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

## O7. Summary investigation into the causes of the first Ponape rebellion

*Note: Translated from Spanish by R. L.*

### Summary Investigation

Opened to ascertain the facts that motivated the rebellion of the natives of this Island who killed the Governor and other personnel of the European Colony. Politico-Military Government of the Eastern Caroline Islands.

**Government Attorney:** Navy Lieutenant Juan Fernandez Pintado, present Governor ad interim.

**Notary:** Navy Clerk 2nd Class Julian Fraga Fernandez.

...

### Declaration of the Missionary Father Felix Saturnino María de Artajona.

In Santiago de la Ascension, on 3 September 1887, there appeared before the Government Attorney and Notary, the said Father who, after being sworn in in accordance with his category, shen

ASKED for his name, age, origin, and occupation, declared:

That his name was as above stated, his age 42 years, his hometown Artajona, and that he is the head of the Eastern Caroline Mission.

ASKED to say everything that occurred in this Colony since his arrival until the 3rd of July, mentioning the treatment that the natives received and the reasons that he believes have caused the rebellion of the inhabitants, he declared:

That they were received perfectly, [the natives] showing pleasure with the arrival of the Spaniards; the King of Not was one of the first ones to come aboard, not only observing respect toward the Governor, but also showing his happiness at our establishment in this port. The same day, the Governor, accompanied by the declarant, the Father Provincial and officers of the Detachment with a boat from the **Manila**, went to examine the site that was believed most appropriate to establish the Colony and having selected the same with the approval of the King of Not to whom it belonged, the installation was proceeded with, the natives helping in the operation of construction of the buildings until the whole Colony could be lodged;

That in mid-April he was surprised to learn that the Governor had decided to arrest Mr. Doane who, within half an hour was carried as a prisoner to the steamer **Manila**. Everything went on with the natives working quietly from the end of May until the 30th of June when the King of Kiti came to the mission house with ... [1 line missing] ... for the construction of a school and all the corresponding materials, and said, "Why did they not go to Kiti to open a school also?" to which the declarant answered, "because they did not have any means or personnel," he answered, "Well, I will take charge of building the house and the school;"

That the night was spent quietly, when at about 10 a.m. on the first of July, the Government Secretary came to the mission house to notify them on behalf of the Governor that on that morning all the workers had fled the Colony, ignoring the reason for their having done so and asking if they had some information about the said flight, to which he answered that they knew absolutely nothing [...] The orders given by the Officer in charge of the force had been that he was to use much prudence with the Kings and that he was to limit himself only to investigate the causes of what had happened. He immediately assembled the rest of the force in the Colony in order to build a small stockade and to defend themselves in it from an attack inevitably expected on the part of the natives.

That the night passed quietly but the next morning, Saturday July 2nd, at about 8 a.m., the first shots were heard in the direction of the pier, while the Governor was meeting with the Commander of the Hulk **Dofia María de Molina**; the said firing was started by the natives against two sailors who were watching the boat and having killed them they seized the boat; then, the troopers defended themselves and the firing lasted until 4 p.m. when the Governor asked for a ceasefire to make a peaceful arrangement and it was immediately agreed to. From the various meetings that took place from that moment until 5 p.m. of the next day, Sunday July 3rd, among the natives, some wanted the Colony to continue to exercise its functions as until then, others that all the individuals of the Colony retreated aboard the **María de Molina** but without bringing the food or the ammunition, and yet others wanted the war to continue. A little after 5 p.m., the declarant was called by the Governor who told him: "Prepare your suitcases and your things because the boat to carry you away is coming." Right away, he prepared his suitcase and his companions began to bring down the trunks and sacred ornaments. The Governor had assured him that they would not fire, but as soon as they showed up at the pier, he saw a crowd of natives ready to fire at the boat. Thus, they jumped into it in a hurry. In effect, they had no sooner left the pier that fire broke out and the **Molina** answered with cannon fire scoring a few hits.

That he never saw the natives being mistreated in the Colony and only had heard about the faults of the individuals of the Colony.

ASKED to state precisely what faults he had heard about, he declared:

That soon after the arrival of the Colony he heard people say that some scandals had taken place with the local women without remembering the causes of them and that Mister Doane had reported on them to the Governor and that the latter scolded the culprits; and that bad rumors circulated about [Manuel] the Interpreter and worse ones about a mulatto from the Cape Verde Islands called Cristián [Barbus], both of whom abused in the name of the Governor, without being able to give any details, and acted to make sure that such abuses did not reach the ears of the Authority. And finally, he declared:

That, in his judgment, the excessive trust that the Governor had until the last moment in the friendship and affection that the natives professed toward him and which had made him believe that they could help him contain and pacify those who were up



in arms against him, and the conviction that they would spontaneously lay their weapons down, was the cause that he prohibited the Commander of the Hulk to fire upon the rebellious ones and why he did not take all the means to defend the Colony; that he had nothing more to say [...]

### **Declaration of the missionary Father Agustín María de Ariñez.**

[...] he declared: That they arrived at this port on 14 March and as soon as the steamer **Manila** anchored, there came aboard various natives and foreigners, that also the King of Not was aboard many times from the day of the arrival until the establishment of the Colony which took some 15 days during which the natives were used to unload the materiel. That the King of Not continued to go to the Colony and always to the house of the Governor until the end of May, after which the did not re-appear there; that during the month of April, being unable to specify the exact date, he learned that Mister Doane had been arrested and taken to the steamer **Manila**; that precisely [sic] at about that time the Governor ordered through the interpreter that he was to go and notify all the Kings so that from each tribe a certain number of natives would come to work in the Colony without compensation, relieving themselves every week and alternating by tribe, and in effect there came by tribe a number exceeding 100 from all tribes without exception; on the contrary, sometimes there came more people than were necessary for the works; Manuel, the interpreter, had said that the Kings had asked him if the Governor was about to impose some tax to the Island to which he answered that he did not demand any other contribution than the attendance at the works which, according to him, the Kings would accept with much pleasure. Later on, and during the month of June also, he ordered them through the same channel to prevent anyone from castrating himself,<sup>1</sup> and also that they should not send any women to the whaling ships, and should not tattoo themselves; for [compliance in] all of this, the Kings were made responsible; according to the interpreter, said Kings took said orders very well...

That, on the 1st of July, the bell was rung for the purpose of calling the natives to work and it turned out that all had escaped, ignoring the cause; in view of this, the Governor called the declarant to ask if he had observed in the King of Kiti anything that could have occasioned the flight of the workers, to which he answered no; that the Governor sent Sergeant Carballo accompanied by a certain Macario to serve as interpreter to find out from the King of Not who was in Jokoy [Sokeh] with the workers who had withdrawn from the Colony about the causes that they had for withdrawing from the Colony without reporting to the Governor; the declarant ignores the answer that was given by the King, at ... [1 line missing] ... the Governor sent the Second Lieutenant and the said Sergeant Carballo with about 20 armed men to the said point of Jokoy and about 1-1/2 hours later, the news arrived at the Colony that the natives had killed al-

1 Ed. note: This refers to the old Pohnpeian custom for men to castrate themselves voluntarily of one of their testicles.

most everyone in the expedition, including the Second Lieutenant and the Sergeant and it was then that the declarant learned about the answer that the King of Not had given to Sergeant Carballo when by order of the Governor he had gone to find out the causes that had motivated the failure of the natives to work; the said King had answered, according to what the Corporal of the Convict Section, Rosell, had told the declarant, that "if the Governor was in command of the Colony, they were the Kings of the Island, that to die they did not need to go to the Colony, and that if the Governor wanted to kill them, let him come and get them at home."

That on the 2nd, the Governor, making use of Macario as interpreter, spoke with the King of Not, who showed himself in agreement with a peaceful arrangement, even though not all those involved were of the same opinion.

That on the 3rd in the morning, Macario continued meeting with the King of Not and returned to say that the natives wanted only to cut the heads off the Governor and all the Spaniards; nevertheless, not much attention was paid to this warning and they were saying that Macario was very drunk and that he did not know what he was saying because, in effect, he was explaining himself in such a muddled and confused manner that no sooner had he said that the natives appreciated the Governor very much, he would say that they wanted to kill him, so that it was impossible to know clearly what the natives aspired to do. A little later, it was soon noticed what was their desire because, placed in peaceful relations with the Colony, they ran about in all directions with impunity and as intimate friends, even though they did not come into the houses with the same humble attitude that they used before but they now came in with a certain arrogance and authority requesting instead with insistence everything that struck their fancy and they even wanted to go into the interior parts of the houses in order to find out what was in them and to empower themselves of what suited them; all of this the declarant declares because he believes that they did not pretend anything else but stealing everything in the Colony; in effect, such a desire had been noticed from the afternoon of the previous day when, being in power of the whole coast, they began to carry off all the fancy furniture they found in the house of Manuel the Interpreter, that of Second Lieutenant Martinez and of Miguel the Secretary, although then they were doing so on the sly and running; and on the morning of the 3rd, while some were talking in a friendly way with the people of the Colony and were entering all the houses, carried away by their curiosity and greed, the others were all very quietly and without the least reservation carrying away all the effects that they found in the three houses mentioned above and took them by way of the new pier. All of this was noticed by the Governor without any other measures than to shout to them and to ask explanations from one of their chiefs who answered that he could not prevent them. In the mission house, a few bottles of anise and many cigars were spent in trying to satisfy the natives and to throw them out so as to shut the door; also two or three bottles of anise were given to Lieutenant Lozano for him to try to satisfy the crowd of natives who had invaded his house; in addition, another two or three bottles were given to the King of Ut who was near the Colony. The Governor himself did the same thing; he distributed a

quantity of bottles with various liquors to get rid of the mob that encircled him and among whom he could not consider himself very safe. Also, in the morning of that day, the Commander of the Hulk **Dofa María de Molina** came and met for a good while with the Governor who it appears gave an order not to fire with the ship's guns and they concluded that one or more boats would be sent to bring everyone to the Hulk when a white flag would be raised from the Colony and that the said boat or boats would do as many trips as necessary to bring all the people who made up the Colony, which would be done by sending successively in the first trip the sailors, the cash boxes and the Mission Fathers plus some woman from the Colony. In the relations that were continuing through Macario between the Governor and the King of Not, three trends could be noticed: some wanted to make peace and to have friendly relations with the Colony as before; others were of the opinion that the whole Colony should retreat to the Hulk, leaving ashore all their effects; and the third group wanted the war to continue, given that it was already started and that it did not admit any kind of reconciliation but rather that the stronger would become victorious and the weaker would suffer the consequences.

That, between 4 and 4:30 p.m., the order was received from the Governor for the Fathers to prepare to go aboard the Hulk, which they carried out in one of her boats under a well-nourished fire from the enemy that only stopped when two or three cannons were discharged by the Hulk to protect the boat. The natives had fired treacherously because the embarkation took place during a ceasefire to which they had agreed. From the time that the boat had gone far enough from the pier, and in view of the fact that they had been unable to get their hands upon the cash boxes that were being transported, they continued firing upon the Colony, the declarant having been told by an eyewitness that they had arrived as far as the stockade where they were repulsed with losses. That the people of the Colony, before the Fathers left them, were already very discouraged because in their situation they understood that it could not go on much longer for various reasons, one of the main ones being that the convicts and soldiers themselves connived with the natives, some of them having already disappeared and it is believed many would have disappeared if the Colony did not make a decisive action. Soon, the two farm attendants disappeared and they were seen later among the natives in the middle of their families; in view of what is said, the Governor decided to retreat that same night at the time of the low tide, so that they could go on foot [on the reefs] to a point near the Hulk; but having no doubt made a mistake about the times of the tides that the Commander of the said ship had told him about, they carried out their retreat at 2 or 2:30 a.m. and found themselves on the shore at the time of high tide and were attacked at that time by the natives whose vigilance they were unable to outwit. Thus all the Europeans perished except Corporal Martín who made it to the Hulk along with some [Filipino] natives.

That, regarding the causes that could have given a motive for the events narrated above, one could prudently enumerate the following:

First, the imprisonment of the Methodist missionary Mr. Doane;

Second, some violations of women and girls carried out by some individuals from the Colony, of whom only Mr. Diego Bacua is still alive, and about which the Governor had received complaints from a Methodist missionary;

Third, obligating them to work without compensation;

Fourth, the Governor had not yet paid to the King of Not the 200 pesos that he had offered him for the land occupied by the Colony, although he understood that the Governor had the intention of paying;

Fifth, having reemoved from the Kings the title of King to substitute that of provisional "Gobernadorcillos";

Sixth, various threats that Manuel the Interpreter had voiced on different occasions against some of the Kings in the name of the Governor, as he himself had told the declarant;

Seventh, the influence that the foreigner Puponlasko [Peplowsky] perhaps used with the natives to get revenge for a dispute he had had with Second Lieutenant Martinez who in the name of the Governor called him to account for some revolver shots that had been heard at his house in the middle of the night;

Eighth, the Governor's order that all the natives turn in their weapons;

Ninth, the Governor's decision to send armed people to Jokoyo, in view of the answer that the Kings had given to the emissaries that had given them the first order; and

ASKED the opinion he had of the negro Cristián, he declared:

That he had heard people say that he stole women for prostitution in the Colony; and

ASKED what means of defence had been adopted in the Colony, he declared:

That a wooden stockade had been made in the middle of the Colony and reinforcements had been asked from the Hulk; and

ASKED if he had anything else to say, he said no [...]

### **Declaration of the individual James Curry [on 4 Sept. 1887]**

...  
ASKED in Spanish and translated into English by the Interpreter,<sup>1</sup> where he is from, what profession he exercises and other legal generalities, he declared:

That his name is James Curry, he is a native of Ireland, County Antrim, City of Belfast, a trader by profession and residing in Ponape.

ASKED if he has heard about the attack on the Spanish Colony and if he knows the causes that would have influenced the natives to do that, he declared:

That he learned about the events after they had occurred and that he attributes them to the abuses committed in the name of the Governor by the Government Interpreter, Manuel Torres, and the negro Cristián Barbus, who, according to what the natives say, went through the tribes taking effects without paying for them or doing it at a very low price under the pressure of threats, always in the name of the Governor; that the im-

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1 Ed. note: This interpreter was the Dutchman Galo Kaminga.

prisonment and sending to Manila of Mister Doane had also had much influence, and he could add that he knew positively that when Doane was a prisoner before leaving for Manila, the natives went so far as to take up arms for the purpose of rescuing him and if they did not try to do it, it was because Mr. Rand advised them not to do so; adding that the said Mr. Rand has always said that he was happy with the Spanish Government having taken possession and has done what was possible to secure its power in these Islands; that he has also heard the natives say that they had been tricked because they came to work in the Colony believing that they would be compensated and they were not paid for their work as they had been promised by Manuel the Interpreter; that he has also heard the natives complain about the hard work, making them clean the latrines and the excrements that the soldiers left in the streets, with their hands.

ASKED if the natives who had assembled in Jokoyo on the morning for the first of July and before the troop went there, were armed and in a hostile attitude, he declared:

That he has heard people say that on the day in question they were gathered in Jokoyo, inhabitants of Jokoyo and those of not, to celebrate one of their usual feasts without any intention of war when Manuel the Interpreter arrived to call the Chiefs of the said tribes; that the said Chiefs said they would go when the feast was over but that Manuel threatened them with removing their wives and with killing them themselves, if they did not go and when they did not obey he withdrew to return later with the troop commanded by Second Lieutenant Martinez; and

ASKED if he knew what the natives now think of doing and their plans, he declared:

That he understood that the natives wished to be independent and some of them appeared to be sorry about what they have done; that all the tribes of the Island think more or less the same thing; that on the night of the 3rd and morning for the 4th, when the Colony withdrew, reinforcements had arrived from Kiti, Metalanim and U.

...

### **Declaration of the individual Cristián Barbus [4 Sept. 1887]**

...

ASKED to state his name, age, profession and marital status, he declared:

That his name was Cristián Barbus, 32 years old, a trader by profession, married, a native of the Cape Verde Islands and of Portuguese nationality; and

ASKED if he had knowledge of the events that resulted in the death of the Governor and the destruction of the Colony and, if so, to say the causes that he believes have occasioned the rebellion of the natives, he declared:

That he had knowledge of the events and that the causes of the rebellion were the foreigners Puponlasko, James Curry, Joaquín (both of those bearing that name), Cario [Macario], Narciso Arigaray<sup>1</sup> and Mister Rand, who were telling the natives that the Spanish Government, unlike the English, North American, or German, that would be better and would pay them for their work, the Spanish were not doing so; that Mr.

1 Ed. note: Alias Narciso de los Santos.

Rand had told the natives that the Spanish (in Yap) had lost many ships as a consequence of their continuous wars and evil-doing and, to excite them against the Spanish and to give them the courage that they lacked, he narrated to them that in Yap when they went to take possession of the island, the Spanish captured the King and took him aboard and then the natives had attacked the ship, killed the crew and rescued the King, and why did they not do the same here, that his wife had gone to the United States to return with a warship and to beat the Spanish, that when the boats from the Spanish ships went ashore they should kill the people so that nobody would be left aboard and then they could set the ships on fire, and he was also advising the natives to kill the declarant so that he could not tell the Spanish when the warships came; that Puponlasako sold many [weapons] and much powder to the natives and James Curry sold them *piston*[cartridges] and Joaquín one rifle and one barrel of powder; that Cario, on the Sunday in which the events took place, spoke with the Governor telling him not to worry, that the natives would not kill him nor would they again fire upon the Colony and that after that conversation he went to tell the natives to watch out, that the Governor would come out of the fort with the other Spaniards and then to kill them all; that Narciso wrote to the Kings of Not and Jokoyo so that they would not leave one Spaniard alive; that before the Spanish came he [Narciso] was a Protestant, that when they came he became a Catholic and when the rebellion [occurred] he again became a Protestant; that Joaquín, on the night that the Governor died, went to the house of the declarant, accompanied by some 15 natives, that they tried to kill him by firing at the declarant who escaped, thanks to the help of his friends but that they stole everything that he had in his house, taking also his family and the other people who were at home; that his family is in the hands of the King of Jokoyo and that the 8 women whom he had in his house<sup>1</sup> were taken to the house of Mr. Rand who married two of them to natives, sent 4 to Jokoyo and 2 stayed in Joaquín's house, the latter offering one rifle to whomever would kill the declarant; that the one who killed the Governor was Joy, an English half-breed, brother-in-law of Joaquín, and that the one who killed Sergeant Carballo was Juy, a native of the island of Truk; and

ASKED if he knew the intentions of the natives with respect to the Spanish, at present, he declared:

That the natives are ready to fight, that when the **San Quintín** came in they made ready for defending themselves; that the declarant wanted to come aboard and they prevented him from doing so; that the King of U is in favor of the Spanish but that the others have threatened him with war if he did not join them; that the declarant supposes that an order had been given by the present Governor to capture him and that he was being sought to kill him and that he came forward to the **San Quintín** because his conscience did not reproach him anything; that today the King of Jokoyo does not

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He was making use of local women as prostitutes, and so was Joaquín.

want to fight anymore and that he is still very sorry and if he fought with the Spanish, it was because he was forced to by the King of Not; and

ASKED how many of our soldiers<sup>1</sup> are ashore with the natives and if they fraternize with them, he declared:

That he was told that there are some 25 and that they fraternize with the natives; and ASKED if he had anything more to say, he said no.

...

In Santiago de Ascension, on the 5th day of September 1887, the Government Attorney decided to suspend this summary investigation for lack of time to devote to it.

And, in witness whereof, the Attorney signed his name in the presence of the Notary.

Julián Fraga

Juan de la Concha.

## O8. Report upon the arrival of the San Quintín at Manila, on 21 September 1887

### Original in Spanish.

(21 Set. 87)

*Aviso transporte San Quintín*

*Relación nominal del transporte que conduce este buque desde Ponape á esta Capital:*

<i>Clases</i>	<i>Nombres</i>	<i>Observaciones</i>
<i>Teniente de Navio</i>	<i>D. Juan Fernandez Pintado</i>	<i>Con su Sra. y dos hijos.</i>
<i>2º Practicante</i>	<i>D. Máximo Reinoso</i>	
<i>Marinero de 2a</i>	<i>Marciano Candaromas</i>	<i>Por enfermo</i>
<i>Cabo de mar de 2a.</i>	<i>Pablo Condo</i>	<i>Herido</i>
<i>Marinero de 2a</i>	<i>Rosendo Panguilinan</i>	<i>Herido</i>
"	<i>Tomás Espiritu</i>	<i>Herido</i>
"	<i>Francisco Piña</i>	<i>Herido</i>
<i>Soldado del Reg. #5</i>	<i>Cayetano Ceballos</i>	<i>Herido</i>
<i>Id. del Bon. Disciplinarios</i>	<i>Antonio Tubic</i>	<i>Cumplido</i>
<i>Cabo del id.</i>	<i>Valentín Esteban</i>	<i>Preso*</i>
<i>Particular</i>	<i>Cristian Barbus (Mulato)</i>	<i>Natural de Cabo Verde. Preso*</i>
<i>Particular</i>	<i>Francisco Vega</i>	<i>Súbdito Mejicano</i>
<i>Id.</i>	<i>John Westwood</i>	<i>Id. Inglés</i>

*\*Presos á disposición del Excmo. Sor. Gob. Gral.*

1 Ed. note: Runaway convict soldiers for the most part.

*Abordo Bahía de Manila, 21 Setiembre de 1887.*  
*Rafael Patero.*

### Translation.

(21 Sept. '87)

Transport Advice Boat **San Quintín**

List of the names of those transported aboard this ship from Ponape to this Capital:

Categories	Names	Remarks
Navy Lieutenant	D. Juan Fernandez Pintado	With wife and two children.
2nd Practitioner	D. Máximo Reinoso	
Marine 2nd Class	Marciano Candaromas	For sickness.
Boatswain 2nd Class	Pablo Condo	Wounded.
Marine 2nd. Class	Rosendo Panguilinan	Wounded.
"	Tomás Espiritu	Wounded.
"	Francisco Piña	Wounded.
Soldier from Reg. #5	Cayetano Ceballos	Wounded.
Id. from Convict Batton.	Antonio Tubic	Sentence expired.
Corporal from id.	Valentín Esteban	Prisoner.*
Private individual	Cristian Barbus (Mulato)	Born Cape Verde Is. Prisoner.*
Private individual	Francisco Vega	Mexican citizen.
Id.	John Westwood	English citizen.

\*Prisoners placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Governor General.

Aboard Bay of Manila, 21 September 1887.  
 Rafael Patero.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Cristian Barbus was prisoner on board. He was later released (7 November) by the Manila police for lack of sufficient cause for sending him to trial. John Westwood wrote a book about his exploits as a trader in the Mortlocks and a witness of the Ponape rebellion (see Doc. 1877I).



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 Documents 1887P
 

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## The Pohnpei Rebellion—Detailed reports transmitted by Admiral Lobaton on 22 September

Source: PNA.

### P1. Report of Admiral Federico Lobaton, dated 22 September 1887

Note: Reproducing the full report of Lieutenant Pintado, dated 3 September 1887.

#### Original in Spanish.

*Comandancia General de Marina, Filipinas (22 Set. 87)*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Comandante del Pontón **Dofia María de Molina** en oficio de 3 del actual, desde el Puerto de Santiago de la Ascension, me dice lo siguiente:*

*“Exmo. Sor: Desde la salida de este Puerto del Transporte **Manila** para esa Capital el 16 de Junio últ. hasta el día 1 de Julio ppdo, no se notó ningún sintoma de descontento ni de desconfianza entre los habitantes de esta Isla. En dicho día 1 me participo el marinero Panadero de este buque, que en la madrugada de dicho día todos los Carolinos que habitaban en las proximidades de la Colonia se habían ausentado de la misma; no hice caso de este dicho por creerlo exagerado, pero á la una de la tarde recibí una carta del Gobernador que copiada á la letra dice así:*

*“Estimado amigo: Estamos en guerra, han hecho fuego los Carolinos y espero me mande á la menor brevedad el mayor número de gente armada de que pueda disponer. No estará de más traigan lo necesario para hacerse la comida y mantas para dormir si hace falta. Sin más, etc.”*

*Inmediatamente que la recibí fué á tierra acompañado del Médico con objeto de enterarme de lo ocurrido, y mandé un bote á recoger las tapas que teníamos creandose en tierra á alguna distancia de la Colonia y a cuyo bote le hicieron algunos disparos al abrir para regresar abordo. El Gobernador me manifestó que por la mañana había*

*mandado al sitio donde vive el rey de Jetkois [Sokehs] al Interprete y Sargento Carballo para que vinieran los reyes que se hallaban reunidos en ella, con objeto de que manifestaran la causa de por que todos los Carolinos habían huido de la Colonia, habiéndoles contestado estos, según noticias particulares, que si él era el Gobernador, ellos eran los reyes de la Isla y que no querían morir en la Colonia, sino que fuese el Gobernador á matarlos en aquel sitio. En vista de esta contestación mandó al Alferez Martinez Comandante del Destacamento, con parte de la fuerza de este, al Interprete, al Sargento de la Disciplinaria Carballo, y el Filipino Macario que reside hace muchos años entre estos naturales, todos en dos vintas y un bote ignorando la orden que les dió. Al llegar estos y tratar de saltar á tierra, recibieron una descarga de los Carolinos, asesinando á veinte y tres entre ellos al Oficial, Sargento, é Interprete, salvandose solamente Macario y tres soldados, de ellos uno herido. No pude aclarar los hechos por haberme entregado el Comandante de la División á mi llegada á tierra, un oficio que acababa de ponerme y estaba cerrando y que copiado á la letra dice así:*

“No hay tiempo que perder; al recibo de esta orden rompera V. el fuego de granada contra las casas del rey de Jetkois donde hay acumuladas vintas en son de guerra. Han matado al Alferez, Sargento y Cabos hasta el número de veinte y tres hombres, etc.”

*y dispuso que el Secretario y el dicho Macario me acompañaran abordo para decirme cual era la casa espresada. No pudiendo verse esta desde abordo á causa de estar cubierta por el Islote Tagahatik situado entre ella y el barco; lancé á pesar de esto tres granadas al sitio que aproximadamente parecia ocupar; despues de hechos los tres disparos mandé al 2º bote á tierra tripulado con once hombres armados y racionados para aquel día y siguiente que era la orden verbal recibida en tierra del Comandante de la División, mandandole á preguntar que quería hiciera en vista de no verse el sitio marcado.*

*Por la tarde llegó el bote conduciendo á la familia del Teniente Comandante de la Disciplinaria Don Candido Lozano y un soldado herido, habiendo recibido el Patrón orden de regresar á tierra, la que fué ejecutada. Desde la tarde estuvo siempre el buque listo para lo que pudiera ocurrir tanto para su defensa como para proteger á la Colonia; durante esta noche no ocurrió la menor novedad. A las siete de la mañana del 2 me dirigí á tierra con objeto de ponerme de acuerdo con el Comandante de la División sobre lo que podía hacer con el Pontón para prestarle toda la ayuda posible y por si quería que impiediera el paso á las vintas que se dirigían, raseando la playa, hacia la Colonia, rio y demás puntos de la Isla, á lo que me ordenó no hiciera fuego sobre las proximidades de la Colonia, pues podía esto ser causa de que se malograsen sus proyectos y que esperaba vintas de Carolinos que se habían brindado á ayudarlo y que por lo tanto no les impiediera el paso, pues de todos modos se unirían yendose por otro lado, no consiguiendose nada y ahuyentando á los amigos, pero que rompiera el fuego solamente si grupos de aquellos se dirigían á la Colonia desde Jetkois, pues estaba esperando un ataque.*

*Al estar despidiendome para regresar abordo, rompieron el fuego los Carolinos apoderandose del 2. bote que estaba en el pantalan y despues de matar á los dos marineros que estaban de guardia en él, inmediatamente salieron de la trinchera los otros nueve individuos de marineria que componian la dotación de aquel, y que eran los que manejaban los dos cañoncitos, en dirección del Pantalan acompañados del Secretario del Gobierno, con objeto de socorrerlos si era posible ó recoger sus cadáveres, teniendo que retirarse antes de llegar á él por el gran número de enemigos que se hallaban ocultos en las zanjas y bosque que dominaba el camino y que hacian un fuego nutridísimo sobre ellos, habiendo herido al Cabo de mar de 2a. clase Pablo Querido y el marinero de 2a. clase Rosendo Panguilinan y muerto el de igual clase Camilo Sapul, habiendose portado los expresados nueve individuos admirablemente con especialidad el Cabo de mar de 1a. clase (I) que los mandaba Benito de los Reyes, como asimismo el Secretario del Gobierno.*

*En vista de lo expuesto y apesar de lo peligroso que era en aquellos momentos atravesar por entre los enemigos, y considerado que no había otro Oficial abordo y que podiamos ser envueltos por no ocupar nuestras fuerzas otro sitio que el frente del Cuartel de la Disciplinaria, en el que habían formado la trinchera, distante de la playa y desde donde no podía verse esta, y siendo my deber el tratar de llegar á mi buque, me dirigé hacia el bote que estaba esperandome proximo á las piedras de la orilla, saliendo para abordo, lo que visto por el enemigo se lanzó á la playa rompiendo un nutrido fuego sobre nosotros, contestándoles yo mientras bogaban los cuatro marineros que lo tripulaban, habiendo llegado al Pontón no sin tener que lamentar dos heridas causadas al Marinero de 2a. clase Mariano Cartel, una al de la misma clase Francisco Ocfiña, recibiendo los otros dos tripulantes y yo varios astillazos, pues el bote fué acribillado; al poco rato cesó el fuego sobre los nuestros de la Colonia, no sintiendose sino disparos sueltos.*

*El día 3 me dirigé de nuevo á tierra con objeto de averiguar lo ocurrido, pues durante la noche no hubiera sido posible oír disparos si los hubiera habido á causa del viento fresco del E.S.E. que había reynado toda ella acompañado de chubascos, y por lo tanto mi ansiedad era grandísima, viendo en ella, á aquel puñado de valientes extenuados pero defendiendo siempre la gloriosa bandera de la Patria sin contar el número y modo de combatir del enemigo que no lo hacia sino á mansalva cubiertas por el bosque: en ella ví algunos Carolinos hablando con el Gobernador, el cual en vista de lo imposible de la lucha y de que serian exterminados poco á poco, pues á sus ataques no tenían que temer, que siempre consiguieron rechazarlos, sino á esta guerra especial de los prácticos en los bosques contra los que se baten al descubierto en terreno desmontado, y al corto número de los nuestros, me preguntó que hora era la bajamar para ver si le sería posible de noche ganar la playa y venirse por los bajos á las proximidades del Pontón, con objeto de ser recogidos en los botes, si es que no llegaba á conseguir sus propósitos, para lo cual estaba en negociaciones.*

*Al poco de mi llegada querían impedirme que volviese á mi buque, pero por fin pudo conseguirlo el Gobernador como tambien que vinieran un soldado; y dos marineros*

*heridos la vispera, los cuales habían sido curados por el Médico de este buque 1a. de la Armada Don Enrique Cardona, que desde que asesinaron á los primeros en Jetkois se quedó en tierra al ver que era el sitio de mayor peligro y por lo tanto en el que sus servicios eran más necesarios.*

A las 5 de la tarde izaron en el fuerte bandera blanca, señal convenida con objeto de que mandara un bote para recoger efectos y el personal que dejaran venir, pues á todos habíamos comprendido sería muy difícil, porque lo que trataban era de saquear la Colonia, despues de exterminarlos, por encerrar para ellos objetos de muchísimo valor, pues todo les llama la atención dado su modo de vivir, por más que dichos objetos hubieran sido insignificantes para habitantes de país civilizado; tambien visto por la mañana que, durante la tregua que había habido, habían empezado á saquear algunas casas; a pesar de todo me llenó de alegría el ver aquella señal por si podían salvarse algunos de los valientes defensores de la Colonia que rodeados de un gran número de enemigos perfectamente armados con fusiles á cargar por la culata, los habían tenido á raya; pero á la par una traición propia de gente tan cobarde y traidora, comparada solamente con los moros de la Sultania de Joló con los que tienen muchos puntos de contacto, siendo á la par tan astutos que hasta última hora tuvieron engañado al Gobernador que siempre tuvo confianza de que concluiría y se someterían por completo, contribuyendo mucho á ello el filipino Macario nombrado interprete desde la muerte de su antecesor, el cual según me han manifestado los salvados, desapareció de la trinchera al anochecer del 3; esta confianza le hacia me ordenara no hiciera fuego sobre tierra, como [yo] deseaba y creía necesario porque no fuera esto el inconveniente para la sumisión de los Carolinos; pero a pesar de esto, Excmo. Sor., dispuse estuvieran listas las piezas para romper el fuego sobre el enemigo y proteger al bote si era necesario.

A las 6 abrió éste del pantalán en cuyo momento, como me temía a pesar de sus protestas hechas en tierra de lo contrario según me manifestaron los Padres de la Misión que en él vinieron, rompieron los Carolinos un nutrido fuego sobre dicho bote y desde abordó se rompió el del cañon, lo cual ahuyentó á las vintas y gente de la playa que trataban de apresarlos, y aumentó su rabia al verlo varado al poco de abrir y sin desmayar por eso, gracias al valor desplegado por el que venia de Patrón, Cabo de mar de 1a. Benito de los Reyes, que recibió orden de regresar á bordo con 5 de los 6 marineros que quedaban en tierra y que tanto se habían ya distinguido la vispera por su valor en la Colonia; poco despues consiguieron llegar á bordo conduciendo á los Padres y legos de la Misión, un soldado, dos disciplinarios y dos mugeres, y de material dos cajas de caudales que me remitía el Gobernador, teniendo que lamentar la muerte del marinero de 2a. Mamerto Boñoc y las heridas de los de igual clase Tomás Espiritu y Lucas Ondusay y muger de la Colonia Idefonsa Torres.

*A las 2 de la madrugada del 4, se oyeron descargas y gritos al parecer en el agua, lamentando al oirlos la hora en que habían ejecutado para venirse á bordo, por ser la de la pleamar y por lo tanto la peor; se estuvo con cuidado con objeto de acudir con los botes á recoger á los que tuvieran la suerte de salvarse; á las tres empezaron á oirse individuos que llamaban, siendo recogidos hasta las 7, diez y seis hombres á bordo, ha-*

*biendo tenido que romper el fuego sobre vintas que al ver á algunos trataron de asesinarlos. De 9 á 11 de la noche conseguimos salvar á tres más que habían pasado el día ocultos en el bosque.*

*El 5 se continuó preparando el buque en el cual tendríamos que economizar las municiones por no quedar más que 4750 cartuchos Remington, dedicándose el Armero y Herrero en construir balas y embalar los 2100 cartuchos que teníamos sin ellas y despues en hacer picas para los que no tenían armamento, pues solo había á bordo 43 carabinas, toda vez que de los soldados llegaron casi todos sin armamento.*

*El 6 se continuó día y noche atrincherándonos; á la una de la tarde llegó un bote con un Inglés, un Portugués y dos del país, para preguntarnos de parte de los Reyes si queríamos continuar la guerra, pues ellos no la querían y nos leyeron una carta de Mr. Rand súbdito americano y segundo de la Misión de Metodistas en esta Isla, en la que me decía podía él recoger á los Padres, mugeres, y niños y que cuidaría que se embarcaran en el primer buque que llegara; en vista de nuestra falta de municiones, gente y escasas de víveres por no tener sino 5436 raciones de las que no solo teníamos que alimentarnos los 38 marineros, 16 soldados y 7 disciplinarios que componían la dotación y gente salvada de la Colonia, sin los seis Padres y hermanos de la Misión y un criado particular de la Sra. viuda del Teniente Lozano á los que se suministraba desde su llegada á bordo, sino que tendríamos que recurrir á ello todos los embarcados, total 94 personas por más que no hubiera sino 54, comprendiendo los 40 restantes los Padres, hermanos, heridos, enfermos, mugeres, y niños, y siendo esta campaña larga por no poder recibir el menor auxilio en algunos meses, se les contesto que nosotros no haríamos nada, pero que si disparaban un tiro romperíamos el fuego enseguida, y que las vintas pasaran retiradas del buque. Se fueron á tierra y regresaron poco despues trayendo un documento en que especificaban que los reyes no hostilizarían al buque ni á los extranjeros residentes en esta Isla, el cual dado lo raro de su forma y pidiendo otro igual, lo dimos sin sello ni rúbrica manifestando que en vista de lo expuesto por ellos, tampoco lo efectuaríamos si ellos no faltaban á lo prometido. Volvieron diciéndonos que estando conformes descargasemos los cañones, lo que no efectuamos como V. E. comprendera.*

*En la mañana del 8 quedó formada la trinchera á bordo, con la madera destinada al tinglado, lo que cerraba las portas y reductos sin artillería dejando solo el sitio necesario para hacer fuego de carabina; tambien se formaron trincheras en la toldilla y castillo y sobre las batayolas hasta la altura de una plancha de hierro que se clavo al exterior hasta el nervio de los toldos, como asimismo por fuera de las mesas de guarnición, todo para evitar que hubiera sitios en que pudiera el enemigo apoyarse para subir si trataba de abordarnos.*

*A las 12 de dicho día atracó al costado, pues no se permitió subir á nadie, un bote que conducía á Mr. Rand el cual me notificó que había sabido que los Jefes llamados reyes de Not y Jetkois, no querían la guerra con el buque y si algunos de los Jefes secundarios; se les contestó que si la guerra que la hicieran, que á nosotros no nos importaba, con objeto de ocultar nuestras pocas fuerzas y recursos por la falta de*

*elementos como ya tengo espresado; a lo que añadió que había podido convencerles y no la harían. Trabajo me ha costado, Exmo. Sor., hacer uso de esta prudencia, pues hubiera deseado contestarles con mi artillería y lo hubiera efectuado hasta disparar el último cartucho, pero al par de la falta de elementos y poco personal carecía el buque de un motor para trasladarse de un punto á otro y estar fondeado en un sitio, si bien bueno para tiempo de paz, malísimo para una guerra, dominado por el monte Not del cual distamos 500 metros y al 400 de distancia por la otra banda de la Isla de Tagahatik y sin poder enmendarnos por el poco personal que teníamos y para que no creyeran les temíamos habiendo fondeado un anclote por la popa para poder tener fuegos sobre los puntos más peligrosos. Me preguntó también que como Gobernador que era de la Isla, le digera que quería se hiciera con los edificios que componían la Colonia, menos con el Cuartel de la Disciplinaria que habían quemado los Carolinos la tarde anterior, por su mal olor á causa de la sangre derramada en él y sus proximidades; le dije que lo dejaran todo en el estado en que se encontraba y que la bandera fuera izada á la llegada de buque extranjero. También me pedía, todo en nombre de los Reyes de Not y Jetkois, no rompiera el fuego sobre ellos á la llegada de otro buque de guerra y que entonces los Jefes de la Isla vendrían á explicar su conducta ante mí y Comandante de dicho buque; á esto contesté que entonces trataríamos lo que se debía de hacer, no habiendo querido tratar ahora con ellos, en vista, Exmo. Sor., de lo remota que estaba la llegada de auxilios de ningún genero y para que no vieran lo reducido de nuestras fuerzas y se atrevieran á lo que hasta ahora parece han tenido al ver la actitud tomada por el buque y el poco caso que hacíamos de sus pequeñas embarcaciones que pasaban á 300 metros de nuestro costado, debido á los pocos cartuchos Remington que hay abordo que no nos permite desperdiciar ni uno solo, sino al contrario reservarlos para el caso de ser atacados; todo lo que han tomado como á desprecio nuestro, y sobre todo por el temor que manifiestan de nuestra artillería.*

*Los dije asimismo nos devolvieran el ganado que teníamos en la Colonia y el bote de este buque, trayendo aquella tarde una vaca uno de los Portugueses. Los cuatro extranjeros con los cuales he hablado en nombre de los Carolinos, echan la culpa de la Sublevación al Interprete que fué de esta Colonia, Manuel Torres, el cual dicen hacía presente á los reyes que en cuanto no anduvieran derechos el Gobernador les cortaría la cabeza ó los colocaría delante de los cañones del Pontón; y á un negro llamado Cristián que les tomaba efectos sin abonarselos diciéndoles lo hacía en nombre del Gobierno; pero no creo sean estos los principales motivos, pues podían haberse quejado al Gobernador al que dicen que querían y me inclino por ahora á creer que además de estos hubo el de saquear á la Colonia como lo han efectuado unido á la guerra que creían hacíamos á su religión y á abusos cometidos en la Colonia con los habitantes.*

[Citations]

*Restame, Exmo. Sr., recomendar á V.E. al Contramaestre de este buque **Basilio Santamaría**, y Condestable del mismo **Manuel Barba Llorca** que no solo han pasado ocho días sin tomar el menor descanso, sino que á la vez me han ayudado con sus*

consejos, para la colocación de las trincheras siendo la parte superior de ella mandada construir por sus indicaciones, como tambien por el espíritu que han infundido á la dotación por su multiplicación por todos los actos y á la vez por las penalidades subidas.

El Armero **Basilio de la Cruz**, Herrero **Anacleto del Rosario** y Carpintero **Julio Somonte**, no han descansado noche y día en los trabajos de construcción de trincheras y han desempeñado este cometido como otro cualquier individuo de la dotación en los servicios militares.

El Practicante **Don Maximo Reynoso**, es digno de recompensa por su esmero día y noche con los enfermos, heridos, acudiendo tambien cuando le era posible á compartir con la dotación el penoso servicio que se estaba prestando.

De la marinería recomiendo á V.E. en primer lugar al Cabo de mar de 1a. clase (I) **Benito de los Reyes** debiendo en parte á su valor el que no cayera el 1er. bote en poder de los enemigos en la tarde del día 3, cuando quedo varado al regresar para abordó animando á la dotación con su ejemplo y valor; á los marineros de 2a. clase **Mariano Cartel** y **Francisco Ocfiña** que derramaron su sangre en 2 al conducirme en el chinchorro desde la Colonia abordó; á los de igual clase **Lucas Andusay** y **Tomás Espiritu** que fueron heridos en la tarde del 3 al venir en el primer bote con el personal y material espresado. Al Cabo de mar de 2a. clase **Pablo Querido** y Marinero de 2a. **Rosendo Panguilinan**, los recomiendo al Exmo. Sr. Capitan General para la recompensa que creo justa por sus heridas recibidas el espresada día dos, como tambien á los otros seis individuos que componían la dotación del bote y que prestaban servicios en la trinchera según órden del Gobernador y Comandante de la División, haciéndolo tambien á V.E. por las penalidades sufridas abordó de este buque desde dicho día y concluyo, Exmo. Sor., recomendando á V.E. á todos los individuos de esta dotación, tropa y disciplinarios que han contribuido como si fuesen parte de ella á preparar el buque para su defensa, como tambien con sus servicios á que éste haya impuesto al enemigo y se librará de caer en su poder ó volara como era mi intención en último extremo y tenía ordenada cuando se viera que la defensa fuera imposible.

Tengo el sentimiento de participar á V.E. que según las noticias recibidas por los individuos que lograron salvarse y por otros varios conductos, en la retirada efectuada por la guarnición de la Colonia en la madrugada del 4 fueron muertos el Comandante de esta División Naval, Capitan de Fragata **Don Isidro Posadillo**, el cual se defendió como un héroe matando siete ú ocho Carolinos, y el 1er Médico de este Pontón Sr. **Enrique Cardona y Miret**.

Desde el 1 de Julio y en vista de la escasez de víveres é ignorando la época de la llegada de buque con auxilios, se empezó á suministrar á esta dotación solo dos tercios de ración indigena.

Desde el 23 del citado mes al 15 de Agosto ha venido á visitarme el Misionero Mr. **Rand**, tantas veces como ha efectuado venidas á este puerto, contribuyendo á que desde el 4 de Agosto empezaron á venir algunos habitantes con frutos del país. En la última espresada fecha lo efectuó con el Capitan del Vapor Americano al servicio de la misión

de Metodistas, **Morning Star** que fondeó en Metalanim con objeto de que se me presentara y al mismo tiempo para ofrecerme parte de los víveres que había recibido; así, Exmo. Sr., no tengo palabras con que elogiar su comportamiento, el cual se espera (?) por completo del seguido por los demás Europeos residentes en esta Isla. En virtud de la ocasión que se me presentaba de poder dar cuenta á V.E. y al Exmo. Sor. Gobernador Gral. de estas Islas, de lo ocurrido, hablé con el Capitan de dicho Vapor con objeto de ver si podía ir á esa Capital manifestandome dicho Señor que sentía mucho no poder acceder á mi suplica por tener que conducir misioneros y facilitar víveres á otros que carecían de ellos, pero que se comprometía á hacer que llegara á su destino desde Jaluit á donde se dirigía, las noticias que deseaba para San Francisco de California por haber aquellos puertos frecuentes comunicaciones en vista de lo cual le entregué un oficio para el Consul de nuestra Nación en el citado punto que copiado á la letra dice así:

*"El día 1 de Julio del corriente año se sublevaron los habitantes de esta Isla contra nuestra Nación, causandose la muerte al Gobernador y tropas de esta Colonia, salvandose abordo de este Pontón parte de la guarnición y familias que componían aquella, continuando en esta fecha incomunicados con la Isla por la actitud aun hostil de los Jefes de ellas. Y careciendo en este Puerto de comunicación para Manila como asimismo para los demás países donde pudiera el telegrafo comunicar tan infausta nueva tanto á la madre patria como al Exmo. Sr. Gobernador Gral. del Archipiélago Filipino, tengo el honor de notificarselo esperando de V.S. se sirva telegrafiar dando noticia de lo ocurrido con lo que prestará un importante servicio á la Nación. Dios guarde, etc."*

*El 17 de Agosto entró en este puerto el pailebot Aleman **Montiara** en el que solamente pudieron adquirirse trece sacos de arroz de á 23 kilogramos con objeto de aumentar en algo los víveres y algunos efectos de poca importancia para los ranchos chicos.*

*El 1 de Setiembre en vista de no tener víveres abordo sino hasta fines de Noviembre suministrando media ración ordené se efectuara así, pero al amanecer se avistó al Aviso Transporte **San Quintín**, por lo que suspendí dicha orden. El Comandante de dicho buque no solo me ha dado todos los auxilios pedidos sino que ha ordenado el embarco en este de un Oficial, un 3er Condestable, dos Cabos de cañon y veinte individuos de Marinería en vez de los nueve que le pedía para cubrir las bajas del buque por tener que enviar á esa Capital cinco de los enfermos y heridos de la dotación.*

*Creo inutil dar cuenta á V.E. del estado en que parece se encuentran respecto á nuestra Nación los habitantes de estas Islas, pues el Comandante del **San Quintín** está perfectamente informado de todo.*

*He procurado el atraerlos creyendo haber conseguido algo sirviendome para ello del referido Mr. Rand, sin cuya cooperación me hubiera sido de todo punto imposible; é ignorando la política que el Exmo. Sr. Gobernador Gral. del Archipiélago querrá se continúe en vista de lo ocurrido sea esta sino con la reserva consiguiente para que no puedan alegar nunca engaños que perjudicarían á nuestra dominación en estas Islas.*



*Todo cuanto tengo el honor de poner en conocimiento de V.E. para la resolución que estime oportuna y en cumplimiento de mi deber."*

*Lo que tengo el sentimiento de trasladar á V.E. para la resolución que estime.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 22 de Set. de 1887.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Federico Lobaton*

*[Al] Exmo. Sr. Gobernador Graf. de estas Islas.*

[Postscript]

*Restame, Exmo. Sor., cumpliendo con mi deber, recomendar á V.E. como dignos de recompensas al Cabo de mar de la clase **Benito de los Reyes** por su valor en la mañana del dos al tratar de socorrer á sus compañeros, como tambien á los marineros á sus órdenes y en general á todos los que han podido acoger él abordo de la pequeña guarnición y marinería que los auxiliaron en esta defensa, pues me decía todos han demostrado un valor digno de elogio como tambien por la subordinación con que han suportado los trabajos y penalidades en los tres días que permanecieron cerrados en la trinchera de la Colonia, cuyos trabajos y privación han continuado abordo habiendo además necesario disminuirles la tercera parte de la ración ordinaria á causa de escasez de víveres por haber aumentado el personal de este pontón, como tambien por el excesivo servicio, pues no podía dejarse de tener desconfianza de estos habitantes y la seguridad de que aprovecharían la primera ocasión en que creyera estabamos descuidados para tratar de apoderarse de este buque, último baluarte de nuestra nación en estas Islas. Todos están desempeñando el servicio de quatro horas de trinchera y cuatro de descanso durante la noche, descansando al salir de servicio en cubierta y proximos á los puestos que tienen señalados para la defensa no dejando un momento su armamento; no pudiendo hacer ninguna recomendación en tierra sintiendo por tanto puedan quedar algunos oscurecidos, acompañando [...] relación con espresión de las bajas sufridas por los individuos que de este buque prestaron sus servicios en la defensa de la Colonia asi como del personal de la guarnición salvados abordo de este buque, cuyos individuos mostraron su valor y subordinación hasta el último momento cumpliendo lo ordenado por el Gobernador.*

### Translation.

General Navy Headquarters, Philippines (22 Sept. 87)

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Hulk **Doña María de Molina**, in a report dated 3rd instant, from the port of Santiago de la Ascención, tells me the following:

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1 Ed. note: The rest of this postscript appears only in the translation below.

"Your Excellency: Since the Transport **Manila** left for that Capital on 16 June last, until the 1st of July, there had been no symptom of unhappiness nor mistrust on the part of the inhabitants of this Island. On said date, 1 July, Seaman Panadero of this ship told me that in early morning of that day all the Carolinians living in the vicinity of the Colony had disappeared; I did not pay attention to this news, as I thought it was exaggerated, but at 1 p.m. I received a letter from the Governor which says exactly the following:

*"Esteemed friend: We are at war. The Carolinians have been firing. I expect that you will send me as soon as possible as many armed men as you can spare. It would not be amiss for them to bring along what they need by way of food and blankets for sleep in, if there are any. Without more, etc."*

I went ashore immediately, accompanied by the Physician, for the purpose of finding out what happened, and I sent a boat to pick up the covers that we had been making ashore at a some distance from the Colony and this boat was fired upon shortly after clearing in order to return aboard. The Governor told me that in the morning he had sent word to the residence of the king of Jetkois [Sokehs] through the Interpreter and Sergeant Carballo for the kings who were meeting there to come and explain the reason why all the Carolinians had fled the Colony, Their answer, according to private reports, was that if he was Governor, they were the kings of the Island and did not want to die in the Colony; rather the Governor should come and kill them where they were. In view of this answer, he sent Second-Lieutenant Martinez, the Commander of the Detachment, with part of its force, the along with the Interpreter [i.e. Torres], the Sergeant of the Convict Section, Sgt. Carballo, and Macario the Filipino who has been residing for a few years among these natives, all aboard two canoes and a boat, but I do not know what orders they had. Upon their arrival there, while trying to effect a landing, they received a volley from the Carolinians, and 23 were killed, among them the Officer, the Sergeant, and the Interpreter. The only ones who escaped were Macario and three soldiers, one of whom wounded. I was unable to get more detailed facts before the Commander of the División handed me a letter whose envelope he had just sealed, which says exactly the following:

*"There is no time to lose. Upon receiving this order, you shall fire grenade shots against the house of the king of Jetkois where there canoes have been assembled with hostile intention. They have killed the Second-Lieutenant, Sergeant and the Corporals, as many as 23 men, etc."*

He arranged for the Secretary and said Macario to accompany me on board and show me which one was the house in question, but it could not be seen from aboard on account of it being hidden by Tagatik Island which lies in-between it and the ship; in spite of that, I shot three grenades in the direction that it seemd to occupy. After these

three shots, I sent Boat n° 2 ashore with eleven armed men, with rations for that day and the next, as a result of a verbal order received ashore from the Commander of the Division, with a message to ask him what he wished me to do, in view of the marked site not being visible from on board.

In the afternoon the boat came back, carrying the family of Commander of the Convict Section, Lieutenant Candido Lozano and a wounded soldier. The boatswain had received an order to bring the boat back ashore, which he did. During the whole afternoon the ship was always to do whatever was necessary to defend herself and to protect the Colony. During the following night, nothing at all happened. At 7 a.m. the next morning of the 2nd, I went ashore for the purpose of coming to an agreement with the Commander of the Division regarding what might be done with the Hulk in order to helping him as much as possible and to ask if he wished me to impede the canoes that were passing the Colony, keeping close to the beach, on their way to the river and other points of the Island. He ordered me not to fire anywhere near the Colony, because this could cause some of his plans to fail, as he was awaiting some Carolinian canoes that had promised to come to his aid and therefore I was not to impede them; indeed, they would manage to get together at some other point, and in any case we would achieve nothing and would make the friendly canoes take flight; however, I was to fire only upon those groups that might go to the Colony from Jetkois; in fact, he was expecting an attack to come from there.

While they were saying good-bye to return on board, the Carolinians began firing at Boat n° 2 that was at the pier, killing the two sailors guarding it and stealing it. The other nine sailors who belonged to the boat but had been managing the two small guns immediately left the stockade and headed for the pier, accompanied by the Government Secretary, intending to assist the men if that were possible, or recover their bodies. Before they got there they had to retreat on account of the great number of enemies who were hidden in the ditches and in the bush that overlooks the road and who were shooting at them ceaselessly. In so doing, they wounded Navy Corporal [Petty Officer] 2nd Class Pablo Querido and Seaman 2nd Class Rosendo Panguilinan and killed another seaman of the same class, Camilo Sapul. The above-mentioned nine individuals behaved admirably, specially Navy Corporal 1st Class (I) who was in charge of them, Benito de los Reyes, as well as the Government Secretary.

In view of the above and in spite of the danger that was then involved in crossing through enemy lines, and considering that there was no other officer on board and that we could be surrounded since the only site occupied by our forces was the stockade that had been built in front of the barracks of the convict soldiers, at some distance from the beach and where it could not be seen from it, it being my duty to try and return to my ship, I headed for the boat that was waiting for me near some rocks along the shore. As I was leaving the shore, we were seen by the enemy who rushed to the beach and began to fire repeatedly at us; I fired back at them as my three sailors manned the boat. We made it on board but not without suffering two wounded: Seamen 2nd Class Mariano Cartel and Francisco Ocfiña; the other two crewmen and I received vari-

ous splinters; indeed the boat was riddled with bullets. A short time later the steady fire upon our men in the Colony ceased, with only a few shots were heard now and then.

On the 3rd, I again went ashore for the purpose of finding out if anything had happened; indeed, during the night we could not have heard any shots, because of the fresh wind blowing from E.S.E. all night long, with some squalls, and therefore my anxiety was very great when I saw the handful of brave men, extenuated but always defending the glorious flag of our Country in spite of the number of the enemy and its way of fighting by firing while being under cover of the bush. I saw the Governor talking with some Carolinians, with whom he was negotiating, in view of the impossibility of the struggle, since they would be slowly exterminated; in fact, frontal attacks could always be repulsed, but this was a special war between men used to fighting in the bush against men used to fighting in the open with a clear line of sight, and our numbers were too short. He asked me what was the time for low tide, to see if he could come to the beach at night, and try and reach the vicinity of the Hulk by walking on the shoals, for the purpose of being picked up by the boats, if he were not successful in his negotiations.

Soon after I got there the Governor tried to prevent me from returning to my ship, but finally I was able to get his permission, and also that a soldier would come along, to look after the two sailors who had been wounded on the previous day; these men had been attended to by the Physician 1st Class of this ship, Don Enrique Cardona, who, after our first men had been killed in Jetkois, had remained ashore, because that was the place where there was more danger and where his services would be most needed.

At 5 p.m., a white flag was raised on the fort, the agreed signal for the purpose of my sending a boat to pick up the effects and personnel who were let go; indeed, we had realized that it would be very difficult to bring all of them, because what the enemies wanted was to sack the Colony, after exterminating the men, given that it contained things that attracted their attention and were of great value to them, given their way of life, although such objects would have been considered insignificant by the inhabitants of a civilized country; also, in the morning ceasefire, we had seen them begin to sack a few houses. In spite of it all, I was glad to see that signal and be given an opportunity to save some of the brave defenders of the Colony who, being surrounded by a large number of enemies perfectly armed with modern rifles, had been held at bay by such coward and treacherous people, comparable only to the Moros of Jolo, with whom they have much in common. The proof of their treacherous character is that they were able to trick the Governor into believing until the last moment that he could trust them to make peace and become completely submissive once again; Macario the Filipino, who had been appointed interpreter after the death of his predecessor, contributed much to this trickery. Indeed, according to the men who were rescued, said Macario had disappeared from the stockade at sunset of the 3rd. This trust is what had made him order me not to fire on the land, as I wished to do and considered it necessary, because it would not prevent the submission of the Carolinians. However, in spite of this,

Your Excellency, I arranged for the guns to be ready to fire upon the enemy and to protect the boat if it were necessary.

At 6 p.m., as the boat was clearing the pier, and as I had suspected, contrary to the promises they had made ashore, according to the Fathers who came aboard it, the Carolinians begun a steady fire upon said boat but from on board the guns opened up and made the canoes and people on the beach take to flight, although their rage increased greatly when they saw the boat run aground soon after clearing the pier, but not losing courage for all this, thanks to the bravery demonstrated by the man who acted as boat-swain, Navy Corporal 1st Class [Petty Officer] Benito de los Reyes, who received the order to return on board with 5 of the 6 sailors who remained on shore and who had distinguished themselves very much in the Colony on the previous day. A short time later they managed to reach alongside, bringing the Fathers and Brothers of the Mission, one soldier, two convict soldiers, and one woman, and as far as materiel things were concerned, two cash boxes that the Governor was sending to me. Unfortunately, we had to deplore one dead, that of Seaman 2nd Class Mamerto Boñoc, and three wounded, two seamen of the same class, Tomás Espiritu and Lucas ONdusay, and one woman from the Colony, Ildelfonsa Torres.<sup>1</sup>

At 3 in the morning on the 4th, shots and shouts were heard apparently coming from the water, a deplorable situation because of the time chosen to come on board; it was high tide and therefore the worst time possible. The boats were made ready for the purpose of picking up those who managed to save themselves. Between 3 o'clock, when the first shouts were heard, and 7, a total of 17 individuals were picked up and taken on board. During this operation it had been necessary to fire a few times at canoes that tried to kill them. Between 9 and 11 p.m., we managed to rescue three more who had remained all day hidden in the bush.

On the 5th we continued to make the ship ready. As we were to conserve ammunition because there were only 4,750 Remington cartridges on board, the Gunsmith and Blacksmith spent their time making balls and packing them into the 2,100 empty cartridges and afterwards making pikes for use by those who did not have a weapon; indeed, there were only 43 carbines on board, given that most of the soldiers had come back without any.

ON the 6th we continued day and night to building our defences; at 1 p.m., a boat arrived with an Englishman, a Portuguese and two local natives, to ask us on behalf of the Kings if we wished to continue the war, as they no longer wish to do so, and they read to us a letter from Mr. Rand, an American citizen and second missionary among the Methodists on this Island, in which he was telling me that he could pick up the Fathers, women and children and that he would make sure they be put aboard the first ship to arrive. In view of our lack of ammunition, men and food supplies, as we had only 5,436 rations out of which we had to feed not only the 38 sailors, 15 soldiers and 7 convicts who were part of the crew and had been saved from the Colony, we had the

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The widow of Manuel Torres, the former Government Interpreter.

6 Fathers and Brothers of the Mission and a private servant of a lady, the widow of Lieutenant Lozano, whom we had not only fed since their arrival on board, but would have to maintain like all those on board, in all 94 persons, when there should have been only 54, the 40 extra persons including the Fathers, Brothers, wounded, sick, women, and children, and moreover ours was to be a long campaign without the possibility of receiving the least assistance for a few months. So, my answer to them was that we on our part would do nothing, but that if they took a shot at us we would return the fire immediately, and that the canoes should pass by far from the ship. They went back ashore and returned a short time later with a document in which they it was mentioned that the kings would attack neither the ship nor the Foreigners resident on this Island. Given its strange composition, when they asked for a paper from us stating that we would not fire upon them as long as they did the same, we gave it but without a seal or signature. They returned to say that since we were agreed, we should discharge the cannon, but we did not do this, as Y.R. can imagine.

In the morning of the 8th our defences on board had been completed. We had used the wood meant for the shed to board up the portholes and the gunports that had no guns, leaving just enough space to shoot with carbines; also to build up a wall on the poop deck and castle and above the wooden rails, up to the top of an iron sheet that was nailed on the outside high enough to reach the ribs of the awnings, as well as outside the channels, to prevent anyone from getting a grasp if attempting to board us.

At noon of said day there came alongside—no-one was allowed to come on deck—a boat led by Mr. Rand, who told me that he had learned that the Chiefs, so-called kings, of Not and Jetkois did not wish war with the ship but only some of the lower chiefs; we answered that if they wanted war, we ourselves did not care one way or another; this we did to hide our few forces and resources for the lack of elements as I have already said; He added that he had been able to convince them and they would not. Your Excellency, I had a hard time to adopt such a prudent measure; indeed, I would have liked to answer them with my guns and I would have fired until exhausting the last cartridge, in addition to lacking elements and having little personnel, the ship lack an engine to move around and had to remain in one place; that is good enough in peacetime, but very bad in wartime, as we were overlooked by Not Mountain, at a distance of 550 meters on one side, and Takatik Island at 400 meters on the other; and we could not change our location for lack of personnel and so as not to let the enemy think that we feared them; also we had let go a small anchor at the poop, to be able to fire our guns upon the most dangerous points. He also asked me, as Governor that I was of the Island, to say if I wanted done to the buildings of the Colony, apart from the barracks of the Convict soldiers, they having been burned down by the Carolinians the previous day, on account of their bad smell caused by the blood that had been spilled inside and out. I told him to leave everything as it was and that the flag should be raised at the arrival of any foreign ship. He also asked me, and also on behalf of the Kings of Not and Jetkois, not to fire upon them at the arrival of another warship, as the Chiefs of the Island would then come up to explain their conduct before me and the Commander of

said ship; to this I answered that we would then deal with that should be done, as I did not want to deal with them at that time, in view, Your Excellency, of the remoteness of the arrival of assistance of any sort and to hide the smallness of our forces and not let them find out otherwise, as up to now they may have held an attitude toward us as we let them pass us by with their small craft at some 300 meters from us, due to the few Remington cartridges that we had on board that did not allow us to way not even one, but to the contrary had to keep in case of being attacked; this stance of ours they interpreted with contempt, fearing only our big guns.

I also told him that our cattle that we had in the Colony should be given back to us, and our boat also; that afternoon one of the Portuguese brought us one cow. The four foreigners who have talked to me on behalf of the Carolinians put the blame for the uprising on the former Interpreter of the Colony, Manuel Torres;<sup>1</sup> they say that he used to tell the kings that if they did not act properly the Governor would cut off their heads or place them in front of the big guns of the Hulk. They also blamed a negro named Christián [Barbus] who used to take goods from them without paying for them, and saying that he did so in the name of the Governor. However, I do not think that these are the main motives; indeed, they could easily have complained about them to the Governor, whom they say they loved, and I am more inclined to believe for now that, in addition to these, they wanted to sack the Colony, as they have in fact done, plus the fact that they believed that we were making war on their religion, and there were abuses committed in the Colony against the inhabitants.

[Citacions]

Your Excellency, there remains for me to recommend to Y.E. the Boatswain of this ship **Basilio Santamaría**, and the Boatswain's Mate **Manuel Barba Llorca** who not only have spent eight days without taking the least rest, but have also helped with their expert advice on how best to raise defences, the upper part of them being constructed according to their indications, as well as for the spirit that they have instilled in the crew by their participation in all the actions and vicissitudes that they implied.

Gunsmith **Basilio de la Cruz**, Blacksmith **Anacleto del Rosario** and Carpenter **Julio Somonte** have worked day and night at building the defensive positions while they fulfilled their military services like any other member of the crew.

Practitioner **Maximo Reynoso** is worthy of a reward for his care of the sick and wounded day and night, still managing to share some of the hard service with the rest of the crew.

Among the sailors, I recommend to Y.E., firstly, Navy Corporal [Petty Officer] 1st Class (I) **Benito de los Reyes** as it was partly due to his courage that the first boat did not fall in the hands of the enemies in the afternoon of the 3rd when it ran aground when returning aboard, by encouraging the crew with his example and bravery; sec-

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1 Ed. note: Lieutenant Bayo, during his visit the year before, had been right in suspecting the bad character of this Spaniard from Galicia.

ondly, Seamen 2nd Class **Mariano Cartel** and **Francisco Ocfiña** who spilled their blood on the 2nd when they were taking me aboard the small boat from the Colony to the ship; those of the same rank **Lucas Andusay** and **Tomás Espiritu** who were wounded in the afternoon of the 3rd when they were bringing in the previously mentioned personnel and materiel. I also recommend to H.E. the Captain General Navy Corporal 2nd Class **Pablo Querido** and Seaman 2nd Class **Rosendo Panguilinan** for the reward that I believe just for the wounds they received on the 2nd, as well as the six other individuals who manned the boat and remain to render services in the stockade following the order of the Governor and Commander of the Division, and also for the hardships they suffered aboard this ship from said date and I conclude, Your Excellency, by recommending to Y.E. all the individuals of this crew, the soldiers and convicts who have contributed as if they were part of it in making the ship ready for her defence, as well as for the services they rendered to the ship when she imposed herself on the enemy and prevented her from being taken over, ready as they were to make her explode at the extreme moment, as it was my intention and the order that I had given, in case defence became impossible.

I regret to have to inform Y.E. that, according to news I have received from the individuals who managed to escape and by various other channels, during the retreat effected by the garrison of the Colony in the early hours of the 4th, there were killed the Commander of this Naval Division, Navy Commander **Isidro Posadillo**, who defended himself like a hero, killing seven or eight Carolinians, and Physician 1st Class **Enrique Cardona y Miret** belonging to this Hulk.

As of 1 July, in view of the shortage of food supplies and not knowing the time until the arrival of a ship bring assistance, there began to receive only two-thirds of their regular native ration.

From the 23rd of said month until 15 August the Missionary Mr. Rand continued to pay me some visits whenever he came to this port; he had something to do with the fact the natives began to bring in some local products as of 4 August. On the last date mentioned, he did so in the company of the Captain of the American steamer **Morning Star** in the service of the Methodist Mission, which anchored at Metalanim with the purpose of coming to visit me and offering me part of the food supplies that they had received. So, Your Excellency, I lack the words to express my praise for his behavior, which differed (?) completely from that of the other Europeans residing in this Island. Given the opportunity given to me of being able to report what happened to Y.E. and to His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands, I spoke with the Captain of said steamer to see if he could go to that Capital, but said gentleman told me he was sorry that he could not accede to my request, as he had to take missionaries to their destinations and food supplies to others who lacked same, but that he promised to forward the news from Jaluit where he was going, to San Francisco in California, since those ports were in frequent communications; so, I delivered to him a message for the Consul of our Nation in said place, which reads as follows:



“On 1 July of this year the inhabitants of this Island rose against our Nation, causing the death of the Governor and soldiers of this Colony, but part of the garrison and the families who lived there were saved aboard this Hulk. The lack of communication with the Island continues to this date because the attitude of the Chiefs is still hostile. And, as this Port lacks communication with Manila and with other countries from which a telegram could be sent with such a fateful news, not only to the mother country but also to His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippine Archipelago, I have the honor to notify Your Lordship so that you may be pleased to send a telegram to advise of what has happened, thus rendering an important service to the Nation. May God, etc.”

On 17 August, there came into this port the German packet-boat **Montiara** from which I was able to acquire only 13 bags of rice weighing 23 kilograms each, for the purpose of increasing somewhat our food supplies, and a few effects of little importance for the small messes.

On 1 September, in view of the fact that food supplies on board would last only until the end of November, by supplied half rations, I ordered that it so be done, but in the morning of that day there was seen the Transport Advice Boat **San Quintin**, and I rescinded said order. The Commander of said ship has not only given me all the help I requested but also ordered the transfer to this ship of an Officer, a third Boatswain's Mate, two Gunners and 20 sailors, instead of the nine whom I had asked for to replace the casualties suffered by this ship, and to be able to send to Manila five of the sick and wounded belonging to this crew.

I believe it is useless for me to report to Y.E. about the state of affairs between our Nation and the inhabitants of these Islands, because the Commander of the **San Quintin** is perfectly informed about it.

I have tried to attract them, and believe I have succeeded somewhat in doing so, thanks to the cooperation of the above-mentioned Mr. Rand, something that would have been impossible without his participation, although I ignored the policy that His Excellency the Governor General of the Archipelago wished to continue applying here, in view of the events that have occurred, and, whatever it may be, I report this so that in future they may not allege deceptions with regards to our dominion over these Islands.

All of this I have the honor to inform Y.E. about, for the resolution that you may think timely and to comply with my duty.”

Which I am sorry to forward to Y.E. for the resolution you may think appropriate.  
May God save Y.E. for many years.  
Manila, 22 September 1887.  
Your Excellency.  
Federico Lobaton

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

[Postscript]<sup>1</sup>

There remains for me, Your Excellency, in compliance with my duty, to recommend to Y.E. as worthy of a reward Navy Corporal 1st Class **Benito de los Reyes** for his bravery on the morning of the 2nd when he help to rescue his companions, as well as the seamen under his orders and in general all those whom he was able to bring back on board from the small garrison and seamen who had been helping to defend it; indeed, he told me that all of them have shown a bravery worthy of praise, not only because of the subordination with which they bore the hardships of the three days they spent shut inside the stockade of the Colony, but also the hardships that continued on board, when rations had to be decreased by one-third of the ordinary ration for lack of food supplies created by an increase in the personnel of this hulk, as well as for the increased service required; indeed, I could not lower my mistrust of these inhabitants and continued to believe that they would take advantage of the first opportunity to attack this ship, the last bulwark of our nation in these islands. All are during watch duty at their action stations four hours, followed by four hours off during the night, but taking their rest on deck close to the stations they have been assigned to defend, not being one moment without their weapons. I cannot make any recommendations with regards to what happened ashore, by enclosing [... only] a list of the casualties that occurred to the men serving aboard this ship while they served in the Colony, as well as the personnel of the garrison rescued and aboard this ship, individuals who have demonstrated their bravery and subordination until the last moment, by complying with the orders of the Governor.

According to a report received from Corporal 2nd Class of the Convict Section, Valentín Estevan, I have learned—but ignore if it is true—that almost all the individuals (Infantry) of the garrison who did not come aboard in the morning of the 4th, are prisoners of the inhabitants of the island, and another report from Mace-bearer José de León, that on the 3rd, the Carolinians were saying to the Filipinos to abandon the stockade and go with them for the purpose of cutting the throat of the Spaniards.

In addition, Navy Corporal 1st Class of my crew, **Benito de los Reyes**, a most trustworthy individual on account of his many years of service, for his demonstrated bravery and for the zeal with which he carries out his duty aboard, specially in these difficult circumstances, and in whom I have full confidence as he has been with me before when I commanded the gunboat **Arayal** in 1875 and 76; he has told me that the Filipino **Macario** was saying to the regular and convict soldiers not to fire when the Carolinians would attack but to raise the butts [of their rifles] and no harm would be done them, and he reported this in the stockade to the Surgeon of this ship, having warned a few soldiers not to do so; having therefore called my attention upon the fact that these na-

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1 Ed. note: This postscript appears in the copy of Pintado's report forwarded to the Army Headquarters, but not the above report reproduced by Admiral Lobaton.

tives spared their lives and that I should not trust the said individuals because we ignore if they carried this out, thus abandoning their officers and comrades.

On the 23rd [August], Mr. Rand came aboard and told me that he had come over [to this port] to talk to the Kings, as he realized that they had failed to do what they had promised, destroying the buildings of the Colony; the only houses we could see from aboard were the house of the missionaries and that of Second-Lieutenant Martinez; the tin roofs had disappeared little by little from the roof of the former—as well as the boards from its walls—and the thatch from the latter, leaving only the naked frames. He also brought along with him in his boat Corporal 2nd Class (Infantry) of the Convict Section, Valentín Estevan, who told me he had been able to escape after being taken prisoner on the beaches, then he went to Kiti and took refuge in the house of Macario the Filipino, and from there went to another until he was picked up by Mr. Rand who rescued him and then talked with the Chief of Jetkois who allowed his coming aboard. But having already learned from the said Navy Corporal Benito de los Reyes that the said Corporal Estevan was a good friend of Macario and that he [Macario] had told the latter [Estevan] not to worry, that he would save him, and combining this information with what the mace-bearer León had said about Macario having tried to collect Estevan's clothes to take them to his house, still the way he had come aboard, made me suspect him, and I ordered that he be watched.

In the afternoon of the 24th, he fell from the ladder that leads to the powder magazine without having any reason to go down there, not knowing whether he was going down or up, also he told Corporal 2nd Class Martín that he had to go to write to an English half-breed who had treated him well, and when he was told that it was not possible to write under these circumstances and that if he did so, he would have to show it to the Commander, he answered that a letter is sacred and therefore nobody could find out what he would write. All that could have been done innocently, not to arouse suspicion. I made inquiries about his faithfulness, and I decided to give him a bunk in the castle at night, but left him on duty.

In the morning of the 26th, a canoe came alongside with Soldier Rufo Mendiola who had been held prisoner since the 1st of July in Jetkois. He said that he had been the only one who remained alive from the force that Second-Lieutenant Martinez had had, that he had been tied to a post while there was gunfight in the Colony, and later made to work continuously; he says he has also seen Convict Soldier Macario Banca wear the clothing style of the country and with a Carolinian woman, when he was himself a prisoner, which makes one suppose that the said individual had passed to the enemy on the morning of the 3rd, as he went with a soldier of the No. 5 [Regiment] to fetch water, while the ceasefire lasted that day, and they did not return to the stockade. The said Mendiola also saw in the house of the Chief of Jekois one of the unused cannon of the Colony, and one foreigner who took from it the nail that had blocked the vent hole and removing the projectiles that were clogging it; the same European was also in charge of the battery that was in front of the said house.

Mendiola, as well as Corporal Estevan heard the inhabitants of the island say that the Chiefs of Jotkois and Not sent for help to the three other Chiefs of the island in order to attack this Hulk, but they refused, saying that they were the ones who should do it, now that they had already rebelled, as they themselves had taken no part nor were taking part. This verifies by itself the information I had been given ashore to the effect that the rebels belonged to the Chiefs of Not, Jotkois and some from Kiti, the Chief of the latter tribe having refused to take part, and so too the people of Metalanim and Ut; this information was also confirmed by Mr. Rand.

## P2. Another report transmitted by Admiral Lobaton on 23 September

*Note: He forwards the report of Lieutenant Patero to the Governor General.*

### Original in Spanish.

*Comandancia General de Marina, Filipinas (22 Set. 87)*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*El Comandante del Aviso Transporte **San Quintín** que fondeó ayer por la tarde procedente de Carolinas, en su parte de campaña me dice, entre otras cosas referentes á su navegación y que no ofrecen el menor interés para V.E., lo que á la letra copio:*

*"Excmo. Sor.: Sin la menor sospecha de que hubiera novedad, me aproximé á la embocadura cuando se atravesó por la proa una embarcación del país tripulada por cuatro ó cinco naturales que habiendo hablado en Inglés con el criado de Mr. Doane, nos dieron la desagradable noticia de que el Gobernador Capitan de Fragata D. Isidro Posadillo había sido muerto por los naturales, cuya nueva causó malísima impresión al parecer tanto en Mr. Doane y su criado como en nosotros y la cual me fué transmitida por el Contador de abordo al fondear el ancla.*

*Pocos momentos despues, se presentó abordo el Comandante del Pontón, manifestandome que en los primeros días de Julio último, los naturales se habían levantado en armas, y que en la noche del 3 al 4 habían matado á todos los Españoles Europeos de la Colonia menos á un cabo que en unión de unos 15 soldados indigenas [i.e. Filipinos] pudieron replegarse al Pontón. Antés, durante una tregua, se refugiaron en la **Molina** los Reverendos Padres Capuchinos, Señora é hijos del Teniente de Infantería Lozano, otras mugeres de marineros, ó soldados y las cajas de caudales; que los naturales se habían posesionado de las armas, municiones y efectos de la Colonia y que con respecto al Pontón, se habían mantenido en actitud pacífica aunque no permitían la ida á tierra de embarcaciones y en cuya situación espectante había permanecido hasta la llegada de algún buque de guerra limitandose á estar preparado solo á la defensa por su reducida dotación, no tener tiros de metralla y solo 4.000 cartuchos Remington; que tambien sabia por el Misionero Metodista Mr. Rand, que á raiz de los tristes sucesos mencionados, el Rey de Jekois le habia escrito sobre los motivos que habían tenido los*

naturales para este alzamiento, con objeto de que lo comunicase al Comandante de la **Molina**.

En esta situación nada definida para comprender lo ocurrido y tomar una determinación acertada, pregunté á Mr. Doane si tenía inconveniente en dar aviso de mi llegada á Mr. Rand, á lo que acudió con verdadero interés, pues fué él mismo á su casa que dista 12 millas del puerto de la Ascensión.

Al día siguiente se presentaron abordo Mr. Doane y Mr. Rand con la carta en que el Rey de Jekois manifiesta las quejas de los naturales y motivos del alzamiento, siendo las principales: Que el Gobierno no pagaba los terrenos adquiridos para establecer la Colonia; que se les hacía trabajar sin pagarles ni darles de comer, apesar de la distante de los puntos de donde venían y faltando á lo ofrecido en las proclamas cuando firmaron adhesión á España; que estos trabajos llegaban al punto de hacerles conducir en sus manos toda clase de inmundicias; que no se les pagaban ó pagaban mal los efectos que traían para la Colonia; que se les robaban sus mugeres é hijas, hasta las niñas de la Escuela, para abusar de ellas; que se les prohibieron sus fiestas y costumbres; que en este estado y encontrandose de fiesta los Reyes de Not y Jekois les mandó llamar el Gobernador y que dijeron irían despues de la fiesta, pero que intimados por segunda vez á obedecer por un oficial y unos 20 soldados, le dijeron que si el Gobernador era Gobernador de la Isla, ellos eran los Reyes y que para morir en la Colonia que viniera á matarlos á sus casas; que entonces los soldados hicieron fuego hiriendo á cuatro ó cinco trabandose enseguida la lucha.

Por mis informes y en mi concepto, muchas de las quejas que los naturales tenían del Gobierno y la Colonia, procedían de tener que valerse de segunda persona para entenderse con los naturales; estuvieron los interpretes que tenían el Gobierno y el natural de Cabo Verde nombrado Cristián, los cuales engañaban al Gobernador y tomaban su nombre para engañar y oprimir á los naturales. Tambien atribuyo mucha culpa de lo ocurrido á la mayor parte de los extranjeros que hay en la Isla, los cuales están interesados por su comercio especial en que esta sea independiente; son los que les han facilitado las armas, los que han desclavado y desaterado(?) [desatrancado, destapado?] las dos piezas que quedaron en poder de los naturales y los que les han enseñado á abrir zanjas y levantar paredones para defenderse y tambien los que tienen guardados los efectos de algún valor de la Colonia á titulo de haberles comprado á los naturales para salvarlos y con objeto de revenderlos á los Españoles.

Mr. Rand dice que ignoró lo que ocurría hasta estar terminados los sucesos, pues recibíendole mal el Gobernador y habiéndole amenazado con mandarle á Manila como había hecho con Mr. Doane, procuraba venir lo menos posible á la Ascensión, y que por su parte estaba dispuesto á que utilizáramos su persona é influencias con los naturales en todo lo que creyeseamos conveniente. Entonces le dijimos el Gobernador y yo que si los que exponían sus quejas devolvían las armas, prisioneros ó desertores y demás efectos robados en la Colonia, creíamos que el Gobierno lo tendría en cuenta para ser más benigno con ellos á lo que nos contestaron que les parecía que los naturales devol-

verían lo que tuvieran, pero que no podrían asegurar nada porque estaban muy recelosos.

El día 3 por la noche volvió Mr. Rand para decirme que el lunes 5 empezarían los naturales á devolver efectos según los fueron recogiendo, pues estaban repartidos por toda la Isla y algunos en poder de Extrangeros que decían haberlos comprado.

El lunes entregaron en la **Molina** el bote de esta que tenían en su poder y alguna ropa, libros y campana y se me dijo que uno de los cañones estaba ya en casa de Mr. Doane y esperaban el otro para remitirlos. El día 6 entregaron algunos efectos sin valor y el 7 por la mañana se presentó uno de los soldados que se quedaron en tierra con los naturales, el cual manifestó que había 21 más y que no se presentaban porque no querían, pues les habían dejado la libertad de hacerlo.

El día 5 en vista del estado de salud del Comandante de la **Molina** Teniente de Navio D. Juan Fernandez Pintado, y tambien á solitud suya, despues su reconocimiento por el Médico de la División y el de este buque presidido por el 2. Comandante Teniente de Navio D. Juan de la Concha, cuya acta original figura adjunta con el No. 1,<sup>1</sup> y que embarcase de transporte D. Juan Fernandez Pintado abordo del **San Quintín**, despues de hacer entrega del mando del Pontón y Gobierno de las Carolinas Orientales que en la actualidad lo és anexo, al Comandante de Infanteria de Marina Teniente de Navio y 2. Comandante de este buque D. Juan de la Concha y Ramos á cuyo Jefe dí orden por escrito según copia que és adjunta con el No. 2 [not attached].

A medida que me fué enterando de lo ocurrido y en vista de como se iban desarrollando los sucesos, fué aclarandose para mí las determinaciones que debía tomar y esta era en un concepto no poner en ejecución medidas violentas con las que solo conseguiría empeorar la situación por aumento con ellas el encono de los naturales; no poder causarles otro daño que el echar abajo algunas pequeñas casas de nipa que hay esparcidas por la orilla, pues ni era posible pensar en un desembarco con la dotación de este buque y por consiguiente demostrarles nuestra impotencia, además de nuestro temor de que se posesionasen de la **Molina** ó cuando menos de que la atacasen, pues me vería precisado á dejarla en otra isla á la pacificación del alzamiento, si no se llegaba á conseguir en absoluto mantendría una situación en espera de lo que se sirva disponer el Exmo. Sr. Gobernador Gral. de Filipinas, quedando arbolada en la Ascención la bandera Española y establecido el Gobierno aunque á flote.

Resuelto ya á seguir esta política y aunque creo que la **Molina** no será atacada por los naturales; bien porque acaben de someterse ó porque esperen la resolución de la Autoridad superior de Filipinas; en la previsión de que algún incidente dé lugar á ello dejo á su Comandante como refuerzo provisional de la dotación el Alferoz de Navio D. Genaro Taspe, un Condestable, dos artilleros de mar y veintiocho individuos de marinería europea con sus cois y maletas correspondientes y como auxilio tambien en concepto provisional una ametralladora de 11 mm, 31 Carabinas Remington con sus correages y bolsas de municiones, todo el cargo de cartuchería Remington menos 1.000

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 188706.

cartuchos ó sean 15.650, 1.000 con bala de acero para la ametralladora y 2.700 raciones de armada europeas ó sean víveres para tres meses.

Restame manifestar á V.E. referente á estos sucesos y por si no merecieran la aprobación superior, que en la difícil situación en que me he encontrado para resolver asuntos que considero de mucha trascendencia, he procurado no menoscabar la autoridad del Gobernador, ni intervenir en su gestión oficial, aunque toda la responsabilidad debe recaer en el Jefe que suscribe porque lo que no he dispuesto lo he aconsejado ó dirigido y también debo manifestar á V.E. que las investigaciones practicadas por mi solo son de carácter particular y valiéndome de los cinco [sic]<sup>1</sup> Extranjeros que según mi criterio merecen confianza. Estos son Mr. Doane y Mr. Rand; puede caber aluda de que el móvil de sus gestiones sea interés por España ó solo interés de su misión ó personal, pero no puede negarse que estos dos Extranjeros fueron los que facilitaron la adhesión de los naturales cuando la toma de posesión y que en las circunstancias presentes, han estado incansables para desvanecer el recelo de los naturales y atraerlos á nosotros; son además los únicos que tienen una profesión definida moralizando é ilustrando á los naturales y con influencia sobre ellos; mientras los demás de procedencia ignorada, se ocupan unos en el comercio de armas cambiandolas por las producciones de la Isla explotando á sus habitantes y otros, que son desertores de buques balleneros, en vivir sobre el país; y como considero que este es el peor elemento para nuestro dominio efectivo y tranquilidad de estas Islas, adjunto con el No. 3 relación de los Extranjeros que se hallaban en ella á principio de Julio último y con la calificación de escapado los que han aprovechado para irse de la Isla el primer buque mercante que ha salido de la Ascensión despues de los sucesos, según se decía con ánimo de no volver y que precisamente eran los que pasaban por enemigos del Gobernador.

El Gobernador actual vá abrir una información sobre los nombres, precedencia y profesión de todos los Extranjeros residentes en la Isla pero no pudiendo estar lista á mi salida he creído conveniente traerme relación de los nombres que usan, por si fuera de utilidad este antecedente.

De Woleai hice rumbo al puerto de Tomil en la Isla de Yap, y estando próximo á su boca el día 13 á las 9 de la mañana, mandé un bote con el 2 Comandante para que comunicase con el Sr. Gobernador de dicho punto, enterándole verbalmente de todo lo ocurrido en la Ascensión, y á quien remití el oficio cuya copia és adjunta con el No. 4

El 17 á las 10:30 de la mañana, dí fondo en la rada de Zamboanga y habiendo comunicado solo con el Comandante del Aviso **Marqués del Duero** que se encontraba encargado del despacho urgente de la Comandancia de la División, por ausencia del Jefe, le entregué el oficio cuya copia és adjunta con el No. 5; y á toda fuerza de máquina hice derrota directa á Manila."

1 Ed. note: Transcription error for 'dos', I think.

*Todo lo que con el mayor sentimiento de V.E. para sus superiores resoluciones de-  
biendo añadirle por mi parte que he aprobado las determinaciones adoptadas por el es-  
presado Comandante del **San Quintín** esperando merezcan tambien la superior de V.E.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 22 de Set. de 1887.*

*Exmo. Sr.*

*Federico Lobaton*

*[A] Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General de estas Islas.*

### **Translation.**

Navy Headquarters in the Philippines (22 Sept. 87)

Your Excellency:

The Commander of the Transport Advice **San Quintín** that anchored yesterday in the afternoon proceeding from the Carolines, tells me in his expedition report, among other things dealing with his navigation which are of no interest to Y.E., the following which I copy word for word:

"Your Excellency: Without the least suspicion of anything being wrong, I was nearing the mouth of the port when a local canoe crossed my bow; it was manned by four or five natives who, having spoken in English with the servant of Mr. Doane, told us about the unfortunate incidents that had affected the Governor, Navy Commander Isidro Posadillo, who had been killed by the natives; said news caused a very bad impression it seemed, not only in Mr. Doane but also in his servant and ourselves, including myself who was informed about it by my Accountant when we were anchoring.

A few moments later, the Commander of the Hulk came on board, to report to me that, during the first days of July last, the natives had arose in armed rebellion, and that during the night from the 3rd to the 4th had killed all the European Spaniards of the Colony, except for one corporal who, along with about 15 native [i.e. Filipino] soldiers, were able to retreat to the Hulk. Previously, during a ceasefire, the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the wife and children of Infantry Lieutenant Lozano, other women married to sailors, or soldiers, sought refuge on board, and that the cash boxes were also saved; the natives had gotten hold of the weapons, ammunitions and effects of the Colony but, regarding the Hulk, they had kept aloof, although they did not permit any boat to go ashore. He had remained in this situation while awaiting reinforcement from some warship, limiting himself to be prepared only for defence on account of his reduced crew, the lack of shots for the guns and only 4,000 Remington cartridges. He had learned from Mr. Rand, the Methodist Missionary, that, regarding the causes of the above-mentioned sad events, the King of Jekois had written about the motives that the natives had held for this uprising, in order for him to transmit them to the Commander of the **Molina**.

Given this situation, which was not at all clear enough to understand what happened, and to take positive action, I asked Mr. Doane if he had any objection to let Mr. Rand



know of my arrival, to which he consented with a true interest; indeed, he himself went to his house which is 12 miles from the port of Ascensión.<sup>1</sup>

The next day Mr. Doana and Mr. Rand came on board with the letter in which the King of Jekois expresses the complaints of the natives and the reasons for the uprising, the main ones being: That the Government did not pay for the land acquired to establish the Colony; that they were made to work without pay or food being provided, in spite of the distance to the places where they came from, and contrary to the stipulations of the statement of adhesion which they had signed with Spain; that such labor had involved them having to clean up all kinds of filthy things with their bare hands; that the effects they had brought to the Colony were not paid for, or were paid badly; that their wives and daughters had been robbed from them, to the point where the girls from the School were also being abused; that their feasts and customs had been prohibited; that things were in that state when the Kings of Not and Jekois were holding a feast, and the Governor sent for them, but they answered that they would go after the feast; however, when they were asked a second time to obey by an officer and some 20 soldiers, they answered that if he was Governor of the Island, they were the Kings, and that rather than die in the Colony, better he come to kill them at home; that the soldiers then began firing, wounding four or five, thus they joined the battle.

From the reports I have received, and according to my judgment, many of the complaints that the natives had about the Governor and the Colony originated with the situation in which middlemen had to be used to communicate with the natives; the interpreters employed by the Governor, and a native of the Cape Verde Islands named Cristián, were deceiving the Governor and they made use of his name to cheat and oppress the natives. I also attribute much of the blame to what happened to most of the foreigners who reside on the Island, who are interested, on account of their special trade, in that it remain independent; they are the ones who have made weapons available to them, who have unplugged and unclogged the two guns that remained in the hands of the natives and who taught the natives how to dig trenches and walls to defend themselves and also who are retaining the goods of some value that have been taken from the Colony, reasoning that they have bought them from the natives in order to salvage them and for the purpose of selling them back to the Spaniards.

Mr. Rand says that he did not know what was happening until the tragedy had already occurred; since the Governor had received him badly and threatened to send him to Manila, as he had done with Mr. Doane, he tried to come as rarely as possible to Ascensión, but that, as far as he was concerned, he was ready to have us use his person and influence with the natives in everything that we believed convenient. Therefore, the Governor and I told him that, if the people who were complaining would give back the weapons, prisoners or deserters and other effects robbed from the Colony, we believed that the Government would take it into account to be more benign with them, and we were told by them that they thought that the natives would give back what they had,

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1 Ed. note: Mr. Rand lived at Oua.

but that they could not be sure of anything, given that they [the natives] were very distrustful.

On the 3rd at night Mr. Rand returned to tell me that, on Monday the 5th, the natives would begin to bring back the effects, as they were able to recover them, since they were distributed all over the Island and some were in the hands of foreigners who said they had bought them.

On Monday there was returned to the **Molina** her boat that had been in their possession and some clothes, books and bell and I was told that one of the guns was already at the house of Mr. Doane and they expected the other to turn them over. On the 6th they delivered a few more effects of no value and on the 7th in the morning one of the soldiers who had remained ashore with the natives appeared; he declared that there were 21 more but that they did not come because they did not want to, saying that they had been given back their freedom.<sup>1</sup>

On the 5th, in view of the state of health of the Commander of the **Molina**, Navy Lieutenant Juan Fernandez Pintado, and also at his request, after he was given a physical exam by the Physician of the Division and the physician of this ship, presided over by the 2nd Commander, Navy Lieutenant Juan de la Concha, the original copy of said act being herein attached as Enclosure

n° 1 [not enclosed], that says that Don Juan Fernandez Pintado was to embark as a passenger aboard the **San Quintin**, after he had turned over his command of the Hulk and the Government of the Eastern Carolines (which is attached with it) to the Commander of the Marines, Navy Lieutenant and 2nd Commander of this ship, Don Juan de la Concha y Ramos, I gave an order to said officer in writing, as per the attached copy, under Enclosure n° 2 [not enclosed].

In proportion as I was learning about the events and as the events kept unfolding, the decisions that I had to take became clearer to me, and that involved not to take any violent measures which would only result in worsening the situation by increasing the rancor of the natives; also the fact that we could not do them much harm, other than blasting off the few small nipa huts that were visible along the shore; in fact, to effect a landing with the crew of this ship was out of the question, and would just have shown them our impotence, as well as our fear that they might take over the **Molina** if I were to tow her to another island [rather port] while pacifying the uprising, if such could not be achieved completely. So, the better to maintain the situation while awaiting a decision by His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines, and keep the Spanish flag flowing over Ascención and keep the government on the spot, though afloat.

Having decided to follow this policy and although I believe that the **Molina** would not be attacked by the natives, either because they had just submitted themselves or because they are waiting for the decision of the superior Authority of the Philippines; just in case some incident might occur to it, I leave her Commander, as a provisional reinforcement of her crew, Navy Midshipman Genaro Taspe, one Boastwain's Mate, two

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1 Ed. note: They were Filipino convict soldiers.

gunners and 28 European seamen with their hammocks and corresponding suitcases; and also as provisional supply one machine-gun of 11 mm caliber, 31 Remington carbines with their straps and ammunition pouches, all the supply of Remington cartridges that I have got, less 1,000, that is, 15,650 cartridges, 1,000 of which are steel-tipped for the machine-gun and 2,700 European naval rations, that is, food supplies for three months.

There remains for me to tell Y.E. with regards to these events and in case it might deserve superior approval, that in the difficult situation in which I have found myself to resolve matters that I consider very transcendental, I have tried not to undermine the authority of the Governor, nor interfere in his official duties, although the whole responsibility must fall on my shoulders of the undersigned officer because what I have not ordered myself, I have advised him to do or supervised it and also I must tell Y.E. that the investigations carried out by myself alone are private in nature and I have taken advantage of the five [rather two] Foreigners who, according to my judgment, deserve trust. These were Mr. Doane and Mr. Rand; some may allege that the mobile of their actions were in the interest of Spain or only in the interest of their own mission or private in nature, but it cannot be denied that these two Foreigners were the ones who make the adhesion of the natives easier at the time of the occupation and that under the present circumstances they have been infatigable in trying to remove the mistrust of the natives and to attract them to ours; moreover, they are the only ones with a definite moralizing profession here, educating the natives and having some influence over them; whereas the others are of unknown background, some of them occupying themselves as traders in firearms, in exchange for island products, exploiting the inhabitants, and others are deserters from whaling ships, living on the land; and as I consider that this is the worst element for the effective exercise of our dominion and the tranquillity of these Islands, I attach, as Enclosure n° 3 [not attached] a list of the Foreigners who were there at the beginning of July last<sup>1</sup> and with the remark that some have taken advantage of the opportunity of the first merchant ship that left Ascención after the events to leave the island, and saying that they did not intend to come back and they were precisely those who were reputed to be the enemies of the Governor.

The present Governor is going to carry out an enquiry to get the names, origin and profession of all the Foreigners residing on the Island but since this list could not be available to me before my departure, I have thought it advisable to bring the list of the names that they use, in case it might serve as a precedent.

...  
From Woleai I headed for the port of Tomil in the Island of Yap, and when I was near its mouth on the 13th at 9 a.m., I sent a boat with the 2nd Commander to communicate with the Governor of said place, and to inform verbally of everything that

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1887Q2.

happened in Ascensión, and to whom I remitted a letter whose copy I attach as Enclosure n° 4.<sup>1</sup>

On the 17th at 10:30 a.m. I anchored in the roads of Zamboanga and having communicated only with the Commander of the Advice **marqués del Duero** whom I found in the urgent despatch office in the Division Headquarters, in the absence of the officer in charge, I delivered a letter whose copy is attached under Enclosure n° 5,<sup>2</sup> and making full steam I headed directly for Manila."

All of which I am very sorry to have to transmit to Y.E. for your superior determinations, though I must mention that I have approved the decisions taken by the said Commander of the **San Quintín**, hoping that they may also meet with the superior approval of Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 22 September 1887.

Your Excellency.

Federico Lobaton

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1887T1.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1887T2.

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**Documents 1887Q**


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## Military citations, foreigners living on Pohnpei

*Source: PNA.*

### Q1. Personnel on board the *Molina* in September

P.M. Gov't of the Eastern Caroline Islands and Hulk **Dofia María de Molina**.

List of the individuals from this ship who rendered their services in the defence of this Colony as well as the personnel of its garrison rescued on board her, said individuals have showed their bravery and subordination until the end, complying with the orders of the Governor.

Ranks	Names	Remarks
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—Month of July 1887—		
Navy Corporal 1st Class	Benito de los Reyes	They went ashore on the 1st
Seaman 2nd Class	Fruto Ymo	as part of the crew of a boat
" " "	Eduardo Murata	that went to help the Colony.
" 1st Class	Gregorio Bacomo	They returned aboard on the
" 2nd Class	Andrés San Miguel	3rd by order of the Governor.
Navy Corporal 2nd Cl.	Pablo Querido Cuenco	Idem, but returned wounded.
Seaman 2nd Class	Rosendo Panguilinan	" " " "
" " "	José Blanco	Id. but killed by natives on 2nd.
" " "	Camilo Sapul	" " " " "
" " "	Froilan de los Santos	" " " " "
" " "	Matías Cabati	Id., but came aboard by
		walking on the shoals on the
		morning of the 4th.
Soldier	Victor Collantes	Wounded   They came aboard
"	Cayetano Caballero	"   on the 2nd and
"	Eugenio Acu	Nurse   3rd with the boat
Convict	Juan Ynacay	Sick   bringing in the sick.
Woman	Ildefonsa Torres	" "

<b>Soldiers of the Visayas Regiment N° 5</b>		
Cpl (Army) 1st Class	José Martín	They were rescued on board
Soldier	Joaquín Anores	after walking on the shoals
"	Ignacio Amoy	in the mornings of 4th & 5th.
"	Pedro Matonde	Id.
"	Felix Martínez	Id.
"	Victoriano Bayloses	Id.
"	Lope Aurena	Id.
"	Anacleto Nayesca	Id.
"	Sisto Razonable	Id.
"	Anacleto Catolón	Id.
"	Andrés Abugan	Id.
"	Saturnino Banabat	Id.
"	Pedro Deocales	Id.
<b>Convicts</b>		
Mace-bearer	José de León	Same as above.
Convict	Antonio Tubic	Id.
"	Francisco Artificios	Id.
"	Martín Gubzote	Id.
"	Pablo Basteros	Id.
"	Marcos Monata	Id.

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 Aboard Santiago de la Ascensión, 4 Sept. 1887.  
 Juan Fernandez Pintado

## Q2. List of foreigners living on Pohnpei in July 1887

Transport Advice boat **San Quintín**.

List of the foreigners residing on the Island of Ponape at the beginning of July last [1887].

### ----- Nationality [Names]

U.S.	E. T. Doane	Methodist missionary
U.S.	F. E. Rand	" "
Swedish	Yrorfz(?) Christopher	
Polish	Puponlaski	
U.S.	Captain Jumpfer	Supercargo of the packet-boat <b>Montiara</b> .
Mexican	Frank	
Irish	James Curry	
English	William Ruight [Wright]	
English	Captain Rod [Rodd]	
U.S.	Captain Mantar [Manter]	

French	Colihaso [sic]
U.S.	Faney
English	George Creighton
English	George Beigs [Begg] <sup>1</sup>
English	Harry Beaman
U.S.	Harry Altham
Portuguese	John Silva
Portuguese	Joaquín
Portuguese	Joaquín Lopes
English	John Westwood <sup>2</sup>
Swedish	Robert
U.S.	Emerson
U.S.	C. Bowker
	<b>Escaped</b>
U.S.	H. S. Skillings
U.S.	Jokehos [sic]
German	G. Russ <sup>3</sup>
German	George Cole
Chamorro	Santiago

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Aboard Santiago de la Ascensión, 6 September 1887.  
Rafael Patero.

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1 Ed. note: He, as well as Captain Rodd, are described by Frederick Moss (pp. 424-5).

2 Ed. note: See his book, Doc. 1877I.

3 Ed. note: He later submitted a claim (see Doc. 1887AE).

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**Document 1887R**

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**Complaints made by the king of Metalanim  
against Cristián Barbus**

*Source: PNA.*

**Declaration of the Nahmwarki of Metalanim against the  
Portuguese mulatto Cristián Barbus**

Metalanim, 6 September 1887.

To the Governor of Ponape.

I am your servant who governs this District in your name. What we have for very certain about the conduct of Kristian. This man was a deserter from a whaling ship and in the short time that he has resided here, he has stolen in the ships that came here. Also he went around the island stealing everything he could that belonged to the natives. Also he went walking about some nights stealing creatures to throw them to bad concepts.<sup>1</sup> Also when I give punishment to some of my people for having refused to obey some law, he comes to steal them to remove them from my justice. Also he stole the married women and sold them aboard the ships. Also he picked the girls from the schools and threw them to evil things. Also he went around trading and when he was asked for payment of what he had taken, he begins to come and grab his pistol and throws them in fear. Also the grabbing of many women to be his concubines. Also when the Government came, he came to give bad examples against the Government and by his bad examples, so it is that some of the Kings have killed the Government [sic]. Also the mind of one of his countrymen called Joakin to kill him with impunity and he broke the door of the house of a stranger. So it is that we eagerly beg you to carry that man from here and not to let him come back anymore so that we will all live in peace.

May God save you for many years.

Nanamariki Metalanim Pol [=Paul].

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He procured women and acted as go-between for the soldiers in the Colony. The English wording of the original may have been that of James Curry.



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**Document 1887S**

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**Contacts with the chiefs of Sokehs and Not in September**

*Source: PNA.*

**Sl. Letter from the chiefs, undated, original in English**

*Note: The following is an exact copy of the original letter in English written by Mr. Rand.*

To the Commander Pontoon Da. Maria Molina.

Sir,

I the high Chief of Jokoy send to you as representative of the Spanish Government this letter informing you of the cause of the difficulties between the Spanish & us which lead to the governors death. When the Governor came as a representative of the Spanish government we all accepted him as our ruler, and looked to him to protect us from a certain class of foreigners who for years have been oppressing us, trying to steal our lands, cheating and maltreating us in numerous ways, but instead of protecting us in our rights he listened to their complaints & false hoods against us helping them to abuse us more than ever before. We had no desire to disobey or rebel against the Spanish government, but these men made the governor believe that we were rebellious subjects, causing him to oppress us and invade our rights and privileges previously granted to us in his proclamation. Our grievances are many some of them are known to you. I will mention only a few to show you how these men who were interpreters and other officers of the governor had more control of the government than the governor himself. Many times have these men come to the governors of the different tribes drunk with messages which we could not believe came from the governor when we called his attention to the matter asking if the message was from him he reprimanded us threatening to flog us if we did not obey the messengers he sent. We feel the governor was very unjust in forbidding the natives feasting their chiefs, and working for them, also his taking away our titles & making the high chiefs work, two of the sub governors being among the number one of these governors was made to scoop the filth out of the governors privy with his hands. Another thing we did not like was the governor compelling to go as far from home carrying our own food to work for him without compensation causing us to neglect our own work and the care of our families thereby

threatening us with famine; while thus engaged he paid no attention to our entreaties to be allowed to look after our crops, but at the same time he commanded that the high chiefs in each tribe should bring him without recompense a large quantity of food twice each week; if any of them failed once they were to be tied up and flogged.

His agents went about gathering up provisions for him by force & threats.

Under the influence of certain men mentioned before the governor broke up some of our schools, threatening to destroy some of our churches, driving our teachers from land that every one had acknowledged to be theirs for years, sending one of them to Manila a prisoner under false charges. After the governor had treated us and permitted others to treat us as stated above we were ready to believe anything, and when he sent for us to go to him we refused believing he meant to do us deadly injury; he then sent an armed force to Jekoy and shut down 5 of our number without provocation we then saw no alternative but to resist unto the end.

This is a report of the Nanamariki en Jekoij and other chiefs of the Jekoij and Not tribes.

Written by F. E. Rand at the request of the Commander of Pontoon Da. Maria De Molina & the high chiefs of the Jekoij & Not tribe.

Signed

Nanamariki & Uajar Jekoij, his X mark

Lepen Paliker, his X mark

Nanaken en Jekoij, his X mark

Lepen Not, his X mark

## S2. Conditions imposed on the Chiefs of Sakehs and Not

### Original text in Spanish.

*Gobierno P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales.*

***Condiciones impuestas á los Reyes de Not y de Jokoy para la concesión del perdón por la rebelión de sus tribus contra el Gobierno de España.***

1) *Devolución de todas las armas, municiones y efectos robados, pertenecientes á la Colonia.*

2) *Entrega de nuestros desertores muertos ó vivos.*

3) *Entrega de todas las armas de fuego que existan en sus tribus.*

4) *Entrega de los naturales que empezaron el saqueo durante la tregua pactada con el Gobernador de Domingo tres de Julio último, y de los que hicieron fuego al bote en dicho día al retirarse de la Colonia con los Misioneros y Cajas de caudales de la misma.*

5) *Construcción de con-... (?) y fuerte cerca del pantalán, según modelo que se dará.*

6) *Todas estas condiciones han de quedar cumplidas antes de la llegada de buque de guerra Español á este Puerto, y de faltar al cumplimiento de alguna de ellas será nulo el perdón ofrecido por mí, quedando sugetos á la voluntad del Gobierno Supremo de la Nación.*

*Puerto de Ponapé trece de Setiembre de mil ocho cientos ochenta y siete.*

*Juan de la Concha y Ramos.*

### **Translation.**

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines.

**Conditions imposed on the Kings of Not and Jokoy for the granting of pardon for the rebellion of their tribes against the Government of Spain.**

1. Return of all the weapons, ammunitions and effects stolen from the Colony.
2. Return of our desertors, dead or alive.
3. Delivery of all the firearms that exist in their tribes.
4. Delivery of the natives who began the sack during the ceasefire agreed to with the Governor on Sunday 3 July last and those who fired upon the boat on the said day during the retreat from the Colony with the Missionaries and the cash boxes on board her.
5. Building of a con-... (?) [control post?] and fort near the pier, in accordance with the model that will be provided.
6. All these conditions must be carried out before the arrival of a Spanish warship at this port, and should some of them not be fulfilled, the pardon offered by me will be null and void, and you will be subject to the will of the Supreme Government of the Nation.

Port of Ponape, 12 September 1887.

Juan de la Concha y Ramos

### **Editor's note.**

At the end of September, Governor Concha drafted another message to be sent to the chiefs of Not and Sokehs telling them that an unacceptable long period of time had elapsed and they had not yet accepted the conditions he had imposed upon them on 13 September. The letter further stated that the offer of pardon was null and void, giving the chiefs an ultimatum, to the effect that, within eight days, the kings were the Not and Sokehs themselves were to be delivered to him, in addition to the above conditions.

There are no further notes on file as to their reaction, if any; this makes me think that the letter in question was never delivered.

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## Document 1887U

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# The Pohnpei rebellion—Official report from Manila

*Source: PNA. Note: The Spanish Government in Madrid did not hear about the massacre in Pohnpei until they received the first telegram from Manila on 21 September. On the 26th, the Governor General wrote a letter to which he appended copies of all the documents that he had received from Pohnpei. After summarizing those events and saying that he had appointed Colonel Julián Gonzalez Párrado as Chairman of a Board of Inquiry, he added the following comments.*

### Extract from a letter to the Minister of Overseas, dated Manila 26 September 1887

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas, 26 Sept. 1887.

...  
The favorable attitude toward the interests of Spain that the Methodist Missionary Mr. Doane has adopted as of the first moments of his return to Ascensión aboard the **San Quintín** on the 1st of this month has contributed much to the present situation; indeed, the natural prestige which he enjoys with the natives as a result of the 30 years of residence among them, has since achieved a favorable change in their attitude as well.

It would be premature, Your Excellency, to determine at present all the causes of may have contributed to the realization of such lamentable events, but, apart from the conditions of natural duplicity and trickery of those inhabitants, the preachings or suggestions against Spain on the part of a certain number of foreigners residing there, of despicable origin for the most part, the abuses committed by the Interpreter and the mullatto Cristián Barbus who had pulled the wool over the eyes of the unfortunate Governor, Mr. Posadillo, and who made use of his authority many times by making the natives do rough tasks without compensation, robbing their women and daughters and even the girls from the school to commit lewd abuses with them, apart from all of this, I must tell Y.E., to comply with my apinful duty, that the determining factor in the unfortunate events that we all deplore, could have been the conduct, little skillful, not at all prudent and extremely short-sighted, of the ill-fated Governor, Mr. Posadillo; indeed, most of his actions show this, and very specially what he did with the head of the Protestant Missions, Mr. Doane, when he arrested him and imprisoned him, in solitary confinement, for three months aboard the Hulk **Dofia María de Molina** and aboard the transport **Manila** on the way to this Capital, facts which Y.E. already know

about and which, at that time, according to private intelligence that I have received, almost caused an insurrection which fortunately Mr. Rand, the other Protestant Missionary, was able to avert.

The summary investigation that is now on-going will clarify the extent to which each one of these causes may have had in the commission of the crimes realized, but whatever the outcome, such reproachable and criminal acts necessarily demand prompt reparation of the harm done, and an immediate, severe and exemplary punishment of the rebels, but not forgetting the circumspection and the severity that are always due and recommandable more than ever in the present occasion, on account of the special conditions of that race, hardly civilized, with which it is convenient to practice a policy of attraction.

With such purposes, as soon as I heard of the events in question, I occupied myself in issuing the convenient orders to make ready the Army forces that must go to the Port of Santiago de la Ascensión (Ponape, Eastern Carolines) in a sufficient number to obtain the punishment of the rebels, occupy again and with all security the land site where the Colony was established, rebuild the demolished buildings and construct works of fortification and others that may be necessary on the island, some of which should already have been built, as per instructions.

Once all these purposes have been achieved, I intend to leave as a garrison two companies which I believe enough for the security of the Colony, along with the forces aboard the Hulk **Dofia Maria de Molina** and those of the Gunboat **General Lezo**. Said expeditionary forces will be transported by three warships, from among the largest, to provide sufficient lodging capacity and to carry the necessary materiel, as well as the greatest quantity of coal, even counting on the depot that exists in Yap, circumstances that do not apply to all the ships stationed in this Archipelago. As a support ship there will also go the Guboa **General Lezo** which will remain in Ponape for as long as necessary.

For now, I do not give any details about the forces that may take part in the expedition, as their number is subject to modifications that momentary circumstances may impose and very particularly the instructions to be received from H.M.'s Government, which I expect to receive at any time, as a consequence of my telegram of the 21st instant. When everything has been definitively decided, I shall have the honor to let Y.E. know about them telegraphically.

All of this movement of troops, their installation and the works that must necessarily be built, will cause expenditures of some consideration. Consequently I shall also have to solicit the necessary credit from Y.E. by telegraph.

To conclude, I have the satisfaction to repeat to Y.E. what I said in my telegram, that the latest news received from Yap are satisfactory and that, though slowly, improvements are being made in that Colony, thanks to the knack and foresight shown by its intelligent Governor, Don Mariano Torres.

May God, etc.

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## Documents 1887V

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# Appointment of Governor Cadarso, his instructions

*Source: PNA.*

## V1. Appointment of Commander Luís Cadarso as Governor of the Eastern Carolines

General Navy HQ

Your Excellency:

Having appointed on this date Navy Commander and Commander of the Naval Division of the Eastern Carolines (Santiago de la Ascensión), Commander Luís Cadarso y Rey, I have the honor to bring the matter up to the attention of Y.E. as a proposal in favor of the said officer for the Government of that region, in case he may merit your superior approbation.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 22 September 1887.

Federico Lobaton

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.

## V2. Letter sent to Governor of Yap, 13 October 1887

To the Governor of the Western Carolines.

12 Oct. 1887

As the Captain General of these Islands would have already informed Y.L., 50 men, under the command of a Captain, have been assigned to go and reinforce your garrison, and they will leave this Capital today.

With these new elements for the defence of those Islands and keeping in mind what happened at Ponape, in case they may not be required and if perhaps be inconvenient for the Convicts to be assigned there, and if Y.L. should consider it so, then you may send them away in the manner that the Captain General has told you about in a letter addressed to you.

May God, etc.

### V3. Documents given to Governor Cadarso

To the Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

14 Oct. 1887

By order of H.E. the Governor General I have the pleasure of sending to Y.L. a copy of the Gaceta which contains the protocol between Spain and Germany signed at Rome on 17 December 1885 recognizing the Sovereignty of Spain over the Archipelagos of the Carolines and Palau and another which contains the decree declaring the state of war in said Islands.

At the same time and by order of the same authority, I remit to Y.L. copies of the acts of possession of the Islands of Oleay, Pinguelap, Truck and Ualan [Kosrae] and copies of the acknowledgment of and submission to Spain on the part of their kinglets.

May God, etc.

### V4. Instructions given to Governor Cadarso, 15 October 1887

#### Instructions to the P.M. Governor of Santiago (Ponape)

As Military Governor of the Eastern Carolines, you will observe the following instructions:

1. You shall have command over all the forces that disembark, and when you wish to employ the expeditionary forces in any services, you shall give orders to their immediate superior, Commander José Díaz Varela; in the case of any war expedition, the force will go commanded by that officer.

2. Your primary mission shall be to repair the Colony on the same site where it was, and for this purpose, after raising the national flag with regulation honors, you shall dedicate all your efforts to place it under security and in a state of maintenance at all costs by constructing without loss of time the defence works and the most indispensable shelters for the people and storage of materiel.

3. If to advance the works, and if you cannot count on laborers from those natives, it should be convenient to use the soldiers, including the peninsular soldiers,<sup>1</sup> you shall not hesitate to do so, giving them the time necessary to rest and recuperate from the hardships produced by manual labor, and the heavy security duty. In normal times, you shall use the garrison for work in accordance with the circular issued on 21 October 1885 by this Captain General's Office (copy attached). You shall always take into account the use of Europeans in the least tiring work and least exposed to the elements, considering that they do not support the fatigue in these climates as well as the natives [i.e. Filipinos].

4. In the sorties in which it be necessary to use expeditionary soldiers to face the enemies who could be encountered, the Colony shall remain at least under the guaran-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: That is, Spanish soldiers from Spain, not just Filipinos.

tee of one Peninsular Company of Artillery, operating the guns from the ships and, in the precise case of a landing, a number of marines as agreed with the Commander.

5. As a representative of the Governor General and the Captain General of the Philippines, as Politico-Military Governor of those Islands, and therefore being the faithful interpreter of their thoughts you shall oversee the development of the appropriate policies to follow with those natives, you shall decide when and where it would be proper to make use of force, communicating to the Officer in charge of the expeditionary soldiers the appropriate orders so that he may prepare and execute the plans which you make available, when for reasons of operations you consider it appropriate to lead the expedition in person.

6. You must give special attention to preserve the Colony of Santiago at all costs.

7. In any case, you shall not order an advance except by sea on ... the seashore trying to lead them ... the only case in which ... give a satisfactory result.<sup>1</sup>

8. You shall be responsible for the most proper layout of the buildings, defences and enclosure that must protect everything, and it must be secured without loss of time at least with a stockade and ... the efforts of all ... necessary for vigilance and security. You may listen to the opinion of the Commander of the Section of Engineers, and follow his opinion if you think it appropriate, as you will listen to that of the Artillery forces in order to install the guns.

9. Until the colony is made secure with defences, shelters and the necessary ordnance, you shall not decide on any war operation outside of the locality.

10. You shall take extreme care to store and preserve the food supplies and ammunition spares, as well as the isolation of these stores so as to preserve them from the possible risks of casual or intentional fires. You shall keep enough of each in reserve in the hulk in a proper quantity for whatever event, you shall take care that its distribution is done most scrupulously, and in each ship that comes or by whatever means of communication that is offered to you, you shall report on the levels of stock for ordnance and rations, as well as medicine, stating what you should have, and requesting the replacement of what you think is necessary.

11. With the first ship to come you shall give a report about what you found aboard the Hulk **Doña María de Molina**.

12. You shall also send by the first occasion to Zamboanga the soldiers and convicts from the old garrison, as well as the prisoners that give themselves up or are captured as it is proper to get those people away from there, because their morale could infect that of the expeditionary force.

13. The Governor shall scrupulously watch for the preservation of the strictest discipline of the soldiers, and that the conduct of all those in the Colony with the natives be in accordance with the most severe justice and morality. If at some moment, which is not to be desired, some officer or government employee does not correct his conduct in spite of the warnings and punishments of the Governor, you shall detain him in the

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Manuscript damaged.



Hulk and order his transport by the first opportunity, giving a detailed report. You will do the same with the non-commissioned officers and soldiers whom you consider prejudicial.

14. You shall also zealously watch for the hygiene and health of the soldiers, looking with assiduity to their good lodging, food and sanitary assistance, as well as the distribution and hours of work, as it was recommended to you before; and cleanliness being a most essential factor for hygiene, you shall see to it that it be continuously practiced without the least neglect, as you shall not tolerate it in accordance with instructions.

15. You shall endeavor to preserve in perfect state of maintenance all the works specially the defensive works, and you shall have frequent inspections of the weapons and ammunition so that either be always in a state of readiness without previous preparation.

16. The Artillery gunsmith shall look after the repair of the armaments of the expeditionary force, using the spare parts that he is bringing with him, but if extraordinary circumstances make it necessary, the Governor shall request the assistance of the Commander of the Hulk.

17. The governor, at the return of the expeditionary force, shall retain as the garrison of Santiago the two infantry companies of Regiment N<sup>o</sup> 3 & N<sup>o</sup> 7 and shall try in normal times, with moderate work, care of weapons, uniform and equipment, with regulation exercises, to keep them in good military spirit and most complete health.

18. The Colony shall have a vegetable garden, and the garrison shall cultivate it so that the produce will give some variety to the farm produce.

19. The Capuchin missionary Fathers, who must not go out of the enclosure where they will celebrate holy mass, and they could teach catechism to the natives who will come, could accompany the soldiers when they go out on a war expedition to provide them with spiritual help.

Manila, 15 October 1887.

Terrero

## V5. Warning to Governor Cadarso

To the Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

17 October 1887.

His Excellency the Commander General of the Naval Station has received the following telegram from the navy officer who resides in Hong Kong:

“According to a telegram received by the American warship, she is to go on an expedition to Ponape to protect the American citizens: this departure caused by a letter from Anglican [sic] Missionary who accuses dead Governor of making Carolinians work without payment and abuse their families.”

Which by order of His Excellency the Governor General I pass on to Y.L. for your information and governance.

May God, etc.

## V6. Confidential note from Governor Cadarso

P.M. Government of the Eastern Caroline Islands (17 Oct. 87)

### Confidential

Your Excellency:

After I had received the instructions from the Government General in the care of Y.E., in which you give me the general guidelines under which I should operate upon my arrival at Ascensión (Ponape), I have just received a telegram passed on to me by the Illustrious Secretary of that superior Government, by which H.M.'s Government says the following:

“Council Ministers approve conduct Y.E., authorities and hearing Mr. Doane; reinforcements to be sent immediately to Ponape, if 8283<sup>1</sup> has not yet gone out; assassins Posadillo must be punished as they deserve, but without revenge nor cruelty, doing only justice, and inaugurating immediately policy of peace and attraction with natives and Methodists, in order to staunch wounds, and finally secure sovereignty Spain.”

And, given that it was transmitted to me, by order of the superior authority of Y.E., it is added that it is “for corresponding effects,” it is to comply with my duty that I beg Y.E. to please specify the meaning of the most essential point in the telegram, that is, if the punishment of the assassins of my respectable predecessor, Mr. Posadillo (may he rest in peace), should they be arrested, take place in the same place where the deplorable event occurred, or if the authors, as well as the prisoners who may be in the hands of the natives, should be sent to Zamboanga as prisoners, as you have verbally ordered me to do, previous to the reception of this telegram.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 17 October 1887.

Your Excellency.

Luis Cadarso<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Code name for a ship.

2 Ed. note: No answer was found in the archives.

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## Documents 1887W

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### Press report from Manila, dated 27 September 1887

*Source: Article in the Madrid newspaper El Imparcial, on Thursday 3 November.*

#### The Caroline Island Affair

##### Manila 27 September 1887

To the Editor of El Imparcial:

Although I suppose that you may have been informed of the sad events of Ponape through the extensive telegrams that the authorities here have sent to the government, given that such telegrams cannot go into the details that will certainly interest many in that capital, on account of the many Spaniards who have been victims of their patriotic duties, I am going to file this report, making use of clippings from the Manila press, clippings that have a great authority, because the press is regulated here; their news must be rigorously exact for their publication to be authorized.

*La Opinión* of the 23rd, after giving a history regarding the cordial relations that existed between the Spanish colony of Santiago de la Ascensión—Ponape—and the kinglets of that Island: Not, Jockaits, Kity, Ucy [sic] and Metalanim, who were daily providing as many workers as were needed, who were duly paid, says the following:

“At daybreak on the 1st of July, the bell that usually called the workers rang uselessly. Nobody appeared.

Mr. Posadillo sent the interpreter to find out the cause of the withdrawal of the workers, and perhaps because of malice or ignorance on the part of the interpreter, or whatever, this man returned with the following message from the old kinglet of Not [sic]:

—Tell the man who sent you, that if he is the governor of the colony, I am the king of the island, and that if he thinks to hang us in the colony, let him come to kill us here.

That is why Mr. Posadillo sent a squad of twenty men, under the command of Second-Lieutenant Martinez.

Our soldiers, in spite of their heroic efforts, had to succumb, given the incalculable number of the enemies, who, supplied with rifles, peppered them with mortal fire.

In the hard-fought encounter all the members of the expeditionary column were killed, including the interpreter, except one soldier who, wounded, ran off into the bushes to hide himself, where he spent the whole night, firing when he had the opportunity.

When the governor received the news from the wounded soldier, he made ready for defence. But, without an explanation for the disaster, he judged all the events as the product of bad intelligence, fully trusting in that some explanations with the Carolinians would resolve the question, and the honor of Spain would remain as high as ever.

Nevertheless, he ordered the construction of a double stockade around the small parade ground, and while that activity was going on, he awaited the attack.

This offense was not, at first, as violent and terrible as expected. The Carolinians limited themselves to surrounding the small square, and parapets, from behind the trees and entrenched inside the house of Mr. Doane, who was then in Manila, they fired at anyone who poke his head above the bags of rice, that make up the provisional fort.

The governor continued to believe that his influence would be enough to dominate the savages, and he thought that the rebels, once the situation was clarified, would see how unjust their proceedings were and would turn themselves over to Spanish justice.

The commander of the Hulk, Mr. Pintado, landed to hold a conference with Mr. Posadillo. From what they tell us, he made him realize how easy it would be to clear the enemies from the vicinity of the small square and the house of the pastor; but the governor, always in his influence, and thinking to be able to arrange the conflict, forbid him categorically to open fire, with the understanding that such an act would infuriate them and make the situation worse.

—When I will raise a white flag—he told him—send me a boat.

And, with these concluding remarks, Mr. Pintado returned to the Hulk.

Meanwhiel the bandits robbed and burned whatever they came up with.

They say that in a meeting the Carolinians requested that all the Spaniards should leave the fort, with only their clothes on, except for the governor. The governor wished to remain alone, but his Secretary and the physician did not abandon him one instant.

Before nightfall, the governor no doubt seeing that the situation was becoming more critical, raised a bed-sheet, which served as the signal for the Hulk to send a boat, aboard which embarked as many people as were not needed in the fight: women, children, friars, money, etc.

The Carolinians left the boat come near the wharf, but once it was full they attacked it, and had not a timely cannot shot been fired from the **María de Molina**, which produced a few casualties, the boat and the people in her would no longer exist.

In the night of the 3rd July, when the governor saw the infamous behavior of his enemies, who did not respect the ceasefires and who proceeded in everything in a villainous and cowardly way, he assembled his men, and made a desperate sortie for the purpose of gaining the beach and find refuge aboard the Hulk, having first taken the precaution of spiking the guns.

It was 2 in the morning and a copious squall made the darkness of the night much darker.

He ordered that not one shot should be fired, and with the 54 men who remained with him, and surrounded by Lieutenant Lozano, the physician and his Secretary, he left for the wharf.

Along the way nobody bothered them, but upon arriving at the beach, a pack of bandits fell upon them and they finished off those heroes. About 10 to 12 soldiers perished while complying like good Spaniards, other trying to save themselves among teh waves.

Those of the Hulk, thirsty for revenge, wished to have the opportunity to die while killing.

Once they sent eight armed men to help those in the fort, and three sailors who were guarding the boat died, riddled with bullets, and the enemies ran off with the boat.

Everyone behaved admirably aboard the Hulk and when a landing was being planned, the people fought to get the post.

When it all ended with the death of the governor and his unfortunate companions, Mr. Pintado prepared the ship conveniently to repulse any agression.

And, at the arrival of the **San Quintín**, Mr. Pintado, Governor of the [Eastern] Carolines, found himself in one of the most terrible situations that can happen in the life of a man.

Surrounded by terrible and numerous enemies, without a means of defence, with a crazy wife on his hands, and two children who were constantly threatened, watching the tears of the unhappy widow of Lozano and the three unfortunate orphans, their children, etc...

...  
However, amid such tribulations, Mr. Pintado had the consolation of maintaining the government aboard his ship and of seeing, floating above her, the glorious Spanish flag.

### The “San Quintín” in Ponape

The war transport **San Quintín** departed from Manila for the Caroline Islands during the month of August last, carrying the Protestant missionary Mr. Doane and a complete reinforcement in food supplies and ammunitions.

After touching at the archipelago of the Western Carolines, she made for the Island of Ponape where she arrived on 10 September.

The navigation through those groups of islets and shoals is extremely picturesque; hillocks and bunches of greenery appear here and there along the route of the ships, forcing them to make very difficult maneuvers.

Well then, a short time before they sighted the place where the colony of Santiago was established, a canoe manned by kanakas crossed the path of the **San Quintín**, making signals to our sailors, wishing to let them know about what had happened. One of the natives panted to his forehead with his finger, acting as if to say that a projectile had hit him there.

Let our readers imagine the surprise of the newly arrived, who had hoped to see a flourishing town and some happy brothers; instead they found families that were inconsolable, wounded soldiers, desolation and mourning everywhere.

Once they had been made aware of what happened, the 2nd Commander of the **San Quintín** took charge of the government of that Archipelago, on an interim basis. He then moved to the **María Molina** accompanied by thirty men from the crew and landing party of the transport ship. With the remaining force, they made a total of sixty of more Spanish, to whom the defence of our flag and our right in those save regions have been entrusted.

Upon taking over command of the western [sic] Carolines, Mr. Juan de la Concha wrote a very patriotic proclamation, calling on all the local natives and telling them that the Spanish government, inspired by the highest principles of justice and good-will, will protect all the Carolinians who visit the colony; in the same proclamation the kinglets, tribal chiefs and foreign residents are being summoned.

The act carried out by Mr. Concha proves his great conditions to carry out duties like the one he is presently being entrusted with.

After supplying food and ammunition to the Spanish force that remains aboard the hulk **María de Molina**, the **San Quintín** sailed back to Manila, touching along the way at the Island of Yap, where the governor of that district, Mr. Torres, was informed of the lamentable occurrences of the neighboring archipelago.

According to news that we trust to be very truthful, in the Island of Yap there reigns a perfect tranquillity.

The same war transport, upon passing by Zamboanga, notified the governor of Mindanao about all the events of the Eastern Carolines.

The unfortunate Posadillo had died complying with his duties, and the same destiny affected the Senior Physician, Don Enrique Cardona y Miret, the Government Secretary, Mr. Tur, the Lieutenant of the Convict Section, Mr. Lozano, the Second-Lieutenant of the Infantry, Mr. Martinez, Sergeants Caraballo and Gomez, Corporals Prieto, Bravo and Cruz, Seamen José Blanco de los Reyes, Mamerto Boña, Froilán de los Santos, Csimito Sapul and various native soldiers belonging to Regiment n° 5.

The council of authorities has appointed Navy Commander Luis Cadarso governor of Ponape, a person who seems to me to be well endowed with what is needed to undertake the most difficult task that can be entrusted to him at the moment.

It appears that Mr. Cadarso will be accompanied by a strong expeditionary force that goes to punish the rebellious Carolinians, and although the new governor expressed his desire to have only two companies of marine infantry, the council of authorities has decided that the expeditionary force would consist of two companies of artillery, from the peninsula; three of infantry; one of engineers and 400 men who will join them in the South.

I shall advise you of the result, and may God be pleased that it be favorable to ur arms; indeed, although nobody fears a setback, if it should happen, it would be a fatal one, for many reasons.—X.

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## Documents 1887X

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### Other news reports published in Madrid

*Source: Articles in the Revista de geografía comercial, Madrid, 30 September and 31 October 1887.*

#### X1. Chronicle, 30 Sept.

##### **Insurrection of the natives of Ponape or Ascension.**

The conflict that has occurred in the eastern district of the Spanish Carolines... has had a bloody outcome. According to telegraphic despatches received this week by the Minister of Overseas, the natives of Ponape attacked the detachment, killing the governor, Mr. Posadillo, and wounding various soldiers. In addition, there is a rumor to the effect that the whole garrison, composed of 26 men, had been murdered with knives, except for two who managed to save themselves by swimming; however, there is hope that this second part will not be confirmed.

Ponape, Benebey or Ascension, which carries all of those names, is a small island, about 370 square kilometers in area (larger than that of Guam, the capital of the Marianas) with an estimate of 5 to 6,000 inhabitants. About 20 white men live there (11 Americans, 9 Englishmen).

It is the center of the four North-American missions, which have in all the nearby islands important branches, represented, according to the latest news, 43 churches, a multitude of primary schools o, 4 high schools, 9 American lady teachers, 23 native preachers, etc. This missionary colony lives from its own resources: it has introduced agriculture to the islands, and created some fisheries; it carries out trading, having a fleet of small craft and a small steamer that maintains communications between Ponape and Hawaii, etc.

Upon taking over the permanent station of Ponape a year ago, Navy Commander Posadillo, found out that Mister Doane, a Protestant pastor, had registered various plots of land, though with the knowledge of the previous governor.<sup>1</sup> This tacit permission did not seem sufficient to Mr. Posadillo and he asked the missionary to come up with the titles for his concession. Nothing more is said regarding the causes of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There was no previous governor, but Captain Bayo may have recognized his previous property rights in 1886..

conflict; however, the religious rivalry that our correspondent mentioned in his letter could have been foreign to it; indeed, the *Standard of London*, on the 24th of this month, accused the Spanish authorities in the Carolines of persecuting the Protestant missionaries residing there prior to our occupation; furthermore, the *Daily News*, going into details, has added that said authorities closed fifteen schools and various Protestant churches in the Archipelago; that the native preachers and the American missionaries suffered threats, fines and arrests; that the lands belonging to the Protestant societies have been confiscated, etc. No matter what the facts will prove to be eventually, it is true, according to the informal version of events above, that Mr. Posadillo arrested Mr. Doane and imprisoned him aboard the hulk **Dofia María de Molina**, the headquarters of the detachment. The disagreements did not stop there; the governor seized the lands, and when the steamer **San Quintín** touched at that port during one of her periodic visits, he embarked Mr. Doane and sent him to Manila to be placed at the disposition of the Governor General, along with the case file that had been opened against him.

When the **San Quintín** arrived at Manila, the Governor General called a meeting of the council of authorities and remitted the case file to the Audiencia. The latter issued an opinion to the effect that there had not been a rational motive of any kind to impose a punishment on the missionary; that is why it was decided to send him back to the island, and to relieve Mr. Posadillo in the sweet manner of recalling him to Manila to explain his conduct before the superior. But the distance between Manila and Ascension is enormous; perhaps the natives became impatient with the delay in the resolution regarding their missionary or about the lands; or else they may have received another shock in their beliefs (that is what the ministerial newspapers are speculating about): what is certain is that, before Mr. Doane could return and the order of recall could arrive, the natives attacked the detachment, on 5 July, with the results that we have already mentioned.

As soon as the news arrived at Manila, the Governor General arranged for the despatch of the steamer **Velasco** [rather General Lezo] with an officer on board her to replace the unfortunate Mr. Posadillo and a column of expeditionary forces, with the order to impose an exemplary punishment to the rebels. At the same time, he signed a decree that bears the date of 27 July, "declaring in a state of war the eastern and western districts of the Caroline Islands and Palau," "in order to repress instantly any symptom of rebellion that their natives might attempt against the regime of the government, as presently constituted, and for the purpose of reinforcing at all cost the authority of the governors of those provinces, to make sure that they will not find obstacles in their march and might enforce the law with the rigor and the rapidity of application that may be required."

"To reinforce the authority of the governors": what a sarcasm! What was necessary to "enforce the law" was the opposite, to weaken that authority. Is Mr. Terreros [sic] so blind as to be unable to see what the Audiencia of Manila was telling him, when they issued an opinion to the effect that the governor of the Carolines had abused his auth-



ority, outrage, infraction to the laws, by availing himself of force? In fact, Mr. Posadillo died, not for lack of authority, but for abusing it, and in any case, because of the indifference, or something worse, on the part of our governments, who send men such as Mr. Terreros to rule over our colonies, skilled, very skilled, on account of his aptitude for waging war, but inept, very inept at managing such a complex and difficult government, one that requires as much flexibility, as much discretion and good common sense as the superior government of Spanish Oceania. The instructions that Mr. Terreros gave to Mr. Posadillo brought the present conflict and now, instead of applying ointment and balm to the wound to heal it, he infects it with acid, decrees a state of war, an deployment of forces, threats of extermination. And on that occasion? The day that followed his denunciation in the scandalized press, to the effect that the same governor had abandoned some detachments of Micronesia, to the extent that some of their numbers had been made useless for lack of food and would have perished without the succor they received thanks to the generosity of a few private citizens, Spaniards and foreigners. Our dominion over the Carolines begins badly, very badly!

[Figure: Chart of the Island of Ponape]

## X2. Chronicle, 31 Oct.

### **Explanations regarding the events at the Island of Ponape: monastic colonization.**

Three weeks ago there arrived at Madrid, proceeding from Manila and Ponape, Mr. Bayo Pinzán, Navy Commander; thanks to explanations given by him, complemented by a few letters and telegrams received by the Minister of Overseas, the latter was able, on the 11th [October] to make a rather complete narrative of the events of Ponape that have so much impressed public opinion because of their symptomatic nature. Here is an informal summary of that narrative, which does honor to our correspondent in Manila.

**The conflict between the Spanish authority and the natives of the Island arose for two basic motives: the religious struggle between the Methodist pastor and the Capuchin friars, and the abuse and arbitrary conduct of the authorities.** [emphasis mine]

When the Spanish soldiers arrived at the Island of Ponape, those who led the colonization campaign believed that the country in question was completely savage. To the contrary, that island has achieved a high degree of civilization. The Methodists have been proselitizing for 29 years, have founded 30 schools that operate continuously, and a central school for teachers that provides personnel to the others. All the natives wear

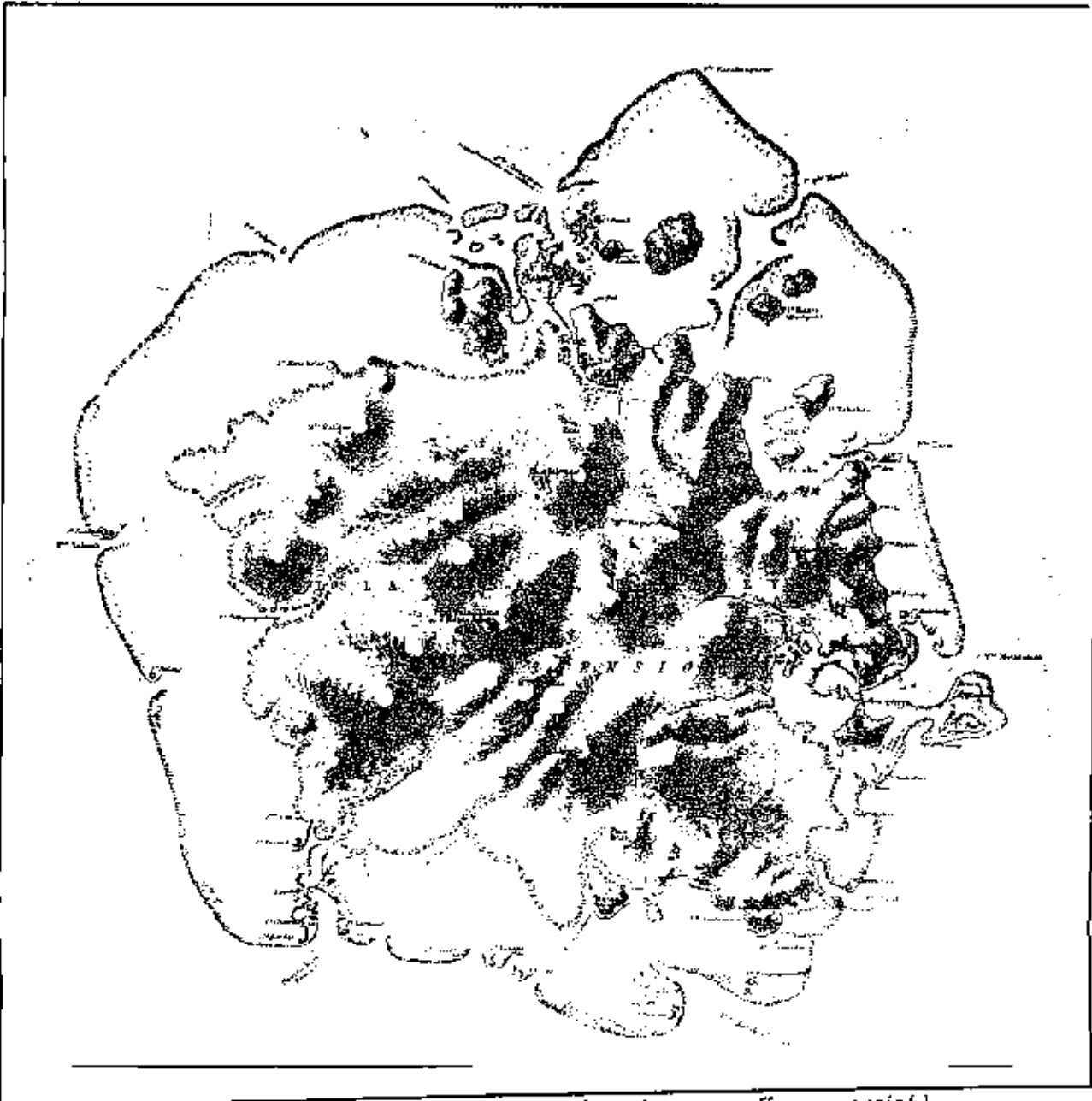


Chart of the island of Ponape. (From *Revista de geografía comercial*.)

clothes; most of them know how to read and write.<sup>1</sup> In the humblest huts there are sewing machines and other marvels of mechanical devices.

The Capuchin friars, and specially Fr. Joaquin Llevaneras [sic], animated by a reproachable fanaticism, tried to end in one day the long Protestant propaganda, and with a crucifix in one hand they visited the island, exciting the natives everywhere to change religion. Now that the natives had been excited against the Spanish, and the situation becoming truly critical, Mr. Posadillo came to increase its seriousness by ordering the Carolinians to work at road building for free. The Law of the Indies allow the use of personal services for fifteen days per year; but Mr. Posadillo insisted on the employment of 100 men every week, without adjusting this according to circumstances.

The discontent created by the religious struggle and the arbitrariness of the governor made the conflict explode with dreadful proportions. The natives refused to work on the roads, and the governor interpreted this as a serious disobedience and disregard for his authority. Therefore, a squad of soldiers went out to threaten the kinglets to force them to carry out the orders of the governor. This squad consisted of 19 soldiers, all Filipinos, except for one who was from Galicia and exercised the function of interpreter. When the squad reached a wooded area, it was destroyed, all perishing, except for one man who was able to escape and reported the catastrophe.

When the colony learned that the natives in large numbers would finish off the Spanish, a great panic seized everyone. The people of the colony went over to the hulk **Dofia Maria de Molina**.

The Governor, Mr. Posadillo, refused to go, either because he thought that his duty forced him to die fighting, or because he wished to wait until the others had been rescued. While fighting with the natives he was cut down. There also died an interpreter who had fallen behind when the time came for all to leave the colony.

Aboard the hulk there were 30 seamen, whose strength, added to the 40 to 50 Filipino militiamen who were on duty there, amounted to a force sufficient to resist defensively, not only to the rebellious tribe, but to the entire island; indeed, the hulk has guns.

Serious allegations have been made against part of the colony. Two interpreters, one Portuguese and the other Dutch [rather German], in connivance with a negro, had set up a house of debauchery, and the outrages that were committed there against the virtue of a few native women produced a great indignation in the whole island.

It must be noted here as a reminder, that the pastor Doane was a great friend of Spain and contributed much in convincing the kinglets to accept our dominion.

The Council of Ministers agreed to approve the conduct of General Terreros as far as his dealing with Mr. Doane, as well as for having sent soldiers immediately, to subjugate the rebels, and carrying specific orders to the effect that, once the authors of the death of the governor and of the soldiers had been punished, they were to initiate a

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1 Ed. note: Grossly exaggerated statement.

broad-based policy of attraction of the natives, without in any case exercising any acts of reprisal or vengeance.

There was also talk of assigning there a mission of Augustinians who have demonstrated an accommodating spirit as well as an willingness to spread the gospel.

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The rest has all been confirmed. In fact, when the **San Quintín** arrived at Manila with the pastor Doane kept prisoner on board, it was decided by the Council of Authorities—a member of which is Archbishop Payo—to formally reinstate the North-American missionary to his rights and properties, to send an expedition with instructions directly opposed to the former conduct of affairs, and to destitute Mr. Posadillo, ordering him to return to Manila to explain his conduct.

The Government of the United States has submitted an official claim for a compensation of 10,000 pesos for the pastor Mr. Doane for the damages and prejudices caused by his detention and deportation to Manila. The North-American squadron cruising the China Seas has despatched the corvette **Essex** to go and watch over the operations of the Spanish forces in Ponape and protect the missionaries, teachers and other American citizens who reside on said island.

Now that the Government did not predict, and could not have predicted—one out so many examples of this type in the history of European colonization in Oceania and Japan—the excessive fanaticism of the Capuchins and the disturbances that they were to create in an island that was tranquil and happy before our occupation, it seems to me that it would be a good idea to withdraw these agents of God, those dispensers of eternal glory, whose arrogance cannot be measured except by their ignorance. They tolerated the whore-house in their midst, but they could not tolerate the presence of the American missionaries! They would have destroyed in one hour what the Methodist had taken 30 years to build! We have already said before that the great Spanish vice is improvisation. Twenty to thirty Filipinos dead, now a devastating war, a multitude of natives in anguish, hamlets burned, orphans and widows on both parts, moral disorder in the minds, a few millions of reals more diverted from the budget of the Philippines or of the Peninsula... The Capuchins may be satisfied with their work; the nation may still think that the virile but uncalled for street manifestations of August and September 1885 had been worthwhile; and the Government may congratulate itself for the prudence with which, forgetting the maxim *non bis in idem*,<sup>1</sup> is now trying to replace the Capuchins by Augustinians, supposedly because the latter are more compromising!

The logical truth is, colonization is a type of social service; the business that grows from it is a benefit for the colonizing countries that are conscious of their actions as moral entities, not a prime purpose, but as a side-effect.

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning "do not repeat the same mistake twice."

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 Document 1887Z
 

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## Pohnpei rebellion—Stolen objects recovered

*Source: PNA.*

### List of effects recovered—Report dated 31 October 1887

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines and Commander Hulk **Dofia María de Molina**.

List of the effects received aboard this ship, giving their descriptions and the names of the owners to whom they belong or of the individuals who will take charge of them, all of which had been robbed in this Colony.

<b>Dates</b>	<b>Effects</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
10 Sept.	One theodolite (\$12) .....	In stock with the Gov't.
"	Two hand sewing machines (\$12) .....	Id.
"	One wall clock .....	Id.
"	One forge .....	Id.
"	One Navy Commander's peaked hat ....	Id.
"	One <i>vueltras</i> [ruffles] with lace .....	Id.
"	Two top-hats in their box .....	Id.
"	One bowler hat .....	Id.
"	One album, blank .....	Id.
"	Four books, various .....	Id.
"	One bundle containing photographic plates, brushes, pencils, etc. ....	Id.
"	One bundle with blank paper for writing desk and private correspondence .....	Id.
"	One Spanish flag .....	Id.
"	One large metal lamp .....	Id.
"	Two small accordeons .....	Id.
"	One black raincoat .....	Id.

"	One large bronze bell .....	Delivered to the missionaries.
"	Two 7-cm short bronze cannon .....	In stock with the Gov't;
"	One ??? for the above .....	they were rec'd without cocks,
"	Four <i>recedas</i> for the above .....	arming set, plugs, or part.
12 Sept.	One ??? of glass, incomplete .....	
15 "	10? Russian cape without badges .....	In stock with the Gov't.
"	One bottle of medicines .....	
"	One framed picture .....	To the Missionaries.
"	One sewing machine .....	Id.
19 "	One framed picture, with glass .....	
"	Two candle holders of white metal .....	
"	Six glass pumps [sic] for the ? .....	
"	Four iron padlocks with key .....	Id. to friars of the Mission.
"	Two locks, latch-type .....	
"	One glass sugar bowl with cover .....	
"	Nine glass globes for lamps .....	
"	One alarm clock, with its stand .....	In stock with the Gov't.
"	Two iron shovels with handle .....	
"	Four hand-saws .....	
"	Two white <i>salakot</i> , <sup>1</sup> old .....	
"	Seven Remington carbines, no bayonets	Delivered to Lieut. i/c
"	Three soldier's ponchos .....	Detachment, provisionally.
"	One Remington carbine without bayonet	Id. aboard Hulk.
23 Sept.	One crate: 41 boxes Remington cartridges	Id. to the Lieut. i/c
"	Id. with 59 loose cartridges of same /....	Detachment, provisionally.
"	Two Remington carbines, no bayonets	"
"	One oil lamp, nickel-plated, incomplete	
"	One small wooden box containing:	
	15 glass plates for magic lantern .....	
"	Four small wooden picture frames .....	In stock with the Gov't.
"	Nine pairs of handcuffs .....	Id.
"	Four brushes .....	
"	One small tray .....	
"	One small box for sketching .....	
"	One small bronze bell .....	To the friars of the Mission.
"	One barometer .....	Id.
"	One woman's petticoat .....	
"	A few white underdrawers .....	
"	One small box with letters and papers (of Sgt. Carballo) ...	With Gov't.
"	Two cane chairs, one big and one small.	

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Filipino wide-brimmed hats, part of their uniform.

"	One large saw .....	
"	One Remington carbine without bayonet, broken stock .....	To Lt. Detach. provisionally.
"	One Remington carbine, no bayonet ...	Delivered to Hulk.
23 Sept.	One wooden box: ??? soldiers' ponchos, 2 soldiers' tight-fitting jackets, 2 pairs of pants, 2 dress shirts, 1 towel, 1 white shirt, 4 white underdrawers .....	In stock with the Gov't.
"	One soldier's hat	
"	One box with buttons, paper, etc.	
"	Two pairs of handcuffs	
"	Twenty-six collars	
"	One small towel	
"	Two brushes	
"	One tin with 29 gold reals	
"	Two pillows	
"	One wooden box containing:	
"	One pillow,	
"	Two books (one about English, the other a novel)	
"	Three books, various subjects	
"	One soldier's shirt	
"	One steam clothes iron, with stand .....	Id. with Government.
"	One iron lamp, in pieces	
"	One iron <i>carajay</i> [type of frying-pan]	
"	Half a piece of carpeting tile	
"	One stove to roast coffee	
"	One white mosquito net in bad shape	
"	One bundle of ??? golden frames	
"	??? ...-etas id.	
"	??? books on religious subjects .....	To friars of the Mission.
"	One metal ??? with pomp .....	Id.
"	One register of marriages	
"	??? for sewing machine	
"	One Remington carbine, no bayonet ...	To Cdr. Detach. provisionally.
"	One soldier's pants	
"	One soldier's haversack	
"	One baize .....	In stock with the Government.
"	One porcelain dish	
"	One child's canvas hat	

26 or 27	Four small revolvers	
"	Two horse pistols	
"	Two flint-lock rifles	
"	Two old rear-loading rifles .....	All in bad state, burned
"	Seventeen old carbines .....	for the most part and
"	Four shotguns .....	without bayonets and parts.
"	One old Winchester rifle	
28 Sept.	Twelve old carbines	
"	One idem., sawed-off	
"	One horse pistol	
"	Three shotguns	
"	One Remington carbine, no bayonet ...	To Commander of
29 Sept.	Four idem. id. id. ....	Detachment, provisionally,
"	One idem. id. id. in bad condition .....	and one to the Hulk.

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Port of Ponape, 31 October 1887.

Juan de la Concha



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## Documents 1887AA

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### Pohnpei Rebellion—Offer of help from the Germans in Jaluit

*Source: PNA.*

**Santiago de la Ascensión, 31 October 1887. Eastern Carolines. Year of 1887, N° 8, Business Office 1.**

**File regarding the offer of the German Imperial Commissioner for his cooperation in all the elements that might be available to suffocate the rebellion that has occurred in Ponape.**

P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines and Hulk **Doña Maria de Molina**.—  
The Commander (31 Oct. 87)<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency:

On 21 September last and through the good offices of Mr. Emilio Hütter, representative of the German Company of these Islands, Ponape Station, who coming from Jaluit arrived at this Port aboard the German schooner **Brigitta**, I received the two letters<sup>2</sup> which I have the honor to enclose for Y.E. and to which I answered via the packet-boat **Futuna** in the following manner:

“Santiago de la Ascension, Ponape, 20 October 1887.

[To] Dr. Knappe,<sup>3</sup> German Imperial Commissioner for the Marshall, Brown and Providence Islands.<sup>3</sup>

“My dear Sir:

“In your favor of 9 September last in which you manifest to me the sorrow that you, as representative of a friendly Nation, and also the foreigners residing there, have expressed regarding the deplorable events that have occurred in this Colony last July, and in which you offer me your services: I thank you and also the foreigners, in my name

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1 A copy was made for the Minister of Overseas, as Encl. n° 8.

2 Ed. note: An original in German and a Spanish translation made by Dr. Knappe.

3 Ed. note: Brown is Eniwetok, Providence is Ujelang, both groups being actually to the west of the original boundary line of 1885 between the Spanish and German territories in Micronesia, but in effect claimed by Dr. Knappe in this manner.

and in that of the Government which I represent here, for your signs of good friendship, and, for their great value, the succors that you offer to me, but I must tell you that, though I have few forces, they are sufficient to contain and even punish the rebels (as I have begun to do), while I await the arrival of the ships that I hope will get here from Manila any day now. You may therefore avoid going to the trouble, and expenses, of sending the above-mentioned succors, but I shall report your kind offer to my my Government at the first opportunity, so that it may learn of the true proof of friendship which, along with it, you have just shown on behalf of yours.

"I am yours, etc.

"Juan de la Concha."

During the visit of Mr. Hütter and the schooner **Brigitta** in these waters, I have taken the opportunity to make trips to various islands [i.e. districts] of this Archipelago to remit to their Chiefs the orders and circulars that I thought were timely.

All of which I have the honor of informing Y.E. for your superior intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard Port of Santiago de la Ascension, 31 October 1887.

Your Excellency.

Juan de la Concha

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

### Letter of Dr. Knappe, dated Jaluit 9 September 1887

*Note: The Spanish translation made by Dr. Knappe is dropped in favor of a more literal translation made at Manila in December 1887. Translated from the Spanish by R. L.*

Jaluit, 9 September 1887.

My dear Commander:

The missionary ship **Morning Star** has brought to me on 31st of last month, the news of the sad events in Ponape that have affected the Spanish settlement there.

It is superfluous for me to tell you the sorrow with which this news was received by all the Europeans residing in the Territory of the Marshall Islands under the protection of Germany.

As far as I was concerned, as representative of the German Nation, which so highly appreciates the friendship of the Spanish Nation, I became convinced that it was my duty to render all the succor possible to those who were left in such a drastic situation; until this date, it had not been possible for me to offer an effective help. The Captain and supercargo of the German ship **Brigitta**, which is sailing today for Ponape, carries instruction to heed your wishes.

As soon as the German warship should arrived at this Port (and I expect one to arrive shortly) I shall immediately board her to go to Ponape with the purpose of placing my services at your disposal.

Nevertheless, I hope that, in the meantime, order will have been re-established and that you find yourself freed from your drastic situation.

The German Imperial Commissioner of the Protectorate of the Marshall, Brown, and Providence Islands.

(Signed:) Dr. Knappe.

There is a seal that says: German Imperial Commissioner for the Marshall, Brown, and Providence Islands.<sup>1</sup>, Doc. 1890....

To the Commander of the Spanish transport **Doña Maria de Molina**—Ponape.

This is a literal translation from the German original. Manila 13 December 1887.—  
Ramón Blanco.<sup>2</sup>

### Letter of the Governor General, dated Manila 20 December 1887

To the Governor of the Eastern Carolines.  
20 Dec. 87

I have received the letter sent by your predecessor, dated 31 September last, in which he informs me of the communication sent to him by the German Imperial Commissioner for the Marshall, Brown and Providence Islands, offering his cooperation and all the elements available to him to suffocate the rebellion that occurred in Ponape.

At the same time I took note of the answer given to said communication by Mr. Concha, which is approved in all its parts by this Government General.

I propose to communicate to H.M.'s Government at the first opportunity the gallant offer made by the above-said German Commissioner; in the meantime, I hope that you will be pleased to again address yourself to Dr. Knappe, to give him thanks on behalf of this Government General for his worthy conduct.

May God, etc.

(Next two pages:) **The Ponapean man who killed Sergeant Carballo.** *So says an explanation that I saw with these photos in the Lopez Museum in Manila.*

1 Ed. note: This unilateral extension of the Marshall Islands created a controversy in Spain (see the article that appeared in Tome 29 (1890) of the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*.)

2 Ed. note: He was to become Governor General of the Philippines, 1893 to 1896.





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## Documents 1887AB

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### Governor Cadarso's first reports from Pohnpei

*Source: PNA.*

[Figure: "The Ponape man who killed the Sergeant [Carballo]." So says this photo which I found in the collection of the Lopez Museum in Manila in 1984.]

#### AB1. Criminals sent to Manila—Report dated 19 November 1887

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands.

Your Excellency:

The instructions given by that Government General for the better accomplishment of the honored but delicate mission which Y.E., at my great pleasure, had the kindness to entrust me with, have been faithfully complied with, and in my opinion have given the happiest result which Y.E., who inspired such instructions, could hope for as long as the telegram from H.M.'s Government stipulated that the assassins of Posadillo be punished. To comply with the superior order of Y.E., I have the honor to remit the assassins to that Capital; the transport **Manila** in taking them there. The said telegram also added the condition that the wounds be staunched and a policy of peace and attraction be re-established with the natives and Protestant pastors. I can assure Y.E. that for now the sovereignty of Spain is re-established, and the whole island can be covered without any problem.

Nevertheless, as a precaution against unforeseeable events, the Colony is being made ready in the manner in which Y.E. has wisely ordered, and it will be shortly installed and guaranteed against any assault, no matter how violent.

Having said this, which I consider important, I go on to narrate to the authorities of Y.E. all that I have ordered and that was executed by this brilliant and brave force which Y.E. has placed at my orders, as of 31 October, when I had the honor to take possession of the Government of this Archipelago.

The arrival of the **San Quintín** with the expeditionary force took place on the 31st at 10 a.m.. In the port, there were anchored the **Manila** since the previous day, and the

Hulk **Doña María de Molina** in its usual anchorage. Within a short time, Navy Lieutenant Juan de la Concha presented himself; he is the Commander of the hulk and interim Governor. He told me that as of the night of the 30th, 50 marines had slept ashore with Navy Midshipman Taspe and Physician 1st Class Gil; they had gone ashore four days earlier for a few hours during the day to work in a small fort built of rough stones, simply placed one on top of another. With the four small guns of the colony, they were securing themselves, with the flag raised on a tree, until the arrival of the Expedition that, as far as I could find out, the natives awaited with fear. But already ashore on the 1st of November in which landing took place in a very orderly manner, I ascertained that the state of the country was little satisfactory, given that they were thinking of attacking me on the 2nd with a force of some 1,500 men from the bush.

The military service was established in the form which Y.E. deigned to warn me about, through the office of the Captain General, and in spite of the abundant rain that is very frequent in this locality, I gave an order to the Officer in charge of the force, Mr. Díaz Varela, and the whole force was distributed to clear the ground where the colony had been located, which had become a bush, and without the necessary clearance for a proper defence, given that the tree line was only 50 meters from the seashore, and night-time activities were compromised in such circumstances.

Simultaneously, a board was set up under my chairmanship, with the following members: the Officer in charge of the force, Mr. Varela, the Artillery Major, Mr. Rivera, the Officer in charge of the Engineers, Physician 1st Class, Mr. Mir, and the Adjutant of Public Works, Mr. Sanjuan. The purpose was to proceed to the careful study of the terrain after it had been cleared, to point out what is necessary for a colony, to layout the buildings, barracks, and to choose the most proper site for a fort, stockade, ditch, etc.

On the day of my arrival, I sent notice to Mr. Doane for him to come and see me, and to start complying with the instructions of Y.E. In effect, on the 1st, already at the camp, he presented himself accompanied by the missionary Mr. Rand and with both I began to check out everything that had occurred, and I learned about the state of the minds in the country, that was indeed nothing satisfactory. I found out by the file that I have the honor to remit to Y.E., attached, the details that it yields, and about other points, through various means that deserved some credit. From all of this I deduced that it was indispensable to resolve the problem soon in the manner which Y.E., as an experienced military man, had recommended to me to carry out with tact, prudence, and energy when necessary, but inspired always by the good of the country. I thought about the consequences of beginning a campaign against the Kings of Jokoy and Not which could easily become general with all the tribes, given the spirit of the race and the companionship that exists between them. I also thought that by entirely soft means, according to what Mr. Doane told me, it would be impossible to arrive at an honorable agreement for Spain, whose Supreme Government demands a just punishment for the assassins of Posadillo. I thought about it and meditated a lot; and inspired to uphold the honor of our sacred flag, to faithfully comply with what Y.E. has had the kindness to entrust me with, and also to overcome the serious pitfall whether they would

surrender to me the true criminals or not, that is those who physically killed Posadillo and Sergeant Carballo, I decided to publish on the 2nd the enclosed proclamation, after a Requiem mass was said in the camp for the repose of the souls of the Spanish victims of July 4th.

As Mr. Doane told me, it pleased the natives very much to learn that I did not demand the weapons themselves; they in fact interpreted it in the sense that we did not fear them and we only tried to do justice and treat them well, as I promised to do. My proclamation was printed with a press owned by Mr. Doane and circulated quickly through all the inhabited points of Ascension. It was translated into correct English by the zealous Government Secretary, Mr. Sanvalle, and into Kanaka by Mr. Doane the missionary.

On the 3rd, and on successive days until the 7th, I continued my meetings, and Mr. Doane worked very hard among the natives to calm the effervescence that still existed among some Chiefs who, when my interim predecessor had demanded the weapons themselves, had rebelled with pride and did not consent that the Kings of Not and Jokoy complied with all the requirements.

In the colony, the workers continued with full speed and so the unloading of the materials from the **Manila** and **San Quintin**.

The 7th of November, which had been fixed for the humble and absolute submission of the enemy Kings, arrived. At 10 a.m., the King of Metalanim, U, and Kiti were announced; they were followed by about 200 canoes that moored at the pier. They came into Mr. Doane's house with their Chiefs and families, the only site where I could receive them, as I did not even have a tent. Soon, the King of Jokoy arrived, followed by his subordinate Chiefs, wife, servants, Secretary, and many people who normally accompany him. He made an absolute submission and said that he swore eternal obedience to Spain, that he had excuses to make and that he hoped that H.M. the Queen who is so good, would forgive him in exchange for this formal promise. The other Kings presented themselves as friends and loyal to the Spanish Crown. All said that they would sign the act of adhesion and respect, which they wished to do again.

The deadline expired and the King of Not was missing, but as various Chiefs of his tribe presented themselves to render submission and requested some postponement for them and the King to comply with the conditions that I was imposing, I published the declaration that I have the honor to enclose for Y.E.

In effect, on the 8th at 4 p.m., the King of Not appeared with his superior Chiefs, servants and a very large retinue, and with tears in his eyes, he swore submission to Spain, and humbly asked pardon; he made his excuses as it was necessary, and promised to deliver the criminals who assassinated Posadillo and Sergeant Carballo, as well as the effects, the convicts, soldiers, etc. as it was stipulated in my declaration of the 2nd which included all that Y.E. asked me to demand.

On the 9th, the King of Not sent me as prisoners the three natives **Nanape en Metip**, **Nanaki en Metip** and **Lombeï en Kipr** pointed out as the assassins of the Governor and Sergeant Carvallo, and who figure as such in the case file that I remit to the auth-



ority of Y.E.<sup>1</sup> Also, he delivered to me on the same day the convict soldier who was missing, Patricio Guevara, and the soldiers from [Regiment] N° 5, Mariano Franco and Catalino Manzanares, as the only soldier who is still missing, Paulino Tampus, as Mr. Doane told me, was being pursued by the natives, intent on delivering him, but he fell from a crag, and his life was in danger.

Macario the Indian [i.e. Filipino] and the other prisoners were already aboard the hulk and therefore, I think I have complied with all the orders of Y.E. as long as the former interpreter before Macario [i.e. Manuel Torres] died during the month of July.

Now, Excellency, I am going to take the liberty of expressing to Y.E. my very humble opinion, in view of the solution given to the serious affair that was being ventilated, and the important consideration that Ponape is found at very nearly 1,000 leagues from manila, and whatever new complication could produce enormous costs to the public purse, and perhaps a detriment in the eyes of foreign nations, the prestige that should exist over the natives, and has been re-established today. I refer, Excellency, to the following: if Y.E. and H.M.'s Government approve my conduct and judge that our national honor has been satisfied, all the pending summary investigations, etc. should be forgotten, and we should not return to the subject that could inspire new distrusts to the natives. Today, the Chiefs of the tribes show me a blind trust with regard to the friendship which I have promised them, and to limit myself to do justice. Upon this basis, and forgetting about the past, I promise to Y.E. that here there will not be any obstruction in the policy thrust indicated by H.M.'s Government in its telegram of 13 October, and in faithfully following what Y.E., with the great practical sense which distinguishes you, orders me in his clear your clear instructions.

However, now that I have taken the liberty of expressing the above to Y.E., I must not leave out the means that I consider either useful or very necessary so that events of a nature similar to the one that caused the present lamentable conflict will never repeat themselves.

There should never be absent from this port a gunboat or schooner to guard the coasts of this archipelago and prevent the sale of arms and ammunitions, as the Germans have done in the neighboring Marshall Archipelago. If Y.E. should consider it appropriate and decrees it and publishes it in the official gazette, this measure alone would suffice to easily disarm the natives, because they usually do not have anyone to repair the weapons and those existing disappear by rapid wear.

It is also important politically and militarily to have in this Colony a European detachment, which by the nature of its services, with their officers and NCOs; their advantage is that they can handle the guns, and sail the boats, etc. etc. If Y.E. requires a force, an equal number of native soldiers could be eliminated, and they could be rationed by the hulk that has European rations. One steam launch, so that the Governor

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: These men appear not to be from the Not district, as Metip is in Metalanim and Kipar in Kiti. Also, they are not the same men as were mentioned by Cristián Barbus: Joy and Juy (rather Joni (see below).

can be in constant contact and vigilance with the five tribes, is considered by me an urgent need; it could be maintained with great economy as the Midshipman who is second-in-command aboard the Hulk, could be placed in command of her, and with four sailors from the same ship would maintain and handle her. It would only be necessary to appoint an assistant machinist and allot him a small sum for the purchase of lubricating material.

One regular mail ship every two months appears indispensable to me, so that the personnel of the colony could never lack resources, and Y.E. could hear about what progress there is and whatever is happening.

In the first steamer that comes with food, and this could be the **Manila** or the **San Quintín** so as not to occasion great expenses, there could be, if Y.E. judges it timely, brought to this locality, all the families of the captains, junior officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers to form a nucleus of honorable population here to give an example to the natives, and to avoid some misconduct that always occur when a large number of unmarried soldiers are brought to one place. This same ship could bring, if Y.E. should judge it timely, two local horses and two mares and four couples of sheep and ewes that are unknown here, and would give a very good result due to the abundance of pasture land.<sup>1</sup> The water buffaloes that the worthy Director General of Civil Administration gave us, have gotten very fat i eight days and they render very good services in pulling the Decoville wagons that function also to the great relief of the soldiers who now work less.

Now, Excellency, I have to touch upon a delicate point, but I must do so. The Protestant missionaries exercise here a well-deserved influence by their good example, by their activity, by their knowledge of all the dialects of these islands and because they spent a lot of money in favor of the natives, and they even call Mr. Doane their "white father". On the other hand, Excellency, our missionaries, according to a confession made to me by Fr. Saturnino, superior of those in this locality, do not know nor understand any English or Kanaka. How can they possibly undertake their campaign of attraction, without this indispensable ability? On the other hand, Excellency, when I tried to investigate on both sides if it would be possible to avoid collisions, that is, if the priests on both sides to become friends, I was told that it is impossible to have friendship ever between both categories. This [antagonism], Excellency, has been at the origin of all the unpleasantnesses that occurred and it must in my opinion be avoided in time. If our missionaries must be inside the enclosure, as Y.E. has ordered me, and if they ignore the various dialects that are spoken here, the Catholic propaganda appears to offer little benefit for now, as long as Mr. Doane has his church, school and house on the same site. For now, Excellency, prudence and national convenience appear to impose themselves to everything, and they favor here the presence of a military chaplain, Navy

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1 Ed. note: Notes placed in the margin of the original manuscript indicate that the point about the families was referred to Navy HQ, but the point about the cattle was rejected with a note that says: "Nothing for now."

or Army, to administer the sacraments to the colony and to some natives who by curiosity are beginning to approach the Catholic altar.

The importance that this colony has acquired, and that must be with a prosperity superior to that of the Western Archielago no doubt, demands also that there be an administrative officer who could, if Y.E. agrees as usual with this healthy measure, take charge of a small cattle ranch, so that the soldiers do not lack such a necessary food, in this country in which anaemia develops easily due to a lack of beef or mutton. With 50 heads of cattle to be sent by the Military Administration, it would be sufficient for the beginning of a breeding program; this number ought to increase a lot due to the abundance of water and pasture that exist here.

Let me, Excellency, make now a very special recommendation to your respectable authority in favor of the venerable Head of the Missions of Oceania, Mr. Doane, who, along with the Head of the School, Mr. Rand, have made true efforts toward the attainment of a honorable arrangement for Spain, having seen them exhausted, soaked with sweat and hungry, travelling at all hours, conciliating interests and clarifying pints, and they have been very useful to me for the outcome, which Mr. Doane himself did not think possible to realize with such favorable results for Spain, and for which, on the day of the surrender of the criminals, complete submission, etc., he congratulated me warmly.

For the attainment of such speedy and happy results, Y.E. will by now understand sufficiently the very justified presence of the force, which at the command of its zealous and active Commander, Mr. Varela, was always ready to resolve by the arms, what politics could not achieve. I cannot do less than to bring to Y.E.'s attention the exemplary conduct observed by this brilliant force that Y.E. has entrusted me with, whose cooperation and extraordinary services have been very helpful to me.

Excellency, the Commander, Mr. Varela, has not rested one instant since the force disembarked, in organizing, distributing the work, public morale and example with the natives whom I had entrusted to him. He was first everywhere, and the military spirit increased ever more with the increaseing probability of a break with the enemies. The constant rain showers in the first few days, the lack of lodging, the lack of a place for the food while a shed was being prepared, the very arduous trench service that was doubled at night, have all been imperious reasons that oblige me, besides the satisfaction that I have with him, to recommend to Y.E. the above-mentioned officer, who has kept in all the corps a spirit of union and enthusiasm, and which have caused pride in one such as I who calls himself his Governor, thanks to the kindness of Y.E. who, no doubt ignoring my lack of merit, wished perhaps to test my loyalty in the compliance of the mandates but very clear instructions of Y.E. have of course led to the happy outcome which we all see her.

The supply of food and tools has not only been to a high degree, due to the zeal and intelligence displayed by the Commissioner, Mr. Eladio Martín, and his laborious officers, but also in the opinion of the soldiers themselves, they ahve eaten from the beginning perhaps even better than in Manila. Also I want to tell Y.E. that the Admin-

istration has shone to a high degree, showing with conclusive deeds that due to the good food and hygiene and the zeal displayed specially by the physicians, Mr. Mir and Mr. Mamelly, there was not a single person sick in bed, limiting themselves to a few injured ones as a result of the very arduous work in the bush and in unloading. The last operation was done in the very short period of twelve days, using only the boats from the ships, in operation which in Cavite as Y.E. knows, was done with other elements almost in the same amount of time.

Even though he does not belong to the expeditionary Army, given that Y.E. has given him the commission of acting as Government Attorney in the formation of a contradictory trial about the late Physician 1st Class, Mr. Dardona, I am pleased to tell Y.E. that Army Commander [Lieut-Colonel] Genaro Ruiz, from the moment of the disembarkation, I saw him at my side always ready to render services that could be compatible with his military status and with the special circumstance that the officer appointed by Y.E. to be in charge of the whole force is another commander. All the privations and hardships common to a camp that was but bush when we arrived, were suffered by the said officer with enthusiasm, sweating like everyone else, without lodging, when he could have, without failing in his duties, remained aboard the Hulk, working on his case, instead of doing it in a camp ashore, and he was ready to operate against the natives, for instance, on the 7th when I thought that the King of Not did not comply with the conditions imposed in my proclamation of the 2nd.

At the moment that I am closing this letter, Excellency, work is proceeding with al speed on the opening of a ditch and placement of a stockade, hard work because the earth is hard and many stones are to be found in it. Simultaneously, some lime pits are being prepared, although with difficulties as there is no barge-type craft available; a launch with little draft or a *lancan* like those of Manila with little draft would be of great utility here.

The English house which Y.E. provided for a temporary house for the Governor, is already assembled and will serve other purposes later, as Y.E. advised me, for lodging the Secretary. The barracks will be raised very soon, as the materials sent by the Inspector General of Public Works are being sorted out. I hope in any case not to detain the European force more time than that indicated by Y.E., and if it is possible, I will send them back earlier.

The seeds aboard the Hulk have been found, many of them, in a bad state; those left will be taken advantage of, when the multiple tasks that I have to attend to now will permit me.

Also, it is necessary to send by the **Manila** a safe with enough capacity to contain \$10,000, because the one that was salvaged had to be broken into, as there were no keys, and thus rendered useless.

Also I hope to deserve from Y.E. that Military Intendance will order the remittal of lanterns on pedestals necessary for lighting the barracks and the Colony, as was done in Jolo, Balibai and Puerto Princesa [in Palawan], the number necessary has been calculated at 30 lanterns with pedestals.

The lack of lodging (I still live in a tent), the frequent rains here, and my many tasks prevent me from sending to the respectable authority of Y.E. all the details and news that I wished. But in future steamers, I will do it with more precision.

My mind is left with only one worry; whether or not I have followed Y.E.'s instructions in practice, as Y.E. conceived them.

If my actions deserve approval by your respectable authority, my satisfaction will be complete.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 19 November 1887.

Luis Cadarso.

## **AB2. First proclamation of Governor Cadarso, 2 November 1887**

### **Inhabitants of the Eastern Carolines:**

Having taken charge, with due formalities, of the Government of these Islands, I comply with my duty and address you to tell you what are my intentions.

The honorable inhabitants of these regions would not be ignorant of the surprise and indignation that the wicked conduct of some who were badly counselled has produced in the Government of Spain, by those who carried out deeds like those that took place from the 2nd to the 4th of July last, which have indelibly marked with opprobrium and shame those who, enjoying before the honorable title of "good," merit today that of "assassins;" that such a name is assigned by justice to those who, failing to all classes of social and human considerations, stained themselves cowardly with the blood of that unforgettable and paternal Chief, who liked you so much.

Here is the new Governor! Here are also justice, strength, and the law. Do not fear, not even for one moment, that I have come here, sent by a wise as well as energetic and illustrious Government, and by a Sovereign Queen who is all love and nobility, to work with the weak, as they worked in the sad dates mentioned above, the more numerous against the least numerous! I come resolved and decided to make justice first, to govern you later.

What more do you want, honorable inhabitants of Ascension? Did you expect perhaps that a force as potent and numerous as the one that follows me would come here to destroy everything, and to erase with blood and fire the honorable traditions that history reveals to us about your affectionate love for the mother Country, obliterating with such deadly elements the good people as well as the bad? That is not so, Carolinians; if you, the faithful ones, come up to me and indicate with the finger of truth which ones on the fateful night of July 4th committed most of the evils ashore; if you deliver the prisoners who fell to your power that night; if you immediately return all the equipment, effects, furniture, weapons, etc. that existed in the colony, and if the Kings of Not and Jokoy come up humbly to present their excuses and to swear blind obedience to the King of Spain, then, I promise you that justice will be done as fate has it, and our

magnanimous Queen (God save Her) will perhaps take under her protective mantle those wretched people who have only been instruments of vengeance. But if on the contrary, you do not listen to the voice of reason and ... [good-will?] of your Governor, do not complain about the consequences; they will be immense, and commensurate with the crimes committed.

And you, foreign gentlemen, those who exercise legal, and justified and respectable missions, or licit industries, or legal commerce, do not fear that I will fail to any precept in use among civilized nations. If it should happen, improbably, that the natives fail to comply with the limited conditions that I impose upon them before next Monday, I offer you a shelter aboard the Hulk **Dofia María de Molina**, before the hostilities break out.

**Carolinians!** Your Governor yearns to make justice and to be loved by you. Respond to his noble intentions and you will not repent.

**Long live the Queen of Spain!**

Santiago de la Ascension, 2 November 1887.

Luis Cadarso.

### **AB3. Second proclamation of Governor Cadarso, 7 November 1887**

I, **Don Luis Cadarso y Rey**, Commander of Elizabeth the Catholic, decorated with the red Cross of military merit, 1st Class, with those of naval merit, red and white, 2nd Class, with that of naval merit, red, 1st Class, Cross of St. Hermenegildo, Medal of Jolo, National Hero, etc. and P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines:

**Declare:** that, not having appeared before me today the King of Not, who is the one who has in his power the assassins, convicts and effects of the Colony, to comply with the conditions imposed in my proclamation of the 2nd instant, in spite of the fact that the four Kings of U, Kiti, Metalanim and Jokoy, with their subordinate Chiefs, have done so in all humility, I have decided to warn the foreign gentlemen who live in the first-mentioned Kingdom, to seek shelter from the fire of the ships and the forces that must operate, before 6 p.m. on the 8th. Various authorities of the Not tribe having begged me to postpone the deadline some more in order to comply with all my requirements, I will receive them only before the deadline indicated to foreigners, and immediately, if they do not do it unconditionally, all the forces ordered to will begin their operations.

Camp of Santiago de la Ascension, 7 November 1887.

Luis Cadarso.

### **AB4. Act of submission, dated 10 November 1887**

I, **Don Luis Cadarso y Rey**, Commander of Elizabeth the Catholic, etc. [...]

**Certify:** that the document that is copied below is the same as the original that all the parties to the solemn act of submission of the Kings of Ascension in the Camp of

Santiago (Ponape) have signed on the [blank] of November 1887, and which reads as follows:

**Deed of submission:** "There having expired the deadline indicated in the proclamation of the Governor of the Eastern Carolines of the 2nd instant fixing the conditions under which the definite arrangement of the question pending with the natives had to be resolved, and resulting from the lamentable events of the fourth of July last, there appeared before the Governor, Commander Luis Cadarso y Rey, all the so-called Kings of the vine tribes that constitute Santiago de la Ascension (Ponape), and many of the authorities in them, in order to solemnly proclaim their adhesion to and respect for the Crown of Spain, begging the Governor to throw a veil upon the past, given that H.M. Queen Maria Cristina was so kind and compassionate as the Governor declared in his proclamation. On their part, the rebellious Kings of Not and Jokoy showed repentance and humbly requested pardon, and presented their excuses that were translated from the kanaka into Spanish and figure in a separate note. They surrendered the prisoners who were still in their power, with the corresponding weapons, the effects that they had and those designated as criminals. And considering this document to be complete, all those present signed, in Santiago de la Ascension (Ponape) on the 10th of November 1887.

The King of Not, Laban [Lepen] Not .....	his X mark
The King of Jokoy, Wajai [Wasahi] Jokoy .....	his X mark
The King of U, Nanamaraki [Nahnmaraki] en U .....	his X mark
The King of Metalanim, J. Jefan [Isipahu] en Metalanim ...	his X mark
The King of Kiti, Nanamaraki en Kiti .....	his X mark
The Governor, Luis Cadarso	

In witness whereof I issue this certificate in Santiago de la Ascension on the 16th of November 1887.

Luis Cadarso

### **Excuses presented by the Pohnpeian chiefs.**

I, Don Jacobo Sanvalle y Gil de Aballe, Secretary of the P.M. Government of the Eastern Carolines,

**Certify:** that the note below is a Spanish translation,<sup>1</sup> corrected in style, of an English writ that is mentioned above:

"The excuses of the Kings of Jokoy and Not, upon presenting themselves before the Governor of the Eastern Carolines, are the following:

1. On July 8th, 1887, the Spanish imprisoned their Christian teacher without reason.
2. The natives of Ponape were working in the Colony, but they were not paid; their Chiefs were obliged to clean the night soil from the Colony, during three months.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Pohnpeian and English versions not being available, the Spanish translation is here re-translated into English.

3. The authorities destroyed Christian teaching, and attacked the churches, and presumed to prevent the Christian native teachers and the deacons from exercising their functions.

4. The Spanish stole our products and properties and destroyed them.

5. They gave liquor to the Christians and then made them dance; and Manuel [Torres], the interpreter, was saying that he was the Governor of Ponape and other things for effect.

[6.] The Chiefs of Ponape were bringing food to the Colony twice a week, but they were never paid.

[7.] On June 27th, a native named Joni Niap, came to the Wajai (King of Jokoy) and told him, as well as Lepen Not (King of Not), that both were to be hanged that day; when they heard this, they told their people not to go to work, and that is the reason for not doing so during the first days of July, and that caused the known catastrophe.

We certify here, with our titles, what has been said above.

Wajai .....	his X mark
Lepen Not	his X mark
Lepen Paliker	his X mark

I, E. T. Doane, certify that this is a translation of what is written in a small book that is now in the hands of the Governor of Ponape, Mr. Luís Cadarso.

E. T. Doane

In witness whereof I issue the present certificate and I sign, in Santiago de la Ascension on 20 November 1887.

Jacobo Sanvalle<sup>1</sup>

### **AB5. Third proclamation of Governor Cadarso, dated 24 November 1887**

I, **Don Luís Cadarso y Rey**, P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines:

**Declare:** that, satisfied with the behavior that the Kings of Metalanim, Kitti, U, Yokoy and Not have been observing, and that I am sure will continue, by surrendering such effects, weapons, etc. that are still disseminated in the vicinity of the Colony, and decided as I am to show them the pleasure that I have with their good proceedings on all occasions, I want to normalize the relationships between the said Kings and the Governor, and I warn them by saying: that every decision or order that I must give, will always be written and signed exclusively by the Governor, the Kings must not obey, in their capacity as delegated authorities which they are in their tribes, any other orders that his written orders, and for this purpose, two natives of this country are being ap-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This important note, which the Governor forgot to enclose with his report of 20 November, was sent to Manila on 29 November, and its receipt was acknowledged by the Governor General on 18 January 1888, who sent the Spanish version to the Minister of Overseas the next day.



pointed to be the only carriers of the said orders, and they will receive a monthly salary, for this service, and lodging in the Colony, at a designated site.

Santiago de la Ascension, 24 November 1887.

Luis Cadarso.

### **AB6. Three Pohnpeians sent to Manila for trial**

[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands.—Nº 39 re-mitting the report of a summary investigation against the Indian [sic] Severio [sic] Porulies Gaeta alias Cario.<sup>1</sup>

Excellency:

Through the Commander of the **Manila**, I have the honor to remit to the authority of Y.E. the summary that was instigated against the Indian [i.e. Filipino] Silverio Porulies Gaeta alias Cario, whom the said ship carries to be placed at the disposal of the prosecuting attorney in the office of the Captain General,<sup>2</sup> in accordance with what Y.E. deigned to forewarn me about.

The **Manila** also carries the three natives surrendered by the King of Not, pointed out as the assassins of the late Posadillo and Sergeant Carballo; they go to that Capital to be at the disposal of Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 20 November 1887.

Luis Cadarso.

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1 Ed. note: Also known as Macario, the former interpreter.

2 Ed. note: This report was forwarded by the Governor General on 14 December.

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## Documents 1887AC

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# Madrid advised of re-establishment of the Colony in Pohnpei

*Source: PNA.*

### AC1. Telegram sent to Madrid on 13 December 1887

13 December 1887.

War transport **Manila** returned from Ponape bringing the Carolinians and Macario the Indian assassins of Posadillo and Sergeant Carvallo, and soldiers and convicts as prisoners and perhaps some desertors. Carolinian kinglets submitted unconditionally, the greatest rebel, that of Not, delivered same to Governor. Most effects stolen from Colony returned. Such results were obtained without fight or bloodshed. The courts will decide regarding criminal proceedings. I approve conduct Governor Cadarso in accordance with my instructions. Expeditionary force will return middle of January, 2 companies remaining garrison Ponape, health excellent, rations abundant in Yap.

### AC2. Letter of Governor General to the Minister of Overseas, dated 22 December 1887

[To] The Minister of Overseas.

[From] The Governor General of the Philippines, 22 Dec. 1887.

Your Excellency:

As I had the honor to let Y.E. know by telegram of the 13th instant, the war transport **Manila** arrived at this port carrying news of the arrival at Santiago de la Ascension (Ponape) of the new Governor appointed for the Eastern Carolines and about the expeditionary force sent to punish the criminals and re-establish order in Ponape.

Enclosure N<sup>o</sup> 1 is a copy of a letter sent by Navy Lieutenant Juan de la Concha, interim Commander of the Hulk **Dofa Maria de Molina** and in the interim also in charge of that P.M. Government and in relief of Navy Lieutenant Pintado who, on account of his delicate state of health had to return to this Capital. In the said communication, Y.E. will please see the energetic and well-thought out dispositions that Concha adopted since he assumed charge of that Government until turning it over to Cadarso, ashore and with our flag flying, on the same site occupied by the old destroyed Colony.

Enclosure N<sup>o</sup> 2 is also a copy of a letter that, on 19 November last, the newly appointed Governor, Commander Luis Cadarso, sent me to advise me of his arrival and taking possession and of the steps taken to establish again our power in that island, punish the assassins of the unfortunate Posadillo and other personnel of the Colony, and install it with the due conditions of security, attracting at the same time the Kinglets and natives of the country, as he was ordered in the instructions that were given to him by this Government General.

The arrival of the Governor and of the expeditionary force in Santiago de la Ascension took place on 31 October; they disembarked the next day and the Chief of the military force, Artillery Commander Diaz Varela took the necessary precautions in case of the attack that they thought would take place.

A council was held to proceed to the study of the terrain in order to identify the land necessary for the Colony, to lay out the buildings and construct the forts, trenches and stockades.

After consulting with the Methodist Missionary Mr. Doane and agreed that the state of minds in the country was nothing satisfactory, the Governor energetically published a proclamation which in copy is Enclosure N<sup>o</sup> 3, requesting the surrender of the assassins and all the equipment, effects, furniture and weapons that had existed in the Colony and demanded the humble appearance of the kinglets of Not and Jokoy to offer their excuses and to swear blind obedience to the Queen of Spain.

In case they complied with the order, the Governor offered them justice and indicated to them that perhaps our magnanimous Queen would cover under her protective mantle those wretched ones who had been only instruments of vengeance, but if, to the contrary, they chose not to hear the voice of reason of the Governor, he warned them that the consequences would be as hard as the crimes that had been committed.

To the foreigners, he offered the safe shelter of the hulk, from the moment at which the hostilities might begin.

On 7 November, the Kings of Metalanim, U, Kity and Jokoy appeared and swore absolute allegiance to Spain and the latter declared that he hoped that H.M. the Queen would forgive him. The others came up as loyal friends of Spain.

The only one who was missing, the most important as he had been the one who took the greater part in the events and who kept the prisoners and effects of the Colony, was the King of Not who showed himself stubborn to the presentation and consequently, the Governor issued another proclamation (see Enclosure N<sup>o</sup> 4) that was published on 7 November to let him know that on the 8th at 6 p.m. fire would commence, if the said King did not surrender unconditionally before that time.

In effect, that is what he did on the 8th at 4 p.m., swearing submission to Spain and humbly asking pardon, promising to deliver the assassins as well as the convict soldiers and effects of the Colony and on the 9th he sent three natives identified as the criminals in the case file that the Governor remits and who have been placed at the disposal of the Government Attorney in Manila for an investigation to be held.

The said Governor makes great praises of the Chief of the expeditionary force, Diaz Varela, and of all the personnel placed at his disposal and he mentions the very special services of Mr. Doane, and the Head of the Methodist schools, Mr. Rand.

He also gives a few considerations about our missionaries and requests a few effects for the Colony whose despatch I am busy with at the moment.

This Government General has approved in all its parts the conduct of Governor Cardaro and today the gunboat **Elcano** will sail for SANTIAGO de la Ascension to go and relieve the **Lezo** and it carries the documents addressed to that Authority and by the first days of January next, the war transport **Manila** will also sail for the same destination carrying the materials and effects that could not be sent in the last expedition and that should be useful to complete the installation of the Colony.

This ship will probably meet with the **San Quintín** that is returning with the expeditionary force leaving in Santiago de la Ascension two Companies of Regiments N° 3 & 7 with abundant rations.

For Y.E.'s informatino I remit in Enclosure N° 5 a copy of the complementary instructions to those of 19 January last, to the Governor of the Eastern Carolines and that Y.E. already knows about; in addition, Enclosure N° 6 contains the instructions that the Captain General's Office has sent to the said Government in case it became necessary to make use of the armed force.

In addition and as Enclosure N° 7 is a copy of the letter that Mr. Doane sent me from Ponape, dated 16 November last, in which document Y.E. will note the assistance provided by the said Missionary and the gratitude that he expresses for the assurances that the Governor has given him for the mission work to continue without obstacle.

I will not close this official letter without remitting to Y.E., in Enclosure N° 8, a copy of the letter dated 31 October that the then interim Governor of the Eastern Carolines, Navy Lieutenant Concha sent to the Office of the Captain General of these Islands reporting that Dr. Knappe, the German Imperial Commissioner for the Marshall, Brown and Providence Islands had sent to him a letter, see Enclosure N° 9, offering all the assistance that he could dispose of to suffocate the Ponape rebellion.

Concha answered with dignity, thanking him for the value of such polite offers but not accepting them as he had enough means to maintain our rights there and as for me, I have approved his conduct, ordering the present Governor to give thanks to the said Dr. Knappe on my behalf.

As Y.E. and H.M.'s Government will congratulate one another, I cannot but congratulate myself also, for the good conclusion that the unfortunate events of Santiago de la Ascension have taken, our sovereignty being recognized there once more by all, the public vengeance and the honor of the Spanish flag satisfied with the delivery of the assassins of the unfortunate Posadillo and delivered the soldiers and convicts who figured as prisoners, although a few of whom had been desertors, and given the conditions of the present Governor of the Eastern Carolines and of the personnel of the Colony, I do not doubt that, with the Colony being re-established and with the generous

policy of attraction that Cadarso must develop, we will never have to lament deeds such as those that have occurred nor complications or difficulties of any kind.

Before I conclude, Y.E. must allow me to recommend to the Government the great services that have been rendered there and the merits that have been contracted by all and specially by Governor Cadarso, by the Chief of the expeditionary force, Diaz Varela, by Commander Patero of the **San Quintín** and by Navy Lieutenant Concha who, at the beginning of the Ponape events, was left alone and without many elements as the King's representative and that of H.M. the Queen Regent in those faraway regions.

May God, etc.

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## Documents 1887AD

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### Two letters of Rev. Doane to Spanish authorities

*Source: PNA.*

#### **AD1. Letter of Mr. Doane, dated 16 November 1887**

*Note: This is a re-translation from Spanish back to English, the original not being on file.*

#### **Letter of Rev. Doane to Governor Cadarso.**

Ponape, November 16/87

Mr. Luis Cadarso, Governor of Ponape

My dear Governor:

I have at hand the proclamation that you sent to the Kings of Metalanim and Kittu, having read its contents to the former, as well as to those of his tribe, and to the latter, it was remitted without any delay.

Allow me, dear Sir, to let you know how pleased I am with what you say in your above-mentioned proclamation. There is so much kindness, humanity and justice that in it is reflected the feeling of my heart which is all paternal love for these people so dear to me. I am very satisfied that they are surrendering the effects belonging to the Colony, and within a few days, I will pay a personal visit to the Chiefs of the tribes of Not and Jokoits, and I will try and get from them that they deliver the rest once and for all.

At the residence of the King of Jokoits I have seen a few pieces of rusted iron that appeared to have been placed there by him, but that were taken by some natives who did not know what they were doing; I hasten to report this to you to avoid that unjust accusations be made against this King, trusting that they would already have delivered same to the Colony.

The contents of your kind proclamation, my dear Governor, must make all hearts beat by the spirit of kindness that it contains, and because there is no falsehood nor harshness in it.

I am much satisfied to learn that there will be an official mail carrier who will always be the bearer of official orders. During the former Government, Manuel Martinez and Rus used to write frequently and I cannot believe that they were unknown to the Gov-

ernor; in their letters, they were asking for local products for their maintenance, and the Chiefs, surprised, obeyed, regretting in their heart what was happening to them, and what made things worse was that the said orders were given in the name of the Governor.

Permit me, my dear Governor, to make one observation: it would be very appropriate for a few Spanish men, among the finest, to go, accompanied by one or two natives, and visit the vicinity of the Colony, taking note of the effects belonging to Spaniards, carrying them to the Colony and giving a receipt note to the Chief of the place where the effects were found, to show them that they must surrender the other things that they have hidden away.

Within a few days, I will have the pleasure to go out and see you, not being able at present as I am very busy with my missionary work.

My heart is very interested in the good result of your work in rectifying the evil done, and my prayers will be directed daily with this purpose, for you and all your subordinates, and for all those who have love in their heart.

I am, my dear Governor, your humble servant,  
E. T. Doane

## AD2. Letter to Governor General Terrero, dated 29 December 1887

*Note: The following is a literal copy of the original letter in English.*

Ponape, Dec 29th, 1887.

Señor Emilio Terrero.

Capt. General of the Phillipinas [sic] Island [sic]

Honored Sir,

The San Quintin leaves soon for Manila. Pardon me if I shall take up a few moments of your precious time, to send a few lines I shall write.

I wish to thank you for sending us so good and kind hearted, yet brave man, as Don Luis Cadarso. He has won to his heart the great Majority, if not all, the foreigners in the island. The Commander of the U states War vessel, Essex, left feeling we had a man who would call for the rights of all the naturalese [sic] and foreigners.

Let me call your attention to the Spanish Government occupying the larger part of a section of land long possessed by our Mission upon which much missionary work has been done, and for the success of which thousands of dollars have been spent. The position of the land was such, immediately in front of the Colony, and her fortifications. Your Government could hardly feel satisfied with such a position, her forts and barracks confronted [sic] by a foreign settlement. Certainly in time of war all would have to be removed. During the short reign of Señor Possadillo [sic] the premises [sic], the dwelling, my own, the sacred edifice, the Church, and the lands were not a little injured. On the coming in of Don Luis, he asked for a portion of this land; the dwelling and Church were not a little injured by thoughtless soldiers; valuable trees, the *artocarpus*

**incisa** [Breadfruit], and cocos were cut down; the land was accordingly passed to him, but with the stipulation of **indemnity**. My associate, myself, and my friends, all thought, the **worth of the land**, the **dwellings to be removed**, and to be **re-erected** in another spot, the house of the Mission and Church, and considering how high wood was here, as well as the labor of the Carpenter, all felt, the indemnity should be put at the least \$2,500, some said \$5,000. But in conversation with Don Luis, I lowered the figure to \$2,000. This my friends thought a low figure, especially as on that same land, **possessed for twenty years**, \$20,000 has been spent. But it is the wish of my mission, nor myself to make money; we simply ask out what is right.

Don Luis, I am happy to say, so his secretary, felt this but a just indemnity. Wishing to [as-]sure the Queen of Spain and Yourself, with this indemnity made good, we as a mission will move our building from before the forts and barracks, taking position [sic] elsewhere.

No doubt Don Luis will write you of the dilatoryness [sic] of the natives in returning goods looted in the emute [i.e. mutiny] of July last. I am confident this dilatoryness arises, not from an unwillingness to meet the stipulations of last November, the 7th & 8th; but from the fact the naturalese are so little acquainted with the ways of a military Government; and still further, unable to speak the spanish tongue, for often as a party has thought of going to the Colony, they have hesitated because none could speak the language, and they felt no interpreter might be there; then as some have gone to the custom house, as it were, their canoes have been appropriated by some spanish soldier, the people thus detained, and thus terrified. But I am sure, patience on the part of Don Luis, will secure the most of the articles called for. I certainly will do all I can to aid.

I am happy to report the island is blessed with peace in all its parts. May it long continue.

Hoping, praying, Our Heavenly Father may long have You in his holy keeping,

I am

dear Señor

Your humble servant

E. T. Doane.



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## Document 1887AE

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### Claim of a German trader in Pohnpei rejected by the Spanish government

*Source: PNA.*

#### Governor General advised that the claim is rejected

**Original text in Spanish.**

Mínisterio de Ultramar No. 954

Exmo. Sor.

No resultando justificada la indemnización solicitada por el súbdito Aleman Mr. G. Rufs [i.e. Ruß or Russ] como Agente de Carl Herman Barandt en Representación de la Compañía titulada "Deutschen Handels Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln Hamburg" puesto que en el expediente instruido al efecto no se hace constar en debida forma la representación que ostentan los reclamantes, ni que la referida sociedad comercial haya cumplido las prescripciones reglamentarias vigentes para su establecimiento en las Carolinas Orientales, requisito indispensable para que sea reconocida su personalidad jurídica ni demostrado de una manera fehaciente que esta haya sufrido los daños y perjuicios que dice se le irrogaron con motivo de los sucesos ocurridos en Santiago de la Ascensión en los primeros días de Julio de 1887 ni que en el supuesto de ser efectivos los indicados daños y perjuicios fueran estos imputables á las Autoridades del país y por tanto al gobierno español; S.M. el Rey (q. D. g.) y en su nombre la Reyna Regente del Reino, se ha servido aprobar la resolución propuesta por V.E. de acuerdo con el parecer emitido por la Sección de Gobierno del Consejo de Administración de esas Islas, en cuya virtud, desestimando la pretensión de que se trata, únicamente se concede á favor de los reclamantes el derecho al Abono de cien pesos valor de las mercancías robadas en Motok [Mutok], Kitti [Kiti] y Bonatic [Lot] siempre que se acredite debidamente el hecho y que este no ocurrió por abandono ó culpa de los respectivos sub-agentes, así como que estos y sus establecimientos habían cumplido los requisitos indispensables para gozar de los derechos y privilegios que se conceden á los Estrangeros, siendo justo también abonar á Mr. Rufs ó á la estación que este dirija, en el caso de ser reclamado, el importe de los cartuchos que aquel facilitó el 1 de Julio de 1887, al Gobernador P.M. de las Carolinas Orientales.

Lo que de Real Orden comunico á V.E. para su conocimiento y en contestación á su carta oficial No 1301 fecha 30 de Abril último.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Madrid 13 de Octubre de 1890.

*Tabil.*

*[A] Sor. Gobernador General de Filipinas.*

*[Minute]*

*Manila 4 Diciembre 1890.*

*Cumplase y expedanse al efecto las órdenes oportunas.*

*Weyler.*

### **Translation.**

Ministry of Overseas— 954

Your Excellency:

The indemnification solicited by the German subject, Mr. G. Rufs [Russ] as Agent of Carl Hermann Barandt, representing the firm named "Deutschen Handels Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln Hamburg" has not been justified, given that in the case file opened to that effect, there does not appear in the required form the representation claimed by the claimants, nor the proof that said commercial house has complied with the prescribed regulations in effect for their establishment in the Eastern Carolines, an indispensable requisite for it to be recognized as a legal entity, nor demonstrated in a valid manner that it has suffered the damages and prejudices that he says were caused by the events that occurred in Santiago de la Ascension during the first days of the month of July 1887, nor that, even if said damages and prejudices could be proven, that they are imputable to the local Authorities, and therefore to the Spanish Government. H.M. the King (God save him) and in his name the Queen Regent of the Kingdom, was pleased to approve the decision proposed by Y.E., in accordance with the opinion issued by the Government Section of the Council of Administration of those Islands, in which, though rejecting the pretention in question, the claimants are granted only the right to a credit of one hundred pesos, the value of the merchandise stolen in Motok [Mutok], Kiti and Bonatic [Lot], provided that the fact can be duly documented and that it did not occur on account of abandonment or fault of the respective sub-agents, in addition to the condition that the persons and establishments in question having satisfied the necessary requirements to be able to enjoy the rights and privileges that are granted to foreigners; it is also just to grant to Mr. Rufs or to the station that he controls, if it be claimed, the sum that represents the value of the cartridges that he provided on 1 July 1887 to the P.M. Governor of the Eastern Carolines.

Which by Royal order I communicate to Y.E. for your information and in answer to your official letter N° 1301 dated 30 April last.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

*Tabil.*

*[To] His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines.*

*[Minute]*

*Manila, 4 December 1890.*



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## Documents 1887AF

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### Cristián Barbús returned to Pohnpei

*Source: PNA.*

#### Editor's notes.

Following the official complaint by the King of Metalanim and his reputation as a troublemaker and brothel operator in Pohnpei, Barbús, the mulatto from the Cape Verde Islands, had been arrested and transported to Manila, where he was turned over to the Captain General's Office. In mid-November 1887, Mr. Hidalgo, the Consul General of Portugal in Manila requested the Governor General to let him know the charges and the sentence in the Barbús case. Colonel Párrado of the Police Department investigated and released him for lack of evidence on 7 November.

#### AF1. The Governor General grants permission for Barbús to return to Pohnpei

To the Captain General's Office, 9 December 1887.

Dear Sir:

Having been set free by the Colonel in charge of the inquiry, the Portuguese subject, Cristián Barbús, who arrived at this Capital as a prisoner coming from Santiago de la ascensión (Eastern Carolines), I have decided today that he be admitted on board the gunboat **Elcano** which must leave soon for those seas, for the purpose of returning to his place of residence.

Which I have the pleasure of letting you know for your information and necessary action.

May God, etc.

#### AF2. Barbús renounces further claims in exchange for 100 pesos

Nº 95: Declaration of the Portuguese subject, Cristián Barbús, addressed to His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands. Authorized by Enrique Barrera y Caldes, Public and Government Notary, manila, 10 December 1887.

Nº 95. In the Secretariat of the Government General of these Islands, situated at No. 10 Malacañan Street in the suburb of San Miguel, on 10 December 1887, before me, Enrique Barrera y Caldes, Government Notary, appeared Cristián Barbú's, who said that he is a Portuguese subject, born i [Cape] Verde Island, not a minor and a resident of Ponape, Eastern Carolines, declared that having been temporarily released by the judge investigating the events of the Eastern Carolines and wishing to return to those islands, he has requested it from His Excellency the Goernor General who, granted him the said favor, and also has graciously made available and willingly offered the sum of one hundred pesos; that the said Cristián Barbús by this act acknowledges having received in currency from the Secretary of the Government General, and which I witnessed; at the same time, he expressed that he renounced all future claims for damages and prejudices, officially or in private, given that he knows how justly the authorities of that island proceeded in his arrest and remittal to this Capital.

So he says, through the interpretation of the Interpreter of the Government General, in the presence of the witnesses, Mr. Simplicio Yoquico and Mr. Bonifacio Amado, to whom I have read aloud the present instrument, after which all signed, except Cristián Barbús who, unable to do so himself, did it through the witness, Mr. Simplicio Yoquico. In faith whereof,

For Cristián Barbús, Simplicio Yoquico.

Simplicio Yoquico.

Ramón Blanco.

Bonifacio Amado.

Before me, Enrique Barrera y Caldes.

[...]

### AF3. Notice of his return to Pohnpei

[To] His Excelency the Governor General of the Philippine Islands.

[From] P.M. Government of the Eastern Region of the Caroline Islands, No. 46, reporting the arrival of the Portuguese subject Cristián Barbus.

Your Excellency:

Aboard the gunboat **Elcano** there arrived at this port the Portuguese subject Cristián Barbus against whom no charges were laid and in accordance with what Y.E. has conceded, I have authorized him to live and to build a house in the vicinity of the Colony, and in complete freedom to exercise the industry to provide effects to the soldiers and other personnel who wish it.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Santiago de la Ascension, 17 January 1888.

Luis Cadarso<sup>1</sup>

1 Ed. note: About two years later, this mulatto and his Pohnpeian wife were killed by some chiefs, because he had reported to the Governor their illegal purchase of weapons smuggled into Pohnpei by foreign traders (see Cameron's *Odyssey*, doc. 1882C).

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## Documents 1887AG

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### Legal framework for the Marshall Islands

#### AG1. Laws for the Marshall Islands, 1887-1890

*Source: Die Kolonial-Gesetzgebung [German Colonial Code of Laws], Part I bis, of 1892 (Berlin, 1898).*

*Note: Summary by J.J.H., as Translation No. 1145, in University of Hawaii, Pacific Collection.*

#### Summary of some orders issued by various Commissioners.

On 8 January 1887, Dr. Knappe issued the following order:

—Until further notice it is forbidden to receive landed property from natives of the protectorate, whether by purchase, exchange, gift, or otherwise...

—All foreign land-owners are hereby ordered to give notice of their land deeds... or other documents... with which to establish control of their holdings...<sup>1</sup>

On 25 January 1887, Dr. Knappe issued an order forbidding anyone to give a native credit in excess of \$50 without his consent. Anyone who had already extended credits of any amounts was to report same.

On 14 August 1887, Dr. Knappe issued an order forbidding anyone to give any credit whatsoever to natives under penalty of a fine of \$500. An exception was made for natives engaged in trade with a local firm.

On 21 January 1888, the Jaluit Company received the following privileges from the German Government:

—The right to take possession of unclaimed land;

—The right to carry on fishing for pear shells, as far as this pursuit was not carried on by the natives;

—The right to exploit any guano sites.

On 28 June 1888, Commissioner Sonnenschein issued an order to the effect that persons other than the Jaluit Company were forbidden to claim possession of unclaimed land under penalty of a fine of 5,000 Marks. Pear-shell fishing without the approval of the Jaluit Company and the exploitation of guano were forbidden under penalty of a fine of 1,000 Marks. Tools used and yield taken in such illegal activities could also be confiscated.

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1 Ed. note: For example, see AG2 below.

On same date, he also ordered every male inhabitant over 16 years of age in the protectorate, who was not a native, to pay an annual tax of 20 Marks. He also forbid anyone to transact any contract with natives which have as their object the receipt of property or any rights to land or use of any land under penalty of a fine of 5,000 Marks.

Effective 1 October 1889, there was a **revised business tax schedule**, as follows:

—Resident traders with annual income 500,000 Marks or more ..	9,000 Marks/yr
—Those with income under 500,000 Marks .....	6,000 "
—Any type of retail liquor and hotel establishments .....	800 "
—Vessels involved in trade but not with local traders .....	1,000 "
—Every trading station in the Marshalls .....	100 "
—Every trading station in Nauru .....	200 "

On 18 October 1889, Commissioner Biermann issued an order requiring every contract with natives above 2,000 Marks in value to be concluded in writing.

On 10 March 1890, the German Government in Berlin issued an order regarding the forms of punishment for natives, which included death, imprisonment with forced labor, forced labor without imprisonment, and fines, as follows:

—The death penalty was to be carried out by hanging; it could be applied only in case of first-degree murder or manslaughter, arson, or deeds that cause the death of a person.

—No payment was to be made in the case of forced labor;

—Imprisonment with forced labor was to be from at least three days to five years; the corresponding crimes were rebellion, severe bodily injury, rape and theft.

—Forced labor without imprisonment was to run from at least one day to one year.

—Fines could run from one to one hundred Marks. One Mark was made equivalent to one day of forced labor without imprisonment, with three days of such labor equivalent to one day of forced labor with imprisonment.

Notes: Where customary law allowed the payment of an indemnity to the injured party by the wrong-doer, it could be allowed by the court. Interpreters were allowed only when no member of the court could understand the language of the accused. There was no right of appeal.

On 17 April 1890, Commissioner Biermann issued a **revised tax schedule for natives**, who were to deliver a total of 360,000 pounds of copra annually, as follows:

The atoll of Jaluit .....	22,500 lbs
The atoll of Ebon .....	50,000 lbs
Ailinglaplap, Kwadjalein, Ujae, Lae and Lib .....	27,500 lbs
Namorik and remaining atolls of Ralik Chain .....	27,500 lbs
The atoll of Mili .....	40,000 lbs
The eastern part of Majuro .....	25,000 lbs
The western part of Majuro .....	25,000 lbs
The eastern part of Arno .....	25,000 lbs
The western part of Arno .....	25,000 lbs
Aur, Maloelap, Wotje, Ailuk and Utirik .....	22,500 lbs

The island of Mejit .....	10,000 lbs
The island of Nauru .....	60,000 lbs
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	360,000 lbs

Notes: The copra was by way of personal taxes. The names of the chiefs responsible for delivery of the above taxes were given. Each of these chiefs was to receive one-third of the value of the copra (figured at 4 pfennings per pound) as a bounty, as soon as he had delivered the copra to the Imperial Commissioner. This tax was payable quarterly in advance.

## AG2. Documents relating to the ownership of Likiep Atoll

*Sources: United States Commercial Company—Economic Survey of Micronesia, Honolulu, April 1947.*

*Notes: In Appendix A, of a sub-report submitted by Leonard E. Mason entitled: "The Economic Organization of the Marshall Islands." The original deeds are now kept in the Cecil B. Gill Collection in the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.*

### Declaration of Title to the Imperial German High Commissioner for the Marshall Islands, dated Jaluit, May 17th, 1887.

Before me the undersigned Imperial German High Commissioner for the Marshall Islands have appeared Charles Henry Ingalls, Adolph Capelle, and Jose De Brum, handed to me the following deeds concerning the Atoll of Likiep, viz:

1. dated Maloelab, August 14th, 1877<sup>1</sup>
2. dated Jabwor, June 26th 1878.<sup>2</sup>
3. without date, in native language.
4. dated Likieb, January 30th, 1880.<sup>3</sup>
5. added of the same date.<sup>4</sup>
6. dated Jaluit, December 30th, 1883.<sup>5</sup>
7. dated Jaluit, January 1st, 1884.

and declared:

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- 1 Ed. note: Sale of Likiep by Jurataka, King of Aur, Malcolap, Erikub, Wotje, and Likiep to Jose deBrum for merchansise to the value of \$1,250. Also present were: Isaac E. Madison, who acted as Interpreter (he had lived in the Marshalls since 1866), and the following witnesses: Otto Löser, J. T. Elson, Lalik, and Jetonton.
  - 2 Ed. note: Sale of Likiep to the firm of A. Capelle & Co. by Jose deBrum for \$886.73. Witnessed by James L. Young, and recorded at Apia, on 4 September 1878.
  - 3 Ed. note: Agreement between the subjects of King Jurataka living on Likiep and Jose deBrum, considered by them the lawful proprietor of Likiep. Interpreted by Isaac Madison and witnessed by W. Wolff, C. Bleckert, and 34 natives.
  - 4 Ed. note: A more specific agreement between the above parties.
  - 5 Ed. note: The Jaluit Co. and Deutsche Handels- und-Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg, give up all claim to Likiep Atoll.



In accordance with the just mentioned deeds the Atoll of Likieb belongs to us jointly. We intend to remain partners of the islands Likieb, Loto, Mogil, Bibi, and Eniaraij each of us for one-third, and to divide the other islands as follows:

I. **C. H. Ingalls** shall own the islands of: Killi, Jabal, Melan, Kilamer, Enieb, Ajirow, Bock in Koak, Airi, Kabelabelagen, Tomil, 2 islands called Eniriowganjirik, Kedjin, 2 islands called Bigerigerikdjen, Bogelablab, 2 islands called Beginneminemdjerak, Jaldonet;

II. **A. Capelle** shall own: Elo, Gemogi, Enineman, Gabin, Enidje, Enidjelak, Albad, Bugenjilik, Eninun, Renarin, Bodjen, Begin, Aijet, Leen, Medjud, Dinegar, Mille, Mat, Rongerik;

III. **Jose De Brum** shall own: Rongelab, Bogelan, Gabenur, Matin, Daka, Anid, Lugenur, Odile, Bird Island in the Passage, Ajeni, 4 islands between Ajeni and Kikieb.

The houses built on the island of Likieb, (viz: two wooden stores, shingled; one copra house, shingled; office with cistern, shingled, a wooden powder house, some native houses, and a wharf) belong to the Firm, H. L. Tiernan Venture, where of we are partners with Crawford & Co. in San Francisco. One wooden dwelling house, shingled, cookhouse, etc., belong to C. H. Ingalls, one native house belongs to A. Capelle, and another native house to Jose De Brum.

In request to record our property in accordance with the foregoing statements and to make out a deed for each of us with an English translation.

Read in German, translated into English, approved and sighed,

(Signed) C. H. Ingalls

A. Capelle

Jose De Brum his X mark

(L. J.) D. W. Knappe

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