

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 23

HEYDAY OF WHALING

AND

2ND D'URVILLE EXPEDITION

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 23

THE HEYDAY OF WHALING

AND

THE SECOND D'URVILLE EXPEDITION

1831-1839

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

History of Micronesia : a collection of source documents

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Partial contents:

— Series n° 1: volumes 1 to 20.

— Series n° 2:

— v. 21. The Freycinet Expedition (cont'd) and the Duperrey Expedition, 1819-1826.

—v. 22. The Lütke Expedition and the first d'Urville Expedition, 1827-1830.

—v. 23. The heyday of whaling and the second d'Urville Expedition., 1831-1839.

ISBN 0-920201-00-8 (set 1-20)

ISBN 978-0-920201-21-3 (v. 21)

ISBN 978-0-920201-22-0 (v. 22)

ISBN 978-0-920201-23-7 (v. 23)

1. Micronesia—History—Sources. I.

Lévesque, Rodrigue, 1938-

DU500.H57 1992 996.5 C92-090188-3

Copyright © 2003 by Rodrigue Lévesque

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, including photocopying, without permission in writing from the publisher: Lévesque Publications, 189 Dufresne, Gatineau, Québec, Canada J8R 3E1

ISBN 978-0-920201-23-7 (Vol. 23)



Contents of Volume 23

| | Page |
|---|------|
| List of illustrations | 6 |
| Doc N° | |
| 1831A Forts of Guam, etc., map of Guam, by Colonel Villalobos, 1829-1831 | 11 |
| 1831B Villalobos replaced Medinilla as Gov. of the Marianas only in 1831 | 26 |
| 1831C Other letters of Governor Villalobos, 1831 | 36 |
| 1831D Foreigners living in Guam in 1831 | 46 |
| 1831E The barque Derby of Salem, Captain Cheever | 48 |
| 1831F Lafond de Lurcy rescued, brought to Guam by the ship Lloyds, etc. | 50 |
| 1831G The ship Montano of Nantucker, Captain Benjamin Worth | 75 |
| 1831I The English whaler Kent , Captain Lawton—The narrative of Dr. Beale | 80 |
| 1831J Ships Peru and Mermaid , Captain Eagleston, from 1831 to 1838 | 92 |
| 1831K Bark Alliance , Captain Covell, via Ebon | 99 |
| 1832B Ship Amerika , Capt. Kromchenko, crossed Gilberts and Marshalls | 104 |
| 1832C Life on Tinian and Saipan in 1832 | 106 |
| 1832D The English whaler Caroline , Captain Tregurtha | 108 |
| 1832E The shipwreck of the Mentor at Palau in 1832—Press reports | 110 |
| 1832F The shipwreck of the Mentor —The official account of Capt. Barnard | 127 |
| 1832G The shipwreck of the Mentor —The narratives of Horace Holden | 149 |
| Vocabulary of the language of Tobi Island in 1833-1834 | 181 |
| 1832H Governor Villalobos' Description of Guam | 191 |
| 1832I The Planet , Captain Fraser | 215 |
| 1832J The whaler Ploughboy , Captain Nathan Chase | 218 |
| 1832K The whaler Hashmy , Captain Harwood, stopped at Namorik | 219 |
| 1832M The whaler Australian , Captain Edward Cattlin | 220 |
| 1833A Correspondence of Governor Villalobos in 1833 | 221 |
| 1833B Correspondence received by Governor Villalobos in 1833 | 235 |
| 1833C Notes on Pohnpei, 1833 | 237 |
| 1833D The brig Spy of Salem, Captain Knight, visited iPohnpei | 239 |
| 1833E Visit of an unknown Russian ship reported by Governor Villalobos | 244 |
| 1833G Brig Bolivar Liberator re-discovered Taongi | 246 |
| 1833H The captain of the Nimrod killed at Pingelap | 248 |
| 1833I The journal of Robert Jarman aboard the whaler Japan of London | 249 |
| 1834A Correspondence of Governor Villalobos in 1834 | 254 |

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 1834B | The Conway Affair and aftermath of murder of Capt. Stavers in 1824 | 263 |
| 1834C | Survey of the Marianas by Lieutenant Petrie, R.N. | 266 |
| 1834D | Governor Villalobos' opinions on import duties | 270 |
| 1834E | The story of Father Ciriaco really begins in 1834 | 272 |
| 1834F | The Spanish ship that became Hawaiian | 278 |
| 1834H | The loss of the schooner Dash , Captain Keating, at Ngulu | 280 |
| 1834I | Dr. Coulter passed by the Gilberts, ca. 1834 | 283 |
| 1834J | The story of the Victoria , cut off at Bikini (or Rongerik) | 305 |
| 1834K | Massacres at Kosrae, 1834 and 1835 | 306 |
| 1834L | The bark Eliza of Salem, Captain Winn | 311 |
| 1834M | U.S. whaler John Coggeshall claimed the discovery of Urracas | 314 |
| 1834P | Nanmadol ruins in Pohnpei—Narrative of Mr. Ong | 315 |
| 1835A | 1834-35 Census of the Marianas | 316 |
| 1835B | The shipwreck of the Corsair —Narrative of William Reney | 324 |
| 1835C | The shipwreck of the Corsair —Press reports | 346 |
| 1835D | The shipwreck of the Corsair —The report of Governor Villalobos | 349 |
| 1834F | The brigantine Pronto arrived without the mail | 351 |
| 1835F | Petition by Silvester Cepeda for back pay | 353 |
| 1835G | Forts of Guam—Construction of half-redoubts at Agaña | 355 |
| 1835H | The Nautilus , Captain Swift, whaling near the Gilberts | 364 |
| 1835I | The ship Awashonks , Captain Prince Coffin, cut off at Namori | 368 |
| 1835J | Ship Lemuel C. Richmond visited the Gilberts | 373 |
| 1835K | The brig Consul , Captain T. N. Chapman | 374 |
| 1835L | The barque Pallas , Captain Archer, sighted Pohnpei | 376 |
| 1835M | The Japan of London, Captain William E. Hill | 378 |
| 1835N | Ship William Wirt , Captain Daggett, off the Gilberts | 379 |
| 1835O | USS Vincennes , Commander Aulick—The report of Cmdr Aulick | 381 |
| 1835P | USS Vincennes , Commander Aulick—Narrative of Lieut. Browning | 387 |
| 1835Q | The Franklin of Sag Harbor, Captain C. C. Griffin | 412 |
| 1835R | First visit of the cutter Lambton at Pohnpei | 414 |
| 1836A | The scientific voyage of the French ship Bonite , Captain Vaillant | 422 |
| 1836C | Captain Lawson of the ship Augustus killed by Carolinians | 428 |
| 1836D | The loss of the French brig Harmony near Nauru | 429 |
| 1836E | A barque with the curious name of Palinure | 431 |
| 1837A | The Ngatik massacre of 1837 | 432 |
| 1837B | Ships that visited Guam, January-August 1837 | 435 |
| 1837C | The story of the Catholic Father Maigret at Pohnpei | 437 |
| 1837D | Other documents about Father Bachelot, Maigret, Dudoit, etc. | 463 |
| 1837E | The ship Newark , Captain William H. Whitfield | 466 |
| 1837F | The adventures of William Torey | 468 |
| 1837G | Communal works planned for Guam in 1837 | 470 |
| 1837H | Ship Eliza of Salem visited Pohnpei in February | 474 |

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 1837I | The Marianas got a new governor in 1837 | 475 |
| 1837J | Notes about Governor Casillas and his term of office, 1837-43 | 476 |
| 1838E | Second d'Urville expedition—The Spanish reports | 477 |
| 1838F | Second d'Urville expedition—The narrative of Captain d'Urville | 487 |
| | Idem—Report of Mr. Duroch | 513 |
| | Idem—Report of Mr. Demas | 516 |
| | Idem—Report of Mr. Dubouzet | 517 |
| | Idem—Report of Mr. Duroch | 537 |
| | Idem—Report of Mr. Gourdin | 543 |
| 1838G | Second d'Urville expedition—The anthropology volume | 555 |
| 1838H | Second d'Urville expedition—Narrative of Lieut. Rocquemaurel | 468 |
| 1838I | Second d'Urville expedition—The narrative of Dr. Guillou | 590 |
| 1838J | Second d'Urville expedition—Narrative of Mr. Desgraz | 595 |
| 1838K | Second d'Urville expedition—An anonymous account | 624 |
| 1839A | Official investigation of the Falcon Affair and Ngatik massacre | 631 |
| 1839B | The Falcon Arrair and the Ngatik massacre—Reports of Cmdr Blake | 658 |
| 1839D | Notes about the Carolines, by Captain Metcalf | 695 |

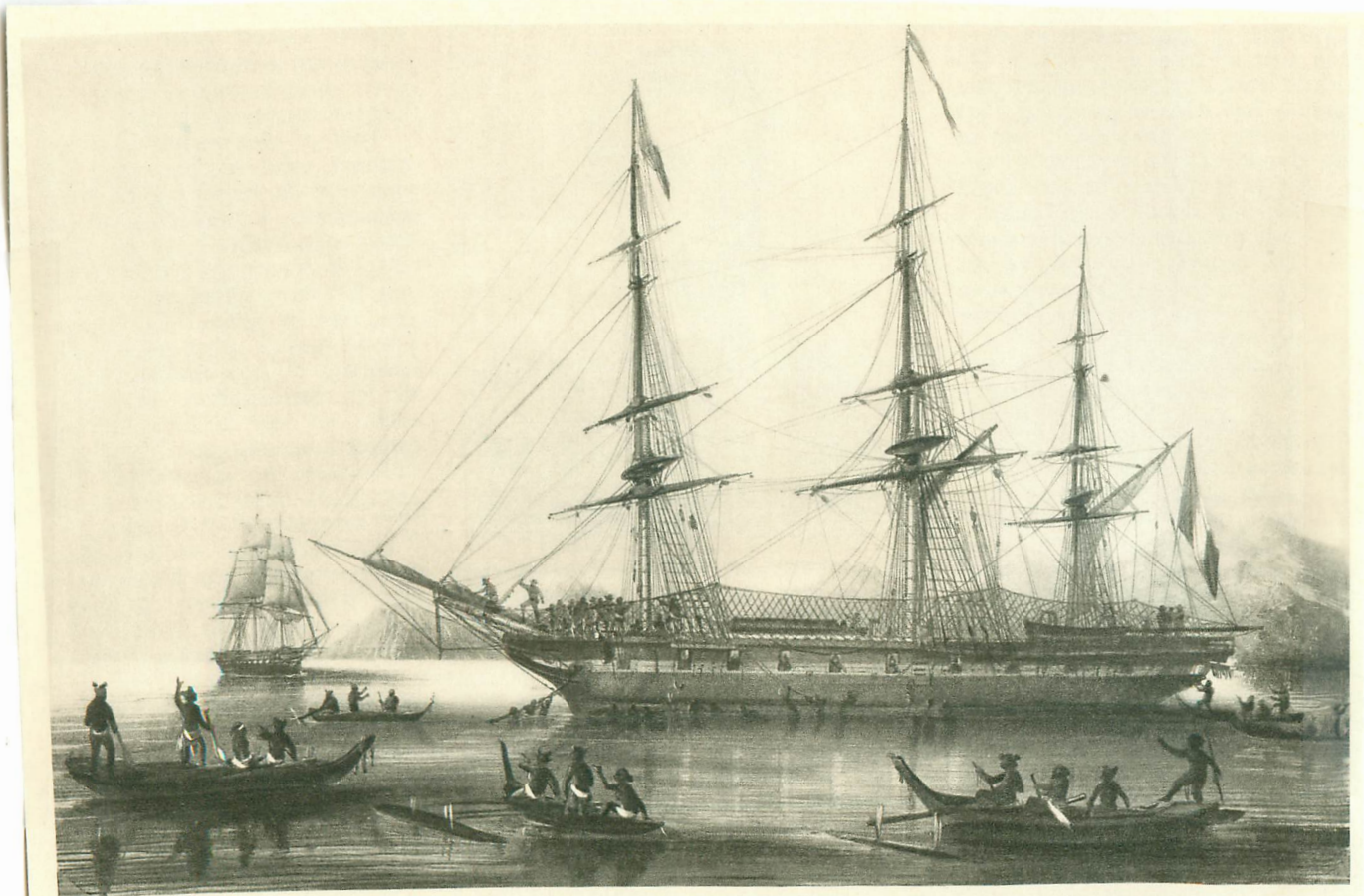
List of illustrations

| | Page |
|--|---------|
| Salem trading ship, circa 1830 | 7 |
| Corvettes Astrolabe and Zélée | 8 |
| One of the corvettes in rough seas | 9 |
| One of the corvettes in stormy seas | 10 |
| Captain Lafond, after the shipwreck of the Candida at Tonga | 55 |
| Mariana Islands—Josefa Martinez and Panchita Reyes | 66 |
| Mariana Islands—Meeting some Carolinians | 69 |
| Map of Guam by Francisco Coello, 1852 | 190 |
| The brig Spy of Salem | 238 |
| Bark Eliza of Salem, built 1823, 240 tons | 312 |
| Attack of the natives on the boat of the Corsair | 328 |
| Leaving the ship on fire | 330 |
| Boats laying to in a gale | 332 |
| Northern Marianas with the Maugs wrongly placed | 426 |
| Father Louis Maigret, 1804-1882 | 436 |
| Father Maigret at the grave of Father Bachelot on Na Island, Pohnpei | 462 |
| The corvettes Astrolabe and Zélée in the Antarctic in 1838 | 481 |
| The corvette Astrolabe in ice-floes, in 1840 | 482 |
| The corvettes in tropical waters | 483 |
| Dumont d'Urville—two portraits | 484-485 |
| Native of the Caroline Islands (Nukuoro) going fishing | 491 |
| Church of Inarahan, Guam | 527 |
| Women of Umatac. Mayor, peasant, and hunter of Umatac | 528 |
| Typical Carolinian canoe (design details) | 548 |
| Rowing canoes of Guam | 549 |
| Church of Umatac, Guam | 550 |
| View of the Palace, Umatac, Guam | 551 |
| Bay of Umatac, Guam | 552 |
| Forts of Guam, Umatac | 553 |
| Island canoes under sail | 554 |
| Busts of some Carolinians | 556-557 |
| Busts of some Chamorros | 561-562 |
| Skulls from Guam | 563 |
| Map of Pohnpei Island | 657 |



The History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents was compiled, edited and published by Rod Levesque. Copyrights were obtained by the Habel Outer Island Education Fund, a US nonprofit, in 2022, which digitized the content to facilitate noncommercial access to, and use of, the series. Questions? contact@habele.org

Corvettes Astrolabe and Zélée.



LES CORVETTES L' « ASTROLABE » ET LA « ZÉLÉE » À NOUKA-HIVA. CES BÂTIMENTS SERVIRENT, ENTRE 1825 ET 1840, AUX VOYAGES DE DÉCOUVERTES DE DUMONT D'URVILLE. LITHOGRAPHIE DE LEBRETON. MUSÉE DE MARINE. — CL. LAROUSSE.



One of the corvettes in rough seas.



One of the corvettes in stormy seas.

Documents 1831A

Forts of Guam, etc. and map of Guam, by Colonel Villalobos, 1829-1831

Sources: Ms. in LC Mss. Division, Spanish Gov't Collection, Item 41; cited in B&R 53:380.

Note: The map was not produced until 1833 (see Doc. 1832H).

A1. Plans and accounts for engineering works

Original text in Spanish.

Nº 5. Año 1831.

Espediente de los costos ejecutados para la formacion del Croquis de esta Ysla y otras Obras del ramo de Yngenieros y Artilleria.

En esta Capital no hay mas Almacen de Polvora que el pequeño, y mal construido deposito llamado de Santa Barvara (á) la Casamata, expuesto á fraudes, á una boladura, ú humedades, goteras, y deterioro de la Polvora, por ser su techo de solo texa sencilla, sin dados ó ventanas para la ventilacion, sus paredes endebles, sin cerca al rededor de él, sus Puertas sin los revestimientos competentes, y con sola de una Cerradura en lugar de las tres prevenidas por Reales Ordenanzas &a. causalos [sic] todas, que á demás del peligro, en que puede considerarse la parte de dho ramo colocada en un tál deposito, hace indispensable que el resto de la Polvora esté en la Casa Almacen de Real Hacienda; cuyos peligros por la proximidad á la Calle y fuegos en la misma Casa, ó en las inmediatas, no son en nada inferiores á los del deposito arriba dho; fundado pues en razones tan poderosas, no puedo menos de rogar á U. se sirva hacer se reúna la Junta, de que habla el articulo 8º de las Ynstrucciones, que con respecto al ramo de Yngenieros me han sido conferidas por el Exmo. Sor. Capn. Gral. con fha veinte y cinco de Junio de este año, y me manda tambien observar S.E. en el 4º de su Superior orden fha veinte y siete del mismo mes y año, para que si pareciere conforme, pueda perfeccionarse en lo posible el deposito indicado, segun lo pide la urgencia expresada.

Las cantidades, con que anualmente se socorre por el Superior Gobierno á estas Yslas, tienen un obgeto determinado: la Compañia de dotacion compuesta de cincuenta y cuatro Plazas, no puede cubrir sino muy pocos puntos, y esos solo para su Custodia, y de ningun modo para defenderlos competentemente: de suerte, que hallandonos

gratificacion de los Oficiales D. Damaso de San Nicolas, y Don Silvestre Ynocencio Palomo, de los Albañiles, Carpinteros, y Herreros que necesite mediante el jornal diario û cada uno de tres reales, y de los operarios que juzgue oportunos con el Salario de otros dos reales en cada dia; en el concepto de que los gastos ha de satisfacerlos Semanalmente el referido Administrador con Cargo á los mil pesos designados por la Superioridad para esta Clase de gastos extraordinarios. Que el Castillo de Santa Cruz se custodie por una Guardia compuesta de seis hombres de la Compañia de Dotacion, el Almacen de Santa Barbara por cinco de la misma Tropa; y que no bastando el resto de la Tropa referida (rebajando enfermos, y ausentes, y haciendo la Guardia un dia si, y otro no) mas que para dar trece hombres diarios para la Custodia de veinte y ocho presos que existen actualmente, igualmente que para las Centinelas de Palacio, y seguridad publica, se refuerze esta Guardia de noche con catorce hombres Milicianos sin perjuicio de que en alguna novedad, ú ocurrencia extraordinaria puedan tomarse por el Sor. Govor. las providencias que crea del caso: deviendo darse Copia de esta acta autorizada por el Secretario, y con visto bueno del Sor. Presidente á los dos vocales de la presente Junta, para que egecuten lo que se les ordena en ella.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

Francisco Villalobos

José Romero

Joaquin de Leon Guerrero: Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra.

Real Cuerpo de Yngenieros—Yslas Marianas.

Relacion del gasto que ha ocasionado la formacion del Croquis de esta Ysla, y composicion del fuerte de Santa Cruz, Almacen de Polvora de Santa Barbara y algunas otras de poca importancia en los Edificios de la Artilleria:

| <i>Tinglado de Artilleria</i> | <i>Pesos-Reales-Granos</i> |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Por una relacion con el numero 1º de Don Lucas de Castro como encargado de la Obra que en ella se manifiesta, ocho pesos, siete reales y nueve granos</i> | <i>8-7-9</i> |
| <i>Fuerte de Santa Cruz</i> | |
| <i>Otra nº 2 del Capitan del Puerto Don Nicolas de Leon Guerrero encargado del Calero, que indica Catorce pesos y cuatro reales</i> | <i>14-4-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 3 por el Sargento 2º Felix Calvo su valor un peso</i> | <i>1-0-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 4 por Don Damaso de San Nicolas encargado en Clase de Sobrestante de la Obra, que indica nueve pesos, un real, y seis granos</i> | <i>9-1-6</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 5 por el mismo, importa treinta y dos pesos y dos reales</i> | <i>32-2-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 6 por Don Lucas de Castro, de siete pesos, y dos reales</i> | <i>7-2-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 7 de Don Damaso de San Nicolas importante once pesos ...</i> | <i>11-0-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 8 importa cuatro pesos dos reales y seis granos</i> | <i>4-2-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. nº 9 del Sargento 2º Felix Calvo encargado de la compra de Barrileria, importa veinte y tres pesos</i> | <i>23-0-0</i> |

sin dinero disponible, sin recursos equibalentes, y sin Tropa, és indispensable que la seguridad de las Yslas se funde en lo ordinario sobre el establecimiento de muy pocos puestos fortificados, á el cuidado cada uno de una simple Guardia, que en el caso preciso, si huviere tiempo y lugar, se refuerze con Tropas de Milicias.

Bajo estas consideraciones creo tambien urgente se artillen lo mejor posible solo el Castillo de esta Ciudad, el de Santa Cruz en el Puerto de Apra, y la Bateria mas apropiado del Puerto de Umata que en virtud de ser los dos ultimos unos macisos rectangulares, que no defienden su pie, ni sus angulos; que pueden ser asaltados y tomados facilmente por pocos hombres; que el piso está formado de piedras blandas, que no resisten los arrastres de la Artilleria, que las del ultimo se hallan sueltas y fundidas [sic = pudridas] la mayor parte, sin haver en él Cuerpo de Guardia, ni deposito de Polvora: se trate igualmente sobre este punto en aquella Junta, y se disponga primero que al rededor de la Ysleta, sobre que está situado el Castillo de Santa Cruz, y á la distancia que demande la sumersion de sus fuegos, se forme una palizada, ú opongo otros obstaculos que detengan á el enemigo, y los obliguen á sufrir todo el fuego de metralla y Fusileria del Castillo: que sus Baterias sean á barveta, especialmente en los angulos, y las cureñas sobre que se sirvan las piezas sean giratorias y capaces de hacer fuego en todos sentidos, de modo que con poca Artilleria, y pocos hombres, quede el Castillo con toda la defenza de que és capáz segun las circunstancias. Segundo, que en el Castillo de esta Ciudad se construya un Almacen y Cuerpo de Guardia; se asienten las piedras de su piso Superior, y se forme al rededor de el un fozo y camino cubierto: que en Umata, si huviere necesidad se hagan las recomposiciones que convengan: y que para todo esto se tomen las providencias particulares, que exige la perentoria necesidad, y se precaban las funestas consecuencias, á que de lo contrario se espone el bien del Servicio del Rey nuestro Sor. que Dios guarde, la seguridad y felicidad de estas Yslas que tanto me ha sido encargada por dho Superior Gobierno.

Dios guarde á U. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña y Octubre doce de mil ochocientos veinte y nueve.

Francisco Ramon Villalobos.

Sor. Gobernador de estas Yslas.

En San Ygnacio de Agaña á quince de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y nueve: reunidos en Junta por disposicion del Sor. D. José de Medinilla, y Pineda Gobernador de estas Yslas que la presidio, el Teniente Coronel segundo Gefe de ellas D. Francisco Villalobos, D. José Romero Administrador de Real Hacienda como vocales, y D. Joaquin de Leon Guerrero como Secretario sin voto: se leyó un Oficio del segundo inserto al folio que antecede su fecha doce del actual, relativo á que se pongan en defensa el Castillo de esta Ciudad, el de Santa Cruz en el Puerto de Apra, y el que mejor parezca en el de Umata, asi como á que se perfeccione en lo posible el Almacen de Polvora llamado de Santa Barvara: y vistas por la Junta las razones en que se funda la esposicion acordó que todas las Obras que se proponen eran urgentes, y en tal concepto se autorizó á dicho Oficial para que las egecute, valiendose en clase de sobrestantes, sin

| | |
|---|----------------|
| <i>Yd. n° 10 del Tonelero Tomas Coe, asciende a seis reales</i> | <i>0-6-0</i> |
| <i>[Total]</i> | <i>103-2-0</i> |

Fragua y tinglado contiguo

| | |
|--|--------------|
| <i>N° 11 por el Sargento 2° Felix Calvo, importante seis reales y seis granos</i> | <i>0-6-6</i> |
|--|--------------|

Almacen de Polvora

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>Relacion n° 12 por el Sargento 2° Felix Calvo, como Sobrestante principal de la obra cuarenta y siete pesos y tres reales</i> | <i>47-3-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 13 de cuarenta y cuatro pesos, y seis granos por el mismo individuo</i> | <i>44-0-6</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 14 por el mismo individuo importante cinquenta pesos un real y seis granos</i> | <i>50-1-6</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 15 por el mismo individuo que asciende a setenta y siete pesos, y dos reales</i> | <i>77-2-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 16 por el mismo individuo su valor sesenta y nueve pesos ...</i> | <i>69-0-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 17 por le mismo individuo que asciende a setenta y un pesos un real y tres granos</i> | <i>71-1-3</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 18 por el mismo individuo su valor total asciende a veinte y seis pesos dos reales y seis granos</i> | <i>26-2- 6</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 19 por el mismo individuo asciende a treinta y nueve pesos, y tres reales</i> | <i>39-3-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 20 por el mismo individuo importante treinta y siete pesos, un real y seis granos</i> | <i>37-1-6</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 21 por el mismo individuo su valor treinta pesos siete reales y seis granos</i> | <i>30-7-6</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 22 por el mismo individuo asciende a trece pesos, y cuatro rreales</i> | <i>13-4-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 23 por el mismo individuo y cuyo valor asciende a catorce pesos y dos reales</i> | <i>14-2-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 24 por el mismo individuo importante veinte y nueve pesos y cinco reales</i> | <i>29-5-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 25 del mismo individuo importante nueve pesos y nueve granos</i> | <i>9-0-9</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 26 por el Maestro de Herreria Don Lucas de Castro ymportante trece pesos dos reales y dies granos</i> | <i>13-2- 10</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 27 de Don Tiburcio Arriola, ymportante dies y seis pesos fuertes</i> | <i>16-0-0</i> |
| <i>Yd. n° 28 del Sargento 2° Felix Calvo importante cinco pesos</i> | <i>5-0-0</i> |
| <i>Yd n° 29 del Capitan del Puerto Don Nicolas de Leon Guerrero ymportante quince pesos fuertes</i> | <i>11-0-0</i> |
| <i>[Total]</i> | <i>608-5-4</i> |

Croquis o Plano de la Ysla de Guajan ***Pesos-Reales-Granos***

Relacion numero 30 dada por Don Francisco Villalobos Comandante accidental de Yngenieros, en estas Yslas; de sesenta y un pesos, y siete reales, que presenta imbertidos para la formacion de dho Plano 61-7-0

Resumen de los gastos que han irogado las referidas obras ejecutadas por dho Sor. relativas al ramo de Yngenieros.

| | |
|---|---------|
| <i>Tinglado de Artilleria, ocho pesos siete reales y nueve granos</i> | 8-7-9 |
| <i>Fuerte de Santa Cruz ciento tres pesos y dos rreales</i> | 103-2-0 |
| <i>Fragua y tinglado contiguo seis reales y seis granos</i> | 0-6-6 |
| <i>Almacen de Polvora de Santa Barbara, seis cientos ocho pesos cinco reales y cuatro granos</i> | 608-5-4 |
| <i>Croquis o Plano de la Ysla de Guajan sesenta y un pesos y siete reales</i> | 61-7-0 |
| ----- | |
| <i>Gasto total setecientos ochenta y tres pesos cuatro reales y siete granos</i> ... | 783-4-7 |
| <i>Di á Don Francisco Villalobos en catorce de Agosto pasado cien pesos, de que me date en mis cuentas despues</i> | 100-0-0 |
| <i>Y habiendo satisfecho por partes el resto solamente hasta completar los setecientos ochenta y tres pesos, cuatro reales, y siete granos que importa el todo de esta cuenta me es data al presente solos seiscientos ochenta y tres pesos cuatro reales y siete granos, con lo que queda concluida dhas cuentas, sin que haya dinero alguno en poder ni de Don Francisco Villalobos, ni de los sobrestantes encargados del mismo objeto</i> | 683-4-7 |

San Ygnacio de Agaña 15 de Agosto de 1831.

José Romero

V. B.

Pineda

El Comandante accidental de Yngenieros

Francisco Villalobos

Translation.

Case file containing the expenses made while making a sketch of this island and other engineering and artillery works.

In this Capital there is only one Powder Magazine than a small, badly-built storehouse called Santa Barbara, alias the Casement, exposed to thefts, to explosion or water infiltration and damage to the gun-powder, on account of its roof being simple tiles, without windows for ventilation, its walls cracked, without a fence around it, its doors without the correct reinforcements, and with only one lock, instead of the three required by Royal Ordinances etc., all of these being sufficient reasons, in addition to the danger, that one may consider as affecting the part of said branch that is stored in such a storehouse, it makes it necessary to store the rest of the powder in the Royal Warehouse of the Royal Treasury. Such risks, on account of proximity to the street and fires in said warehouse, or in those nearby, are not at all inferior to those in the above-mentioned

storehouse. Therefore, based on such powerful reasons, I cannot but beg you to please call of meeting of the Board, mentioned in Article 8 of the Instructions that have been handed to me by His Excellency the Captain General, regarding the branch of Engineering, and dated 25 June of this year, and also the order of His Excellency in Art. 4 of his Superior Order datedf 27th of same month and year, to the effect that, if I should find it necessary, the said storehouse could be improved, on an emergency basis.

The sums assigned annually by the Superior Government to these Islands have one specific purpose: the Standing Company consisting of 54 positions; this cannot cover anything but very few points, and those are meant only to their maintenance, and cannot in any way serve to defend them adequately, so that, finding wourselves without any money available, without equivalent resources, without soldiers, it is indispensable that the security of the Islands be based ordinarily on the establishment of very few fortified positions, each of which taken care of by a simple guard, which, when necessary, can be augmented by soldiers from the [Urban] Militia, if there is time and need.

Under these considerations, I also believe that it is urgent that the best arillery possible be mounted only on the Fort of this City, that of Santa Cruz in the Port of Apra, and the most suitable Battery in the Port of Umata which, by virtue of the fact that latter two are only massive rectangular blocks that have no defences for their bases and corners, which can be assaulted and easily taken by a few men, that their floor is made up of soft stones that do not resist the dragging of the artillery, that the stones of the latter are loose and rotten for the most part, and it does not have a guard-room nor a powder room: this point should also be dealt with in that Board meeting, and arrangements made, firstly, for a palisade or some other obstacles around the islet upon which is built Fort Santa Cruz, at a distance determined by the low angle of firing of its guns, in order to delay the enemy and oblige him to expose himself fully to mortar and rifle fire from the Fort; that its batteries extend beyond the parapet, specially in the corners, and the gun carriages of such guns be the swiveling type and able to fire in all directions, in such a way that, with few guns and few men, the Fort may remain with the maximum defence as is possible under the circumstances. Secondly, that in the Fort of this City¹ a storage-room and a guard-room be built, that the stones of its upper floor be levelled, and that a ditch be dug around it and a covered walkway; that in Umata, if there be a need, appropriate reconstruction take place; and that for all this some specific measures be taken, those made absolutely necessary, to prevent disastrous consequences, which would otherwise put in peril the good of the service of the King our Lord (whom may God save), the security and happiness of these Islands which have been entrusted so much to me by said Superior Government.

May God save you for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 12 October 1829.

Francisco Ramón Villalobos

[To] His Lordship the Governor of these Islands.

1 Ed. note: Fort Santa Agueda, because Fort San Rafael (see below) was not serviceable.

In San Ignacio of Agaña, on 15 October 1829:

Being gathered in a Board meeting, by order of His Lordship Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Governor of these Islands, acting as Chairman, Lieutenant-Colonel and their second-in-command, Don Francisco Villalobos, Don José Romero, Administrator of the Royal Treasury, as voting members, and Don Josquín de León Guerrero as non-voting member and Secretary: a letter from the second-named, inserted in the preceding folio and dated 12th instant, was read, dealing with works for the defence of the Fort of this City, that of Santa Cruz in the Port of Apra, and that of the best site in the Port of Umata, as well as improvements to be made to the Powder Magazine called Santa Barbara.

The Meeting have reviewed the reasons mentioned in the proposal, granted that all these works be carried out on an urgent basis, and to that effect said Officer was authorized to carry them out, by calling on the following, to be used as overseers, without allowances: officers Don Damaso de San Nicolás, and Don Silvestre Inocencio Palomo, Masons, Carpenters, and Blacksmiths who are to receive a daily wage of 3 reals, plus as many workers he may see fit with a salary of 2 more reals per day; with the proviso that such expenditures be accounted for every week by the above-mentioned Administrator, under the Account of 1,000 pesos assigned for this type of extraordinary expenses by the Superior Government. That Fort Santa Cruz be guarded by a guard composed of six men from the Standing Company, the Magazine of Santa Barbara by five soldiers from same, as the rest of the soldiers are not sufficient in number (on account of the sick, absent, and shift requirements) to provide the 13 men required daily for the custody of the 28 prisoners who are in jail at present,¹ plus guard duty at the Palace, and police duty, this Guard is to be reinforced at night with 14 Militia men, without prejudice to any decision that His Lordship the Governor may take in any incident or extraordinary event, when he may take any measure that the case may require. A copy of this act, authorized by the Secretary and approved by His Lordship the Chairman, was to be given to the two voting members of the present Board, for them to carry out what is ordered therein.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

Francisco Villalobos

José Romero

Joaquín de León Guerrero, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

Royal Corps of Engineers—Mariana Islands.

List of the expenditures made in creating a sketch of this Island, and in repairing Fort Santa Cruz, the Powder Magazine of Santa Barbara and a few other repairs of little importance made to the buildings belonging to the Artillery:

1 Ed. note: Most of those were foreign deserters from whaling ships.

Artillery Workshop

Pesos-Reales-Granos

By list n° 1 submitted by Don Lucas de Castro who was in charge
of the work mentioned therein 8 -7-9

Fort Santa Cruz

Another, n° 2, from the Port Captain, Don Nicolás de León Guerrero
in charge of the limekiln 14-4-0
Another, n° 3, by Sergeant 2nd class Felix Calvo 1-0-0
Another, n° 4, by Don Damaso de San Nicolás, as Superintendent
of the work 9-1-6
Another, n° 5, by same 32-2-0
Another, n° 6, by Don Lucas de Castro 7-2-0
Another, n° 7, from Don Damaso de San Nicolás 11-0-0
Another, n° 8, totalling 4-2-0
Another, n° 9, from Sergeant 2nd class Felix Calvo in charge of
buying the barrels 23-0-0
Another, n° 10, from the Cooper, Thomas Coe 0-6-0
[Total] 103-2-0

Forge and attached workshop

N° 11, by Sergeant 2nd class Felix Calvo 0-6-6

Powder Magazine

List n° 12, by Sergeant 2nd class Felix Calvo, as main super-
intendent of the work 47-3-0
Another, n° 13, by same individual 44-0-6
Another, n° 14, by same individual 50-1-6
Another, n° 15, by same individual 77-2-0
Another, n° 16, by same individual 69-0-0
Another, n° 17, by same individual 71-1-3
Another, n° 18, by same individual 26-2-6
Another, n° 19, by same individual 39-3-0
Another, n° 20, by same individual 37-1-6
Another, n° 21, by same individual 30-7-6
Another, n° 22, by same individual 13-4-0
Another, n° 23, by same individual 14-2-0
Another, n° 24, by same individual 29-5-0
Another, n° 25, from same individual 9-0-9
Another, n° 26, by the Master Blacksmith, Don Lucas de Castro 13-2- 10
Another, n° 27, from Don Tiburcio Arriola 16-0-0
Another, n° 28, from Sergeant 2nd class Felix Calvo 5-0-0
Another, n° 29, from the Port Captain, Don Nicolás de León
Guerrero 11-0-0
[Total] 608-5-4

Sketch or Map of the Island of Guam¹ Pesos-Reales-Granos
 List n° 30, by Don Francisco Villalobos, acting Commander of
 Engineers in these Islands 61-7-0

Summary of the expenditures caused by the above-mentioned works carried out by said gentleman, regarding the branch of Engineers.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Artillery workshop | 8-7-9 |
| Fort Santa Cruz | 103-2-0 |
| Forge and attached workshop | 0-6-6 |
| Powder Magazine of Santa Barbara | 608-5-4 |
| Sketch or map of the Island of Guam | 61-7-0 |
| | ----- |
| Total expenditures | 783-4-7 |
| Given to Don Francisco Villalobos on 14 August, 100 pesos which were credited to my accounts afterwards | 100-0-0 |
| And, having compensated the remainder in sub-totals totalling only 783 pesos 4 reals and 7 grains that make up the total amount of this account, the total in my favor of said account at present is only 683 pesos 4 reales and 7 grains; hence, said accounts can be closed, without any money being left in my possession, nor in that of Don Francisco Villalobos, nor in the hands of the superintendents for same purpose | 683-4-7 |

San Ignacio of Agaña, 15 August 1831.

José Romero

Approved,
Pineda

The acting Commander of Engineers,
Francisco Villalobos

A2. Description of the works carried out

Original text in Spanish.

Francisco Villalobos segundo Gefe y Comandante de las Reales Armas de Artilleria, Yngenieros, y Marina en Yslas Marianas:

Certifico se han invertido doscientos ochenta y seis pesos, un real y diez granos en las obras egecutadas por cuenta del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria desde primer de Septiembre de mil ochocientos veinte y nueve, hasta fin de Julio de mil ochocientos treinta y uno, que con los setecientos ochenta y tres pesos, cuatro reales, y siete granos que han irogado las verificadas por cuenta del ramo de Yngenieros, componen la Cantidad de

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1832H.

mil sesenta y cuatro pesos, seis reales y cinco granos precisamente igual á los mil remitidos por la Superioridad para estos objetos: siendo las obras egecutadas en uno, y otro ramo las siguientes.

En el Tinglado de Artilleria

Se levantó su piso como un pie en casi toda su extension para precaverlo de la humedad, y se pusieron seis ventanas, nuevas puertas. @CENTER = Fuerte de Santa Cruz

Pudiendo llegarse á él por los bajos que median desde el rio de la Aguada, y desde Sumay, y no habiendo Embarcaciones para auxiliarlo pronto, se ha enderezado el Camino desde Agat para llegar mas prontamente por Sumay las gentes de Agat en caso de necesidad: se sentó la esplanada continua, que forma su piso Superior: se dió ventilacion á el Almacen, o deposito de municiones por medio de dos respiraderos, que se construyeron con sus respectivas Puertas corredoras, y demoliendo un segundo techo bajo que lo impedia: se aforraron con tablazon costados, y techo del mismo Almacen para preservarlo en lo posible de goteras y humedad: se dotó al Fuerte de Barrileria bastante para surtir de agua á cuarenta hombres por espacio de diez dias, y se hicieron algunos reparos de corta entidad en el muro, y alojamientos.

Tinglado en que se hallan las Fraguas; y havitacion inmediata á él.

Se levantó, y masizó el piso de la havitacion: se blanquearon todas las paredes, ecepto la Fragua: se compusieron Puertas, ventanas, y se hicieron algunos otros reparos de poca monta.

Almacen de Polvora de Santa Barvara

Se le dió la mitad mas de extencion para que cupiere en él el todo de la Polvora; se forró de tablazon techo, costados, y se colcó en el piso el tablado de ordenanza: se construyó al rededor de él el muro prevenido por Reales Yntrucciones; y un Cuerpo de Guardia para evitar el peligro que hasta ahora ha tenido el de paja y caña que la necesidad obligó formar en los principios; y se han puesto en dhos Edificios las Puertas, ventana, escudo de Armas, y adornos respectivos; é igualmente un Reloj de Sol de piedra para arreglo de Centinelas.

Está casi al concluirse el Croquis, ó bosquejo de la Ysla de Guajan; y los pocos gastos, que aun falta practicar, serán de mi cuenta.

Se compuso la Casa Real de Umata, invirtiendo en esta obra trescientos noventa y tres pesos, dos reales y seis granos, que previendo no alcanzarian los mil pesos destinados por la Superioridad de que he hablado arriba, se sacaron interinamente del fondo de Lazarinos por disposicion de esta Junta de fortificacion, y habrán de remplazarse de los cuatrocientos cuarenta y un pesos en que fue vendido un Camarin antiguo de la Real Hacienda en esta Ciudad como inutil á ella; de modo que formando el balance resultan haverse gastado solo diez y siete pesos y once granos mas del dinero dado por la Superioridad para los objetos de Artilleria, é Yngenieros y destinado el valor de un Camarin inutil para componer la referida Casa Real de Umata de tanta entidad en aquel puerto.

Las obras practicadas por cuenta del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria son en resumen las siguientes:

Desembarco del tren venido de Manila; construccion de tapancos, y arreglo de Cureña, municiones, y piezas: Conservacion del armamento, y efectos del Cuerpo en disposicion de poder hacerse siempre el pronto uso, que requieran las circunstancias: arreglo y limpieza de Almacenes; conduccion de efectos, piezas, y municiones á los puntos respectivos: Construccion de algunos instrumentos: premios de Escuelas practicas[.] asoleo de Polvora: se pucieron á rosca granos de cobre á dos cañones desfogonados, y se ensanchó el anima de otro hasta su justo calibre: se han recompuesto los efectos, y cureña que lo han necesitado; y se ha construido una cureña de montaña.

Los jornales satisfechos al Carpintero, y Albañil Caveza de Taller, han sido de tres reales diarios: el del Maestro Herrero principal en su ramo cuatro reales, y lo mismo el del Escultor: Los maestros de segunda clase en todos ramos han percivido dos reales y medio, y lo mismo Aserradores, Acheros, y pernos invertidos en trabajos fuertes, ó que se han ocupado mayor numero de horas que és de costumbre: Los peones por Carga de comunidad nombrados en los Pueblos, han percivido real y medio diario: Los nombrados en esta Ciudad dos reales: al Sobrestante en la obra de la Casa Real de Umata se le detallaron cuarenta pesos de gratificacion por no permitir sus circunstancias señalarle jornal: El Sobrestante principal en el Fuerte de Santa Cruz lo fue el Alcalde de Agat pueblo inmediato á él, con la gratificacion sola de Maestro Caveza de los Albañiles: El Sobrestante principal en las demas obras egecutadas en esta Ciudad ha percivido tres reales diarios de gratificacion, y los Cavos, ó Sobrestantes de segunda clase dos reales y medio: Los Artilleros destacados en el Fuerte de Santa Cruz, que al propio tiempo se ocupavan como peones, recibieron un real diario; y los Soldados de esta Dotation que han ocupado dias francos en los trabajos de esta Ciudad real y medio: El Pueblo de Asan hizo el donativo de un Calero de cientos cincuenta y seis Aras de Cal, y el R. P. F. Ygnacio del Rosario lo hizo de otro de ciento treinta y una Aras; llamandose así un tegido formado con una oja de coco avierta por la mitad de su espiga: Las maderas, y demas materiales no tienen precio determinado, y el costo de las obras merece calcularse solo por los jornales que se inviertan: Las horas de trabajo de costumbre son por la mañana de seis á ocho, y de nueve á doce, y por la tarde de dos á seis: Los jornales en el publico son por lo general algo mayores, que lo que se han satisfecho en las citadas obras.

.Si algun dia el Cavallero Governador de estas Yslas estima conveniente Artillar con dos, ó tres, ó hasta cinco piezas la unica Bateria capaz que hay en Umata, puede muy bien verificarlo con muy poco costo. Dos piezas pequeñas jiratorias que merecen situarse sobre horcones y masizos de madera en los extremos de una de las diagonales del Fuerte de Santa Cruz, para enfilar y defender por la horizontal el pie de dho Fuerte, é inmediaciones á él, son tambien de muy poco costo, y no las he situado por estar todas las piezas de esta clase ocupadas en el dia en esta Ciudad.

Aunque me propuse el proyecto de formar un deposito para agua en el Fuerte de Santa Cruz, y á cierta distancia de él una palizada, luego que advertí los muchos cos-

tos y tiempo que era preciso, igualmente que las dificultades que presenta la roca que forma bajo del agua todo el terreno inmediato, me parecio mas oportuno substituir con Barrileria el deposito referido, y con las dos piezas jiratorias, ó con dos Baterias bajas la falta de la palizada. Por hallar construida ya en esta Ciudad una Bateria elevada llamada antes Castillo de San Rafael, me propuse recomponerla; pero ateniendo á mejor acuerdo á el gran costo de esta obra, á el perjuicio que devia ocasionarse á los vecinos que tienen sus Casas inmediatas, y deverian en tal caso demolerse; á que en cualquiera ocurrencia sumamente remota és preferible poner las piezas que se quieran al descubierto en los Sitios que connvengan á impedir un desembarco, caso (repito) sumamente improbable; y por ultimo á que estando limitados los intereses á lo mas preciso y urgente; me ha parecido mas oportuno desistir de esta obra, temiendo por mejor el que la oposicion contra desembarcos enemigos, si se presentasen, se verifique por medio de hombres armados, y con Baterias ambulantes: Todo lo que Certifico para conocimiento de la Superioridad, y de esta Junta de fortificacion antes de ser firmada por sus individuos la relacion de gastos que va por Caveza, en cumplimiento de las ordenes del Exmo. Sor. Capn. Gral. de veinte y cinco, y veinte y siete de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte y nueve.

San Ygnacio de Agaña á trece de Agosto de mil ochocientos treinta y uno.

Francisco Villalobos

Translation.

Francisco Villalobos, second-in-command and Commander of the Royal Arms of Artilleries, Engineers, and Navy in the Mariana Islands.

I certify that 286 pesos, 1 real and 10 grains have been invested in the works carried out on the account of the Royal Corps of Artillery, between 1 September 1829 and the end of July 1831, which, with the 783 pesos 4 reals and 7 grains spent on the account of the branch of Engineers, make the sum of 1,064 pesos 6 reals and 5 grains, exactly equal to the 1,000 remitted by the Superior Government for such purposes. The works carried out on behalf of both branches are as follows.

In the Artillery Workshop

Its floor was raised about one foot in almost the whole surface, to prevent humidity, and six windows and new doors.

Fort Santa Cruz

Once can get to it through the shoals between it and the Aguada [watering place], and from Sumay, but for lack of boats to get there quickly, the road from Agat has been improved so that people from Agat can get to Sumay faster, in case of need. The continuous esplanade which forms its upper floor was levelled; ventilation was given to the magazine, or weapons storage area, by means of two breathing holes that were built, with their respective sliding doors, and a second low roof was demolished as it was in the way; its sides were lined with boards, as well as the roof of the same magazine, to preserve it as much as possible from the rain and humidity; the Fort was sup-

plied with enough barrels to provide water to 40 men for the duration of 10 days, and some small repairs were made to the wall, and the barracks.

Workshop in which can be found the forges, and the quarters attached to it.

The floor of the quarters was raised and cemented; all walls were whitewashed, except the gorge; the doors, windows were repaired, and a few other small repairs were done.

Powder Magazine of Santa Barbara

Its size was increased by 50% so that all of the powder could fit in it; the roof and sides were lined with boards, and the floor was covered with the regulation flooring; the wall specified by the Royal Instructions was built around it; and a guard-room to avoid the danger that there was until now with a thatched roof and wicker walls that necessity obliged them to use at the beginning; and some doors, a window, a coat-of-arms, and respective adornments; and also a solar clock, of stone, to regulate the change of the guard.

The sketch or map of the Island of Guam is about to be completed, and the few expenditures that are yet to be made will be on my account.

The Royal House at Umatac was repaired, by investing 393 pesos 2 reals and 6 grains in this work, money for which was temporarily borrowed from the Fund for Lepers, by a decision made by this Board for fortifications, provided the expenditures did not exceed the above-mentioned 1,000 pesos allotted by the Superior Government, but they shall have to be reimbursed by using the 441 pesos that were realized by the sale of an old shed belonging to the Royal Treasury in this City, that was useless; so that, when the balance is calculated, there results that only 17 pesos and 11 grains have been spent beyond the money given by the Superior Government for the purpose of Artillery and Engineering works, plus the price realized of a useless shed, to repair said Royal House in Umatac that has so much importance in that port.

The works carried out on the account of the Royal Corps of Artillery are, in summary, as follows:

Unloading of the equipment shipped from Manila, construction of bamboo shelters, and fixing gun carriages, ammounitions, and the guns themselves; maintenance of the weapons, and effects of the Corps, in order to be able to make instant use of same, as required by circumstances, fixing and cleaning the warehouses; transport of effects, guns, and ammunition to their respective sites; construction of a few instruments; shooting practices; drying of gun-powder in the sun; reworking the holes of two guns which were too large with grains of copper; and another one was re-bored to its correct caliber; the effects and carriages that required it were repaired; and one mountain carriage was built.

The wages paid to the Carpenter, and Mason in charge of the Workshop, have been 3 reals per day; that of the Master Blacksmith in charge of his department were 4 reals,

and the same for the Sculptor. The masters of second class in all branches have received 2-1/2 reals, and the same for the sawyers, axemen, and bolts used in hard labor whose work exceeded the regular number of hours. The day laborers provided by the villages under the heading of community labor were paid 1-1/2 reals per day; those from this City 2 reals. The supervisor of the work of the Royal House in Umatac was given an allowance of 40 pesos, on account of his circumstances not permitting him to receive wages. The main supervisor at Fort Santa Cruz was the Mayor of Agat, the village closest to the site, with only the allowance of Master in charge of the masons. The Supervisor of the other projects carried out in this City received an allowance of 3 reals per day, and the gang bosses, or second-level supervisors, 2-1/2 reals. The artillery-men detached to Fort Santa Cruz, who were then being used as laborers, received 1 real per day, and the soldiers of this Company who have worked full days in the works in this City 1-1/2 reals. The Village of Asan provided for free a limekiln of 150 aras of lime, and Rev. Father Fray Ignacio [Sanchez] del Rosario presented another of 131 aras; an ara, so-called, is a basket made with one coconut leaf, split down the middle, and woven onto itself. The wooden boards, and other materials have no fixed price, but the cost of the works deserves to be calculated only by the number of days spent in them. The usual hours of work are from 6 to 8 in the morning, and from 9 to 12, and in the afternoon from 2 to 6. The work hours among the public are generally longer than those that have been worked in the above-mentioned works.

If some day the Gentleman Governor of these Islands should think it proper to equip the only fit battery that exists in Umatac with two, or three, or even five guns, he may very well do so at very little cost. Two small swivel guns deserve to be placed on forked shafts and massive wooden bases at the ends of one of the diagonals of Fort Santa Cruz, to aim at and defend horizontally the bottom of the wall of said fort, and its immediate surroundings; they would also cost little, but I have not installed them because all guns of that category are today assigned to this City.

Although I had planned to build a water cistern at Fort Santa Cruz, and a palisade at a certain distance from it, later on, when I realized that heavy expenses and long time they would take, as well as the difficulties involved in digging the rock that underlies the whole of the immediate terrain and is under water, it seemed to me that a better solution was to substitute barrels to serve as an alternative water supply. The lack of a palisade can be offset by the two swivel guns, or two low batteries. Since there is, already built in this City, a battery installed on a raised platform that was called Fort San Rafael before, I planned to repair it, but, after computing the high cost of such a work, and the inconvenience that it would cause to the neighbors who have their houses next to it, that would have to be demolished; in any case, should the need arise, in an extremely remote occurrence, it is preferable to use the needed guns in the open at sites that are appropriate to prevent a landing, a case (I repeat) that is extremely improbable, and finally, in consideration that the project was limited to the most necessary and urgent works, It seemed to me that I should desist from this work. The greater probability is that an opposition against eventual enemy landings would have to be applied by means

of armed men, and with movable batteries. All of which I certify for the information of the Superior Government, and that of the Board of fortification, before the preceding list of expenditures can be signed by the board members, in compliance with the orders of His Excellency the Captain General, dated 25 and 27 June 1829.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 13 August 1831.

Francisco Villalobos

Documents 1831B

Colonel Villalobos replaced Medinilla as Governor of the Marianas only in 1831

Sources: Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

Note: Colonel Villalobos had been acting Governor since June 1830.

B1. Letter of appointment dated 22 July 1830, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

En la ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña à veinte y seis de Setiembre de mil ochocientos treinta y uno: El Señor D. José de Medinilla y Pineda, Teniente Coronel de los Reales Ejercitos, Caballero de los Reales y distinguidas órdenes militares de San Hermenegildo y San Luis Rey de Francia, Gobernador politico y militar de estas Islas Marianas: habiendo convocado al Sargento Mayor de esta Plaza, oficialdad y tropa de la Compañia de Dotacion, asi como los oficiales de las Milicias Urbanas de las mismas, me entregó á mi el presente Secretario de este Gobierno, dos oficios del Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, el primero de veinte y dos de Julio de mil ochocientos treinta, y el segundo de tres de Agosto del mismo, con el fin de que se leyese, é hiciese notorio, lo que verifique en voz alta, cuyos contenidos, es como sigue:

Al Gobernador actual de esas Yslas D. José de Medinilla y Pineda, digo que he decretado lo siguiente:

“En consecuencia de lo decretado por este Superior Gobierno en once de Junio último en la consulta n° 139 del Gobernador de las Yslas Marianas D. José de Medinilla y Pineda expidanse las correspondientes órdenes para que el Teniente Coronel D. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, Capitan del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria que se halla en dichas Islas, se encargue interinamente y hasta nueva disposicion del mando, en comision de las mismas, cesando desde luego el actual Gobernador quien deberá regresar á la Capital de Manila á la mayor brevedad, comunique á quienes coresponda y tómesese razon de este decreto en ambos Reales Contadurias.”

“Lo que traslado á V.E. para su gobierno y puntual cumplimiento, y á fin de que luego que reciba V. este oficio haga entrega del mando indicado al espresado D. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, verificandolo con las formalidades de ordenanzas,”

Todo lo que transcribo á V. para su noticia y efectos correspondientes, esperando que en primera oportunidad me dará V. aviso del recibo de esta orden y de quedar cumplida.

Dios guarde á V. muchos años.

Malacañan 22 de Julio de 1830.

Mariano Ricafort.

[Al] *Sor. Teniente Coronel D. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, Capitan del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria y Gobernador en Comision de las Islas Marianas.*

Habiendo dado conocimiento á la Real Audiencia de lo determinado por esta Capitanía General en 22 del Gobierno en Comision de esas Yslas me ha pasado la misma Real Audiencia el oficio siguiente:

“Excmo. Sor.

“Por el oficio de V.E. de 22 de Julio se ha enterado este Tribunal del nombramiento de Gobernador en Comision de las Yslas Marianas recaida en el Teniente Coronel D. Francisco Ramón Villalobos, Capn. del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria y como es indispensable que para desempeñar esta Comision preste el Juramento que prescriben las Leyes, el Tribunal ... [enterado?] de la imposibilidad de que lo preste ante el Real Acuerdo, segun previene las mismas; ha comisionado al Gobernador saliente D. José de Medinilla para que en su nombre se lo reciba como la persona mas condecorada en aquellas Islas, y en su defecto al Oficial de mas graduacion. Lo que comunico á V.E. en contestacion á lo principal de su citado oficio, remitiendose en cuanto á su último párrafo á lo que manifiesta á V.E. en oficio separado de esta misma fecha.”

“Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.”

“Sala de la Real Audiencia de Manila 30 de Julio de 1830.”

“Antonio Francisco Valdecañaz”

“Mariano Cubillo”

“Francisco Utin y Duaso”

[Al] *“Excmo. Sor. D. Mariano Ricafort Presidente Gobernador Capitan General de estas Islas &a.”*

Lo que traslado á V. para su gobierno y efectos correspondientes.

Dios guarde á V. muchos años.

Malacañan 3 de agosto de 1830.

Mariano Ricafort

[Al] *Sor. D. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos.*

En seguida dicho Señor D. José de Medinilla me ordenó á mi, el Secretario, leya tambien la formula del juramento que debia prestar y prestó el Sor D. Francisco Villalobos, y es en el orden siguiente:

“D. Fernando Septimo por la gracia de Dios Rey de España y de las Indias &a.:”

“Vos D. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, jurais á Dios Nuestro Señor por una señal de Cruz y las palabras de los Santos Evangelios sobre que teneis puesta la mano dere-

cha, usar bien y fielmente el Empleo de Gobernador de estas Yslas Marianas administrando justicia sin inclinaros a parte alguna, guardando, y cumpliendo las Reales Cédulas, cartas, provisiones, mandamientos y ordenanzas de la Real Audiencia y las del Superior Gobierno de las Yslas Filipinas, que en el llevan derechos os arreglareis al Arancel, no llevandolos à la parte por ... y que en cuanto à los Indios observareis las Leyes Re-... sobre ellos tratan, y que en todo hareis lo que debeis y seis obligado à hacer por razon de dicho oficio, y jurais segun está mandado por Real Cédula de primero de Agosto de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro, no pertenecer, ni haber pertenecido à ningun Logia, ni asociacion secreta de cualquiera denominacion que sea, ni reconocer el absurdo principio de que el pueblo es arbitro en variar la forma de los gobiernos establecidos.

Lo cual oido por D. Francisco Villalobos dijo: que lo juraba con toda su alma y con todas sus fuerzas, á que lo añadió el Señor D. José de Medinilla: Si asi lo hicierais Dios os lo premie, y si no os lo demando.

Todo ejecutado entregó el Señor D. José de Medinilla el baston de Gobernador al Señor D. Francisco Villalobos, á quien reconocieron por tal. Y para que conste lo firmaron los referidos Señores Gobernadores saliente y entrante, de que yo el Secretario doy fé.

*José de Medinilla y Pineda
Francisco Ramón de Villalobos
Joaquin de León Guerrero*

Translation.

In the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on 26 September 1831, His Lordship Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Armies, Gentleman of the Royal and distinguished military orders of San Hermenegildo and St. Louis, King of France, Political and Military Governor of these Mariana Islands: having convoked the Sergeant-Major of this Garrison, the officers and soldiers of the Standing Company, as well as the officers of the local Urban Militia, handed to me, the present Secretary, two letters from His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, dated 22 July 1830, and 3 August 1830 respectively, for the purpose of reading them, which I did in a high voice, to make their contents known publicly, as follows:

“To the present Governor of those Islands, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, I declare that I have decreed the following:

“As a consequence of the decree issued by this Superior Government on 11 June last, in Consultation n° 139 from the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, to have the corresponding orders issued so that Lieutenant-Colonel D. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, Captain of the Royal Corps of Artillery, presently in said Islands, to take over the command on an interim basis, until a new decision be made with regards to said command; the present Governor must therefore return to

the Capital of Manila as soon as possible. This decree is to be communicated to whom it may concern in both Royal Accounting offices, where it will be taken into account.”

“I transmit the above to Y.E. for action and punctual fulfilment on your part, and so that, as soon as you receive this letter, you hand over said command to the above-named Don Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, with the formalities stipulated by the ordinances.”

All of which I transcribe to you for your information and corresponding effects, hoping that you will advise me of the receipt of this order and compliance with it, at the first opportunity.

May God save you for many years.

Amlacañ [Palace], 22 July 1830.

Mariano Ricafort

[To] Lieutenant-Colonel Don Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, Captain of the Royal Corps of Artillery and commissioned as Governor of the Mariana Islands.

Having advised the Royal Audiencia of the above decision of this Captaincy General on the 22nd of the appointment by commission of the Governor of those Islands, the Royal Audiencia has sent me the following letter:

“Your Excellency:

“By the letter of Y.E. dated 22 July, this Tribunal has been made aware of the appointment by commission as Governor of the Mariana Islands of Lieutenant-Colonel Don Francisco Ramón Villalobos, Captain of the Royal Corps of Artillery, and given that it is indispensable, to carry out this Commission, that he takes the oath prescribed by Law, the Tribunal, being aware of the impossibility that he could do so with Royal Assent, as stipulated, has commissioned the former Governor, Don José de Medinilla, being the most decorated person in those Islands, to act on its behalf and receive said oath, or, in his absence, the most senior officer present. I communicate this to Y.E. in answer to the main point raised in your letter; as for your last paragraph, I refer Y.E. to a separate answer of same date.”

“May God save Y.E. for many years.”

“Courtroom of the Royal Audiencia of Manila, 30 July 1830.”

“Antonio Francisco Valdecañs”

“Mariano Cubillo”

“Francisco Utin y Duaso”

[To] “His Excellency Don Mariano Ricafort, President. Governor, Captain General of these Islands, etc.”

Which I transcribe to you for your action and corresponding effects.

May God save you for many years.

Malacañan, 3 August 1830.

[To] Don Francisco Ramón de Villalobos.

Right away said Gentleman, Don José de Medinilla, ordered me, the present Secretary, to also read the formula of the oath that Don Francisco Villalobos had to take, and did take, and it takes the following form:

“Don Ferdinand VII by the grace of God King of Sapin and of the Indies, etc.”

“Thou, Don Francisco Ramón de Villalobos, swear to God our Lord by making the sign of the Cross and the words of the Holy Gospels upon which you hold your right hand, to serve well and faithfully in the position of Governor of these Mariana Islands, administering justice without showing favors to anyone, obeying and carrying out the Royal decrees, letters, decisions, orders and ordinances of the Royal Audiencia and those of the Superior Government of the Philippine Islands, which raises duties there, thou art to conform yourself to the Tariff, and not levy them on the side of ... [words unreadable] and with respect to the Indians thou shall observe the Royal Laws ... [words unreadable] that deal with them, and that thou shall do what thou must and be obliged to do by reason of said letter, and thou swear, in accordance with the Royal Decree dated 1 August 1824, that thou doth not belong, nor hath belonged, to any Lodge, nor secret association of any denomination whatsoever, nor doth thou recognize the absurd principla that the people should decide the form of established governments.”

Upon hearing the above, Don Francisco Villalobos declared: that he swore to it with all his soul and with all his strength, to which His Lordship Don José de Medinilla added: If so you will do, may God reward you, but if not, I demand it of you.

This being completed, His Lordship Don José de Medinilla handed over the baton of Governor to His Lordship Don Francisco Villalobos, whom they recognized as such. And, in faith whereof, the above-mentioned Governors, out-going and incoming, signed it, for which I, the Secretary, bear witness.

José de Medinilla y Pineda
Francisco Ramón de Villalobos
Joaquín de León Guerrero

B2. Letter dated 8 October 1831

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*En consecuencia de la orden de V.E. fecha 22 de Julio de 1830 que recibí por medio de D. Lurgardo Sunico Capitan de la Fragata **Ricafort** el 23 de Setiembre próximo pasado me hice cargo del Gobierno de estas Yslas con las formalidades de estilo en la mañana del 26 del propio mes, previo el juramento ordenado por la Real Audiencia que presté en el mismo acto ante el Caballero Gobernador cesante D. José de Medinilla.*

Estoy dando las providencias que me parecen oportunas para la conservacion de la tranquilidad, en que por la divina misericordia se halla este pais, afianzarlas mas y mas y hacen su felicidad en cuanto me sea posible en el intérin ruego á Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, Capital de las Islas Marianas y Octubre 8 de 1831.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

[Al] *Excmo. Sor. Capn. Gral. de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

As a consequence of the order of Y.E. dated 22 July 1830 that I received through Don Lorgardo Sunico, Captain of the frigate **Ricafort**, on 23 September last, I took over the command of the Government of these Islands iwth the usual formalities in the morning of the 26th of that month, after taking the oath ordered by the Royal Audiencia but administered to me at that time by the former Governor, Don José de Medinilla.

I am taking the measures that seem to me timely for the maintenance of the tranquillity in which, thank God, this country can be found, to enhance them more and more and make them happy as much as I can. Meanwhile I beg God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 8 October 1831.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippines.

B3. Letter dated 31 October 1831 regarding military personnel

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

El Sargento Mayor de esta Plaza Don Luis de Torres se halla por su abanzada edad é indisposiciones que padece totalmente inutil para el Real servicio, hizo el interesado peticion ante V.E. en el año proximo pasado su solicitud de retiro y considerando por otra parte acreedor à él la dirijí respetuosamente à manos de V.E. con fecha ... de Marzo de dicho año; agravandose aun mas los padecimientos del mismo en terminos de no poder ya desempeñar su deber ni menos remplazarme en ausencias, enfermedades ó mueree, repito de nuevo su pretension que adjunto con la fé de su bautismo, copia de su filiacion y nombramiento, originales de los empleos que ha obtenido, vuelvo à dirijir à manos de V.E., por si acaso hubiese padecido extravio la primera y en el entretanto, por la economia del Real Erario, bien del Real servicio, y que este no padeciese detrimento, le he señalado con el acuerdo del Administrador de Real Hacienda, el retiro que le corresponde segun el artº 2º del Reglamento mandado observar en estas Yslas con fecha 17 de Diciembre de 1828. Nombré Sargento Mayor interino con el sueldo de Ayudante Mayor à el de esta clase, Don José de Torres; y proveí las demas resultas en el modo que me pareció mas justo é importante à el mejor desempeño de ellas, segun manifiestan mis decretos de 13 y 17 de Marzo próximo pasado puestos à continuacion

de la instancia que me pasa al propio fin el dicho Sargento Mayor, y acompaño igualmente à manos de V.E.

*Como por la divina misericordia cualquier giro ó industria proporciona hoy à estos moradores mayores ventajas y libertad que los empleos militares, siendo como es su dotacion pecuniaria cortisima al paso que la posicion de las Yslas y su seguridad y defen-
sa exigen un servicio penoso y la mayor exactitud en él: el Ayudante Mayor D. José de Torres solicitó tambien su separacion del Real servicio en el memorial que adjunto [que] elevo igualmente à sus superiores manos: en su consecuencia le he concesso la licencia solicitada en los términos que me han parecido mas justos atendidas sus buenas circun-
stancias y servicios por espacio de veinte y un años y entre el Ayudante Mayor y el Ayudante Segundo D. Silvestre Palomo, y cubrí sus resultas en el Subteniente D. José Martinez y Sargento 1º D. José Flores à causa de haber sido despedido del Real servi-
cio en el intermedio de una à otra fecha por mala conducta el único que habia con aptitud para el empleo de Segundo Ayudante, D. José de Borja, segun todo lo demuestran las últimas notas de las filiaciones de los cinco individuos relacionados.*

*Ruego humildemente à V.E. se digne aprobar estas mis providencias por el mejor servicio de S.M.; y si fuese de su Superior agrado extender los nombramientos respec-
tivos à los interesados en el órden que han sido ascendidos y espresa la relacion siguiente:*

| Empleos que tenian | Nombres | Empleos que han sido ascendidos |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Ayudante 2º | D. Silvestre Palomo | Ayudante Mayor |
| Subteniente | D. José Martinez | Ayudante 2º |
| Sargento 1º | D. José Flores | Subteniente |

Estos individuos, aunque no tienen la instruccion y aptitud correspondientes à los empleos para que son propuestos, son los únicos que pueden ascender à ellos y no hay otros mejores.

*Como es muy posible que en razon à la propuesta que tuve el honor de elevar à las manos de V.E. de 23 de Mayo de 1823 [sic], V.E. se haya dignado de expedir el nombramiento de Sargento Mayor à favor de D. José de Torres, he hecho à este algunas reflexiones (despues de darle tiempo al desengaño) acerca de la inestabilidad de fortuna en comercios y grangerias y la seguridad que ofrece la carrera militar à hombre de bien, como él lo és, y en virtud de dichas mis reflexiones y su docilidad me contesta hoy se halla en ánimo de admitir el nombramiento de Sargento Mayor, si V.E. ha tenido à bien despacharlo; pero si V.E. gusta venga de esa el individuo que ha de desempeñar dicho empleo acordandome de los méritos de los Subtenientes de la Guarnicion de esa Capital D. Felix Calvo y D. Francisco Fox y del Sargento 2º Benemerito Manuel Rubio del Regimiento de Asia de cuyas buenas circunstancias he tenido noticias aqui aunque no lo conozco, no puedo menos de proponer ante la piedad de V.E. que seria muy bueno para el empleo referido cualquiera de los tres, supuesto que tambien el último sea ca-
sado y le acompañe su familia, y no tenga V.E. por conveniente elegir persona de mayor caracter: al propio tiempo tampoco puedo menos de repetir lo importante que seria*

aumentar el sueldo del Sargento Mayor siquiera hasta cuarenta y nueve y medio pesos mensuales, que pueden darsele sin gravamen del situado segun suplico à V.E. en el n° 136 fecha 6 de Febrero del año actual.

Entretanto llega la resolucìon de V.E. queda vacante tan precisa plaza, y en el caso que prevea por mi parte en lo sucesivo (aunque en el dia tengo la mejor salud y robustez gracias à Dios) m fallecimiento proximo por consecuencia de alguna grave enfermedad nombraré para que me remplace à la persona que reuna mejores circunstancias, caracter y mas disposicìon à la seguridad y prosperidad del territorio.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 31 de Octubre de 1831.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The Sergeant-Major of this Garrison, Don Luís de Torres, finds himself, on account of his advanced age and the indispositions he suffers from, completely useless for the Royal service. The interested party submitted a petition to Y.E. last year requesting retirement and considering that, besides, in the belief that he just deserved same, I respectfully forwarded it to Y.E., with a covering letter dated ... March of said year. His condition becoming more serious and his sufferings are such that he can no longer accomplish his duty, much less replace me during my absences, sickness or death. I therefore renew his petition, enclosing his baptismal certificate, a copy of his record of services and appointments, original copies of the positions that he has held, and once again forward them to Y.E., in case the earlier correspondence has been lost. In the meantime, to save money to the Royal Treasury and for the good of the Royal service, and so that he may not suffer a detriment, I have assigned me, with the agreement of the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, what he deserves to get as a retiree, in accordance with Article 2 of the Regulation that has been issued for these Islands, dated 17 December 1828. I have appointed Don José de Torres interim Sergeant-Major with the salary of a Senior Adjutant, the rank he now holds, and I have provided for the other vacancies in a manner that appeared to me to be more just and important to achieve the purpose, in accordance with my decrees of 13 and 17 March last, enclosed hereunder, following the request presented to me for the purpose by said Sergeant-Major, and which I equally forward to Y.E.

As it is thank to divine mercy that any improvement in industry nowadays does bring more [financial] advantages and freedom than military jobs, for which the salaries are so very small, in view of the position of the Islands and their security and defence require a more arduous service and more assiduity in it: Senior Adjutant, Don José de Torres, has also solicited his release from the Royal service in the petition (attached) that I also forward to your superior attention; consequently, I have granted him the re-

requested permission with terms that have appeared to me more just, given his good circumstances and services for a duration of 21 years, and extended his responsibilities to the Senior Adjutant, a post to which was promoted the Second Adjutant, Don Silvestre Palomo, and I covered the vacancies with Second-Lieutenant Don José Martinez and Sergeant 1st class Don José Flores, because the only man who had the aptitude for filling the post of Second Adjutant, Don José de Borja, has in the past and on several occasions been fired from the Royal service for bad conduct, as can be seen from the record of services of the five individuals concerned.

I humbly beg Y.E. to please approve these my decisions for the greater service of H.M.; and if they be of your Superior pleasure to extend the respective appointments to the interested parties in the order that they have been promoted to, and is stated in the following list:

| Previous positions | Names | Positions promoted to |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Second Adjutant | Don Silvestre Palomo | Senior Adjutant |
| Second-Lieutenant | Don José Martinez | Second Adjutant |
| Sergeant 1st class | Don José Flores | Second-Lieutenant |

These individuals, although they do not have the education and aptitude corresponding to the positions that they are promoted to, are the only ones who can be promoted, as there are no better persons.

As it is very possible that, as a result of the proposal that I had the honor to bring to the attention of Y.E. on 23 May 1832 [sic = 1831], Y.E. might have been pleased to appoint Don José de Torres as Sergeant-Major already, I had made some remarks to him (after giving him time to be undeceived) regarding the instability of luck in business and in plantations and the security that the military career offers to a good man, such as he is, and, as a result of my remarks and his docility he has told me today that he has changed his mind and would accept the appointment as Sergeant-Major, if Y.E. has already despatched it; however, if Y.E. should wish to send one from overthere instead, I remember the merits of the Second-Lieutenants of the Garrison of that Capital, Don Felix Calvo and Don Francisco Fox, and those of Sergeant 1st class Benemerito Manuel Rubio of the Asia Regiment, whose good circumstances I have heard from here, though I do not know him, I cannot but propose before the mercy of Y.E. that any one of those three would do very well for said job, supposing that the latter is also married, and that his family would accompany him, unless Y.E. has someone else of better character in mind. I take this opportunity to repeat how important it would be to increase the salary of the Sergeant-Major, even to 49-1/2 pesos per month, which may be given him without being a burden for the subsidy, as I have explained to Y.E. in my n° 136 dated 6 February of the present year.

Until the decision of Y.E. gets here, this position will remain vacant, and, should the case arise that I die in the near future (though I am presently in good health and strength, thank God) as a result of some serious illness, to replace me I will appoint someone

who has the best circumstances, character and more readiness for the security and prosperity of the territory.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 31 October 1831.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

B4. Letter dated 7 November 1831

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*El Juez Comisionado para la formacion de causa contra los acusados de sublevacion en Mayo de 1829 se halla ocupado en ella: tan luego como la concluya procuraré proporcionarle su embarque para esa Capital si fuere posible, en obediencia de la Superior orden de V.E. de 16 de Agosto de este año que he recibido por la Fragata **Ricafort** el 23 de Setiembre próximo pasado.*

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas y Noviembre 7 de 1831.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan Gral. de las Yslas Fiipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The Judge commissioned to pursue the case against the accused in the uprising of May 1829 is presently busy with it. As soon as he concludes it, I will try and provide him with transport to that Capital, if possible, in compliance with the Superior order of Y.E. dated 16 August of this year, which I received aboard the frigate **Ricafort** on 23 September last.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 7 November 1831.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Documents 1831C

Other letters of Governor Villalobos, 1831

C1. Diseases affecting the Mariana Islands—Letter dated 20 October 1831

Source: Safford's Papers N°2, LC Mss. Div.; see his notes, pp. 155-173.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Cumpliré con la mayor exactitud cuanto V.E. se digna ordenarme en oficio de 19 de Abril de este año con relacion à las Biruelas naturales si acaso apareciesen en este pais, en que sin embargo de no haber certeza sobre si en efecto ha habido esta enfermedad algun dia, como à la mayor parte de los niños, y à muchos adultos suelen salirles porcion de vejigas pequeñas que llaman bubas procedentes tal vez del mismo humor que en otros paises produce las viruelas: hay enfermedades herpeticas que llaman cascado, y mal de San Lazaro, y padecen muchas personas de llagas, é [h]inchazones que inveteradas se hacen incurables: podia ser acaso conveniente especialmente contra las Bubas se estableciese la vacuna, dignandose V.E. si lo tuviese à bien remitirme alguna en la oportunidad que fuese de su superior agrado, interin ruego à Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas y Octubre 20 de 1831.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villaalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I will comply with the greteast exactness with what Y.E. has been pleased to order me in your letter of 19 April of this year with regards to natural smallpox, if perchance it appears in this country. It is not clear that such an illness had occurred here at some time, but there is a disorder affecting the majority of the children, and many of the adults; they usually have some small blisters they call *bubas* [buboes], that may be caused by the same humor that produces smallpox in other countries. There are herpetic diseasaes they call *cascado* and St. Lazarus disease [leprosy], and many people are

affected with ulcers and swellings which, when chronic, become incurable. It could very well be that a vacine against the buboes would be effective, and Y.E. may be pleased to send me some, if avaiable, whenever you see fit. In the meantime, I get God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 20 October 1831.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

C2. Celebrations in honor of the patron saint of the battalians, dated 28 October 1831

Source: Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

Synopsis by Safford.

Don Francisco acknowledges the receipt of the commissions or appointments of the officers of the Urban Militia. He reports that on the first Sunday of October, both of 1830 and 1831, there were celebrations in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary, the Patron saint of the battalions; there was a function at the church, a solemn procession with salutes of artillery and infantry and illuminations in the houses of those belonging to the battalion on the eve of the festival. The flags were carried by individuals after high mass tht year, and in the afternoon and night following the procession of the pupils of the College of San Juan de Letrán, various dances were performed to contribute to the festivity of the day. In all these acts the Government tried to radicate the enthusiasm of the said bodies with the pomp and estentation permitted by the poverty of the country, and in the name of the same and of all the inhabitants of the islands the Governor thanks the Captain General for the consideration he has shown them, assuring the Governor that the natives are worthy of his good opinion for their docile disposition, subordination and other qualities which adorn them and which have won for them the love of Don Francisco who is endeavoring to give them happiness collectively and individually with the tenderness rather of a father than that of a superior.

C3. Celebration in honor of the King's marriage, dated 26 October 1831

Source: Idem, Safford's Papers, and Notes.

Synopsis by Safford.

Don Francisco reports that in obedience to the order of October 26th, 1830, he caused to be published by proclamation the marriage of the King our Lord (may God save him) arranged with the most serene princess, Doña María Cristina of Bourbon, daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies.

Deseria merecer de la bondad de V.E. si fuese posible semillas ó plantas de café, cuyo articulo opino puede ser la riqueza de este pais cuya prosperidad deseo de corazon interin ruego à Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas y Noviembre 16 de 1831.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

There is in this City a college called College of San Juan de Letrán for the education of about 30 children in music and basic letters, whose Rector looks after the administration of its funds under the supervision of this Government; I think that the same advantages that it produces could be achieved by the order followed in the villages of the other provinces of the Philippines: many cares and money from said funds would be saved and could be assigned to pay the teachers in the other villages who do not presently receive anything from the foundation and there would even be some left over for the repair of the churches and their ornaments, convents and Royal houses, that are in deplorable state. If Y.E. should approve this project, it could be done with the fied fund, that would have to be counted on every year, I see no problems other than advantages, and the building where the college students live now could produce a fixed revenue, by renting it out as a hotel or boardking house for the foreigners who visit here and have no recourse at present than to rely on the favor and hospitality of the inhabitants.

The islands of Tinian and Saipan produce yearly about 1,500 pesos approximately, that are invested in the assistance of the lepers; if a parish priest, secular or religious, were established permanently in Rota, with the duty to visit the islands of Tinian and Saipan as frequently as the weather would permit, the Hospital of St. Lazarus could be established in Saipan; the result would be that the sick would have an abundance of fresh meat all year round, something they do not have at present; Their maintenance and assistance would cost very little, and even though 500 pesos per year were to be given to the parish priest of Rota, the result would be 1,000 pesos in favor of the Royal Treasury, that could be used to pay the retirees who at present depend on the Royal Treasury, and are an ever increasing burden upon it. The building, after being desinfected and cleaned, would make a good boarding house for seamen, and its rental would benefit the Royal Treasury with a saving in care and expenses for the maintenance of this building, just like that of San Juan de Letrán, and that would be to the benefit of the poor Rota people whou would enjoy spiritual help all year instead of the present 15 to 20 days for the observance of their compulsory church duties, and this would

guard against a great part of the despotism to which they are now exposed on the part of their Mayor and his deputy. There would be no need for the discomfort and danger that presently affect the Father Minister who must go to Rota for the Easter compliance of its residents, with prejudice to his flock in this Island of Guam, and Rota would prosper under their own parish priest,¹ so that the elimination of the two establishments would result in the same pious benefits for them, an advantage for the churches, public education, comfort of the Father Ministers, foreign visitors, residents and justices in the towns, the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, and a decrease in costs for the Royal Treasury.

All the villages of this island and the only village in Rota are to be found on the sea shore; the character of the inhabitants is very nice and amenable to any impulse given to them by the authorities.

I would like to receive from the kindness of Y.E., if it were possible, some seeds or plants of coffee, whose article I think could make this island wealthy, and whose prosperity I have at heart. In the meantime, I pray God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 16 November 1831.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

[Attachments:]

C5. Products of the Mariana Islands

Source: Same as above.

Original text in Spanish.

Noticia de las producciones

Que tienen las Yslas Marianas y de los animales domesticos y del monte que se crían en ellas.

El arroz en estas Yslas es de buena calidad pero no alcanza la cantidad que se cosecha sino para una corta parte del año en las inmediaciones de la ciudad: da el ciento por uno, y en los Pueblos de Ynarajan y Merizo se puede regular hasta el 120; cuando llega el tiempo de su cosecha hay que precipitarla por causa de las ratas del monte que hacen un destrozo notable en todas las sementeras; estoy disponiendo lo necesario para aumentar las siembras de este artículo cuanto sea posible mediante la ejecución del nuevo arreglo he tenido creces y para laborear una gran vega al Este de esta Ciudad he

¹ Ed. note: Rota did not get back a permanent priest until 1843, according to the records of the Recollect Fathers. As for renting out the hospital and the college buildings, Villalobos did so in January 1832, when two small hotels were opened for business; a room in the former college cost 3 reals per 24 hours, but 2 reals per night, while a room in the former hospital cost half a peso (4 reals) for 24 hours, but 3 reals per night.

estimulado al público, y se me han hecho pedidos en mi concepto mayores que los que permite su extension: en Diciembre ú Enero se hara el reparto por los tazadores ya nombrados al intento.

*El **maiz** es abundante, sus cosechas al año son dos ó tres y es el alimento de que mas usan los habitantes; el tiempo de recogerlo tiene que adelantarse por los grandes destrozos que hacen las ratas; y al poco tiempo de cosechado le entra el gorgojo haciendo un total destrozo en él por cuyo motivo cada uno siembra lo preciso para su casa, y à veces se carece tambien de este articulo.*

*El **sune** ó gave [i.e. gabi] produce medianamente y lo dedican los habitantes para pan cuando el maiz esta escaso por causa de los temporales, pues este como raiz, sufre mas el tiempo, y en toda época puede sembrar y cosechar.*

*El **plátano** es de diferentes clases y sus habitantes se surten de él para pan por cuya razon los cuidan con esmero.*

*La **piga** y **baba** son raices parecidas al sune, se cosecha poco y tiene la misma aplicacion que esta.*

*De **dago**, **nica** y **camote** es abundante la cosecha; el último articulo puede sembrarse en todo tiempo, los habitantes como tienen otros renglones que son mas de su gusto les dan salida à estos para los buques que arriban à estas islas; tambien hay **dago** y **nica** silvestre que tiene el mismo destino.*

*Los **mongos** y **frijoles** dan medianamente y estos últimos son de diferentes clases.*

***Berrengeñas**, **tomates**, **calavosas** y **pimientos** hay suficiente para consumo de las islas.*

*De **cacahuets**, **agingibre**, **yerba-buena**, **ajos**, **cevollas**, **peregil**, **hinojo** y **condol** es muy escasa la cosecha.*

***Sandias** y **melones** hay bastantes y son de buena calidad.*

***Piñas** es regular la cantidad que hay, ademas de comer su fruta dedican sus hojas para hilo, con él que cosen las ropas y hacen redes para pescar.*

*De **tabaco** cada uno siembra lo que necesita para el año; en el tiempo que está verde hay que tener mucho cuidado con él por llenarse sus hojas de gusanos, y su calidad es buena.*

*La **caña dulce** es escasa y sacan muy poca miel de ella.*

*De **abaca** es muy poco lo que hay y no se hace uso de ella por el gran costo de su beneficio.*

*Hay diferentes clases de **cocos**, de ellos se saca vino, aguardiente, aceite, vinagre, miel, bonote para cuerdas, sus hojas sirven para techar las casas y otras pequeñas atenciones à que se dedica.*

*De **rima** y **dugdug** silvestres hay mucha abundancia ademas de comerse de diferentes modos en el tiempo que fructifican sirve de alimento tambien à toda clase de animales y sus maderas se dedican para hacer canoas y muebles para las casas.*

*El **federico** es un arbusto parecido à la palma, el fruto que dá sirve para hacer harina semejante al gaogao y como en todo tiempo esta igual siempre que hay escasez se surten de esta semilla los naturales.*

Hay bongas silvestres y otras clases de palma cuyas hojas sirven para esteras y para techar casas.

Hay plantas de algodón, añil, ates, anonas, alcaparras, naranjas, cajeles, limones, cidras, camanchiles, tamarindos, bilimbin, guayaba, papayas, jicamas, pepinos, azafran de la tierra y gaogau silvestre.

Sibucáo y Mangas las hay en muy corto número.

Achote se coge bastante y si se cuidava daría con abundancia.

Hay algunas parras y granados en las inmediaciones a las casas particulares y dan sus cosechas en diferentes tiempos.

Las tagoas son calabazas con cuello de las que se sirven para sacar agua de los pozos y por este destino son de mucha utilidad.

Los animales de monte que se crían en la isla de Guajan son cerdos y venados.

Los domesticos son vacas, carabaos, cabras, caballos, mulos, burros y todo en número muy corto; los novillos sirven para cargar y montar, cuidando por el monte con la misma propiedad que si fueran mulas.

A Rota he conseguido transportar algunas vacas. En Tinian y Saipan hay miles de vacas y puercos y actualmente estoy criando dos venados macho y hembra para cualquiera de dichas Yslas.

Los cerdos y gallinas tienen gran consumo, los primeros pueden hacer tres crias abundantes al año, las segundas son pequeñas.

Patos, gansos y palomas es bien escaso el número que hay.

Translation.

Notice of the products of the Mariana Islands

and of the domestic and wild animals that grow there.

The **rice** in these islands is of good quality but it only produces the quantity harvested for a short part of the year near this city a hundred fold, and in the villages of Inarahan and Merizo one can expect a yield of 120:1. When the time for harvesting arrives great haste is necessary on account of the wild rats which cause considerable destruction in all fields. I am taking the necessary steps to increase the planting of this article as much as possible, and I have had some success in implementing the new regulations, and there remains to develop a large plain to the east of this City, for which I have tested the public opinion and I have received a response greater than I had expected; next December or January, it will be divided off by a board of appraisers already created for the purpose.

Corn is abundant. There are two or three crops a year, and it is the article of food most used by the natives. It has to be gathered early on account of the great destruction by the rats; and shortly after having been harvested weevils are apt to get into it, causing a total loss, on which account each one plants only what is sufficient for his house, and at times there is also a scarcity of this article.

The *suní*, or *gabi*, produces moderately well and is used by the inhabitants instead of bread when corn is scarce on account of storms. Indeed, being a root crop, it endures bad weather better, and at all times it may be planted and harvested.

The **banana** plant has many varieties and the natives make use of them for bread, on which account they take great care of them.

The *piga* and *baba* are root crops similar to *suní*. Little is harvested but it has the same use as the latter.

The harvest of *dago*, *nica* and *camote* [yams and sweet potatoes] is abundant. The last article may be planted at any time. The natives, who have other staples, more to their liking, sell these to ships visiting these islands. There are also wild varieties of yams and they too are sold off.

Mongo beans and other **beans** grow moderately. Of the latter, there are several kinds.

Edd-plants, **tomatoes**, **squashes**, and **hot peppers** grow in sufficient quantities for the use of the islands.

As far as **penuts**, **ginger**, **mint**, **garlic**, **onions**, **parsley**, **fennel**, and *condol* [large squash] are concerned, only a very small quantity of each is harvested.

Water-melons and **melons** are plentiful and good.

Pineapples grow in moderate quantities. Not only is their fruit delicious, but their leaves furnish fiber from which the islanders make thread for sewing their garments and for making fishing-nets.

of **tobacco** each one sows what he needs for a year's supply. Constant care is necessary while it is green to keep the caterpillars off it. Its quality is good.

Sugar-cane is scarce. A small quantity of molasses is made from it.

Manila **hemp** has been introduced but the cost of its preparation prevents its use.

Several kinds of **coconut** trees grow in the islands. They yield toddy, brandy, oil, vinegar, syrup, fiber for rope; their leaves serve for thatching roofs and for other small uses.

Of **breadfruit** there are two principal kinds: the seedless type, or *ríma*, a staple food, and the *dugdug*, or wild type, which contains hard edible seeds. These are prepared for food in different ways; when ripe, they also serve for food for all kinds of animals, while their wood is used for making canoes and furniture for the houses.

The *federico* [*Cycas circinalis*] is a plant resembling a palm tree. The nut or fruit which it produces is made into flour resembling arrowroot and, as at all times it is the same, whenever there is scarcity of food, the natives make use of this nut.

There are wild *areca*, or betel-nut palms and other kinds of palm [e.g. pandanus] whose leaves are used for mats and for thatching houses.¹

1 Ed. note: Safford adds: also for straw hats and for lashings.

There are plants of **cotton, indigo, sugar-apple, custard apple, capers, sweet and sour oranges, lemons, limes, grapefruits, bergamots, esquite, tamarinds, carambolas, guavas, papayas, jicamas,¹ cucumbers, turmeric, and wild arrowroot.**

Brazil-wood [i.e. sibucao] and **mangoes** are hard to find.

Achote² is harvested plentifully, and if it were cared for, it could produce more abundantly.

There are **grapevines** and **pomegranates** near private houses, which produce fruit at different times.

Tagoas are gourds with necks, which they use to get water out of wells, and they are very good for this purpose.

The wild animals which grow in the Island of Guam are **pigs** and **deer**.

The domestic animals are **cows, water buffaloes, goats, horses, mules, donkeys** but they are very few in number. The young bulls are used as beasts of burden, or saddle animals; for the latter use, they are as good as horses or mules.

I have succeeded in transporting a few cows to Rota. In Tinian and Saipan there are thousands of cows and pigs. At present, I am raising two small deer, one male and one female, for delivery to any one of these two islands.

There are plenty of **pigs** and **chickens** for consumption; the former can produce up to three large litter every year, but the latter are small.

There are but very few **ducks, geese, or pigeons**.

1 Ed. note: A kind of white turnip, well known in Mexico and the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Also know as "bixa," or annatto.

C6. Population census for 1831

Source: Same as above.

General census of the inhabitants of these Islands, by village, sex and age group.

| Villages | Men robust/old/boys | Women and girls | Total |
|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Agaña | 948/111/1073 | 2005 | 4137 |
| Anigua | 50/7/63 | 114 | 234 |
| Asan | 39/3/49 | 67 | 158 |
| Tepungan | 21/1/6 | 28 | 56 |
| Sinajaña | 36/6/49 | 31 | 172 |
| Mungmung | 25/1/9 | 39 | 74 |
| Agat | 42/10/42 | 128 | 222 |
| Umata | 52/8/42 | 104 | 206 |
| Merizo | 76/9/64 | 146 | 295 |
| Ynarajan | 46/6/59 | 135 | 246 |
| Pago | 66/10/47 | 126 | 249 |
| Rota | 125/10/75 | 222 | 432 |
| General Total | 1,526/182/1,578 | 3,195 | 6,481 |

San Ignacio de Agaña, 14 November 1831.
Francisco Villalobos

Documents 1831D

Foreigners living in Guam in 1831

D1. List of the foreigners

Mariana Islands

List of the foreign individuals residing in them:

| Name & Nationality | Status/Years ¹ /Local children | Trade/Job they do |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| John Anderson, Scot | Married/12/8 | Interpreter of languages and Assistant Port Captain. |
| Jean Robert, French | Married/6/4 | Pilot of the schooner. |
| William Atkins, English | Married/5/2 | Idem. |
| Eden(?) Cash(?), English | Married/6/2 | Surgeon. ² |
| John Sherwood, English | Married/7/3 | Seaman. ³ |

Note.

The last three men have a case pending relating to the uprising.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 21 November 1831.

Francisco Villalobos.

1 Years that they have been here.

2 The only surgeon in the town, with the responsibility of taking care of the examination of the soldiers and government officials.

3 Ed. note: Described as an Irishman in Doc. 1851A.

D2. Foreigners being expelled from Guam in 1831

Mariana Islands.

List of the foreign individuals who are boarding the Frigate **Ricafort** bound to Manila, by superior order.

| Name & Nationality | Status/Years ¹ /Local children | Trade/job they do. |
|--|---|--------------------|
| Alexander McIntyre, Scot | Married/9/3 | Whaler. |
| George Carter, English | Married/7/2 | Seaman. |
| Ignacio Rodrigues, Port. | Married/14/1 | Seaman. |
| Antonio Fuentes, Port. | Married/8/2 | Seaman. |
| Thomas Coe, English | Married/4/- | Cooper. |
| Sgt. ² Narciso Loyola, American | Married/6/1 | Standing Company. |

Note.

Thomas Coe has been employed here in his trade for the benefit of the Royal Treasury, when required.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 23 November 1831.

Francisco Villalobos

¹ Years that they have been here.

² Sergeant First Class but with the salary of a private. Ed. comment: Probably from Peru. If so, he may have arrived with the mutinous crew from Peru in 1825.

Document 1831E

The barque Derby of Salem, Captain Cheever

Source: Ms. Logbook #1830D in the Essex Institute, Salem; PMB 205. Captain James E. Cheever.

Note: This ship visited Boston, Talcahuana, Valparaiso, Arica, Callao, Payta, Quayaquil, Callao, Hawaii, Guam, Lintin in China, and Manila.

Voyage 12 Oct 1830-1 July 1832. Extract.

...

Saturday 17th December 1831

... Latter part pleasant with passing clouds.

At 8 a.m. saw the Island of Guam bearing W by N. At noon, Guam bore W by South. Lat. obs. 13°34 North.

Sunday 18th December 1831

Commences with fine breezes and passing squalls.

At 1 p.m. passed a Spanish cutter steering southward. At 3 p.m. in all studding sails, royals and flying jib. Saw Goat [i.e. Apapa] Island bearing SW. At 4 p.m., set the royals and flying jib. At 4:30 saw the town bearing S by East. At 5 p.m., tacked to the Southward, the Southern point of Guam in sight SW, the Easternmost(?) point bearing ENE. At 8 p.m. wore ship to the southward. During the night, stood in shore and off. Thick rainy weather. At daylight, tacked the ship and stood in towards the town. Set all necessary sail. At 8 a.m., a canoe came off with a note requesting us to send a boat for a pilot. Sent the boat. At 9, the pilot came on board. Filled away and stood down for the port. At 10 a.m., it being thick, rainy weather, hove to. At 12 noon, filled away, saw a whale ship in the harbour.

Ends with fresh squalls and rain.

Monday 19th [December] 1831

Commences with hard squalls and thick cloudy weather. At 1 p.m. took in topgallant sails and single reefed the top sails and laid the main topsail to the mast, it being thick rainy weather. At 3 p.m. the Captain of the whale ship in the harbour came on board. Filled away and hove down near the entrance of the harbour. From 4 to 6 p.m., fine pleasant weather. Out all reefs and all top gallant sails, main royal and flying jib. There being considerable swell, the boat which the Captain of the ship came on board

in got stove. Backed the main top sail, got tackles up and took the boat on deck. It being dark, found that we could not get in where ship and stood to the southwards; during the night tacked ship off and on where as occasion required. At daylight, saw Goat Island bearing S by [E?]. Got the fore top gallant sails and bore down for the port. At 8 a.m., came to anchor in [blank] harbour, the chain anchor in 23 fathoms water, 48 fathoms [of chain] with the fort bearing SE of S. Got tackles up and got the whale ship boat out and got our jolly boat out. At 9, the pilot went on shore.

So ends this day.

Tuesday 20 December 1831

Commences with fresh breezes and squally. All hands employed in shifting the fore and main top sail and main top gallant and the small jibs. Made ready for sea. At 4 a.m. the pilot came on board. Discharged four barrels beef, 2 drums codfish and took in the jolly boat.

Wednesday 21st December 1831

Commences with fresh breezes and new squalls. Middle part pleasant.

At 6:30 a.m. got under weigh [sic] with a pilot on board and fine breeze from ENE. Latter part, fine pleasant weather. AT 8 a.m., hove to, discharged the pilot, filled away and set all sail. At 8:30, the SW point of the island which forms the harbour [i.e. Orote Peninsula] bore ESE per compass distance 10 miles.

Lat. obs. 13.53 North.

...

Document 1831F

Captain Lafond rescued and brought to Guam by the ship Lloyds, etc.

Source: Capitaine Gabriel Lafond (de Lurcy). Voyages autour de monde (Paris, 1870), vol. 3.

Two English whaling ships which visited Guam in 1831 are involved in this story. According to Jone's Ships: 1) the Lloyds, Captain Howe, which left London on 16 August 1830 and returned some time in 1833 with over 1,000 barrels of oil; and 2) the Royalist which left London on 24 June 1829 and had visited Guam before, in October 1830, she struck a reef off the Philippines on 15 February 1833, went to Ternate for repairs, was condemned and sold.

Note: This chapter is a continuation of the story that began with Documents 1822K and 1828M.

Voyage and shipwreck in Polynesia of the Candida, under the command of Captain Gabriel Lafond de Lurcy.

Chapter 1.

Purpose of the expedition.—Departure from Manila.—Meeting with a ship on fire.—Pondy.—Lombok.—Mutiny aboard a Javanese ship.—Shipwreck and suffering of the crew.—Aurora australis.—Opinions of various travellers regarding auroras.—The author's system.

In Vol. 5 of this series, I have explained the reasons why I had decided to undertake an expedition to the Fiji Islands. I there mentioned in part the voyage of Benjamin Morrell to the Massacre Islands, and make known the kind of speculation that this captain and myself wished to try. I will now talk about my voyage to the Fiji Islands, a voyage that turned out to be so full of unlucky events, and can be placed in the category of those long dramas that so often take place at sea.

Mr. Balthazar de Mier, a Spanish trader at Manila, had offered to sell me the **Candida**, a brig of 250 tons, rather a bad sailer, but solidly built. She could, after the necessary repairs, face the hazards of a long voyage.

It was agreed between the trader and myself that I would take a load of rice to China; the load was ready to ship. The SW monsoon was favorable, and I planned to pass north of Luzon, to reach high latitudes with the variable winds, then after making sufficient easting, come down to the southern hemisphere

The ship was therefore caulked, the rigging and the sails repaired, and I took on board all the necessary objects that I thought would be easily disposed of in the neighborhoods that I plan to visit...

The **Candida**, heavily loaded, set sail on 27 July 1830. In the river of Manila, I had not noticed that she leaked, but as soon as I was at sea, I realized that she would need careening, and that I had been duped by my trader. My voyage was without incidents as far as Lintin, where I left some of the cargo that I did not wish to take to Macao...

The ship was careened and got new copper at Macao. This work, plus some additional cargo, cost me almost 5,000 pesos (25,000 francs)...

The length of the repairs had lengthened my stay at Macao and I could not sail again before 23 September 1830. The season was too far advanced to go between the Babuyanes and the Formosa Islanda and be attacked by the NE winds. So, I decided to go down the China Sea, through the strait of Carimata, the Java Sea, and through the eastern passes, either Bali or Lombok, and then come up again in the south to round Van Diemen's Land and maybe New Zealand....

[They met with a ship on fire. It was a large English brig named **Batavia** of Glasgow, bound to Samarang and Singapore. They rescued the survivors from a boat that had no food or water, and later handed over to another ship bound to Singapore. Two of the crewmen of the **Batavia** shipped aboard the **Candida**.]

For a trading ship, my crew was large, but it could not be otherwise. Indeed, the preparation of bêche-de-mer, or trepang, requires many men, and besides, we may have to defend ourselves against the attacks of the Fijians, a nation not yet civilized. My crew consisted of the following persons:¹

- Mr. Santiago [James] Blain, English, married and residing in Manila, volunteer;
- Mr. Salvador Mendez Marquez, second officer, Portuguese;*
- Mr. Rozendo Martinez, boatswain and third officer;*
- Gabriel Carrioso, master gunner, Spanish;*
- 1 boatswain's mate, Filipino;
- 1 carpenter, English;
- 2 carpenters, Filipino;
- Uchong, armorer-blacksmith, Chinese;*
- 1 steward, a half-breed from Amboyna;
- 1 cook, Filipino;
- 2 seamen, Portuguese;²
- 2 seamen, English (from the **Batavia**);
- 2 seamen, Scottish;

1 Ed. note: Those who later died in the shipwreck at Tonga are marked with an asterisk.

2 Ed. note: One of whom died in the shipwreck.

- 10 seamen, Filipino;
 - 10 ship's boys, Filipino;¹
 - and myself, the captain, supercargo, and director of operations.
- In total, there were 38 men on board.

[Upon arriving at Tonga-Tabu, in March 1831, they met the **Bee**, Captain Cuthbert,² and the English whaler **Lloyds**, Captain Robert Tyler Howe, from London, after 7 months at sea. That ship had already visited New Zealand and had brought three Protestant missionaries to Tonga: Messieurs Nathaniel Turner, Ross and Woon. Captain Lafond learned from Captain Howe that a revolution had taken place in France: the Bourbons had been overthrown by the Duke of Orléans, and the white flag been replaced by the tricolor. They were anchored in the bay of Niukulafa, and tried to leave on 22 March.]³

[The shipwreck of the **Candida**]

At daybreak of the 22nd, the second officer went ashore to get Thomas the Englishman who was supposed to serve us as a pilot. He was sick with fatigue on account of the work done the day before.⁴ He therefore went to explain our situation to Chief Uhila, who was also one of the coastal pilots of Tonga-Tabu, and he begged him to lend a hand. Chief Uhila came on board, but the sky suddenly became overcast and he wished to wait a while before trying to lead us through the breakers. The pilot spent the night on board.

The next day, seeing that the weather did not improve, he went ashore, promising to come back if need be. The barometer suddenly dropped in a terrifying manner, and the violence of the wind that blew from the East forced us to take down the topgallant yards and masts. At about noon, some violent squalls assailed the **Candida**. I had to take down the topmasts. In addition, I let out 20 fathoms of chain and a second anchor. During one of the squalls that were almost continuous, the wind, that until had blown only from the ESE to ENE quarter, suddenly jumped to NE and to N, while it screamed over our heads with a booming sound, as in a thunder storm. The condition of the sea, whipped by gusts that had already turned half way around the compass in their sudden variations, was truly frightening. Let the reader judge for himself what fear the forever increasing hurricane inspired in us, when in total darkness the cable of the second anchor broke! We immediately dropped the last two anchors that we had, but within half an hour, the long chain broke and left us without salvation. A few minutes later, the **Candida** was thrown upon the reef.

1 Ed. note: One of whom died in the shipwreck.

2 Ed. note: A brig of 134 tons, a whaler (ref. Nicholson's Log of Logs).

3 Ed. note: That same hurricane was responsible for the loss of the ship **Glide**, of Salem, Captain Archer, in nearby Fiji.

4 Ed. note: In helping to save the brig **Bee** from running aground.

No help could be expected to come from the shore, though the distance was at most one mile. The ship was lying on its port side, offering, as if it was being careened, its starboard side to all the waves that came crashing up, with the spray flying over the masts, that were shaken out of their sockets. In this cruel extremity, we got busy making the boats ready. The whole crew were begging me to take the large whaleboat and go for the shore, but I did not want to agree to that. I answered that I would be the last to leave the deck. At the same time, I gave the order to tie the guns to the port side, clear the deck by throwing everything overboard, and cut the mizzen mast. I was hoping that the ship, thus lightened, would perhaps be pushed over the reef and then we would all be saved. As far as the main mast was concerned, we could not think of losing it, because it held the hangers of the big whale-boat. Soon, yielding to the continuous pounding of the waves, the rudder jumped out of its hinges and the bar, that was held by nothing, was giving terrible blows to the poop.

At my request, the gunner, a young Spaniard full of courage, went down into the cabin to retrieve my letter box, which contained the accounts of the expedition, and he gave it to me inside a bag, already tied. At this point, I must digress to praise the crew of the **Candida**. In spite of the confusion of such a moment, in spite of the immediate risk of an awful death, not one complaint could be heard. Every man was at his post, trying to carry out my orders.

The boatswain's mate and a few men were tying the guns to the port side. Mr. Blain supervised the clearing of the deck, and the boatswain, assisted by a few choice seamen, was chopping down the mizzen mast.

These various tasks could only take place with extreme difficulty. The awe-inspiring blows that the ship received at every instant were turning the deck into a sort of arena where the workers had to struggle not only against the force of the waves that lifted them up and cut them down, but also against the blow from the objects that were rolling here and there and could break their legs.

The **Candida** did not succeed in passing over the reef, as her hull had already been breached. Instead, she lay down on her starboard side, thus exposing the whole deck to the fury of the waves. Soon the masts came out of their frames. The whole crew, by instinct, threw themselves toward the port side... My mate, who had gone to get the chronometer from the cabin, became a victim of his devotion: he did not re-appear. As for us, hanging as we were from the boarding nets, we were all waiting to be engulfed by the waves at any moment.

A monstrous wave suddenly arose and came crashing down upon us. It was the end: the ship rose up in the air to a great height. For one moment, I thought she might be pushed over the reef, but no, this hope disappeared, as the terrifying noise was heard: it was the last roar that she uttered during her agony. One more huge wave came tumbling down upon us; it lifted the **Candida** up to the clouds, then let her fall down upon the reefs, where, she completely fell apart, and disappeared below the waves. What a terrible moment, so full of anxieties, one that will never be erased from my mind, no matter how long I will live!!!

We were all at first covered by the debris from the ship, and many of us suffered multiple wounds from blows received by such flotsam. I do not know what happened during the first instants, because I was almost knocked unconcious during my fall, but I soon felt something like fire burning my face. It was only through a strong exercise of my will that I overcame the numbness in my arms and legs. I swam up to reach the surface, and hardly made it. At first, I could see nothing around me, except for a wall of water on all sides that reminded me of the boards of a coffin. When I dove under a wave to avoid its full violence, I hit against a piece of wood; by instinctive reaction, I grabbed it and held unto it for salvation. It was at that moment that one of my sailors, pushed by despair, grabbed hold of me. I was lucky enough to guide him to a piece of yard, and I learned later on, that it had helped him reach the beach.

When, supported by my piece of wood, I finally could take a good look around me, I noticed a crowd of black points upon the surface of the waves; they belonged to men and animals, and an instinct of preservation animated all of them to swim toward the shore. As far as the **Candida** was concerned, well, my ship was gone and the expedition too!

For a long time, I struggled in the foamy shroud that the sea threw at me. For a long time, I swam in the direction that I thought correct, because I could spot the coast only at rare intervals, when a flash of lightning cut across the clouds. I finally reached the coral bank that served as the grave of the **Candida** but here I was not at the end of my pains. Indeed, I was a poor man without shoes, almost naked, thrown upon sharp coral needles, pushed and shoved against them by the waves and grabbing them desperately so as not to be pushed back when the waves returned with a fury. I was dead tired, my hands, my knees, my feet all bleeding... I felt that all my strength might abandon me... In a flash I saw my family, my sister, my brother, who had been waiting for me for so long, my country, everything that was dear to my heart. I recommended my soul to God, and prepared myself to die. At this moment, a formidable thunder clasp shook the vault of the sky overhead, and soon a long flash of light cut through the gloom. An immense glow lightened the scene and I saw that I was but a short distance from the beach.

I had been wrong not to have trusted Providence, and I regained my courage. Soon, a last wave threw me up upon the beach. There, breathing hard, broken in body, almost lifeless. I only had time to fall down to my knees, to thank Heaven for having saved me, when I lost consciousness.

I do not know how long I remained unconcious. When I woke up, I was surrounded by four of my sailors who were holding me close to their bodies, and were trying to warm it up. They had carried me into the nearby bushes, because the sea had invaded the whole beach and had spread far up inland. I asked them if they had seen anyone else among our companions, and their sad answer augmented my sorrow.

The rain was then falling heavily and we had to hug some trees to try and keep our limbs from being frozen. At last, daylight came. With what anguish did we search the beach! We regrouped ourselves, and began counting. Alas! six of our companions were



Captain Lafond, after the shipwreck of the *Candida* at Tonga.

nowhere to be seen. The missing ones were the second officer, Mr. Salvador Mendez Marquez; Rosendo Martinez, my third officer; the master gunner, Gabriel Carrioso; Uchong, the Chinese blacksmith; one Portuguese sailor, and one Filipino boy.

Later that morning, the sea ejected the half-broken bodies of the gunner and the blacksmith. Sad remains over which we shed tears for a long time. Still, they helped us forget our own misfortune...

Chapter 6.

Burial of our dead companions.—Salvaging of the ship.—... Separation of the crew,...

The storm was far from over. The wind continued to blow furiously from NNW, destroying the huts of the islanders and tearing down their fences. Grouped as they were upon the beach, the natives seemed to be waiting impatiently for the sea to reject, to compensate them for their losses, some debris from the ship. When the crates belonging to the crew came half broken, they immediately broke them open and put on the shirts and clothes that they had contained.

Accompanied by all those who had escaped the shipwreck, I went to the house of the English missionaries. I made a legal declaration regarding our shipwreck, signed the record of proceedings and had most of the crew put on their own signature to the document as well, and I asked for a receipt of same. Then we went back to the beach, with Mister Woon and Mister Turner, to see if it were possible to salvage something from the **Candida**, but the sea was still too agitated to allow any such thing. King Tobu let me know through Mr. Turner that he would take care of the survivors and that he promised that he would convince the chiefs and the natives to give us back the various objects that had come from the shipwreck and were in their possession. A few islanders then grabbed my sailors and took them to their huts where they were given something to eat.

I learned from one of them that my letter box had been ejected on the coast and that an Indian had gotten hold of it. I looked for this Indian for the better part of the day, because I had a huge interest in getting my box back; it contained all the papers of the expedition, as well as the letter of Mr. Mier to Mr. Blain, in which he advised him that he had written to China to have the **Candida** insured for the whole voyage (both ways). After a long search, I finally discovered who was the new owner of the box, but this man refused to give it back to me. Nevertheless, by dint of prayers and threats, he agreed to let me open it and take out the papers that concerned the expedition. I was greatly surprised to find, in one of the secret drawers of this piece of furniture, 25 gold sovereigns, forgotten a long time ago. At the sight of these shiny pieces, the eyes of the islander suddenly became bright. Bounding like a fox, he rushed upon me to take them away from me. Happily, I had a trick up my sleeve. In the second drawer, I had found a bunch of gilded buttons, which I gave to the savage, in exchange for my sovereigns. He

preferred the buttons, no doubt because they had hooks and they could be made into a necklace. I brought my papers to Mr. Turner's house and laid them out to dry.

During the day we recovered the body of the Portuguese seaman, which we carried, with those of the gunner and blacksmith, to the *morai* of Niukulafa that was used by the missionaries as a cemetery.

...

Back on the beach, we could just see the masts of our ship sticking out of the water by about one foot or 18 inches. We also recognized a part from the oilskin that had belonged to the second officer. As far as his body was concerned, it was never found; it could possibly have remained trapped inside the cabin, when he went down after the chronometer. Or else he might have become the victim of the many sharks that are inhabiting that sea. I just do not know. All along the beach, the natives were busy taking for themselves any thing that the sea brought up. Let the reader imagine how sad this scenery was for us. Meanwhile, the Captain of the **Lloyds**, Mr. Robert Taylor Howe, came back from the west coast, where he had gone before the storm had started. Having heard that one ship had been lost, he had been extremely anxious about the fate of his own ship. As soon as he learned of the awful catastrophe that had befallen us, he came to offer his services most generously, in case his ship resisted the storm. He stayed with us on the beach until 2 p.m. We then went to eat at the house of one of the missionaries, and we soon came back to watch how the **Lloyds** was doing. Alas! the **Candida** was lost forever, and I knew it. No human power in the world could ever pull her out of the coral bed upon which she had thrown herself.

...

Mr. Turner did not see fit to take me into his house. So, I accepted the invitation of Thomas, the Englishman, and went to spend the night in his hut, with the captain of the whaler. Thus, a poor sailor showed more charity than a man who, by profession, preaches this virtue to others.

At daybreak, I went, with Mr. Howe, to the beach where we found part of my crew. However, not one wished to attempt a trip to the wreck, as the sea was still too furious. Not one Indian either wished to risk his canoe, and they are usually so daring in facing the breakers. Toward evening, the hurricane seemed to abate a little, and Captain Howe was able to go back to his ship, and so did the crew of the brig **Bee**. Upon the invitation of Thomas, the Englishman, I spent another night at his house, with a few of my crewmen.

In the morning of the 26th, Mr. Robert Taylor Howe sent two whaleboats to take me, and 18 of my men, to his ship. Mr. Balin and the rest of the crew went on board the brig **Bee**. Here I must take a moment to thank the captain, the officers and all the sailors of the English whaler for their generous feelings. Each one of us received from them one oilskin, a pair of pants, one shirt and a jacket. They did everything in their power to soften the blow of our unlucky situation. In them, we met men willing to help the less fortunate and a humanity that never failed the whole time we remained together. This vessel belonged to a very honorable company of Quakers in London, Messieurs

Thomas Sturges & Co., who, by their virtue, had earned the esteem of all their countrymen. The captain, moved by her natural generosity, also was of the opinion that his actions would be very agreeable to his owners.

Be that as it may, the season was fast advancing, and nothing would normally have prevented Captain Howe from heading out to the Japan Sea to begin whaling. However, following my request, he agreed to delay it by a few days, to help me, if possible, salvage a few things of the **Candida**. We went ashore to look for my boats that the natives had taken. We managed to find the launch and the Chinese boat, but Chief Uhila, who had taken the launch for himself, refused to let us have it, and we had to take it against his will. It was on the 26th that we made it back to the site of the shipwreck for the first time. After many efforts of my men, we were able to recover the masts, the top yards, part of topsails, the jib, the mizzen, the bell, as well as part of the rigging. We could not get anything from the hold.

...

The night was far advanced when I said goodbye to the king to get back on board the **Lloyds** that was soon to take me away from this neighborhood...

[The brig Alpha, Captain Lauaer]

At the moment when the captain was about to set sail, there arrived a brig bearing the flag of the Sandwich Islands. We went over to meet her captain. Then, we all went on board the whaler, where we arranged together for the sale of the hull of the **Candida**. Indeed, the hull and the cargo were supposed to have been insured at Manila, in accordance with my contract with Don Balthasar de Mier, my official owner. Besides, the missionaries did not want to accept the responsibility of collecting the proceeds of the salvage for whom it may concern, and we could do no more to take care of the interests of the insurers.

The next day, therefore, in the presence of Captains Cuthbert, Lauaer, Robert Taylor Howe, before Thomas Neight, the Englishman residing in Tonga-Tabu, acting as notary, witnesses being the supercargo, the captain and the crew of the shipwrecked ship, a sale at auction took place, to get rid of the hull and cargo of the **Candida**, as well as various objects already salvaged from the wreck, everything as is.

After various bids, the whole thing was adjudged to Captain Lauaer for the sum of 125 pesos. The bill of sale was immediately made, in triplicate, and I went on board the brig **Alfa** to receive the money, or sale price. This money was distributed on a prorata basis between the captain and the crew of the **Candida**. I used the rest of the day to get certified copies of the account of the shipwreck and of the sale of the debris.

I had these documents signed by the missionaries, the captains and the residents, so that they could be used at Manila. During the evening, the former crew of the **Candida** met together for one last time. My servant and I, plus 10 [Filipino] Indians followed me on board the whaler.¹ Eight others were to ship aboard the **Alfa** with Mr. Blain,

1 Ed. note: Her servant was named José and was probably the same man listed as cook earlier.

and the seven others, led by the remaining Portuguese seaman, took passage on the **Bee**.

To each of the two latter captains, I gave a duplicate set of documents regarding our shipwreck, urging them to forward same to Mr. Mier, to help him undertake the recovery procedure with the insurers as soon as possible. I also begged them not to forget to have a detailed narrative of the loss of the **Candida** appear in the newspapers of the country where they would land, including the circumstances that had brought it about.

We set sail on the 30th [March 1831], at 8 a.m., and at about 11, we were outside of the northern reefs. Thomas, the Englishman, who had acted as pilot, boarded his boat, along with four of my seamen who were going with Mr. Blain. Our separation was a touching affair; it did not take place without a few of us shedding a few tears. God only knows how hard it was for me to leave behind part of the crew who had been so devoted to me.

...

Chapter 10.

The King's Mill Islands.—The natives.—Their canoes.—Arrival at the Marianas.—Discovery.—Geography.—Tinian.—Visit to Guam.—Agaña.—The Governor General [sic] Don José Medinilla.—The main settlements.—Their houses.—The men.—The women.—The customs.—The products.—The wise administration of Governor Parreño.

From the Viti [i.e. Fiji] Islands, we went up toward the north, because Captain Howe wished to begin fishing. He intended to sail past the various island groups that lied along our route, in whose waters pods of young sperm whales sometimes come, attracted by the availability of mollusks of the squid variety which they like so much. Consequently, we sailed past Rotuma, and from there, continuing northward, past the King's Mill [i.e. Gilbert] Islands. These islands are low-lying, covered of coconut trees, and surrounded by reef barriers against which the sea breaks with violence, and that extend far out to sea, although I think that there must some passes through them.

Many canoes, manned by 5 to 6 natives, came alongside. They brought us some coconuts, of a small type, some needle-fish and some flying-fish. These islanders are entirely different from those who inhabit the Islands of the Tonga, Navigator [i.e. Samoa], or Viti Islands. They are smaller in size, their face show less intelligence, and their features were unpleasant. The women are very ugly, and our sailors, who normally are not fussy on this point, rejected without pity the advances made on their behalf by their agents. Their fishhooks and their mats were not so well made.

[Gilbertese canoes]

Their canoes had the shape of a whaleboat, but were made with small pieces of wood sewn together, and fitted with outriggers. Like the canoes of Samoa, they were steered with a long paddle and a triangular sail. Instead of having the mast rest upon a proper

socket within boards, it rested on the side of the canoe itself. All of these craft were badly joined; they could be seen to bend when the waves hit them, and the natives had to bail water constantly.

Our blue beads, that had met with such a huge success in Samoa, had little value in the eyes of the inhabitants of the King's Mill, who much preferred to see some small pieces of iron hoops, from 4 to 5 inches in length.

Those who visited us seemed to us to be little sociable; they were armed with long knives and spears adorned with a double row of shark teeth skilfully tied to them. Such weapons are very dangerous. It would be imprudent, I think, to send badly armed boats ashore at these islands; besides, they seem to have very little in the way of refreshments. Even if there were an ample supply of *bêche-de-mer* on the reefs that surround them, I think that it would be impossible to take advantage of them, because they lack the necessary firewood to dry them up, not to forget the character of the inhabitants.

[A rare visit to Truk, or Chuuk]

From the King's Mill Islands, we headed for the Carolines. Soon we came to the Hogoleu Group, one of the largest group in the Carolines, and were given the name of Bergh Islands by the American traveller, Morrell. This group has a circumference of 100 miles and contains no fewer than sixty or so islands, or islets. Mr. Morrell pretends that the inhabitants of the Carolines are the most active, the most pleasant and the most interesting among all the islanders whom he met. According to him, the skill shown by them in maneuvering their canoes is astonishing, but this is nothing compared with the skill they show in building such canoes and rigging them. "In stature," he says, "the men are about five feet ten inches, well proportioned, muscular, and active; with prominent swelling chests, well-moulded limbs, and small feet and hands. Their hair is fine and much curled, but not like the African's... The women are small in size, with very handsome delicate features, and a dark sparkling eye, expressive of tenderness and affection. They have round luxuriant chests, slender waists, small hands and feet, straight legs, and small ankles."

Now then, if you were to give a shepherd's staff and a pink ribbon to each of these islanders, you would have a large scenery such as you see in a landscape painted by Watteau.¹ I think that the American captain had been inspired too much by his imagination.² Well, let me add something to this tableau: a nice schooner surrounded by a fleet of 400 war canoes whose behavior, little welcoming, forced to flee that neighborhood.

We had been anchored for hardly 24 hours before Hogoleu, when we noticed that three of our Filipino sailors and two Englishmen had decided to stay in these islands, whose lucky climate had encourage so many deserters before. One of the Englishmen,

1 Ed. note: Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) was a French painter who preferred to paint views of the countryside.

2 Ed. note: As a matter of fact, the Truk islanders were very different in behavior from the Central Carolinians.

named Chambers, a young pilot's apprentice with a good potential, had conceived—one can blame his young age, as he was but 18 years old—a violent passion for a young girl who had come on board just once. In any case, we went ashore to look for him, and we were lucky enough to grab him at the moment when he was forgetting his duty and the whole world, to swear eternal fidelity to her whose charms had seduced him. The young girl guessed the purpose of our visit without difficulty; she had no sooner seen us that she burst into tears and displayed the signs of the most violent despair. Nevertheless, we immediately headed for the beach with Chambers, who was escorted by two men much against his inclination. We were about to place him on board our boat when about twenty natives, attracted by the cry of the young girl, appeared and tried to cut us off. We immediately formed a circle, walking backwards and were ready to fire at them if they had attacked us. Intimidated by our firm and courageous stance, however, the savages did not go beyond making threatening gestures, and contented themselves with following us to the beach and spying all our movements.

The young girl remained for a time immobile, her eyes fixed upon the frail craft that was taking us away rapidly. Her tears were no more, nothing in her whole person betrayed the least emotion. Knowing the extreme changeability of savage peoples, we thought that she had already forgotten his lover, when all of a sudden she ran to a high rock along the coast and, from the top, threw herself into the waves.

At this sight, Chambers, full of despair, wriggled his way out the hands that were holding him and jumped overboard. At that very moment a squall was hitting us and our boat almost capsized. We were unable to react on time to save the young pilot, and we thought he had drowned when we saw him reach the coast in the company of some natives who had saved him from the clutches of death.

By a stroke of Providence, a canoe, that had been coasting the island under sail, saw the young woman struggling in the waters. She too was saved. When we reached the **Lloyds**, I was able to borrow a telescope from Captain Howe and I saw the two lovers, reunited, waving goodbye to us. I have never heard of this young man again. Due to his intelligence and pleasing personality, he had made not a few friends on board.

Hardly three months had passed since our shipwreck when we sighted the Mariana Islands, once called the Islands of the *Velas Latinas* (Lateen sails) by Magellan, when he discovered them, but then, a short time later, he renamed them Islands of the *Ladrones* (Thieves). This group, situated at about 400 leagues from the Philippines, extends from north to south, between 13°10' and 20°30' of latitude. In width it occupies only 1°47'. Seventeen islands, or group of islets, form this archipelago, and the largest of them are Guam, Tinian, Rota, and Saipan.

The first one that we sighted was Tinian, where, a long time ago, Admiral Anson came to cure the sick survivors of the crewm of the **Centurion** of the scurvy that had decimated it. On the beach, I even found one anchor from this ship that Governor Medinilla had reclaimed and intended to ship to England, to celebrate the memory of the famous navigator to whom it had belonged.¹

The appearance of Tinian is not at all impressive or picturesque at first sight. Nothing announces the presence of a happy and free settlement. We only found there a dozen prisoners working for the government of Guam. Most of them were Englishmen, former sailors, who had deserted their ship and had settled at Agaña, whence they had been exiled. What abuse by these petty governors in these small islands subjected to their despotic authority!

Upon our arrival we went to greet the Mayor whom we found surrounded by his wife and dayghters, not at all attractive. This mayor received, I believe, a salary of 12 pesos (60 francs) per month. He welcomed us with cordiality. The house in which he lived and the few sheds that served as lodgings for the English prisoners constituted the whole village of Tinian. We soon had seen it all.

The next day, we went to visit inland and soon came to huge ruins, called *casas de los antiguos* (houses of the former inhabitants). They consisted in granite pillars, capped with demi-spheres. It is nearly impossible to travel one league in the island without meeting with some ruins of ancient monuments. Their presence proves that the ancient population had been large. The vegetation at Tinian is stunted and miserable; everywhere the trees grow with difficulty and are scarce; one can hardly imagine a sadder or more monotonous place to live than this island. If the fantastic descriptions of Admiral Anson are true, then one must necessarily assume that a great catastrophe has transformed this island.

We left Tinian without regret, and made our way to Guam. We soon reached Agaña, the capital of this island, but the shallowness of its anchorage made us stay under sail. My heart suffered another blow when I landed at Agaña. We were about to become separated from the people who had received us on board, part of my crew and I, like brothers. I cannot help at this point to thank Captain Howe once again, as well as his second officer, Mr. Gardner, the surgeon, Dr. Trongton [sic],² and the other officers, not excluding the sailors who had all vied with one another to make us happy. Before we parted, Captain Howe made me a present of my old whaleboat that he had had repaired and renovated; it was to be of great help to me, as I sold it later for 250 pesos to the local garrison commander and Lieutenant-Governor of the Marianas.³ This sum, added to the 25 sovereigns that I had saved from the wreck and to the proceeds from

1 Ed. note: This anchor had been recovered by an English whaling ship at Tinian, and brought to Guam, where the Governor allowed his shipwrights to break it down, in order to provide iron works for his new schooner, the new **Dolores** (see my STM, under 1830-33).

2 Ed. note: Perhaps Thornton instead.

3 Ed. note: He means Villalobos (see below).

the sale of my watch,¹ constituted the small capital of 500 pesos without which I could not have relieve the distress of my sailors, and come back to the Philippines, and from there to Europe.

In the same letter box, where I had found, after the loss of the **Candida**, my 25 sovereigns, luck had also placed a letter that an artillery Captain, a friend of mine at Manila, had written to Don Francisco Ramón Villalobos, another artillery Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel of infantry, then commander of the garrison and Lieutenant-Governor of the Mariana Islands. This letter was telling the news of his appointment to the post of Governor, to replace Don José Medinilla, whose [second] term had expired. My first care, in stepping ashore at Agaña, was to remit this letter to Mr. Villalobos who was waiting on the beach to welcome the survivors of the shipwreck of the **Candida**. He had no sooner read it that he embraced me, saying that I had saved the local population from a great misfortune.

—“How great is Providence!” he continued, “it is you, poor shipwreck victim, who was destine to bring to these poor Marianos the bread of consolation. Blessed be Almighty God who, by such a dangerous route, had stopped the perverse arm that had been raised to strike one whole nation!”

I admit that these words, coming as they were from the mouth of a Lieutenant-Colonel of infantry, did surprise me. Nevertheless, the thought of the prisoners whom I had seen at Tinian, and the complaints that I had heard, had already revealed part of the truth. Moreover, I could not but recognize that the means chosen by Providence to let Mr. Villalobos know about this appointment was rather extraordinary, because the Mariana Islands are distant from the Philippines by only 25 degrees of longitude approximately, and the letter in question had travelled through about 200 degrees, or 4,000 leagues, to arrive at its destination. The Marianas, because of the difficulty of communications, are perhaps the farthest place on earth. Since their subsidy comes only every three years, nowadays it often happens that the inhabitants receive news of the Philippines through London newspapers. Indeed, there are many English whaling ships visiting the islands, to refresh their crews after a season of fishing on the Japan Ground.

Mr. Villalobos begged me not to accept the hospitality of the Governor. There was a potential risk to his life, said he, or at least some serious harm to his interests otherwise. I was obliged to accept his invitation, before I went to meet the Governor, but the latter arrived just at that moment from his Agaña palace. Consequently, I had to refuse the invitation of Don José Medinilla for his offer to take up residence at his house, and I gave him as an excuse that I had already given my word to Mr. Villalobos, for whom I had with me a letter of recommendation. Mr. Medinilla seemed truly contrariated by this turn of events, and this reaction was, for me, another proof of the rivalry existing between the two officers. I presented my sailors to the Governor and to Mr. Ramó Villalobos. I then turned over to these gentlemen my passports and the record of proceedings of the loss of the **Candida** and the bill of sale, for them to certify. My

1 Ed. note: Sold to the missionaries in Tonga for 1/4 its original price.

sailors were assigned lodgings among the leading citizens of the island, and I made myself at home in Mr. Villalobos' house. Captain Howe was also made very welcome at Agaña; his generous conduct towards us made him very appreciated by the local population. Mr. Howe was a man of my age, about the same height, blond and bald like me. These characteristics and our mutual sympathy made them believe that we were brothers.

I have already spoken of Don José Medinilla. He was a short man in his fifties [in 1831], full of humour, lively, reserved, proud, very meticulous with his dress, and as vindictive as a Corsican. He has ruined the country, only to erase the useful works of his predecessor, Don Alexandro Parreño. Having been a few times Governor over a period of 20 years, he had become a very wealthy man.

There was a striking contrast between Don José de Medinilla and Don Ramón Villalobos. The latter was a tall man, well built, simple, pleasant, well educated, above all virtuous, very pious, too much for a military man. He would have made an excellent monk. He liked to be in command, he told me, only because it represented the power of God on earth. However, he was extremely credulous; indeed, his candid belief in the authenticity of miracles made me almost believe that he did not believe in anything at all. It is not surprising that two officials, such as the two whose brief descriptions I have just given, would be so little attracted towards each other, and that a certain animosity kept them apart.

At the moment when I arrived at Agaña, a terrible crisis had just agitated the country. A revolution had gotten hold of the Philippines: General Enriles had replaced General Ricafort. As the Spanish court feared that the revolutionary spirit would spread to the population of those islands, all the American employees of the government, then working in the Philippines, had been purged.

To make himself useful, Medinilla had imagined a plot against his person and the government of the Marianas, and under the pretext of stifling a revolt that existed only in his imagination, had order the arrest and the garrotting¹ of almost all of the foreigners living in these islands. Some of them, in irons, had been forcibly taken on board a schooner and thrown on Tinian, where I saw them working for the government. The others had been thrown into the damp cellars of the palace that Mr. Medinilla had converted into a state prison. I spent part of the night listening to Mr. Villalobos and his account of these Machiavelian proceedings, but I could hardly believe that this small man, stylishly-dressed, perfumed, elegant, whom I had seen that morning, could have committed such atrocities.

Besides the house called the Palace of the Governor, defended by a few pieces of artillery in very bad condition and a small garrison, badly armed but very pleasantly dressed, Agaña has a few other public buildings, among which the main ones are the royal college and a primary school. The number of houses may be as many as 600. A very small number of them are made of stone; the others are but miserable huts, sur-

1 Ed. note: Death by choking collar.

rounded by a wall of *cycas* palms and built on top of piles, from three to four feet off the ground. These houses rarely have more than two rooms, separated by a light partition made of woven bamboo or coconut fronds. One room is used as a kitchen and a place for children, the parents and the friends to eat; the other is a bedroom, reserved for the owners of the house. It is in the latter room that the family gathers to comply with their acts of devotion. In Guam, as in all of the Marianas, every person does his religious duty first, and as long as the people attend services regularly, their weaknesses, their vices, their licentious and dissolute conduct can be easily forgiven.

One feels sorry for people who could be so easily led in a proper manner, but they are being left alone in their darkness. Fray Ignacio, the curate of Agaña, is an old man¹ with a rather good character, but not at all an intellectual. He certainly could not learn anything other than the basics of catechism to the flock that he had been entrusted with. He appeared to know very little about the basic principles of our religion himself.

The dress of the men and women is similar to that of the Philippine provinces. The women wear on their head a kerchief that falls down on their shoulders. Their hair is tied very low on the nape. They wear a muslin blouse that leaves part of the forms naked and lets you imagine the rest. Oftentimes, they have a small straw hat inclined over the eyes, no socks and no shoes, almost always a huge cigar in the hand or in the mouth. Now you have a good idea how a coquettish Mariana woman looks like. To tell you the truth, their complexion somewhat yellow and their teeth are, generally, have been spoiled by betel-nut chewing, though this practice is not so generalized here as in Malaysia.

One would look in vain over the world to find another country where the respect of a son for his father is greater, no matter how old he becomes; age does not remove this sacred duty. It is not rare to see a 50-year-old man tremble when his old father makes a simple reprimand. They never address their father by his own name directly, but always make it precede by the word "Señor" (Mister). Men reach the age of puberty at 14, girls at 12, but marriages taking place at those ages would be considered an exception.

The Mariano people seem to have borrowed from the Spanish half-breeds the love of *far niente* [i.e. idleness]. The most pleasurable state for them is one of complete immobility. They change places only when they are forced to. That is why dancing is not to their liking, and they indulge in it only in rare occasions. Music would be one of their preferred distractions, but only if you did not have to work to learn how to play the guitar. They have something of the character of the Peruvian Indian. The Chamorro is sad and melancholic, and his love songs or *tonadillas* [melodies] reveal this languishing manner.

1 Ed. note: This was Father Ignacio Sanchez del Rosario, an Augustinian Recollect who had arrived in 1829 and was to die in 1832. Father Ciriaco had become curate of Tumon, where he probably lived with his very own family (see below).



LES MARIANES

Josefa Martínez et Panchita Reyes

*Illustration
de M. L. Lévesque*

Mariana Islands—Josefa Martinez and Panchita Reyes.

In spite of the obvious fertility of these islands, the indifference of the inhabitants results in a lack of production of the soil. Few countries, indeed, are so rich in vegetable matters that could be used to feed people. Many different types of breadfruit trees can be found, the *Rima* or *Ducduc*, besides palm trees, banana trees, sweet potatoes, rice, corn, *areca* palms, *federico* palms, and arrowroot, the palm tree that yields an excellent starch. To the list can be added the following: mango, lemon, orange, pineapple, guava, pomegranate, and grape, all introduced by the Spanish and they have been naturalized. Finally, the inland forests contain precious woods for ship-building, and other plants that have medicinal properties.

Formerly the rat was the only quadruped to be found in these islands. Now one can see, since the beginning of the Spanish colony, the cow, deer, pig, goat, horse and donkey, and therefore the mule which is very good. The dog was also introduced, and so is the cat, but most of these animals are no longer tame; they live in the forests. The family of the gallinaceas is still rather small; a hen is called *Manuk*.

Chamorro or *Chamorin* is the name used locally to designate the indigenous inhabitants. They are far from constituting the population of these islands; in fact, they do not even constitute half of it. The Mariano race was very beautiful, but today in Guam it appears to be much degenerated. At the time of conquest, illnesses were very rare in these islands. Now the most frequent illnesses are: suppressions of perspiration, recurring fevers, dysentery, and leprosy which occurs in three types, but they are all repugnant to see.¹

The typical day that I had while in the Marianas was to get up early in the morning, to go for a walk on the beach, among the coconut trees grow there in large numbers. Then I took a bath in the sea, or in a small river that crosses the town of Agaña. I would then go back to the house at about 8 or 9 to have breakfast, which consisted in hot chocolate, arrowroot biscuits, fried fish and fresh eggs. After breakfast, **Don Francisco Villalobos would work at a chart of the islands.**² As for me, I was busy writing and sorting my notes, or would make excursions. I would either go to the house of Major Luis de Torres, an excellent man, born locally, and one of the prominent men of the place. He was then 60 years old, and I owe to him most of the information that I have collected regarding the Marianas. His wife, his daughter, and his son who was senior adjutant and already had his own family, constituted for me a very pleasant society, which I was delighted to be part of. Another son of Don Luis had been involved in Medinilla's presumed conspiracy and was languishing in prison. At other times, I would pay a visit to Captain Ignacio Martinez, upon whom Mr. Medinilla had once inflicted such a cruel vengeance, as narrated by Mr. Arago in his book: *Promenade*

1 Ed. note: All of these diseases were present before the conquest; in fact, leprosy was reported by the earliest visitors.

2 Ed. note: This may be the chart that was used by Francisco Coello to publish his own in 1852; I had always wondered where some of the place names came from, since Coello did not visit the Marianas and his chart has more names than Duperrey's.

autour du monde.¹ Another captain, Don Justo [de la Cruz], was a worthless man who had no other will than that of the Governor; he always accompanied him during his evening walk.

Oftentimes, I would head for the interior of the island and, in one of these excursion, luck had it that I came up a family of *kanakas* from the Sandwich Islands, which consisted of 40-year-old woman, a young girl of 16 or 17, and two young men. This family had been left in the Marianas by a whaler. They lived by fishing and by the few services that the men rendered to whaling ships. Brought here by luck, like myself, far from their own country, these *kanakas* interested me very much and I would visit them to ease their sorrow, telling them stories about Karakakoa and Honolulu.

We had dinner [i.e. lunch] at about 2 p.m. Most of the time this meal consisted of pork or deer meat; we did not eat much fish, few vegetables, some breadfruit toasted in the oven. Once dinner was over, it was time for “siesta”, which lasted two hours. Then, Mr Villalobos and I would join the Governor in his walk. When we were alone, Mr. Villalobos would speak to me ceaselessly of the misfortunes of the Mariano people. He kept telling me how this country, that was before so rich in animals, cultures, and government properties, had become poor, on account of the carelessness of their Governor. He would tell me how Don Alexandro Parreño had managed, during the six years of his term,² to turn Guam into a small terrestrial paradise.

The climate of these islands is, indeed, truly pleasant, because it is tempered by a constantly fresh breeze, and frequent showeres that refresh the atmosphere. Don Alexandro Parreño had ordered that breadfruit and coconut trees be planted along all the roads. Other useful works can still be attributed to him, for instance, the construction of a belt road around the island, and that of numerous bridges over the ravines and rivers. Don Francisco Villalobos also told me how this former Governor had, by a wise and skilful administration, created in the center of the Island of Guam, as well as in Rota and Tinian, large properties called *haciendas*. These plantations were managed by an *alcalde-administrador* to whom were assigned some soldiers as laborers. Each one of those soldiers received a certain quantity of cattle, pigs, and goats; they had to cultivate corn and rice, that served to feed the troop. Hence they were like the “phalanstères” [i.e. communes] that the followers of Charles Fourier should consider.³

To understand the political significance of this organization, it is necessary to know that in the Marianas the officers and soldiers who make up the garrison are all natives; they receive little or no salary, and very few clothes; however, they are paid in kind, enough to make them live rather well in these islands where life is so easy. Mr. Parre-

1 Ed. note: He had banished him to Rota.

2 Ed. note: Governor from 1806 to 1812, just before Medinilla's first term.

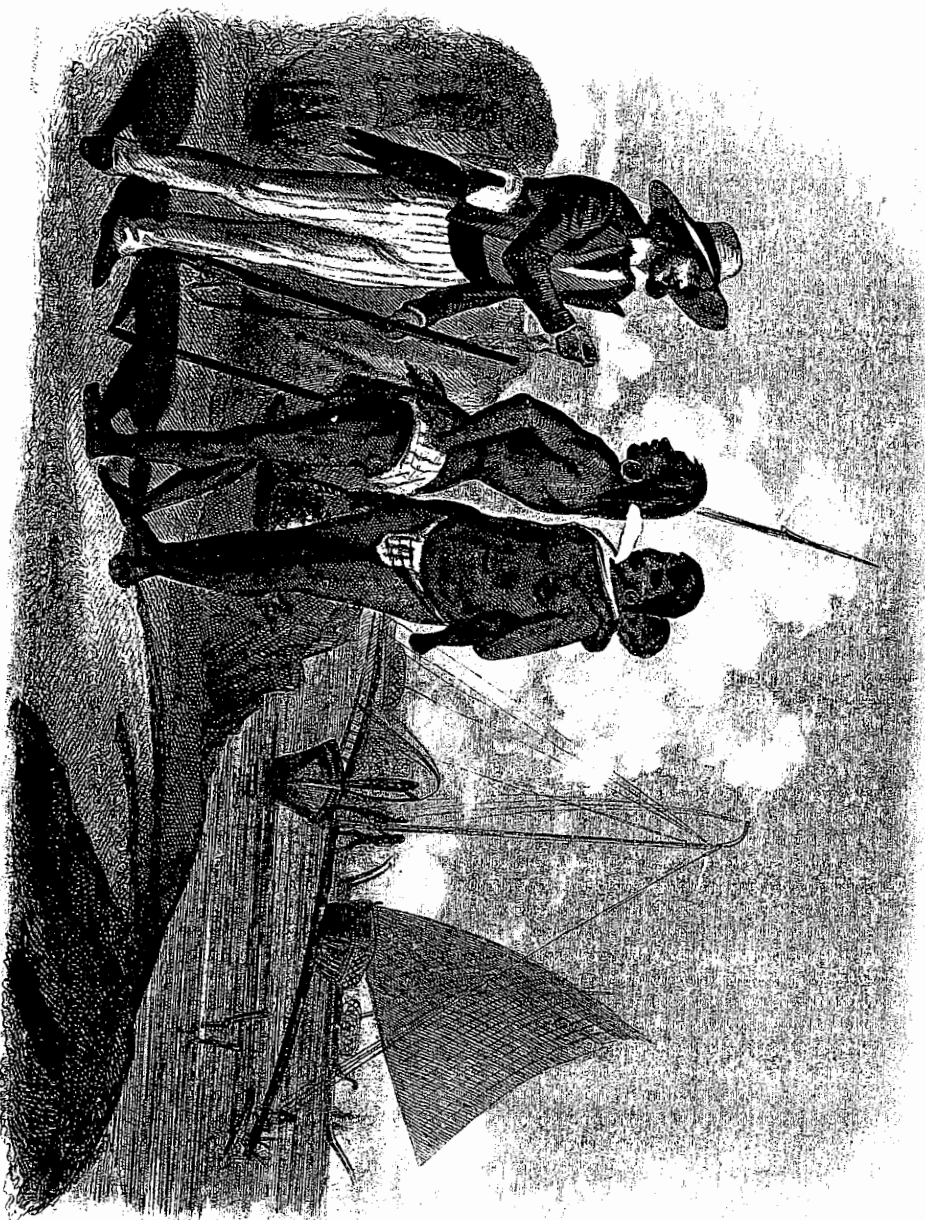
3 Ed. note: Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was a French philosopher and economist who first proposed communist associations of producers and tradesmen for mutual benefit, but his “system” was strictly voluntary.

AUSTRALIE ET PO

parvenu à créer au centre de l'île de
et à Tinian, de grandes propriétés di
das étaient gérées par un alcade auq
nombre de soldats laboureurs. Chac
une quantité déterminée de bêtes à c
vres; ils étaient chargés de planter l
à la nourriture de la troupe, sortes d
ciples de Charles Fourier devraient é

Pour comprendre la portée politi
il est nécessaire de savoir qu'aux Ma
soldats composant la garnison sont to
vent peu ou point de solde, fort peu
simple secours en nature, qui ne
d'un certain bien-être dans ces île
M. Parreño accordait aussi d' pr
tiraient le meilleur parti de leur ch
les préserver d'un fléau destructeur
mots.

Il existe aux Philippines un citr
citrons rouges de la grosseur d'une
faire des conserves. Le gouverneur
Mariannes, a acclimaté une foule
utiles, ayant apporté un pied de c
dans le jardin du gouvernement, et
tinelle pour empêcher qu'on le d
avait oublié d'autres ennemis, les o
trons et en disséminèrent la graine
si bien qu'aujourd'hui les citre
les terres et sont devenus la desc
routes seules un peu fréquentées
chaque côté ils forment d'épaisses



Paris Illustration, Prop. de la Librairie n

1821
428.8
f. 403

Mariana Islands—Meeting some Carolinians.

ño also gave premiums to the farmers who produced the most from their fields, and knew how best to protect them from a destructive pest, about which I will now say a few words.

There exists in the Philippines a dwarf lemon tree¹ that give red lemons the size of cherries, used to make preserves. Governor Mariano Tobias,² who introduced a large number of trees and other useful plants to the Marianas, had also brought one shoot of this shrub to Agaña, which he planted in his garden, where he had one guard posted, to prevent the plant from destruction. However, the good governor had forgotten other enemies, the birds; they ate the small lemons and thus spread the seeds all over the island. The result was catastrophic; today, these dwarf lemon trees have invaded all the plots of land and have become a plague for farmers. Only frequently-used roads are exempt from it, but on both sides they form thick hedges that block the view of the countryside.³ When the inhabitants of Rota come to Agaña, they take great care, upon returning to their island, to wash the inside of their canoes and to shake off everything that was in them, for fear of introducing the seeds of this destructive shrub.

I saw fit to preserve this oral history, but I leave to botanists the job of explaining facts that are often surprising at first sight, when travellers find numerous plants that do not seem to belong to a country where they are now very prosperous.

Chapter 11.

Excursion to Umata.—Deer hunt.—Population of the Marianas.—Income and expenditures of the colony.—Arrival at the Philippines.—Departure from Manila.—Bourbon Island.—St. Helena.—Visit to Napoleon's tomb.—Return to France.

Don José de Torres and Mr. Romero invited me to take a long excursion in the Island of Guam. I accepted this proposal with pleasure, knowing full well that it was an act of kindness on their part, one designed to satisfy my curiosity. We left, followed by many natives and my faithful [servant] José. We headed toward the charming village of Sinahaña, built in the heights inland, then we visited Sanvitores, made famous by the death of this apostle of the Marianas, who gave it the name. The Spanish have raised an altar to the memory of this holy missionary at Tumon Bay, on the very spot where he received martyrdom. We went overthere by sea, and this outing gave us the opportunity to admire the beautiful trees that grow along the shoreline. The area around Tayananeso Bay is specially covered with a type of palm tree from which come the starch that has much resemblance to the sago palm, and is called *Federico* in the Marianas.

1 Ed. note: Called *limoncito de China*.

2 Ed. note: He governed from 1771 to 1774. It was he who brought deer from the Philippines.

3 Ed. note: This was a forerunner to the post-WWII introduction of the *tangan-tangan*.

Father Ignacio [rather Ciriaco] del Espiritu Santo, curate of Sanvitores, served as our guide during our excursion to Tumon. We had to listen to the legend of the martyrdom of the missionary and the miracles that followed it.

—“When Sanvitores received the mortal blow,” said he, “his soul left his physical body, crossed space as fast as a thought, and went to announce the news of his death to his country of origin. At that instant, all the churches in Spain were adorned in black, their bells began to ring by themselves, and the Spanish court was in mourning. A few months later, some earthquakes shook the soil of Guam and the sea took the color of blood. This last miracle repeats itself every year on the anniversary of the death of the blessed martyr.”

My companions, simple and credulous, confirmed this to be true. I was in the Marianas and I could not challenge their pious faith, but I must admit here that this wonderful miracle can be explained without recourse to divine intervention. At that time, the winds were blowing from the west, the waves dislodged red ocher from the cliffs, and that gave the red color to the sea. Anyhow, anyone is free to speak of a miracle.

The spiritual devotion of the Spaniards does not prevent them from being pleasant company, and Father Ignacio [sic] del Espiritu Santo made everything he could to make our stay in his parish a pleasant one. After we had spent a few days with him, we went to visit Umata; it is the second settlement in importance in the island. It is not, like Agaña, famous for its religious feasts. However the history of revolutions has recorded the passage here of the Spanish Navy warships **Asia** and **Aquiles**, on board which was Brigadier Andrés García Camba.¹ We were welcomed there by the Mayor who graciously offered the hospitality of the *palacio* or *casa real*, a building that is remarkable by itself, but above all, because it sits in the middle of a poor village; indeed, the miserable aspect of the huts around it makes it look splendid. It consists of a ground floor, with a terrace behind it. It is built of stone and teak wood; in fact, it is so solid that the earthquakes, so frequent in the Marianas, have hardly shaken it, by moving a few beams very slightly. The doorway or entrance hall is used as a shelter; it is here that all the idle men in the place congregate, and where the deer hunters come after their evening meal, to spend the night.

The church is the most remarkable building after the palace. Its architecture is rather simple, without a steeple. An uninhabited convent can also be found at Umata (it is falling into ruins). There are also a hospital, in the same state, a large shed for the boats, another for the games of the natives, and two schools, one for the girls and one for the boys, both unused. The huts, covered with palm branches, are lined up in two rows, on either side of the road, in the middle of coconut and orange tree groves. Umata has about 300 inhabitants who all seem happy and content with their lot. Most of them are covered with a scaly-type of leprosy that is called *cascao*.² Since they hardly wear any clothes, those of my readers who might be tempted to pay them a visit should always

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1825D.

2 Ed. note: From the Spanish *cascajo* which means rubble.

stand to windward of them, so as not to risk receiving on their faces some scaly flakes that often fall off their bodies.

The vicinity of Umata is extremely fertile. There are some tobacco plantations, taro and bananas too, but the idleness of the inhabitants is such that the soil could produce so much more. Rice could be cultivated in abundance. Corn, coffee, cotton, sago, potatoes, arrowroot or *gaogao*, etc. etc. would also grow well. The Mariano people are so apathetic it is hard to believe. Their worse enemy seems to be work. For them land has no value unless it be planted with coconut trees, valued at one peso each and sometimes more. It is the coconut tree that gives them a drink that is pleasant or intoxicating, oil, vinegar, ropes and household utensils; it goes into the construction of their huts, and provides for most of their daily needs.

The day after we arrived at Umata, we enjoyed, thanks to the Mayor, the pleasure of a deer hunt, one that took us as far as the neighborhood of Pago, a rather large settlement situated on the east coast of the island. We visited, along the way, the royal farm at Tachogña, which the Jesuits had created a long time ago. A rich village had been built around it but one day a very strong hurricane destroyed it and left no trace of it. All the attempts made to build new houses and new plantations have been futile until now. The products from the Tachogña farm, the only one left standing amid those ruins, have been reduced to the lean cattle that is being raised there.

We gathered at daybreak, from 12 to 15 hunters, some armed with rifles, others with sticks and machetes. We selected a place from which to stalk the deer; it was the intersection of a mountain with a plain. We had hardly taken our places that our dogs raised many deer. One was shot by Don José de Torres, at a very long range. Another one, being chased along the shore, threw itself into the sea, swam far out, but was eventually caught by Indians sent after it, aboard a canoe. A third one, just as unlucky, suddenly appeared in a clearing among some dwarf lemon trees; our bullets despatched him easily.

Happy with the result of our hunting expedition, we came back to Umata in the evening, where an excellent meal, given the country, compensated us well enough for the fatigues of that day. From 800 to 1,200 deer are killed yearly on Guam, and in spite of this huge carnage, their number does not seem to decrease. Out of the three specimens that we had killed, one had reached its full maturity and weighed no less than 300 pounds. The deer is not the only animal that is hunted in the Marianas; there are also some cows, many pigs and some goats, all wild, but the quantity of goats is very small.

History and tradition refer to the [original] Marianos as brave sailors; today, they have lost this glorious reputation. Indeed, the construction of their canoes is so imperfect that they are forced to use Carolinians for inter-island transport. The latter islanders do not fear crossing, upon their light though pretty craft, without compasses or any other guides but the stars, the 200 leagues that separate their archipelago from that of the Marianas. They bring to it some shells, mats, wooden vessels, and ropes made

with banana fiber or coconut coir. In exchange, they receive bits of iron, copper, and nails.

...

The Marianas are, moreover, a colony that costs more to Spain than what it is worth. Its expenditures used to be covered almost entirely by a yearly subsidy provided by New Spain, and brought in by the returning galleon going from Acapulco back to Manila. The Philippines today make up the difference between income and expenditures. The expenditures are for the maintenance of the royal college, the salaries of the public officials and the armed force, consisting of approximately 120 regular soldiers, who could be supplemented, if need be, by about 400 militiamen, taken only from the population of Guam.

After our excursion, I made with Don F. Ramón Villalobos a trip around the island. We visited the village of Merizo, on whose reef I saw a huge pine log with its roots and branches; its trunk was covered with shells and it was pierced by teredo worms. It must certainly have come from the northwest coast of America, having travelled from 650 to 700 leagues in straight line. This fact supports from theory that the peopling of Polynesia took place from west to east!¹

From Merizo, we went along the whole eastern coast, in order to make its hydrography, and we visited many ports that could only be used by steamers, because the easterly winds always blow toward the coast, and would entrap any sailing ships that would enter them, without the help of steam tugboats.

Once back at Agaña, I saw coming toward me my old friend Zuñiga, the man who had been pilot apprentice with me on board the **Rita**. He came from Manila, aboard a ship owned by Mr. Medinilla, and he was her captain.² He brought the official letter appointing Mr. Villalobos to the post of Governor. He went to anchor in San Luis [de Apra], a superb port on the west coast that will on day be choked by coral reefs. The Spanish have built a fort there, upon a small coral islet that overlooks and protect the anchorage.

Mr. Medinilla had already offered to me the command of another vessel, a cutter, built in these islands. He wanted to put me in charge of an expedition after *bêche-de-mer*, but I had declined, as I wish to get back to Manila as fast as possible, to get the insurance money for my ship. Therefore, I chose to leave my friend Zuñiga behind in the Marianas, where he was to stay a while longer, and took the opportunity offered to me by Captain Harris to take me to Manila. I boarded his ship, the **Royalist**, taking with me the germs from an awful disease to which sailors are so often exposed to: dysentery, no doubt caused by the "hot" food of these islands, and by the stress from the multitude of tribulations that I went through during a period of almost two years.

1 Ed. note: He must have meant the opposite.

2 Ed. note: Unfortunately, he does not give the name of this ship. There were two Guam-based ship at that time, the *Buen Viage* (ex-Bella Constitución) owned by Governor Medinilla, and the *Dolores*, built locally (see below), for the garrison. Zuñiga was probably captain of the former, although Anderson, the Scot from the Freycinet Expedition, was her real skipper.

Aboard the **Royalist**, I received a confirmation of the story of the **Bounty**; Captain Harris' wife was the daughter of the carpenter who accompanied Captain Bligh aboard the launch that crossed the whole Pacific Ocean to get to Macao.

By the time I arrived at the Philippines I was suffering from a grave inflammation of the bowels, which I attribute to the barbarous treatment, with calomel,¹ that I received from the surgeon aboard the **Royalist**.

...

[Lafond took refuge among other Frenchmen living in the Philippines, when his condition worsened, after he learned from Mr. Mier that his ship had carried no insurance at all. Lafond thus lost his entire fortune. He left Manila at the beginning of June 1832, headed for Reunion Island aboard the French ship **Laure**, Captain Antoine Amanieux, whom he had known in America. They arrived there on 20 July, then after some time, took another ship, the **Nayade**, back to France. At the end of the last volume, Vol. 8, of his series, there is an appendix suggesting what trade goods Frenchmen could take to various regions of the Pacific. His suggestions for the Mariana Islands follow.]

Appendix or commercial notice.

...

For the Mariana Islands.

- Striped textiles from Alsace that look like the [plaid] *cambayas* from Madras;
- Striped gingham, brightly colored;
- Madras kerchiefs, and false Madras kerchiefs;
- Calicos, Rouen and India textiles;
- Shoes, pants, shirts, iron, steel, tools, pots and pans, and large hardware items;
- Tobacco, paper, china-ware and glass-ware;
- A few articles for ships: canvas, cordage, oakum, tar, etc.;
- If coming from Chili, wheat flour, beans, nuts, raisin, and salted fish to be done en route;

Nowadays, the only products available there are: pigs, sweet potatoes, rice, deer meat, cows, coconuts, fruits, firewood and building wood.

1 Ed. note: As the dictionary says, it is mercurous chloride, a white powder used as a cathartic, for intestinal worms, etc.

Document 1831G

The ship Montano of Nantucket, Captain Benjamin Worth

Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 882; Log Inv. 3341.

Extract from the log, kept by Captain Worth

...

[Cruising for whales near the Gilberts]
Tuesday March 8th [1831]

Commences with a moderate wind at NE & with light rain steering by the wind NNW[.] at night tacked to the E & took in sail[.] at daylight wore ship to the NNW & made sail. Latter part a moderate Breeze at NE by N, steering by the wind NW by N[.] at noon saw an Island, one of the southermost of the Kingsmills Group, bearing NNW Dist 4 leagues.

Latt by Obs. 1°39 S Long by Chron. 175°30 E.

Wednesday March 9th

Commences with a moderate wind & hazy weather steering by the wind NW by N. At 4 PM 5 canoes came alongside the ship[,] the land being about 2 leagues dist. The Natives brought off a few coconuts & spears. At 9 PM hard squalls of wind & rain. Took in the fore & mizzen topsails. Ran close reef the main. Middle [part] Ditto. Latter part moderate wind with light squalls of rain. Employed repairing the fore topsail. Saw an Island to the Northward.

Latt by Account 1°45 N. Long by Account 175°10 E.

Thursday March 10th

... At 8 AM saw an Island bearing NNW dist. 12 miles. Latt. by Obs. 1°30 S. Long. by Chro. 174°58 E. At noon the Island bore NNE dist. 3 leagues.

...

Monday March 14th

Commences with a moderate wind at NE & cloudy weather steering SW about 10 miles to the Northward of the above Isle. At 6 PM the Isle bore ESE per compass dist.

10 miles. At 6 PM squally with rain. Double reefed the topsails & headed to the westward.

Middle part calm. Latter part a fine breeze from N by W & fine weather steering SW by S. Saw porpoises.

Latt. by Obs. 00°35S. Long by Chro. 172°42 E.

Tuesday March 15th

... At 8 AM saw small Island bearing N by E dist. about 6 leagues... Latt by Account 00°15 South. Long. by Account 171°40 E.

Wednesday March 16th

... We got a good observation. The south part of the Isle appeared to be about on the Line. Latitude by Obs. 00°13 S. Longitude by Chro. 172°33 E.

Thursday March 17th

... I think it will be the last time that I shall come to the Group a whaling till I am forced to come...¹

...

Monday March 21st

Commences with light airs inclining to calm. Headed to the westward, nothing in sight. Middle part light wind steering to the westward under short sail. At 6 AM saw a large whale & two small ones. Lowered our boats in pursuit of them, struck & killed a 20 barrel whale. At 10 AM took him to the ship & cut him in. So ends.

Latitude by Obs. 00°48 S. Long by Account 170°00 E.

...

Tuesday March 29th

... At 6 AM departed this life William Wade seaman, of Cohasset, Mass...

Wednesday March 30th

Commences with a moderate wind at ENE & thick squally weather steering NNW. At 2 PM saw Hope [i.e. Kosrae] Isle bearing NNE by N dist. 30 miles. At 4 PM committed the body of William Wade to the deep. Middle part light wind & clear weather steering NNW. Latter part strong wind attended with squalls of rain steering NW by N. At noon double reefed the topsails.

Latt. by Account 6°00 N. Long. by Account 164°00 E.

...

Saturday April 9th

Commences with moderate trades & fine weather steering West 6 knots. At 1 PM saw the land the Isle of Saypan bearing West by compass dist. 8 leagues. At 2 PM kept the ship WNW. At night the North Part of the Isle bore SSW dist 3 leagues. Double

¹ Ed. note: He was not seeing any whales.

reefed the topsails & hauled by the wind headed to the Northward. At 12 PM tacked to the Southward for the Isle again. Latter part strong trades & squally weather. Near the West part of Saypan sent in a boat to sound & see if there was any wood to be had. At noon the boat returned to the ship.

Sunday April 10th

Commences with strong trades & squally cloudy weather. At 1 PM came to with the small bower anchor in 20 fathoms water 1 mile dist. from the reef. The Middle part of the small Isle on the reef¹ bearing NE by E 1/2 E per compass, the North Part of Saypan bore NE by E 1/2 E, the Landing place E by S, the South Part of Saypan bore S 1/2 E, the NW part of the reef bore NE, the West part of Tinian bore S by W 3/4 W, the East part of it bore S 1/4 W. At night boats returned from the shore with 3 loads of wood. Middle & Latter part moderate trades & pleasant weather. At noon got off 5 boatload[s] of wood. So ends.

Latt. by Obs. 15°13 N.

Monday April 11th

Commences with a fine trade & pleasant weather. By 6 PM got off 5 load[s] of wood. Middle & Latter part strong trades & squally weather. Employed stowing away wood. At 11 AM the boats returned with 2000 cocoanuts. So ends this day. Saypan.

Tuesday April 12th

Commences with strong trades and cloudy weather. At 1 PM began to heave up our anchor. Hove short & parted our cable. Lost the Larboard anchor & about 20 fathom of chain. Got up our spare anchor, stocked it. Got it on the bow & bent the cable. Middle Ditto. Lying off & on. Latter part strong trades & squally weather, near the West part of Tinian. So nends.

Wednesday April 13th

Commences with strong trades & squally weather. At 1 PM sent the boat on shore at Tinian & found we could not get of[f] vegetables. Middle part lying by. Latter part strong trades & squally weather steering for the Island of Rota. So ends.

Thursday April 14th

Commences with strong trades & squally weather. At 1 PM sent a boat on shore at Rota. At night the boat returned with 1 Hog & a little anas [sic] root. At 6 PM kept the ship off for Guham. Middle part headed S by E under short sail. Later part light wind & pleasant weather lying by near the Harbour of Guam waiting for a Pilot.

¹ Ed. note: Mañagaha Island.

Friday April 15th

Commences with light wind & fine pleasant weather. At 2 PM the Pilot came on board. At 4 PM came to in Guam harbour in 20 fathoms water. Latter part, employed coopering oil.

Saturday April 16th

Commences with light wind & fine weather. Employed breaking out & coopering oil.

Sunday April 17th

Commences with fine weather. Employed coopering & stowing down oil.

From Sunday April 17 to Sunday April 24th

Fine weather. Employed coopering oil.

From April 24th till April 28

Fine weather. Employed coopering. Finished stowing down oil on Thursday April 28th.

Friday April 29th

Fine weather. Employed scraping & washing the outside of the ship & setting up shooks. Half of the crew on shore at Liberty.

Saturday April 30th

Fine weather. Employed painting & varnishing the side of the ship. The coopers employed setting up shooks.

Sunday May 1st

Fine pleasant weather. Half of the crew on shore at Liberty. Lying at anchor at Port Apra [sic] in Guam.

Monday May 2nd

Still continues fine weather. Employed painting and getting ready for sea.

Tuesday May 3rd

During these 24 hours light wind & fine pleasant weather. Variously employed doing ship duty.

Wednesday May 4th

At 7 AM took our anchor at Port Apra & run down for Umatac Bay to get off water. At 11 AM came to on the south side of the Bay in 15 fathoms water. Employed getting off water. So ends.

Thursday May 5th

This day fine pleasant weather. Employed getting off water & stowing it down. Got 4 deer & some potatoes.

Friday May 6th

Fine weather. Employed getting off water &c. This day contains only 12 hours, to begin new account.

Saturday May 7th

Commences with a moderate wind & fine weather. Employed getting ready to get under weigh. At 2 PM the **Marquis of Landsdowne** of London, Capt. Plant, anchored here, 18 months out with 700 Bbls of Oil. At 9 PM took our anchor and worked up off the Town, to get off refreshments. At 6 AM the boat went on shore. Latter part light trades & fine pleasant weather. Employed getting off potatoes & yams. Lying off Guam.

Sunday May 8th

Commences with light trades & fine weather. Lying off & on abreast of the Town getting off[f] vegetables. Middle part calm. Latter part moderate trades & fine weather. Getting off potatoes, yams, &c. &c.

Monday May 9th

Commences with moderate trades & fine weather. Employed getting off[f] vegetables &c At 7 PM, got on board with the boat, made sail & stood to the Northward. Middle Ditto. Latter part a fine trade at ENE & pleasant weather steering to the Northward. Employed coiling down the cables &c &c. The Isle of Rota in sight to the Eastward.

Latt. by Account 14°30 N. Long. by Account 144°10 E.

...

[Off they went North toward the Japan Ground, etc. By March of 1832 they were back near the Line.]

...

Sunday March 4th [1832]

... At 1 PM spoke ship **Pokahontas** of Boston...

Latt. by Account 3°00 S. Long. by Accountn 116°00 W.

...

Monday March 26th

... At 9 AM spoke ship **Swift** of Nantucket, Coffin 8 months out with 300 Bbls of Oil...

Latt. by Obs. 9°00 N. Long by Chro. 135°00 W.

...

[Up to Oahu in April, down to Tahiti in July, then back home.]

Document 1831I

The English whaler Kent, Captain Lawton— The narrative of Dr. Beale, surgeon

Source: Thomas Beale. The Natural History of the Sperm Whale (Edinburgh, 1837).

Note: The 265-ton whaling ship Kent had been built at Bristol in 1797, and was owned by the Enderby brothers.

Extract from a book by Dr. Beale

Title of the book: Natural History of the Sperm Whale... to which is added, a sketch of a South-sea Whaling Voyage;

Embracing a description of the extent, as well as the adventures and accidents that occurred during the voyage in which the author was personally engaged. By Thomas Beale, Surgeon, Demonstrator of anatomy to the Eclectic Society of London, etc., and late surgeon to the "Kent" and "Sarah and Elizabeth," South Seamen.

...

CHAPTER VII.

On the 10th December, 1831, we set sail from the Bonins, steering through groups of wild and romantic islands for the burning regions of Papua or New Guinea, to prosecute the fishery there; and we now found it was high time to take our departure, for not only did the wind shew its turbulence, but currents of rain frequently fell, which were often preceded by heavy fogs, we therefore at the time I have mentioned crowded all sail, and were soon rid of those unwelcome combinations, finding ourselves in a few days in very pleasant weather. We had a long passage to make and no time to spare, and therefore we made no stoppages before arriving at our place of destination, passing in our course to windward of the Ladron Islands, and falling in with the Carolines on the 24th of December; a range of large islands scarcely known, and not even placed correctly on the charts; those which we fell in with were situated in the longitude of 153°25' east, and in the latitude of 7°25' north.¹ At these islands we traded with the natives for a few hours, who came off in their excellent canoes in great numbers, and beset the ship on all sides, although they were extremely cautious in approaching us at first. They are a very fine race of people, of a light olive colour, and possessing pleasant features. They

¹ Ed. note: The Islands of Chuuk, although the longitude given is at least 1° too far east.

have a curious method of forming a ring of flesh from the lower part of their ears, through which in one individual, I could thrust one of my hands; in this they place a banana leaf, rolled up to the size necessary to fill it; it is sometimes also ornamented with a flower.

These islands are seldom visited by Europeans, and I am afraid that the natives are not of a very friendly disposition; for I saw many of their acts, although we only traded with them for a short time, which convinced me that they “were sudden and quick in quarrel;” and since our visit I am sorry to have to record that those very people have massacred nearly the whole of the crew of a South-seaman, called the “**Falcon**”, although I am unable to state what circumstances led to that catastrophe; still, as I have before stated, my opinion is that a very trifling cause would be sufficient, especially with their advantage of overwhelming numbers.¹ We obtained from these people a few shells, some of their dresses, and other curiosities, for pieces of old iron hoop, which they were very anxious to obtain. While we were trading with them, a very heavy squall arose, which being fair for us, we ran directly before it, and soon lost sight of those wild beings, leaving them in the greatest confusion. In consequence of the squall several of the natives who were on board, finding that we were leaving their little craft, jumped overboard and regained them in that way, and we soon perceived the crowd of canoes, which were close together when the wind came, running in all directions against each other, all evidently in great confusion from the violence of the storm, which however did not continue long.

Near sunset, the same evening, we saw a large reef extending across our intended course, and as the captain had made up his mind to run all night, it was a most providential occurrence for us that we came up with it before sunset, for half an hour later would inevitably have brought the ship upon it, as the nights at this time were extremely dark, and the reel was so low that the sea washed completely over it in every part; so that we should have had very little chance of seeing it, and much blame could not have been attributed to any one, as it was not even marked on the charts. On finding ourselves in such a perilous situation we soon hauled our wind, and remained all night with our headyards aback waiting for the morning; when the dangers we had escaped were rendered more manifest, and we found the reef of much greater extent than we had anticipated on the previous evening,—and we could also perceive some very high land at a distance in an easterly direction from us.² This was the second escape of the kind we had experienced during the voyage, for we very nearly ran ashore on the coast of Chili, during a thick fog, and so near were we to the rocks at that time, that we should have been wrecked had the ship but once have “.missed stays” when she was “put about” to avoid the danger. We now became exceedingly cautious, keeping an excellent “look-out”

1 Ed. note: The shipwreck of the Falcon occurred at Pohnpei in 1836, not at Chuuk.

2 Ed. note: Although the latitude is not given, they must have reached the Mortlocks that night, possibly Lukunor.

when we sailed during the night, which became the more necessary as we were now navigating in very dangerous seas.

On the 1st of January 1832, we crossed the equinoctial line for the third time since we left England—a few days after which, we fell in with some small islands, which are called “Fead’s Group;” we had also a distant view of St. John’s Island, as it is called, of which I shall make particular mention farther on. We found our longitude this day 155°35’14” east, and our latitude 3°41’ south.¹ Fead’s Group, which we saw at day-break, were covered with verdure to the water’s edge, of a most luxuriant kind, and as we passed along the shores we observed several of the natives, who uttered loud shouts, and seemed desirous that we should land; but we did not stay to communicate with any of them, until we arrived at New Ireland, which we made on the 6th of January...

...

Again, [we] crossed the equinoctial line, being the fourth time of doing so since we left England. On the following day we found our longitude east of Greenwich to the 159°40’. We made but little progress, on account of the prevalence of calms and light winds, until we arrived in the latitude of four degrees north of the equator, when we fell in with the regular north-east trade winds, which propelled us at a gallant rate.

On the 13th [February], just before sunset, we saw a large reef, which extended before us to the distance of several miles, and which was not marked upon the chart. We found our latitude to be this day 6°55’ north, and our longitude by reckoning 154°16’ east.² On the following day at sunrise we made sail, and ran along tis edge, in a south-west direction, for about twenty miles, At noon, we made a small island, which bore at that time N.E. by east, the end of the reef bearing east, and both distant about twelve miles. At four P.M. we had no land in sight, and the ship again headed north-west.

1 Ed. note: Both of these islands lie to the east of the Bismarck Archipelago; his longitude was still 1° too far east.

2 Ed. note: They were at Oroluk atoll.

CHAPTER IX.

On the 21st of February 1832, we made the island of Rota, one of the Ladrones, which lies in the longitude of about 154°east [rather 145° E.], and in about the latitude of 13°39' north. Steering S.S.W. all night, at daybreak we found ourselves near the island of Guam, which is the principal one of the group, and at which it was our determination to cast anchor, in the harbour of Port Apra, as it is called.

These majestic-looking islands were discovered by the great Portuguese navigator, D. Fernando Magallanes, in 1520, and invaded by the Spaniards in 1564, but their conquest was not completed until the year 1592...¹

...

The following day, after having cast anchor, we began to refit the ship, and refresh the crew, half of whom were allowed to be absent from the ship alternately; so that they could enjoy themselves upon the shore, and carouse upon their own proper element, breathe its refreshing airs, and taste of its delicious produce, to repair their exhausted strength and rest their weary minds, so as to enable them to undertake with renewed ardour the labours of the fishery, which we intended to commence again in the beginning of May around the Bonin Islands, or on the "off-shore ground" of Japan.

Our sailors, the moment they stepped on shore, commenced their enjoyment with the bottle, if enjoyment it may be called, for some of them had not touched the land more than a quarter of an hour before they were observed sprawling on the sand in a happy state of unconsciousness, exposed to a broiling sun, for which they had to thank the "aquadente," [sic = aguardiente] the "strong water" of the Spaniards, which they so speedily called for and obtained the moment their feet touched the tempting shore, and which soon buried their past dangers, their anxious thoughts, their anticipated joys, in its oblivious shade. Some of us managed to pass our time in a very pleasant manner, wandering to and fro in search of interesting or profitable information, which in those countries is sure readily to be obtained.

The inhabitants of these islands, who are a kind of Malay-looking race, are very much mixed with the Spanish, by whom, as I have before stated, they are governed. They behave in a moderate, or rather kindly manner to strangers; but if offended they are revengeful to a sanguinary degree. They all carry long, broad, and thick swords, or more properly choppers, by their sides, which they use for clearing the small farms that most of them possess, and where they principally cultivate the yam and sweet potato, these are both of very large size and of very fine quality. With their swords or choppers, they frequently commit horrible outrages, inflicting in the heat of quarrel terrible wounds upon each other, or upon any one who may chance to give them cause of quarrel, which at times may amount to a mere trifle. I saw one poor fellow, who had received in one of these affrays no less than nineteen deep and dangerous gashes in different parts of his body from one of these weapons—but he had still been fortunate

1 Ed. note: The history given is so full of errors that I omit it.

enough to recover from them all, because none of the blows happened to wound any important part.

But the punishment which was awarded to the miscreant who inflicted them, by his judges, appeared to me to be exceedingly wise—They doomed him to work for his victim for three days out of every week for the space of six years, which was certainly far better than incarcerating the wretch within the walls of a dungeon, which would not have repaid his victim in the smallest degree for the injuries he had received.

[The murder of Captain Stavers]

It was at this island that the sanguinary and cowardly murder of Captain Stavers was committed, even in the centre of the town, and opposite the governor's palace, as it is called; which affair was certainly the most blood-thirsty and barbarous that stains the annals of any people.

Captain Stavers was the master of a whaler,¹ and had put into the harbour of Guam to refit his ship and refresh his crew,—and had, a few days' previous to the transaction which cost him his life, held some dealings with the governor, who it appears acted in a very sinister manner with some of Stavers' property, and had afterwards refused to admit him into his house, or give him any kind of redress whatever. This conduct of the governor irritated the mind of the captain to an ungovernable extent, and he left his ship for the purpose of going up to the town, observing at the same time that he would also go to the palace, and oblige the governor to give him some kind of satisfaction for the injuries and insults he had repeatedly received from him.

In the afternoon of the same day, the captain, who was a most bold and resolute man, and who was also unfortunately addicted to habits of intemperance, but still possessed of many excellent and amiable traits, was observed opposite the palace in a state of intoxication, armed with a brace of pistols, which he challenged the governor out to fight. Many of the people who knew him—for he had often visited this island before—were well acquainted with his boisterous though harmless nature—they well knew that his words were “full of sound and fury, signifying nothing,” they therefore smiled at him as they passed, and thought of his conduct no more than that it was a mere petty brawl between him and the governor; every generous mind would have felt the same towards him, when all the circumstances are considered, but in this island there are wretches who require blood for an angry word,—and so it happened with Stavers, who continued to call upon his cowardly acquaintance until near sunset, but no one up to that time molested him in the least, although there was a Spanish guard near the palace—or more properly, white-washed barn—of eight or ten men, whom I believe he also challenged.

The captain, however, having called for a long time in vain, became quite exhausted from the heat of the sun and other causes, and he therefore retired at last into the house of an Englishman who resided near the palace; when he had retired thither, he placed

1 Ed. note: The Coquette. He was murdered by Governor Ganga Herrero in 1824.

his pistols upon a table, and seating himself began to relate the particulars of the transaction which had occurred between himself and the governor. But while in the act of so doing, it being at the time quite dark, a man entered the house under the pretence of speaking to Stavers, when approaching close to the table, he suddenly seized the pistols, and retreated from the house immediately, followed by the captain, who was not the kind of person to brook conduct such as that without explanation. But the poor fellow by his precipitation only fell into an ambush which had been cunningly contrived and laid for him—for the moment he passed over the threshold of the house, in chase of the man who had taken the pistols, he was assailed by nine or ten hired assassins, armed with various kinds of deadly weapons. But the captain, as I have stated before, being a man of most resolute mind, defended himself in the most courageous manner against their united arms—he struggled against them, unarmed as he was, with amazing strength and resolution, until he fell, covered with wounds; between forty and fifty mortal injuries being found afterwards in various parts of his body. He defended himself with his clenched hands against their bayonets, swords, and choppers, for his hands and arms were found shockingly mutilated, his left arm being cut to the bone in many places, while his chest and abdomen exhibited frightful and numberless wounds—and it is even stated, that several of these were inflicted upon him, by these sanguinary, but still cowardly fiends, as he lay expiring upon the ground. Thus was the life of a brave Englishman wantonly sacrificed by a gang of hired wretches, who so unworthily bore the name of men;—may this recital act as a warning to the intemperate.

I have heard that the governor, who was a Spaniard, was punished, in some way or other, by his own government at home, for the part which he took in exciting his guard to commit the horrid act, and it is even said at Guam to this day, that he was himself among them at the time, and prompted them on the spot; for which, if he did not receive any punishment on his arrival in Spain, certain it is that he was deprived of the government of the island.

I have related the particulars of this atrocious case because I am aware that every whaler will feel excited by its recital, more particularly those who have heard it spoken of, but who have not had an opportunity of witnessing the scene of the massacre; and I have related the particulars as they were related to me in the house in which the captain sat, where the pistols were seized, and at a short distance from the spot where the tragedy was consummated, and by an Englishman who lived close by at the time of its enactment.

While I remained in this island, I saw quite enough to convince me that it was not a place for an Englishman to commit any act of insult or imprudence; the passions of the inhabitants were raised to a deadly height in an instant,—when “their hands were readier for the knife than their tongues for words of anger.”

The oranges which grow at this place in vast abundance, are of the finest kind I ever saw, their flavour is exquisite, while they are also of large size and filled with juice. They have also growing here in large quantities, lemons, tamarinds, citrons, papaw apples, with cocoa-nuts, all of them of the finest quality. Persons, who are called by the Eng-

lish sailors "toddy-cutters," are employed by the inhabitants of this place for obtaining the juice of the cocoa-nut tree, which is drank in large quantities by our seamen, who find it a very agreeable and wholesome beverage, and which is, I have no doubt, one of the very best restorative drinks that can be made use of, when the system has become injured by long abstinence from vegetables during a sea-voyage, and by the use of salted meat.

The "toddy-cutter" journeys to the cocoa-nut grove in the shade of the evening, and after having ascended to the top of one of the trees, by notches which are cut in its bark, forming steps, with a sharp knife he cuts off the end of the fructifying bud that projects from the head of the tree, and which, if left uninjured, produces the flower and the fruit of the cocoa-nut. He then places under the wounded part a long empty bamboo, which being left until the dawn of the morning, the toddy-cutter again pays his visit and carries off his bamboo, well filled with the delicious juice which exudes from the wounded bud. It is then sold to any one who chooses to purchase; and it is much used by the inhabitants themselves, who obtain from it the ardent spirit, called by them *aquadente*, which they procure by distillation, after the juice has been fermented.

The toddy-cutter is much sought after by the English sailor, who watches his whereabouts with unceasing care, while the toddy-man, after having freed his juice from the musquitos, which, having sipped the intoxicating liquor from the bamboo during the night, falling into it in considerable numbers, find a premature and intemperate death, offers his cocoa-nut shell well filled to Jack, who, like the intemperate musquito, quaffs draught after draught, until he finds his understanding giving way, and if it were possible would fall into the same snare.

[Description of a cockfight]

The inhabitants of this island, as with all others who are brutal, ungenerous, and cowardly, delight in the cruel exhibition of cock-fighting, and to which they are attached with remarkable partiality. They are not satisfied with seeing the stupidly courageous animals which they provoke to combat tear each other with the weapons with which nature has presented them for self-defence, but they actually fasten to their spurs, sharpened blades of penknives, curved with the points upwards, the cutting edge also being in that direction. Armed with these destructive instruments, of course the combats of the unfortunate birds are not of long duration, both being frequently killed at the first onset, or, at most, rarely making more than three or four flies before one or the other is destroyed. This exhibition takes place too on every Sunday, when, at a particular time, the arena which is situated nearly in the centre of the town, is filled and surrounded by the inhabitants, who enter into the sport with great animation, betting to a considerable amount among themselves upon the relative merits of the large and powerful Malay fowls which may be pitted against each other. The table upon which the bets are deposited is situated within the arena, under the care and control of a person who is employed for that purpose, and this table is frequently covered with Spanish money. Before the combat commences, every person who can muster a rial manages to procure a rival,

and the birds being placed, the issue of the combat, as I have stated, is speedily told: an immediate rush of the fortunate gamesters then takes place towards the table, to accept their ill-gotten gains from the hands of the person qualified to distribute the cash, who approtions the proper sums to those who have a right to receive them, and the same routine of business or pleasure occurs again in a few minutes, and is thus continued for hours. The moment the birds are produced, every person who wishes to bet calls aloud for any one to accept his offer,—some running round the arena, others thrusting themselves through the crowd to obtain a more favourable view of the combatants before he stakes his money, shewing as much anxiety in his countenance as if the fate of nations depended on the issue of the combat. At the same time, in some other part of the arena, another may be seen who has staked largely, livid with agitation, watching each movement of the birds when they are about to make the onset with the greatest possible perturbation; and when on the first rush the secret is discovered, by his favourite combatant becoming deeply and mortally wounded with the curved knife of his more fortunate adversary, he is seen almost to sink to the earth,—his dark eyes at the same time glaring around with a despairing motion; the next moment he is observed close by the side of his wounded favourite, and he seizes the unfortunate bird, and vainly endeavours to support it for another attack, which might in turn be fatal to his antagonist, but the sanguinary monster with increased emotion perceives its life-blood trickling upon the sand, its valiant neck gradually loses its arch-like form, and it falls dead from the hands of its supporter, who with agitated breast, with muttering and faltering voice, trembling limbs, and subdued spirit, slowly withdraws from the brutal scene cowardly and conquered.

We had managed to spend our time agreeably enough during the few days we had as yet remained at this place, and I have no doubt we should have continued to do so, had not a most unfortunate and serious accident befallen our second mate, which threw us all into the greatest discomfiture and melancholy: it occurred to him while discharging a cannon by the captain's orders, for the purpose of foolishly saluting an American ship, which was about leaving the harbour. The poor fellow had discharged it several times, but the reports were not sufficiently loud to please the captain, who ordered it to be again loaded and fired, which the mate thought he would do this time with effect, and therefore not only did he cram into its mouth a seaman's captul of powder, but commenced ramming down the wadding with a handspike, which, as he was doing, a spark that had remained in the breech of the gun from the previous firing ignited the charge, and the explosion which took place shattered his right arm to atoms. Of course the consternation which occurred among us all, from this melancholy affair, was not of a trifling description, and when the captain saw the mischief his imiprudence had occasioned, he wrung his hands, and shed tears like a child. It was my painful duty to amputate the wounded member, which I am proud to have to state was accomplished with celerity, and without giving unnecessary pangs to my unfortunate shipmate, who soon recovered, and still lives to tell the melancholy tale. By this unfortunate catastrophe our mate lost his best friend, his right arm, and we lost a valuable officer in a distant part

of the world, at which his equal was not to be found, just at the time too when we were about to commence our Japan season.

But other affairs of a more serious nature to the success of the voyage now began to manifest themselves. The crew were becoming much dissatisfied with the continued tyrannical conduct of our captain, who appeared to think that abuse and ill-usage were the best return he could make for their toil and excellent conduct. Our first mate also determined to leave the ship at this place, disgusted by the abuse and insults he had so frequently received from the same quarter during the voyage.

And while I was remaining at the town, in close attendance upon the second mate, who had been removed from the ship after the accident, an order arrived at midnight, requesting my immediate attention on board, in consequence of the captain having received a severe wound on his head, in an affray in which he had been engaged with a party of men who had requested permission to go on board his ship to see some of their old messmates. But although this request of theirs was usual and moderate enough, it being in the evening and after working hours, the men also who requested permission of him being employed by the same owner, two of whose ships happening to lie in the harbour of Guam at the same time,¹—still our obdurate and tyrannical captain would not allow them to come on board, and a few angry words having ensued between them, he made an attack upon them with a stick, as they stood outside the bulwark of the ship, which provoked them to such an extent that they all jumped over upon the deck, and returned the attack with compound interest, leaving him prostrate, calling aloud for help and mercy.

The next morning, the six men who had been engaged in the attack upon the captain, were taken out of the ship to which they belonged, and sent to the town as prisoners, escorted by a guard of soldiers, by order of the Spanish governor, who also a day or two afterwards caused them to be severely flogged, giving them thirty lashes each; and had it not been through my urgent interposition with him, these unfortunate men would have been tortured with sixty lashes each,—inflicted too by the hands of one of those half Spanish, half Malay wretches, who enjoy the employment of lacerating the backs of these, I may say, innocent Englishmen; who, after they had received their degrading punishment, were allowed to return to the ship from which they had been taken. But when they arrived on board, their old shipmates could scarcely believe them to be the same men who only a few days before had been taken away by the guard, so depressed were they in spirit, and so dissatisfied were they with everything around, feeling as they said, “forever disgraced;”. and to such an extent did the punishment which they had received work upon their minds, that not only were they almost useless during the remainder of the voyage, but the other portion of the crew became dissatisfied in consequence of the disgraceful punishment which their shipmates had received; charging their captain with neglect in not refusing to give them up to the guard, or in suffering

1 Ed. note: The other ship, also owned by Samuel Enderby, was the Lady Amherst.

them to be flogged at all, particularly in a foreign country, where their cause was not likely to be fairly heard.

The consequences of these things were, that the crew neglected, or became careless of the best interests of the voyage, so that the ship, after having been out her full time, returned to England with scarcely two-thirds of a cargo, which unfortunate event may be mainly attributed to the misconduct and tyranny of one man, the captain of our ship, who first abused, and then assailed, and even caused to be flogged, six of his own countrymen, whose only crime was that they desired to see their old friends whom they had so accidentally met in that distant part of the world, as I have before stated. Affairs were also getting into a very disturbed state on board our own ship, in consequence of the captain's violent and intemperate conduct to the men. Our first mate had left the ship, our second mate had lost his arm, and by this time several of our best seamen had also deserted, so that we who remained had but a poor prospect of success in our forthcoming Japan whaling season; the hope, however, of better things in some degree sustained our spirits.

On the 6th of April 1832, having procured a quantity of yams and other refreshments from the shore, and also having shipped the best seaman we could find to fill the berth of our first mate, we set sail from this place at which we had been so unfortunate; and, as we passed to the northward, we enjoyed a fine view of all the other islands, which form the group of the Ladrões. On the 7th, we were off Rota, whence we procured a few fowls, some eggs, and a large quantity of oranges; and leaving it on the 8th, on the 9th, at day-break, we had Sypang [Saipan], Tinian and Aguihan in sight, all of them consisting of high, rocky, and bold-looking land: Tinian and Rota being the lowest, the two last with Guam also being the best for cultivation of the while group. At sunset on the same day we saw Farallon bearing east, distant about fifteen miles. On the following morning we found ourselves abreast of Anatahan and Sarigan; and at about an hour before sunset we had Alamagan and Guguan in sight, all appearing very high and conical in shape.

CHAPTER X.

Having taken our farewell view of the Ladrone Islands, we still continued our course to the northward without anything remarkable occurring...

...

[They passed the Sulphur Islands, i.e. the Iwo Group, then went fishing off the Bonin Islands during April 1832.]

...

We now began cruising about these islands for whales, but met with very trifling success, and finding that it was not likely to be improved on account of having lost our two best whalers, and also finding that the captain still continued his ill-treatment of the crew, which had been the principal cause of our misfortunes, I could not help turning from the scene with disgust, and a strong desire to return home sprang suddenly up in my mind, which I could not control, and which I certainly had no inducement to repress, for the captain had by this time estranged from him every soul in the ship, by his cruel and tyrannical conduct. This being the first and last voyage I had ever undertaken, the very enjoyments of the sailors at times appeared to me to be sufferings, when I compared London associations with things which take place upon the great sea. But when I saw thirty-two good, industrious, and harmless, though brave men, abused and browbeaten to a most shameful extent, by a mean and contemptible tyrant, while at the same time they were exerting themselves to their utmost for the success of the voyage, which he had himself frequently neglected to do, I turned from the scene with horror, and plainly intimated that I could no longer endure the sight.

...

Such was the captain's conduct that I now made up my mind to seize the first opportunity of leaving him to his fate the moment I could find it convenient, whether advantageous or not to myself, and on the first of June 1832, being still off the Bonin Islands, we had the good fortune to fall in with the **Sarah and Elizabeth** of London, Captain Swain, which belonged to the same owner as the ship I was then in. When I informed Captain Swain of my desire to return home, he in the most handsome manner offered me a passage in his ship, for which kind offer, under all the circumstances with which we were then surrounded, I shall never cease to feel grateful. On the same day that I have just mentioned, I exchanged berths with Mr. Hildyard, who happened to be surgeon of the **Sarah and Elizabeth**, and with whom I had been acquainted in London, he having studied at the same edical school in which I was also engaged. He entered the berth I had left by his own urgent desire, but much against my wishes and best advice, and which afterwards he had much reason to regret. But fate appeared to order the exchange, which was greatly to my advantage, and at midnight, it being calm and convenient, I was conveyed to the **Sarah and Elizabeth** with the whale-boat that I was in so completely filled with curiosities and shells that the oars could not be used, so that the men were obliged to make use of paddles instead.

On the dark ocean, at midnight, I took my last farewell look of the noble but ill-fated ship, which had carried me safely through a thousand dangers. We had weathered them

together, we had travelled together at least twenty-five thousand miles! and now in my separation from her, the tear that bedimmed my eye made me think that she was almost a thing of life.

¹
...

1 Ed. note: The Sarah and Elizabeth reached London in February 1833. As for the Kent, she stayed in the Pacific one year longer, and reached London only in March 1834.

Documents 1831J

Ships Peru and Mermaid, Captain Eagleston, from 1831 to 1838

J1. Extract from his logbook

Source: Log 1830P2, in Peabody Museum, Salem: Bark Peru of Salem, Capt. John H. Eagleston. Voyage 1 Octo 1830-1 April 1833, New York to Manilla via Fiji Is., then cruising and return to Manilla.

Note: Since the Peru was sold at Manila, Captain Eagleston undertook his return voyage aboard the ship Rasselas(?) of Boston, Captain Dominis (17 May-21 July 1833).

...

Jan. 31 [1831]

Some swell from NE & pleasant light breeze from the E. Passed about 30 miles to W of the Pelew Is.

Lat. Obs. 8°54' N

Long. Cr. 134°34' E.

...

[That is all. The ship then headed for the San Bernardino Strait, and Manila where cargo worth \$30,000 was landed, and set sail for the Fiji Islands and returned with a cargo consigned to Peele, Dubbell & Co. On 6 March 1833, this ship went by Ebon atoll. Upon arrival at Manila, she needed heavy repairs, and was sold instead for \$4,300 to a Spaniard.]

J2. Extract from his biography entitled: My Ups and Downs Through Life

Source: John Henry Eagleston. [Manuscript] Journal of Voyages, being 4 volumes of typescripts at the Peabody Museum in Salem.

Note: Previous to commanding the Peru, Eagleston had served aboard the brig Hope as a cook and steward at \$8 per month (1820); then on board the ship Eliza of Salem, belonging to Captain Stephen Phillips but commanded by Captain Allen Putnam (1821); then aboard the ship Peru (1823-25); then aboard the Derby (1827). After 1838, he served aboard many more ships until, finally in 1860, aboard the ship Troy.

...

[After skirting the Ellice and Gilbert Islands in December 1831, the ship headed for Manila.]

Sight an Island.

January 2d, 1832. Being ten miles from position of the Raven [Ngatik] Islands, which I was desirous to learn something of, I reduced sail and made short boards through the night, which was cloudy with an occasional fall of fine rain, morning resuming our course. At 6 AM lookout aloft sang out "Land ho!" It was seen about the same time from the deck bearing NNE. It was visible but a moment, thick and rainy weather hiding it from view. It appeared quite lofty,¹ and from the short sight given us, I judged it to be 12 to 14 miles off. The ship was hauled on a wind at once, and making a course N & N by W on a distance of 60' without further signs of it, and believing we had passed it, I bore up and continued our course to the west, with the intention of running through the Caroline Group, though from shortness of provisions I could make no stop among them, which I was anxious to do. At noon of this day we were by estimation in Lat. 6°20' N. and Long. 157°46' E.

On the 3d 1 PM it clearing off, our land was soon bearing NE by N. It is very high and may be seen 40 to 60 miles off. It is of considerable size, and at time we bore up, could not have been more than ten to fifteen miles off. This may be the Island of Ascension; if so, its position on the Charts is some 70 miles out of the way. I place it in about Lat. 6°55' N. and Long. 157°40' East, which will vary but little from its true position.²

Royalists Islands³

Pursuing our course to the West with fine NE winds and delightful weather, on the 5th at 1 PM made the Royalists Islands. There are four of them, all low, and small, covered with cocoanut and other trees. On three of them we saw many natives and houses. They are near together, and a reef appeared to extend around them.

Our passage thus far had been long, and some parts of our eatable stock consumed, while others were reduced to a short supply. I found it necessary to lose no more time by reducing sail through the night, that we might run with safety through this dangerous and but little known chain of Islands, stretching as they do from 142° to 165° East Long. and on a line of about 4° N & S. I hauled well to the Northward to cross there and with as little delay as possible reach a clear sea by which our progress to the west would be more rapid.

New [i.e. Chuuk] Islands.

At 5 AM, high land was seen to the SW, and low in the same quarter, hauled off for daylight, and at 6 AM bore up by low islands, and not being able to weather them to reach the high and larger ones, I bore up and run down NW & West near the reefs, hoping to find a passage by which we could reach the object in view. Drawing up with the

1 Ed. note: He sighted Pohnpei. His ship may have been one of those seen from shore by O'Connell's companions.

2 Ed. note: The true position of the center of Pohnpei is 6°54' N & 158°15' E.

3 Ed. note: Losap atoll and Nama.

westernmost one, we saw many canoes, under sail standing out, and through a passage in the reef, which appeared sufficiently wide to admit a ship. Being near in, I at once placed the ship in position for them to come alongside, and made signals for them to do so. They approached us with caution and after a little hesitation, ventured alongside, using much persuasion with a show of a few small articles, that pleased them, several came on board. The only article brought off was a few of very small cocoanuts, although I bought these, and they were readily parted with. I think they were for their own use, to take place of water, and not intended for sale. However, they were greatly pleased with the few notions I gave for them. They looked with astonishment at everything about the ship and appeared perfectly ignorant of all they saw. Of yams, they were strangers and when given to understand they were for eating, they by signs wished to know if they would not poison them, being assured they would not, they became very desirous to have a few to plant; their wishes were gratified, and with the gift they showed much pleasure. Of several hogs we had on board, they were greatly frightened, and gave us to understand they had none on their Islands.

They were entirely naked, of dark copper complexion, showing light forms and not so fine a looking race, as those we have visited. A fine growth of hair covered their heads and hung loose on their backs. Many of them were coated with a red substance mixed with oil, giving it the appearance of red paint,¹ and from their show of wildness, as also uneasy movements, they have had but little or no intercourse with other nations.

Their canoes are small, and in rig, like those of the Feejeeians, but in no instance bearing their fine workmanship. In them we saw no blubs or spears, thus showing they were not of a warrish disposition, and from their poverty appearance, and under the circumstances we laboured, I deemed it best to make no more delay, and giving a few notions to our visitors, they left us, to resume our course.

There are several of these islands girted by extensive reefs, and covered with cocoanut and other trees; of houses we saw none. From this circumstance it appeared the high island, and others to the south were better adapted to their wants. I place the group in the lat. 7°30' N. and Long. 151°30' E.

Mare Island.

On the 6th, wind and weather beautiful. At 11 AM we again discovered two low islands to the SW, and soon after one to the WNW with a line of heavy breakers extending from one to the other, and to clear them we had to haul up NW by N clear of danger. The ship was again put on her course, and at 2 PM of the 7th Mare Islands were seen off the bow, and heavy breakers ahead which compelled us to haul up NNW to clear them. There were seven islands seen, all low, with a growth of cocoanut and other varieties of wood on them, the whole appearing to be girted by an extensive sea wall, and now going on a NW and SE line 30 to 35 miles. Although we saw no show of inhabitants, I have no doubt the more southern islands are populated and there may be other

¹ Ed. note: Given to them by Captain Morrell two years earlier, to paint their canoes.

islands south of these again, that did not come within our range of view. They are a dangerous trap for a ship, and had our time of approaching them been in the night, and accompanied with thick weather, nothing could have saved us from total destruction, or with fine weather, and a fresh breeze, our chance of escape would have been small. I place them in Lat. 8°40' N and Long. 150°15' E.¹ As these two groups of islands, held no position on charts or were to be found in any books on board, I believe them a new discovery. Having to haul up WNW to clear them, I continued on this course all night without seeing further danger.

On the 8th, at noon our position ws Lat. 10°53' N. and Long. 145°58' E. which is that given to Farraulep, and represented on the chart as high [sic] land.² The day was clear and beautiful with a horizon to correspond, but from our highest point of observation no appearance of land was to be seen, and I feel safe in saying no such island exists.

Westing with no obstructions, our course to the west was rapid, and nothing of note turned up, until the 15th when at 7 AM in a light squall we unfortunately carried away our fore top gallant mast just above the cap; not having a spare one, the carpenters were at once set to work making a new one, out of a spar we had for the purpose, and at 10 AM it was in its place; with the top gallant sail, top gallant studding sail, and royal set.

On the 16th PM sighted the Island of Samar...

...

[In 1833, Captain Eagleston sighted Ebon. Now aboard another ship, in July 1835, he came upon Nauru after leaving Rotuma.]

...

Noon of the 25th [June 1835] hove to half mile from the shore of Pleasant [Nauru] Island. We were very soon surrounded by some forty or more canoes, bearing each four to six natives with great numbers of fowls and hats, also small rope and huan hair worked into fine braid and in length one hundred to three hundred feet. Trade opened lively, but a perfect bedlam was kicked up by them as all wanted to be first served.

We commenced trade at one pound of tobacco for thirty fowls, coop hove in, single fowl, one chew of the same; but in their anxiety and wildness to get in the precious article, they soon reduced the exchange to half a pound for a coop of thirty to thirty-six and three for one chew. At which price, they forced their sales up to four hundred, when I closed the jubilee on feathers, much to their disappointment, as it left them four hundred or more to take on shore.

Hats were in large stock, well made, and the exchange the same as for fowls.

Al;so obtained a good supply of good cordage, size of ratline stuff, twenty-five to thirty fathoms in coil and eight to ten coils for one pound of tobacco. They also brought off some very handsome three threads about the size of log line, which appeared to be made from the bark of very fine fibrous substance and of great strength.

1 Ed. note: Identified as the eastern part of Namonuito atoll.

2 Ed. note: The true position of Faraulep is 8°36' N & 144°33' E.

Fowls with which the Island most swarm were the only show of eatables brought off, except a few small cocoanuts of not more than half the size of those found at the eastern islands and which they appeared not anxious to dispose of, although we bought a few which were found to be inferior to the larger class.

Of curiosities they showed but few. I obtained a war dress of curious workmanship, it being a pair of trousers of new model and made from sennit of the cocoanut husk, knit with a net hitch and very closely worked, having in front two f.l.s of same make to protect their more tender parts. They are of tight fit and with line run through loop holes in waist band[,] tied snug around the waist. There is a jacket of same material and make, which completes the set. This I was not able to obtain, but from its description must give good protection against the only war weapon seen and bought, which was a neatly made stick of about fifteen inches long with curve at the end, in which several charks teeth are firmly set, making it a most tearing weapon on the flesh. It is used the same as a fisherman's gaff and when set hauled towards you. As we saw no other war fixings, I think fighting among them but seldom occurs and when it does they come to close quarters and settle the matter at once without any long and bitter craving for each other's blood.

Their canoes are not so finely made as those of their eastern neighbors. This was owing to the small supply of good material for building which compels them to use many pieces in their construction. They have more beam and are a little deeper than those of other islands. Some few had sails, but they appeared to be those used by the boats of whale ships.

The natives in build show about the same class as those of Rotumah, but not so light in skin or as good looking. The men show both long and short hair. The first, if not in a knot on the head, trails down the back. Their dress consists, all that we saw, of a mat of leaves tied round their loins. The women all supported long hair of a very pretty growth and beautifully between their shoulders, with a dress the same as the men's which is but a sham covering to their Eves, while all above is perfectly flush and pleasing to the sight of man. We saw no tattooing or show of paint and as a body they appeared to be the most harmless and inoffensive people I ever saw in the Pacific and in our dealings with them they showed perfect honesty without any disposition to steal.

Learning that they had no hogs on the island except four or five given them by masters of whale ships touching here, I added six females and one male to the number, with a request that when an increase they should be divided among the natives of the different villages.

As at their islands we found here a number of white villains, deserters from ships, with whom we traded the same as with the natives.

The island is about four miles long, lone and well wooded, enclosed by a narrow reef, with good landing on the lee side. The reef abonds with fine fish of which we bought a fine mess and found them excellent eating. We make it in latitude 0°27' South and longitude 166°51' East, which varies from its position on the chart seven miles south and nineteen miles west.

As lovers of tobacco these people best all that I have ever seen in the long course of my travels, it being about the only article called for and to obtain it, in exchange for what they bring off, they become about crazed.

Their custom of receiving payment, after deciding on the exchange, is to pass up their wares with a small scoop net attached to a staff about five feet long in which they receive their pay as per agreement.

At 4 P.M., to the great disappointment of our friends, we closed our pleasant trade and filled away for destination with a fine wind from the E.S.E.

July 15th. Up with the Ladrões Group, of which Guam is the principal and where there is a Spanish settlement under an alcalde and which is a great resort for whale ships to recruit.

On the 17th, passed over the position of the Spanish(?) Islands as placed on the charts without seeing any signs of land and having previously passed south and north of these locations in the finest weather without seeing any indication of land, I very much doubt their existence.

On the 31st, made the Island of Samar...

...

[Eagleston in the brig **Mermaid**, on another passage from Fiji to Manila, in June 1838]

On the 10th of June passed near Hope [Kosrae] Island, which is high and on the 14th, were swinging at anchor in the fine anchorage of the beautiful Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] and spoken of as seen on a former voyage. It is some forty miles in its girth with reefy shores, well wooded, and has a lovely crystal stream running from the hills over a fine stony bottom, bearing a most beautiful sight of numerous pretty fish quietly lying under the shade of the finely headed trees on its banks, I was told by several white men, runaways from whale ships, found here. These fish were never caught or molested by the natives. Consequently they lay on its clear and glassy surface without fear of being harassed by the hands of man.¹

On the west [sic] side of and well up the high land were to be seen the decayed walls of an old fortification, which I think must have been built by the Spaniards years upon years passed away.²

The natives are very light, of fine forms, with long black hair and brilliant eyes of same color. In size and build they resemble the natives of Rotumah and like them are friendly. The females show much beauty and are very pleasing in their ways. No war implements of any kind were seen among them. Consequently, I should judge they lived on friendly terms throughout the island and without exception are a fine race of people.

1 Ed. note: Such fish were river eels (see O'Connell's story).

2 Ed. note: He may not be far wrong in his assumption, as one of Mendaña's ship had been shipwrecked there in 1595.

Their houses and canoes are of same construction as those of other islands, but those seen were of small size.

June 18th, 6 A.M. with the assistance of canoes, we towed out of this fine anchorage, which is situated at southern part of the island and inside the reefs.

Sighting the usual islands that lay in our track, we entered the Straits of St. Bernardino on the 9th of July... On the 20th reached Manila, where disposing of my cargo [of trepang, or beche-de-mer] to the Chinese for whom after landing and assorting and packing in large baskets, I took it on freight to Macao, from where, owing to fresh winds and rough water, we ran in to the Tupa, where we found a snug harbor and quiet water.

Sept. 2nd found us in Hong King, where on the 4th I chartered to Russell & Company for Nomo with opium for receiving ship stationed there. Arriving at destination Oct. 8th after a hard passage, delivering the opium and taking on board \$65,000 arrived at Hong Kong the 16th, not liking the business. The 27th found us in Manila. Loading sugar and hemp, sailed Nov. 19th and arrived in New York April 9th, 1839.

Note 1831K

Bark Alliance, Captain Covell, via Ebon

Sources: Article in the Columbian Centinel, Boston newspaper; quoted in other New England newspapers and repeated in Gerard Ward (ed.). American Activities in the Central Pacific, under Ebon 1.

Note: The U.S. whalers from then on referred to Ebon atoll as Covell's Islands, after this Captain.

Oct. 12, 1832.

Capt. Hiram Covell, of the bark **Alliance** of Newport,¹ just returned from the Pacific Ocean, has requested us to state, that on the 7th of May 1831, in lat. 4°30' N., lon. 168°40' E., he discovered [sic] a group of 14 islands not laid down in any chart. They were well inhabited, and the natives talked Spanish. He called them the Covell Group.²

1 Ed. note: Her voyage of 1828 to 1832.

2 Ed. note: The group had already been discovered by Captain George Joy in 1824, who called them Boston Islands.

Note 1832B

Ship Amerika, Captain Kromchenko, crossed the Gilberts and Marshalls

Source: N. A. Ivashintsov. Russian Round-the-World Voyages, 1803-1849; as translated by Glynn R. Barratt.

Extract from this work.

[After visiting Sydney,] they sailed on June 10.

On June 20, they crossed the Tropic of Capricorn.

...

At 6 p.m. on July 8, in lat. 0°15' S, long. 174°1' E, an inclination of the magnetic needle of 18°30' to the north was observed. At the time, the **Amerika** was 15 miles from the Henderville and Woodle groups in the Gilbert Archipelago.

Taking advantage of the unbroken fair weather, Captain Khromchenko decided to take a little time to examine this archipelago. At 10 a.m., when the **Amerika** was three miles from the southern island in the Henderville group, several canoes appeared bearing natives. The transport hove to, awaiting them. The little canoes soon came alongside. There were two or three men in each. The savages immediately began to barter coconuts and breadfruit for pieces of old iron hoops, which they greatly valued. The canoes made off after an hour and Captain Khromchenko, having reckoned the center of the Henderville group to lie in lat. 0°10'30" N, long. 173°36'57" E, went on to the Woodle Islands. When five miles from the westernmost of these, he observed about 10 canoes. Both the canoes and the natives themselves proved to be very like those in the Henderville group. Having bartered a few more pieces of iron for provisions and native artifacts, he continued northward. By evening both groups were lost from sight.

The following day, Captain Khromchenko determined the positions of these groups: the Hall group (S point in lat. 0°50'2" N, long. 173°0'17" E); the Cook group (SW point in lat. 1°20'30" N, long. 172°56' E); and the Charlotte group (W point in lat. 1°55'2" N, long. 172°54'11" E).¹ Towards evening, he went out into open water.

Passing through the Marshall Archipelago on July 12-18, Captain Khromchenko further surveyed and fixed the positions of the following islands: Mulgrave (lat. 6°4' N,

1 All longitudes reckoned by three chronometers; the long. of Hall Island, by lunar distances as well.

same as Captain Duperrey's; Arrowsmith gives lat. $7^{\circ}9'N$, long. $171^{\circ}18' E$); the Muskillo group (S. tip of Ochia Island, $7^{\circ}46' N$, long. $168^{\circ}46' E$, and S. tip of Namu Island, $7^{\circ}46' N$, long. $168^{\circ}23' E$); and Prince Menshikov Island (SE point in lat. $8^{\circ}45' N$, long. $167^{\circ}45'38'' E$).

When he concluded these observations, Captain Khromchenko laid a course for Petropavlovsk harbor.

...

Document 1832C

Life on Tinian and Saipan in 1832

Source: Ms. in PNA.

Instructions to be observed by the Mayor of Tinian and Saipan.

They are written in accordance with the new Regulations issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Villalobos, Governor of these Islands, in agreement with the Administrator of the Royal Treasury in the same, Don Joé Romero.

1° The Mayor of Tinian will be, for now and until further notice, Sergeant 1st class and Acting Second-Lieutenant, Luís Arceo.

2° After arriving at his destination, the person who is presently filling that post, Sergeant 1st class Raymundo Montufar, will turn over the possession of the Mayor's office to him; they will carry out an exact inventory of whatever articles have belonged to H.M. in the exercise of his command, one copy of which shall remain with the new Mayor, another with the former Mayor, another the latter shall bring to the Governor of the Islands, and another to the Administrator of the Royal Treasury.

3° The Mayor of Tinian will also be the Mayor of Saipan. In one place or the other, he shall try and extend the plantations as much as possible, he shall kill in due times large bulls, and never any cows, using traps, rigles and the means at his disposal; equal care will be used by him with regards to opigs, without distinction between sows and boars, taking care only to fatten them before killing them.

4° He shall not cede, to any ship or person, meat, dry vegetables, nor any thing under his charge, except fruits and fresh vegetables and only in the critical case of a ship arriving completely destitute of any resources, will he be able to provide her the specific help to reach this capital, or Rota, to get its necessary supplies; the Mayor shall then insist upon a reasonable payment, creating a documednt to account for the transaction, and that must be signed also by two of the working lads acting as witnesses, in order to give a report to the Administrator of the Royal Treasury and to the Governor under the most legal terms.

5° He shall try and catch alive all the weaned calves and goats that are possible to get, in order to enclose them, give them food by hand in order to domesticate them, so that they may later be brought to the Capital and serve to improve the lot of the residents of Guam.

6° He shall not have nor allow anyone to have on Tinian or Saipan ownership of either cattle or fowl or any other thing; as everything must belong to our Lord the King (may God save him) without prejudice against any one typ[e eating what they need.

7° He shall be vigilant against theft of cattle of any kind and to offer timely help to the animals that get stuck in the mud, as well as those that are skinny on account of illness; if he can catch them, he will keep them [in an enclosure].

8° He shall maintain the house and stores in the best condition possible, as well as the pig-pens and fences that exist already or that are appropriate to build in the future.

9° He shall be careful to remit to this Capital all the articles possible, with a written list of them for the attention of the Administrator of the Royal Treasury and of the Governor.

10° Two working lads will be under his command with the salary of 10 reals per month and twelve others at 1 peso per month to take care of both islands.

11° He shall make sure that these lads, as well as the exiles who may be sent there, say the Rosary daily to the Most Holy Virgin; that on feast days, they add another rosary or some other devotion as a supplement to mass, to maintain them in the best customs.

12° He shall look after the exiles with charity and justice, occupying them and treating them as wards of the Royal Treasury without allowing them to leave their post until ordered to do so by this Government.

13° He shall tame and domesticate some bulls to use as draft animals.

14° He shall inform the Administrator of these Islands about the events that occur in Tinian relating to the Administration of the Royal Treasury, and the Governor about all events.

In faith whereof, the said Governor and the Administrator of the Royal Treasury have signed their names, at San Ignacio of Agaña, on 20 February 1832.

Francisco de Villalobos

José Romero

...

Note: Add this to the case file against Luís Arceo, who has been in protective custody since yesterday.

Francisco Villalobos¹

¹ Ed. note: It appears that even the Mayor was sent to Tinian as an exile, as a punishment for wrongdoing. In 1832, there was not yet any mention of the existence of a leper colony in Saipan. However, we know from the census of December 1831, that there were then 7 houses inhabited by Carolinians in Saipan, and 8 such houses in Tinian, for a total of 50 individuals.

Document 1832D

The English whaler *Caroline*, Captain Tregurtha

Introductory notes.

There existed a logbook, known as the Tregurtha Log (1980) and inventoried as #VK 140.T7 in the Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaii at Manoa; however, in 1993, it could not be located.

Tregurtha was in command of the **Liverpool Packet** before he took charge of the **Caroline** at Calbutta on 25 January 1831, as the ship was carrying convicts to Sydney, where he arrived on 31 July. Then he went cruising for whales off New Zealand, Rotuma, Wallis, the Kingsmill Group, Pleasant Island, the Solomon Islands, New Ireland, back to the Bay of Islands, and to Hobartown in 1834, and back to London in 1835.

Extract from the autobiography of Captain Edward Primrose Tregurtha

Sources: UH MCF S50060;PMB 12.

Notes: The autobiography covers the period 1809-1849. The original manuscript is in the possession of Dr. R. Wettenhall, Melbourne. It is almost unreadable, as the lack of paper has forced the author to write over his previous texts at right angle.

...

In July we proceeded to Pleasant [Nauru] Island which well deserves the name. The natives came off freely bringing cocoanuts and a kind of Herring which they grow in ponds for the purpose of trade. They hold in that king pot the spawn off the reefs and thrown it into sundry salt water ponds in the interior where the young fish came forth when they feed them with chewed cocoanut until fit to sell, which full size they were larger than a herring and I purchased several hundreds from them, had them opened, salted & dried and kept them on board nearly a year.—

It was here we observed a shoal of small fish attached to the ship which never left her. In a calm, they swam all right and darted at any object that came near. I rigged a fish hook and succeeded catching 4 or 5 very much resembling a shad, two or three having dropped off the hook, they bit no more.— I now made a net(?) of a basket coop, and slinging a prating(?) over the Stern by the Yardarm(?) of a spade pole, we caught as many as we required. At any time the ship was moving 4 or 5 knots anything(?) they hovered near the rudder. This continued 3 or 4 months until they grew 8 inches long & it was enough for a meal, when they suddenly disappeared.

We obtained several whales about this island but one old bull gave us a drubbing. We had to cut from him with the loss of 4 lines, irons and several stopwaters after being fast 8 hours, without being able to use a lance, five boats down, three loose but he dodged us so effectively, we could not put near him. I had an adventure here with the **Toward Castle**, Capt. Bren [rather Brind].¹ We had lowered after whales and Bren was fast. I pulled up and fastened to a loose fish close up. Bren accused me of fastening to his fish and up wind passed(?) when audeenly his whales darted ahead and across mine causing his boat too pass nearly athwart hous(?) of ours. We had killed our fish.

Towards the end of July I steered to look but for Shank Island's latitude doubtful in the charts.² I could not discover it although we spotted(?) several times from the crows nest and turned back to Pleasant Island. In September, we departed for Heclas(?) [=Bouka?] Lat. & that group with the intention of passing to the northward and eastward(?) if successful. We cruised along this group with very little success and passing down by Solomon's Archipelago on the east side, I cruised off New Ireland.

...

[Note written at right angles on top of above text:]

Whale fishing on the Line is different employment to the Southern Fishery. Here exposures to the sun & rain are very injurious. The waters generally are so smooth & quiet that instead of a spout, black skin is reported which is the whale or a pod of whales basking in the sun. In this case, the boats are lowered very quietly & with great caution. The bars [lances?] are placed a peak. Had each man use a paddle bought or bartered from the natives for the purpose of paddling near the fish, ere the bar [lance?] is thrown the bus/bars are seeped(?) for the purpose of retreat[.] in this manner when one fish is fastened to, if cows thing will success(?) until you secure several, but if bulls then are off instantly.

1 Ed. note: Another London whaler, which had departed in October 1831 and returned in May 1835.

2 Ed. note: For a while, old charts (ca. 1800) had given this name to Nauru itself.

Documents 1832E

The shipwreck of the Mentor at Palau in 1832—Reports in the New England press

Source: Gerard Ward's American Activities in the Central Pacific, under Palau 3 to 16.

E1. Long report published in the Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot, 22 August 1833

Note: A shorter report appeared in the Boston Daily Atlas and Salem Gazette, the day before and the day after said date.

Loss of Ship Mentor

Extract from a letter of Capt. E. C. Barnard, of Ship Mentor, lost on the Pelew Islands.

At 11 P.M. 21st May, 1832, the ship struck on the rocks; (the noon before the lat. by account was, I think, 8°50' N. and the long. 132°20' E. showing that the ship had been acted upon by a very strong current) in a moment all the crew were running to clear the boats, and it was with difficulty that any of the men could be kept out of the one boat that got off, the waist boat being stove by the sea when the ship struck, In the boat that got clear went the following persons: Thomas W. Colesworthy, Peter O'Connor, Benjamin F. Haskell, David Jenkins, James Holiday, Augustus Malorz, and Lewis Bergoin.

After the boat was off, I cut away the masts to ease the ship, as she thumped heavily and the sea flying clear over her; she then appeared to get bedded in the rocks and labor less. In about an hour, I observed the deck to rise fast and fearing she would part before morning, I endeavored to get the other boat off, but lost her by the sea, and at the same time lost William Jones, of Boston.

At daylight saw an Island to the S.E. and a part of the reef dry, distance 3 or 4 miles; after much trouble, got out the only remaining boat and succeeded in reaching the dry part of the reef, where we spent the day and following night.

On the 23rd at daylight we saw a number of canoes coming towards us the nearest of which landed and immediately began to plunder, and inquiring for muskets; having informed them of the number on board, they left us and proceeded to the ship. After

being left to ourselves, we launched the boat, put in what things we had left, which were a few clothes, a box of bread and keg of water, and pulled for the Island of Kyangle; when near half way a canoe came alongside and offered to take us in tow which was cheerfully agreed to.

After towing about two miles, they lowered down their sail, hauled the boat alongside for the purpose of plunder, if not murder.

On perceiving their intentions, I ordered the warp cut and threw some clothes overboard, and then took to the oars, which being done and taxing the boat's head to the windward (the wind at the time being light) we got clear of them, and continued to pull to the S. all day; before night we saw the Island of Babelthuap; towards morning, finding myself nearly surrounded by breakers, for safety I had the line that was in the boat thrown over and fortunately it hooked to a rock where we lay till daylight, then got underway and pulled to the south, the land appearing but a short way off; but owing to the extreme heat and the scarcity of water, our progress was very slow; about noon we landed on a small island and found water; while there another [canoe] came and plundered us; after they left we steered off to follow them; but before reaching the shore saw several canoes coming towards us, and on their getting alongside began the third section of plunder, which when closed left most of the crew naked; but they left me a shirt, for which I wish to express my thanks.

On landing I found assembled a number of Chiefs who interrogated me relative to the ship voyage, and where the ship was; after they were satisfied they gave us drink, and offered food which was refused.

Of the manners of the people I would remark that they go entirely naked, that is the men (the women wearing a mat around their loins,) and that they are of a savage and warlike disposition, always going around with spears and swords.

Their treatment of me and my crew was the most hospitable kind, not only sharing what they might have, but giving up the best house in the town to us, and furnishing us with pigs and goats when they had not fish.

In consequence with our situation, they offered to build a boat, but had to give it up for want of fastenings; they then built a large canoe, procured a quantity of nails from the ship, with which I repaired the whale boat, and furnished with cloths and other necessaries.

The canoe being finished we only waited for the easterly winds, when I was told that six of my crew must stop, and six Chiefs must go with me. When I asked the reason of that order, I was told that Capt. Wilson did so at Corror, and that these men must stop with them till they got their pay, but what was to be their pay—and who was to pay them?—why the English gave muskets to Corror for doing the same, and they expected to be treated in the same manner.

After many long and tedious arguments, they at last consented that all might go but three, with taking three of the Chiefs.—I told them in substance as follows, that I was a stranger to their manner of arguing, that it was a long way to my Country, and that

for them to think that I could take these men with me was impossible. I could not pay for a passage for them, and no-one would take them without.

Arguing was vain, I was told that if these men did not go the canoe should be broke up, and we should all stay. Finding that they were determined to have their own way, I yielded with as good a grace as possible, but telling them they would get nothing from me, as I had nothing they wanted; but that if they kept any of my crew and sent their own people, I would do all I could to get along and that Government should be informed of what they had done for me, which perfectly satisfied them.

They ten selected my brother-in-law, James Meader, to stop, and the other two I might select, but as the time drew near for preparing, as the winds were to be our guide, Horatio Davis, of Cambridge, and Calvin Catlin, of Fairhaven, volunteered to stop, not liking to go in the canoe.

The 15th of Nov. we began to prepare the boat and canoe, getting provisions and other necessaries, and on the 23rd, I left Pelew in the whale boat, taking with me Horace Holden, Bartlett J. Rollins, of Bangor, Sergo Mute, of Portsmouth, and in the canoe went Charles R. Bowkett, of London, Wm. Siddon, of Manchester, Milton P. Hewlett, of Mass. and Peter Andrews, also two Chiefs and one man of the Islands.

At sunset, N. point of Pelhou [rather Peliliu] bore E.S.E. distance 20 miles. At night, 23rd Nov., I found myself at sea in an open whale boat and in company with a canoe with provisions and water for 20 days, without any means of finding my situation at any time, only having a compass, and 600 miles from any land where I could stop at with safety.

Ternate being the nearest port, after getting clear of the reefs I steered S.W. the sailing very heavy. At 7 P.M. the rudder unhung or rather the eyebolt drew out and we could not get it replaced before dark, and accordingly was obliged to lay by till morning losing a night's run, with a strong breeze at N.E.. Through the night it rained heavy, attended with thunder (which drew from some of the crew the remark "that if I were at Pelew, I would wait till some ship came there.")

For myself I can but say that my situation was not the most enviable; but when the day dawned the rain ceased, and the wind moderated; we got the rudder hung and went from that time till the 29th; the winds were light and flattering, the boat was nearly tight, but the canoe leaked much.

I was steering S.W. the whole time for Morty [rather Morotai] or Gillolo [i.e. Halmahera]. At about 8 P.M. 29th, when going with the wind abeam, the boat in tow of the canoe one of the Pelew men tending the sail boat, by his negligence the canoe was upset so far as to fill; the mast went over the side, then she came up on her bottom full of water. For more than an hour we stoved to get the water out of her, but without success. At about 10 P.M. came on to blow and rain. I got the crew from the canoe, all but three who stopped till morning; through the night the canoe had been so wrenched that it was impossible to get the water out of her; I then took all hands into the boat (making eleven) then took in as much water and provisions as was prudent (I would mention that the water was in large bamboos cut in lengths of 4 joints, and that the

provisions consisted of cocoanuts, and some fresh pork, fried and packed in jars with the fat.) After getting in the provisions and water, and throwing every thing of weight out of the boat that could be spared, saving only a shirt and pair of trousers to a man, we then took our departure from the canoe and steered S.W. When it was calm we would pull, and when favored with a breeze, spread out sails; we continued on this way.”

[Arrival at Tobi Island]

On the 6th December, at daylight we saw the land, distance about 6 miles: at the same time the wind was light and pleasant; in a short time I saw a number of canoes under way, and coming towards us; escape was impossible had we been so minded, but water we must have at the risk of our lives; but our deliberations were short, for the canoes were coming up fast, though I kept on my course until within half a mile of them, when I steered direct for the nearest, and when within a few yards, they held up cocoanuts and made signs of bartering and saying “pecio, pecio.” At the same moment, a canoe on the other side of the boat was not only alongside, but into the boat and in less than five minutes the boat was a wreck, and all hands divested of all their clothing, and distributed in different canoes; some were thrown overboard and came very near being drowned. After sharing out the things found in the boat, they put three or four men into her to take her ashore; the canoes then made sail for the Island which is a spot about three fourths of a mile long, and half a mile in width about three hundred inhabitants. As we came near to the shore, I could see the women and children running along the beach dancing and capering and singing and hooting.

We were at length landed and soon supplied with food and drink. The island is low, surrounded with a reef, lying off from 1/2 to 3/4 of a mile from the shore. The men are a stout powerful race, the women were not. During my stay among them my treatment was generally good. They exacted nothing from me except once or twice to go with them to gather cocoanuts, but their curiosity was troublesome, as no respect was paid to age, the children were most annoying. Their manner of living was the most filthy I ever saw, and the men assist in domestic affairs more than any savages that I ever heard of, and the contrast between this and Pelew was very great.

I was now wandering about a small Island, frequently hungry, and not knowing what Island it was, and no means of knowing, but I supposed that I had passed the West of Mortz and that it might be Maggo [i.e. Magu], and accordingly I thought that if I could be able to take a canoe I should steer first to the East for Ternate, but if I should not see land in twenty-four hours, I should steer S.W. knowing that I could not miss the land in that course; but the greatest objection to this was the difficulty we should have to get cocoanuts for a sea stock. Scarcely a day passed without some plan being proposed for our escape, not doubting our being able to get a canoe; but on the 3rd of Feb., 1835, at daylight a ship was seen to the South, steering direct for the Island with a prospect of fetching near the West side; in a moment from her appearance, the alarm was given, when were seen men, women and children running from every direction, bringing their cocoanuts to the beach and making preparations for boarding; my crew were

all down on the beach and around different canoes, but I saw that my Friend did not intend for me to go off. I accordingly went to his brother's canoe, and as soon as she was through the surf, I got in, they got in their cocoanuts, then ordered me out, but I told them I could get them some iron if they would let me go, it being the most valuable article they can have, but no, that would not do, I must get out, but to get out would not do for me. Two of them took hold of me for the purpose of throwing me overboard, when an old man told them to let me go. The sail was soon set, and we cut it gallantly through the waves towards the object in sight. After getting through the surf, I looked back and saw that they had driven all on shore but one man beside myself; with what feelings I approached that ship no man unless he has been in a like situation can tell, but as she drew near I saw that she was a large ship with a crew of blacks, and I supposed she was a Dutch Ship with a crew of Malays. After I got near enough to hail, I requested permission to come on board. The Mizzen topsail was hove to the mast, and on gaining the deck, I found her to be the Spanish ship **Sabina**, Captain **Somes** [rather **Gomez**], of Manilla, from Bengal, for Macao. Captain **Somes** received me with the greatest hospitality, for which I return him my most grateful thanks. After a short stop he got **Bartlett J. Rollins**, of Bangor, from another canoe, being the only one who could get off besides myself. Captain **Somes** having had a long passage and being short of provisions and water, could not stop to get the rest of the crew, as it would have detained him 24 hours. Captain **Somes** furnished me with some iron hoops which I gave to those who took me off; a reward which was much more than they would have asked for us, but I believe the reason for not taking us all off was that they had stove my boat, they were afraid that it would be revenged. By their getting so great a reward I have no doubt that the remainder of the crew will meet good treatment, and if any ship should pass near the Island will be taken off to ther.

It was not until I got on board the **Sabina** that I found what Island I had been on; it was Lord North's [Tobi], lat. 3°03' N., long. 131°20' East."

E2. Article in the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, 21 Aug. 1833

Wreck

Capt. Edward C. Barnard, late of the ship **Mentor**, wrecked at the Pelew Islands, has arrived at New Bedford. Of the survivors of the crew of the **Mentor**, three of them, (James Meader, of New Bedford, Calvin D. Alden, of Fairhaven, and Horatio Davis, of Cambridge port) were left at Pelew Islands as hostages until satisfaction should be made to the natives for the protection and relief which they had afforded; and six others, Benjamin Nute and Horatio Holden, of New Hampshire; Milton B. Hewlett of Cape Cod, Ma; Chas. R. Bowkett and Wm. Seddon of England, and Peter Andrews, Colored), remained at Lord North's Island until opportunity should be afforded them to return home.

Bartlett J. Rollings, of Bangor, Me., has arrived at N. Y., from Canton. The remainder of the crew were supposed to have perished. Capt. B. informs us that while at An-

gier, on the last of May, he addressed an account of the disaster to Lieut. Shields of the U.S. Schr. **Boxer** at Batavia informing him of the situation of the survivors, and requesting if consistent with his general orders, his assistance in procuring and aiding their liberation and return. The results of this request is not known. A representation on the subject will also be made immediately to the Secretary of the Navy Dept. at Washington.¹

Capt. B. was detained at the Pelew Islands six months, at Lord North's Island two months, and at Canton, one month.

—[Copied from the] New Bedford Mercury.

E3. Further notes by Captain Barnard, published in Niles Weekly Register, Baltimore, Md., 24 Aug. 1833

Loss of the Ship Mentor

The Ship **Mentor**, of New Bedford, under my command, was lost on the Pelew Islands, on the 21st May, 1832, and eleven of my crew were lost at the time, in attempting to leave the ship in one of the boats, viz: Thos. M. Colesworthy, 1st officer; Peter O'Connor, 2nd officer; Benjamin F. Harkell, James M. Fisher, David Jenkins, boat steerers; Lewis Burgoin, John Bailey, James Blackmore, Thomas Taylor alias James Holiday, William Jones, seamen; and the cook, a black man. The remainder of my crew arrived at Pelew on 24th May, in latitude 7°41' north; the ship was lost on a reef in lat. 8°18', and long. nearly 135° east.

We remained on the island until the 23rd day of November, when the natives gave us a canoe and a whale boat belonging to the ship, with such provision as the island afforded, with which we left, in hopes of reaching the island of Ternate, or any other of the Dutch settlements. We left at Pelew as hostages, James Meader, Calvin Alden and Horatio Davis, taking with us two chiefs and one man, natives. On the 29th November, the canoe sunk in a squall. After taking all the men into the whale boat, continued our voyage until the 6th December, when at daylight we discovered Lord North's Island, the natives of which came off in canoes and made us all prisoners, broke the boat in pieces, and stripped us of all our clothes, but otherwise offered us no violence. We remained with them until 3rd of February, 1833, when the Spanish ship **Sabina**, Captain **Somes** [sic], from Calcutta, hove in sight, when myself and B. J. Rollins succeeded in getting on board, leaving Horatio Holden, Milton Hewlett, Benjamin Nute, Charles Bowkett, William Sidden and Peter Andrews, with the three Pelew men. Captain **Somes** being short of provisions, could not wait to get the rest on board, not knowing how long he might have to detain himself, and the natives not wishing to part with us. Captain **Somes** has done everything in his power to render our situation as comfort-

¹ Ed. note: Those left behind at Tobi Island were rescued in 1834 by the English barque **Britannia**, Captain Henry Short, and the rest were picked up at Palau in 1835 by Captain Aulick with the U.S.S. **Vincennes**.

able as possible during our stay on board the **Sabina**, for which I beg to return him my most grateful thanks.

We may attribute our kind treatment at Pelew to the presents they received from the British government for the kindness and hospitality shown to Captain Wilson when he lost his ship on the small island; and no doubt the two chiefs accompanied us in a canoe expecting a reward from the American government for taking care of us, building us a canoe, etc. etc.

Given under my hand at Macao, China, this 24th day of February, 1833.

E4. Follow-up in the Evening Mercantile Journal, Boston, Mass., 27 Apr. 1835

Note: Identical reports appeared in the Boston Courier, 28 April; The Daily Atlas, Boston, 27 April, and Christian Register, Boston, 2 May.

Canton, Dec. 23rd [1834].

On board the British barque **Britannia**, from Bahia, are two American seamen,¹ part of the crew of the American ship **Mentor**, received from off Lord North's Island.

In the late advices from Canton appears the paragraph above quoted. It refers undoubtedly to the whale ship **Mentor** of this port, E. C. Barnard, master, which was wrecked on the Pelew Islands on the 21st of May, 1832, when ten of the crew were lost. The survivors, 11 in number, were all there four weeks or more, during which time they were making efforts to negotiate with the natives for their release. It was finally agreed that Capt. Barnard and seven of his men, should have a large canoe, together with the whale boat saved from the **Mentor**, be furnished with three weeks' provisions, and set at liberty, on condition that the three others, (James Meader, of New Bedford, Calvin D. Alden, of Fairhaven, and Horatio Davis of Cambridgeport,) remain there until redeemed by giving to the natives 200 muskets, and a certain quantity of powder. The captain and the seven men accordingly put to sea in their boats, and having a compass, steered in an easterly [sic] direction, in the hope of reaching an island with which they were better acquainted. After being 26 days at sea, they raised land, went ashore, and found they were at Lord North's Island. In a few days after a ship was discovered, and only Capt. Barnard and one of his men were permitted by the natives to go on board of her. They went off, found the vessel to be the Spanish ship **Sabina**, were admitted on board, well treated and carried into Manila. They then went to Canton, and have since arrived home. The names of those left at Lord North's were Charles R. Bowkett, William Siddon, Milton Hewlett, Horace Holden, Peter Andrews, and Benjamin Nute.

This is a correct statement of the facts which came within the knowledge of Capt. Barnard, and we give it to do away an erroneous impression that the two men who arrived at Canton are of the hostages left at the Pelews. It is the more probable—indeed

¹ Ed. note: They were Horace Holden and Benjamin H. Nute.

there is hardly a doubt—that they are of the six who were left at Lord North's Island.—

—[Copied from the] New Bedford Gazette.

E5. The statement of Captain Short, dated Lintin 29 December 1834

Source: Christian Watchman, Boston, 12 June 1835.

Lintin, China, 29th December 1834.

This is to certify that, on the 27th day of November, 1834, off the small island commonly called Lord North's by the English, situated in lat. 3°03' North, and 131°20' East, on board the British barque **Britannia**, bound to Canton river, we observed about ten or eleven canoes, containing upwards of one hundred men, approaching the vessel in a calm, or nearly so, with the intention of coming alongside. But, having the complement of thirteen men, it was considered most prudent to keep them off, which was effected by firing a few six-pound shots in a contrary direction from the boats, some of which were then within pistol shot. At the same time hearing cries in our own language, begging to be taken on board, the boat was dispatched away to know the cause. The boat returned to the ship, and reported an American on board one of them. She was then sent back, having strict orders to act with caution, and the man got from the canoe into the sea, and taken up by the ship's boat, and brought on board. He then stated in what manner he came there, and said he had another of his countrymen in another canoe. I said if we could get some of the boats dispersed, that every assistance should be rendered for the liberty of the other man. Accordingly they did so, all but three. The ship's boat was then dispatched in search, and soon found the other man. He was brought on board, but in a most deplorable condition with fever, from effects of a miserable subsistence. The two poor fellows were quite naked, under a burning sun. They appeared to bear all the marks of their long servitude, and I should suppose two or three days would have been the end of the last man taken on board, but for this act of Providence. It appears that these men were wrecked in the ship **Mentor** on the Pelew Islands, and were proceeding with their commander to some Dutch settlement, in one of the Pelew Island canoes, when they got to the afore-mentioned island, and were detained by the natives; and that Captain Edward C. Barnard had got on board some ship, and reached Canton river shortly after their detention at the island: which has been confirmed by the different masters now at the port of Lintin.

The statement given to me by the two men runs thus:—

That they were wrecked May 21st, 1832, on the Pelew Islands, and detained on Lord North's Island 6th December, 1832. The two men's names are Benjamin H. Nute, and Horace Holden. I should thank any ship master now in port, acquainted with the circumstances, to confirm it by his signature, in order to make some provision for those men, should they require it. But from the disposition and liberality of those American gentlemen coming forward, that are already acquainted with the circumstances, per-

haps it will be unnecessary. At the same time, I shall be very willing to draw up any form or in any other way, that I may forward their views, according to the opinion of their American friends. I should that every vessel passing in the direction of the aforementioned island, passing any of their boats, will give them a trifle. I gave them what articles those two men thought most beneficial, and should have held a closer communication with them, had I been better manned and armed.

Henry Short, Barque **Britannia**.

E6. The eyewitness report of Holden and Nute

Note: Report published in the New York Journal of Commerce; repeated in the Salem Gazette, 2 June 1835.

Some particulars of the Loss of Ship **Mentor** and sufferings and Death of the greater part of her crew.—

A month or two since, we copied from a Canton paper, a brief paragraph mentioning the arrival at that port of two American seamen, late of the whale ship **Mentor**, lost in the Pacific Ocean. These two seamen whose names are Horace Holden and Benjamin H. Nute, arrived in New York from Canton, on the 5th inst., after an absence of nearly five years from the United States, during the greater part of which time they have been held in slavery, by the savages of the Pelew Islands. Having learned that the facts connected with their shipwreck and subsequent history were of an interesting character, we yesterday sought an interview with them, and in a long conversation obtained from them the following particulars:—

On the 20th July, 1830 [rather 1831], the **Mentor** sailed from New Bedford, for the South Seas, on a whaling voyage, with a complement of twenty-two men, including the officers. After leaving New Bedford, the first place they touched at was the Azores. After a short stay at Ferrol, they passed through the Timor Straits, and continued their voyage without any thing remarkable occurring, until they passed Amboyna with the intention of going to the Tinian Islands, near the Philippines.

It was then advanced in the month of May, 1831 [rather 1832], and for some days previous to the 21st the weather had been so extremely boisterous that they were unable to take any observation. On the 21st of May the weather became still worse, and a most tremendous storm came on, which obliged them to take in almost all their sails; the gale continued and between eleven and twelve o'clock that night whilst the vessel was steering under a close-reefed main-topsail, and a back topmast-stay-sail, she struck upon a coral reef running out from the nearest of the Pelli Islands.

It was evident to all on board that the vessel was irretrievably lost, and must soon go to pieces, and a boat was lowered from her and eleven of the crew got into it, who pushed off from the ship and were never afterwards heard of. They in all probability soon perished, as it was impossible that any boat could live long in such a tremendous storm. The remaining eleven of the crew remained and still struggled though without a hope to save the ship. They cut away the masts and did everything they could to right

her, but she still lay on her beam ends a helpless mark for the fury of the waves. Her crew at length gave up their useless efforts in despair, and attended to their own safety. by lashing themselves to the weather side of the ship, where they remained until morning. As soon as the day dawned they launched the remaining boat from the ship and the eleven survivors got into her, and rowed along the reef about two miles from the wreck, where they got on dry land. Here they remained two days and nights having nothing to subsist on but about four gallons of water and some seven or eight pounds of bread, which was all they took from the wreck except some of their clothes, two or three cutlasses, a musket and a pair of pistols.

On the third morning at daylight they beheld 30 or 40 canoes making towards them, one of which was two or three miles ahead of the others. The Captain of the ship immediately informed his men that they would be soon surrounded by savages, and recommended them to quietly submit to them, as they had no other choice. The leading canoe, which was filled with naked savages, soon came near them, and then lay to, until the seamen hoisted a shirt as a sign of amity, and the savages immediately landed on the reef, and rushed on the men, from whom they took their clothes and weapons of defence, which the savages brought into their canoe, and then authoritatively called out to the seamen: "More vial, more vial" (come to the wreck,) making these words intelligible by pointing to the ship, to which they insisted the seamen should accompany them. The seamen went into their boat and accompanied the savages back to the wreck, from which they took all the firearms, and whatever else they could carry in their canoes. All the canoes went away except one, which remained, the savages in which made signs to the seamen to throw them a rope, and they would tow them to land. The seamen accordingly threw them a rope, and the savages towed their boat until they were within five or six miles of the land, when they suddenly stopped, and used such threatening gestures towards the boat's crew, that the Captain ordered Mr. Nute to cut the rope which fastened the boat to the canoe, and told his men to pull away from her. The savages discovered the intention of the seamen, and threw their war clubs and some coconuts at them, and then flung their spear at them. With the exception, however, of one man, whose face was dreadfully shattered, the seamen sustained no injury, and got clear of the land, and pulled for the open sea, chased, however, for several hours by the savages. At sundown the seamen again beheld land, and reached it the ensuing day in a state of the utmost exhaustion. The place they landed at was a small uninhabited islet about half a mile from a higher one.¹

They had scarcely landed when they saw a canoe approach them, with two savages in it, who held up a fish in token of friendship. The seamen in return caught a large crab and held it up as an answering signal, and the savages then landed, came close to the seamen, and laughed and appeared to be pleased with the meeting. After some time they made signs to the seamen to follow them, and went into their canoe. The seamen

1 Ed. note: This islet may have been Ngaregar Island just north of the Arakelong Peninsula at the north end of Babelthuap Island.

did so, and were conducted towards the larger island. On their way to it, they were surrounded by several canoes, and a chief who was in one of them sprung from it into the seamen's boat and furiously assaulted the Captain. This seemed to be the signal for a general attack on the seamen, and they were attacked on all sides, and ultimately overpowered and stripped naked, and in this condition they were brought to land. On coming on shore they were surrounded by the women and children who seemed to regard them as extraordinary objects of curiosity, and repeatedly put their hands on them to examine them more minutely. Near where they landed was a platform of stone on which was assembled all the chiefs of the nation, who had assembled to determine what was to be done with the strangers. When they had deliberated some time, the women and children, who seemed to take a great interest in the seamen, began to cry, which the unfortunate seamen considered as a sign that their fate was determined on. Such was not, however, the case, as the savages gave them a sort of toddy to drink, composed of water and molasses made from the sacharine of the cocoanut, after drinking which they were conducted to the chief town, called Ibuel,¹ where the chiefs held another council regarding them. Whilst this council was being held, the seamen were not a little astonished at seeing a seeming savage rush towards them and address them in English. On entering into conversation with him, they learned that he was an Englishman, who had deserted his ship more than 20 years back, and remained on the island ever since, had become a Chief, and exercised unlimited influence among the savages. Through this man's influence they had a house assigned to them to live in, and were well treated whilst they remained on the Island. The Island produced cocoanuts and yams in great abundance and was well stocked with pigs and goats, and resorted to by immense flocks of sea-fowl.

Their English friend induced the savages to return them a shirt and trousers each, and this was all the clothes they had whilst they remained on the island. In every other respect, however, they were as well off as they could possibly expect to be under such circumstances, being well fed and not required to do any work. After remaining here six months and finding there was no likelihood of a vessel touching at the island, they induced the savages by promises of rewards, to build them a canoe, and let eight of them leave the island, the other three remaining as hostages for the promised payment. These eight seamen accompanied by their master left, and embarked in the canoe and the seamen's boat and set sail for Amboyna. Five days after they left the island the canoe foundered and the eight seamen and the savages were obliged to take to the boat; their stock of provisions consisting only of four cocoanuts each and about twelve quarts of water. In four days after they arrived (being the 6th of Dec. 1831 [father 1832]) within sight of Lord North's Island, in latitude 3 deg. 3 min. north, and long. 131 deg. 20 min. east. When they came within five or six miles of this island nearly twenty canoes surrounded them and knocked every one of them overboard, and then shivered [sic] their boat to pieces with their war clubs. Whilst the savages were knocking their boat

1 Ed. note: This village corresponds to Ngabeul, or Aibedul, today.

to pieces the seamen swam from one canoe to another and attempted to get into them, but were repulsed by the savages until they had completely destroyed their boat, and they then picked up the seamen and brought them to the island. This island, unlike the one they had left, is extremely barren and unproductive, producing scarcely anything but the cocoanut tree, and no animals but lizards and mice. The inhabitants, about 4 or 5 hundred in number, lead a miserable wretched life, and it is no uncommon thing for many of them to die of starvation. On being landed, the savages stripped the seamen of the wretched rags that remained to them and then apportioned out as slaves to different masters on the island. Whilst remaining here, they were treated in the most cruel manner, half starved, and almost worked to death by their barbarous taskmasters.

Some months after their arrival one of them died literally of starvation. Another of them was put to death for some trifling offence, by battering out his brains with stones. About ten months after their capture, a Spanish vessel passed the island, and some of the canoes put off to sell some cocoanuts, and the Captain of the vessel and one of the crew got into one of the canoes to go on board her, but were cast into the sea; they then swam to another canoe, from which they were also cast into the ocean, but after being treated in this way, repeatedly, their tyrants at last took compassion on them, and by the orders of one of their prophets, allowed them to be put on board the ship, and were never after heard of by their companions. Two more of the unfortunate seamen soon after died of over-work and starvation. Holden and Nute were now the only survivors, and were reduced to such a state of exhaustion that they could no longer labor and were then refused even the scanty allowance of food which had hitherto been doled out to them. Their only means of subsistence was now drawn from the charity of the more kindly disposed amongst the savages, who now and then bestowed on them a little food, but so inadequate to sustain nature, that the three men were reduced to mere skeletons, and a few weeks, if not days must have terminated their existence, but fortunately a ship hove in sight, and the savages were induced to put them on board her, by promises of reward from the seamen, and the conviction that they could be no longer anything but an incumbrance to them; they accordingly put them on board their canoes and brought them towards the ship. They left the island on the ... day of ... after residing there three years in the most dreadful state of slavery and every sort of privation.

From Canton they were brought home in an American sloop and arrived here the 5th of May.

During their residence on the two islands they learned the language of the inhabitants of each, which are essentially different. There is also a vast difference in their appearance; which may be attributed to the one having sufficient food and the other, being half starved. In one lamentable particular, the Savages of both islands are completely alike, namely, a total and entire ignorance of the true god. They believe, however, in a Supreme Being, and have the idols to represent him which are made about the size and appearance of a human being. These idols are kept in huts built for the purpose, and at certain periods their priests or prophets go into the hut accompanied by the people, and addresses the idol in some sort of gibberish, and whilst he is doing so the people

believe that he is holding a conversation with God. This continues for a few minutes and the people leave the hut, and this is the only sort of prayer they have amongst them. The islanders believe that Americans are a superior order of beings, who dwell not upon the earth, and can create every thing necessary for their wants, particularly iron which is held in the greatest estimation by the savages.

A part of their religion which is considered indispensable, consists in tattooing in a most curious manner the front of the person from the chest downwards, and this ceremony was inflicted on the seamen in so rude and barbarous a manner as to almost kill them.

E7. Follow-up story about Holden

Source: Evening Mercantile Journal, Boston, 9 June 1835.

Crew of the Ship Mentor

The New Bedford Mercury gives the following interesting account of the treatment, which our unfortunate countrymen received while among the natives as collected from the statements of one of the seamen, who was some time since taken off Lord North's Island and lately arrived in New York.

"In consequence of the urgent solicitation of the owners of the **Mentor**, W. R. Rodman, Esq. and other benevolent individuals, Holden and Nute left New York on Friday, and arrived in this town on Saturday evening. We had a long conversation yesterday with Mr. Holden, who appears to be a very intelligent and well informed young man. He was kind enough to furnish us with all details of the sufferings which himself and shipmates underwent during the three years they were held in slavery on Lord North's Island, and to correct some errors, which had inadvertently crept into the different accounts given in the New York papers, we publish the part related to that island. This island, unlike the Pelews, is one of the most horrible and wretched on the face of the globe. The only product of its soil is the cocoanut tree, and a few stunted bushes, and those of so dwarfish and miserable a growth, as to bear but very few nuts. These few, however, constitute the sole food of the inhabitants, with the exception of a species of fish occasionally caught near the shore. The only animals, or creeping things known on the island are mice and lizards—and during the three years that Holden and Nute remained there not a solitary sea-fowl was known to have alighted on the island, and but three fish were taken by the natives. The character of its savage inhabitants resembles that of the island itself. Cowardly and servile, yet most barbarous and cruel, they combine in their habits, tempers and dispositions, the most disgusting and loathsome features which disgrace humanity. And what we regard as remarkable, the female portion of the inhabitants far outstrip the masculine, in cruelty and depravity—so much so, that our informants assure us that they were frequently indebted to the tender mercies of the men for escapes from death at the hands of the women.

The indolence of the natives, which not even the fear of starvation itself can move, prevents them from undertaking the least toil, although a little labor well applied might

be made to render them infinitely more comfortable. Starvation stares them in the face the year through, and very frequently they perish solely for the want of food.

On such an island, and the captives of such a people did the wretched sufferers find 'their lines cast.'

The first measures of the captors, after getting their prisoners ashore, was to strip them. Not a thread was left them, though the sun was pouring its scorching rays upon them—and in the same state of utter nakedness had they to remain as long as their captivity continued. The natives themselves wear nothing that can be dignified with the name of clothing, and their skins, to use the expression of one of the prisoners, "like the hide of a rhinoceros," and nearly as impervious to heat or storm. The next operation to which the captives were subjected, was the plucking out, by the roots, of their beard, and every thing bearing the semblance of hair from their breasts, arms, and legs and indeed every portion of their bodies and limbs except their heads. This tedious and excruciating process, however, was but the beginning of their sufferings. As fast as their beard and hair reappeared, they were compelled to turn self-tormenters, and pull it out with their own hands—which they did with the help of a small stone on the ball of their fore fingers and thumb nails. They had not long been in the hands of these demi-devils, before they underwent the terrible and torturous process of tattooing.

The coloring with which this cruel operation was effected, was obtained from nuts found in the branches of what the natives called the *savan* tree, which floats on to the beach. These nuts were burnt, and the soot of the smoke gathered in the shell of a coconut, held over the blaze. This soot is then mixed with water, and forms a liquid as black as ordinary ink, and the stain of which is indelible. The liquid thus obtained is then forced into the skin with sharp fish bones, and the figures so formed remain during life.

The hapless subjects of this narrative were all tattooed in this manner, and their breasts, chests, and arms covered with singular and fantastic devices.

Our informant states that the operation was most intensely excruciating, and brought groans and screams from the sufferers sufficient to appal and melt the heart of any being possessed of the least feeling. So great was Holden's terror for it, that he fled and concealed himself for three days, without a particle of food, among the bushes and trees of the forest, in order to escape it; but he was at least forced by the agonies of starvation, to venture out in search of food, when he was seized and horribly tortured by this worse than inquisitorial process. These transactions all took place after Capt. Barnard left.

After this, they were all allotted to different masters, who set them to work digging mud, carrying stone and such other labor as they chose to require, whether it had any definite object or not.—They were kept wholly apart from each other, and not even allowed to speak to one another, under severe penalties for disobedience. They were worked to the utmost extent of their abilities for endurance, and scanty fed with coconut, which, as is before stated, is the only food of the island.

The three antives of the Pelew received the same treatment as the whites, and were regarded, if anything, with less favor. Of the six individuals originally belonging to the **Mentor**, who were left on Lord North's Island by Capt. Barnard, Holden and Nute are the only survivors.

The first person who died was William Sidden, a native of Manchester, England. About twelve months, he became so weak and feeble from want of food, as to be unable to work, and the natives refusing him all sustenance, he died of starvation. The next was Peter Andrews, a native of Savannah, Georgia, who was murdered by one of the natives for some trifling offence. His head was beat to pieces with a stone, with a most barbarous manner. Milton Hewlett, of Cape Cod, about two years and a half after landing on the island, became so weak and debilitated, as to be unable to speak. In this situation he was put into a canoe and shoved out to sea. His body was found washed up on the shore the next day. Charles R. Bowkett, of London, the last, died under similar circumstances to Hewlett.

E8. Sequel to two shipwrecks

Source: Article in the New Bedford Gazette, July 22, 1835.

Mentor's Crew.

By the following letter, published in the New York papers, from Capt. Low, of the ship **Cabot**, it will be seen that we have intelligence from James Meader, of this town, Calvin D. Alden of Fairhaven, and Horatio Davis of Cambridgeport, who belonged to the whale ship **Mentor**, of this port, that was wrecked on the Pelew Islands in May, 1832, and who were left there as hostages.—The good news from Mr. Marsh, will be joyful to his friends in Providence.

Canton, 28th Feb. 1835

Feb. 10th, off the N.W. end of the Pelew Islands, I took a man from a canoe, who said his name was George Marsh, of Providence—that he was wrecked in the schor. **Dash**, of Boston, on the Matalotes [Ngulu], or Caroline Islands, about 180 miles from Pelew, on the 14th of March, 1834. He came on board naked but in fine health—been well treated by the natives. He is tall, light complexion, and about 21 years old.

George Marsh gives me the following information regarding other Americans left on the island adjoining those he was on: two men of the crew of the ship **Mentor** lost there in 1832. There were three of the number left as hostages for forty muskets which were promised the King by the Capt. of the ship. One had made his escape on board of a ship that was passing the islands. There is an American boy about there also.

When George got on board we were a long distance from the islands, and it was nearly dark and blowing very strong. If it had been otherwise, I should have attempted to regain the island for the purpose of taking the rest of the men, although thirty or forty miles to the windward. George says the inhabitants are very civil to them, and treat them well.

I have just noticed in the Chinese periodicals, that our government has ordered one of our sloops of war to call at these Islands for such men as are left. I hope they will take them without paying the ransom and other rewards for their kindness to foreigners. It is, we find, very necessary to keep in friendship with these people, as they are surrounded with many dangerous Islands as well as shoals.¹

E9. Final rescue by the USS Vincennes

Sources: Articles in the Bedford Daily Gazette, May 6, 1836, and in the Atlas of Boston, May 7.

Navy Department.

Copy of a letter received by the Secretary of the Navy, from Capt. John H. Aulick, dated:

U.S.S. Vincennes, Lintin, Jan. 6, 1836.

Sir.

By a vessel on the point of sailing for New York, I do myself the honor of informing you, that I arrived at this place on the second instant. As I was not apprised of the intended departure until within a few hours since I left the coast of Peru, and compels me to limit myself to inform the department, that in the course of my passage across the Pacific, I visited the Washington, or Northern Marquesas, the Society, the Friendly, and the Navigators' Islands, Wallis Island, Rotumah, Quam [sic], Lord North's and the Pelew Islands. From the last named, I brought off, after considerable difficulty with the chiefs, the only remaining men (two) of the crew of the **Mentor**, left there as hostages by Capt. Barnard in 1832. Of the six of his crew which he left on Lord North's Island, four died, and two made their escape in a passing vessel some months ago.

I have taken off the different islands I have touched at, in all, twenty American seamen, who had been left on shore in a destitute condition by different whalers and traders; the greater part of whom I have put on board, by their own consent, of various American vessels that were in want of hands.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant

J. H. Aulick

E10. Last words of the last survivors

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, June 15, 1836.

Crew of the Ship Mentor.

¹ Ed. note: George Marsh left the Cabot at Canton, and made his way to Hawaii aboard the brig Griffin.

...

The **Vincennes** arrived at Norfolk last week, on board of which the two seamen came passengers, and on their arrival here we conversed with them, and they gave us a detailed account of their privations and sufferings while detained by the natives on the [Pelew] island. The names of these men were Horatio Davis, of Cambridgeport, and James Meader, of New Bedford. They state that the **Vincennes** was not able to get within 70 miles of where they were, therefore a whaleboat and three cutters were sent with 140 men, well armed, to take them. The ransom promised the chiefs was 20 muskets, but when they found such a force sent against them, they gradually reduced their demands, and eventually only two muskets and a few other small articles were given them. During the stay of Davis and Meader, they were very much debilitated for want of nourishing food, nothing being obtained but tara root, cocoanuts, and occasionally a few fish. The natives make no efforts to cultivate any thing for their support, although the soil is tolerably good. They are a very listless, idle people, with very little intellectual powers. Not having proper apparatus, Meader says that his beard at one time was so long that it reached his middle. There is now living on the island a man about 90, who well remembers Capt. Wilson who was there many years since, and who wrote the history of Prince Lee Boo. There are three Englishmen (the only whites) now on the island; one of them is quite a young man, formerly belonging to Schr. **Dash**, of Boston. Com. Aulick offered to bring them away, but they declined. Davis and Meader have furnished us with many more very interesting particulars relating to the Pelew Islands, which we are obliged to omit. They express many thanks to Com. Aulick and his officers, for their kind treatment when on board the **Vincennes**. They were on the island 3 years and 7 months.—

—[Copied from the] Hudson's N. Y. Bulletin.

Document 1832F

The shipwreck of the *Mentor*—The official account of Captain Barnard

Source: Captain Edward C. Barnard. "Naked and a Prisoner": Captain Edward C. Barnard's Narrative of Shipwreck in Palau 1832-1833 (Sharon, Mass., 1980).

Introductory note.

Edward Barnard was born in Nantucket in 1799. In 1821, he joined the crew of the **Columbus** of Fairhaven for his first whaling voyage to the Pacific Ocean. After his fateful cruise as Captain of the **Mentor**, he took command of the **Winslow**, of New Bedford, in 1833. Upon his return, he became a skipper on Lake Erie and that is where he lost his life in a storm in 1844.

The narrative of Edward C. Barnard

In the latter part of July 1831 I sailed from New Bedford in the Ship **Mentor** on a whaling voyage to the Indian Ocean. The first cruise was to the East of the Grand Bank but seeing no whales I then ran for the Azores. The day that I saw Fayal got a whale that made 80 bbls of oil. Two days after got another of the same size; after boiling them out put into Fayal and landed the oil to be shipped home. After taking on board a sufficient quantity of vegetation sailed for another cruise around the islands. I continued about the islands till the last of September without taking any more oil. At that time the weather got to be boisterous, so that I took my departure from the Azores, passed between the Cape Verde Islands, crossed the Equator, passed the Cape of Good Hope, through the Mozambique Channel, to the Comoro Islands. Stopped at the island of Johanna [Anjouan], obtained a few articles of refreshment. From that time to the first of March cruised between the Comoro Islands, Madagascar, Seychelles, and Zanzibar, saw but few whales and took about two hundred barrels of oil. Then stood to the S.E. till I took the N.W. monsoon, then put away for the coast of Timor and arrived at Copang on the 9th of April, took in wood, water, and buffalo, and sailed on the 16th, passed through the Straits of Alor, Banda Sea and Moluccas with gentle breezes and pleasant weather till the 18th of May when off the N point of Morty [Morotai], took a strong breeze from the S.S.W. with rain, steered N.N.E. till noon of the 20th, then N.E..

On the 21st, strong gales at SW with rain, the ship under double-reefed topsails. I had no latitude after leaving Morty but from the course steered and distance gone through the water the ship ought to have been 150 miles to the N.W. of the Pelew Islands. At Midnight, the ship struck upon the rocks, unhung the rudder and broached to, so as to have the sea two points on the starboard bow and fell over on the larboard side. In a moment every man was on deck, and clearing away the boats to leeward. The waist boat was stove. but the larboard quarter boat was got off with ten of the crew, including all my officers. After the boat was clear, as the ship continued to thump heavy, I cut away the fore and main mast, to prevent the ship from oversetting. The gale soon began to abate and the sea to fall but the shipp might part before morning, as she continued to heel more after every heavy sea.

Towards daylight, I attempted to lower the starboard boat but the sea broke into her, broke her in two and carried away one man. About that time we lost one of the spare boats. It was then determined to wait till daylight. In the meantime, the crew were inquiring where we were. I could not tell for a certainty, but thought that it was most likely that we were on the Pelew Islands. Yet we must have been currented one hundred and fifty miles in three days. The next [question] was: Were they inhabited, and if so, with what sort of people? I related to them the circumstance of Captain Wilson's wreck several years before and the kind treatment he met with. Thus passed the time looking for the dawn in hope of seeing land and the boat, no-one doubting of her safety. But as she has not been seen or heard from since, it is but too probable that they must have all perished. At length, the long-wished-for dawn appeared but no boat was to be seen, but an island of considerable size was seen to the S.E. and a small sand-spit, the first, about ten or twelve miles off, the other about three. We then got out the remaining boat, put in some bread, with musket, compass, and a few other articles, and pulled to the spit, landed, took the boat up to the top of it, then spread out our clothes to dry. We then kindled a fire amongst some driftwood, and after searching among the rocks, a few shellfish were found and roasted. Near the middle of the spit was a hole partly filled with loose sand which we cleared out with a shell to the depth of four feet and found water, but it was very brackish, only differing from the ocean by its filtering through the sand. Near the well were some stones piled up in the form of the letter H, so as to make a shelter against the NE or SW monsoons. Pieces of fishing nets, cocoanut shells, and fish bones were seen, indicating that it had been the resort of a fishing party not long before. Through the day the weather continued to moderate. As the boat was old and leaked much, I determined to stop till the next day, then return to the wreck and get some nails to repair her, then go to the island to the SE.

At Noon, I found the Latitude $8^{\circ}16'$ N. Not till then was I sure that we were on the Pelew Islands. At night all our things were put into the pen, a watch set. Thus passed our first night, after taking a little bread and half salt water.

At dawn of day, we mustered and discovered a sail to the E. we soon saw that it was a large canoe standing to the S. After getting to an opening in the reef, they passed through and came towards the islet, till they saw us [then] they stopped apparently to

hold a consultation. I then had some clothes held up on an oar, at [the] sight of which they came on shore, and began to pick up such things as they could find and inquiring for muskets, both by words and signs. By the time it was light enough to see to any distance, there were more than twenty canoes, seen coming from the island to the SE, which led me to think that the first boat had reached their island, but could learn nothing from them by any sign that could be understood. There were eight or ten men in the canoe, all in a state of nudity, with long lanky hair, teeth black as if they were Japaned, from the constant use of the betel nut and lime, armed with spears and battle axes, their countenances bearing the most sinister determination mixed with cowardice and treachery of which they soon gave us proofs. To resist would be the height of folly, as the only alternative was to put to sea in an old and leaky boat or to land amongst them trusting to their humanity. After taking such thing as they fancied or as time permitted them to, they left in such a hurry as to leave one of their *kybattles*, or axes with us, and proceeded to the wreck to secure the other muskets. Taking with them our compass, quadrant, epitome, musket and some clothes. After being left to ourselves, we launched the boat, picked up the remaining things and pulled towards the ship. Amongst the few things left was a canister of powder that I emptied out and broke off the top to make a bailer for the boat. After getting to the ship, found that we could not get on board without endangering the staving of the boat, and many canoes arriving at the same time deemed it adviseable to leave for the island to the SE. The canoe that first visited us having secured the muskets & feeling satisfied with their success, left for the island, calling alongside of the boat for their *kybattle* which was given to them. They then trimmed their sail, beckoning us to follow, but refusing to take us in tow, and steering a course to avoid the other canoes. We followed, the others too intent on the ship to offer any molestation. After passing the island where we had passed the last day and night, we pulled for the island of Kayangle, all the canoes going to the ship, except one that kept under our lee till the others were out of sight, when they came alongside, and after a delay of a few moments, they consented to take our boat in tow. I endeavoured to make them understand that if they would take us on shore, they should have what was in the boat, but it appeared afterwards that they considered that all was in their power, though they durst not make an attack on us till they were satisfied that we had no arms; during the time that we were in tow of them, eleven men only were to be seen, the same number as in the boat. After getting fairly under way, one of the natives took a station in the bows, then commenced a scrutiny of the contents of the boat, their principle object being to ascertain if we had any firearms, as we had no powder our pistols were of no use, though they were kept out of sight. After being towed about two miles and they being satisfied that we had no means either of defence or escape, they took in their sail and hauled the boat up, when several more men rose up from the bottom of the canoe, armed with spears, when the man that was in the stern of the boat seized the powder canister and a jacket and jumped overboard the other following his example at which time the boat was within three feet of the canoe, when one of the savages with a bamboo began beating those in the head of the boat, their plans were so well matured

that we were in their power before we thought that we were in danger and nothing but the interposition of an all-wise Providence saved us from a cold-blooded massacre. On seeing their intentions, I ordered the warp to be cut, the oars to be manned and some clothes thrown over on both sides of the boat, thinking that if they went after the clothes, I should be able to get to windward of them, which we did without any serious injury under a shower of spears & cocoanuts, two men only being slightly hit. When we consider the precision with which the natives are accustomed to throw the spear, it seemed a miracle that we escaped. Yet, so it was, and some to meet death in the most horrid form—starvation. In the attack we lost one of the oars so that our progress was very slow, and had there been either more or less wind we must have been captured; if more they would [have] caught us with their sail, if less, with paddles. But after a chase of two or three hours, they gave up and returned towards the wreck, leaving us to pursue our course. That we must land amongst them and take our chance was certain as we had not more than one gallon of water. As the canoes came from the N.W. part of the island, I determined to pull to the S pass round the end of the island and try to land on the E side, as it was probable that there were different tribes. I thought it would be the best chance to land amongst those who had not given us any proofs of hostility.

Through the day the weather was extremely warm, not a cloud to screen us from the Sun, the allowance of water very short, the boat old and leaky, and many miles to pull before we could clear the reef that lay off to the W of the island. About 3 P.M. I saw land ahead, but said nothing to the crew for about an hour, until it was plain to be seen by all. As they could know nothing of our situation, I deemed it advisable to try to reach them without being seen by their canoes, thinking that if we could get on shore undiscovered, we should have a better chance of safety. All were of the same opinion; every nerve was exerted to reach the much-desired spot. By night, all hands were nearly exhausted for the want of water, some began to drink salt water, but soon felt the ill effects of it. We had bread enough but could eat but little for the want of water. Water! water! was in every sentence spoken by anyone. By seven P.M., we lost sight of the land. As the night was clear, we were enabled to keep our course by the stars; whilst some toiled at the oars, others sought, and I believe, found rest in sleep. The intention was to relieve every hand, but my watch had got wet and stopped, so that before daylight we found the exchange of pulling and sleeping had made many hours though I believe everyone continued at his oar what he thought to be an hour, I thought so. But it proved a long and anxious night. The thoughts of home, the certainty that we must trust ourselves to a nation of savages, and from the specimen we had had of them caused much anxiety. But knowing the treatment that Captain Wilson received from them many years before led us to hope for the best. Then again, I knew that a few years before they had made an attempt to cut off an English whaler, Captain Coffin, but were defeated. And fearing that they would think we were English and seek revenge for their defeat, I

cautioned my crew of the necessity of hailing as Americans. But as it proved, they knew nothing of America. The whole knowledge they had of the world was English, Manilla, Pelewillicops,¹ and Pelhow.² Our course was about S by E. By nine o'clock, finding that we were drawing nigh the reef to the E, I kept off S, then SSW and SW. After pulling about one hour, came to an opening in the reef through which we passed, then pulled to the SE to regain what we had gone to the W. A short time before daylight, we saw the bottom and, on listening, the surf could be heard in different directions but faintly, which was convincing to me that we were within the large reef. Owing to the different courses that we had been obliged to steer, it was uncertain where the land was. As the water was shallow, it was thought adviseable to try with the line that was in the boat to get it over some of the coral rocks and wait for day. The bight was thrown and hooked fast. The watch set, some slept whilst others kept the lookout.

At daylight, we got under way, the land bearing about SSW and distant ten miles. As the sun rose, the wind did, so that we were exposed to a scorching sun without shelter or water, but with great exertion we got to the land about noon and on landing found water near the beach. The island was small and not inhabited but before reaching it, I saw a canoe off the NW point, which disappeared behind the land before we reached the shore. After having satisfied our thirst and eaten some bread and whilst meditating on our future movements, the canoe that we had seen retire behind the point, again appeared making towards us and holding up a fish. In the canoe was a man and boy having nothing with them but a lot of spears, their usual fishing implements. They landed alongside of the boat, and began to pick up such things as they could find. After having satisfied their curiosity, they gave up the fish, put up what things they had taken into their canoe and started for the island to the S, beckoning for us to follow saying: *Fal, Pelew*. We endeavoured to keep company with them but they left us as though we had been at an anchor; their canoe skimming over the water was soon out of hail, but as long as they could be heard, they seemed to encourage us to follow. At length, they disappeared amongst the mangrove. It was now evident that we must soon be in their power. I had thrown my sword and pistols overboard the night before. I now threw my watch after them. One of the men put a razor and a knife to the ends of a rope yarn and dropped them between the sceiling [sic] and outside of the boat. They were afterwards recovered so that we had the means of shaving whilst with them. In a short time after the canoe disappeared amongst the trees, a number of larger ones, well manned, made their appearance and came directly towards us, having from five to ten men in each, all armed yet naked. The head one was conducted by what I then thought one of the most savage looking beings I ever beheld. On getting alongside, we found him all that his looks bespoke. The first thing that fixed his attention after getting into the boat was a small chest of bread which he seized, turned part of the bread out, put some clothes into it, passed it into his canoe and ordered her off. We were now prisoners with a mas-

1 Ed. note: Identified below as Ngulu.

2 Ed. note: Palau as a whole (see below).

ter on board who soon began stripping us of our clothes but before that was accomplished many others were alongside, and from their looks & gestures, I judged were demanding a share of the spoils. After each canoe had received a trifle, they gave room for us to proceed, the first boarder taking his station on the stern sheets and directing the course, from which circumstance he was dubbed the Pilot. At the distance of two miles from the small island was a causeway extending from the shore to the reef, a distance of more than a mile. There was one opening through which the tide flowed across which was a bridge. To this bridge the Pilot directed me to steer, but before reaching it another canoe came from the shore and after a few words to the Pilot, he ordered me to point the boat for the shore, which was obeyed and on turning a clump of mangroves that grew in the water, the scene that presented itself to the view was such as never to be effaced, whilst memory holds its sway.

The landing was at the foot of a steep hill clothed with trees from the base of which was built two wharves from 80 to 100 feet in length, and about the same distance apart. On one was a Pye, or public hall, on the other was a large shed for canoes. At a short distance from the canoe house stood a large tree under which was assembled a number of chiefs on a platform of stones, around was all the men, women and children belonging to the neighbouring towns, armed with spears and axes, but showing more curiosity than hostility in their looks. On reaching within a few yards of the pier, the boat grounded. We were then ordered on shore by the Pilot and directed to the platform, on reaching which and being seated, they commenced their examination by words & signs. The first that I could understand was whether we were English or Manilla. On stating that we were Americans, they appeared entirely lost, having no knowledge of such a place, they then wished to know how we came on their shore. With a few leaves on a flat stone, I marked the situation of the islands, the course that I had been steering, the situation of the ship, and the fate of part of the crew. There was one that appeared to comprehend all my meaning and he related it to the others. On mentioning to them the loss of the men, many of the women were seen to shed tears. It was necessary to go through the explanations two or three times before they were all satisfied. At length, they asked if we would eat but we declined, at the same time asking for drink. In a few moments a large wooden dish was brought down full of pure water! and a cocoanut shell of molasses to sweeten it. After having partaken they gave cigars around. Whilst smoking, one of the crew said that he had some money with him. I recommended his giving it to one of them, which he did. I think there was a dollar and a half. It was shown to all but not passed out of the receiver's hand. At this time, they made another call on our wardrobe, thinking probably that one garment was enough. At any rate those that had two had to give up one. After the last disrobing, we were all put in motion towards the interior, escorted by the whole population. The march was very toilsome at least to me; my feet being much cut by the coral on the night of the wreck. Though the distance was not more than three-fourths of a mile before we arrived at the town of Ibule, the principal village in that part of the Island, being the residence of the chief Priestess. The village of Ibule is built in a grove of coconuts, the huts much scattered with a road run-

ning through it, paved with coral and other reef rocks from the reef. In front of the Priestess' hut is a few rods of clear ground. On the opposite side is three or four huts and to the West two large halls called pyes. Near the center is a platform of stones under the shade of a bread fruit tree. To that we were conducted, and seated, forming a motley group indeed, all bare-footed and bare-headed, some with a shirt, some with trousers and some without either and surrounded with hundreds of naked savages. In a few moments after being seated, a tray was brought from the house of the Priestest on which was a hog's head boiled in salt water, another with tarro and a dish of molasses and water. Never was a meal's victuals received with more thankfulness or eaten with a better appetite, for we now began to think that we had fallen into the hands of friends instead of foes. At this time, I was startled to hear a voice behind the group say: "These are Englishmen," and on turning around saw before me a man that had once been white and now entirely naked. One of the crew, pointing, said: "That is our Captain." As he approached me, pleased and animated, with extended hand, he said: "What year of our Lord is it?" On being answered, he turned with a threatening look and gesture to the younger part of the group and with a flourish of his lime stick caused them to retire to a more respectful distance. I then asked him what they intended to do with us. After a few words with them, he replied: "They say you are poor fellows, that they take pity on you, and will build a boat to carry you to your country, as you have got on shore, they will take care of you, but had they caught you outside the reef, they would have cut your heads off." The stranger called his name Charles Washington, said he belonged to Manchester, England, that he left England in the year 1800 on board the **Lion** man-of-war, that which cruising off Manilla, he was put on board a tender and sent to the Pelew Islands to take some Spanish vessels that were collecting beach-de-mar, that whilst they lay at Coror, he deserted and had become inured to all the customs of the natives and had no wish to return to civilised life. One of the crew having the same name, the stranger was always after called Old Charley.

By the time we had finished our meal, and asked a few questions as to our future prospects and feeling satisfied that they were supposed to be friendly, I requested that they would get my compass and quadrant that were taken on the reef and my Epitome that was taken at the last plunder which they promised to do. We were then shown into the best pye, each one furnished with a pair of mats to sleep, and a quantity of boiled fish and tarro & another thing of sweet drink, after which we were left for the night, Old Charley stopping with us. Several of the chiefs stopped in the pye but gave up one end to us. About midnight, I observed some of them get up and make a fire. They then took a basket of fish which they began to roast. I got up and joined them and received a share. We then retired and all was quiet till morning.

On the morning of the 24th, it rained and was to all intents unpleasant. Our feelings were in accordance with the weather, feeling ourselves free from personal danger, yet our minds were far from being easy. Soon after, it was light, the most of the chiefs retired and left us to our meditations.

At length, Old Charley came in after an absence of about an hour, called to me that if I would come to his house, he would give me a suit of clothes. To hear was to obey in such a case. I accordingly repaired to his hut and received a shirt and trousers, though not those that were taken from me. On asking for my own, I was told that they were a present for the Priestess. On my return to the pye, I found that some of the chiefs had returned and brought a hog for us which was killed and dressed to our own liking. In the course of the day, the most of us received some article of clothing and each one was selected by a chief as his friend or Sualice. Old Charlie continued with us and in close intercourse with the head chiefs who were continually making offers of friendship and assistance. In the course of the day, Old Charlie told us that there were two more Englishmen at Coror called George and Dick and that as soon as they heard of our being there they would come to see us. But when they did come every thing was changed. No business of importance was ever undertaken by them without first consulting with their Priestess. I frequently attended and found one uniform rule observed. First the chiefs met in front of the pye and after talking over the business, they repaired to the hut of the Priestess on the half bend and seated themselves in silence. In a few moments one of the number would make known their business to her. In the middle of the hut were four posts forming an oblong square about four and six feet apart. Between these she would place herself when a curtain of mats was drawn round to screen her from the gaze of the wishers. In about five minutes she would begin to deliver her message as she received it from her gods. At times a few questions were asked, payment was always made on the spot, generally a glass bead or a piece of stone resembling brimstone; pall green glass was not valued. It soon became apparent that our arrival was to be considered of great importance as the chiefs from the neighboring villages came over and requested to be allowed to participate in the labour for our benefit. The Priestess was consulted and gave a favourable answer. Several of the chiefs were at the wreck and the news from them spoke of war between the different tribes so that no-one went unarmed. They were continually talking about building the boat but did not begin. In fact, when the secret could be kept no longer, they after a long preamble made the following statement and gave their advice how to proceed. About the eighth or tenth evening after our arrival, just as we had finished our evening meal, an old Rupack or chief called Kyra came and took a seat among us and began a long harangue to Old Charlie, the substance of which, by his interpretation, was that information had reached them that King George [Ibedul] of Coror with all his warriors were coming to take me and my crew and carry us to Coror. And now we must say to them we would not go. At this time the theme of every conversation was, King George, Coror, Inglees. It was evident that they wished to retain us by fair means as we were supplied with hogs, fish, fowl, and whatever the island produced and a promise in reserve that we should have wives from amongst them if we refused to go. For my part I told them I should give no promise but if King George came I would hear what he had to say, that my object was to get home, that their promises were good if they could perform them. They appeared satisfied. At length, the long expected visit took place. As I was walking in front of the pye

one afternoon, one of the crew exclaimed: "there comes a man up the road with clothes on." Old Charley was with us at the time but on seeing the stranger, he retired out of sight. In a moment all was hush. The stranger approached to a crossroad then turned out of sight for a moment. He came back, sat down and beckoned to me. I went to him, we sat down and had a long talk.

He stated his name was George, that he was an Englishman, that he had been on the islands about twenty five years, that he came by the order of the King and Chiefs to invite me and my crew to go to Coror, that they would build a boat to take me from the islands, that the Chiefs and warriors were on a small island and the next day they intended going to the wreck and wished to know what was in the ship. I informed him. He was very particular to enquire the number of muskets and where they were. After getting all the information he wanted and pressing me to go with him, which I would have gladly done but feared the consequences. He said they would not hurt me but might kill him, but I declined the attempt and he left me to rejoin his party on the island with the promise that he would call on his return. He was accompanied by two boys who were regaled by the hospitality of the Priestess during our talk.

After he had left I returned to the pye when Old Charlie and a number of chiefs came to me and wished to know what George said to me. I told them that he came with an offer from the King and chiefs of Coror that which they expressed the utmost indignation, exclaiming: "Have we not wood, have we not axes, can't we work as well as they?" I told them that they must know their own resources better than I could. At length, they became quiet, renewed all their offers of assistance and retired to rest. Old Charlie was not the least interested of the group. I now found he was acting a double part. Never was anything undertaken with more confidence on one part and less on the other than was the building of a boat. The wood part they might have accomplished but when I asked about the nails, they had one invariable answer, viz, that men were at the wreck a-getting them. The building the boat was a national affair. It was therefore requisite that the nation should be assembled at a feast. Every preparation being made, the day appointed arrived. The chiefs and head men assembled in front of the pye. The chiefs of each village grouping together, the whole proceeding was as unlike a feast as anything could be. It is true that there were provisions in abundance but the tarro was as taken from the ground, the fish just from the sea, coconuts from the tree. Each one received his share and took it home to cook and eat. Sweet drink and tobacco was passed round, on the ground also betel nuts and leaves. It was a great day for Pelhow (as they always call their nation) and Ingles did not lose their share, having allotted to us the largest and best fish, the largest jar of molasses, a good share of nuts, leaves and tobacco.

At night all retired to their respective stations in the pyes as they all determined to stay with us till the boat was completed. The day after the feast the woods resounded with the noise of cutting and fitting plank and timbers for the craft; a keel thirty feet long was got out, and taken to the beach, a stem and stem post fitted, and floor timbers placed, planks were got out for the garboard. Still no nails could be got. After a

long and anxious deliberation, it was resolved to try to put them on with the spikes taken from the wreck. After a trial of two days during which time several planks were split and not one got on, they came to the conclusion that She must be bewitched and the Pelewwillicops (visitors from the Matalotes [Ngulu]) were the witches. In the meantime, the Coror people returned to the island and George accompanied with one of the chiefs came to see me and again tendered their services. They spent the night with me and gave me an account of their visit to the wreck.

On leaving us the first time they repaired to the Island of Kyangle, assembled the head chiefs and demanded the muskets taken from the wreck. They denied having any. On which they seized the head chief, put a halter round his neck and took him to a coconut tree. Still the same answer. Hoist him up, was the word; in a moment they let him down. Still he refused to tell and it was not till he had been up three times before he consented to tell where his was. It was buried in the sand. The others proved less courageous and delivered up the six muskets without swinging. He likewise had got my quadrant, compass and sextant which he offered me if I would go with him to Coror. In fact, he gave me to understand that I should never be allowed to go from that part of the island but to go with him was now impossible. The two parties were on the eve of a war relative to us. One had us and wished to keep us; the other wished to get us. We were mere articles of barter amongst them as it soon proved.

At daylight, all was in motion. Old Charlie kept out of sight. Of George, the whole population showed the utmost dissatisfaction, viewing him as a spy. But the Chief that came with him was resolute and would listen to no tears but that some of the chiefs should accompany him to his superiors or that we should be delivered up to him or a war would be the consequence. For my own part, I wished to go, there were my quadrant and compass. To believe that a boat could be built where I then was, after what I had seen of their resources would be folly to think of. Yet I was in their power, and they willed that I should remain so. At length, it was determined that two of the chiefs should go to the Island and meet the Coror party but the two that were selected undertook it with a very ill grace. By nine o'clock they were all under way. And I think did not return till next day. All that I could ever learn of it was that they had paid for us to be left with them. For some time after all was quiet, the work went on slowly it is true. Still they were not willing to give up. I reined passive knowing that they must give it up and thinking that when they did, they would let me go to Coror, but I was mistaken. Everything that lay in their power was done but it was of no avail. When they found that they had undertaken what they could not accomplish, their vexation was extreme and they attempted to fix the failure on me, and one evening about the last of July in full conclave of chiefs, after consulting the Prophetess, they summoned me to an audience in front of the pye and began with saying: "It seems You cannot build the boat. What is to be done?" I recapitulated to them my situation and my wish of getting to my country and left it for them to say what I should do, hoping that they would give me permission to go to Coror. I had several times in conversation with them mentioned the want of compass and quadrant and they knew that mine were at Coror and they had always

promised to procure them for me but this time it was not so. "A quadrant cannot be got but a compass is at Artingal that we can get and You can find the way home without a quadrant as well as the Pelewillicops." Seeing the excited state of mind they were in, I left it all with them to do as they thought best. They then determined to abandon the boat and that they would build a canoe such as was used by the Pelewillicops and that I must not have anything to say about it, but let them go on as they thought best which, of course, was agreed to, except that it should have two outriggers whilst the others have but one. Finding no objection made to their proposal but that I was willing to trust all to them, new life seemed infused into them. Another feast was decreed in consequence. The next day, the largest tree in the district was selected and operations commenced. It stood on the brow of a hill about two hundred feet high, so that in falling as was to be expected, it was too much rent to serve for the body of the canoe but was split in two, making planks three feet wide and about twenty five feet long. Another was then selected, fell and the hollowing out commenced. Every chief in that part of the island taking a part in the work. During the time the work was going on, every chief was obliged to be on the spot though the work was done by a few of the best workmen in the nation. On one occasion, one of the old, though not a high, chief was absent two days. On the third, a party of chiefs, by order of the Mothalule Pelew (literally headman of the town) was sent to his house and took from it all his movables for the public good, consisting of a jar of molasses, a sack of tobacco, nuts & leaves.

In about one month from the felling of the tree, it was ready to move to the beach which was effected without inquiry and with as much satisfaction displayed by the natives as would by a civilized nation on launching a ship of the line.

On its arrival at the beach it was placed on blocks, a house erected over it to screen it from the Sun, the planks put on, outriggers fitted and, in fact, the craft was completed about the first of October. In a few days after, the work was completed, the Company at the pyes broke up and each retired to his own home and for a time all was calm amongst the different tribes and we looked forward to the change of the Monsoons as the signal for our departure.

When they heard at Coror that a canoe was finished, they determined by some means to prevent her leaving the island. Vvrious plans were suggested for the purpose. One was to make a war, come up with all their force and destroy her. Another was to endeavor to get in by some means to join them. Another was to watch the passages through the reef and intercept us. To prevent their attempting to destroy her, the people with whom we were boldly defied them to come, saying that the Inglees had fitted all their muskets and would defend their boat which treat was effectual, they thinking that ten muskets in the hands of white men were more than a match for all that they could bring. They next resorted to treachery to effect their purpose. It may be as well in this place to state why the Coror people were so anxious for our capture [and] defeat. In 1783, Captain H. Wilson of the East India Company Packet **Antelope** was lost on the island of Orolong near Coror and that in consequence of the assistance received by Captain Wilson, the India Company sent Commodore McClure with present of muskets, hogs,

beeves, horses &c., things highly valued by them. At that time Coror was one of the smallest tribes, but in consequence of those presents they became the most powerful and it was their policy to keep so. As we were considered as English, they thought that owing to former friendship we ought to be under their protection. On the other side the Arapalo [Arekalong?] people said [that] as we had fallen into their hands, it was their business to protect and assist us, expecting to get a reward similar to owhat had been received at Coror in the case of Captain Wilson. But alas! the Govenment cares for no such things. Too effect their object by treachery, Dick an Englishman that deserted from the Ship Creiton [sic = Creighton?] in 1822 and had resided amongst them ever since, was sent up with an invitation for us to join them in case of a fight or to come across the land to them, and they would protect us, but if we refused, we were to be informed that they were determind to take us as we left our port and to show that they were in earnest, canoes were seen continually on the reef as a lookout. Dick on his arrival was greeted with anything bt a welcome. He durst not go from one house to another unless he was accompanied by a chief. On his arrival at Aragalo [sic] he was stopped in the town of Arrabow where I first landed. After a short time a chief came up to Ibule with him. On his arrival I was in the pye with all the chiefs of the West side of the island and in the other pye were the chiefs of the East side. He came upu to the stone platform and sat down, one chief with him. Some of the crew and Old Charlie went to him but it was evident that he was in danger and he felt so it was necessary to deliver his message with much caution. Old Charlie kept close to him and the chiefs would not let him come into the pye where I was. After an hour's stay his friend took him away to Arrabow under pretence of his getting something to eat. In the afternoon, I was walking towards the waterside. In passing a house, I was hailed. On looking I saw Dick and his friend the chief. I went to the house and found Old Charlie within. I began to question him, Dick, about how he came there, how long he had been on the island and what he intended to do. He said he had heard that I had got a boat and was going to Ternate and he wished to go with me. Old Charlie was much displeased that we had met and in a moment said: "Captain, your friend, the stout man has come back from Acalap and is down at the water side."

—“Very well, I shall go and see him,” was my reply, but finding I did not go as soon as he wished he gave two or three hints to the same effect and with the like result. Finding that I was not disposed to quit the ground, he took up his *tit*, or basket, and left us. After he was gone, Dick made known his business. Knowing that his life was in danger, he was anxious for me to say that I would join his party, that he might carry the news to Coror. But though I wished to go, knowing that if I was there I could leave without fear when the winds would permit, and have a compass and quadrant, but by staying where I was, all was uncertainty, but I was not my own Master. As long as I stayed at Aragalo, everything was mine but to move towards Coror was treason.

The next day Dick was taken to Acalap by his friend and soon regained his friends at Coror. He was afterwards sent with another message but was not allowed to enter

the town where I was but he was visited by some of the crew. The amount of his message was that if we did not go to Coror, they would take us as we went to sea.

In a short time after the canoe was finished, the chiefs made known their intention as to the method they intended to take to ensure their pay for what they had done. I was told that six of the crewmen [would] stop, and that the same number of chiefs [would] go with me for the purpose of getting the muskets, powder &c. We had many long and anxious arguments on the subject but the same conclusion was always come to, that six must exchange until a short time before we were to try then they said that three would be enough. I stated to them my inability to take those people with me, but they considered it only a faint to get off without paying anything. Finding that there had been a great deal said pro and con between the chiefs and my crew about pay, after repeating to them what I had often said before that they would get nothing from me as I had nothing that they wanted, but as they had undertaken voluntarily to supply our wants and had expressed their willingness to trust the liberality of our Government, that was still their opinion. I then wished to know what they would consider a fair recompense. After a short consultation, so short [that] I found that they had come to a determination before what to demand, they said two hundred muskets and forty boxes of powder. That was their demand, and we trusted to our Government, and, they were satisfied. Shortly it appeared that there was another trouble: whatever they might get must be divided between eight towns of different size and force and without [unless] I fixed on some plan of division a war would be the consequence. Situated as I was, it was necessary that I should agree to it. I accordingly gave to some of the chiefs a few lines to show to any visitors that they might have. It stilled the complaints of Old Charlie, without being of any more value than a blank. One of the chiefs thought that could not mean muskets as he did not see anything on it like a musket. On making the figure of a musket, he was satisfied.

[Palauan customs]

As it was some time after the canoe and boat were fitted before we left, I will make a few remarks on their manners, customs, amusements, &c. All the chiefs are called Rupacks and in addition some are called Kyra. The latter is equivalent to Esquire. On two persons meeting on the road, they say: *Como* or *Comla*, [which means] Where are you from? and Where are you going? The greatest respect is paid to the Rupacks by the people, though they use no titles when addressing them but call them by their proper name which is always significant. When a person has a communication to make to a rupack, it is always done squatting down up on his heels. The marriage ceremony is unknown. Amongst them two agree to live together and that is all about it. If they wish to part no more is necessary. It is seldom that they have more than one wife, though there are a few that do. In each pye are kept from two to ten females generally taken from distant towns, frequently by force. They are public property. It at times happens that a chief will attach one of the girls of the pye to himself; on the wife finding it out,

if she is disposed for revenge, and they generally are, she will watch for an opportunity to cut off the girl's ears.

Dancing is a frequent amusement amongst them, though the different sexes never dance together. I attended one grand dance at a neighbouring town of all the young men of Aragalo. It was in rehearsal (for they sing and dance together) more than a month. At length, the all important day arrived. No national jubilee was ever celebrated in a civilized country with greater satisfaction than was the dance at Inreese. A platform or stage eighty or ninety feet long was erected on a spot of their ground near the middle of the village. The dancers were divided into three classes of about fifty in each. When all was ready, one man brought out three spears and lay them in front of the stage at about forty yards distance. The dancers that came out of a hut marching with a solemn step ascended the stage, formed a line in front of the audience, all as nature formed them, with the addition of only a little red paint. In a few moments they began the song and dance. They never change places with each other but jumped back and forth a few feet, stomping with all their might, at the same time giving what may well be called a wild Indian yell. If the quantity of enjoyment is to be judged by the wild sounds of laughter that accompanied their exhibition, they must have had it in no small degree. After occupying the stage for about half an hour, they retired in the same solemn manner as they ascended it. After the stage was clear, one man took a stand in the middle to prepare for another class. Before they ascended the stage, a person stepped from the crowd to where the spears lay and threw them at the one on the stage; as fast as he could take them up; the other caught them as they flew past him then turned and threw them into the woods just behind him. The other classes were similar.

Not to be outdone, in good time the female Ladies, resolved on a dance in which the prophetess was to preside. It was to be held in front of her house and adjoining the pye. They began to collect about noon from the distant towns. The woods seemed all alive, for from every path were seen coming men bringing in fish, molasses, nuts, leaves & tobacco. The women with their children and mats, &c. The tarro was stacked up on different parts of the ground so as to show to the best advantage. I will not mention the quantity I guessed there was, as I might be thought to exaggerate. By sunset their preparation were finished and the men all retired. I wished Old Charlie to stop with me to explain the meaning of what was going on, but he said he durst not as he was called a Pelew man. If he was caught with us in the midst of their frolic, they would beat him to death. He retired leaving me and my crew, except three that were at another town, surrounded by about six hundred she-savages. Soon after dark they began the song & dance. To have a correct idea of the scene, you have only to imagine some four or five hundred naked women standing close together jumping, clapping hands and singing, many with children in their arms. During the night there were two or three smart showers of rain, but they would not quit the ground. On such an occasion, the customary rules of society was broken through; during the rain, the old women took shelter in the old pye. Such an infringement of their rules would not have been submitted to on any

other occasion, as no female, excepting those that belong to pyes, were allowed to enter them. The ground was not clear of them till after noon.

In sharing out the things, Inglees got a large share. During their stay, I asked some of my friends where their husbands were, but was always answered with the expressive word: "*Macoodle, Macoodle Capata*," i.e. it would be a shame for them to be here. There was one group of juvenile dances that caused considerable merriment. The burden of their song was an allusion to the Inglees.

Of their religion, I can say but little further than what met the eye, and when I asked Old Charlie about it, "I can't find out all the time I am here what it is," was his reply. Adjoining each house is a box that is called *Ocilath Plye*, or God's house. They are built after one form, though of any size to suit circumstances. They are of an oblong square at the base, flaring out like an inverted bell with a thatch roof and stood on post three feet from the ground. Some are not more than a few inches, others six feet. Their offerings are placed in them, if not given to the Prophetess.

One day, a chief of the town of Imatukle on the West side of the Island offered to be my friend. Friends were not so plentiful there as to be regretted and I, of course, accepted his offer. He soon went off and the next day returned and presented me a pair of trousers. In a few days after, his brother was taken sick and soon was very sick. My friend came to the Prophetess with a piece of money for her to cure him but he soon died. I was then told the cause of his death. It was because his brother belonging to another town from where I was had become my friend and the prophetess being the wife of my friend in Ibule she had spoken to her God and he had caused his death. I attended his funeral and witnessed that ceremony. After his death he was taken to his brother's house. When I entered the town, it appeared like a fair. Many little huts were stuck up, large enough to hold three or four individuals. The large pye was filled with chiefs cooking a hog, and a sack of tobacco ready for distribution. At the hour of mourning, for such it was in reality, the corpse was laid within the door, the head on the sill, red paint was strewed over the body. By his side lay his basket with nuts, leaves, fireworks, &c. and a sword belonging to his brother. According to the universal custom, a grave was dug a few feet from the door into which the body and its ornaments were placed. On the tenth day after, stones were placed over the grave, then all mourning ceases, except that the females do not wash themselves for three Moons.

Like the most of the human race, they have a tradition of a universal deluge. Their tradition is that, at one time, the sea rose very high, the low ground was overflowed, all retreated to the hills. The sea continued to rise till all but the highest hills were covered. At length, came on a mountainous wave and swept all away. One woman was caught by her hair in the top of a tree and saved; from her the present race sprung. They say the tree still stands.

On the mountain of Iri [i.e. Airai] is to be seen the stump of a tree from the body of which was made the Sun and Moon, so says the tradition. They once wanted to build a pye. All was dark. They went groping about, seeking light but not finding it, at length, they all met and prayed to Accathinal that he would give them light. Hearing their

prayer, he came down to assist them. With a large Keem shell,¹ he cut down the tree and made two balls that he pounded [with] his shell to a powder, mixed it with salt water and covered them with it. As they began to glow, a young God and Goddess, that they call Couth and Madamusa, came along at the time and asked him what those were for, and said it was not right to have them here, as they would spoil the people's eyes. Accathinal, not liking to be interrupted, took up one and threw it to the West. Before he could take up the other, the Youths had stepped upon it, so that he threw all to the East: the first is the Sun, the other the Moon.

In witchcraft, they are firm believers. The boat that they began to build was bewitched. Anything that they undertook and failed in was owing to some one's bewitching it. A brig from Manilla a few years before I was there, was collecting Beach-de-mar that had a Chaplain on board and were in the habit of having evening service on board but the chiefs told them they must quit that or leave the place, as they were about to bewitch them.

They tell of a boat that came from Coror some years before with I think eight white men. They all had blue eyes and large noses, so big, said the chief putting his two hands to his nose. And when they were offered food, they did not eat as we do with our double teeth but with their front teeth and they were Witches, so we killed them, cut all their heads off, put the heads at one end of the pye and the bodies at the other, and in the morning they had all joined together again, and when we went to cut them off again, they flew right away outside of the reef and never came back.

There is an old pye at Ibookuth that was built before they had any iron tools. In it are said to be a number of English names cut in the frame but I was not there.

But to return to our own affairs, the latter part of October was fixed on to sail. I have forgotten the day, but when I spoke to the chiefs on the subject, they must wait till the prophetess said it would be a good time, but I was anxious to be off. At length, we began to prepare for our departure. The number to be kept was fixed at three. James Meader was selected by the chiefs. When Calvin Alden and Horatio Davis volunteered to stop, the three to go with us were Tit, Cobock, and Omry. Several times I attempted to dissuade them from this purpose, but they were determined not to be put off. In the meantime, preparations were going on, bamboos for water were cut and prepared in proper lengths, hogs were killed, fried and packed in jars with their fat, breadfruit prepared by being boiled in molasses. All the arrangements made as privately as possible. Yet there was much fear of the Coror people, but we must go in the night to avoid them. The eventful night arrived, high tide about 8 P.M. The hour arrived, we shove off. It is calm. After getting a short way from the shore, those in the canoe find her filling with water. In putting the things into her, she loaded so deep that where the top board was joined on was under water as well as the balances that was to keep her upright. We were accompanied by many canoes of warriors to defend us in case of attack but we could not

1 Ed. note: Kima, or Tridacna, shell.

move without wind. From the situation of things, it was advisable to return to make some alteration in the canoe. At last, I proposed to the head chief of the squad to return with reluctance. He consented. The canoe was moored to the trees. With the boat we returned to the creek from whence we sailed, and retired to our former lodging for the night. In the morning all was in uproar because we had not got to sea but go we must now for the Coror canoes would be out as soon as they heard of the attempt and the canoe would be stopped or taken. The gang that was to go in the canoe started. I stopped to get a few more coconuts, intending to follow immediately. I took in the boat with me Rollins, Nute and Holden. On leaving the creek we saw the canoe coming back. It was no use, the wind was ahead. They took the canoe up the creek and let us know she should not leave there till the prophetess said the word. It was a judgment on us for not asking her consent. Their anger and disappointment was extreme. We found that we were not our own masters, yet we got the things out of the canoe and had some alterations.

All the nautical instruments in the **Mentor** had been carried to Coror and could not be obtained but Neicly [rather Raklay], the King of Artingal, had a compass that was taken from a Spanish brig that had been cut off at Pillalew that was purchased by Cobock the rupack to ensure his going. From the time of our first attempt till we did leave, nothing of note occurred.

Nov. 23rd was set for our departure. Every preparation was made and early in the day we left, accompanied by the greatest part of the canoes to convoy us outside of the reef. The latter part of our stay much was said of Coror and what they intended to do, songs were made on the occasion, anticipating what they meant to do. Their plans were well conceived but badly executed. Before getting to the reef, the rudder got adrift from the canoe but was soon replaced.

At sunset the land bore about ESE distant 25 miles with a brisk gale at NE, my course was SW for Ternate. Just before dark the rudder was adrift again and it could not be replaced before dark. Through the night the wind blew strong and the rain poured down in torrents, a real tropical shower. In the canoe were Bowkett, Hewlett, Siddon and Peter the black, of the ship's crew; of the natives were Tit, Cobock & Omry. We had provisions and water for twenty days. The first night was a most dreary one. The natives not being used to exposure suffered much but I found that when my clothes were wet through by taking them off and dipping them from the sea to wash out the fresh water that it made them much warmer so that I found employment every half hour undressing, washing my clothes and dressing again. Thus passed the night of the 23rd of November 1832. On the same day of the same month 1799, I made my appearance into this world of trial.

With the day came fair weather. After fixing the rudder with hemp rope, we were enabled to get sail on the craft and prosecute our voyage, steering SW. Here we are once again afloat with an old whaleboat and a canoe with water and coconuts for twenty days and a distance of six or seven hundred miles to the nighest place that was inhabited with civilized people, with a compass to steer by but no instrument to determine at any

time where we were. For several days it was nearly calm. On the 29th, the sixth day after sailing, when going on with a fine little breeze at NW, the Pelew man that had charge of the sheet of the sail had made it fast. A squall struck her, hove her on her beam ends, so that she filled. It was not quite dark at the time, so that we could see to pick up the things that washed from her. The first and most important was the compass which we saved. As to the remainder of that night, it was the counterpart of the night we left Pelhew but with the day good weather again returned, but owing to the heavy sea and the straining of the canoe, she could not be freed of the water but we took from her as much provisions and water as the old boat would bear, then took all hands, eleven in number, into the boat and took leave of the canoe. The object of so much care, labour and trouble, and steered to the SW.

The next day it was calm, so that we began to pull. It was now necessary to go on an allowance of water and divide the coconuts. Our allowance of water was a shell holding about a half pint, full, night and morning. Though our situation was unpleasant enough, yet it was not to be compared with what many others have had to suffer. I think I suffered more from the confined and crowded situation than from any other cause. Every cloud was watched hoping it would bring a little rain, which was sometimes the case, though we had no means of catching it, except holding a bamboo erect and receiving the water in our mouth as it trickled down. Every day we made a little progress but our anxiety carried us faster than the wind and ours carried the boat. My reckoning was up and no land in sight. I knew that if I did not see Gilolo, I could not go far beyond without seeing some of the islands Thus we continued our course to the SW until the 6th of December when at daylight we saw the land bearing SSW distant about ten miles. I steered direct for it and soon saw the canoes preparing to leave the beach. We could neither fight nor run. The only thing was submission. It was not more than two hours after seeing the land before we met their canoes. The first that we came up with contained but three men who held up their coconuts expressing their wish to barter. But in a moment we were surrounded with more than a hundred naked savages, when the work of destruction commenced, everyone anxious to obtain a share of the spoil. The canoes were so nigh that many touched each other. I stepped in to the nighest and upset her. As she was going over I got into another with an old man and two boys and advised them by signs to make for the shore. After getting a little clear of the snarl, we stopped nor could I prevail on him to move further. On looking round I found that one man had got into the same canoe with me; some were in the water swimming and some had got into their canoes. One of their canoes was making direct for the one in which I was with a fellow standing ready to jump into her. A perfect picture of a devil incarnate. Before he could get to us, one of the men in the canoe jumped overboard, swam to him. On getting aboard, took the devil in his arms. At length, succeeded in calming his fury in a measure. On getting his canoe alongside of that in which I was, he ordered me into his canoe. As the one where I was made no objections, I obeyed. He was still held by the one that had swam to him. On my setting down in his canoe, he made a stride towards me and struck at me, evidently not intending to hurt me. From

that moment, I was his property. Seeing me more naked than himself, he caused one of the young men to give me his marro or girdle, a strip of bark three feet long & six inches in breadth. By the time that I was settled and had an opportunity to look around, I could see that the old boat was nearly in pieces and that my crew were in different canoes and all making for the land. Seeing some coconuts in the bottom of the canoe, I took up one, I looked at my master as such as to say, May I have it, on which he knocked it out of my hand overboard. I then took some salt water to wash my mouth. On seeing which, he took another coconut, broke it and gave me to drink. On reaching the reef, the tide being low, the canoes were moored outside till high water.

On landing, I was escorted by my owner on one side and a brother on the other to their temple. Whilst standing there, an old man came up and gave me a piece of roasted fish. And I soon found that the one into whose canoe I first got, the one that took me on shore and the one that gave me the fish were my Masters. Through the remainder of the day I was taken from hut to hut by beauty... (the name by which my savage master was always known amongst us) and exhibited as his share of the booty. At evening we were taken to the temple by the side of which all the male inhabitants were assembled to a sort of feast, each one taking from his hut what he intended to eat, though they seldom eat what they carried but generally exchanged with each other. For the first few nights we all slept at the temple.

One, and the last, night that I slept there I was aroused about 10 o'clock by one of the priests hauling three of them, then roused me up to go with them from the whole circumstance I had a misgiving that their proceedings forbade no good but they said I must go. On passing a hut where two of them were kept, I heard them talking. I called to them and told them that if they did not see me again, they might know that I was murdered that night as they were taking me away. We passed on to the North end of the island, down to the beach. They there spread a mat for me to sit on. They then placed themselves in a circle round me. The Moon was at the full, the night pleasant and serene. Not so with me as I had no doubt but that I was taken there to be sacrificed. One of them took a bunch of coconut leaves and began waving it about over me. At length, he gave it to me to do the same. In a few moments after, I intimated by signs that I wished to return to the village. They all got up and went with me to the temple where we slept the remainder of the night. What was the meaning of that ceremony, I never knew. It was never repeated. That was the last night I slept at the temple. For some days we were exhibited to the public gaze. They frequently took their evening meal in front of the temple and as a scene of the dependence on Yaris (God). Before they began to eat, they all muttered a short prayer, at the same time throwing small bits of their food about the ground and into the temple.

A few days after my capture we had a strong wind from the SW so that the canoes did not go out to fish. On its abating the whole of the male part of the inhabitants assembled on the beach in the morning, then divided into two gangs, one to the South, the other to the North end of the Island. From each point they proceeded to the outer reef in a line, then towards each other till they met forming a semi-circle which they

continued to narrow, thrashing the water with poles to drive the fish towards the shore, the water being about two feet deep. After getting them surrounded, a few of them entered the ring with spears & nets, though they took but few fish. At the time I had a part of a shirt that one of my friends gave me which I wore (though entirely out of fashion) to keep the Sun from my shoulders, but before I went with them they made me take it off and tie it up on my head. The same was the case whenever I attended with them at the temple. The above method of fishing I saw but twice during my captivity. Once a large fish of the blackfish species came over the reef which they took, but I was not present. The next day after its capture he was hauled on shore near the temple, and all the inhabitants with the exception of ten or twelve, took up their abode on the spot. My master & family were out with me. The rest of my crew were kept in for four days; there was no intercourse between those out and those in. On the fourth afternoon the fish was cut up and divided and each returned to his own home. The meaning of their proceedings I could not understand though they attempted to explain.

The most successful manner of fishing was by torchlight; they frequently asked me to go with them but not wishing to be useful I always declined till they compelled me to go, but I still determined to be of no use. After receiving all their orders, I accompanied them to the beach. We launched the canoe and got through the surf. I was placed in the middle of the canoe and furnished with a paddle but I only hindered the others. They then ordered me to bail the water out; that I did not understand. They all seemed to enjoy my awkwardness and were very merry on the subject. After a cruise of about two hours, we returned to the shore with two flying fish. One was roasted and given to me, the other taken by one of the others. They did not ask me to go again. It would have been some pastime to have gone with them at times but I knew that if we became useful they would be less willing to part with us. All that we had to do was wandering about seeking food. It was my usual custom every morning to go to the old man's into whose canoe I first got to get my dole of grub from him. The rest of the day wander about at random.

On the third of February [1833], I went as usual and received my pittance. On returning in company with the old man, we met a boy upon the run who spoke to the old man but did not stop. In a few moments all was in motion. I left the road and turned down to the beach. And, as I expected, saw a sail in the offing and that she was heading for the island. The most of the men were on the beach getting their canoes ready, others were bringing down coconuts and preparing for a visit. Seeing that my master did not intend to take me with him, I repaired to his brother's canoe and got in. He was not willing I should go and attempted to throw me overboard but I promised them some iron and an old man that was in the canoe spoke to them, when they consented to let me go. The rest of my crew were not able to get off, except one. At the time we left the beach, the ship was about six miles to the South of the island and heading nigh the island, the wind at NE, the most of the canoes were ahead of us and some close to the ship before we left. After getting off, they made me take off the apology for a shirt that I might be in the fashion. Their orders were no sooner given than executed, that case

thinking that my color might draw attention. It was sometimes before I could get alongside or before I was seen by the Captain who I saw standing on the taffrail, his attention being taken up by the canoes alongside and under his stern. On seeing him look towards me I beckoned to him. He answered and hove the mizen topsail to the mast. In a few moments I was on deck. To describe the feelings with which I ascended his side would be impossible. But I soon found myself that I was on board the ship **Savina** of Manilla, Captain D. A. Somes [rather Gomez], from Calcutta for Macao. Captain Somes having had a long passage and being short of water could not stop to get the others on board. On asking the day of the month, I found that I had lost the run one day, it being the third of February and my time was the fourth.¹ In a short time after getting on board, all sail was trimmed for Macao. With sorrow I looked back on the situation of those left behind but I could render them no assistance. Before the canoes left for the shore, they were very anxious to get me back to them, expressing much dissatisfaction at my stopping on board, but from what they had got from the ship, **I did not think those remaining would meet with any worse treatment on account of our escape, and fervently hoped they would soon be able to reach some passing ship, but from later accounts, it seems the natives were far from satisfied and visited their vengeance upon them in consequence.** I thought they were well paid for staving my boat, robbing me of my clothes and keeping me two months 'naked and a prisoner' and not doubting at that time but that the others would meet but good treatment and be taken to the first passing ship. But from later accounts it appeared that they were far from satisfied.

It was on the third of February I got on board and on the 23rd we arrived in Macao. During my stay on board I was treated in the kindest manner by Captain Somes.

The next day after our arrival on the roads, I went on shore where I soon found friends. Mr. John R. Latimer of Philadelphia called upon me and proved himself a friend to the distressed, for which kindness I shall ever retain the most grateful recollection. From the day I landed at Macao till I arrived at home, I found friends, at every place. The afternoon of my landing I became acquainted [with] and experienced the friendship of Captain Jennings of Brig **Lancaster**, and Mr. George R. Sampson. The next day, Mr. Lowe, of Salem, the senior partner of a house at Canton, called upon me and finding that I intended to go to Canton, invited me to make it my home at their house. During my stay at Canton, I found many friends, strangers till we met on that distant shore, amongst them, I would mention, in addition to those already named, Messieurs Hurd, Gordon, Gillispie, Butler, S. Sturges, Captain Engle, Captain Dixey, Little, Domines and Holbrook, with whom I took passage to Baltimore in the ship **Covington**.

1 Ed. note: He had not lost his time reckoning, as the Spanish never changed the date upon crossing the Pacific; the date was, however, one day ahead at Macao, as the Portuguese sailed from the opposite direction.

On the last of March, I left Whampoa for home. On the first of May, we passed Anger Point in the Straits of Sunda and arrived at Baltimore on the 13th of August, and on the 18th I arrived at New Bedford and found my family all well, thus ending a voyage of 25 months in which time, if I had seen some troubles, I had experienced many mercies and found many friends.

The sufferings of those remaining on Tobi or Lord North's Island are graphically described in "Holden's Narrative" written soon after his return (a copy of which is in my possession) as is his almost miraculous escape described in the article which brought out this account of the voyage.

Document 1832G

The shipwreck of the Mentor—The narratives of Horace Holden

Introductory notes.

Horace Holden wrote a book about his experience in Micronesia, upon his return to the U.S. in 1835. However, since this rare book was reprinted in 1975 by Ye Galleon Press, I have considered it advisable instead to reprint his later *Recollections*, published in the form of an article in 1902, when he was 92 years old.

The original title of his book is as follows:

A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute, who were cast away in the American Ship *Mentor*, on the Pelew Islands, in the year 1832; and for two years afterwards were subjected to unheard of sufferings among the barbarous inhabitants of Lord North's Island.

Fourth edition, Boston, 1836.

Recollections of Horace Holden

Source: Article in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. III, No. 2 (June 1902).

The following reminiscences of Horace Holden, of Salem, Oregon, in regard to his adventures in the Pacific Ocean, among the cannibals of Polynesia [sic], are of great interest and also possess great value.

For one thing they are told by a man now [in 1902] in his ninety-first year, and relate to a period about seventy years past. Again they illustrate how Oregon became the beneficiary of almost all the early enterprises in the Pacific Ocean, either one way or another, and gained her citizens from the most adventurous and enterprising of all classes of men, both by land and sea. Still further, they are an account hardly equalled in history of wild adventure, furnishing a good model, in fact, for the romancer upon which to base thrilling narrative. It is indeed doubtful whether Verne, or Stevenson, or Haggard would dare to invent such a chain of incident, reaching so often the boundaries of improbability, and passing so often the usual limits of human endurance. In this view it is seen that writers of fiction do probably owe the most of their creations to men who have performed in fact the deeds that they arrange in striking form. Ethno-

logically, also, such accounts furnish pictures, and record the habits and feelings of islanders as yet almost wholly unaffected by the white man's civilization; and draw a comparison between the mental or moral qualities of the civilized and uncivilized man.

As to verifying these stories, there is, of course, no means at hand; yet Mr. Holden gives them as simply a detail of sober fact, every incident of which actually occurred; and much more that is not introduced. All who know Mr. Holden—and he has been well known in Oregon for many years—will testify to the simple, plain honesty, and the unusual intelligence of the man. Among his friends and acquaintance there is no question of the conscientious accuracy of his statements. Also, many years ago, upon his arrival in America from his thralldom in the Ladrões,¹ he published an account of his adventures, which appeared in book form, and which was everywhere accepted as unadorned fact. It was, however, comparatively brief, and written, moreover, at the somewhat precise style of the time, omitting much of the most startling occurrences. Besides this, if the skeptical were so minded, they would find the body of Mr. Holden tattooed in South Sea Island art—an operation no white man would voluntarily submit to, and which those islanders would not perform except for some extraordinary reason, upon a white man. This fact in itself gives a presumption of adventures as extraordinary even as Mr. Holden narrates.

Adventures of Horace Holden—On the Whaler.

Mr. Holden was a New Hampshire boy, though of English stock; having been born at Hillsborough, in the Granite State, a little over ninety years ago.² While still a boy he went to Boston, where he lived until he was eighteen years old. He was a rather delicate youth, and formed the idea that a sea voyage would be beneficial to his health. Going to New Bedford, the main port of the whaling fleet, then the pride and wealth of New England, he shipped on the old vessel **Mentor**, Captain Barnard. This was a ship that had seen service in the Pacific already, having made two cruises as far as Nootka Sound, on Vancouver Island.³

The first course of the ship was to the Antarctic in search of whale. The hunt in these waters proved disappointing, and it became necessary to seek port, in order to recruit ship. They had drifted toward the Azores, and here making harbor, took on supplies of water and other necessary provisions, and deposited what little oil had been secured to be shipped to market, and started off on a new cruise. Mr. Holden recalls with great interest the Portuguese people that he saw here, and the natural scenery, over which Mount Pico-pico loomed up. It was a long drift now, bringing the **Mentor** at length into the Indian Ocean, and through the Mozambique Channel; and at length into Banda

1 Ed. note: The editor of his Recollections has confused the Marianas with Palau.

2 Ed. note: He was born on 21 July 1810.

3 Ed. note: Three voyages actually, that of 1816-19, that of 1819-22 and that of 1822-25 (ref. Howay's List of Trading Vessels).

Sea and the shores of Timor, a big island, where they stopped to recruit ship in the harbor Kupang.

Sailing proved difficult in these latitudes, the wind being uncertain and often fitful, and the currents among the various straits and islands often opposing. In making the Straits of Malone [sic] they were often set back and finally gave up the attempt; but just at this moment were struck with favoring breezes and borne through into the Banda Sea, crossing which, were forwarded on the main ocean, and then took their course toward the Ladrões. This is a chain of tropical islands, being like Hawaiian Group, of volcanic origin, or more exactly, being a submerged mountain chain, with the mere points and crests of the elevation piercing the surface of the almost universal sea, and thus offering specks or juts of land, around which the corals of the Pacific have been gradually built. The coral makers usually build some distance offshore, according to the depth of the water, and form reefs; wider or narrower, according to circumstances, of enclosed water, forming a lagoon. There are passages, often rocky and dangerous, from the main sea into the lagoons; but except for these the islands are surrounded with the reefs, and upon them a ship fortuitously reaching an island would be all but sure to be cast. The reefs reach but a few feet above the level of the sea, and over them, in storms, the ocean water is often dashed.

It is necessary to bear in mind these island formations, with their reefs and lagoons, in order to understand the incidents related by Mr. Holden.

Shipwreck on a Tropical Island.

The **Mentor**, having reached the open ocean, was headed first toward the Island Tusnat [rather Ternate], with the intention of here recruiting and sailing thence to the Northern Pacific Ocean for whale, but being moved from her course by the wind was directed toward the Ladrões. The weather had been calm—too much so for the speed of the ship—but about noon of a certain day, soon after heading towards the Ladrões, there came a change. The wind began to blow, and it soon became evident that an East Indian typhoon was approaching. Captain Barnard, a careful seaman, at once ordered the sails shortened, but the speed of the vessel seemed little diminished, as the wind was constantly increasing in violence, and the rain also poured in torrents. At length sails were all lowered, and as the topmasts now offered sufficient surface to catch the hurricane they were also, though not without difficulty, let down, and along with the yards lashed to the vessel's sides. A simple stay-sail was set in order to steady the ship and afford the use of the helm, if this were possible.

Night came on, with the storm still increasing, and thus the typhoon continued three days and three nights, neither sun, moon, or stars being visible, and no observations being possible, and the ship at the mercy of the wind.

Just at twelve o'clock of the third night, as the deck watch was turning in and the lower watch coming up to take their place, the vessel struck. The waves were rolling high and coming with the speed of the storm, so that one barely receded before another

struck, and the ship was evidently on the reef of an island. The night was intensely dark, and though the wind itself was moderating, the situation was sufficiently perilous.

Mr. Holden dwells with great detail upon the circumstances of the wreck which followed, having thought them over so many times and arranged them in succession. At the third wave the ship, which had been lifted up and dropped down on the reef, was so far driven ashore as to stick fast at the bow, and was then almost instantly swung around broadside to the sea and moved on her beam ends onto the shore, and then every comber lifted her up, and she was let down with a smash. Holden's berth was aft, and as soon as the trouble began he turned out, and got as quickly as possible into his breeches, and rushed on deck. He found all excitement, and the ship so far canted over as to make movement difficult. At the quarter deck, however, the first mate and ten men were lowering a boat, under the fear that the ship would soon break up, and that they must as quickly as possible get clear, hoping, probably, also to reach the calmer water of the lagoon, which must be just over the reef. This was ill-advised, however, as the boat and men had hardly cleared away and dropped into the darkness before the boat was capsized and nothing over again seen of them.

In the meantime, in order to lighten the ship and lessen the danger of its keeling entirely over, the masts were ordered cut away, and when the weather lanyards were chopped off and a few strokes made at the masts, these fell to leeward. The ship had now been boosted over the divide of the reef, but its further progress was stayed by asts falling over and acting as stays.

One man was crushed as the first boat was lowered, and the fate of the others was surmised; but the captain still fearing the wreck would soon go to pieces, called for his boat, intending to launch her with the eleven men remaining. But Holden believed this was the most dangerous course. It had ever been a motto with him, "Don't give up the ship," and he considered the wreck would still be the safest place; he decided therefore to hold on to the last plank. Noticing his attitude, some of the boys said, "Are you going in the boat?" and he answered "No." "Then we will not," they replied. Three, however, were found ready to try it with the captain, but it proved only a hazardous failure.

As the ship was lying on her beam ends it was with great difficulty that the boat was gotten ready, and at every wave a sea of water fell over the decks that threatened to wash anyone without a strong handhold overboard. Holden went into the captain's cabin for the sextant and log book, etc., and found the task very difficult, but succeeded in obtaining them. It was a fearful place inside the ship. Then the captain and the three men were ready to be committed to the sea. At what seemed an opportune moment the order came, "Lower away," and the boat dropped; but the lull was just before a violent sea that caught the boat, and with one stroke dashed it against the ship's bottom, shattering it to fragments. The men were tossed into the water, but one of them seized the gripe of a loose lanyard, and swinging around by the stern of the vessel reached the lee side, and there crawled aboard. The captain had tied himself, before getting into a boat, by a towline around the waist, and as he was thrown into the waves the boys aboard saw the line spin out through the scupper hole. They made an effort to snub this in, but

not until all but the last reel or so had been paid out did they succeed. Then it slacked, and they towed the "old man" aboard.

All that now remained was to wait upon the wreck until morning, though passing the longest night he ever remembers, says Holden. At daybreak the hull was still intact, and an old whale boat was gotten out on the deck, and after considerable work made ready for launching. At a distance of about two miles and a half, over the misty lagoon, there appeared something whitish, which imagination led them to think might be the mate's boat, with the oars. Towards this, after launching their old boat and filling with what provisions they could carry, they pulled away. But they found the object not a boat, but a little sand beach, on a very low island. Their situation was certainly far worse for the effort of the mate and captain to leave the wreck, as in many and many an instance of the kind has proved. With the two boats intact, and a full crew their situation would not have been hopeless. As it was they were comparatively helpless; for they were in the very midst of the islanders that are the fear of all castaway sailors; men of the same habits as the Fijis and some of the African tribes, in whom the taste of human flesh has destroyed all sentiment of humanity. However, the eleven men in the old whale boat had nothing to do but to wait on the little sand beach, the men should calm down, when they might return to the wreck and see what they might do to patch up a boat or raft that would take them to some place of refuge. In the distance they could see Ahkee Angle [Kayangle], of the Pelew group of islands. Their latitude was about seven degrees north of the equator.

However, they had not been undiscovered, and on the third day, just about daybreak, were visited by a canoe, with several natives. At a safe distance the little craft stopped. The wrecked sailors, knowing that any sign of hostility would be only more dangerous to themselves, now beckoned them to come on, which they cautiously did until within a short distance, and in shallow water, when the canoe stopped, two men, fore and aft, held the craft in position, and the rest leaped in the water and came ashore. Their object, however, was not to offer relief to the shipwrecked men, and of these they took little notice, but raced about wildly, almost like animals, searching for any wreckage or provisions that might be found. In this they were disappointed, as all the sailor's provisions had been cached. Then they began to cry to each "Moribite uhle"—Go to the ship. Their object was simply wreckage, and no doubt these American sailors of the **Mentor** were not the first unfortunates that had enriched, by their misfortunes, this piratical race.

The natives made no attempt to molest them; but had hardly begun their cry to go to the ship, before one of the sailors cried out: "Look yonder, look yonder;" and raising their eyes they saw now appearing the entire lagoon covered with a fleet of native canoes. They at once saw that these people meant no good, and ran their boat out into deep water and tried to be in readiness for defense. But in a few moments they were surrounded by canoes of all sizes, which were occupied by a full body of natives, mostly naked, and brandishing the cruel native spears, which are long handled and bearing at the end a hardwood point, with three sharp barbs running back a foot or so on the

shank. Babylon seemed also to have broken loose, the natives yelling and jabbering in the most hideous manner. Nevertheless, there was no offer of violence as yet, and in a few minutes the whole fleet started away for the wreck, which they undoubtedly soon broke up for the spikes and iron.

The sailors were left alone except for one canoe which hung by. This was a large war canoe and held about twenty men, who stood up and held spears and battle axes and tomahawks. It was evidently that of a chief.

To the Island of the Cannibals.

The chief, however, did not seem unfriendly, and when, by motions and words partly understood, he indicated that they were to follow, there seemed no other course open. It must be understood that in escaping from the wreck, it had been impossible to take their firearms, and it was to some extent in hope of obtaining these that they had started onto the water; but being surrounded by a fleet of native canoes, had been entirely unable to pursue their object. Any resistance would therefore be useless, and bring down their immediate violence of savages whose appearance indicated a low order of intelligence and little humanity.

There was a light wind, and as they moved along over the waters of the lagoon, the canoe of the natives hoisted their lateen sail, and then coming nearer, the chief called out to let him have the painter of the boat. But to do this the sailors felt reluctant, and refused. Then he sailed his craft about the boat a few times, showing its speed and ability to sail into the wind; then again demanded the painter, and the canoe now came alongside, made fast, and the chief, with utmost unconcern, sprang from his canoe, into the boat, and began a personal inspection of all on board. He showed much curiosity in regard to a box of biscuit, wishing to break it open and examine the contents. He wished also to open and examine a bundle of clothes. This he was not allowed to do, and in consequence began to show signs of dissatisfaction. Still the canoe went on, towing them after by the painter, until almost out of sight of shore. Then came the cry "Morio ahani"—Drop the sail, which was done quickly, and the canoe dropped alongside, the chief sprang back; and the whole party of savages raised their bamboo poles and began most viciously attacking the sailors, striking all within reach.

The sailors in the boat had but four oars, and these proved to be unsound; for as they began shoving away to get clear, one was snapped off, leaving the boat but poorly supplied. The order was also given to cut the painter; but this was a matter of no little difficulty, and the sailor who had it to do was under a rain of blows from the bamboo sticks, which were only so frequent as to interrupt each other. However, it was done, and the boat then shoved off, gaining some space between itself and the canoe. But the natives were no sooner out of reach of striking with their sticks than they began flinging hand billets of wood, striking and hurting some of the sailors. Then, as the distance widened, they began hurling their spears, all of which, however, at first fell short. One, however, nearly struck the captain, who saved himself from an ugly wound only by suddenly heeling over, as he sat in the stern sheets.

The object now was to get clear at all events, if the savages made any attempt to pursue further. That such was their intention, only too soon became clear, as they raised the sail and prepared to renew their attack. It was impossible, especially now that there was but three oars left, to outspeed them; and only some sort of skill would suffice. The captain tried first steering directly into the wind; and this for a little while put the savages to a disadvantage; but their sail was able to bring them in two points of the wind's eye, and it was clear to the writer that in no great time they would be overhauled. Then some strategy must be resorted to; and the bundle of shirts was opened. One by one the articles were taken out and thrown upon the water; and the device had the desired effect. The canoe stopped to pick up the articles, one after another, and was thus constantly thrown out of her course. When in time the contents of the bundle were exhausted, and still the canoe pursued, the shirts were stripped from the back of the sailors, and the sops still thrown to Cerberus; and so long was the pursuit, that the island was all but lost sight of.

At length, the day was almost spent, the sun only about an hour high, and as it would soon be dark, the pursuit was given over, and our sailors, well nigh exhausted, and in such worse condition than ever, with their old boat and brittle oars, were left to meet the night. This seemed hardly a human part of the world, where man and nature were both unfriendly.

Bogle Thorpe.

The twilight was very short, as always in the tropics—"at one stride comes the dark;" and all night they kept watch, looking for any sign of land that might appear. For unfriendly as had been their reception on the reef, the sea, to men in their situation, meant only death by starvation or famishing of thirst. At about 3 o'clock in the morning they were roused by one of the men crying "land ahead," and the response of the officer "where away?" A dark object just appeared on the horizon, under the stars, and the distance could not be easily reckoned. Soon, however, they discovered themselves in rapidly shoaling water, and the rugged form of a reef began to appear. It was with difficulty that at daylight they passed an entrance that they found, and at length gained the calmer waters of the lagoon. It was yet twenty miles to the land itself.

For this, as the sun rose and mounted, they pulled away, and at length reached a nice little beach of a fine sandy shore, and upon this, above the level of the water, grew abundant groves of tropical trees, the largest and most grateful of which was the breadfruit tree. This produces fruit nine months of the year, and to the castaways, who had had nothing but sea biscuit for three days, here was spread a rich feast. There were also cocoanuts and a species of tropical fruit much resembling cherries. To add to their comfort was also found a spring of fine water, such as they had not had on the reef. Near the spring they found a large crab, such as frequents the shores in the tropical regions.

But they were not to be long left alone in this cove on the shore—in the groves of breadfruit and cocoanuts. Soon a native canoe came in sight, and at a distance of about two hundred yards stopped. It was occupied by a few boys and men, who stood up at

a safe distance and held up a fish in sign of friendliness, and the sailors of Holden's party responded at once by holding up the crab which they had just caught. The natives then came toward them, seeming very friendly and shaking hands. They then went to the boat, but found nothing there. In order to meet this friendly manifestation Holden took his hat off and made a present of this to the boy, who replied, "Mario English; sabiete Pelew"—"Hello Englishman; come to Pelew."

The canoe then put out into the lagoon, leading the way, and the sailors in the boat considered that there was nothing better than to follow, being in no condition to resist and not wishing to rouse the hostility of the savages. After some time on the lagoon they reached the mouth of a bayou from the interior of the island, towards which the canoe led the way, and they felt the intimation that they would be taken to the portion of the country seldom seen by strangers. A loud blast of warning was then blown by one in the canoe upon a conch, an alarm that white men were coming, and in almost one instant the waters became alive with many native canoes, putting into the lagoon from the bayou and every winding to the shore. But as flight would now be useless they pulled directly into the fleet, and were soon confronted by an immense war canoe about fifty feet long and holding about thirty two men armed with spears, battle axes, etc.

With the actions and intentions of this canoe Holden and his party naturally felt much concern, and were not a little solicitous as it bore down upon them with all paddles in action and the craft itself cutting the light waves of the now narrowing arm of the lagoon. Suddenly, as it came exactly abreast, and in truth made a somewhat imposing appearance with its armed and bronze-bodied occupants, the paddles were reversed, it came to an instant stand, and all the paddlers but two stood up. By the two it was held in its position as firmly as if tied, and the chief then rose and sprang into the stern sheets of the whaleboat. His manner betokened no kindness, and with the utmost indifference he looked around at the sailors, evidently estimating the plunder to be had. He then began stamping as he stood in the stern sheets, and the twenty-nine unoccupied natives began with him the looting of all that appeared. He first snatched at the shirt of the captain, which the latter gave up without resistance. The other white men were then stripped of their shirts, and with tomahawks and axes the savages began to break the boat, their object being to secure the iron of the nails, rivets, etc. The comfort or rights, or even lives of the sailors cast upon their shore seemed to be regarded not the least, through they were admitted, stripped and humiliated as they were, into the big canoe.

To the Interior of the Island.

It was some relief to know that they were not to be killed at once, thought here was little indication of their final fate. They could simply follow the course taken by their savage captors. The canoe was immediately run into a bayou, and after proceeding a short distance stuck fast in the mud. The sailors were at once ordered by signs to jump into the water and proceed by foot. Holden was a swift runner, and finding the bottom of the bayou firm ran briskly up the nearly dry water course. Bending over on both

sides were many sorts of tropical trees and under any other circumstances the scene would have been of striking delightfulness.

In about a quarter of a mile the bayou ended, and among the trees was disclosed a considerable opening. Here, in fact, was one of the principal villages of the island of Pelew. There was first encountered a broad wall, about five feet high, built of selected stones. From the surface of this, which was about the level of the land, appeared quite an extensive space, like a park, terminating at a distance in a natural bluff of about twelve feet face. Upon the flat was built the town. What most attracted the eyes of the white captives was, near the center of the area, a platform about twelve feet square, and two feet high, made of flat stones. This was the place of public consultation, and near were seen two large council houses. Most gruesome of all was a block of wood closely resembling a butcher's block. This was set at one side of the platform and was recognized at once as the facility of executions.

As the captives were brought near the platform they saw that, naked and miserable as they were, they were the center of attraction. Crowds of natives appeared and gathered on the bluffs. They were armed with battle axes and spears, and were dressed mainly in tattoos.

Then the chief and his advisers came to the platform and began counseling what to do, their sentiments being understood by the sailors only from the tone of their voices, which were loud and rough. In the meantime, the crowds of the people pressed and thronged about the white men, examining them with utmost curiosity. That these were not absolutely without human feelings was even then shown, by at least one woman. She worked her way toward the captives, and finally paused near Holden, with tears streaming down her face, and having no other way of expressing sympathy began stroking his arm; then, probably intending to gain the ears of the counselors, cried out "Chlorn cabool; arrakath English."

Her exclamation seems to have been heard, as one of the men on the platform came to the edge, and addressing the captives asked "Kow English; or kow American English?" The American sailors quickly answered "American English." By this information, matters seemed to be brought to an immediate change. The question was now discussed, as nearly as could be understood, whether they should at once cut off the heads of the captives, or send for instructions to the sorceress of the island to learn the will of the spiritual powers. The latter course prevailed and a young man was selected who should run as rapidly as possible.

While he was gone the first indication of any hospitality on the part of the savages was now shown. A young man was sent to prepare a dish of sweetened water, and soon returned, bringing the drink. He came down over the bluff and carried a large calabash, about the size of a half bushel measure on his head, and bringing it to the platform was helped by a chief to set down his load. A cocoanut dipper was then produced, and the chief took with it the first draught, then offered it to the sailors, who drank all around. The syrup made by the natives was from the sap of cocoanut trees, and of an agreeable flavor.

The messenger soon returned from Aiburel, the chief village,¹ where the sorceress of the island, an old woman, held her sacred place. He brought word that the men must be brought to her in order that she might see them. The order was at once obeyed. The head chief, or king, rose and all his subordinates followed, taking the way up the bluff. The captured sailors went immediately after them, and the crowd followed irregularly behind.

Aiburel and the Old Witch.

After passing up the low bluff and gaining the general level of the island, they saw a paved footpath, or narrow road, about three feet wide, well laid with flat stones. This they followed about three miles. Under more hopeful circumstances this would have been a most delightful walk. On both sides there were shade trees, forming an arching canopy overhead.

As they approached the town another public place with a platform appeared, and near by were council houses. The residence from which the woman who was to decide their fate came out reminded Holden strongly of a building in Boston—Simpson's old feather store, near Faneuil Hall. The platform to which they were led was about a foot high. It was shaded by such tropical trees, as the betel, the nut of which was chewed, mixed with *chenan* leaf² and lime, discoloring the teeth and mouth almost black,—and the *chenan* and cocoanut.

The [sorceress] woman of the island showed much curiosity as she looked at the men, and they were also rather struck by her appearance. Her fingernails had been allowed to grow to full length, some two or three inches. She was dressed in aprons, such as were made of the frayed kuriman leaf, the fibers being braided at the belt and falling in thick strings, much resembling a horse's mane, to the knees.

After satisfying her curiosity she returned to her house, and soon a young man appeared, coming out with the head of a hog, well roasted, and a calabash of water, which he set down on the platform. The meat looked extremely appetizing, but the sailors hardly knew what was expected, when one of them attracted the attention of the rest by exclaiming, "Look yonder;" then a very unexpected sight met their eyes.

The Little Old Man.

This was nothing less than a little old man hastening, as fast as his short and now rather shriveled legs could carry him, toward the platform. He waddled along with a paddling motion like a duck. He was no more than five feet tall, tattooed, and his mouth was black from betel nut. He wore a breechcloth and carried a little basket, in which were shells, small pieces of bright stones, and trinkets, probably representing considerable value in island wealth.

1 Ed. note: Aibuked, or Ngabuked, at the base of the Arekalong Peninsula in the northern part of Babelthuap Island.

2 Ed. note: Piper methysticum.

The others yielded him right of way, and he came as near as possible to the platform, regarding the castaway sailors with the utmost concern and astonishment; but his was not so great as theirs, for the sailors at once saw that he was a shite man—a shriveled, dried up little Englishman. He was trembling so much with excitement that he could hardly speak, but after a little, commanding his voice, he said: "My God, you are Englishmen, are you not?"

"Yes," they answered.

"You are safe now," he continued. "I have some authority; I am the sixth chief. I mistrusted that something was wrong," he continued, "for I found a 'Bowditch's Navigation' on the shore, and have been looking to find who might have been wrecked. You are safe now," he said, "but it is a wonder," and this he kept repeating.

The cause of his surprise was not so astonishing, as he afterwards told us that about six months before this an English ship had cruised off their coast, and had wantonly shot some of the natives. Thus the white man here, as in too many cases of barbarian savagery, seems to have been the first aggressor.

This singular little man, who now appeared so opportunely, and who called himself Charles Washington (perhaps an assumed name), had escaped many years before from an English man-of-war on a cruise in the East Indies, his offense having been sleeping on watch, and during his sleep losing his musket; an islander having taken it and slipped overboard down the anchor chain; and Charlie, upon waking soon and finding the loss, also slid overboard, fearing a very severe punishment. He soon identified himself with the Pelews, being tattooed and marrying a native woman.

After these preliminary words of inquiry, he said, "Boys, that food is for you," and needing no further invitation the eleven men fell to with a will.

Twelve Months on Pelew.

The situation of the stranded American sailors now became very tolerable. The tedium of the days was enlivened by frequent conversations with Charley Washington, the little old Englishman, and through him, with the natives, and in learning the language and the customs of these South Sea islanders.

As day after day passed, however, with monotonous regularity and no sail of a white man's ship appeared, the Americans began to think of the advisability of attempting a voyage by boat to some other less remote point in the seas. Finally mentioning this to the natives, they were encouraged, and the king of the island declared that he himself and his people would build a suitable ship for the purpose. He said that some time past there was a white man's ship lost among the Koracoas [Koror people], inhabitants of a neighboring archipelago, and that these people had built a ship by which the mariners returned home. If the Koracoas could do this for Captain Wilson and his crew—that being the name of the former shipwrecked Captain—why could not the Pelews do the same for Captain Barnard?

Without any particular faith in this scheme, and knowing that the king's suggestion was mere conceit, the Americans, however, accepted the proffer, and readily agreed to

procure for him payment for his proposed services—which was no less than two hundred rifles if he would deliver them safely to an American or European vessel.

The command then went forth to the chiefs to bring timbers and prepare for making a ship. This was quickly obeyed, and old sorts and descriptions of timber were brought together with childish eagerness. The royal command was then given to put these together and construct the craft. But of the ill matched and miscellaneous materials, and with their entire ignorance of ship-building, nothing whatever could be made. The king then sent word to the sailors to come themselves and make the ship; but without proper tools, and with the timbers on hand, even the white men could do nothing, or make any sort of seaworthy craft. They worked, therefore, only long enough to make a good demonstration of the futility of the attempt, and then stopped.

By this the natives were much disappointed, and became moody and uncommunicative, while the sailors resumed their occupation of scanning the horizon from day to day in hopes of sighting a sail. When, however, it became apparent to the islanders that the ship could not be constructed out of timbers, they proposed to make a very large canoe in their own way, out of the biggest tree on all the island of Pelew, and thus deliver the sea-bound Americans and get the ransom of rifles. This was more encouraging and the sailors readily agreed. The king appointed a day of feasting, and then gave the command to fell a great breadfruit tree that had been growing from almost immemorial times, and overhung the cliff that sloped to the lagoon. This was at length felled, but unluckily, and greatly to the disappointment of the natives, the huge trunk, which was about nine feet in diameter, and probably unsound, was split into several pieces as it pitched over the bluff. Following this new disappointment the natives again sulked, and the sailors had no other hope but in watching the horizon.

Months passed by. The king, however, was still captivated with the idea of getting rifles in return for his white refugees, and at length said that in the interior of the island there was another tree nearly as large as the big one, and probably sounder. Should they make a canoe out of this for the Americans? This was at once agreed upon, and after another feast—whose object no doubt was to get the people together—workmen attacked the tree, and it was felled without accident. It was shaped and in part hollowed out on the ground, and then moved to the seashore. This latter was a great task, and required no little engineering skill. The trunk of the tree was eight feet or more thick, and the uncompleted boat corresponding large. Long poles were brought and bound to the hulk and upon these an immense force of natives were placed, lifting together, and the burden carried by mere muscular strength.

All now worked eagerly, the sailors themselves making sails out of the mats that had been woven by the women for the first attempted craft. A considerable supply of poi was also in readiness, prepared by the women from taro, for the voyage. Three of the Pelews were selected to accompany the sailors, and to bring back the guns.

Off from Pelew.

Just a year had been passed upon this strange island when all was ready to start off, and to commit their course once more to the sea, trusting to bring up somewhere nearer rescue. Three men, however, had to be left as hostage, in order, as the king and his advisers reasoned, to ensure the fulfilment of their contract on the part of the whites. This, and indeed all the acts of these islanders, indicated quite a large intelligence and shrewdness, or cunning; and showed that the savage is not so much the inferior of the civilized man in native intelligence as in humanity. Individually all savages show themselves very fair equals of the civilized—in some respects their superiors. It is socially that they indicate deficiency.

The day that the Americans believed that they were off, a new delay occurred. The Pelews declared that they must wait until nightfall. "The Karacoa people," they said, "will come out and capture us; we shall be taken for King George men."

It would, in fact, have been best if the attempt had not been made, as the three sailors left as hostages reached America precisely the same time as Holden and his one curviving comrade. However, the future could not be foreseen, and even a forlorn hope of rescue seemed preferable to an indefinite stop on the island of Pelew. As night fell, as it always falls suddenly in the tropics, all was made ready for the departure. The provisions were placed on board; two green bamboo joints of water were allowed for drink, each holding two to three gallons of water, or more, being about as large as stovepipes and about two feet long. All was ready, and the eleven Americans and three Pelews lifted the anchors and made a start. Besides the canoe, in which there were seven, the sailors still had the old whale boat, which had been repaired, and four, among whom was Holden, occupied this. As the tide was low, the crafts were drawn down the bayou and out over the flats into deep water of the lagoon. They then began a circuitous movement, intending to find the opening of the reef on the outer side of the lagoon, out of which to drop off into the main ocean. But the men in the boat were soon startled by the cry from a native in the canoe. "We are filling with water!" Coming alongside they found this was even so, and Holden said "We shall go back." The boat was also leaking considerably.

The sailors objected strongly, believing that once on the sea they could manage to drift, as water had very little terror for them. Their minds were so much made up for the guns and ammunition promised that they overlooked such little impediments as a sinking boat. However, Holden insisted that they must return and repair the crafts; and this was done, all arriving safely on the island early in the morning. The natives, however, were very much chagrined and sullen for a number of days. But, plucking up courage and hope, went to work, and got some of the gum of the breadfruit, and made a pitch somewhat resembling maple wax, and with this filled the seams injudiciously made in hollowing out the canoe. The boat was also patched up as well as possible; and a second attempt was made. The sailors said "we shall choose our time for starting," and named the morning as best. To this the natives made little objection, and the start was made in much the same order as before.

On the Waves Again.

They were accompanied down the bayou and across the flat and far out upon the lagoon by probably every soul on the island, the native canoes swarming precisely as they had done twelve months before when the shipwrecked sailors were brought to the interior. Finally the farewell was taken, the exit was made from the lagoon, and the two crafts, the canoe and the boat, dropped off upon the deep sea. The day was nearly spent as they began their course upon the unknown ocean, and the sun was but an hour high. The sailors began to realize upon what a hazardous venture they had embarked, and discovered how frail and unseaworthy was their canoe. They had no chart or compass, and their venture was evidently fearfully perilous. They were in the region of unknown islands, and might soon drift into that portion of the South Sea known as "The Desert," from the infrequency of the ships visiting it. Moreover, the canoe, made without skill, went like a sawlog, bobbing up and down on the sea swells. "Never mind," however, they said, "we have started." Just about as soon as the sun dipped there rose squalls of wind and rain, which to the sailors just from the sheltered island seemed icy cold. The main care was to keep off the reef, and thus they worried along until morning. Night at last passed without accident, though their progress was very slow. The second day was passed on the sea, all land being out of sight. Just at sunset again, as the day before, there came up squalls of wind and rain. At length the rudder of the canoe was carried away, and there was nothing but to drift and keep as nearly upright as possible until morning. At early daylight, as the weather moderated, they succeeded in making the rudder fast again, and resumed their voyage to anywhere or nowhere.

They so continued until the fifth day, having considerable confidence in sailors' luck, and keeping a sharp lookout for an island or for a sail. On the evening of that day, however, affairs took a turn for the worse. Just after sunset the wind rose again as on the first nights, only more fiercely, with heavy black clouds succeeding. A gust, reminding them of the corner of a typhoon, struck the sail of the canoe, careening and nearly capsizing the clumsy craft. Hardly had it recovered from the first before it was struck by a second that bent the mast until the sail dipped in the water, upon which the canoe was overset and rolled on its beam. It immediately filled, and was now but a log on the waves. It had to be abandoned then and there, and the entire company crowded into the old whaleboat to the imminent risk of its also swamping. It was no little task to take off the sailors from the rolling hulk, but all were rescued safely, the Pelews taking care of themselves and swimming like water rats to the boat. One, however, clung to the canoe all night trying to get provisions, and succeeded in securing four cocoanuts. All the rest of the food was lost.

At daylight they took him into the boat, and finally abandoned the floundered craft. Then they took to the oars, pulling away steadily hour after hour, and as it proved for day after day, having no object except to keep going, and where they had no idea. The weather became calm and the sea glassy. The sun shone twelve hours out of twenty-four and passed so nearly overhead as to cast little shadow at noon, but filled the whole sky with heat and made the horizon all around, never broken either by notch of land

or speck of sail, palpitate and waver like the atmosphere of an oven. It dropped precisely the same at night, and almost instantly the sky was full of brilliant stars, only they pointed to no known land.

This continued ten days, making this entire journey on the water sixteen days long. During the last part of this time, as might be supposed, there was great suffering from hunger and thirst. The four cocoanuts were all the food for ten days, and although they were still some water in the bamboo joints, this became thick as frogs' spawn, and sour and unfit to use. It had curdled and rotted in the juice of the wood. Some of the sailors drank salt water, but these suffered most. Their lips swelled and cracked and turned dark. Holden wetted his mouth and face frequently, but though the temptation was great, resolutely abstained from the sea water. He greatly mitigated his thirst by keeping a button in his mouth, by which a flow of saliva was maintained. Indeed, he says that life may be prolonged almost indefinitely by thus using a button or coin, and the sense of thirst be mostly overcome without drink of any kind.

The men gradually gave up effort. Toward night of the sixteenth day they had all lain down and were yielding themselves to their fate. "They lay down in the boat side by side, like fingers on your hand," says Holden; all but Holden. If the reader here begins to imagine that he is now romancing, it should be remembered that Holden is a man of uncommon vitality. At the age of ninety-one he shows the same tenacity of life as he tells of himself in the South Seas over sixty years ago. He has already "held on" thirty years longer than the most of his generation, and is perhaps the only survivor of that race of sailors in the South Seas.

It came on night. Holden sat in the stern sheets to manage a little sail that he had on the mast. He was "the only live one there." The others were dying, or waiting death, and only breathing, nor could he arouse them from their lethargy. "What can I do?" he thought. "Here is the boat and all, and I can not leave them alone; but is it possible that I can keep awake all this night?" But this he determined to attempt. He gathered up the sheet and brought it aft, and got a steering oar. There rose now a light wind, that increased to a gentle and delightful breeze. He brought the sail toward the wind free. This was the sixteenth night on the sea, and during which he had scarcely slept. But he held the boat to her course, and amused himself listening to the sound of the water as the boat glided over the ripples.

The musings of this solitary man in a boat with a company who might all be but corpses, on a tropical sea, and not knowing where he was going, could not be but strange, and Mr. Holden is either as good a romancer as the Lakeside bard, or the "Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner" has been equalled by sober fact. The night seemed the longest he had ever spent, even in the South Seas, and it almost needed the assurance of the dawn streaking up at last in the east that he was not himself the dying or dead. It was a morning of extreme beauty, and sunrise on the tropical sea is a soul-stirring sight in clear weather. This was doubly and tenfold more so to Holden as this day must either see his deliverance, or end his own power of endurance.

As it grew lighter Holden followed the circle of the horizon with his gaze, hoping to descry some sign of sail or land. At what seemed the very utmost limit of his vision, toward the brightening dawn, he saw a black hump on the water. Toward this he was steering, and as he advanced, and at length the sun shot up, he distinguished trees—the tops of cocoanut palms. He was now certain that land was ahead, and with strange mingled feelings he watched it emerge and grow upon the sight until the sun was a full hour high. But, of course, whatever his sense of relief at first in the sight of palms and the thought of cocoanuts and fresh water, his next feeling was only of apprehension. He was undoubtedly to be saved from the sea only to fall into the hands of savages. The beauty of the scene, however, the island not as yet made frightful to him by its inhabitants, but rising like a fresh creation out of the ocean, was a sight never to be forgotten.

However his apprehensions were soon to be realized. Canoes were soon seen on the water and putting out to meet the boat. Holden at once sung out to the boys in the boat to awaken, but there was no stir. Four canoes could now be distinguished, but the number of the native occupants could not be counted. Holden continued singing out “Get up, get up, boys! The natives are bearing down on us!” Still he obtained no response, and he began jumping up and down on the stern sheets making a racket, and crying “You must, you shall get up!” By his noise they were partially amused and began looking over the rail, and at the sight of the canoes were startled into what little life they still retained. The savages at first kept off, but finally, concluding apparently that the boat had no firearms, took a course directly toward her. The sailors, just awakened from their lethargy, and Holden single-handed and unarmed, were unable to make any resistance to what was evidently a hostile intention. Holden simply prepared to jump when the canoe struck, as she did in a few moments. It came at a dashing speed, and the sailors that did not jump into the water were knocked down helplessly and pitilessly.

The four chiefs sprang at once into the boat, and began knocking it to pieces, and made no account of the sailors. Their first concern was to secure for themselves as much as possible of the iron in the boat.

As Holden says they were “naked brutes,” and of copper colored skins. Their absolute insensibility to the perishing sailors should be understood, however, as rather an intellectual limitation. They had not yet learned that the life of a man not of their tribe was of any value, and had learned that possession of iron was increase of power. The iron nails and spikes, therefore, excited all their activity, while the men were unnoticed.

Holden leaped into the water to avoid the collision, and those of his mates who did not do so, were unceremoniously thrown overboard by the natives, to be out of the way while the process of demolishing the boat went on. When this was broken nearly to the water line, it was decided by the chiefs to tow the bottom over to the land, and the fleet of canoes began moving toward shore. In the meantime, the sailors in the water had been attempting to sustain themselves by taking hold of the edges of the boat, but were pushed back into the water. Some tried to take hold of the outriggers of canoes, but

were driven back. But when the boat was broken up, or what was left was taken in tow, the sailors were allowed to take refuge in the canoes. But this seems rather to have been for the purpose of plunder than humanity.

Holden was immediately taken up into a canoe, but what rags he wore were at once taken from him. This was a great cruelty, as the sun, in latitude three north, was boiling down now upon his shoulders and without the protection of his shirt, soon began blistering. He was separated from his mates, and did not see what treatment they received, but afterwards learned that it was the same.

He was then given a paddle, and the order came "Saveth, saveth! Take the padle and help us pull to the shore, to Tobey." Such he understood was the name of the island. Holden, however, said "No," and shook his head: being in fact too worn and exhausted to dread any consequences, and almost incapable of exertion. The native who thus commanded him now went to the bow of the canoe, and placing upon a bit of cocoanut shell a piece of poi about the size of a walnut, said "Eat." Holden opened his mouth and took the poi from the man's fingers, according to native custom. As is well known, poi is the staple food of the South Sea islanders, and is made from taro, a plant of the lily family, somewhat resembling turnip; and the poi is of a mushy consistency, and is easily rolled up on the finger in a wad or ball, and is taken in the mouth without touching the finger. Holden then held the paddle, but did not row much.

Island of Tobey.

This island, with its strange and fierce people, was destined to be the home of Holden for nearly two years, and here he underwent almost incredible sufferings, both of the body and the mind.

The canoes were directed toward the shore and entered the lagoon through the opening of the reef, and directly reached the landing. The tide was low, and upon reaching the rocky edge that was exposed, Holden was lifted by the natives and boosted onto the beach above. This, on the lower portion, was covered with coarse gravel, being particles from off the coral reef, and in all degrees of comminution, but mostly particles coarse and sharp, or ragged. In walking up this coral shingle to the finer sands next the palm trees, his feet, which were bare, suffered intensely, being pierced and well nigh burned by the hot gravels. Once upon the smoother sands, and under the trees, he suffered little less. All the women of the island appeared and performed wild antics, cutting all the curlicues known to savages in praise of the exploit of their husbands in capturing specimens of the white race. Under the cocoanut trees, where he went, he was quickly surrounded by a group of boys, to whom he was an object of intense curiosity. They "oh'ed" and "ah'ed" and "ooh'ed," and repeated excitedly "putchi- butuchi mari" — white man, white man—and shoved him in every direction and scanned him from all sides, in their eagerness. But this usage was of small torment compared to the pain they inflicted upon his blistered shoulders, each one insisting upon sampling him with the fingers, and one seizing or grabbing him away from another.

At last the miserable day passed, and night came on. The question then arose, what to do with the prisoner. Word was returned from some authority to place him in the Penniaris house—God's house—the house corresponding to our church. This was a mere hatch, with a roof laid on poles resting upon a plate about ten feet above the ground, set on posts. The two sides were open, but the ends, which were bowed somewhat outward so as to form a semicircle, were closed with thatch, and into one of these ends he was placed. The floor was the ground, but this was merely the sharp coral gravel, which cut cruelly into his already lacerated skin. It was like the cinders of a blacksmith's forge, and upon waking in the morning, he was sore and stiff almost beyond endurance.

This was his entrance upon Tobey, a lonely island seven hundred miles from Pelew. It was a new territory, a new world; not so much in its natural aspects as in the character of the inhabitants. They were apparently without many of the human feelings, and without usual means of influence of control.

A British Ship.¹

Holden was fed a small allowance of poi, and the curiosity of the natives generally wore off. He was beginning to regain his strength and a certain hopefulness of mind. However, he saw nothing of his mates, who, however, were treated in much the same way, being disposed singly in different places on the island.

In about twenty days he was astonished and overjoyed by the sight of an East Indian merchant ship, appearing early in a morning within a few miles of the shore. This was the signal for a wild rush of the natives to reach the vessel in their canoes in order to get a present of iron. It was no less thrilling to the castaway Americans, who, in their nakedness and feebleness, still had no means of reaching the vessel. There was only one course, and that was to seize their chance to accompany the canoes and make their way thus.

This they attempted. Two, the captain, Barnard, and one sailor, Rollins, almost literally fought their way thither, taking a place in a canoe and refusing to leave, and so threatening and delaying the native boatmen that they preferred to carry them on rather than risk the chance of missing the ship and little scrap of iron that they might secure. But the other sailors, being less forward, were driven back, or dashed into the water. Holden made a wild rush to a canoe just putting off and started with it, but was thrown out. However, he seized the side of the craft and although his fingers were heavily belabored, still clung until the canoe put back. But the moment it was off he again caught onto the outrigger and was towed along. Maddened by his pertinacity the natives again returned and casting him on the shore dealt him a blow upon the head that rendered him helpless and nearly senseless. When he came to the ship was gone, and he and the eight others were left in "that terrible place."

1 Ed. note: Rather, it was the Spanish ship Sabina of Manila.

It seemed incredible, and something stunning to his mind, that an English ship could have left him and his fellow sailors, after learning, as must have been the case from the captain, that white men were there. He would not have believed that Barnard and Rollins reached the vessel had it not been that his mates saw them climb up the companion way and over on to the deck. The name of the captain of that ship should be remembered, as a man of a brutality equal to that of any of the natives, and one from whom the natives perhaps learned something of the hardness shown the sailors. It was Sommes [sic], and when finally rescued, Holden was told the pitiful excuse that he offered for his act.

It was for some time impossible for Holden and his mates to believe that they had been left, and the nine Americans waited, expecting that a boat would return for them; but they only saw the great ship stand off and finally disappear not to come back, or to send any word or help. The natives were much dissatisfied and grumbled at great length at what they considered the niggardly treatment of the British ship, from which they were given but the hoops of an old barrel knocked down on the spot for them. They were thus taught the small value of a sailor's life, and encouraged to treat castaways with contempt and cruelty. Holden and his companions feared that their ugly temper would find vent in the torture or death of themselves, but did not meddle to attempt any explanation.

A Change.

However there now came a change. This was for the worse. The sailors were divided off to masters and set to work. But at the same time instead of more food to keep up their strength, less was given them; it was hardly enough to sustain life. Holden's work was assisting his master pull a boat in fishing at night, and in working the taro patches. This latter was very laborious, especially making new pits. The taro is grown in soft muddy ground, which must be prepared by digging pits out of the rock, and then filling the cavity with earth, and leading in water. The rock is broken up with hardened wooden pikes, from the already partly decomposed coral rocks, and then the pieces must be lifted and thrown or carried outside. Under a broiling sun, and in pits sunk six feet deep, such work is heavy, even with the best of food. But on the low and insufficient diet allowed him, it was slow death.

He worked away, however, stolidly if not patiently, feeling a certain hardening and listlessness as his life was reduced and the probability of escape or rescue seemed passing away. The sight of a ship no longer meant rescue, as even if another hove in sight, it was by no means certain that he could induce the natives to let him reach it, or that the ship itself would be brought within hail.

One day, however, he met with a menace of death that brought some little sympathy from the natives. He was working as usual in the taro patch, but in an old pit. He was half knee deep in the mud, and with his hands as a spade was seizing the mud and casting it behind him. It was about ten in the morning, the sun now shining well down over the tops of the cocoanut trees. Suddenly he went out of life, dropping as if dead, and

all consciousness snuffed out, quickly as a candle might be extinguished. Upon coming to again, which was a gradual return, he found himself lying on the bank next the pit, and the sun was not over an hour high. He had been unconscious about seven hours. He heard voices near; it was the natives talking about him, repeating "Samouriat Temit,"—Temit is dead, perhaps as a sort of rite. They were greatly astonished and showed considerable pleasure when he began to stir. "Temit" was the name given him, the significance of which, however, Mr. Holden does not know. When he rose they brought him what they thought he needed to eat and drink.

This was procured from the cocoanut palm near by. A boy was sent up the tree, and a large cocoanut was selected and thrown to the ground. This was properly ripe, not bursting as those but two thirds ripe are wont to do. The husk was quickly removed and the one free eye—two of the three eyes are "blind," and it is from the free or open eye that the milk is drawn and the shoot springs—was opened and he was told to drink. He took a portion and returned it to his master, who, however, gave it back, and he then drank all. The shell was then broken and the soft, delicious meat—such as is never seen in the shriveled meats that we see—was given him, and he ate the whole of it. He was, in fact, dying of hunger, having been allowed nothing the morning he went to work or the night before.

He had now become the property of a leading man of the island, and the family to whom he belonged seemed to have some actual feeling for him, but worked him unmercifully, and except on that occasion did not give him sufficient food.

Time wore on amid hunger and thirst and hard work, and still no permission to see the other men. He suffered constantly for fresh water, there being little or none on the island, the natives quenching their thirst with eating the succulent taro, or poi, and drinking cocoanut milk. Holden, not having enough of these, learned to eat certain leaves, which furnished juice and stimulated saliva. He was threatened with death from flux, and looking among the leaves wondered if some of them might not relieve him, and found that they did.

To show his misery of insufficiency of food, he tells of eating raw fish on the sly. He was required one morning to follow his master to a special fishing place where a species solely for the use of the women was taken. These were to be for his master's wife, who was spending certain time at the taboo house of the women. The master went ahead and, dipping his net, brought up one fish—a small sort, but a finger or so in length. This, however, was given Holden to carry; and presently another was taken, which was also given him. The temptation to eat was irresistible, and with one or two swallows it was gone. A number of others were taken and the theft—if it might be so called—was not discovered. Besides that fish he tasted no animal food on the island, except a bite of turtle. This was given him by a priest. But one turtle was caught while he was on the island, and this was the perquisite of the priests. While they were eating he could not restrain his hunger, and sat down, like any other beggar, on his haunches, and begged for a morsel. For a long time the priest gave him no notice, but at last deigned to cast him a fragment from the entrails. This he accepted only too eagerly. The priest in re-

fusing him at first would throw back his hair and scratch his head and say "It's taboo"—himself only being able to take off the taboo, which he finally did, after gourmandizing his fill.

As to the cause of this stinginess of food, Mr. Holden says that to a small community like those on Tobey, the coming of eleven men, who had already been nearly starved, made quite a draught, and they were themselves nearly always more or less short of vic-tuals. Tropical abundance was not realized under their manner of cultivation. Abun-dance of food, like the most of blessings, is a product of civilization. They also seemed to have many strange superstitions, and the priests, who managed the taboo mysteries, required their living from the people.

A Period of Horrors.

It was perhaps owing to the scarcity of some articles of food, or some superstitious awakening among the people, that a rising of a part of the people against the white men began. It led to acts that can not be recalled without a shudder, to think that even sav-ages should perpetrate such deliberate cruelty, or that white men should suffer it. Mr. Holden's account only occasions the surmise how many sailors have perished, as the most of his comrades did, in the South Seas, but with the hope that that phase of trade and commerce in the world has passed away.

On a certain day, long before noon, the family of his master, of which he was now considered one, were all together in the house, when suddenly there was heard a fear-ful yelling from some distance down the shore. The master raised a whoop and started out of the house, followed at once by the wife and four children. Holden did not move, but in a short time he began to feel that some tragedy was occurring. His mind fell into a horrid state, and he felt his flesh creeping and hair crawling as he listened to the con-tinued yelling and turmoil. His anxiety now became so intense he could remain no longer, and he walked out upon the sand beach and looked down the shore. Not a soul appeared in sight. He went forward a few rods, but being weak from the sickness referred to above sat down in the sand at a point where the waves of the rising tide bubbled up and still watched down the shore. Then all at once two men, at some distance, made their appearance from the shrubbery of the island, moving rapidly onto the beach and bending forward. In another instant it was seen that they were carrying some sort of an object, and in the next that this was a man. It was evident that this was one of his ship-mates, and that the proceedings were the massacre. Holden watched a moment longer, until a third man appeared, having a boulder in his hand with which he began crush-ing the head of the victim, who was then hurried to the water's edge by the bearers. But suddenly, while Holden was stealing off, a shower of blows from clubs was raised upon his own head. A party of the murderers had crept up upon him while he was watching with horror the fate of his mate, and thus unexpectedly began an attempt on his own life.

Holden at first fell partially stunned and lay with his arms over his head to order to shield himself from the blows, and attempted to rise, but was unable. However, recover-

ing himself somewhat, he sat up. The natives, who were attacking him, perhaps became a little confused, and seizing a favorable moment, Holden sprang to his feet, feeling a sudden acceleration of strength. He knew now that it was neck or nothing, and with bare hands began striking right and left, sailor fashion. By this warlike attitude the natives were somewhat confused, but raising a terrific din began striking violently, though somewhat at random. Unable to hit his head, but still ringing blow after blow on his arms, which soon seemed battered to a pumice along the outer side. He looked in every direction, but saw no friendly face, and knowing that he must soon be worn out, changed his tactics, and suddenly darted to one side and made a rush for his master's hut. They followed after in a savage rage, but only occasionally were able to reach him with a blow upon the shoulders. Even in such a scuffle as this the mental superiority of the white man appeared. A murder or massacre by savages owes much of its horror to lack of purpose and method. He was, however, now very much helped, and in fact no doubt saved, by the appearance upon the scene of an old gray-headed man, who stood between him and his pursuers, holding them back.

By this diversion Holden was able to gain his master's hut and take refuge in the loft. This was a room above the lower apartment, with a floor but eight or nine feet above ground, and was reached through a scuttle hole by means of a rope, and pausing a moment to breathe and recover himself, he forgot, or neglected to haul it up, and in a very short time savages were below, and in another instant one ferocious native was climbing after and had already placed a hand upon the ledge to draw himself to the floor. He was a fearful sight, gritting his teeth and eyes glaring but his hold was at once unloosed by Holden, who seized and twisted the fingers, and the man with howls of rage fell back. This process was repeated a number of times, until the rage and turmoil of the murderers seemed to pass all bounds. Then they attempted another plan. The entire upper part of a man's body was thrust up the scuttle hole, being held from below by a powerful native, and Holden saw that he must soon be forced back but at that instant the body of the intruder was drawn down and cast with a dull thud upon the ground. This was done by the master, who had returned, and seeing what was happening threw himself upon the lower part of the man's body, carrying him down and knocking over also the one that held him. This was not the same party that attacked him at first—those had been held back by the old man—but the murderers of the other sailor, whose name was Pete; they came up, and learning where Holden had gone, followed to finish him also, but by the timely appearance of his master he was now safe. This attempt upon his life and that of the others was not countenanced by the leading men, and the ring-leaders were seized and held by Holden's master and his friends until a promise was given to molest Temit no more.

There were two families living in this hut, one being that of a brother, a man of gigantic stature, nearly seven feet tall, who, as soon as the house was rid of the murderers, came to the scuttle hole and called, "Woobish, woobish," come down and I will put you down to the ground. Holden's thinking that there was no way but to trust him did as told, and let himself into the giant's arms, who took him carefully and let him to the

floor in a very gentle manner. Holden could scarcely yet think himself safe, and the memory of the murderer who ascended the rope seemed fixed on his mind for days. It was indeed a fearful sight, the man beside himself with passion, with glaring eyes and teeth grinding, and having in human form all the insensibility and incapacity of pity or reason pertaining to a wild beast.

However, his master and his party were truly friendly to Temit, and after a long and excited discussion decided to defend him at all costs. They inquired of one another "What shall we do with Temit? Where will he be safe?" Then the big man suggested that the best place would be in their father's hut. This was one of the best on the island, and was thatched all around. After a supper shared with the family he was taken to the house of the old people and shown a place of concealment and was given a cocoanut palm mat, upon which he slept quite comfortably. He was also supplied with taro, and remained in the thatch for three days. Word was then sent that he would be safe at home, and he returned.

Further Horrors.

The policy of destroying the white man was continued. The one that Holden saw killed was Pete Anderson. His body was taken out to the outer edge of the lagoon, and was cast into the main ocean, as if unfit to remain on the island. Not long after one of the Pelew chiefs was killed. He had been accused of stealing cocoanuts, some of these having been taken, and he was pitched upon by the priests, who demanded that he die. These atrocities were no doubt instigated by the priests, who had secret reasons for opposing the influence of even chance foreigners, the priestly caste being the most conservative of all, and able also to most quickly arouse the latent ferocity in the human heart.

Another of the Pelews had already died of disease and exposure. The Pelew that was killed was taken to a canoe and tied, and then set adrift on the ocean. Soon after, a sailor, Milton Hewlett, a young man of twenty and still quite strong, was also turned adrift in the same manner, still alive. The theory of the natives seemed to be that these foreigners came from the sea, and to the sea must return. However, the next day a great howling and uproar was heard, the whole island being excited. This, as was soon learned, was caused by the body of Milton being found on the shore of the lagoon, to which it had been drifted in the night, and this brought more fear and dread than if many live men had come. It was awfully unlucky for a dead man to come back to his murderers, and for a whole month the man who set him adrift was obliged to perform rites in the Taboo house. This seems to indicate the superstitious origin of these horrors.

William Seddon, another sailor, died of disease on the shore, having become very low through privation. One after another, however, the rest were turned adrift alive, never to return, until but three remained. These were one Pelew, a sailor named Nute, and Holden.

The Tattooing.

Mr. Holden is yet tattooed in South Sea islander fashion over his entire chest and arms. This appears to be as distinct as after it was first done, and resembles the pattern of some sort of shirt or dress, or more probably some native design. Without expert inquiry the suggestion still arises that in the South Seas, where dress was unnecessary for comfort, the only use that occurred to the natives was as an ornament, or mark of distinction—followed out, I believe, a suggestion of Carlyle's in *Sartor Resartus*. For ornament or distinction tattooing on the skin would answer the same purpose as dress. Possibly, too, these patterns were from the dress of castaways or conquerors, whose clothes were worn out, and no new ones were to be had, and the design was preserved on the skin.

But whatever its origin, the intent at the time Mr. Holden was there seemed to be simply to incorporate him into the community. This showed an increase of kindly feeling, and prospect of better treatment; but the process was one of great pain. The instrument used was made from the bones of the great Man-o-war hawk, being about an inch long, with teeth long enough to not only pierce the skin, but to reach even the bones. It is quite unlike the sailors' method, which is done with a fine needle, and the outer skin simply raised sufficiently to admit the ink under the cuticle. But this was on a truly barbarous plan. The man to be tattooed was laid flat on the ground, and the operator straddled his body, and with the instrument laid at the proper place made the incisions with the blow of a mallet. Often over the ribs, as Holden was thus operated upon, the teeth were driven into the bone and were pulled out only with some exertion. Under such treatment he could only hold his breath, waiting for the man to take a fresh supply of ink, to suspire. The process required three whole days, and the juices used to make the color, were so severe as to cause the flesh to puff into large swellings. It was the intention to tattoo his face also, but this he resisted, preferring to die, and threatening them with the vengeance of the white man's God.

Nevertheless, amid all these troubles, he did not wholly stagnate mentally, but took pains to learn the language, which he still retains, and to be able to form a correct vocabulary of their words. He still had a hope of escape, and felt the value to commerce, or more especially of any castaways like himself, of knowing more of these people and teaching them in some way the value of human life. He found that they held the white man's God in superstitious regard, seeing the ships, the firearms, and the iron given, as they supposed, to His favorites. More than once in a desperate situation he overawed them by threatening to call upon this powerful being for vengeance. Moreover, he instilled, wherever possible, into their minds that the white men would gladly make a present for his release, and that he must be returned to them whenever a ship appeared. This promise his master grew to rely upon with utmost confidence.

A Sense of Deliverance.

Two years had now passed upon the island of Tobey, amid horrors and cruelties, but also with some growing companionship with the natives.

A curious premonition of rescue from that prison island at length began to take possession of him. Whatever its source, whether from some outward or providential origin, or from his own imagination, the assurance grew more complete, and raised his hope. As this became firmer he began to think of his one mate left, the sailor, Nute; but of him he had now seen nothing for some time. This was a bad sign, as, although they were not allowed any intercourse, he had frequently seen the lad on the beach at a distance. His own hope had become so firm and his anxiety for Nute became so intense, fearing that he had been murdered, that at last one afternoon he determined to take all risks and hunt him up.

It happened that he was alone in the house, and, although not knowing how soon his master might return, he decided on the spur of the moment to go towards Nute's place. This he did, choosing the back trail, which led through the brush and shrubbery, and was some distance back from the usual road along the front. He walked rapidly, and soon came to a point where he could look into the main path. He saw no-one, but nearing the crossways soon discovered a man, all but nude, crouching in a hopeless attitude on the ground. He was sitting with his hands over his face, and his head sunk between his knees. Surmising who it was, Holden was soon alongside, and saw that it was in truth his shipmate. He quickly laid his hand on the drooping shoulder, and shook him gently, but with the intent of rousing him from the lethargy into which he saw the man had fallen. "Why are you here, Nute?" he asked. "What is the matter?" But to this inquiry there was no reply, yet a slight movement. The man looked up, but the look was as of death itself, hopeless and lifeless, of one soon to be a corpse. Even with his fresh sense of hope, Holden shuddered, but said cheerfully, "Come, come, Nute, let me take you to the house." "It's no use," answered his mate, with a groan; he cared only to die.

"You are not going to die yet," replied Holden; "I still have strength and you have a little. I will take hold of you, and when I say 'ready' you must get up." So taking hold he sung out in sailor fashion, "Ready, heoho; now she goes," and sure enough had him on his feet, and began hitching him along toward his home, helping himself by taking hold of the bushes at the pathside. But after a little Nute moaned, "Let me down," and suddenly collapsed and fell like dead. Holden could assist no more, but said, "Nute, you must not give up; keep up heart and hope, my man, just for my sake. What shall I do if I am left entirely alone on this savage island? Can't you bear up for me if not for yourself? Besides, we do not know how soon we may be rescued; we can not tell when we may go; it may be to-morrow."

With these words he left his comrade and returned as quickly as possible to his master's hut, and fortunately found that he had been seen by no-one, the hut being still empty.

The natives seemed to have been occupied with ceremonies at the taboo house, and about nightfall the master returned alone, having left his wife at the woman's taboo house. However, he said, "We will sleep here," and both prepared for the night.

We can not help but linger here a moment in thought, considering an experience like this and the pathos of a hope without a reasonable or demonstrable foundation springing up in such a situation. The question also arises, will the results of the civilization brought to these seas and islands seem at last to recompense the losses and sufferings that lads like Holden and Nute and their more unfortunate mates, or the many unknown sailors of the Pacific, had to endure?

“Sawa, Sawa,” a Ship.

Next morning, just about daylight, he was aroused by the sound of loud voices singing out from the tops of the cocoanut trees, where the natives had gone early to gather toddy, “Sawa, sawa.” His master heard the cry, and roused instantly and jumped up. Holden did not move, lying in a singular repose, feeling that his premonition was to be realized, and yet having no urging of his own effort. In a few minutes his master came back all excited and hurried him down to the beach, “Look yonder,” he said, “and see whether there is a ship.” Holden, scanned the horizon, but saw nothing. Whatever there was was below the horizon. He replied that he saw nothing yet, but told his master to climb a tree and he might discover it.

The natives readily climb the long shafts of the cocoanut trees by means of a hoop, into which they place their feet, on the side opposite their body, and hold themselves while taking a new hold with the arms. The master, whose name was Parabaway, was soon into his hoop, and had ascended about thirty or forty feet when he stopped and sang out, “Sawa, sawa”—Yes, it is a ship. He then came down speedily and laid his hand on Holden’s shoulder and said, “Temit, I will set you on that ship.” “You know my promise,” Holden replied, “to the man who first places me on a white man’s ship.”

Parabaway was a man of activity, and one to redeem in some measure the character of his people. He therefore at once called to his men, who brought the sea canoe to the beach, carrying it across the bayou, and bringing the paddles and also Temit.

The Struggle to the Ship.

The canoe was shoved into the water and the crew of paddlers took their places. Holden was duly placed aboard and took a position at the bow, ready to descry the first appearance of the ship, which lay becalmed, but below the horizon from their situation on the water. He constantly urged the men to paddle, crying “Vettell”—Pull, until you reach the ship. The canoe went boldly out over the deep ocean, riding the low swell, until after a time Holden caught sight of a white speck,—the gleam of a sail—seeing which the men took heart and paddled away with a will, the ship rapidly growing on the sight, and Holden at last believing fully in his deliverance, and of his comrade, Nute’s. The master, Parabaway, and his men were also indulging in lively anticipations of the treasure of iron to be given them. The ship was now within but a mile, and soon would be within hailing distance.

But suddenly, without warning, there came a white puff of smoke, and a six-pound cannon ball whistled over the heads of the canoemen and their passenger. This was

something which Holden had not calculated upon, and turned the ship, which but a moment before seemed the sign of salvation, into an object of new peril. Of course, the natives were terrified and squatted in the canoe as another and still another cannon ball screamed over them in quick succession. Then they headed away, fully believing that the ship intended to destroy them. Holden immediately began tasking them to head to the ship, himself almost reckless of consequences, but not believing that any ship of any nation would fire upon a helpless canoe with intention of killing. They cried out with terror, however, and replied, "If we go to the ship we shall be killed." Holden determined that they must proceed and commanded them to pull. "Which way?" they again inquired. "To the ship; you shall not go home."

Finally he succeeded in calming them, and began singing out to the ship in a voice which he thought must carry across the water. On his positive promise that they should not be killed they resumed paddling, headed for the vessel. But not over five or six strokes had been taken before "biff" once more, and directly with the boom came a charge of copper ore, striking the water no great distance in front of the canoe, and splashing Holden himself, who stood in the prow. At this, of course, the natives broke into new terror, and what small head of courage that Holden had gained for them was now lost. All must be done over. They were about to retreat with all speed, but he checked them with all the intimidations of the white man's God. They would proceed no further, but by the greatest exertion of will and persuasion he prevented their return. While thus urging and struggling, a flag was run up on the mizzen—the English Jack—the most beautiful of all signs just then, unless it had been the Stars and Stripes. Englishmen could surely be made to understand the situation.

A boat was now seen lowered from the ship, and, under a good stroke from the crew supplied from the vessel, came gliding over the water toward Holden's canoe. This boat came within about fifty yards, in full view, then stopped, the sailors resting on their oars. Not a word was spoken, but after a few moment's inspection, the oars were dropped again into the water and the stroke resumed, but the boat was headed back to the ship. Holden then cried out in his louded tones, telling them who he was, and what he was wanting, but the boat pulled back to the vessel.

By such treatment as this, he was almost thrown into frenzy, and continued calling; and then commanded the natives to pull away to the vessel after the boat, but was met with a volley of small arms, at which the natives, of course, stopped moving again. Holden had only to wait and see what would be done by the British vessel. After returning to the ship, the detail in the boat reported that they thought they heard English words spoken, and asked for further orders; and permission was then given by the captain, one Short, to return, but well armed. As soon as within hailing distance again, the officer of the boat stading in the stern sheets called to Holden, and said, "Swim here."

We can not but be astonished that when, within speaking distance, and easily able to ascertain who Holden was, and the disposition of the natives, that any such order should be given. But the captain and his crew were acting under very careful instruc-

tions, and following the English axiom, took everybody for an enemy or criminal until proved otherwise. Without waiting for further urging and, indeed, almost before the order was out of the officer's mouth, Holden sprang into the water and swam for his life toward the boat; leaping like a flash, and swimming under the water. In the meantime the boat came slowly toward him, and as he rose to breathe, she was alongside, and two of the sailors reached over and lifted him in. But this was scarcely done, before one of them cried out "We have just saved him now!" and looking into the water, all were horrified to see the body of a man-eating shark, overlapping the boat in length, and already turned on its side to seize the prey. Of this peril Holden himself had not thought, as the boat's officer had also overlooked it; though both probably knew that those seas were full of these carnivorous of the waters.

A British Captain.

The rescuing crew now bent to the oars and laid away to the ship, which was a three-masted merchantman, and came along broadside. The manropes hanging over were scarcely reached before Holden laid hold of them and, without help or invitation, scrambled to the deck. He was at once surrounded by the sailors, to whom he was a subject for instant solicitude. Some brought him clothes out of their chests, into which he was speedily installed, while one came with a spoonful of boiled rice, his lank appearance indicating at once long want, if not starvation. The first officer began to question him, and every time he made an answer carried this back to report to the captain, who was pacing the after deck.

This was done with so much ceremony and deliberation that Holden, who was all anxiety to secure the rescue of his mate, Nute, and to redeem his promise to his master, Parabaway, became very impatient. But when a little breeze now began to blow, and the order came from the captain to brace up the yards, he could no longer control himself. It seemed incredible that a man should be left, or that no attention should be paid to his representations about the natives. Setting aside red tape and taking matters into his own hands he went aft and met the captain as he came alongside on his walk. Addressing him by name, he said, "Captain Short, I am an American; I have a shipmate who is undoubtedly in one of those canoes waiting to be taken aboard. I beg of you to do what you can for his rescue."

The captain simply looked him over, and up and down, without a word turned and walked back across the deck. Holden's Yankee spirit rose, and he waited until the captain faced his way again, and looked him over once more and said:

"You are an American?"

"Yes."

"You say you have a shipmate yonder?"

"Yes."

"If that is the case I will do what I can for him."

"You can do no more, sir," replied Holden, bowing.

Captain Short then called the men aft and explained in a few words the situation of Holden's mate, and said that those who wished to volunteer for his rescue might do so. A boat was soon manned and lowered away.

Last Scene with the Natives.

This boat was already about to leave when Holden demanded to be allowed to accompany the rescuing party, and to be enabled to fulfill his promise to the natives, who had risked their lives literally at the cannon's mouth, to carry out their part of the agreement. The captain at first was disinclined to permit this, but finally consented, and ordered the cabin boy to go below and fill a basket with iron scraps, nails, or other refuse out of the locker, and bring it to the boat. It seemed difficult for Holden to work through his obtuse mind that this was not a mere bit of sentiment or whim, but that it was entirely worth while to teach the islanders that ample reward would be given for shipwrecked men, inducing them thus to place a high value upon human life.

The burly captain was at last made willing to hold the ship for an hour or longer, while the ship's boat went out with Holden to the canoes of the islanders, who but that very morning held him as a slave, but now, seeing him coming from the ship with a boatload of sailors, and himself dressed in clothes that were to them of fabulous worth, were now ready to bow down and almost worship him.

While thus rowing out to meet them the thought came into Holden's mind to teach them a lesson. Calling to his old master, Parabaway, he selected and placed into his hands the finest and largest pieces of iron that he saw in the basket. Parabaway immediately began singing or chanting his praises, declaring what a good child Temit was; or rather continued his laudation which he began as Temit appeared in the boat, and adding thanks for what this good child would give him. After this Holden called to Nute's master, and gave him a present nearly as good. Then he distributed to the others, dealing to each accordingly as their treatment of himself and his mates had been. Those to whom he gave but a small amount of the treasure of iron soon began to make loud complaints and beg for more. But he made them all be quiet until the distribution was over, then he spoke so that all could hear, and said, "I have now treated you as you treated me and my mates. Those that complain because I placed a small present in their hand must remember that they placed but a small bite of poi in my mouth when I was hungry."

These became very much concerned and said to him, "But we did not know that. Let Temit return with us and stay until another ship comes this way, and we will place much poi in his mouth." But Holden said that he could not return to them; he must now go to his own home; but let them provide for any other sailors that were cast away among them from the sea.

Speaking of this eventful day, Mr. Holden says that it was the hardest of his life, requiring him to oppose, with all his determination, those in whose power he was, first the affrighted natives, and then a very dense and conservative British captain, who cared

much more for the safety of his ship than for rescuing Yankee castaways (or perhaps runaways) or in teaching moral lessons.

But the day's work, as he designed it, and thought it ought to be accomplished, was done. He was rescued; his mate Nute was also saved, being found in the second canoe, following Parabaway's, though in an almost unconscious condition, and stowed away in the center of the canoe in the sort of box formed by seats and side planks. The promised treasure was given the natives for returning him to the ship, and the lesson taught that human life was of more value than old iron or nails in a castaway boat. Holden bade the islanders goodbye, who went off singing his praises, and he said "Nang England,"—I go to England.

Return to America and the Fate of the Others.

The breeze was now well up and the **Britannia**, Captain Short's vessel, set sail and squared away for China.¹ After eighteen days reached Lateen, in the lower harbor below Nankeen, and there met an American, Captain McComber, who was anchored in the roadstead with a receiving ship to collect cargo for other vessels. By McComber, a Boston man, he was told Captain Sommes' excuse for leaving the nine Americans at Tobey; first, that he was on short allowance, and his crew was mutinous; and, second, that it would have detained him twenty-four hours—one hour would have been an ample allowance.

From the **Britannia** the two Americans were transported to the **Morrison**, an American bark under command of Captain Lavender, of New York. The voyage to America was made without accident, and at New York,² although Holden had no money, he was forwarded to Boston by the aid of friends, reaching his home city in 1835.

Here he wrote and published a narrative of his adventures, two copies only, so far as known, being now extant. He felt it his duty to see that the hostages on the island of Pelew were released, so he published a small edition of his book in order to obtain funds to visit Washington City and make the proper representations there. At the capital he visited the Secretary of the Navy, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, and found upon examining the records that two and a half years previously the man-of-war **Vincennes** had been ordered, for a part of her three years' cruise in the Pacific, to visit Pelew, and also Tobey; and the news was just brought that this vessel was now at Norfolk, just returned. Two of the hostages, Meader and Davis, were brought home on the **Vincennes**, the other, a boy, having escaped. The Pelew chief was also returned to his island home from Tobey.

1 Ed. note: The date of the rescue was 27 November 1834.

2 Ed. note: Where they arrived on 5 May 1835.

[Epilogue]

Mr. Holden was married in Boston, and in 1837, with his wife and infant son returned to the Pacific, making a home on the Hawaiian Islands, attempting the culture of silk, but later going into sugar raising. In 1844 he decided to come to Oregon, to help make this an American, rather than a British, country. He was very loyal to the Stars and Stripes, his wife being perhaps the first to make an American flag, which, for the Fourth of July celebration in 1847, he ran up on a pole in front of his house, and with Doctor Wilson, who came with his wife in an ox cart, and with John Minto, J. S. Smith, and other neighbors properly observed the day.

Mr. Holden's place was a few miles north of Salem, on the Willamette bottoms, but not next to the river. Here he raised apples, and for nearly fifty years followed the noble art of horticulture. He has three sons—Horace lives at Tillamook City, Eugene at Wardner, Idaho, and Theodore in New Jersey. His daughters are, deceased—Ellen died at Hilo, Hawaii, and Isabel at Petaluma, California. Mr. Holden lives at Salem, near the bank of the Willamette, and although ninety-one years of age is of sound memory, good voice, and bearing and but little impaired. He was first married in Boston to Mary Miller, who died at Honolulu, and a second time to Harriet J. Darling, who died at Salem in 1888, June 14.¹

(Corrected by Horace Holden)

H. S. Lyman.

1 Ed. note: Horace Holden himself died at Salem, Oregon, in March 1904, at the age of 94.

VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF TOBI ISLAND
in 1833-34
written by Horace Holden
in Appendix to his book.

The language of the inhabitants of Lord North's Island appears to be a new and hitherto unknown dialect of the Polynesian [sic] family of languages. According to the preceding Narrative, it was wholly unintelligible to the Pelew chiefs who accompanied the crew of the **Mentor** when they were made captives. To judge by the numerals, and a few other words, which have been collected by travellers, it has a near affinity to the dialects of the neighboring Caroline Islands.

In the collection of words for the following vocabulary, we have principally followed the list of English words in Keate's Account of the Pelew Islands, but have added several from the Empress Catherine's Vocabulary... Some short dialogues are subjoined to the vocabulary.

The orthography adopted is that of the English language; it being the most useful to such of our navigators as may chance to visit Lord North's Island or those in its vicinity. It is only necessary to state particularly, that *ay* is to be pronounced like *aye*, or *ah-ee*; *g*, always hard, as in *go*; *ng*, in the middle of a word, as it is at the end; as, for example, in the English word *hanger*, and not as in the word *anger*, (*ang-ger*;) and *zh* is to be pronounced like *s* in *pleasure*, or the French *j*.

It is proper to remark, that the words of the language here given, not having been furnished by natives of the island, are to be received rather as approximations than as perfectly exact specimens of the language; but the comparisons made with kindred dialects lead us to believe, that they are as exact as are usually obtained from similar sources. Two years' residence in the island strongly impressed the language in the memory of the unfortunate captives.

And, mah.
Arm. (See Hand.)
Back, tukkalek'.
Bad, tuhmah'.
Bamboo, sheel, or shil.¹
Beard, Koosum. (See Hair.)
Belly, mish'ee-um.
Belt, (worn by the men,) tap'pah.
Big, yennup.
Bird, kar'rum.
Black, wayzer'ris, (wah-ee-zerris.)

1 No bamboo grows on Lord North's island, but it frequently drifts ashore, and the natives make knives of it.

- Boat, prow, (prah-oo.)
 Bone, cheel.
 Boy. (See Man.)
 Brass, mullebah' dee.
 Breast (of a female,) toot.¹
 Brother, biz'zheem, or biz'zhim.
 Canoe, (the same as Boat.)
 Child, (of two or three years old,) lah'bo.
 Clouds, kotcho.
 Cocoa-nut, (when ripe,) kahrah'pah; (when very young,) soob; (when the husk is so hard as to require breaking with a stone,) chou, or chah-oo.
 Cold, makkrazm'.
 Come, (verb, the same as to go,) mo'rahbeeto.
 Copper, (the same as Brass.)
 Cord, (small line) kreel.
 Darkness, klo-wayzer'ris.
 Day, yahro, (the same as Sun.)²
 Dead, poo'ruk.
 Dirt, yuhbur'.
 Drink, (verb,) lim'mah.
 Dust (See Dirt.)
 Eat, muk'kah.
 Father, wur'teemum; (used also for Friend.)
 Fingers, kay'muk, (the same as Hand.)
 Fire, yah, or yahf.
 Fish, ee'kah.
 Fish-hook, kah-oo eekah.
 Fishing net, shibbo'.
 Fly, (the insect,) lahng.
 Foot, petchem'; (applied to the foot, leg, and thigh.)
 Friend. (See Father.)
 Girl, pah'chik vay-ee'vee; (literally, a little woman.)
 Go. (See Come.)
 Good, yissung.
 God, Yarris. (They had images of twelve gods.)
 Grass, waw'ree.
 Hair, (of the head,) chim. (See Beard.)
 Hand, kay'muk. (See Fingers.)
 Head, mitch'eemum.

1 Used also by the Pelew Islanders.

2 Ed. note: Araw, in Filipino.

- Here, atid'dee, or ettid'dee.
 House. (See Hut.)
 Hungry, surmah'.
 Hut, or house, yim.
 I, (myself,) nang.
 Iron, pahng-ul; also pishoo.
 Iron hoop, chee'pah; (i.e. pieces of iron hoops, of which they make knives, &c.)
 Kill, (verb) mah'tee.
 Large, (See Big.)
 Leaf, (of a cocoa-nut tree,) trillah.
 Leg. (See Foot.)
 Lightning, visseeg'.
 Little. (See Small.)
 Lizard, peeel'.
 Man, mah'ree, or mah.
 Many, pee'pee.
 Milk, toot. (See Breast.)
 My, mine; e.g. my cocoa-nut, kahrah'pah ah nang.
 Moon, muk'kum.
 Mother, mish'erum.
 Mouse. (See Rat.)
 Musquetoe, lahm.
 Near us, yah peteh'to, or petetto.
 Night (also, by night), nee'bo.
 No, taw, or tah-oo.
 Numerals. (See the list at the end of the vocabulary.)
 Oar. (See Paddle.)
 Old, (i.e. from 20 years upwards,) mahzoo'ee; very old, mahzoo-ee ah va; also, but-chee-butchim, literally, the hair is white.
 Paddle, vettel.
 People, pee'pee ah mah'ree; literally, many men.
 Rain, (it rains, oot; it does not rain, taw oot.
 Rat, tum'meeum.
 Reef (of rocks,) ahrah'oo.
 Rope, tah'ree. (See Cord.)
 Sand, (or shoal in the sea,) pee. This word means simply the sand.)¹
 Sea, (all water,) taht.
 Shark, po.

1 Ed. note: Equivalent to 'pik' in Carolinian.

- Ship, waw'wee.¹
 Short, yuhmoat', or yah moat'.
 Sick, makkah'kes; I am not sick, nang tay makkah'kes.
 Sister, mee'ang-um.
 Sleep, mus'see, or mummah teed'ee.
 Small, pah'chik; very small, (as a grain of sand,) pahchik-gitchee-gee.
 Son, (or daughter,) lah'bo. (See Child.)
 Stars, vish.
 Stone, vahs.
 Storm, pee'pee oot; i.e. much rain.
 Strong, (in good health,) yuhkayl'.
 Sun, yah'ro.
 Taboo, tah'boo.²
 Talk, (verb,) tee'tree; e.g. tee'tree English, talk English; tee'tree To'bee, talk To'bee, or the language of the island.
 Tattoo (verb,) ver'ree-ver'ree.
 There, a-tur'nah.
 Thou, or you, gur.
 Thunder, pah; pah zah tee'tree, it thunders; literally, the thunder speaks. When it thunders, they say, Yarris tee'tree, God is speaking.
 Tomorrow, waw'rah-zoo'rah.
 Tree. (See Wood.)
 Turtle, wah'ree.
 Water, (fresh,) tah'roo.
 Water, (salt,) taht.
 Whale, kahs.
 What; (what is that,) mah-tah'men ah menno.
 White, butch'ee butch.
 Why, bah.
 Wind, yang.
 Woman, vay-ee'vee; a young woman, wer'ree-wedg vay-ee'vee.
 Wood, (trees,) tummutch'-ee; tabur'rah eek'ah, the stem or trunk.
 Yellow, arrang'.³
 Yes, ee'lah.
 Yesterday, rollo; yesterday night, rollo neebo'.
 You, or thou, gur.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Later on in his Recollections, Holden said that the word for ship was 'sawa', or simply 'wa'.
 2 The religious interdiction called taboo, which is common in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and which is also used in Lord North's Island.
 3 Ed. note: Compare to the Carolinian word Rang, the color of Curcuma.

Numerals.

One, yaht
 Two, guhloo'
 Three, yah
 Four, vahn
 Five, neem
 Six, yah-woar'
 Seven, yah-veesh'
 Eight, yah-wah'
 Nine, yah-too'
 Ten, yah-saik' (sake)
 Eleven, sa-kum ah-soo'
 Twelve, sa-kum ah-goo-o'
 Thirteen, sa-kum ah sa-roo'
 Fourteen, sa-kum ah vah-oo'
 Fifteen, sa-kum ah leemo'
 Sixteen, sa-kum ah wah'roo'
 Seventeen, sa-kum ah weeshoo'
 Eighteen, sa-kum ah wahrew'
 Nineteen, sa-kum ah tee-o'
 Twenty, sa-kum ah gloo-o'

Ten, saik.
 Twenty, goowaik'
 Thirty, sa-reek'
 Forty, vah-eek'
 Fifty, leemaik (leemake)
 Sixty, woar-eek'
 Seventy, vesheek'
 Eighty, wahreek'
 Ninety, tew-week'
 Hundred, surbung; &c.

The inhabitants of Lord North's Island seldom count above a hundred; but when they wish to express a larger number they do it by a repetition of the syllable *saik*, (ten.) in this manner: sakum ah saik, ah saik, ah saik, &c.

In counting cocoanuts, they use the following numerals:

One, soo
 Two, goo-o'
 Three, sa-roo'
 Four, vah'o
 Five, leemo'

Six, woarroo
 Seven, veeshoo'
 Eight, tee-oo
 Nine, wahrew'
 Ten, saik.

In counting fish, they have still a different set of numbers:

One fish, seemul eekah
 Two fishes, gwimmul eekah
 Three fishes, sreemul eekah
 Four fishes, wahmul eekah
 Five fishes, neemul eekah
 Six fishes, wawpremum eekah
 Seven fishes, vish-ee ahmul eekah
 Eight fishes, war'remul eekah
 Nine fishes, too-ee'mul eekah
 Ten fishes, saik eekah.

DIALOGUES IN THE LANGUAGE OF LORD NORTH'S ISLAND

Tee'mit, tay too attee'-dee, nang ver'ree-ver'ree gur; mah'ree To'bee tay ver'ree-ver'ree man English mo'ree pooruk; zahbee'to Yarris yettah'men man English.

—Horace, come here, for I am going to tattoo you; if To'bee man does not tattoo Englishman he will die; Yarris (god) will come and Englishman will go immediately out of sight; i.e. be destroyed.

As Captain Barnard escaped from the island, the natives would often ask of Holden and Nute where they thought *Peeter English* (their name for the captain) was;¹ they were answered, that he was on his passage to England. They would then say:

—Ah! Peeter English taw borobeeto English; Peeter English yeppee'lif tang ah nee mah'ree ah To'bee ah pahng-ul; Peeter English mo'ree poo'ruk woar ah taht; Peeter English tee'tree tee'tree mah'ree To'bee pee'pee pee'pee ah pahng-ul, pee'pee ah lego', pee'pee ah mulle-bah'dee; shaik, man English yeppee'lif tuhmah'; mah'ree ah To'bee zah so zah tee'tree Yarris, waurwa ah English cher prow tay beeto woar English.

1 What the import of this name Peeter was, we are unable to determine. They gave the same appellation to a character of great celebrity in their history, whose entire name was *Peeter Kart*; and who, according to their tradition, came from the island of Ternate, many years ago, and gave them their religion, and such simple arts as they possessed. They said he was of a copper color, like themselves.

—Ah! the captain will never get to England; the captain was a thief; he had not given To'bee man any iron, and he would die at sea; the captain talked, and talked with To'bee men, (that they should have) much iron, great many clothes, and much brass; for shame! Englishmen (are) all thieves and bad men; To'bee men (are) very angry; (we) will speak to God, and he will make the ship founder at sea, and the captain never will arrive in England.

Whenever Holden or Nute expressed a wish to go to England, the natives would say to them:

—*Gur zah beeto English bah? Taw ah muk'kah woar English; gur zah beeto English, gur mo'ree pooruk; mah'ree English muk'kah ketch'ee etch'ee, omah ah yahpuk gur mum'mee tee'dee ah To'bee, yevvers mah'ree To'bee yissung ah mukkah.*

—What do you (wish to) go to England for? There is nothing to eat in England; if you go to England you will die; Englishmen eat rats and snails and filth; if you stay in To'bee you will live; To'bee men have very good (food) to eat.

Dialogue between Horace Holden and his master Pahrahbooah.

H.—*Pahrahbooah, gur zah wosheeto ah nang woar ah prow, nang zah beeto English; nang zah mum'mah tee'dee ah To'bee zah pooruk, taw ah muk'kah woar To'bee; woar English pee'pee ah muk'kah, pee'pee, pee'pee; gur zah wosheeto ah nang woar ah prow nang zah lee ah gur pee'pee ah pahng-ul, pee'pee ah lego', pee'pee ah mullebah'dee; gur tay wosheeto ah nang zah pooruk woar ah To'bee, gur taw ah pishoo.*

—Pahrahbooah, if you will put me on board of a ship I will go to England; if I remain at To'bee I shall die, for there is nothing to eat on To'bee; in England, much food, much, much; and if you will put me on board of a ship, I will give you much iron, many clothes, and much brass; if you do not put me (on board) I shall die on To'bee, and you (will get) no iron.

P.—*Hah, nang tay wosheeto ah gur; gur tee'tree tuhmah; gur tang ah nee nang ah pahng-ul; Peeter English yeppee'lif, gur yeppee'lif, mah'ree ah English pepee'lif, senah-messen'; tuhmah man English; gur mummah te'dee woar To'bee, zah pooruk ah To'bee.*

—Ah! I will not let you go; you talk bad; you will not give me any iron; Peeter English is a thief, you are a thief, all Englishmen (are) thieves and liars; Englishmen (are) bad men; you (are) to stay on To'bee, to die on To'bee.

Another dialogue between the same persons.

P.—*Tee'mit, gur zah beeto English gur zahnee mah'ree To'bee ah pahng-ul, yennup way'sa teberee'kah yennup ah topo'ee ah waussa, ah lego', kah-oo eekah, zis ah pishoo' ah teet ah tuv'vatif, ah mullebah'dee, zah beeto To'bee zah lee wur'teemum ah gur?*

—Horace, if you go to England will you give the men of To'bee iron of a large size, as big as a stick of wood, and big axes, and knives, and cloth, and fish-hooks, an anvil and hammer, and needles, a trunk, and brass, and then come back to To'bee and give them to your father?

H.—*Ee'lah, nang zah beeto English nang zahnee mahree To'bee ah pahng-ul yen-nup, ah tepo'-ee, ah waus'sa, ah lego', kah-oo eekah, zis ah pishoo', ah teet, ah tuv'vatif, ah mullebah'dee, zah beeto To'bee, zah lee wur'teemum ah nang.*

—Yes, I will go to England, and I will give to the men of To'bee iron of a large size, and big axes, and knives, and cloth, and fish-hooks, an anvil, and needles, and trunks, and brass, and then come back to To'bee and give them to my father.

P.—*Gur zah beeto English gur dee mum'mah tee'dee woar English, taw borobee'to To'bee, gur zah yuh-woon; tuhmah taw muh-peer klo dung-ah-rang-us.*

—If you go to England you will stop (sleep) there, and not return to To'bee; this (will be) bad and not friendly, and you will be a bad man.

H.—*Nang zah beeto English, nang dak mum'mah teedee woar English, nang zah beeto To'bee.*

—If you go to England I will not stop (sleep) there, but return to To'bee immediately.

P.—*Gur too-ay-go'rah beeto English, gur mo'ree pooruk woar ah taht, gur tay beeto To'bee.*

—You do not know the way to England, you will die (or be lost) at sea, and not come to To'bee.

H.—*Hah! nang yego'rah beeto English, taw mo'ree poorak woar ah taht.*

—Aye, I do know the way to England; I shall not die (or be lost) at sea.

P.—*Gur ahnee ah prow woar English, peepee ah pahng-ul, ah lego', kahrahpah, ah vay-ee'vee pee'pee, ah mahree pee'pee, ah lah'bo?*

—Have you got ships in England, and a great deal of iron, and cloths and cocoa-nuts, and many men, women, and children?

H.—*Eelah, nang yuh-wo' ah prow woar English, pee'pee ah pahng-ul, ah lego', kahrahpah ah vay-ee'vee, pee'pee ah mah'ree, pee'pee ah lah'bo.*

—Yes, I have got ships in England, much iron, and cloths, and cocoa-nuts, and women, and a great many men and children.

P.—*Gur mukkah woar English pee'pee?*

—Do you eat in England a plenty?

H.—*Eelah, nang mukkah woar English pee'pee.*

—Yes, in England I eat a plenty, (or much.)

P.—*Tee'mit, gur zah beeto English woshee'to ah pahng-ul woshee'to ah lego', ah mullebah'dee, ah tepo-ee, ah kah-oo eekah, mo'ree To'bee zah lee mah'ree To'bee, gur muhpeer, gur yissung ah mah'ree, muhpeer muhpeer.*

—Horace, if you go to England, and fetch us iron, and cloths, and brass, and axes, and fish-hooks, to To'bee, and give them to To'bee men, you (will be) our friend, a very good man, a very great friend; (literally, a friend, a friend.)

H.—*Eelah, nang zah beeto English, nang wosheeto ah pahng-ul, wosheeto ah lego', ah mullebah'dee, ah tepo-ee, ah kahoo eekah, woar To'bee zah lee mah'ree To'bee.*

—Yes, (if) I go to England I will fetch you iron, and fetch cloths and brass, and axes and fish-hooks, to To'bee, and give them to the people of To'bee.

P.—*Tee'mit, gur zah beeto English gur tay beeto To'bee, mah'ree To'bee zah tee'tree Yarris, gur moree pooruk.*

—Horace, if you go to England, and do not come back to To'bee, the men of To'bee will talk to God and you will die.

H.—*Nang zah beeto English, nang de mummah tee'dee, ah turt zah beeto To'bee.*

—I will go to England and stop a short time, (i.e. sleep there,) and shall return to To'bee.

P.—*Tee'mit, gur zah beeto venne Yarris, gur tay beeto, gur mo'ree pooruk.*

—Horace, if you do not go to Yarris' house, (i.e. the place of worship,) you will die.

H.—*Tur pay; nang zah beeto.*

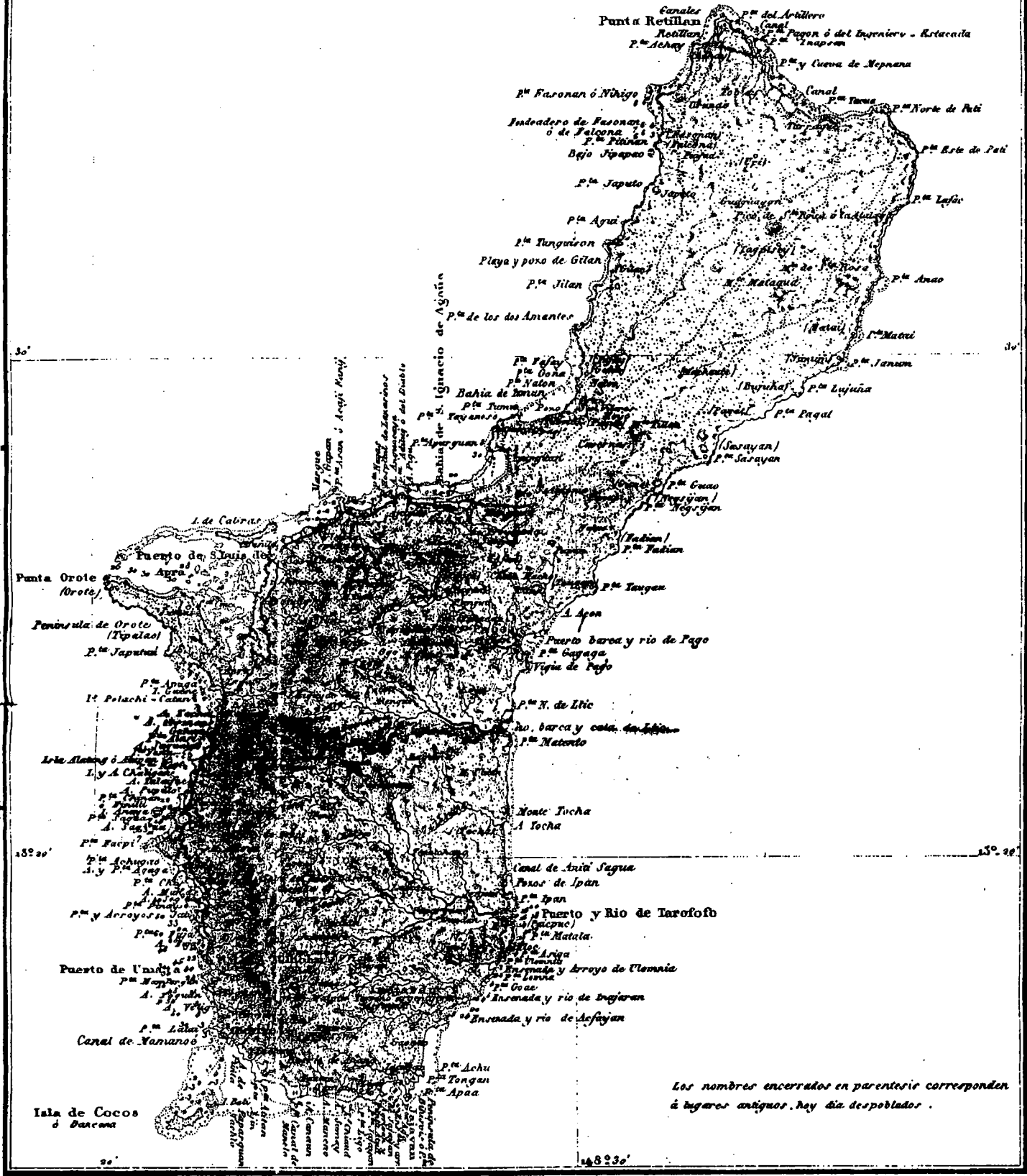
—Wait a minute; I will go.

—*Verrah mahtah gur?*

What is your name?

GUAJAN.

1
250000



Los nombres encerrados en parentesis corresponden á lugares antiguos, hoy día deshabitados.

Document 1832H

Governor Villalobos' Description of Guam

Sources: Ms. 459, Doc. 16 in MN; transcribed and translated by Sister Felicia Plaza, M.M.B. for MARC as Working Papers N° 7 & 8 in 1969.

Introductory notes, by R.L.

The original title of this paper by Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Ramón Villalobos, Governor of the Marianas, reads: "Descripción local, militar y política de la isla de Guam."

The manuscript in the Naval Museum at Madrid is but a copy made by the staff working for Pascual Enrile, the Navy Commander at Manila, and may be missing 1 or 2 pages. The original paper may have been lost, unless it can be found at AHN. Villalobos began to write it in 1831, but did not finish it until 16 March 1833. Unfortunately, his map of Guam has been lost; however, a search of Army archives in Madrid (formerly confidential) may prove fruitful. One thing for sure is that Francisco Coello made use of its information, when he published his own map of Guam in 1852 (see facing page).

I have made my own translation, based on that by Sister Plaza, for the sake of technical accuracy, and to remove the numerous typographical errors made in the working papers.

Extracts from this document entitled: Local, Military and Political Description, to accompany a sketch of the Island of Guam

...

**Geographic, military and political description of the Island of Guam
Statistics, circa 1832.**

Agaña, the capital.

Population: 950 able-bodied men, 110 old men, 1,140 boys, 2,000 women and girls: total 4,200

Houses: 600 in the town, 380 in the countryside.

Domestic animals: 20 horses, 20 mules, 528 cows, 8 donkeys, 18 water buffaloes, 8,400 ducks and chickens, 1,800 pigs.

Produits: 1 caban¹ of Rice for planting; 33-1/3 cabans of corn for planting; 391,270 plants of various root crops (*dago, nica, camote, piga, suni*); 80,000 coconut trees; 600 citrus trees (sweet and sour oranges, lemons); 13 pomegranate trees; 372 palm trees, from which to make hats and mats; 400 Nipa palm trees; 8,734 pineapples; 22,300 banana trees; 4,600 bean stalks; 1,050 stalks of sugarcane; 7 *chupas* of mongo beans; 400 gourds; 900 garlics; 100 onions; 120,000 tobacco plants; 2,000 watermelons and [musk] melons; 8 *achiote* [bixa, or anatto] plants; 1 cacao plant; 20 cedar trees; 1 *Chico* [sapidilla] tree; 5 mango trees; 2 *palma brava* trees; 8,500 *sibucao* [sapan, or brazil-wood] trees; 1 tar tree [*canarium indicum*]; 1,000 hemp plants.

Village of Anigua.

Population: 44 able-bodied men, 12 old men, 71 boys, 119 women and girls: Total 246.

Houses: 44.

Domestic animals: 28 cows, 651 chickens, 55 pigs.

Products: 1 caban 5 gantas² of rice for planting; 11,610 plants of various root crops (*dago*, etc.); 3,095 coconut trees; 69 orange and lemon trees; 17 pomegranate trees; 111 palm trees from which to make hats and mats; 266 pineapples; 1,908 banana trees; 508 bean stalks; 1 *chupa* of mongo beans; 34 gourds; 60 garlics; 3,800 tobacco plants; 19 watermelons and melons; 1 gravevine; 27 egg-plants.

Village of Asan.

Population: 39 able-bodied men, 7 old men, 40 boys, 69 women and girls: Total 155.

Houses: 39.

Domestic animals: 4 cows; 551 chickens; 40 pigs.

Products: 2 cabans of rice for seeding; 1 caban of corn for seeding; 24,579 roots of various kinds; 502 coconut trees; 11 orange and lemon trees; 235 palm trees from which to make hats and mats; 937 banana trees; 171 bean stalks; 58 sugarcane stalks; 1 *chupa* of mongo beans; 4 gourds; 700 tobacco plants.

Village of Tepungan.

Population: 19 able-bodied men, 2 old men, 7 boys, 29 women and girls: Total 57.

Houses: 14.

Domestic animals: 3 cows; 220 chickens; 28 pigs.

Products: 12 gantas of rice for planting; 7,784 roots of various kinds; 315 coconut trees; 77 orange trees; 121 palm trees (for hats and mats); 8 pineapples; 735 banana trees; 50 bean stalks; 2 *chupas* of mongo beans.

1 Ed. note: One caban is only 100 grams. Some zeros are missing here.

2 Ed. note: 1 ganta is 25 cabans, or about 2.5 Kg.

Village of Sinajaña.

Population: 40 able-bodied men, 7 old men, 51 boys, 79 women and girls: Total 177.

Houses: 36.

Domestic animals: 5 cows; 344 chickens; 43 pigs.

Products: 1 caban of rice for planting; 10,640 roots of various kinds; 256 coconut trees; 41 orange and lemon trees; 76 palm trees (for hats and mats); 42 pineapples; 292 banana trees; 210 bean stalks; 124 sugarcane stalks; 700 tobacco plants; 65 watermelons and melons; 86 egg-plants.

Village of Mungmung.

Population: 20 able-bodied men, 1 old man, 9 boys, 38 women and girls: Total 68.

Houses: 15.

Domestic animals: 15 cows; 74 chickens; 19 pigs; 1/2 caban of rice for planting; 2,700 roots of various kinds; 256 coconut trees; 27 palm trees (for hats and mats); 142 banana trees; 132 bean stalks; 500 tobacco plants.

Agat

Population: 42 able-bodied men, 11 old men, 42 boys, 123 women and girls: Total 218

Houses: 39.

Domestic animals: 7 cows; 638 chickens; 126 pigs.

Products: 3 cabans of rice for planting; 1-1/2 cabans of corn for planting; 23,475 roots of various kinds; 694 coconut trees; 224 palm trees (for hats and mats); 668 bean stalks; 104 sugarca stalks; 8 gourds; 60 onions; 700 tobacco plants; 217 watermelons and melons; 6 egg-plants; 66 tomato plants.

Umata.

Population: 47 able-bodied men, 14 old men, 50 boys, 109 women and girls: Total 220.

Houses: 42.

Domestic animals: 14 cows; 463 fowls; 141 pigs; 2 cabans of rice for planting; 1-1/2 cabans of corn for planting; 41,622 roots of various kinds; 884 coconut trees; 59 orange trees; 278 palm trees (for hats and mats); 465 pineapples; 1,493 banana trees; 321 bean stalks; 356 sugarcane stalks; 3 chupas of mongo beans; 4 gourds; 500 tobacco plants; 76 watermelons and melons.

Merizo.

Population: 70 able-bodied men, 12 old men, 80 boys, 157 women and girls: Total 319

Houses: 64 in the village, 5 in the countryside.

Domestic animals: 25 cows; 1,158 chickens; 135 pigs.

Products: 3 cabans of rice for planting; 2-1/2 cabans of corn for planting; 39,568 roots of various kinds; 1,367 coconut trees; 271 orange and lemon trees; 961 pineapples; 3,631 banana trees; 668 bean stalks; 100 sugarcane stalks; 7 chupas of mongo beans; 36 gourds; 600 tobacco plants; 135 watermelons and melons; 114 cotton plants; 15 egg-plants⁹ pemegranate trees.

Inarajan.

Population: 46 able-bodied men, 6 old men, 60 boys, 132 women and girls: Total 244.

Houses: 53.

Domestic animals: 5 cows; 883 chickens; 103 pigs.

Products: 4 cabans of rice for planting; 2 cabans of corn for planting; 35,835 roots of various kinds; 1,051 coconut trees; 290 orange and lemon trees; 200 palm trees (for hats and mats); 200 nipa palms; 150 pineapples; 1,668 banana trees; 770 bean stalks; 60 sugarcane stalks; 2 chupas of mongo beans; 104 gourds; 74 garlics; 500 tobacco plants; 85 water melons and melons.

Pago.

Population: 53 able-bodied men, 5 old men, 60 boys, 126 women and girls: Total 244.

Houses: 47.

Domestic animals: 24 cows; 738 chickens; 204 pigs.

Products: 1-1/2 cabans of rice for planting; 1 caban of corn for planting; 37,595 roots of various kinds; 1,694 coconut trees; 52 orange and lemon trees; 2 pomegranate trees; 225 palm trees (for hats and mats); many nipa palm trees growing on the shores of the Ilic and Pago Rivers; 200 pineapples; 3,076 banana trees; 423 bean stalks; 101 sugarcane stalks; 3 chupas of mongo beans; 4 gourds; 52 garlics; 500 tobacco plants; 146 watermelons and melons; 190 egg-plants; 14 pepper plants; 4 mustard plants; 2 *mpasotes* [rather tomatoes?].

...

Description of the settlements and forts of Guam.

The city of Agaña consists of 11 main streets running in an east-west direction. At the east end of this settlement there is a large square, generally covered with low underbrush which must be cut at least every year; it is traversed by various paths. On the west side of this square, there are various small houses, some of stone with tiled roofs, and the rest of wood with thatched roofs. South of it, and almost lined up in the same direction, one finds one good house, called the store, where the Administrator of the Royal Treasury lives, then the block formed by the barracks of the Standing Company, the Palace of the Governor, and the Warehouse where the effects of the Royal Treasury and of the Artillery are kept. On its east side can be found a good house of stone with a tiled roof, the church, the cemetery and the College of San Juan de Letrán. On the

north side of it, next to the beach, is part of one of the suburbs of the City, there are two low stone buildings. Between Agaña and the beach, there runs a stream where the people wash their clothes and take their baths. At various places in this City, there are wells of spring water that are used by the public.

On the hill to the south of the City, there is a Power Magazine with a guard-room for the soldiers guarding it, and a battery, almost destroyed and useless, called Fort Santa Agueda.

Fronting the beach and the seashore, there is a high battery,¹ consisting of an earth-filled stone-walled construction measuring 40 yards long by almost 20 yards wide and 7 yards high. Its guard-room no longer has a roof, the continuous esplanade that forms its upper floor was made with soft stone from the sea [i.e. coral stones] and is now all crumbled. This battery, the same as Agaña, can be seen from the hills, located at [only] 800 paces as the crow flies. The only purpose for this construction must have been to oppose an enemy landing, one which can hardly be expected at that site, because there are so many other, better, ones elsewhere, with lower risk; for these reasons, it would be preferable, in such an eventuality, to rely on a battery, below ground or at ground level, but with protection behind it, or simply on [moveable] guns placed near the landing at the opportune moments. Hence, I think this battery should not be repaired, and be declared useless.

On the islet of Santa Cruz in the middle of the Port of Apra, there is a rectangular fort with about the same dimensions, equipped with 6 guns of large caliber that defend the narrow and difficult pass into the inner basin; it also impose respect to the ships located in both anchorages. It has a magazine, lodgings for the garrison and enough barrels of water to resist a siege for 15 to 20 days. The base of its walls on all four sides, all corners and the two sides facing inland have no defence. The fort can be reached at low tide from Sumay and from the Aguada River, on foot or on houseback, through shallow water. The fort has no system for firing: it is done through embrasures. There is a permanent detachment guarding this fort; it consists of one artillery sergeant, or corporal, with six infantrymen who have been trained to handle guns. For this service, there are enough ammunitions in the fort, and everything else that may be required.

Almost at the end of the Orote Peninsula, there is provision for a battery to hold six guns. It overlooks the entrance to the Port of Apra and the outer anchorage. Its esplanade occupies the whole floor and is deteriorated. The wall is of masonry. The guard-room has lost its roof. The ammunition depot is behind the battery. The elevation of this battery is about 140 yards [above sea level]. Its system for firing is through fixed guns. The face of the mountain, on top of which the battery is located, is a cliff, but the rear is exposed to attacks from soldiers who might land at other points. There is a water supply at a distance of about three-quarters of an hour. In case of attack, the closest place from which to get help is Agat, at a distance of almost one hour and a half.

1 Ed. note: Called Fort San Rafael.

For these reasons, and because Fort Santa Cruz performs all the duties [previously] assigned to Fort Santiago of Orote, there is no need to place guns in the latter.

The Port of Umata is surrounded by four batteries, whose description is as follows:

1° The battery of La Soledad, on top of a hill of about 80 yards in elevation; its face towards the sea and sides, are on the edge of very steep inclines, but the access road is steep also, but not as much. The wall is of masonry with embrasures that have been placed at a correct height. It has room for ... fixed guns. The guard-room has lost its roof. Its esplanade is continuous, but deteriorated, and can be for the most part attacked from the rear.

2° The Battery of San José, capable to hold six guns. Its wall is masonry. Its esplanade is continuous, but deteriorated. One quarter of the parapet is in ruins. Its face towards the sea is a cliff; the terrain on the rear is a very steep incline, the same as its left flank. It could be largely attacked by an light infantry coming from the right. It overlooks the port very well, but its system of firing would be almost fixed, due to the way it was built, its elevation being about 80 yards and with the anchorage almost at its feet. It has no storage for spare ammunitions on the rear, as its position would require. The lodging for the soldiers is exposed to the fire of ships; it has lost its roof and is full of rubble. The battery is for firing through embrasures, and the height of its parapet is well- proportioned with respect to them, and what the size of the guns would allow.

3° The Battery of Santo Angel, on top of crag, about 13 yards in elevation. It can hold three guns, whose fire could be well directed at ships, but its wall, beng very simple and very low, leaves most of the carrigages and the artillery exposed. The lodfing for the soldiers is very open and exposed to enemy fire. It has no storage for spare ammunitions, as it should have at the parapet, and its esplanade is continuous.

4° The Battery of Santa Barbara, located at the end of the settlement, at 40 meters from the seashore, at ground level. It can hold 5 guns and with 3 embrasures that correspond to a continuous esplanade 15 feet in width, but deteriorated. It lacks storage for spare ammunitions and a ditch. Its fire is close to the ground and water level. Its wall is masonry. It could be repaired at little cost and be protected from fire from ships. It defends the watering place, which is a river that flows on its left flank and almost touches the parapet. It is sufficient, once equipped with guns, to impose proper respect from ships anchored in the port.

The above reasons, plus the fact that the number of batteries and guns must be proportionate to the number of men available, the fact that one should not expect direct assaults on fortified places, as there are may better places for such a purpose, and based on other arguments that I will mentioned below when talking about the defence of the territory, all lead to the conclusion that **in the Marianas the only forts that should**

be kept are Fort Santa Cruz in Apra and the Battery of Santa Barbara in Umata, and all the others must be destroyed.¹

The layout of Umata and other villages is simply one or two rows of thatch houses; there is a Royal house of masonry only at Agat, Umata, Inarajan and Pago.

...

Public order.

The neighborhoods within the City of Agaña and the villages of Guam are divided into sections called *Barangays*, whose heads are persons selected for their honorability, judgment and attitude. In each settlement there is a Small Governor or Mayor to administer it, one deputy Mayor to replace the former and assist him, plus a judge of the palm trees, plantations, and cattle, for the best development of these branches.

Each resident must serve 40 days per year more or less in public works or community projects, in accordance with decisions taken by the Superior government. In this total are included the days it takes for them to go and come from their ranches, the [time for] rounds, look-out duties, and services as couriers.

Justice and equity are kept in everything; laws are observed; there are hardly any other complaints made, except those having to do with betrothals, marriage affairs, or some other dispute. Peace and tranquillity are the norm. All authorities dedicate themselves to the prosperity of the territory, and they try and remove whatever small obstacles that may oppose this situation.

Each branch, to wit: the Administration of the College of San Juan de Letrán, that of the funds of the Royal Treasury for the payment of the soldiers and employees; the affairs of the navy, artillery, and army are all under the responsibility and direction of a specific individual, and all of them are under the supervision of the Governor of the Islands, so that one could say without exaggeration that the working of all the parts that constitute the good government of this small territory is, within human possibilities, as best as can be.

[Geographic description of the Island of Guam]

Currents.

The currents that are found around this island run constantly from E to W and at times they can reach a speed of 2 miles per hour.

Reef barriers.

From Pati Point to Fasonan Point in the north [side] of the island; from Agui [Ague] Point to Sumay in the west; from Agat to Jajayan [Hahayan] in the south, there are reef barriers that allow passage to boats or canoes at all times of the year. Such boat passages have been marked with two parallel stokes [// on my map] but it is necessary to

¹ Ed. note: Emphasis mine. His discussion on strategic plans to oppose possible attacks is a good one, but is here omitted, because they were based on a much larger establishment and a new fort to be built at Agat (see appendix below) which were never approved, for lack of money.

call on local pilots who know the channels. From Jajayan to the north of the village of Pago in the east, there are also reefs of the same nature that can only be crossed with boats or canoes, through passages that are also indicated, but only when the tradewinds are prevailing; indeed, at any other time of the year, the seas along the whole eastern coast of the island are too strong.

Anchorage.

It is possible to ancho for a short time but with risk in front of Fasonan and Tumon Point. In front of Agaña, there is a small anchorage with a little more safety for the schooner of the Royal Treasury; its entrance is such that a good local pilot is required. The Port of Apra has two anchorages: the outer one is vast but somewhat dangerous; the inner basin is very small and a good pilot is required to enter it, but it is very safe at all times of the year. All classes of ships may anchor in front of the village oa Agat, in [the mouths of] the Saguas and Sedya [sic] Rivers,¹ as well as in the Bay of Umata, provided they use local pilots; however, such anchorages remain very exposed at all times and at risk when the winds blow from S and W. Formerly some ships would anchor in front of the village of Merizo, but its entrance and channel is difficult and the ships were in great danger. Small ships may anchor in the bays of Inarajan and Jajayan, with the same danger, but it would be very difficult to get out of Inarajan, as the prevailing winds are almost always easterlies. In the mouth of the Tarofofa [sic], there is an excellent port for ships in despair; however, it would be very difficult to get out of said port for the same reason as for the bay of Inarajan.

Coasts.

The water on the shallows between the reefs and the coast, at high tides, is from 2 to 3 feet, but at low tides the shoals may occasionally remain bare.

At Tarrague Beach, the part next to the water, is sandy; there usually are to be found there 1 or 2 houses or *ranchos*, a few coconut trees and other trees that form a bush that gets thicker as one gets closer to the mountain. At the foot of this mountain and almost at the center [of the beach], there is a cave with an abundant supply of [potable] water all year round. Closer to the *ranchos*, there is a well, or excavation, in the sand which provides them with potable water. Also at low tides, a few springs produce potable water at the seashore.

At Mepuana Point,² there is a cave about ... yards in depth and 6 yards in width.

1 Ed. note: Both rivers mentioned lie south of Facpi Point: the Sagua River corresponds to the ancient side of Taragríchan, and the Sedya River corresponds to the ancient site of Sydia (now written Sella).

2 Ed. note: At the NW end of Tarrague Beach.

The terrain between Mepuana Point and Inapsan Point is the same type as that of Tarrague. Between Inapsan Point and Artillero Point,¹ differs from the previous stretch only in that the part next to the sea is stone. In the vicinity of Inapsan, there is one *raacho* with a small plantation, and a few animals that are kept within an enclosure located in front of Ingeniero Point.² The whole mountain facing the north end of the island is but a cliff. There are access paths at only three places and they are very difficult, specially the one in the middle, even for people on foot; it takes 20 minutes to go up and 15 minutes to come down.

At Retillan [Ritidian] [Beach] there are usually to be found from 6 to 8 *ranchos* with a few plantations, pigs and chickens. They get their drinking water from a shallow well, or hole on the surface. In the cliff behind this terrain, there are two very deep caves, with stalactites hanging from their roofs and water dripping from them. The terrain as far as Fasonan Point is sandy with wood and shrub that become thicker as one gets closer to the base of the cliff. Between Fasonan Point and Achay [Achae] Point, there is one access trail that is as long but easier than those on the north side of the island. Between Fasonan Point and Agui Point, there is only Guipapas Shoal. The coast is also a cliff, with only five small sandy coves along the way and a long rocky beach between Japuto [Haputo] Point and Agui Point. Next to Gilan [Jilan] Point,³ there is an access trail, that requires 12 minutes to climb up and 10 minutes to come down; horses can be used here. At the deepest point of the cove of Gilan, there is a natural spring in the rocks with potable water all year long, although the quantity is small. The cattle enclosed in that bay drink from brackish springs that appear on the beach at low tide. Between Gilan Point and the vicinity of Sanvitores,⁴ the coast is a rather high cliff, much similar to the coast between Pati Point and Lujuña Point in the east.⁵

At the site of Sanvitores, marked with a cross, was killed the Venerable Jesuit Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores. All along this bay there are various *ranchos*, coconut tree groves and shrub enclosed by a mountain that is not difficult of access. In the low part of this terrain there are superficial wells that provide potable water to those hamlets.

Tumon Point⁶ is a cliff that is only 20 to 30 yards in elevation, and this elevation gradually decreases until it disappears at Apurguan.

1 Ed. note: So-called Artillery-man Point is well shown on the Coello/Villalobos map. It is located just east of Ritidian Point.

2 Ed. note: So-called Engineer's Point is also well shown on the map. The fact that the enclosure mentioned by Villalobos ("estacada" in Spanish) is also mentioned by Coello is just one proof of my assertion that Coello just copied Villalobos' map in 1856. Therefore, this published map is based on place names that were in use circa 1830.

3 Ed. note: That is halfway between Tanguison and Dos Amantes Points.

4 Ed. note: Sanvitores is the north end of Tumon Beach.

5 Ed. note: Pati is the NE corner of Guam, and Lujuña is the point separating Janum, or Hanum, and Pagat on the NE coast.

6 Ed. note: Now called Ipao Point.

The coast of Agaña is a sandy terrain with steep hills behind it. The rest of the coast as far as Cabras Island is the same, except the points that are rocky headlands.

Between Piti Point and the landing of Apra, there are a rocky beach, earth, swamps and mangrove.

Between the landing of Apra and Sumay, the coast is low and consists of mangrove and thick shrubs.

Sumay is a terrain of little extent where the Port Captain and the local pilot reside.¹ It is sandy soil with coconut trees, a well of potable water and a few plantations of corn and climbing plants.

The coast beginning at Sumay and all around Orote Peninsula is steep, its maximum elevation being 150 yards approximately. By using good guides and through slopes of difficult access, one can climb the cliff on the north side of this peninsula.

Between Dadi [sic] Point² and Apuga Point,³ there is a sandy beach, which can be reached by boats at high tide.

Between Apuga Point and Sagua [Sogua] Point,⁴ the coast is sandy with a few rocky parts, except the headlands, most of which are steep crags; one can usually find 3 to 4 *ranchos* near the beach, but this situation is variable.

Between Anay [Anae] Island and Cocos Island, the coast permits boat access, but local pilots are required because there are isolated rocks throughout this distance. Of course, the headlands are all steep rocky outcrops.

Most of the terrain between the Merizo Channel and Jajayan Point is a sandy beach with a few parts showing bare rocks, hills in the background, coconut trees and wooded areas.

Jajayan Point is a rocky crag. Jajayan Beach is of loose sand.

1 Ed. note: The Port Captain was nominally the Spaniard Nicolás Guerrero and the pilot, and actual port captain, was John Anderson, the Scot who had abandoned Freycinet's ship in 1819.

2 Ed. note: Not shown on the map, where the word Japutasi appears. In any case, it was near present-day Tupalao, the same as the ancient Tuparao.

3 Ed. note: This may be a misprint for Apaga, also called Apaca, Point, the site of the fort proposed by Villalobos; it is the lower lip of the mouth of the Namu River. Immediately SE of this point is the site of old Agat; north of it is the site of Fuña, the old capital of Guam at the time of conquest. It is interesting for me to note that Villalobos wanted to move his capital to that same site; he says so in the part of the present document dealing with defence.

4 Ed. note: Sogua, or Sagua, is just north of Facpi Point.

Between Aga Point to Apaa Point,¹ as well as Tongan [Dongua] Point, it is low stone with many holes and mangrove, very thick and of low height, difficult to cross. The bays between Apaa Point and Achu [Acho] Point are sandy. Achu and Asgu [Asgon] Points are rocky outcrops.

Between Acfayan Bay and that of Inarajan, [the coast] is rocky and not so high. The points between Inarajan and the village of Pago are rocky cliffs, [at least] those that lie between Inarajan Point and Umlodoña Bay.² Between Umlodoña Point and Asiga Point, between Ypan Point and Matento³ Point, the terrain is sandy. Between the town of Pago and Lujuña Point, it is a steep shore. Between Fadian Point and Negsijan⁴ Point, between Guae [Guay] Point and Sasayan⁵ Point, and between this and Lujuña Point, there are bays where trees, specially coconut, trees grow. At Sasayan Bay, there is a salt plant near the beach, with two huts; the hut nearer the beach keeps potable water all year round.⁶

Itineraries, rivers and streams.

The physical distances [along trails] are marked on the Sketch by means of red points; between any two points the distance is about a quarter of a league per hour, that is, 15 minutes of time at a normal pace for a man.⁷ The village of Anigua is almost a continuation of the Capital of Agaña. Between this City and Asan, there is 3/4 of a league; the road from Agaña to Pigu [rather Piga] is flat, solid sand, and able to support any class of wheeled vehicles and artillery.

The stream called Lada, has very little water, except during strong rains. It runs over solid terrain through a deep wooded valley in a SW-NE direction. The stream called Fonte has about the same amount of water; it runs through not so deep terrain in a SE-NW direction. These two join together to form the stream called Pigu,⁸ running from S to N through deep terrain with shrubs.

The Pigu stream usually carries water from July to January, from 1/2 foot to 3 feet deep; it can be forded at all times, except when there are some flood conditions that make it unfordable. That is why, and because the present bridge is about to fall down, another bridge must be built soon, with solid wooden beams laid over masonry pillars.

Between the Pigu stream and Nagas Point, the road is everywhere wide, but built over loose sand for the most part.

1 Ed. note: Apaa Point is now called Guijan Point.

2 Ed. note: Written Uloomia on Coello's map. It is now written Nomna.

3 Ed. note: Matala on the Coello map, it is a misprint for Matala, still the modern name.

4 Ed. note: Same as the ancient Nisihan of Fr. Sanvitores' time.

5 Ed. note: Sasayan was Fr. Sanvitores' last special mission site; today it is part of a golf course.

6 Ed. note: Explanation not given; perhaps, there was a shallow, brackish, hole near it, or inside it, although the evaporation pans were inside such huts, according to sketches published by the French expeditions.

7 Ed. note: In other words, the distance corresponding 15 minutes, at a average speed of 3 miles per hour. The dots of the dotted lines, marking the trails on the Coello map, are much closer.

8 Ed. note: Now called Fonte River.

Between Adilug [Adelup] Point and Nagas Point can be found the hospital for lepers, whose number usually is from 12 to 15 individuals. Although this building could be fortified, to block the road, there would be no good reasons to do this, because it is easy to bypass it by using the coral beach near it, so that the money invested to fortify it would be wasted.

From the cliffs of the mountain between Adilug and Nagas Points, at the foot of which runs the road, there is a constant danger of rock falls; some of these rocks are large boulders that cut the rock off. There is an alternate but difficult road over the peak of said mountain, one that has been used at one time at periods of high tides, but when the weather is moderate, even the artillery and carriages could pass at low tide on top of the shoal. At Nagas Point, there is a similar quandary: both the road that passes over this point as well as the road below it are among stones that allow the passage of field artillery; both roads are used indifferently, the choice between the two roads depending on the tides, high or low tides. The creek that is shown just before Nagas Point, and the stream that crosses the village of Asan are of no importance, except during great floods.

Between the village of Asan and that of Tepungan, there is half a league of wide and firm road. The crossing of the Margui [or Margue] stream is done over a masonry bridge. Said stream runs from S to N through a deep cut, the water running throughout the year being from 1 to 4 feet deep. The mountain to the south of this stream is high and steep, and the road could be cut by rolling stones of the right size down its side.

Between the Margui stream and Tepungan, at low tide, the road is near the beach over firm sand, but at high tide, it is better to follow a lane that has been opened through the bush, whose surface during the rainy season from July until February turns to mud.

Between the town of Tepungan and that of Agat, there are about 7 quarters of a league. The three creeks near Tepungan are not important: the Mazo [Masso] stream is short and runs from SE to NW; during the rainy season, it is wide and not comfortable to cross; it can be difficult when it rains heavily, but during the dry season, it has almost no water, or only a few pools, without any current. During favorable weather, it is a good ford. That is why materials for building a bridge have been made ready: good timbers over masonry pillars.

Between the stream of Maso and that of Sasa, there is a good road, over a solid base of coral rubble. On both sides of it can be seen a few *ranchos* and plantations. The Sasa stream, whose course is from SE to NW, carries water from 1/2 foot to 3 feet almost all year, except during the big floods. Its banks are very deep and that is why, though there is no bridge over it at present, there are a provisional one made of wood, but at the first opportunity a solid masonry bridge will be built, similar to those planned for Maso and Pigu.

Between the Sasa stream and Agat, there were usually many deep mud holes, as the road runs through swampy ground, but recently it has been covered with coral rubble and tamped down, and is able to support all classes of carriages.

The Aguada [i.e. watering place] stream, running from SE to NW has enough water all year round to provide a sufficient quantity for ships; however, as they find it easier to get at Umata, they prefer to carry out this operation overthere. It has a bridge of square timbers over pillars of masonry.

Between the Sasa stream and Aguada there are *ranchos*, plantations, coconut tree groves, and forest. Between Aguada and Atantano, the road passed through dense bush. The famous causeway of Atantano, built over a very deep marsh, between 1793 and 1795, by the well-deserving former Governor of these Islands, Don Felipe Cerain, has 16 culverts, each about 3 yards in width, to let the water nearby, and tide water, pass through. These culverts are covered with solid beams of wood, simply laid over the masonry footings. The width of the causeway is about 2 fathoms; except for the part at the tip of the angle, all of it runs between a magrove swamp and fields of reeds. A good defence tactic would consist of removing the wooden beams from the culverts, to detain or impede the passage of any enemy.

Between the Atantano causeway and the peak of the Abo Hill, the road passes through dense bush. From this hill, one can get a perfect view of both seas on the south and north sides of the Orote Peninsula, as well as the terrain inland between Mount Tenjo and Mount Alijan. Between the last slopes of Abo and the beach at Agat, the road passes through dense bush. The stream of Muja flows from SE to NW; it has a good bridge built in 1810 by the worthy former Governor of these Islands, Don Alejandro Parreño. This stream has two branches that have their sources to the west of TAlisay and Mifar; the water in its mouth is from 2 to 4 feet in depth all year round.

[The old trail between Agat and Atantano]

There is an old narrow road tjat runs between the Sigu stream and the Atantano causeway, which goes up the west bank of the Sigu stream through swampy ground for about 5 minutes, then the climbing trail up Mount Umlodoña is narrow and difficult for about 5 minutes; the rest of the road as far as the opposite slopes of Mount Lada is flat, through low shrubs over loose soil when it rains. The descent from Mount Lada towards the Sasa stream is rapid, as well as the final part of this trail to its conclusion near Atantano; a guide is necessary to make one's way between Lada and the hill that is next to Atantano, because the trail is rarely used and the plants grow so fast that they block the way, to such an extent that it has disappeared completely at its confluence of this road with that of Atantano, on account of the bush; in fact, one must make a small detour by the hill between the Aguada River and the entrance of Atantano to avoid the bush in question.

Between the village of Agat and the town of Umata, there are 2- 3/4 leagues of road approximately. Before reaching the Talayfac stream, one must cross many creeks and streams running from E to W but they are of no importance during the dry season; however, at times when there are heavy rains, all of those I call streams then become hard to cross and they cannot be crossed when there are great floods. The terrain is sandy and muddy; one may follow the beach, or more inland but next to the beach, through

alleys that have been opened through thick shrubs. One meets from 3 to 4 *ranchos* with a few coconut tree groves, pigs, chickens and small plantations. There are from 3 to 4 mud holes between the Guacsen and Talayfac Streams.¹ The latter stream, as well as the Pepulo² stream run also from E to W and have water all year round; their bottom is from 1 to 3 feet deep. Both of them have masonry bridges and there is no delay in crossing them at any time of the year. One can walk around Chinan Point³ in moderate weather, but otherwise, it is necessary to climb over it; its northern slope is easy but the southern one is too steep. At the end of this slope there is a ravine with a small wooden bridge over it, a little more than one square yard. The road between Chinan Point and Sagua [Sogua] Point is regular. The climb up Sagua Point is easy of access, but the descent to Sagua stream is very steep, and at the end of it there is a narrow trail with mud holes almost at any time during the year. The Sagua stream runs from E to W through a deep cane field, and its water is delicious, though in small quantity, except when it rains heavily. The road through that site runs through clear bush made of tall trees; they do provide a good shade and some places to rest when the weather is hot.

The slopes through which the road passes over Apoya Hill are very steep; there are some ravines on its peak and the whole stretch is difficult and it would be difficult, even impossible, to drag some artillery through it, even of small calibers, without great difficulty. One could follow the coast at low tides, but with great difficulty for horses as for pedestrians on account of the many big stones next to Facpi and Achugao Points.

Between the descent of Apoya and Chii Point, the road is a regular one, with some mud hole that would be easy to repair near the Agaga stream.

The sea comes up right next to the cliff at Chii Point; the road there is on top of slimy stones that are dangerous to walk on, specially when the seas run high. One can go over this point by an old road; its ascent is short but very steep, but the rest as far as Magñas is good.

The Mafñas and Sedyá streams have water of very good quality at all times, although in short supply. They have masonry bridges, very much in ruins. They run through deep valleys among clear bush, from NE to SW. Near the latter, can be found a *ranch*o of the guardian of the coconut tree grove that is the common property of the people of Umata.

The road between Sedyá and the streams at Jati⁴ is regular, except for a mud hole (easy to repair), fed most of the time by a creek located in the vicinity of either of those points.

The Jati streams run from E to W through deep valleys and clear bush and contain a large quantity of water when it rains heavily, and crossing them becomes very difficult, but at ordinary times they are relatively unimportant.

1 Ed. note: Talayfac is the same site as the ancient place called Tareifac.

2 Ed. note: Same as the ancient Pupuro.

3 Ed. note: Near modern Biyae.

4 Ed. note: Or Hati, known erroneously as Cetti, since the beginning of the American period, through a simple typographical mistake on a U.S. map.

The ascent of Jati Point is very steep and difficult to cross for artillery, even of small caliber. The peak is regular but its descent to the Fuja [Fuha] stream, though rapid, allows the passage of artillery and carriages.

The Fuja stream has water all year, from 1 to 3 feet in depth; it had a bridge, now destroyed, and has been temporarily repaired with planks of little resistance; it runs from E to W through a gully full of small bush and shrubs. The road that crosses that gully as far as Unata is regular. There are a few *ranchos* and plantations in that gully.

Between the town of Umata and the village of Merizo, there are $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league, approximately. Next to Umata the stream of the watering place runs from E to W. Its course is through swampy terrain with rice fields. There is always water in it, and in the rainy season the water may be as deep as 6 feet.

The Chalan Aniti Point may be passed by climbing over it, or by going below it. The lower trail goes through large stones and is difficult at any time, but impossible when the seas run high. On the other hand, the ascent and descent are steep but allow the passage of artillery with some difficulty.

There is the risk of a rock fall as one makes one's way around the cliff that is at the head of Mamarguan Point. Such stones can block the road; that is why the best way is to use the newly- opened trail that goes inland between these two points.

The streams called Tongan [Toguan] and Bilic [Bile] have water of very good quality all year, although in small quantity, except during the rainy season. The road as far as Merizo is regular. There is between Tongan and Bilic a mud hole that could be easily repaired; it is maintained all year by the creek that is shown on the map. The part of the road between Tongan and the reef that goes out towards Cocos Island, is on top of sand, skirting a bush and thick shrub. Between the reef and Merizo the road goes through the bush which is more or less dense and on top of ground that is firm, except during the rainy season.

The village of Merizo is $\frac{1}{4}$ league from its suburb called Ahang.¹ This whole stretch is muddy during the rainy season, with a mud hole in the Paparguan valley, whose stream has water, though little of it, all year. The direction of said stream is almost from N to S through swampy terrain, and rice fields.

Between the suburb of Ahang and the village of Inarajan, there are $2\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. The road can admit the passage of artillery of small caliber. The road between Ahang and the Maneno stream is muddy in the rainy season and goes through very dense shrub.

The Canan, Sumay and Liyu streams run from N to S through bush and shrub and have water all year only at their mouths, which are difficult to cross during the rainy season, except Sumay. This whole stretch is over firm sand through a clear forest. The road at the foot of Jajayan Point is over slimy stones, beaten by the waves; that is why it is as dangerous as the passage below Chií Point. The crossing of Jajayan [stream] is through loose sand that forms a mud hole.

1 Ed. note: Also written Aang, or Achang.

The Jajayan stream runs from NW to SE through a deep gully among coconut tree groves and tall trees intermixed with brush. During periods of great drought, this stream may disappear among the sand of the beach, but at the height of the rainy season, it carries a very considerable amount of water.

The road between Jajayan and Inarajan is myddy terrain during the rainy season; at other times, it is firm. Most of it is through thick bush, except for the parts lying half-way between the points.

The slopes that one meets along the way are not steep.

The Tongan [Dongua] and Achu [Acho] streams are not at all important.

The Acfayan River has a wooden bridge of very little resistance, supported by wooden pilings; it is suitable only for pedestrians. Horses must cross this river by swimming across its mouth, but the river bank is made of very loose sand that has created a mud hole. The course of this river is almost from W to E through an open valley, with a few shrub patches, with beautiful fords and little water all along it, except at the height of the rainy season, and at its mouth where it is mixed with tide water.

There is a [more direct] path between Jajayan and Acfayan through the *rancho* called Gaogao; its base is very uneven, across gullies, and muddy during the rainy season; that is why it is preferable to follow the coast.

Between Inarajan and Pago, there are 3-1/2 leagues of road that would allow the passage of artillery of small caliber. It crosses 5 rivers and 2 streams. The Inarajan River, whose course through deep valleys with trees and shrubs is almost from W to E, carries as many as 3 to 4 feet of water during the rainy season. It irrigates the rice fields of Inarajan. Its bed is of loose clay that makes the crossing difficult for horses, and in moderate weather, it is loose sand, but the quantity of water that remains throughout the year is of little importance. The climb up the next mountain is of average steepness, through thick shrub. The road between this mountain and the Tarofofu [Talofofu] River is uneven and muddy, most of it through thick bush, except from the peak of the Inarajan Mountain as far as the Sipul stream, and a short stretch at Jafaloc, where the plantations are located. The slopes as far as the Alonso stream are not easy. The Sipul and Alonso's streams have very delicious water all year long, though in short quantity.

Sipul has its source in the swamp of the same name in the land belonging to Dandan. Its waters, which taste like iron, run from W to E. Near its mouth, they join the Tinaga stream,¹ whose banks are high, and cutting through thick bush and shrub in a N to S direction. The combined streams become the Umlodoña [rather Ulomna, now called Pauliluc], whose course is from W to E through thick bush and through a deep swampy valley. The direction of Alonso's stream is from SW to NE through ravines and shrubs and the bridge over it is made of wooden beams.

The slopes of the Tarafofu Mountain by which the road passes are steep but offer a solid bed.

1 Ed. note: Now the whole length of the stream is called Tinaga, and the name Sipul has disappeared.

The Yugam [Ugum] River has its source in the Marpu and Julumaso [=Bolaños?] Mountains. Its course is from SW to NE through a deep gully and among trees, shrubs and brush.

The Junan River runs almost from W to E through terrains that is not as deep as Yugam and the two together join the Tarafoto River at less than 1/2 league from its mouth.

The Chaca River comes from SW, runs through shrub and is less deep than the other two; it joins the Tarafoto River to the S of Laguiña.¹

The Feña River has its source on the slopes between the mountains called Salto de Padre Basilio and Alifan. It runs through a very deep valley, full of trees more or less thick, with almost circular course from SW to NE. It has good fords at the sites where the roads cross it.

The Talisay River has its source on the slopes between Alifan, Talisay and Buena Vista Mountains. It runs through a deep gully almost in a direction from E to W [rather W to E]. The three rivers, Chaca, Feña, and Talisay become the Tenechong River, also fed by the Mango [Manmang?] stream and a few other streams, which are all contributing to the Tarafoto River, whose course runs from W to E between high mountains and bush, shrubs and climbing plants.

The Tarafoto River is crossed by pedestrians by means of a small bamboo raft. The houses do so by swimming across. Its bottom and access paths are of moving sand. At ordinary times of drought, it carries from 4 to 6 feet of water, at the place where the raft is located, but further in it is from 15 to 25 feet in depth. At the peak of the rainy season, it carries a huge amount of water.

The road by Quiroga's Hill is a cut or defile through steep rock, from 12 to 16 feet in depth. It gets its name from said conqueror who is said to have attacked it from the rear, dislodging and forcing to flee the Indians who were waiting to ambush him there, ready to roll down rocks upon the road and Quiroga's soldiers.

From Quiroga's Hill to the ascent of Matento Point, the road is firm, through tall or dense trees for the most part, with small shrubs. The Tocha [Togcha] River is wide, has a solid bed and not much water, even in times of heavy rains, when it is at most 2 to 3 feet deep; it becomes two streams at Tocha, one running SW to NE called Laguiña that runs through leafy bush and low hills. The slopes of Matento Point are easy; the sides of the road are thick bush with some *ranchos* right and left, where there are pigs, chickens, and small plantations.

The Ilic and Pago Rivers have rafts to let pedestrians through, the same type as at the Tarafoto River.

The streams called Sinifa, Manja and Chico de Alenque run through firm ground between open slopes and banks covered with thick shrubs until the confluence of all three, when the water runs between deep embankments that are muddy and covered

1 Ed. note: Most of the affluents of the Tarafoto River have been new names since 1830, probably by those who created the Feña Reservoir.

with thick bush. The beginning and confluence of the Taifagan stream with the above three are similar to theirs. The meeting of all of these with a few other streams form the Ilic River, whose course is approximately from W to E through high hills, deep banks, muddy and covered with dense bush, tall and low trees.

The approaches and bottom of the Ilic River where the road from Dandan to Pago crosses it, are moving sands; the horses pass it by swimming, but at Pago they bypass the river by going out over the shoal. Both rivers have but from 3 to 4 feet of water at ordinary times, but in the rainy season they carry a great quantity of water.

The road between Ilic and Pago is firm; it passes through *ranchos*, right and left. The ascent at Yoña is easy. The descent to the Pago River is very steep.

The small stream called Lonfit is of the same nature as Sinifa and Manja until it gets to the ford, and also in the vicinity of the ford of Supornia;¹ both of these streams plus many others form the Pago River, whose course is from W to E and has the same characteristics as the Ilic River. Near the village of Pago it is joined by a wide stream whose bottom is very slimy, that has its source in Aguan Lake.

Between the village of Pago and the village of Sinajaña, there are 1-1/2 leagues of a wide and firm road in dry weather, but in rainy weather it is extremely muddy; the slopes are not bad, but they are made up of a clay that becomes slippery when it begins to rain. On the top of the Sungue mountain, there is a bottomless pit, which probably communicates with the springs that feed Lade Aguan west of Pago, and the Agaña River north of Sinajaña. To the east of this village, there is a swampy valley where a crossing has been built in the middle of it, consisting of a causeway of masonry with a wooden bridge.

Between the village of Sinajaña and Agaña, there is from 1/4 to 1/2 league. The road is mostly through the same kind of bush throughout. The road bed, though uneven, is firm and over rock. The slope next to Agaña is short but rather steep.

The stream of Agaña has its source in an abundant spring at the foot of Mount Sinajaña; it collects water along the way from a few streamlets that form the swampy valley to the east of said city. Its course is from E to W, through fields of reeds and a few coconut trees. Its water is constant all year, from 1 to 3 feet in depth, and its width varies between 6 to 8 yards. Near the city, there are two masonry bridges. I plan, as soon as possible, to clean this valley and establish there all kinds of plantations, specially rice fields; for this purpose, the whole land has been divided among the residents who asked for it, following my invitations, and in order to encourage the enterprise, I plan to create an irrigation ditch between the source of the stream and that of Pigu at the back of the city and of the village of Anigua, for the irrigation of the lands that need it during a few periods of drought and to have the surplus of the irrigation serve as a water supply for both settlements, with water of better quality to replace the wells that now provide water to them, specially in Agaña.

1 Ed. note: Probably the same as the river that is now called Sigua.

The village of Munmung is 1/4 league from Agaña. The road goes through thick bush, is solid ground, although muddy in the rainy season. The slope near the village is rather easy.

The roads between Agaña and Aillan, Pinati, Nalao, and their vicinities are through fertile, flat, firm ground, muddy during the rainy season, without important mud holes, partly open and partly through bushes. This district lacks water and there can be found most of the plantations of Agaña.

Between Agaña and the north end of the island, or center of Retillan, there are 5-1/2 leagues. The road between Agaña and Apurguan is on top of moving sand; it passes at the base of a cliff, from both ends of which some stones get loosened from time to time and block the road. In Apurguan there are 2 or 3 *ranchos* with pigs and chickens. The part between Tumon Hill and Sanvitores is partly through bushes and partly over a sandy beach, except that in the middle of the bay there is a stony point that makes the passage uncomfortable and difficult at high tides. This same difficulty, to a larger degree and extension, occurs after passing Sanvitores and as far as the beginning of the ascent to Dos Amantes, whose slope is average. The roads that originate there and go towards Gilan, Urunao, Retillan, Tarrague and Pati Point, as well as the roads from Santa Rosa to Upi, Lafac, Anao, and that from Mataguac to Sasayan and Pinapi and from Sanvitores to Aillan, are all of the same type: they have narrow, have thick sides, with a base full of roots, the branches of trees, climbing plants and shrubs are all interlaced; the little use made of them results in their disappearance at some sites, so that it is indispensable for anyone who has not used them many times to bring along a guide. The worst trails in this sense are those between Sanvitores and Retillan, and from Sasayan to Pago.

Next to the hills of Santa Rosa and Mataguac, there are a few springs with good water that soon disappears down sink holes. At the junction of this road with that which goes from Sanvitores and Aillan, there is a hole in the shape of an inverted cone, whose depth and diameter at its mouth may be computed anywhere from 30 to 40 yards, more or less. Its wall and bottom are almost totally covered with shrubs and a few tall trees but water has never been collected in its bottom; one may therefore deduct from this circumstance that there is no stream anywhere along it nor flow out of the caves that are found at the foot of Mount Aillan and in the cliff near it; the [same thing] can be said of the underground galleries that underly that part of the island.

The inland road between the village of Sinajaña and Dandan is more difficult and longer than that which follows the coast, if one takes into account the many curves that contain ravines and rivers that must be crossed. The ascent to the east of Tachuña is easy but of slippery and muddy soil during the rainy season. Its descent to the Pago River is through a rocky ravine that is rather steep, though short. The fords at the bran-

ches of the Lonfir and Chico streams are very good and over a rocky base during dry weather, but they are dangerous when it rains heavily.

...
The inland road between Umata and Inarajan, though somewhat shorter than the coastal road, is only practicable for pedestrians who are very much used to it; it is very difficult indeed in the swampy stretch between Umata to Mount Ilichu. The ascent to Ilichu is extremely steep, dangerous and slippery specially in wet weather.²

The road between Julomaso to Gojo is open, uneven, slippery in rainy weather; the descent from Jolomaso to the Junan River is easy. The Junan River during the rainy season gathers a considerable amount of water that makes its crossing difficult; the ascent from the Junan River to Sugui is not very steep, but the road is narrow, through low shrubs with some wooded but open areas. The swamp of Sugui is covered partly by trees and partly by low shrubs. The Chaca stream always carries very little water, where this road crosses it, but it is very tasty and the current rapid.

Between Inarajan and Agat, there are 3-1/2 leagues approximately.

The roads between Dandan and the Ingam River go through stony areas and low shrubs, and the land is uneven. The descent to the Yugam River and ascent to Bubalao are not very steep; the road goes through a tall bush mixed with shrubs. The peak of Bubalao is also covered with bush. The descent to Junan is more open, the same as in the gully of Junan, but the rest of this road as far as Gojo is in the open, uneven, and slippery. The descent between Gojo and the Feña River, and the ascent up the mountain that is next to Agat are easy, through clear well-watered forests. The crossing of the Feña River is not practicable during the rainy season on account of the huge quantity of water that flows through it. The part of the road at the foot of Mt. Alifan is in the open and over firm soil. The descent from Mt. Alifan to Ague is a slope but the rest of the road to Agat is swampy as soon as the rains begin.

Between the town of Umata and the City of Agaña, there is an inland road that has no advantages at all over the coastal road, neither in length nor in difficulty. It begins at Umata and runs for a distance of half a league over a hill with uneven and slippery soil. The descent of this hill to the source of the Fuja stream is easy but muddy. The valley of Fuja is swampy. The ascent through this valley between Mt. Ilichu and Salto del Padre Basilio³ is very laborious, long and steep. Once on top, the view is open and marvellous. The descent from this mountain is easy, open, and on top of firm soil as far as Tacsay Hill. There the sides of the road are a thick mixture of tall trees and shrubs. The slopes along the road are easy; the rest of the way to Gojo is open but muddy during the rainy season. All the slopes as far as Buena Vista Hills are easy, through a clear tall forest, a firm but well-watered terrain. The fords at the Feña and Talisay Rivers and at

-
- 1 Ed. note: One page was not copied at this point. It must have described the rest of the inland trail to Dandan.
 - 2 Ed. note: A few lines are missing here as well, apparently.
 - 3 Ed. note: Meaning Father San Basilio's Leap, a mountain where tradition says that this future martyr fell off but was unhurt in his fall.

Mapao stream are good in the dry season, but the stretch between Gofu and Buenavista is impassable during the rainy season, when the water of the Tarafufo River can rise up to half of the heads of the trees. The course of the road as far as Tuifagan is open country over terrain with muddy ravines but with easy slopes. The ford at the Ilic River is regular and not very dangerous, even in the rainy season; the banks of the river at that point is clear bush.

Between the town of Pago and that of Agat, there are approximately 3 leagues. Near Pago, there is the Aguan stream, whose crossing for pedestrians is over a bridge of 2 or 3 wooden planks; [however,] the road on the northern bank of the Pago River is through thick bush with shrubs and clinging plants and over muddy terrain. Horses must go up [through there] until they have rounded the Aguan Lake, because the climb along the Aguan stream is deep mud therefore impassable for them. The ford of this road at the Pago River is over firm soil and easy in dry weather, but when it rains it becomes almost impassable, either because the approaches, specially the southern one, are deep mud, or because of the high waters that meet there. The ascent to Mount Supornia is through a trail of average slope, open, but uneven. The course of the road over the mountain range between [the headwaters of] the Ilic and Pago Rivers is open country, uneven and narrow. The ascent below Mt. Tenjo is easy and open; its descent is steep, narrow and with ravines full of low shrub. The valley between Tenjo, Abo, ... and Talisay is swampy during the rainy season.¹

Between Agaña and Mount Santa Rosa, there are 4 leagues of flat but not too open road, because of the few people using it; however, it is well marked, its sides being thick bush, full of dense shrub and climbing plants that usually criss-cross overhead.

The stream is of no importance during the dry season but in the rainy season its slopes can be muddy and slippery, and the trails narrow with an uneven surface.

All over the island, there are trails known only by expert guides, difficult even for pedestrians and almost impossible for horses; that is why I have marked only the main trails on my Sketch.

On all the low parts of the beaches one may find water, brackish or potable, by digging holes, such as those found at Tarrague, Retillan, Sanvitores, Apurguan and Sumay.

North of the village of Mungmung, that is, at the neck and at the head of the island, there is not one stream; the rain water only creates some mud, that soon disappears completely within a short time.²

...

Naval affairs.

There are no ships other than the small schooner that belongs to the Royal Treasury, two Carolinian canoes, 30 rowing canoes and 50 dogouts that are but tree trunks

1 Ed. note: I figure that the ancient mission of Mapunpun used to be located in this valley.

2 Ed. note: The explanation is that the upper part of Guam is raised coral limestone, whereas the body of the island is volcanic.

from 1 to 2 feet thick and up to 24 feet in length, roughly dug out and that are used for transporting goods and for fishing.

Bout 30 or more ships arrive every year at the ports of Apra and Umata, during the spring and autumn seasons, to refresh and make wood and water. Most of them are English and Anglo-american whaling ships, whose crews leave behind in the country, according to an approximate calculation, between 6,00 and 8,000 pesos per year, most of it in effects, but a little in cash, to buy or trade in exchange for local products.

In April of every year there also arrive from 10 to 12 canoes from the Caroline Islands, each of which is manned by 8 to 12 of these islanders, who are naked, excellent pilots in crossing such a long and risky expanse of ocean, without any provisions other than a few coconuts, and the fish they catch along the way, which they eat raw. They bring a few sea-shells, some wooden containers, mats and some cloths made with banana fibers, to exchange for iron tools, jars, beads, bottles and such. During their stay at this island, they maintained themselves, thanks to the hospitality of the inhabitants, and with coconuts that they collect along the wild coast of the island. They are idol worshippers, formidable swimmers, of a shy but ungrateful character, of a copper-like complexion, a good height and cheerful.

Fishing.

During the 8 to 9 days that the Moon is waning, during the months of April, May and June, there appear before eAgat, Agaña, Tumon, Merizo, Inarajan and Pago schools of small fishes between 1-1/2 and 2 inches long, called locally Mañaha, which the natives rush to catch with appropriately sized fishing-nets. They preserve them by salting them and they appreciate them very much.¹

At the beginning of the period when the Moon is growing, during July, August and December, and at other, irregular, times of the year, there appear before Agaña, Tumon, Asan, Tepungan, Agat, Merizo and Pago, other schools of a delicate fish, from 5 to 6 inches in length, called locally Tiao, similar to our European *salmonete*.² They are preserved in salt, and are preferred to the Mañaha.

At various times but not at a specific time of the year, there appear other schools of fish, up to one foot in length, called Cavallas,³ before the same places and in Umata Bay.

All year round they get fish by means of stone enclosures set up on the shoals, and with nets, but what they catch is so little that they may spend a whole afternoon to catch enough food for one day.

Industry and commerce.

There are some individuals who practice the most essential trades for society, such as Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Masons, Shoe-makers, Harness- and saddle-makers, Gunsmiths, Chair-makers, Tailors, Silversmiths, Weavers and Clock-repairmen. Among

1 Ed. note: Ma^oahac is the local name for the young rabbit-fish, whose scientific name is *Siganus*.

2 Ed. note: Tiao is the juvenile goatfish (*Mulloidichthys vanicolensis*, in Latin). It is the same as the *Salmonete*, or red mullet, once an adult.

3 Ed. note: In Spanish, that is, mackerel. The author may refer to small tuna fish.

these artisans, there are some who are excellent craftsmen; however, as the country does not provide them with enough work in their fields, and they have to leave this work aside to look after their plantations and for other occupations, the result is that their work does not reach the perfection that it might otherwise.

There is no other commerce in this island besides the one that was mentioned earlier in connection with the whaling ships and the Carolinian canoes; a few food supplies that the natives sell or trade, and the commerce that results from the remittal of effects by the Royal Treasury from Manila every three or four years, more or less.

...
Woods and other plants.¹

Ipil, or Ifil.² There are legs of this tree that can be up to 3 feet in diameter and 20 feet in length; it is good for furniture and construction.

Talisay.³ it is of the same size and use as the Ipil; Its fruit tastes like almond.

Dahug, [or Daok]: Palomaria in Spanish:⁴ as tall as the previous; good for canoes, construction and carts.

Gago, Agoho in Spanish:⁵ there are some logs as many as 2 feet in diameter and 20, or more, feet in length; good for construction and its bark serves to cure leather.

Hufa.⁶ it is 2-1/2 feet in diameter and from 12 to 15 feet in length; good for construction, furniture, and carts.

Hagas, [rather Ahgab, or Ahgao: Alagao, or saúuco [elder] in Spanish;⁷ it is 1 foot in diameter and 15 feet in length; it is good for furniture.

Yoga: it is a type of pine: there are some as many as 4 feet in diameter and 30 feet in length; good for canoes, furniture, masts and paddles.

Jayunlagu: it is of the same size and use as the preceding.

Dogdug, Dugdug [sic] in Spanish:⁸ there are some that are 3 feet in diameter and 25 feet in length; good for canoes, and furniture.

Lemay, Rima [sic] in Spanish:⁹ it is as tall and has the same uses as the Dugdug.

Gonag, Banalo in Spanish:¹⁰ it is 1 foot in diameter and 12 feet in length; good for furniture.

1 Ed. note: For further information on woods, see Safford's comments on Governor Perez' list, under 1848.

2 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Intsia bijuga*.

3 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Terminalia catappa*.

4 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Calophyllum inophyllum*.

5 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

6 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Heritiera littoralis*.

7 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Premna odorata/gaudichaudii/integrifolia*.

8 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Artocarpus communis*.

9 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Artocarpus incisa*.

10 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Cordia subcordata*.

Ninayag: it is 1-1/2 feet in diameter and 15 feet in length; it is good for frame timbers and furniture; its bark is good to cure leather.

Ahaban: it is 1 foot in diameter and 15 feet in length; it is good for furniture and hand-spikes.

Chopag:¹ it is of the same size and use as the preceding.

Chorgu:² it is 1 foot in diameter and 13 feet in length; it is good for furniture.

Jagu, [or *Hayu*, or *Hayun-lago*]: it is 1 foot in diameter and 20 feet in length; it is good for furniture.

Lalanyug:³ it is 1 foot in diameter and 12 feet in length; it is good for furniture.

Panao: it is 1-1/2 feet in diameter and 15 feet in length; it is good for furniture.

Puting, Bonete de Frayle in Spanish:⁴ there are some of 2 feet in diameter and 15 feet in length; it is good for knees and frame timbers.

Pago, Balibago [Hibiscus] in Spanish:⁵ it is 1 foot in diameter and 10 feet in length; it is good for frame timbers and curves; its bark is good for ropes.

Junig:⁶ it is of the size of the Balibago, and good for frame timbers and curves.

Nonag:⁷ there are some as many as 3 feet in diameter and 24 feet in length; it is good for canoes; its fruit gives an oil that is appropriate for paint.

...

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 September 1832.

Francisco Ramón de Villalobos.

P.S. At present, the plantations in the Swamp Valley to the east of Agaña are well on the way, and the day after tomorrow the construction of the bridges over the streams of Pigu, Maso, and Sasa will begin.

16 March 1833.

Villalobos.⁸

1 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Ochrocarpus obovalis*.

2 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Glochidion marianus*.

3 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Xylocarpus granatum*.

4 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Barringtonia speciosa*.

5 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Pariti tiliacium*.

6 Ed. note; Scientific name: *Tournefortia argentea*.

7 Ed. note: Scientific name: *Hernandia peltata*.

8 Ed. note: As an attachment, he had a detailed plan for the construction of a fort at Apaga Point near Agat. The original design has been lost. The dimensions of this proposed fort are not given in the text, but the total budget was 80,000 pesos.

Document 1832I

The Planter, Captain Fraser

Source: Nautical Magazine, vol. 3 (1834): pp. 74-76.

Discovery of William the Fourth Group of Islands, Pacific Ocean**Interview with the Natives of the Royalist Group... Passage from Australia to India—By Captain Fraser, of the Ship Planter.**

All the Caroline Islands appear to be inhabited, even down to the most inconsiderable. In my last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, when standing across the Carolines with a scant trade [wind], I fell in with a dangerous small group of islets, reefs, and rocks not noticed in the charts. It is situated in lat. 6°45' N and long. 157°59'E, and I named it William the Fourth Group.¹ The **Barwell's** track, in which vessel they saw no islands, is given over the very spot; but the **Barwell** must have been considerably out in her longitude.² I passed these at day-break, and stood on upon a wind, without seeing any thing more that day.

On the following afternoon I saw the Royalist Group.³ Being anxious to know the extent of the dangers about these islands before sunset, I stood towards the small ones composing the group, and discovered what appeared to be some numerous detached rocks amongst the extensive coral reefs. Some of these rocks becoming very sensibly more distinct to the eye, I directed the telescope to one of the objects, and at the same moment had the misfortune to lose the field glass overboard. But I afterwards made it out to be a vessel under sail, and I began to suspect that I might be deceived in the other rocks. By watching attentively, I soon found that my conjectures were very reasonable, for they were vessels, some of them rapidly approaching us.

As I had now no glass to ascertain the number of natives in them, I deemed it prudent to make preparation for any hostilities, in case they were numerous, and I there-

1 Ed. note: Ant Atoll, near the south coast of Pohnpei.

2 Ed. note: The author is probably referring to the Norie Chart on which is shown the track of the **Barwell**, Captain Cameron, in 1798.

3 Ed. note: Losap Atoll.

fore ordered up the small arms, cartouches, &c., had the long guns loaded with grape, and the usual directions given to the people as to their preconcerted stations and duty. By the time these things were done, and the hatches battened down, one of the vessels had approached near enough to relieve us from our fear of being overpowered by numbers, for it was no more than a flying proa. These proas are formed the same at each end, thus having no occasion to tack. They have a large mat sail, easily shifted on changing the vessel's course, and by which they may sail within six points of the wind. The sail being large, and the proas narrow, they are obliged to use double [sic] outriggers, to give them sufficient stability. Two of the crew were at this time sitting out on the weather outrigger. They were only four altogether in it, although it might have contained a dozen.

The natives evinced great timidity in approaching us closely, but, by showing them white cloth, or calico, of which these islanders are always very desirous, they were induced to come under our stern, and hang on by a rope, without venturing on board. They tendered us some fresh water, but, as it appeared they were short of it themselves, we filled up their calabash, and returned it to them, to their evident astonishment. They next offered us some of their food, which seemed to be Guinea corn macerated, and with it a drink made of some milky grain fermented. We returned the compliment, by presenting them with some of our own provision; but we each seemed doubtful of the wholesomeness of the other's viands. For my part, I strongly suspected that the operation of preparing this drink has been performed by the teeth of some of their brown damsels on shore; for I well remember, that, on the east coast of Africa, where the natives use a great quantity of a similar appearance, they affirm that it is worthless if prepared in any other way. This was quite sufficient, and we therefore handed their present back to them, with our own. They had two or three shells, a cocoa-nut or two, for which, and some of their beads, formed from fish-bones, and coarse grass-cloth garments worn round the middle, I gave them a calico sheet, and some empty glass bottles, which must delighted them. The bottles they, no doubt, imagined were a more curious kind of calabash than their trees produce. These islands not being volcanic, like the William the Fourth Islands, but of coral formation, of course they cannot have any thing vitreous like lava, neither can they have flint to form their proas with; and as for tools, nails, or iron of any description, the natives did not shew any anxiety to possess them. I handed them down a piece of tortoise-shell, and endeavored, by gestures, to give them an idea of the value we attach to it, assuming for a certainty that those extensive reefs, with the two white sandy beaches, must abound with turtle, but my attempts were useless; they either understood me not, or their islands do not possess the wealth I had imagined.

Night coming on, we bade adieu to our visitors, endeavoring all in our power to leave the most favorable impression upon their minds with regard to the manners of white people. It is much to be desired, that others of the same pretensions to this title as ourselves, would be as careful to do likewise, for I believe there are too many who, frequenting these seas, consider these poor simple creatures as savages, but who, from their treatment of them, are far more deserving of the appellation.

They are stout and well formed, more athletic than the Malay, and better framed than the Negro. They are of a copper color, and possess generally an agreeable countenance. Their hair (if hair it is) is so much matted together with an unguent preparation of different-colored ochres, that it would be hard to say whether it was straight or woolly. The same race of people inhabits the whole of these islands from the Pellews to the Radick chain. They are also precisely the same as I have traded with at New Britain, and, as far as I can judge from the little experience which a few voyages in those seas may give, it seems to me, by comparing some words, that they all speak a language very similar; a language as limited as their wants.

...

Note 1832J

The whaler **Ploughboy**, Captain Nathan Chase

Note in American Neptune

Source: Note by Paul R. Maloney, published in the American Neptune (1961).

Whaler **Ploughboy**

Fragment of whaler **Ploughboy owned by the contributor who would like to know where the rest of the log is.**

Officers and Crew of the Ship **Ploughboy**

Sailed from Nantucket Bar on a whaling voyage September 26th, 1830:

Nathan Chase—Commander

William Jay [rather Gray]—First Mate

James H. Briggs—Second Mate

Louis Monto—Third Mate

Henry Coffin—First Boatsteerer

etc.

William Holding—run away at **Guam**

...

The **Ploughboy** arrived at Nantucket Bar March 3rd 1834 with Nineteen Hundreds Barrels sperm oil, started home with 2600 Barrels, 700 Leakage.

Captured 89 Whales the largest whale made 125 Barrels oil. The Crew when settled with were each \$17.00 in debt to the owner.¹

¹ Ed. note: There are two logbooks for this voyage, kept by the First Mate, but the years 1831 and 1832 are missing; they are now kept in the Kendall Museum in Sharon, Massachusetts (ref. Log Inv. 3944-45).

Note 1832K

The whaler Hashmy, Captain Harwood, stopped at Namoluk

Sources: Columbia Centinel, Boston, Nov. 20, 1833; copied in the Niles' Weekly Register, Baltimore, Nov. 30, 1833; quoted in Gerard Ward's American Activities in the Central Pacific, under Namoluk 1.

Note: From entries in Jones' Ships, it appears that the Hashmy may have left London late in 1829 (as she was seen at Coupang in March 1830), under a Captain Cook, who was next reported as having drowned; then in October 1830, she was reported at Guam, under a Captain Daniels; her next departure (from London?) was in July 1831, because she was reported as 17 months out, in December 1832, and her captain was then Harwood.

New [sic] Group of Islands

A Sydney paper contains the following particulars respecting a group of islands discovered [sic] by Capt. Harwood, of the **Hasmy**, whaler, extracted from the log of that ship:

*"In coming down from Japan, fell in with a group of islands, not laid down in the charts, in latitude 5°45' north, and 152°35' east longitude,—about fifty miles N.W. of Young William's [Mortlock] Islands; the tops of the trees on the islands were visible a considerable distance at sea. I had the crew of the **Hashmy** on them, refreshing, who were treated with great kindness by the natives. The islands are very thickly inhabited, with plenty of cocoa nuts, vegetables, and such refreshments as are necessary for crews coming from Japan with the scurvy. There is also an excellent harbor on the eastern part of Young William's Islands."*

Note 1832M

The whaler **Australian**, Captain Edward Cattlin

Six whaling voyages by Edward Cattlin.

Source: Note from JPH, vol. 5.

Among the Mitchell Library's most interesting acquisitions in 1969 were two volumes appropriately sewn in sailcloth bindings, containing journals kept by Edward Cattlin, during six whaling voyages between 1827 and 1836 from Port Jackson northwards to Japan and eastwards to New Zealand.

During the first two voyages, August 1827 to May 1828 and September 1828 to May 1829, Cattlin served as mate on the ship **John Bull** and the barque **Alfred**. On the later voyages he was master, first of the barque **Australian** on two voyages, December 1829 to February 1831 and August 1831 to March 1833, then of the brig **Genii** on the voyages of December 1834 to March 1836 and May to November 1836.

The first two journals describe voyages centering in the waters around the Solomons and New Hebrides. On the third and fifth voyages the ships concerned sailed first towards New Zealand and covered a wider area, on the third cruising in the vicinity of the Kermadec Islands, **Gilbert** and Ellice Islands, Tonga, Rotuma, New Caledonia, the Solomons and New Hebrides, and on the fifth leaving out Tonga and New Caledonia but visiting **Nauru**. On the fourth and longest voyage Cattlin took the **Australian** as far as the coastal waters of Japan; on the final voyage the **Genii** went only to Otago and from there returned directly to Port Jackson.

Documents 1833A

Correspondence of Governor Villalobos in 1833

Source: Lieut. William E. Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

A1. Foreigners expelled from Guam in 1833
Mariana Islands.

List of the foreign individuals boarding the sloop **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores**, alias **Perdurable**, and the frigate of Captain Hao [sic]:¹

Aboard the sloop:

| Name & Nationality | Status/Years ² /Local children | Trade/Job they do. |
|---|---|--------------------|
| Leonard Reras(?), French | Married/12/2 | Seaman. |
| Antonio de la Asunción, Port. | Married/9/6 | Seaman. |
| James Wilson, English | Married/6/3 | Seaman. |
| John Alstron, English | Single/6+/- | Pilot. |
| Edward [blank], English | Single/1-1/2 yrs/- | Seaman. |
| Hermenegildo de los Reyes, from Acapulco | Single/2/- | Seaman. |
| Bautista Corto, Port. | Single/6/- | Seaman. |

Aboard the frigate of Captain Hao [sic]:

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|---------|
| William Watkins, English | Married/7/3 | Seaman. |
|--------------------------|-------------|---------|

-
- 1 Ed. note: This was Captain R. T. Howe of the whaler **Lloyds**, on his return voyage from the Japan Ground. He had already visited Guam in 1831.
 - 2 Years that they have been here.

Notes.

The four individuals on the list who are single have remained here during my time as Navy Commander, because some of them were for a time part of the crew of said sloop, and others because they believed that they had not been discharged, and all in the service of Don José de Medinilla, the owner of said sloop.

A2. Proposal to abolish the College of San Juan de Letrán, cont'd

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Acompaño adjunto à manos de V.E. el acuerdo que celebró en 18 de Febrero del año anterior para la designacion de precios à los efectos del Colegio de San Juan de Letran en beneficio del nuevo Establecimiento segun pareció à la Junta que presidi à el intento.

Por las razones que elevé al Superior conocimiento de V.E. con fecha 16 de Noviembre de 1831 y demas que expondré, opino conviene la supresion del referido establecimiento. Los niños que entran en él olvidan muy pronto la miseria y la pobreza de sus casas, se habituan en los cinco, seis ó mas años que permanecen en el Colegio à buena comida, vestido y casa, no aprenden oficio con que subsistir despues, y se acostumbran à no trabajar. No habiendo en el Establecimiento un segundo de las circunstancias necesarias que sustituya al Rector cuando este sale ó bien para estar en la noche, son consiguientes y presumibles los desordenes de la educacion de tales niños y todo conspira à que à la salida de estos de aquel establecimiento solo se obtengan jovenes sin aplicacion, sin oficio, y tanto mas perjudiciales, quanto mas despavilados [sic = despavoneados?] sean como la experiencia de que en poco mas de un año de mi ingreso en este mando, he tenido que imponer algunos castigos correccionales à varios ex-colegiales.

Si por otra parte se atiende à que los objetos piadosos de aquel Establecimiento pueden conseguirse viviendo los niños en sus casas y concurriendo à la enseñanza de un Maestro segun se verifica en las Provincias de Filipinas, creo no cabrá duda de que el Colegio de San Juan de Letrán es graboso y perjudicial y que con su supresion pueden lograrse las ventajas que propuse en la mencionada fecha.

Todo lo que me ha parecido de mi deber hacer presente à V.E. para la determinacion que sea de su superior agrado y ruego à Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 9 de Febrero de 1833.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Please find attached the agreement that took place on 18 February of last year for the valuation of the effects of the College of San Juan de Letrán for the credit of the new Establishment, in accordance with a decision made by the Board that I chaired for this purpose.

For the reasons that I submitted to the Superior knowledge of Y.E., dated 16 November 1831,¹ and other that I will mention, I think convenient the suppression of the above-mentioned establishment. The boys who enter it forget very rapidly the misery and poverty of their homes, they get used, during the five, six or more years that they stay in the College, to good food, clothing and lodging; they do not learn a trade with which to sustain themselves afterwards, and they get used not to work. Since there is no second person in charge of the establishment, when the Rector goes out, or else, because it is nighttime, it is no wonder that there occur there some disorders in the education of those boys and everything conspires to make them, when they leave that establishment, into youths who are without application, without a trade, and they are the more harmful, when they have been brought down from their pedestal(?), as experience has shown during the little more than one year that I have taken over this government; I have had to impose a few correctional punishments on various former college boys.

If, on the other hand, it is possible to attend to the pious objectives of that Establishment by having the boys live at home and going to school to learn from a Teacher, as is done in the Provinces of the Philippines, I believe that there should be no doubt that the College of San Juan de Letrán is a burden and harmful and that its suppression may bring the advantages that I proposed earlier.

All of which it seemed to me my duty to bring to the attention of Y.E. for your superior decision and I pray God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 9 February 1833.

Excellency.

Francisco Vollalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A3. Regarding public works in Agaña

Original text in Spanish.

En los sitios bajos de esta ciudad he formado regatas para el desagüe de ella y el resultado corresponde vellisimamente à mis miras y vehementes deseos por su beneficio. Se han regularizado las margenes del rio que corre à lo largo de ella y compuesto uno de sus puentes. Se han hecho tambien algunos reparos en el Cuartel de la tropa, calabozos, y Casas Reales. Procuero infundir en todos los sentimientos de pureza y justicia

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1831C4.

que por la divina misericordia me son caracteristicos. Reina la mayor paz, gracias à Dios: yo vivo sin reparo padeciendo frecuentes pervigilios y dolores de cabeza y muelas, y dedicando el dia y la noche à el mas exacto cumplimiento de mis deberes; no tengo propiedad alguna de ninguna clase; sacrifico casi todo mi sueldo para mi subsistencia, y obsequio de cuantas personas las circunstancias lo exigen; en las dudas, y no habiendo à quien consultar, me inclino à lo mejor, esperando siempre de la benignidad de V.E. y demas tribunales en superior aprobacion, ó por lo menos su indulgencia si hubiese padecido ó padeciese equivocacion en alguna cosa.

Estoy dispuesto à sacrificar tambien toda mi salud y aun mi existencia si fuere necesario para que tengan el mas cumplido efecto las piadosas intenciones de S.M. y de V.E. por la felicidad de estos paises tantos años hace (repito) victimas de la opresion y de la codicia.

Esto es en resumen, Excmo. Sor., el estado en que se encuentra ... hubiera deseado inhibirme de hablar de tales ... y que otras personas informaran por mi à V.E. de los ... que abrazo en el anterior relato, restandome solo suplicar à V.E. segun lo verifico con el mayor rendimiento se digne estar bien satisfecho de estas verdades interin lo hago à Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 18 de Marzo de 1833.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

In the lower parts of this city I have had some ditches dug for drainage purposes and the result corresponds very well to my expectations and my best wishes for its welfare. The banks of the river that runs through the whole of it have been regularized and one of the bridges was repaired. A few repairs were also made in the military barracks, jails, and Royal houses. I try and inculcate in everyone the feelings of purity and justice that, thank God, are part of my character. The best peace possible prevails, thank God. I cannot help but live with frequent insomnias and headaches brought on by tooaches, but I dedicate day and night to the most exact accomplishment of my duties. I have no property of any kind. I spent most of my salary on my subsistence, and gifts made to as many persons as circumstances dictate. When I have doubts, in the absence of an adviser, I choose what is best, banking as always on the kindness and approbation of Y.E. and of the other tribunals, or at least your indulgence, should there be some error committed in anything.

I am also ready to sacrifice my entire health and even my life if necessary to put into effect the pious intentions of H.M. and of Y.E. for the happiness of the people of this country who have been for so many years victims of oppression and greed.

This is in a nutshell, Your Excellency, the present condition of ... [the Islands] ... although I should have kept quiet about such ... [personal matters] but other persons might report to Y.E. about the ... [actions] that I have touched upon in my preceding

remarks.¹ There remains only for me to beg Y.E., as I humbly do now, to please be well satisfied of the truth of my statements. In the meantime, I pray God our Lord to save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 18 March 1833.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A4. Population census of the Marianas, as of 31 December 1832

General census of the inhabitants of these Islands, by town, civil status, and sex.

| Town | Men (able-bodied) | Old men & boys | Women & girls | Total | Previously 14 Nov. '31 | +/- |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------|---------------------------|------|
| Agaña | 986 | 1234 | 2142 | 4362 | 4137 | -225 |
| Anigua | 44 | 83 | 119 | 246 | 234 | -12 |
| Asan | 39 | 47 | 69 | 155 | 158 | +3 |
| Tepungan | 19 | 9 | 29 | 57 | 56 | -1 |
| Sinajaña | 40 | 58 | 79 | 177 | 172 | -5 |
| Mungmung | 20 | 10 | 38 | 68 | 74 | +8 |
| Agat | 42 | 53 | 123 | 218 | 222 | +4 |
| Umata | 47 | 64 | 109 | 220 | 206 | +14 |
| Merizo | 70 | 92 | 157 | 319 | 295 | -24 |
| Ynarajan | 46 | 66 | 132 | 244 | 246 | +2 |
| Pago | 53 | 65 | 126 | 244 | 249 | +5 |
| Rota | 127 | 86 | 225 | 438 | 432 | -6 |
| Total general: | 1,533 | 1,867 | 3,348 | 6,748 | 6,481 | |

San Ignacio of Agaña, 31 December 1832.
Francisco Villalobos

¹ Ed. note: He probably expected the Recollect Fathers to object strongly to the suppression of the college.

A5. Some court cases handled in 1833—The conspiracy of 1829, cont'd

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

En 24 de Octubre de 1831 con el n° 41 y reservado, tube el honor de elevar al superior conocimiento de V.E. el modo de enjuiciarse los expedientes y procesos en este Juzgado hasta mi ingreso en el mismo suplicando à V.E. por la paz de Marianas las medidas que me parecieron entonces de prudencia. Posteriormente los acusados por D. José Medinilla de conspiracion en Mayo de 1829 clamaron unanimes porque los defendiese en el proceso instruido contra los mismos; y como considerase propio de mi deber acudir à las suplicas de tales infelices, lo he verificado, y no he podido menos à este intento de justificar mucho de lo que manifesté à V.E. en el parte arriba citado, y solo lo absolutamente preciso à la defensa de dichos acusados, sintiendo que esta circunstancia me haya obligado à patentizar asuntos que deseaba reservar.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vidia de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 21 de Marzo de 1833.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

On 24 October 1831, under Confidential n° 41, I had the honor to bring to the superior attention of Y.E. the manner with which the legal case files and proceedings of this tribunal were being administered before the beginning of my term, and begging Y.E., for the sake of peace in the Marianas, for measures that seemed to me then prudent ones. Later on, those accused of conspiracy by Don José Medinilla in May 1829 unanimately submitted a claim for me to defend them during the process intended against them; and as I considered it my duty to accede to the petitions of such unhappy people, I have done so, and the review has led me to become even more convinced of what I told Y.E. in the above-mentioned report, and I now feel that this circumstance allows me to speak openly of matters which I then wished to keep confidential.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 21 March 1833.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A6. Some court cases—Governor Medinilla's property embargoed

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

En cumplimiento de cuanto V.E. tubo á bien prevenirme con fecha 16 de Agosto de 1831 elevo al Superior conocimiento de V.E. lo que sigue:

*El Licenciado D. Ramon Fernandez de Luna dió principio á su Comision tan luego que llegó á esta Capital: la ha desempeñado á satisfaccion de justicia; y segun el concepto que mereció á V.E. para su eleccion, por lo que me parece del caso hacer en su obsequio las recomendaciones que esten al alcance de este Gobierno para nuevas comisiones de importancia que esa Superioridad guste encargarlo. Ha secuestrado los bienes que ha conceptuado pertenecer á D. José de Medinilla, entre ellos la Balandra **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (a) la Perdurable**, en que marchan ademas de su tripulacion seis presos dependientes del proceso indicado y para escoltarlos lo verifican tambien el Sargento 1º Bernardino Lizama, el Cabo 2º Nicolas Dueñas, y cuatro soldados Juan de Torres, Juan Lizama, Gregorio de los Santos y Juan José Agüero de esta dotacion, cuyos sueldos suplico á V.E. tenga á bien providenciar les sean abonados en esa Capital desde 1º de Junio proximo venidero, pues los de Abril y Mayo los reciben ya sus sueldos en esta.*

Como las atenciones del Real servicio en estas no permiten la falta de dichas plazas, me veo en la precision de poner sobre las armas para remplazarles á un Cabo y cinco soldados de la Compañia de milicias disciplinadas del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria, cuyos sueldos serán ascenso de gastos sobre el situado de Marianas y les serán satisfechos al nivel de los de esta dotacion, interin recibo contestacion del Señor Subinspector del arma de las cantidades justas que les corresponden, mediante á que aunque esa Superioridad tubo á bien decretar que las prestaciones de estos individuos fuesen iguales á los de los demas milicianos del arma, ignoro todavia cuales sean estos. Para poner sobre las armas dichos milicianos del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria alternarán por meses todos los individuos de la Compañia con el objeto de atender á la mejor distribucion del servicio entre ellos con ventaja de su instruccion, y ahorrar la asamblea anual, puesto que el mes que estén bajo las armas bastará para el intento.

La buena proporcion que ofrece la Balandra para la traslacion de presos á esa Capital y la necesidad de remitirla hace deba salir esta dentro del mas corto plazo posible, y como no hay Pilotos Españoles van en esta clase un Ynglés que estaba encargado por D. José de Medinilla y ademas otro de la propia nacion que hice salir en el año proximo pasado y acaba de llegar en una fragata ballenera con el intento de sacar de aqui á su muger y familia, y ha convenido conmigo en pasar á esa con dicha su esposa y dos hijos á suplicar de V.E. la gracia de radicacion para esta Ysla, ó cualquiera otro punto de ese archipiélago, á que si V.E. lo tuviese á bien lo considero acreedor, igualmente que á los individuos de la misma tripulacion: Santiago Wilson, Ynglés, y Antonio de la Asunción, Portugués, cuyas solicitudes habiendome sido presentados las dirijo ad-

juntas à manos de V.E. para la resolucion que sea de su Superior agrado, añadiendo à Leonarda Reras [sic] en el propio caso que los tres antes dichos, en atencion à que estos individuos casados en el Pais hace mucho tiempo son de caracter pacifico, buena conducta, trabajadores, y jamas han dado que hacer lo mas pequeño à este Gobierno; y finalmente ... de conspiracion intentada en esta Capital ... en Mayo de 1829 ha sido una calumnia tan ... [fomen-] tada por D. José Medinilla que solo viendo la causa nuevamente instruida y sus incidentes podia ser desvanecida totalmente.

Hubiera deseado proporcionarle embarque à dicho comisionado y presos en otro buque, y al intento he rogado sin efecto à dos Capitanes de Fragatas Balleneras que hasta ahora se hayan presentado; y como no espero otra proporcion en los pocos días que restan para la salida de la Balandra, opino será indispensable marche tambien en esta el Comisionado referido.

Quedan estas Yslas por la divina misericordia en la mayor paz y tranquilidad quien el Señor no vuelva à ellas ningun genio que la perturbe y que tengan ya fin tantos enredos como las han agitado, especialmente de veinte ó mas años à esta parte.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 27 de Marzo de 1833.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

In compliance with what Y.E. was pleased to advise me, in your communication dated 16 August 1831, I bring to the Superior attention of Y.E. the following:

Licentiate Ramón Fernandez de Luna began his Commission as soon as he arrived at this Capital. He has carried it out to the satisfaction of justice, and thus has deserved the expectation of Y.E. when you selected him; Hence, it seems to me proper to make the recommendations in his favor that are within the purview of this Government, for any new important commissions that your Superior Government may wish to entrust him with. He has embargoed the property that he thought fit to attribute to Don José de Medinilla, among other, the sloop **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, alias La Perdurable**, aboard which, in addition to her crew, are six prisoners involved in the above-mentioned case, and to escort them, there are also Sergeant 1st class Bernardino Lizama, Corporal 2nd class Nicolás Dueñas, and four soldiers: Juan de Torres, Juan Lizama, Gregorio de los Santos, and Juan José Aguero, belonging to this garrison, whose salaries I beg Y.E. to please arrange to be paid in that Capital, for the period beginning on the first of next June, since they have already received here their pay for April and May.

Given that the needs of the Royal service in these Islands do not permit any vacancies in said positions, I see myself obliged to enroll, in order to fill them, one Corporal and five soldiers of the Urban Militia, already trained as artillerymen, whose salaries

will be an increase in the expenditures made with the subsidy of the Marianas, as they will be paid the same as those of this garrison, until such time as I receive an answer from His Lordship the Sub-inspector of the Artillery branch, about the sums that can justly be said to correspond to them; indeed, although that Superior government has decreed that the pay of these individuals were to be the same as that of the other militiamen belonging to the branch, I still do not know what pay rates are those. To place said militiamen belonging to the Royal Corps of Artillery under arms, all the individuals of the Company will take turns monthly, for the purpose of better distributing the service among them, with the benefit of their being trained, thus doing away with the one month of intensive training that they serve once a year for this purpose.

The good opportunity that the sloop offers for the transport of the prisoners to that Capital and the need to remit her, dictate that she should depart as soon as possible. And, as there is no Spanish pilots, she has on board her in that capacity an Englishman who held this post under Don José de Medinilla, and another Englishman who had been expelled by me last year but has just returned aboard a whaling ship for the purpose of taking his wife and family away; he has agreed with me to go back overthere, with his wife and two children, to beg Y.E. for the favor of allowing to settle in this Island, or any other place of that archipelago, a favor which I beg Y.E. to please grant him as I consider him deserving of same, as well as the individuals of the same crew: James Wilson, Englishman, and Antonio de la Asucioón, Portugues, whose petitions had been presented me and am forwarding to Y.E. (attached) for the decision that may be of your Superior pleasure. I add that Leonard Reras [sic] finds himself in the same situation as the three above-mentioned, that is, they are all married locally and have been here for many years; they are peaceful in character, have a good conduct, are good workers, and they have have never caused the least bit of trouble to this Government, and finally .. [with regards to the case of] conspiracy intended by them in this Capital on ... May 1829, that has been a calumny so ... [falsely] fomented by Don José de Medinilla, which one would have only to review as to its cause and its incidents, for it to be rejected entirely.

It would have been desirable for said Commissioner not to travel aboard the same ship as the prisoners, and I had begged the Captains of the two whaling ships that have arrived so far this season to do me the favor, but without effect; and, since I do not expect another opportunity to arise within the few days remaining before the departure of the sloop, I think that it will be necessary for the Commissioner to go in her as well.

These Islands are enjoying the greatest peace and tranquillity possible, thanks be to God. May He prevent any evil genius from returning here to disturb the peace, and may this be the final episode of so many agitations that they have suffered under, specially during the last 20 or more years.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 27 March 1833.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A7. List of things remitted to Manila by Governor Villalobos in March 1833

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

A cargo del Sargento 1º de esta dotacion Bernardino Lizama y en la Balandra Dolores [sic] dirijo à manos de V.E. un cajon largo que contiene lo siguientes:

Muestras del carbon de tierra de Dandan, Tachofia y Alluja;

Una almeja de exterior escamado y extraño al parecer petrificacion hallada en el puerto de Apra;

Un caracol grande de color encarnado y poco comun procedente de Carolinas;

Otro pequeño encontrado en la bahia de Agat de los llamados de arpa de mayor magnitud, particular extrañeza, y aun con mejores colores que los pocos que se encuentran de su clase;

Un tubo de caña con los croquis y demas documentos de que tengo el honor de hablar à V.E. en oficio de 16 de actual;

*Un legajo de todos los documentos pertenecientes à la Goleta presa antes llamada **Constitucion**, y ahora Nuestra Señora de Buen Viaje (a) la Bienvenida;*

Un lio en que va embuelta la camisa del difunto Julian Atoigue muerto violentamente la noche del 7 al 8 de Junio proximo pasado con el machete, baina, y cinturon del agresor Artillero José Cepeda, cuyo individuo bien asegurado marcha en la propia Balandra, en union con el proceso y su sentencia à disposicion del Señor Subinspector del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria;

Un pliego con sobre à V.E. y bien sellado en todos lados en lacre con la cifra V que contiene toda la correspondencia de este Gobierno à esa Superioridad;

Otro con sobre al Señor Subinspector del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria y sellos iguales y si la correspondencia que dirijo à su Señoria como Comandante del Arma en esas Islas.

Quiera el Señor llegue todo felizmente à manos de V.E. y ruego à Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 27 de Marzo de 1833.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Under the care of Sergeant 1st class Bernardino Lizama, and aboard the sloop **Dolores**, I remit to Y.E. one big crate containing the following:

- Samples of the local coal found at Dandan, Tachoña, and Alluya;¹
- One clam, with ridges on the outside, and strange; it looks like a fossil; it came from the port of Apra;
- One big spiraled sea-shell, red in color, and a rare specimen from the Carolines;
- Another, smaller, sea-shell found in the Bay of Agat, of the type they call harp shells, but larger and very rare, and even with better colors than the few that are normally found of this type;
- One bamboo tube containing the sketches and other documents that I have the honor to mention to Y.E. in my communication of the 16th instant;
- One bundle with all the documents regarding the schooner, formerly called [Bella] **Constitución**, and now called **Nuestra Señora de Buen Viaje, alias La Bienvenida**.

—One package containing the shirt of the late Julián Atoigue, killed violently on the night from the 7th to the 8th of June of last year, along with the machete, sheath, and belt of the sassailant, Artilleryman José Cepeda; said individual, in irons, is also aboard said sloop, along with his case file and sentence, to be placed at the disposal of His Lordship the Sub-inspector of the Royal Corps of Artillery.

—One packet of letter inside an envelope addressed to Y.E., well sealed on all sides with sealing-wax, and marked with the letter V, containing all the correspondence from this Government to that Superior Government;

—Another packet with an envelope addressed to His Lordship the Sub-inspector of the Royal Corps of Artillery, with the same seals, but containing the correspondence that I address to His Lordship as Commander of the Branch in those Islands.

May the Lord grant that the whole gets to the hands of Y.E. and I pray God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 27 March 1833.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A8. U.S. schooner going to Manila with the Spanish mail

*Note: This schooner was, in fact, the brig *Spy of Salen* (see Doc. 1833C).*

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

1 Ed. note: The Alluja sample came from the source of the Alluya River, to the west of Talisay, which is in the hills SE of Agat, I think.

Acaba de presentarse en este instante aqui una goleta Anglo Americana con direccion à esa Capital y como su permanencia en esta solo es por momentos para hacer media docena de Barriles de agua, aprovecho la ocasion de manifestar à V.E. mis vehementes deseos por su importante salud y vida, y asi lo pide al Señor este su mas humilde subordinado,

*La Balandra Española **Perdurable** embargada al Señor Medinilla salió de esta isla hacia el mismo destino en primero de Abril del presente año; y en ella el Letrado D. Ramón Fernandez de Luna con el proceso concluido de su comision, siete presos, y la Escolta de un Sargento, un Cabo y cuatro soldados. Diriji en ella à manos de V.E. con el mismo una larga correspondencia los planos de esta isla de algunos fondeaderos, y un proyecto de fortificacion para la seguridad de ella.*

*El Bergantin **Legazpi** procedente de Manila con un rico cargamento llegó à esta el 6 de Junio; dejó parte de él para su venta y marchó para San Duwich [sic] en primeros de Julio.*

Reina por la divina misericordia en estas Yslas la mayor paz y tranquilidad dedicados sus habitantes à el fomento de su riqueza: ayer se ha principiado à roturar para siembra de palay la gran ciénaga de Atantano, y me prometo mediante el favor de Dios que dentro de un par de años no necesitará Guajan le venga este articulo de afuera.

He hecho sembrar algodon; se perdieron las primeras siembras; pero repetiré repetiré hasta que puedan salir cargamentos y con unos y otros recursos que el pais salga de su miseria.

*En el presente año son las siembras de mayor extension que jamas han sido, con la fortuna de haber sido hasta el dia tambien las cosechas felicisimas, esperandose las que restan en los meses sucesivos por el mismo orden en terminos de que las Yslas Marianas en el dia se hallan surtidas quanto es de apetecer y nunca han visto de viveres, ropas y demas articulos pero el mucho metálico que habia finalizó por los efectos que han comprado del Bergantin **Legazpi**.*

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde muchos años la salud y vida de V.E.

San Ygnacio de Aña 10 [de Diciembre de 1833.]

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

An Anglo-American schooner has just arrived here bound to Manila, and as she is going to stay but a short time, just enough time to take on board half a dozen barrels of water, I take this opportunity to renew to Y.E. my strong wishes for your important health and life, and that is what I, your most humble subordinate, pray God to give you.

The Spanish sloop **Perdurable**, embargoed from Mister Medinilla, left this Island bound for the same place on the 1st of April of the present year; and aboard her went

the Licentiate Don Ramón Fernandez de Luna, having completed the case that was his commission, along with seven prisoners, and the escort of one Sergenat, one Corporal and four soldiers. Aboard her as well was a large correspondence that I remitted to Y.E., with the sketches of this Island, of some of its anchorages, and that of a proposed fort for the its security.

The brig **Legazpi** proceeding from Manila with a rich cargo arrived at this island on 6 June; she left part of it here to be sold, and went on to the Sandwich Islands at the beginning of July.

Through the divine mercy, the greatest peace and tranquillity prevail in these Islands; their inhabitants are free to dedicate themselves to seek their own wealth. Yesterday a beginning was made to clear and reclaim the Atantano swamp, to make a rice plantation there. With God's help, I foresee that in a couple of years, Guam will no longer need to import rice from abroad.

I have caused cotton to be sown, but the first harvests were lost; however, I will repeat the experiment until this article and the previous one can be exported, in order to get this country out of its misery.

This year the areas planted have never been as extensive as at any time in the past. So far the harvests have also been very good. I hope that they will remain as good during the coming months. The Mariana Islands are at present supplied with as much food as can be desired, and so much food, so many clothes and other articles have never been seen, but the large quantity of coins that we had has vanished, on account of the effects that were bought from the brig **Legaspi**.

May God our Lord save for many years the health and life of Y.E.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 10 [December 1833].

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A9. Ships that visited Guam in 1833

Your Excellency:

During this past year the following ships have anchored in these ports:

During the spring monsoon

—11 English whaling frigates.

In June

—The Spanish brigantine **Legazpi** proceeding from Manila.¹

¹ Ed. note: She returned with a new name, Kalaimoku, the following December 1834.

During the fall monsoon

- 14 English whaling frigates.
- An Anglo-American schooner coming from Tahiti and going to Manila.¹
- A Russian brigantine belonging to their government proceeding from Kamchatka.²

Total ships: 28

May God save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 January 1834.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: This was the brig *Spy* of Salem (see Doc. 1833C).

2 Ed. note: She was probably the *Amerika*, Captain Kromchenko, on her return voyage.

Documents 1833B

Correspondence received by Governor Villalobos in 1833

B1. Order against Chinese immigration

Source: Ms. in PNA.

Note: the Royal Order of 6 April 1828 had resulted in many regulations regarding the Chinese residing in the Philippines. They were to be gathered into villages and to pay tributes. Many refused; more than 800 returned to China while others escaped into the mountains. The regulations were eased somewhat in 1834, e.g. the same duties were imposed on Chinese ships as on any other foreign ships, but at the same time Chinese trade was restricted to the Parian, the Chinatown of Manila.

Letter dated 5 October 1833 acknowledging receipt of above order

Your Excellency:

In compliance with the disposition of Y.E. dated 14 February last, no Chinese will enter into these Islands without first having satisfied the requirements imposed by your Superior Government.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 5 October 1833.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

B2. A new form of capital punishment

Source: Agaña archives (1900; now in LC Mss. Div., Spanish Gov't Collection & Safford's Papers.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

He recibido la Real Cédula de 13 de Mayo de 1832 que V.E. tuvo à bien de trasladar con la de 9 de Febrero del presente año relativa à haber mandado el Rey Nuestro Señor (q.D.g.) abolir la pena de muerte en horca y que se sustituya la de garrote ordinario, vil ó noble, segun los casos que ocurran.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida y salud de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 10 de octubre de 1833.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I have received the Royal order dated 13 May 1832 that Y.E. was pleased to forward to me, with a covering letter dated 9 February of this year, regarding the decision of the King our Lord (may God save him) to abolish the death penalty by hanging and to substitute to it that by the ordinary *garrote* [choking collar], for vile or noble alike, depending on the cases that may occur.

May God our Lord save the important life and health of Y.E. for many years.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Document 1833C

Notes on Pohnpei, 1833

Source: Nautical Magazine, 1835, p. 708.

Notes on the Island of Ascension, Pacific

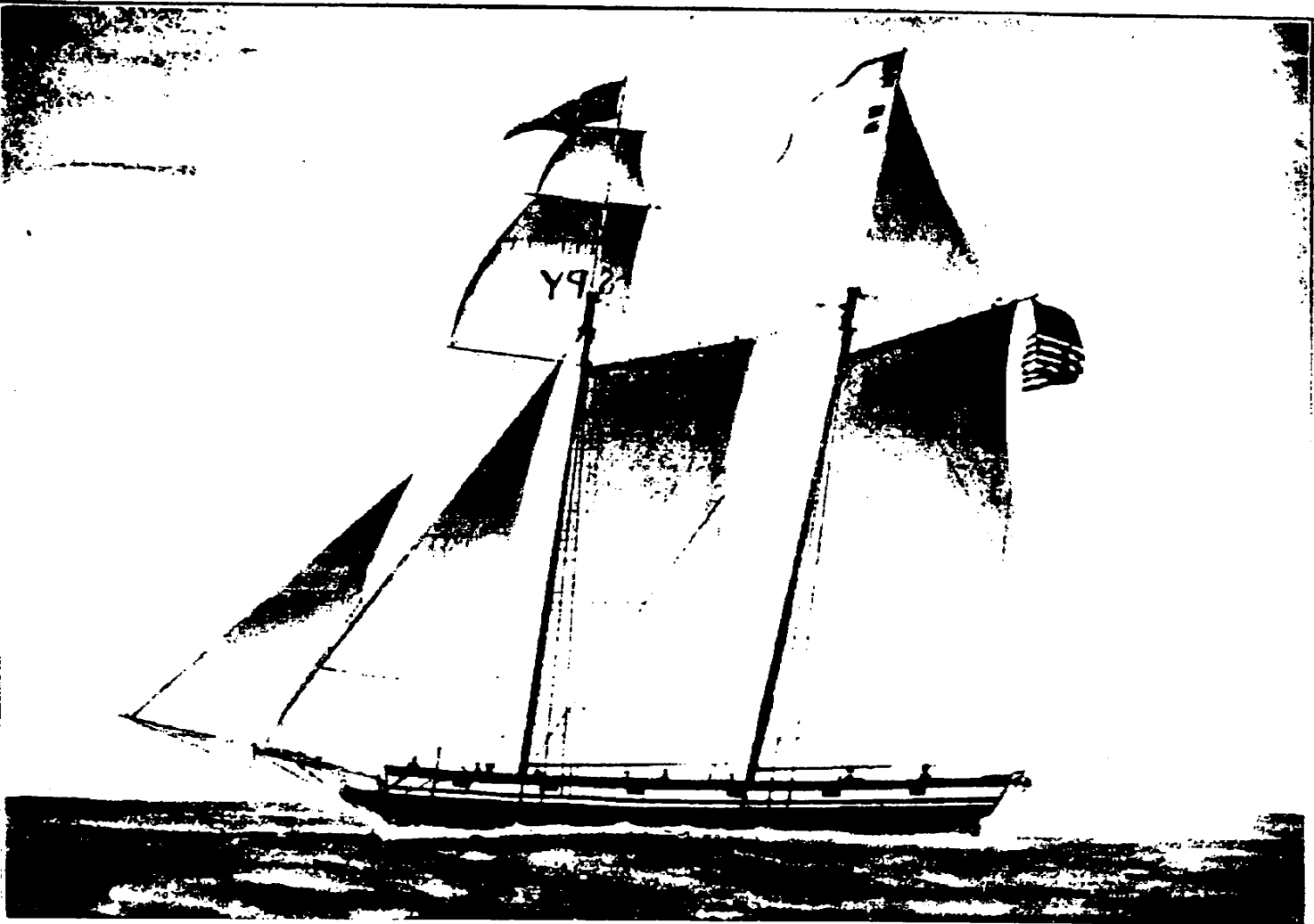
The island of Ascension is in the North Pacific Ocean, very near the equator, being in 6°48' N. lat. and 158°25'E long. It is fine lofty land, and may be seen eight leagues off; is sixty miles in circumference, and contains a capital harbour on the lee side of the island; abounds in fresh water; about 1,000 natives, black colour, but very friendly; plenty of fowls, but no hogs; bread-fruit, yams and taro in abundance.

There have never been more than two ships touch there. There are some volcanic appearances, but mostly coral; no quadrupeds of any kind; plenty of fish and turtle, and a considerable quantity of the hawk-bill variety, might be obtained. Of course, the climate is very hot generally, but **it is an island very well worth the attention of whalers**, and ships navigating to the north of New Holland. The language spoken is peculiar; none of the natives of Tahiti, acting as sailors on board our ship being able to converse with the natives of Ascension. They go quite naked, with the exemption of the maro, usually worn in the tropical islands of the South Seas, round the waist.

Sydney, Dec. 1833.

[Captain] Horton James.¹

1 Ed. note: After some research, I identify this man as the Captain of the Botany Bay ship that visited Pohnpei ten days or so before the brig *Spy* (see Doc. 1833D). His ship was the London whaler named **George Holmes** which left London in January 1832 and returned there in July 1835 (see Jones' Ships).



The brig Spy of Salem. She was sold upon arrival at Manila in January 1834.

Document 1833D

The brig *Spy* of Salem, Captain Knight, visited Pohnpei

Sources: PMB 220, 546; John B. Knights [sic]. "A Journal of a Voyage in the Brig 'Spy' of Salem (1832-1834)." In The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor (Salem, 1925).

The journal of Captain Knight

On the 8th of August, 1832, I sailed from Salem in the brig *Spy*,¹ myself master, bound on a trading voyage among the islands in the Pacific Ocean.

...
I continued peaceably to trade with this interesting people [of Tahiti] until the 4th of September [1833], when I made sail and continued our route toward the Caroline Islands.

[Banaba sighted]

On the 27th of September, in lat. 1.04 S., long. 169.35 East, I saw a small island which was not on any chart. Bowditch, however, lays Gardner's Isle near here, which this must be. From this time until the 9th of November, I was drifting about with W.N.W. and N.W. winds and squalls from the same quarter and never less than a two mile hour current setting me dead to the eastward. In truth, there were times when it appeared that there was small prospect of ever getting to the N.W. I was set 6° dead off and found myself among the Ralick chain of islands which, by the way, are placed wretchedly out of the way in both books and charts, being seventy miles further on the northward than placed.²

[Visit to Pohnpei]

On the 17th of November, I made a large high island, which I presumed to be Ascension, though sixty-five to the westward of its situation on the chart. I had sailed over

-
- 1 The brig *Spy*, 98 tons, was built at Medford, Mass., in 1825, and at first was schooner-rigged. At the time of this voyage she was owned by Stephen C. Phillips.
 - 2 Ed. note: The American charts were inadequate in those days. By the way, it may have been Bowditch who gave the name of Ascension to Pohnpei.

that and saw no other appearance of land than some birds and floating cocoanut trees. The current setting strong to the eastward I steered west and at length saw land. I continued standing off and on for several days without being able to find any opening in the reefs (with which the Island was surrounded) to obtain an anchorage for the vessel. The natives came off, when the weather admitted (I had frequent and very heavy squalls) and some of them brought considerable quantities of [turtle] shell.

On the 20th day, a canoe came off with an Irishman in her,¹ who said he could show me a fine harbour. After assuring him that his life should be the immediate forfeit if he led me into any trap, I followed his directions and found an opening in the reef of 1/4 to 1/2 mile wide, and ran in and anchored in three fathoms in as secure a place as possibly could be. I should think that 150 canoes came to meet me as I rounded the point but I suffered none to come on board. As they were so numerous I fired four guns and being the first vessel, so far, in I named the port New Salem.² Got up my boarding nettings and stationed a sentry on each side the deck and another in the foretop and then commenced trading with the natives who had a great abundance of vegetables, fowls, &c. with a considerable quantity of shell.

The white man told me that a Botany Bay ship left the coast only ten days before,³ after obtaining upwards of seven hundred pounds of shell and in consequence I should find it much scarcer than usual. Very soon, however, a lot of whites came off with a quantity of shell which I purchased. These fellows had been put into the canoes of the natives, by the Botany Bay whalers as they passed the island and undoubtedly were convicts who had hid away on board before the ships sailed, which is often the case. As I thought it probable the interest of my voyage would be forwarded by keeping on the right side of these fellows, who could possibly get more shell, I determined to do so if possible and agreed with them to cut my wood and fill the water casks, which they did and enabled me to keep all my men on board. I found by experience that these natives were great thieves as they were soon trying to draw the iron out of the sides of the vessel. The *whites* assured me that they would steal anything they could lay their hands on. These people were smaller than any I had seen and were about the colour of the Rotumah people. I was so continually surrounded with them as not to be able to leave my vessel at all. Their customs, on shore, I consequently know nothing about. The goodness of their nature and the politeness of their manners may be judged by this account of their treatment of me.

I told the white man who piloted me in and served me also as interpreter, to assure the natives I came among them as a friend; that my intention was to trade with them on *fair terms* and pay them for every thing they brought me which I wanted; and that I expected to receive in return the same treatment; and by all means, for them to be careful never to approach my vessel in the night, as I should in that case certainly fire

1 Ed. note: This was O'Connell (see Doc. 1830I).

2 Ed. note: He was at Metalanim Harbour on the east side of Pohnpei.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1833C.

upon and kill them, which I should be very sorry to be obliged to do. On the third day, I found to my astonishment, they had ripped up and stolen two guard irons from the channels. I again told the interpreter to tell them I should resent this kind of conduct. On the same afternoon, while upwards of a hundred canoes were alongside, and during a heavy fall of rain, the chief mate caught a fellow in the act of stealing another guard iron. He fired a bread fruit at him. On the same instant we were attacked by a shower of stones from their slings. I, being below, seized my pistols and ran to the deck where the stones and spears were flying about like hail.

The 2d officer was at this instant struck down by a stone which hit him on the head and laid him senseless. I lost no time in opening a fire of musketry upon them which soon had the effect desired and caused them to drop off. As they saw some of their number fall they took good care to keep out of reach of the big guns by arranging themselves ahead and astern. When the man on board fell, they set up a shout which lasted till one or two of their number paid for it. By the time they had retreated too far for their stones to reach us our muskets would not go off; in fact, if they had possessed the courage to have pushed on and boarded, it is very doubtful how the fortune of the day would have turned for there were not less than seven hundred natives alongside. When the conflict was over there were a parcel of canoes under the bows,—the natives in them afraid to move. They begged for quarter and protested, they were not concerned. I ordered all away. I found my 2d officer much injured but not seriously so.

On the following day many canoes came alongside. The natives in them did not appear at all intimidated. I could not tell but that part of them were the same fellows who had attacked us the previous day. In the afternoon the King came in a large painted canoe and pulled round and round the vessel and appeared to be afraid to come on board. I ordered him to be called and assured of his safety. He then came on board. He was a miserable looking old fellow and had no particular marks of respect shown him by the other natives. I told him of the manner his subjects had treated me and he answered "they were bad men and I must kill them if they wanted to take the vessel, &c." He made me a present of a mat and a live turtle and some shell. I, also, gave him some trifles. He wanted some rum, of which I had none to give, and he soon left me.

During the following night I was awakened from sleep by a noise similar to that of a rat. I had a lamp *always* burning in my cabin and on drawing aside the curtain, I saw a pole with a hook on it drawing away my clothes, which I had placed on my chest on going to bed. I jumped out not doubting my appearance would startle the fellow. It was bright moonshine and I could see him plainly but instead of drawing away, he seized his spear and was preparing his aim at me through the slatting of my cabin window, when I gave him a shot from one of my pistols. The other fellow with him, backed the canoe astern and was now fired at by the watch on deck. This watch must have been careless not to have seen them before.

The cook and a black sailor, who were both sick, wished to be discharged here and as they were useless fellows I paid them off and took a fellow from shore who had been

cook before and also two others who begged hard to be allowed to work their passages to Manilla.

During the forenoon, while overhauling the muskets, found some one of the whites from shore had stolen one and so I forbid their coming any more on board. At the same time those who were going on the voyage were not to go any more on shore. Little or no trade off that day. Bought a handsome canoe for which I paid a hatchet. Prepared for sea and during this forenoon the natives stole the canoe, which was fastened to the stern by a line. I fired at them but they kept on. I then armed the boat to go after them. No sooner was the boat gone than a large number of war canoes came round the point, sounding their war shouts and steering toward the vessel. I gave them the *bow gun*, elevated over them to cause them to return, but they, finding it did not hurt them, redoubled their shouts and brandishing their spears at us, the boat put back. On the firing of the gun, the jib was hoisted to pay the brig round so that the gun would bear. I gave them a charge of langrage [i.e. grape-shot] and bullets which made things wear a different aspect among them and they stopped short and turned off in a returning direction and after this I saw no more of them for that day.

During this forenoon I saw with much pleasure a bar pass close outside of the reef and in the afternoon her boat pulled in. She proved to be the English bark **Nimrod**, late McCollif [sic], of Sydney. Her master had been killed, with two of his crew, three days previous at McAskill [Pingelap] Island and the present captain informed me he had overheard one of the whites who had come on board his vessel while drunk, tell his people that they,—the white men,—were about joining with the natives to take my vessel. That she was small, had few men, and the *darned Yankees* should not reign king there much longer. This was the reason, he said, he had pulled in. I questioned their power. The captain said that he had left nine here himself, who came off from McAskill's Island and assisted him against the natives and as they were afraid to go back, he agreed to land them here. That all of them had muskets and would without doubt join the others. I knew the rascals were desperate enough for any thing. He advised my endeavouring to get out during the night, but that would have been madness as I could not get through the first reach without a fair wind, and the entrance was not more than a quarter to a half mile wide with the wind blowing dead in. I engaged, however, to get under way and try at daylight and he agreed to lay near in and assist us in case the brig struck.

The night was rainy with heavy squalls from the eastward. At daybreak I hove short and as soon as I could well see got under way, got safe through the first reach but at 8 A.M. struck on a ledge of sunken rocks in the centre of the passage which could not be seen by the lookout aloft. As the sun was low in the horizon and very bright, I hove all aback and prepared to defend the vessel from the natives, who were collected in large numbers on the beach and raising their war shouts in triumph. The vessel rubbed *hard* upon the rocks (which were coral) about five minutes and then she swung round and I once more had charge of her. Until this time I had not seen the bark but in about half an hour she made her appearance, standing in, at 11 A.M. the captain came on board.

We continued beating, in this narrow place, until 1 P.M. without gaining a fathom ahead when providentially a thunder squall came over the island and by keeping all sail on, she went staggering through and once more we were in *deep water*; all hands of us pretty well beat out. We had tacked every ten minutes and had not had time to eat until 3 P.M. I then went on board the other ship and gave the captain a kep of powder for his kindness and returned and then shaped a course for Manilla.

[Short stop at Guam]

On Dec. 7th, 1834 [rather 1833], made the island of Guam,—an island the Spaniards have used as a place on which to put convicts. Ran within a mile of the west side but saw no boats. This island is alid down twenty miles too far eastward.¹

On the 19th of December, hauled into the entrance of St. Bernardino Strait, between the islands of Luconia and Samar.

On the next night, when off the island of Monduque [Marinduque], I was insulted by one of the fellows whom I had taken to work his passage from Ascension. I had been told, the day before, by one of my Portuguese sailors, that he had proposed taking the vessel but could get none of the crew to join him. I therefore had my eye on him and was well armed as well as my mates. At this time I had heard a loud noise forward and on enquiry found it proceeded from this fellow. I called him to desist or I would iron him or shove him ashore. He then *defied me* to do either. I ordered the boat lowered and four men and the second mate to put him on shore. Another fellow who had shipped as cook,² swore he would go to, so he went along, but after being gone three hours, they returned in the evening and to my mortification brought them *back*. The *officer* said “they had said they would *lose their lives* sooner than be left on a desolate island” and this miserable fellow, with four men, let them come again on board. One of the sailors told me if the order had been given by the officer, he himself would have undertaken to put them out of the boat. As I was within a short distance of Manilla and a fair wind had sprung up, I concluded to take them in and on the 22d December, arrived safe at Manilla and delivered the mutineers to the officer. I left them in rpison, to be sent away the first chance to some other place. The government would not try them and they will probably, hereafter, get *imposed* as honest men, on some one else, being British subjects, as there was no British consul to take charge of them.

The **Spy** being totally unfit for the business for which she was intended, was here sold to the Spaniards and on the 28th of January, 1834, I took passage for New York on board the ship **Moscow**, Capt. Rishworth Mason.

1 Ed. note: He did stop at Umatac to get water (see Doc. 1833A8).

2 Ed. note: This was Keenan, O'Connell's friend.

Document 1833E

Visit of an unnamed Russian ship reported by Governor Villalobos

Source: PNA, Marianas 1835, Bundle #116, File. n° 14, Doc. n° 131.

Note: The ship was named Amerika and her captain was Kromchenko.

Letter dated Agaña 24 January 1834

Arrivals—The Governor [of the Marianas] reports on the arrival of a Russian brig and his reasons for allowing the sale or trade of some clothing in order to provide food supplies and repairs to the ship.

Your Excellency:

Notwithstanding Y.E.'s letter dated 30 October 1832, in which you warn me about not permitting nor tolerating in these Islands any commerce on the part of foreigners, not even in case of breakdown or forced arrivals, unless they possess a document authorizing same, issued by your Superior government, there appeared here on the 6th of December last a Russian brig belonging to the Emperor, coming from Kamchatka, having lost her bearings while going from one point to another in those regions, badly damaged by the storms that obliged them to head this way, leaking badly, the pumps out of order, with very few provisions, their water spoiled, and aboard her one Navy Captain with two pilots, three women, one supercargo, various children with their parents, a skilled crew and four guns, I could do no less than allow them to sell or trade a few clothes of little value that they carried aboard, either to provide them with subsistence, or to repair their ship.

The Commander solicited money from me, in exchange for Russian paper money, but as the bills were unintelligible to me, even the characters, and as it appeared to me of absolute necessity to give protection to the said ship of an allied and friendly power, for fear of their losing everything, I have reached a compromise by allowing them to expend their effects. I have given in excess of my possibilities to the Commander, passenger, officers and the family of one of them, and they are still in port, repairing their ship, with the intention to return to Kamchatka as the season progresses further.

As the Captain did not have charts of this island, he was reconnoitering the coasts during five days, looking for an anchorage, and doing so, he appeared to be suspicious. I gave timely orders for the defence of the place. I sent reinforcements to Fort Santa

Cruz of four Corporals and 18 artillerymen from the militia for the period of three days, and I kept the rest of the artillery and infantry soldiers in this capital for any eventuality. Three times the pilots of Umata, Apra and of this city went out to recognize her, but the brig tacked back and kept away for fear of shoals; not seeing the local pilots, she veered off, until she came in front of Apra. She was signalled with a gun short by late afternoon, and the next morning, she waited very fearfully, and I succeeded in recognizing her, and having her come to anchor.

Such a powerful reason has obliged me to make an exception in this particular case; in other cases, there continue in effect the directive of Y.E. and the disposition of the Supervisor of the Royal Treasury, of which I gave Y.E. a report dated 12 December last.

May God save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 24 January 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

[P.S.]

Your Excellency:

The above-mentioned brig sailed for Kamchatka last May 7th.

Agaña, 17 October 1834.

Francisco Villalobos.

Documents 1833G

Brig Bolivar Liberator re-discovered Taongi

Source: Articles in various New England newspapers, reprinted in Gerard Ward's American Activities in the Central Pacific, under Taongi 1-6, and Philippines 1.

G1. Article in the Daily Gazette, New Bedford, Aug. 14, 1833

Note: Similar reports were also published in the American Traveller, Boston; Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot; Boston Advertiser; Salem Gazette; The Evening Gazette, Boston; The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal, New York; etc.

New [sic] Island in the Pacific.

Capt. Underwood, of the brig **Bolivar Liberator**, at Canton, reports that on his passage to that port from the Sandwich Islands, on the 9th Feb. last, he discovered a small island in lat. 14.46 N. lon. 169.18 E. which is not laid down in any of the charts. It was about six miles long, running WNW and ESE with a reef extending nearly ten miles from its W extremity. It is visible at 4 or 5 miles distance from a ship's deck. He gave it the name of Farnham's Island.

G2. Article in the Essex Register, Salem, Aug. 15, 1833

Note: Also published in the Salem Gazetter the next day.

New [sic] Island in the Pacific.

A small island was discovered by Captain Underwood, of the brig **Bolivar Liberator**, of this port, in lat. 14.46 N. & lon., 169.18 E., etc.

...
Capt. Underwood assigned to it the name of Farnham's Island, as a mark of respect for P. I. Farnham, of this town, his owner.

G3. Article in the Daily Mercury, New Bedford, Aug. 21, 1833

Note: Identical report published in the New Bedford Mercury, Aug. 23.

Farnham Island.

By a reference to the last edition of Bowditch's Navigator, we find, says the Salem Register, that the islsnd of Gaspar Rico is laid down in lat. 14.42 N. and lon. 169.03 E. A nautical friend informs us that this island is also laid down on a chart in his possession. The island discovered by Capt. Underwood, is stated to be in lat. 14.46 N. and long. 169.18 E. There can be no doubt that Gaspar Rico and Farnham's Island are one and the same. We like the new name, however, much the best, and hope the island will always hereafter bear the name of our worthy townsman, than whom no-one is more enterprising and meritorious.

G4. Article in the Columbian Centinel, Boston, Sept. 25, 1833

A correspondant of the New York Mercantile states that Gaspar [Rico] Island, (see Fanning's Voyages, page 235) is laid down on an old Spanish chart, in nearly the same latitude and longitude as the island lately discovered by Capt. Underwood of the **Bolivar Liberator**.

G5. Article in the Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot, Aug. 10, 1833

Brig **Bolivar Liberator**, Capt. Underwood, was at Canton 25th March, from South America and Manilla. While at Manilla, Capt. U. was not allowed to go on shore on account of the name of his vessel.

Note 1833H

The captain of the Nimrod killed at Pingelap

Sources: Article in the Salem Mercury, Oct. 8, 1834; repeated in the Salem Gazette, Oct. 10, 1834.

Another massacre.

Capt. Batchelder reports that Capt. McCallap [rather McAuliffe] of the ship **Nimrod**, an English whaler, was treacherously killed, with one of his crew, on shore at McCaskill's (Caroline) Isle, in November, 1833.¹

1 Ed. note: Nicholson's Log of Logs adds that the **Nimrod** was a bark of 231 tons of Sydney. During her voyage of 1833-34, her Captain was murdered in the Carolines, and a man was killed by a whale on the Japan Ground, three men died of scurvy, another drowned (ref. Hobart Town Courier, 30 May 1834).

Document 1833I

The journal of Robert Jarman aboard the whaler Japan of London

Source: Robert Jarman. Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas (London, Longman, 1838).

Notes: The Japan left London at the end of June 1831 and went from Ternate to the Japan Ground without stopping at the Marianas. After visiting Hawaii, they were sailing toward the Kingsmill (Gilbert) Islands in 1832 when they were dismantled in a storm and had to divert to Sydney. In 1833, they were cruising for whales near the Gilberts.

Journal of a voyage to the South Seas in the “Japan,” employed in the Sperm Whale Fishery, under the command of Capt. John May.

...

CHAPTER IX.

Arrive at the Fejee Islands—Whales—Rotumah—Duprester’s Group—Tamana—Simpson’s and Dundas’ Islands—Orrori—Whales—Return to Rotumah; description of the Island, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants.

We were now bound for the Kingsmill Group of islands, which are situated between 177.17. E. and 173.30. E. longitude, and from 2.41. S. to 3.15. N. latitude, and consist of about fourteen in number. We had cold, wet, and squally weather for a fortnight after leaving Sydney, steering to the eastward until we were within a few days’ sail of the north cape of New Zealand. The ship was then kept away to the northward, and on Sunday, June 16th [1834], we saw one of the Fejee Islands, which are situated in about 10.15. S. and 175.6. W.

...

We stood on our course, after trading with the natives [of Rotumah], who are excessively fond of tobacco and pipes, for their fruit; and on the 27th, saw Duprester’s Group,¹ which have been but lately discovered; several canoes came off, with coconuts, which the natives traded for pieces of iron hoop, and fish-hooks.

...

1 Ed. note: Actually De Peyster, i.e. Nukufetau Island in the Ellice [now Tuvalu] Islands.

On July 3rd [1833], we made Chase's Island, or Tamana, as it is called by the natives, situate in 2.28. S., and 176.20. E. being one of the southernmost of the Kingsmill Group. The natives came off with cocoanuts, which they bartered for iron hoop. Their canoes were constructed in the same manner as at the island we left last. They were not such fine men as at Duprester's Group and were remarkable for the enormous holes which they had stretched in their ears, wearing a short tube in them, made by rolling up the broad leaf of some plant. They seemed very much at ease on board the ship, and favored us with a specimen of their mode of dancing. They accompanied their steps with the voice, clapping their hands in a peculiar manner at the same time upon their breasts, keeping time, and gradually raising their voices to its greatest power, then gradually decreasing to the end of the dance.

One of them made us understand that he wished to go in the ship, to which the captain consented, as we were short of a hand. He went below until his countrymen departed. It seems they had formed a very favorable opinion of life on board the "kiboki" ship; for another ascended, and stationed himself upon the main top-gallant-yard; and the captain was obliged to send a hand aloft to fetch him down.

On the 11th we spoke the **Toward Castle**.¹ She had met with but moderate success since we saw her off Tongataboo, on our passage to Sydney. We were in sight of land almost every day, and several sail appeared; but we had the fortune to see very few whales.

On the 10th [sic], saw Simpson's [Abemama] and Dundas' [Aranuka] Islands, the former is situate in 0.22. N., and 174.14. E., the latter in 0.8. N., and 183.45. E., the natives came off with cocoanuts and traded for iron hoop, as at the former islands. The man we brought from Tamana, jumped overboard at this place, and went ashore in a canoe with the natives. It appears he was tired of a seafaring life; for he had a strong antipathy to any kind of work or exertion.

The captain having given him a pair of drawers, which he had torn a small hole in by accident; a day or two after, when we were all down in the boats after whales, leaving Tamana Jack, as we called him, on board with the ship keepers, he watched an opportunity, and with part of an old knife, cut a piece out of a new blanket to repair his drawers. The owner, when he returned on board, was not very well pleased with the appropriation of his blanket; and chastised him to prevent such occurrence in future.

These people, like most of the south sea islanders, are excellent divers; and will pick up a piece of iron hoop when thrown overboard, at a considerable distance from them.

The skin of most of the inhabitants of these islands is extremely rough and scaly, arising, I suppose, from the constant exposure to a tropical sun, and the poorness of their food; consisting of fish and cocoanuts.

From this time until the 6th of August, we had almost continued calms. The sun was most oppressively hot; and our decks were heated to that degree, that it was painful to walk barefoot upon them, during the heat of the day. The ship lay lazely rolling to the

1 Ed. note: Of London, Captain Brind.

gentle swell of the waters, with nothing to disturb its polished surface, but the breach of the rapacious albacore or fleet dolphin, in pursuit of their common prey, the persecuted flying fish, or sluggish squid. The latter fish has the singular power of being able, when it finds itself pursued or in danger, to discharge a dark brown colored liquor, which so colors the water around it, that its enemies cannot perceive it; thus, it frequently escapes, when almost within the jaws of its pursuers.

The weather being too warm to sleep below, the greater part of us reposed in the open air upon deck, during the whole time we cruised among these islands. I do not consider it a healthy practice, especially for persons of a weak constitution; but I thought it more unwholesome to attempt sleeping in an atmosphere, from which a person upon turning out of his berth, found himself almost as wet as if he had received the benefit of a vapor bath.

On the 6th of August, we perceived a vessel trying out oil, as we judged by the smoke, at a considerable distance to leeward, which afterwards proved to be the **Juno**, from Sydney.¹ On the 9th we went on board in the captain's boat; her decks were loaded with live pigs, which they procured at one of the Navigator's [Samoa] Islands, and fed upon cocoanuts. Our captain exchanged a musket for fourteen of them, that being the rate at which they had procured them. The meat was excellent, and lasted our ship's company a fortnight.

On the 20th, we were cruising off Chase's Island, called by the natives "Orrori" [Aorae], situate in 2.40. S., and 177.18. E., the natives, as usual, came alongside in their canoes, trading with cocoanuts, shells, &c., for small pieces of iron hoop. In one canoe was a woman, with her husband, the first we had seen among these people. The men, as I have before observed, wear no covering whatever, the woman had one ingeniously made of rushes; it was made fast round her waist, and reached nearly down to her knees; she wore no ornaments, nor any other covering of whatever description. If the females ashore are to be judged by the appearance of the one who came on board us, if not handsome, they are certainly interesting. The dark languishing black eyes of the females, of many of the islands in the Great Paific, are greatly to be admired. They may be said to have caused the mutiny of the **Bounty**; and have induced many a sailor to leave his ship, and live for years on the islands.

The inhabitants, on most of these islands, are very friendly. I saw no weapons of any description among them; and yet they are in the lowest state of civilization. How is it that missionaries are found upon almost every fertile and pleasant isle of the Pacific; even upon islands where the natives have shewn the most decided animosity to civilization? And yet no attempt has been made to civilize and instruct these poor people in the arts of life.

One calm morning, whilst among these islands, we witnessed a singular affray, between two of the most formidable inhabitants of the deep; a bill-fish and shark. The bill-fish had been noticed for several days chasing the albacore, yellow tails, &c. The

1 Ed. note: Captain BANKS.

shark was very leisurely taking a survey round the ship, when he was attacked by the bill-fish, who with the rapidity of lightning wounded him in several places, with his formidable weapon, and obliged him to sheer off; who notwithstanding his powerful treble armed jaws, did not appear to have a shadow of chance with his better armed opponent.

Our cruise among these islands having been very unsuccessful up to the present time, the captain thought it advisable to proceed to the southward; and we steered south-east for several days; but the weather being very squally, with rain and a high sea running; and continuing to get worse we altered our course, and stood back to the north-west again.

On the 8th, we lowered the boats after a school of whales. The boat I belonged to fastened to one, and got stove by a small whale, which we had run the boat over to get at the large one. They hove to, bewildered, running round and round, as if unwilling to leave their wounded companion. The chief mate came up next, struck one, when "smash" the boat was stove the moment after. He was obliged to cut his line and return on board. We stuffed an old shirt in our leak, kept two hands bailing, and soon killed the whale; fastened to another, and killed that too. The other two boats, also, had killed one each; making four whales in all, which produced about forty-five barrels of oil.

A few days afterwards we experience a severe squall of thunder, lightning, and rain. The electric fluid splintered, in a trifling degree, our fore-top=gallant mast: fortunately no man was at the mast head; the captain always making a practice of calling the look-out men down, upon the approach of squalls.

We saw many dolphins, which followed the ship, during the fine weather; I killed one, it measured about four feet in length, and had a wound quite through the belly; which probably had been inflicted by a bill-fish.

On the 17th, we again steered to the south-east, and a few days afterwards got a fine breeze from the westward, which lasted several days, steering south by east, it carried us six or seven degrees to the eastward of Rotumah...

...

[The Captain's "Wife"]

The **Erie**, of New Bedford, America, was cruising off these islands at the same time with us.¹ Our captain exchanged coals for a quantity of sweet potatoes, of a most excellent flavor, which she had brought from Otaheite. The captain had got his Otaheitan wife on board, who was considered a remarkably handsome young female.

We spoke this ship again about ten days afterwards, and found she had been into Tongataboo harbour, where the unfortunate girl met with her death in the following melancholy manner:

She was swimming at a short distance alongside the ship, with another female who belonged to Tongataboo, when she uttered a piercing shriek, and sprang convulsively

1 Ed. note: Rather, this was the Erie of Newport, Captain Spooner who left her at New Zealand (see Starbuck, pp. 292-293).

half out of the water, which, at the same time was observed to be tinged with blood. A boat went off immediately to her assistance, and when she was picked up, it was found that a shark had bitten her leg and part of her thigh off, and left her in a dreadfully mangled state. The poor girl was taken on board the ship, and died a few hours afterwards.

...
Our cruise off these islands proving very unsuccessful, having killed no more than three or four whales, making about one hundred and twenty barrels; as a last resource the captain determined to take the season off the French Rock, situate about a week's sail to the north-east of the Bay of Islands, New Zealand; and then after refreshing at the latter place, to commence the passage home round Cape Horn, about the latter end of March, or the beginning of April following.¹

1 Ed. note: The Japan was back in London at the end of August 1834 (Jones' Ships).

Documents 1834A

Correspondence of Governor Villalobos in 1834

Source: Lieut. William E. Safford's Papers, N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

A1. Letter about Lieutenant de León Guerrero, dated 11 January 1834

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

El Subteniente Don Joaquin de León Guerrero Secretario en estas Yslas lleno de achaques como consecuencia de su mucho trabajo en la Secretaria y por otra parte agoviado con el sueldo señalado à su clase, ha solicitado su retiro: no cumple los años del servicio prevenidos por reglamento; pero providenciado la inutilidad del interesado del cumplimiento de su penoso deber le propongo à la piedad de V.E. para el retiro que sea de su agrado y al efecto es adjunto la solicitud del interesado y expediente obrado en su virtud que respetuosamente elevo à manos de V.E.

Con este motivo no puedo menos de reiterar à V.E. las suplicas que hice con fecha 18 de Noviembre de 1831 por el aumento del sueldo del Secretario de Gobierno y consideraciones que merece tan distinguido empleo: los moradores de Marianas en la libertad que gozan puedan proporcionarse comoda subsistencia con menos trabajo que el que incumbe al Secretario: este sugeto à la ocupacion diaria de Secretaria con la miseria de once pesos y medio mensuales (inclusos los dos pesos y medio que le aumenté interinamente) no tiene ni para vestir à su familia; à la pobre muger y niños les es penosísimo y difícil proporcionar la subsistencia, maxime en ocasiones de enfermedades, partos &c, el soldado, el Oficial y todos los militares en los días que tienen francos pueden trabajar algo; el infeliz Secretario nada de esto puede: cualquier jornalero ó artesano gana tres y cuatro reales diario, es libre y viste como quiere, el Secretario sin libertad, sugeto siempre con precision de presentarse decente, apenas tiene de sueldo lo que último peon ó jornalero del país, y es mas desdichado que el último soldado; esta espuesto à admitir el cohecho ó soborno, y no puede sostener el rango distinguido que es analogo à su empleo, ni aun vivir: por todas estas causales, ruego de nuevo humildemente à V.E. su Superior aprobacion para que el Secretario, obtenga los catorce pesos mensuales que consulté à V.E. en dicha fecha ó bien que se le den à el Oficial que se

elija para Secretario por via de gratificacion sobre su sueldo los once pesos y medio que ahora disfruta; y en este caso quedará aun mas remunerado, y el empleo será distinguido segun merece.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 11 de Enero de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Second-Lieutenant Don Joaquín de León Guerrero, Secretary in these Islands, is full of ailments as a consequence of his great labor in the Secretariat and, on the other hand, he is overburdened with the assigned to his category; however, in view of the uselessness of the interested party in the compliance of his heavy duty, I recommend him to the mercy of Y.E. for the retirement that may be of your pleasure and to this effect please find attached the petition of the interested party and the corresponding file that has been prepared which I forward to Y.E.

I take this opportunity to reiterate to Y.E. the requests that I made on 18 November 1831 for an increase in salary for the Government Secretary and the considerations that such a distinguished post deserves. The residents of the Marianas, who enjoy the freedom to do what they want can easily subsist with less work than the work that the Secretary must do. This man must attend to his work every day in the Secretariat for the miserly sum of 11-1/2 pesos per month (including the 2-1/2 pesos that I allowed as an interim increase) which is not sufficient for him to buy clothes for his family; this situation is very hard for the poor woman and children and difficult for them to subsist, specially when there is sickness, deliveries, etc., whereas the soldier, the officer and all the military men may, when they are off duty, work a little. The unhappy Secretary can do nothing of the sort. Any laborer or artisan earns 3 to 4 reals per day, if free and wears the clothes that he wants, but the Secretary who has no freedom, must always present himself decently dressed, hardly has the salary of the lowest worker or laborer in the country, and finds himself in worse luck than the lowest soldier, as he is exposed to offers of corruption, and cannot sustain the distinguished rank that corresponds to his position, not even live. For all of these reasons, I again beg Y.E. for your Superior approval so that the Secretary may get the 14 pesos per month that I recommended to Y.E. earlier, or else that the job of Secretary be given to a selected officer who would get the actual 11-1/2 pesos as a bonus, in addition to his salary; and in the latter case, the job would receive better pay, and the post become as distinguished as it deserves.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 11 January 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A2. About his sick brother, Antonio Villalobos

Original text in Spanish.

*El 6 de Junio del año proximo pasado llegó à esta el Bergantin **Legazpi** procedente de esa Capital y en el mismo el Subteniente de Ynfanteria de esa guarnicion Don Antonio Villalobos, segun lo dispuesto por V.E. en oficio de 9 de Mayo del propio año que recibí con la demas correspondencia: dicho Oficial, estando conmigo no necesitaba aqui abono alguno de sueldo, yo le facilité al momento doscientos pesos para cuyo completo tuve que pedir à un amigo ciento, y me presté à facilitarle mensualmente lo que le fuese preciso para sus gastos, despues de tener esta casa á su disposicion, y en abundancia cuanto necesita, segun lo que en pais tan caro y escaso es posible proporcionar, pero no acomodandolo así, me he visto en la necesidad de dar órden al Administrador de Real Hacienda para que por cuenta de sus sueldos y previas las revistas correspondientes le facilite mensualmente media paga de su clase, segun manifiesta el documento que acompaño respetuosamente adjunto à manos de V.E., ruego humildemente à V.E. se digne admitir mis mas cordiales demostraciones de gratitud por las bondades que se ha servido usar con dicho Oficial mi hermano quien sigue en estado de languidez proximo à una consuncion y aprobar si fuese de su superior agrado aquella mi providencia à que viviré à V.E. cordialmente reconocido: interin ruego à Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.*

San Ygnacio de Agaña 1º de febrero de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

On 6 June of last year, there arrived here the brig **Legazpi** proceeding from that Capital, and aboard her was Second- Lieutenant of Infantry of that garrison, Don Antonio Villalobos, as per a decision of Y.E. in a letter dated 9 May of that year, which I received with the rest of the correspondence. Said officer, staying with me, did not need any living allowance; I gave him 200 pesos right away (I had to ask a friend to loan me 100), and I took it upon myself to provide him monthly with what he needed for his expenses, after he had the full use of this house, and as much as he needed, no matter how expensive and scarce things are in this country, but, as this was not enough, I saw myself obliged to give an order to the Administrator of the Royal Treasury for him to be paid half his accrued salary; after the corresponding reviews were made, I let him have half of the salary earmarked for his category, as can be seen in the document (attached) which I respectfully forward to Y.E., humbly begging Y.E. to be pleased to accept my most cordial feelings of gratitude for the kindness which you have shown toward said officer, my brother, who continues to suffer a condition of languor close to consump-

tion and to approve, if it were of your superior pleasure, the decision which I took, for which I will live cordially grateful to Y.E.. In the meantime, I pray God our Lord to save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 February 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A3. The Governor's brother reportedly cured

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

El Sr. Don Antonio Villalobos se halla perfectamente sano de sus dolencias. En tal virtud presentandose la oportuna ocasion de buque para esa Capital ha parecido merecer la alta aprobacion de V.E. se embarque en él, segun lo verifica, antes que por la melancholia que le ocasiona este pais por falta de ocupacion, vuelva à recaer.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 27 de Noviembre de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Don Antonio Villalobos is now perfectly cured of his ailments. In view of which, at the first opportunity of finding a ship bound to that Capital, it seems to have deserved the high approval of Y.E. to embark aboard the ship now leaving, before he suffers a relapse, on account of the melancholy that this country brings upon him.¹

May God save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 27 November 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A4. Military staff in Guam in 1834

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

¹ Ed. note: Lieutenant Safford noted, in 1900, what Don José Herrero, his informant, told him about Antonio Villalobos: "He was half crazy and used to go about at night counting the stars."

Elevo al Superior conocimiento de V.E. noticia del número de individuos de tropa que constantemente deben hallarse empleados de servicio en esta Ysla para cubrir los destacamentos con la mayor economía posible.

| | Sargentos Cabos | | Tambores | Soldados | Total |
|--|-----------------|-----|----------|----------|-------|
| <i>En la guardia de prevención y de Palacio</i> | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 11 |
| <i>De cuartelero</i> | | | | 1 | 1 |
| <i>En el almacén de pólvora</i> | 1 | | | 5 | 6 |
| <i>En el almacén de armas y efectos de artillería</i> | | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| <i>En el Fuerte de Santa Cruz</i> | 1 | | | 4 | 5 |
| <i>De patrulla en la noche</i> | | | | 2 | 2 |
| | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| <i>Total empleados</i> | 1 | 4 | 1 | 22 | 28 |
| <i>Fuerza de infantería para cubrir dicho servicio ...</i> | 4 | 4 | 2 | 44 | 54 |
| <i>[Pero] Se rebajan:</i> | | | | | |
| | Sargentos Cabos | | Tambores | Soldados | Total |
| <i>Se hallan en Manila</i> | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 6 |
| <i>Escribiente¹</i> | 1 | | | 1 | 2 |
| <i>Suele haber enfermos</i> | | 1 | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| <i>Restan para el servicio</i> | 2 | 2 | 2 | 34 | 40 |

Y como es totalmente imposible que habiendo cuarenta hombres de fuerza proxímanamente pueden entrar de servicio veinte y ocho diarios sin quedar muchos de planton según se ha verificado en repetidas épocas desde 1829 hasta Marzo de 1833 me vé precisado à poner sobre las armas para custodiar el Fuerte de Santa Cruz desde 1º de Abril de 1833, un Cabo y cinco artilleros de la Compañía de Milicias [Urbanas] disciplinadas que por meses alternan en aquel destacamento, y dispuse que el almacén de efectos de artillería fuese custodiado por dos individuos ó retirados con sueldos que alternan por semanas: de este modo con los cuarenta individuos que resultan disponibles de infantería de dotación se cubren los veinte que deben quedar diariamente ocupados en los demás puntos.

*Los seis individuos de artillería puestos sobre las armas podrán cesar tan luego que regresen à esta los seis de Ynfantería que pasan à Manila escoltando los presos conducidos por D. Ramon Fernandez de Luna en la Balandra **Perdurable** embargada por el Gobernador D. José de Medinilla, pero entretanto no he podido menos de tomar las providencias referidas aumentando este gasto extraordinario de que acaso ... cargo à los culpados del alborote en Mayo de 1829 que ha dado à esta medida y gasto.*

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 1º de Febrero de 1834.

1 Escribiente del Administrador de Sumaria ó [del] Secretario de Gobierno.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I bring to the attention of Y.E. the following report on the number of military individuals who must be constantly employed as servicemen in this Island, in order to cover all detachments, with as much economy as possible.

| | Sergeants | Corporals | Drummers | Soldiers | Total |
|--|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-------|
| On guard duty in front of the Palace | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 11 |
| On guard at the barracks | | | | 1 | 1 |
| At the Powder Magazine | | 1 | | 5 | 6 |
| At the Warehouse for weapons & artillery effects | | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| At Fort Santa Cruz | | 1 | | 4 | 5 |
| On night patrol duty | | | | 2 | 2 |
| | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Total employees | 1 | 4 | 1 | 22 | 28 |
| Infantrymen required to cover said service ... | 4 | 4 | 2 | 44 | 54 |
| [However,] Discounting: | | | | | |
| | Sergeants | Corporals | Drummers | Soldiers | Total |
| Those now at Manila | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 6 |
| Clerk ¹ | 1 | | | 1 | 2 |
| Avg. number of sick | | 1 | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Available for service | 2 | 2 | 2 | 34 | 40 |

And, as it is totally impossible for a force of 40 men approximately to provide 28 on duty at any one time and still have enough for picket duty, according to my experience at various times since 1829 until March 1833, I saw myself forced to put on active duty, to look after Fort Santa Cruz, since 1 April 1833, one Corporal and five artillerymen from the Company of [Urban] Militia, already trained, to take turns every months at said detachment, and I have arranged for the storehouse of artillery effects to be under the guard of two individuals, retired men, with salary, who alternate every week. In this way, with the 40 individuals from the Infantry Company who are presently available, there is no problem keeping the 20 who must be daily occupied in the other posts.

The six individuals from the Artillery who have been placed in active service will be stood down as soon as the six infantrymen return who are now going to Manila to escort the prisoners under the supervision of Don Ramón Fernández de Luna aboard the

1 The clerk for the Judge of Inquiry, or [of the] Government Secretary.

sloop **Perdurable**, seized by Governor José de Medinilla. However, in the meantime, I cannot but take the above-mentioned measures, thus increasing the extraordinary expenditures which perhaps should be charged to those found guilty in the conspiracy of May 1829, which has caused this measure and extra costs.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 February 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A5. Guam public buildings—Letter dated 7 February 1834

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Las Yglesias de Pago, Ynarajan, Merizo, Umata, Agat y Rota se hallan en muy deplorable estado y techadas con hojas de coco; en el mismo sentido poco más ó menos estan las casas Reales y Parroquiales, y como aqui no hay cajas de comunidad ni fondo alguno de que hacer uso para la reparacion ó construccion de dichas obras, elevo al Superior cococimiento de V.E. presupuesto de los gastos que son precisos para las mismas à fin de que, si V.E. tuviese à bien dar su aprobacion y providencias superiores, tengan efecto las mencionadas obras que creo de la mayor urgencia y necesidad.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 7 de Febrero de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The churches of Pago, Inarajan, Merizo, Umata, Agat and Rota are presently in a very deplorable state and thatched with coconut leaves; the Royal houses and parish residences are more or less in the same condition as well. As there are no community fund here nor any fund that could pay for the repair or construction of said works, I bring to the superior attention of Y.E. the budget of the expenditures that are required for said works, so that, if Y.E. may see fit to give your approval and wuperior measures, the above-menioned works may proceed with the greatest urgency which I consider necessary.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 7 February 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

A6. Letter dated 20 February 1834, regarding the tile oven, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

He dado de mi bolsillo siete pesos para completar treinta que ha costado una bomba con que extraer el agua y poder componer un pilar del puente del rio de Anigua[,] en el horno para teja y vasijeria que está construyendose en Agat[,] llevo ya gastados por mi sola parte ciento setenta y seis pesos. En gratificaciones à los Maestros de Escuela llevo invertidos mas de trescientos pesos. En la composicion de la Capilla del Cuartel y de la Yglesia de Ynarajan veinte. En comida y gratificaciones de ropas à personas y habitantes de los ranchos en que he hospedado cuando he formado los planes de la isla no puedo fijar pudiendo solo asegurar que han sido muchos[,] los espendios en gratificaciones para la vigilancia publica son tambien muchos[,] y cuando visito los trabajos de comunidad como limpia de cocales, construccion de puentes, composicion de caminos &a van delante agasajos de bebida para estimulo de los trabajadores cuyo valor es tambien de consideracion. Todo esto lo he hecho muy gustoso, sacrificando una parte de los cortos ahorros de mis sueldos.

... y con propicio de mi familia ... à cabo el fomento del territorio en ... habitantes, cajas de comunidad ni otro arbitrio para ayudar dichas empresas ha sido tambien preciso echar mano de algunos intereses del fondo de Artilleria é ingenieros para construccion de herramientas necesarias à dichos trabajos, pero como tanto sacrificio de mi parte no puede continuar mucho tiempo ó à lo menos con tanta liberalidad y sea absolutamente indispensable no omitir tal clase de empresas y gastos para que el pais poco à poco vaya recibiendo las mejoras de que tanto necesita me ha parecido propio de mi deber suplicar à V.E. segun respetuosamente lo verifico el establecimiento de caja de comunidad para toda clase de gastos à beneficio púplico y tributen para ella cada vecino del primer rango medio peso anual[,] dos reales los de segunda clase y una los de tercera y última, cuyo fondo deba cobrarse por los Gobernadorcillos à invertirse mediante disposicion en junta compuesta del Gobernador como Presidente y del Rdo. Cura Párroco y Gobernadorcillo de Agaña como vocales siendo Secretario y encargado del fondo y cuentas de su recaudo é inversion el Secretario de este Gobierno con el cinco por ciento anual de los ingresos que haya en caja en el mismo año à cuya gracia viviré à V.E. perpetuamente reconocido por solo el deseo que me asiste de solventar todos los obstaculos que ocurran ó puedan ocurrir en lo sucesivo à la loable empresa de hacer feliz este pais que la bondad de V.E. se ha dignado poner à mi cuidado.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 20 de Febrero de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I have given seven pesos, to complete the sum of 30 pesos that were spent for a pump to extract water for the completion of a pillar for the bridge over the river at Anigua, for the tile and pottery kiln that is being built at Agat; so far I have spent 176 pesos, just of my own money. I have invested over 800 pesos to give allowances to the school teachers. In the repairs made to the chapel of the Barracks and of the church of In-arajan, I gave 20. For my food and for the clothing that I gave as compensations to the persons and inhabitants of the *ranchos* where I was lodged, when I worked on the maps of the Island, I cannot place an exact value, but can only say that they were high. The allowances paid for public vigilance were also high, and when I visit the community projects, such as the clearing of coconut tree plantations, the building of bridges, the repair of roads, etc., there are extra expenses such as drinks to stimulate the workers, whose value is also considerable. All of this I have made with pleasure, sacrificing a part of the small savings I make from my salaries ... [not] favorable to my family ... at the end the development of the territory in ... inhabitants, [lacking] community funds or other means to finance said enterprises, it has also been necessary to make use of the fund for Artillery and Engineering Works, in order to repair the tools necessary to said works, but as so much sacrifice on my part cannot continue much longer, or at least with so much liberality but it is absolutely indispensable not to omit such a type of enterprises and expenditures so that the country little by little may receive the improvements that it so much needs, it has seemed to me properly of my duty to beg Y.E., as I respectfully do now, for the establishment of a community fund for all kinds of expenditures made in the public interest and to have every resident of the first rank contribute half a peso per year to it, those of the second category 2 reales, and those of the third and final category 1 real. Said fund should be collected by the assistant Mayors and be invested through decisions made by a Board, consisting of the Governor as Chairman, with the Rev. Father Curate and the assistant Mayor of Agaña as voting members, and the Government Secretary acting as Secretary and Administrator of said fund and the accounts dealing with the collections, and [potential] investment made at 5% interest of the revenues that would be in the form of cash-on-hand every year. For said favor I will live forever grateful to Y.E., as my only desire is for you to help me solve all the obstacles that may occur or might occur in future in the praiseworthy objective of making happy this country which Y.E. has been pleased to place in my care.

May our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 20 February 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Documents 1834B

The Conway Affair, and the aftermath of the murder of Captain Stavers in 1824

B1. Disturbances created by the sailors of the English ship Conway—Letter dated 24 May 1834

Sources: Original ms. in PNA, Marianas 1835, Letter N° 143; Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.; see his notes, pp. 203-207.

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*El 14 de Abril proximo pasado hallandose desembarcados en Umata varios marineros de la Fragata Ynglesa Ballenera **Conway** al mando de Mr. Reneg, trataron algunos de ellos borrachos hacerse à la fuerza de un poco de tuba en uno de los ranchos inmediatos: el dueño lo resistió y por ello siendo atropellado por los mismos marineros, se presentó à dar parte al Alcalde ... Comandante de Armas y encargado del puerto[,] Subteniente D. José Martinez, que con objeto de pre... atajar tales excesos tengo puesto en aquel punto: el Alcalde trató de informarse oportunamente en union con el Capitan del Buque los marineros atrevidos golpearon à el Capitan y quisieron hacer la misma à el Alcalde, pero este de buenas fuerzas y espiritu logro defenderse y contuvo à los que le acometieron, se le reunieron entre tanto algunos vecinos, hizo poner en prision à los cuatro mas culpados, acto continuo mando darles à cada uno veinte y cinco palos, con cuyo castigo y volviendo despues en su acuerdo pidieron perdon à su Capitan y al Alcalde, y este à la mañana siguiente les dió libertad por intercesion de dicho Capitan y volvió à repetirles otros seis palos à cada uno.*

Habiendome dado parte el Alcalde de esta occurrencia hice desembarcarlos, y que se me presentaran con el Capitan, con el objeto de formalizar proceso y aplicarles la parte de castigo que aun restase, pero el Capitan me hizo presente iba à sufrir muchos perjuicios en su pesca por cualquiera detencion me rogó con ansia el perdon para sus marineros y ellos se manifestaron tan arrepentidos que me fue preciso condescender considerando satisfecho el honor del pabellon y respeto à las autoridades del pais con el castigo impuesto por dicho Alcalde y mandé en seguida dos soldados destacados à las órdenes del referido Oficial.

Todo lo que elevo al Superior coconimiento de V.E. regandole su aprobacion, y como una nueva prueba de la necesidad de que ... siempre un Oficial de esta Dotacion ... un destacamento militar, segun lo permiten las pocas fuerzas de tropa de activo servicio con que cuento.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 24 de Mayo de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] *Excmo. Sor. Gobor. y Capn. Gral. de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

On 14 April last, various sailors having disembarked in Umata from the English whaling frigate **Conway**, under the command of Mr. REneg [Renneck], some of them being drunk tried by forcer to obtain a little *tuba* in one of the neighboring farms. The owner refused and for this reason was abused by the same sailors. He went to see the Mayor, who is also Commander of the the army detachment and the port there, Second-Lieutenant José Martinez, who for the purpose of preventing or stopping all excesses, I have placed at that post. The Mayor tried to get timely information in the company of the ship Captain. The bold sailors abused their Captain and wanted to do the same with the Mayor but he succeeded in defending himself with good strength and spirit, and contained those who had attacked him. In the meantime, a few residents appeared; he was able to put in jail the four ringleaders and ordered each of them to receive 25 blows from a stick. With this punishment and regaining later thier reason, they asked forgiveness from their Captain and the Mayor and the next morning he put them in liberty at the request of said Captain, but he again gave them six more blows each.

The Mayor having reported the incident to me, I had them brought in from the ship along with their Captain, for the purpose of having formal charges laid and to apply the rest of the punishment, but the Captain let me know that he would suffer many prejudices in his fishing expedition, if there were any delay; he begged me for the pardon of his sailors and they showed such repentance that I was forced to grant it, considering that the honor of the flag had been satisfied as well as respect for the authorities of the country by the punishment imposed by the Mayor. I sent two soldiers right away to be under the command of said officer.

All of which I bring to the Superior attention of Y.E. begging for your approval, and as a new proof of the necessity to place at that point one officer of this garrison ... [at the head of] a military detachment, according to the possibilities of the few soldiers in active service who are available to me.

May our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 24 May 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

B2. Those found guilty of having killed Captain Stavers of the English whaler Coquette in 1824

Source: As above.

Your Excellency:

On 15 November 1830, and in consequence of the Royal order dated 15 May 1829, orders were issued by Don Mariano Ricafort, then Captain General, to bring suit against the authors of the murder on the night of 17 October 1824 of Mr. Stavers, the captain of an English whaler. It appeared on investigation that those responsible for his death were Captain Justo de la Cruz, Sergeant Benancio Perez, Lieutenant José de Castro and Private Demetrio de Castro (now captain of the Urban Militia), but that the former Governor, Don José Ganga Herrero, was also very guilty. In consequence of which and in obedience to orders of the Royal Audiencia, dated 7 April 1826, those implicated were put in jail and Don José de la Cruz and Benancio Perez were suspended from duty, their goods embargoed, pending action of the authorities, in obedience to the above-mentioned Royal order. Thus far I proceeded with the rigor of justice but I could not separate myself from sentiments of humanity, specially in the case of Captain Justo de la Cruz, an honorable veteran full of good services, the embargo on whose property reduced him to absolute poverty; and Sergeant Benancio Perez is a most unhappy man, with 8 children depending upon his personal daily labor, absolutely poor also on account of being imprisoned and for the same reason as Don Justo de la Cruz...

...
[Ending not transcribed]

Document 1834C

Survey of the Marianas by Lieutenant Petrie, R.N.

The report of Governor Villalobos, dated 1 November 1834

Sources: PNA Bundle 116, File 13, Letter N° 149; copy in the former Agaña archives, now among Safford's Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div.

Note: The name of the whaling ship was the Betsey (ref. Nautical Magazine 1836).

Original text in Spanish.

...
En la monzon de primavera del año actual y en la presente de Otoño ha estado en estos puertos mandando una Fragata Ballenera Ynglesa Mr. Pedro Petri[er], Teniente de la Real Armada de la propia Nacion mereciendome el concepto de ser una persona de buen talento, instruccion y bien educado. Este me ha informado haber error en las demarcaciones que rigen hasta ahora sobre la posicion de estas Yslas y en su consecuencia ha tenido la bondad de facilitarme el resultado de sus observaciones acerca de ellas, y con el debido respeto tengo el honor de incluir à manos de V.E. adjunto.

Dicho Oficial acostumbrado à el buen orden de la tripulacion me ha manifestado en union con algun otro mas van à exponer dentro de un año en que concluirá el viage, à el Gobierno Británico la necesidad indispensable de que se atienda à la seguridad de los innumerables buques balleneros que surcan estos mares, ya sea haciendo cruzar en ellos uno ó dos buques de guerra, cuyos Jefes castiguen severamente la insubordinacion de los marineros balleneros, ó ya sea estableciendo en estas Yslas ... propio destino me consta ser efectiva la indicada que de la Nacion Ynglesa no defará de tomarla en consideracion, y presenciar oportunamente por las grandes ventajas que deben resultarle à su comercio; pero à el Real Pabellon Español opino no deba tenerla cuenta el establecimiento de Consul Yngles ni aqui ni en la Ysla de Bonins, de que tuve el honor de hablar à V.E. con fecha 21 de Marzo del año próximo pasado N° 84 no aqui por poder trascendental algun dia à la perdida del territorio, ni tampoco en Bonins por que entonces seria alli la concurrencia de buques, con detrimento de estos naturales, y lo que en mi concepto podria adoptara à conciliar los intereses de ambas naciones acaso seria que el Gobernador de Marianas con las instrucciones y facultdes que el Gobierno Britanico gustan darle por la via regular fuere quien atendiese à el remedido de la

predicha necesidad de contener los atrevimientos de las tripulaciones balleneras contra sus Jefes, el fomento y prosperidad del Comercio Yngles tendria en esta parte por el medio dicho el logro que pueda apetecer su Gobierno y estableciendose aqui por cualquiera de los dos Gobiernos con almacen de auxilios marineros para cualquiera fracaso, recibiria este pais unas inmensas ventajas de la mayor consecuencia de buques que indudablemente habria en tal hipotesis supuesta la oibertad de comercio de estas Yslas y total prohibicion de él à el Jefe de las mismas.

[Polynesians living in the Gani Islands]

Al propio tiempo elevo al Superior conocimiento de V.E. no me ha sido posible recoger hasta ahora los indios establecidos en Alamagan, Agrigan, ó pagan, los Capitanes balleneros informan que resisten embarcarse à menos de ser para su patria, que entre tanto ellos tienen en la Ysla de su residencia mucho pescado ... &a que esta desnudos y segun sus costumbres no apetecen otra cosa que algunas herramientas de carpinteria para trabajar sus canoas, que los hombres son sumamente celosos de las mugeres, que vivene en casitas bien pequeñas sobre el suelo, que cuanto recogen de viveres lo reparten fraternalmente entre todos, y que las mgeres abortan de intento en fuerza de grandes estrujones en el vientre y asi es que no hay niño alguno recién nacido. Como la Goleta de la Real Hacienda está ya de tan poca vida y no puede esponerse à su perdida, este único buque no me he atrevido à mandarlo à objeto de traer dicha gente. Los Jefes de las bancas Carolinas que han llegado en las dos primaveras últimas no han querido aceptar esta Comision por mas ventajas que les he ofrecido; y en tal concepto me parece lo ms conveniente à recoger dichos Indios que el primer Buque que viniese de esa Capital trajese el encargo de verificarlo si fuese del agrado de V.E.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 1º de Noviembre de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Year of 1835—Mariana Islands.—The Governor reports that a Lieutenant of the English Royal Navy has arrived at these Islands and has made some corrections to the demarcations of the islands; he suggests that it would not be convenient to establish there nor in the Bonin Islands an English consul as the said Lieutenant appears to favor.

Your Excellency:

During the spring monsoon of the present year [1834] and the actual fall monsoon, there appeared in these ports, commanding an English whaling ship, Mr. Peter Petri [i.e. Petrie], Lieutenant in the Royal Navy of his nation, whom I judge to be a person of good talent, learning, and well educated. He has informed me about errors in the demarcations that have until now been accepted in the position of these islands, and there-

fore has been good enough to provide me with the result of his observations about them, and that I respectfully have the honor of enclosing for Y.E.

The said officer, who is accustomed to good discipline among ship crews, has told me that, in concurrence with some other officer, he will within a year of having concluded his voyage, submit a report to the British Government upon the indispensable necessity of attending to the safety of the numberless whaling ships that cruise these seas, either by having one or two warships cruise in them and severely punish the insubordination of the whaling sailors, or by establishing in these islands a Consul for the same purpose. I agree with the necessity in question and do not doubt that the English nation will consider it and take timely action on account of the great benefits for its commerce, but the Royal Spanish flag must not take notice of the establishment of an English Consul, not here, nor in the Bonin Islands about which I had the honor to talk about in my letter dated 21 March of last year, under N^o 84: not here, because it could conceivably lead to the loss of this territory some day, nor even in the Bonins, because then the ships would frequent that port at the detriment of the natives here. What in my opinion could be possibly agreed upon between both nations would perhaps be for the Governor of the Marianas to have the directives and powers that the British Government would give him by the regular channels, and be the one to provide a remedy to the said necessity of containing the impudence of the whaling crews against their officers. The development and prosperity of the English commerce would have in these parts by the said means the success that its Government craves for, and, by having either Government establish here a Marine Depot for assistance in any disaster, this country would receive some immense advantages in more frequent ship visits that no doubt would occur in those circumstances, supposing freedom of trade in these Islands, and total prohibition of trading for the Governor.

[Polynesians living in the Gani Islands]

At the same time, I bring to the Superior attention of Y.E. that I have not been able until now to pick up the Indians who have settled on Alamagan, Agrigan, or Pagan. The whaling Captains inform me that they resist embarking unless it be to go to their country, that in the meantime, they have on the island of their residence much fish, root crops, breadfruit, coconuts, pigs, etc., that they are naked and according to their custom they do not crave for anything except for a few carpentry tools to work on their canoes, that they live in very small huts upon the ground, that whatever food they pick up they distribute fraternally among themselves, and that the women cause their own abortion by pressing with force upon their belly, and thus there are not one recently-born baby. Given that the schooner of the Royal Treasury is already nearing the end of her life and that I cannot risk the loss of this unique ship, I have not dared to have it sent for the purpose of taking such people off. The chiefs of the Carolinian canoes that have arrived here for the last two springs did not want to accept this Commission either, no matter what benefits I offered them. For this reason, it appears to me desir-

able to have the said Indians picked up by the first ship that comes from that Capital, should Y.E. agree.

May God save the live of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 November 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General, and [to] the Commanding General of the Navy in the Philippines.

[Attachment]

List of the Mariana Islands with their corresponding longitudes with respect to the observatory of Greenwich, according to the observations of Mr. Peter Petrie, officer of the English Navy—Year of 1834.

| | | |
|----------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Asunción | Lat. 19°39'30" N. | Long. 145°29'30" E. |
| Agrigan | Lat. 18°47' N. | Long. 145°53' E. |
| Pagan | Lat. 18°6' N. | Long. 145°58' E. |
| Alamagan | Lat. 17°41' N. | Long. 146°2' E. |
| Guguan | Lat. 17°26' N. | Long. 146°5' E. |
| Sarigan | Lat. 16°42' N. | Long. 145°59' E. |
| Anatajan | Lat. 16°20' N. | Long. 145°54' E. |
| Saypan | Lat. 15°14' N. | Long. 145°51' E. |
| Tinian | Lat. 15°2' N. | Long. 145°48' E. |
| Aguiguan | Lat. 14°40' N. | Long. 145°44' E. |
| Rota | Lat. 14°14' N. (N.E. end) | Long. 144°51' E. |
| Guajan | Lat. 13°29' N. (Basin, Apra) | Long. 144°52'30" E. ¹ |

¹ Ed. note: The longitudes of the islands north of Rota are all about 12 minutes too far E., whereas Rota is a little too far W.

Document 1834D

Governor Villalobos' opinions on import duties

Source: Ms. in Agaña archives (1900); now in LC Mss. Division, also in Safford's Papers there.

Safford's loose translation.

On January 25 and June 20nd, 1832, the Superintendent of the Royal Treasury issued orders directing the collection of duties upon articles imported into the Marianas. In a communication dated Nov. 27, 1834, Villalobos informs the Captain General that it is practically impossible to carry out the provisions of the order. He says that, if guards be placed on board the ships, the costs will exceed the amount received for duties; if no guards be stationed the duties will be only imaginary, on account of the bad faith of the sellers and their "lack of delicacy:" if it comes to light that a sale has been made and the duties on the same be asked of a foreign captain, his pride and insolence is apt to compromise the dignity of the authorities beyond all bearable limits, or may bring about disagreeable consequences which may in some way resemble the affair between es-Governor Don José Ganga Herrero and the English Captain Mr. Stavers [in 1824], all the sagacity and prudence which the force of necessity demands being necessary to avoid such troubles on many occasions. The country is beginning to feel the urgent necessity of goods, which are now very scarce, from the fact that the ships now expend only what is barely sufficient to ay in a supply of refreshments and then continue their voyage. I have been informed that there are persons who, from lack of clothing stay away from mass. ... I find it necessary to remedy so many evils in exchange for which so few benefits are derived, and to cause the visiting of many ships at this port and to prevent those coming this year from leaving us entirely—relying upon your sympathy for these unhappy islanders—to assure the captains of the ships that on the return of a ship from Manila, custum duties would be discontinued for many years, and the restriction of trae; and while awaiting action of superior authority, I found myself obliged to remove the restrictions, of my own accord, as a very grave and urgent case, upon which years might pass before Your Excellency or the Treasury take action. Therefore, I find myself irresistibly impelled by the cause indicated to put an end to the evils referred to, and the coundry will continue advancing to its prosperity; I cannot refrain from giving orders to the Administrator of the Royal Treasury that the above-mentioned restriction upon commerce cease; and that the freedom continue which was granted in 1828 by the

Superior Board until I receive orders to the contrary in response to htis communication.

In the meantime I earnestly beg Your Excellency to kindly approve of my action which I have throught to be of the greatest and most urgent necessity, or to take such action as you may see fit.

Documents 1834E

The story of Father Ciriaco really begins in 1834

Source: Safford's Papers, LC Mss. Div.

E1. Report of Colonel Villalobos dated 27 November 1834

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Aunque todavia no he hecho la visita anual de todos los pueblos de esta Ysla, para poder elevar al debido conocimiento de V.E. el aumento exacto de la riqueza territorial de esta provincia, como me complazco sobre manera en ver que mis tareas y sacrificios por el bien de ella tienen el efecto que apetezco, me ocupo casi incesantemente en el examen de los diferentes productos que hay en la misma: y por un calculo aproximado puedo decir que el adelanto en el año presente es el siguiente:

- Casas, ciento*
- Pujas de raices, un millon*
- Pies de coco, veinte y un mil*
- Aves, seis mil*
- Bacas, doscientas*
- Puercos, ochocientos*
- Arroz, veinte y cinco cavanos de sembradura*
- Maiz, cuarenta cavanos de id.*
- Poblacion, doscientas y cinquenta almas [sic].*

En la Ciénaga à E. de esta Ciudad se han sembrado ochocientas ochenta y cuatro mil y cien matas de sune, algunos maizales, algun poco de caña dulce y palay; de modo que un terreno que antes inculto lleno de carrizales y malezas perjudiciales ademas à la salud pública, hoy puede reputarse un almacen del articulo de mas uso en el pais y su valor de como diez mil pesos.

En la cienaga de Atantano, antes tambien un terreno de la misma especie, aun no tan perjudicial à la salud por su mayor distancia de los pueblos, se cogieron en el año presente casi trescientos cavanos de palay, sin embargo de haverse sembrado tarde en sazon parte de las siembras; en su vista los naturales se han conformado ... los almanegos [almantas?] estan hermosisimos y ... en ningun otro punto de la isla pareciendome segun el terreno abierto podrán acaso sembrarse hasta fin del mes próximo Diciembre

treinta cavares; y siendo su producto en algunas siembras de la cosecha anterior hasta de ciento y veinte por uno, pueden esperarse ahora quizá tres mil cavares de cosecha su valor siete mil quinientos pesos: y aumentandose cada año (como es de esperar) las siembras llegará Dios mediante à ser un recurso de subsistencia de mucha consideracion. Estos naturales se admiran y estrañan hayan pasado tantos siglos sin haber sacado utilidad de terreno tan fértil; y como los Gobernadorcillos de esta Ciudad en los años 32, 33 y 34 son las principales personas que me han ayudado en beneficio público me ha parecido propio de mi deber y del caso para estímulo de los sucesivos darles un premio, señalando à cada uno de dichos Gobernadorcillos en la referida Ciénaga terreno para medio cavan de simiente despues de descuajado de las principales malezas por medio de culpados con destino à trabajo público.

En el pueblo de Agat, a consecuencia del celo y laboriosidad de su Rd. Cura Párroco D. Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, se han aumentado tambien mucho las siembras de palay y todo reunido à los adelantos en los años anteriores me hace creer no diferira mucho de cien mil pesos la suma total del aumento que estas islas han tenido en los tres años que estan à mi cuidado.

La suscripcion que hicimos varias personas para la construccion de teja y vasijeria en Agat no ha bastado à perfeccionar la empresa; se han hecho dos ó tres hornadas en que ha salido parte de la obra de muy buena calidad, como demuestran las dos tejas que tengo el honor de presentar à V.E., por manos del Sargento Martin Callejas, y lo demas hecho pedazo à causa de no haberse hallado todavia el justo medio de la mezcla de arena, y ... y del fuego. Yo he estado ... [veces sufriendo dolores] de muelas y cabeza, y otras tan ocupado durante este labor que apenas he podido pasar sino rara vez à ver la obra, pero concluida la visita de los pueblos, me propongo estar allí de firme aunque sean dos ó tres meses à el logro de tan útil proyecto.

Reina la tranquilidad pública en un grado el mas lisonjero, aunque la propension de los naturales hacia la ociosidad es grande, voy por medios suaves y con pequeñas mortificaciones precisandolos à la ocupacion y ellos conocen el beneficio: siendo lastimoso se interrumpa la marcha con que caminan à su felicidad.

Los [buques] extrangeros, aunque han sentido el derecho de aduanage salen sin embargo contentos de la hospitalidad. Sus tripulaciones, aunque es lo peor que es imaginable, se ven preecisados à guardar órden, lo mismo que cuantos moradores sin excepcion de clase, condicion, ni estado hay en estas Yslas, y en prueba de esta verdad acompaño adjunta à manos de V.E la carta con que desde el puerto de Umata se despedió de mi el Teniente de la Real Armada Ynglesa, Mr. Pedro Petri.

En fin E.S. mi conciencia no tiene el mas pequeño remorsimiento de haber dejado de llenar (cuanto ha estado de mi parte) los deberes de la politica, de la justicia y del celo por el bien de estos habitantes, seguridad y tranquilidad del territorio, siendo mi satisfaccion en ello tan grande, que à vista de los resultados me olvido de los muchos sacrificios y desvelos que he invertido en la empresa, y me parece nada cuanto he trabajado en ella.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 27 de Noviembre de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A1] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Although I have not yet done the annual inspection of all the villages of this Island, to be able to bring to the attention of Y.E. the exact increase in the territorial wealth of this province, as I take great pleasure in seeing that my labors and sacrifices for its welfare have the effect that I craved for, however, by an approximate calculation, I can say that the progress this year is as follows:

- Houses: 100;
- Various roots: 1 million stalks;
- Coconut plantings: 21,000;
- Fowls: 6,000;
- Cows: 200;
- Pigs: 800;
- Rice: 25 cabans sown;
- Corn: 40 cabans sown;
- Population: 250 souls [sic].

In the swamp to the E. of this City have been planted 884,100 stalks of *suní*, a few corn patches, a few more of sugarcane and rice; so that a piece of land that was not cultivated before and was full of reeds and bursh that were even harmful to public health, today can be said to be a storehouse of an article of greatest use in this country and its value is about 10,000 pesos.

In the swamp of Atantano, which was also a similar type of land before, though not so harmful to health on account of its greater distance to the villages, there have been harvested this year 300 cabans of rice, in spite of part of the planing having been done late in the season. In view of this, the natives have agreed ... the view of the rows upon rows are very beautiful and ... in no other point of the island can a field be that open, so that there may be planted an additional 30 cabans by the end of December. Given the yield in some cases in the past has been as mcuh as 120 to 1, they may now expect perhaps 3,000 cabans in harvest, a value of 7,500 pesos. And by increasing the planting area every year (as I hope) the harvest will become, God helping, a very considerable resource. These natives are surprised and sorry that so many centuries have passed without having gotten anything from such a fertile land; and given that the assistant mayors of this City were the principal persons who have helped me, during the years 1832, 1833, and 1834, for the public good, it seemed to me proper to my duty and fitting under the circumstances in order to stimulate them in the future, to give them a reward by allotting to each of said assistants in the above-mentioned swamp some plot

for half a caban for seeding, after it has been cleared of the main brush by means of persons who have been sentenced to public work.

In the village of Agat, as a consequence of the zeal and activity of its Rev. Father Curate, Don Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, the rice plantings have also been increased very much. All in all, when all the advances over the previous years are added together, I believe that the sum total of the increase that these islands have had during the three years that they have been in my care would not differ much from 100,000 pesos.

The subscription that we made, various persons and I, for the construction of a kiln to make tiles and pottery in Agat has not been sufficient to achieve the purpose; two or three trials have been made and only part of the products have been of very high quality, as shown by the two tiles that I have the honor to send to Y.E. through Sergeant Martín Callejas; the rest broke into pieces because the just mixture of sand, ...[clay?] and fire has not yet been found. I have been ... [suffering from] toothaches and headaches, and other [aches] that have kept me busy during this work, so that I could hardly go there to see the project, but, once the inspection of the villages is over, I intend to stay there for as long as necessary to make this useful project succeed, though it be two or three months.

Public tranquillity prevails to a pleasing degree; although the natives have a great propensity for idleness, I make use of soft means and with small mortifications, urging them to continue the efforts for their own benefit, as it would be a pity if their march toward their happiness be interrupted.

The foreign [ships], although they have resented the customs duty, nevertheless leave satisfied with our hospitality. Their crews, although they are the worst people imaginable, have been forced to keep order, the same as any of the residents, no matter what their category, condition, or status in these Islands. As a proof of this truth, I enclose for the attention of Y.E. the letter written to me by the Lieutenant of the English Royal Navy, Mr. Peter Petri, upon leaving the port of Umata.

In short, Sir, my conscience has not the least remorse for having left undone things that were within my power, as I attended to my duties in the political arena, in justice and zeal for the welfare of these inhabitants, their security and the tranquility of the territory, so much so that when I look at the results, I forget the many sacrifices and sleeplessness that I have invested in the enterprise, and it seems that it has been all worthwhile.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 27 November 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines,.

E2. The story of Father Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo really begins in 1834

Note: Fr. Ciriaco had arrived at Guam in 1814. His real family name has never been recorded.

Remarks made by Lieut. Safford

Source: Safford's notes, pp. 219-223.

...
 Don José Herrero told me that Padre Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo was a Tagalog by birth, that he was not handsome, and that his skin was quite dark. He and Villalobos were intimate friends. He was a very thrifty man. His house-keeper (*ama de llaves*) was Juana Crisostomo, or as the islanders called her "Juana Chano." The following children were born to her:

—**Juana.**—She married Vicente de León Guerrero. For her Padre Ciriaco built the fine house of masonry in the quarter called San Ramón (House Nñ 4 [in 1900]). She had children: Antonio, who married Ana de Ahuilar; Tomasa, who married Martín(?) Palomo.

—**Rosa.**—She married José Martinez. For her he built the house, opposite that of Don Justo de la Cruz. She had children: Juan, who married Rosa Pangelinan; Guadalupe, the first wife of Felix de Torres; Joaquina, who married Francisco de Torres; maria, who married Pedro Ada of Saipapn; Emiliana, who married Joaquín Perez.

—**Ana.**—She married Francisco Suarez, a Spaniard, a Sergeant of Artillery, for whom he built the house in front of the church. She had one son, Antonio, one of my clerks.

—**Leocadio.**—He married Ana de la Cruz, sister of Don Justo de la Cruz. Thjey had a son, Manuel, who went away in a whaler. He built for Leocadio House N° 3, in San Ramón.

—**Vicente**, for whom he built the house on the edge of the marsh. He had a daughter, María, who married José de la Cruz.

—**"Bada,"** who did not marry, but who had a daughter, Consolación, House N° 2 in San Ramón, who married Luís de Torres (1st wife).

Not far from the village of Sinajaña is a low place to the right of the road from Agaña. I saw the ruins of a house of masonry. The stone steps are still in place, but one and has fallen, and a banyan tree is spreading its snake-like roots over it. This was the country house of Padre Ciriaco. Don José Herrero told me that he often went there for recreation together with Governor Villalobos; that he was devoted to his children, for all of whom he provided well, building for each a good house of masonry and tiles. Some of the leading citizens of Guam are his descendents. He was much liked and respected by all the governors.¹

¹ Ed. note: He died in January 1849. Some 130 years later, one of his descendants became a priest; when already a Monsignor in Saipan in 1983, he personally showed me his family tree and was proud of having Fr. Ciriaco as his ancestor...

E3. More samples sent to Manila—Letter dated 5 December 1834

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Tengo el honor de dirigir respetuosamente à manos de V.E. con un Cajoncito que conduce al intento el Sargento 2º Martin Callejas, otro pedazo de piedra parecida à la llamada de pez, con algunos caracoles y sigayes, producciones de este pais. Deseo llegue todo felizmente y merezca à la bondad de V.E. su collocacion ... de otras provincias.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 5 de Diciembre de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to respectfully address to Y.E. a small crate which I have placed in the care of Sergeant 2nd class Martín Callejas for the purpose, and in it a piece of stone that appears to be the type called fish-stone, along with a few sea-shells and *sigays*, products of this country. I wish that everything will get there alright and that Y.E. will kindly see them fit for exhibiting them ... [with others] from other provinces.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 5 December 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Documents 1834F

The Spanish ship that became Hawaiian

F1. Ship report, dated 1 December 1834

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

*En el año actual han fondeado en los puertos de esta Ysla diez y nueve Fragatas Ynglesas y nueve Anglo Americanas, todos con destino à la pesca de la Ballena; y el Bergantin **Kalaimoku** con Bandera de Sandwich, antes **Legazpi**.*

Han pasado otros à la vista sin haber podido reconocerse.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 1º de Diciembre de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Marina en Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

During the present year, there have anchored in the ports of this Island 19 English frigates and 9 Anglo-American ones, all dedicated to the whale fishery, plus the brig **Kalaimolu** flying the flag of the Sandwich Islands, formerly **Legazpi**.

Other ships have passed in sight of the island but they have not been recognized.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 1 December 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excelelncy the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

F2. The Kalaimoku on the way to Manila

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Deseando se sirva V.E. tener conocimiento de todas las producciones de este pais he encargado à D. Francisco de Costejarena que sale para esa Capital en el Bergantin Ka-

laimoku me haga el favor de conducir à manos de V.E. segun lo verifica un par de botellas de aguardiente refinado de coco de la mejor calidad: é igualmente ... marina en partes re--tida de ... cuya circunstancia la constituye à mi parecer en la clase de singular en su genero.

Con este motivo tambien elevo al Superior conocimiento de V.E. he logrado hacer aguardiente muy buena de la fruta del limoncito, de que hay aqui notabilisima abundancia con el objeto de ver si proporcionaba alguna utilidad al pais de esta produccion, pero su costo es crecido, no excede en bondad à el de coco, y desistí por estas razones de la empresa.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 9 de Diciembre de 1834.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Wishing to inform Y.E. to all the products of this country, I have entrusted Don Francisco de Aostejarena,¹ who is on his way to that Capital aboard the brig **Kalai-moku** to do me the favor to deliver into the hands of Y.E. a couple of bottles of refined coconut brandy of the best quality; and in addition ... [some marine product, illegible] ... whose circumstance it seems to me to be of the category of something curious in its nature.

With this in mind, I also bring to the Superior attention of Y.E. that I have managed to produce a very good brandy with the fruit of the *limoncito* [Chinese rose bush], of which there is an enormous abundance here, for the purpose of experimenting, to see if its production would be of any utility for the country, but the cost was too high and its quality no better than coconut brandy; I therefore desisted from this experiment for these reasons.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 9 December 1834.

Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: He was probably the Supercargo of the brig.

Documents 1834H

The loss of the schooner **Dash**, Captain Keating, at Ngulu

Sources: Articles in the New England press; reprinted in Gerard Ward's American Activities, under Ngulu 1-5.

H1. Article in the Essex Register, Salem, Sept. 29, 1834

Note: Similar reports appeared in the Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, Sept. 25; Salem Gazette, Sept. 26; The Constitutionalist, Salem Sept. 27; The Landmark, Salem, Sept. 27; Nantucket Inquirer, Oct. 1.

The Schr. **Dash**, Keating, of Boston (formerly rescue cutter Search) got on a reef at the Caroline Islands about 16th March, and while attempting to heave off, the natives made an attack on her, killed three men, and wounded the Capt. who, with the survivors, made their escape in boats and arrived at the Pelew Islands, where part of them quit. Capt. K. and two mates reached Bourias, a Spanish province in April on their way to Manilla.

(The N. Bedford gazette states, that a friend who visited the Caroline Islands in the early part of 1833 has informed us that the natives are the most barbarous of any he visited in the S. Seas. Five of the crew of Br. whale ship **Ann Robinson**¹ were murdered by them, the same year, while on shore. It is stated that at certain seasons they have a regular trade with the Ladrone Islands, several hundred miles distant. After disposing of their cargoes they are employed by the indolent Spaniards of Guam. American whalemens seldom touch there).

¹ Ed. note: Rather the Anna Robertson, Capt. Brown, reported at Guam in April 1832 and back in London in October 1833.

H2. Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser & Patriot, Oct. 9, 1834

Note: Similar reports in Salem Mercury, Oct. 8; Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, Oct. 8; The Daily Atlas, Boston, Oct. 9; New Bedford Mercury, Oct. 10; Salem Observer, Oct. 11.

Salem, Oct. 3.—The brig **Charles Doggett**,¹ which arrived here yesterday, our readers will recollect is the vessel which suffered the loss of a part of her crew, by massacre, at the Fegee and Pelew Islands. Capt. Batchelder gives a little additional information respecting the crew of the Schr. **Dash**, Keating of Boston, three of whom were murdered at the Caroline Islands, on the 12th of March last., The Captain, with the remainder of the crew, took the boat and went to the Pelew Islands, and three of them stopped there. The rest proceeded in a boat to Samar Isle, where two more stopped. The remainder proceeded to Burias Island in the Straits of Manila, whence Cappt. Keating wrote to the American Consul for aid, he being detained at Burias by the Spanish Authorities.—

H3. Article in Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, Dec. 24, 1834

Loss of the Dash.

We have, by the arrival of our friend, Captain Keating, and a part of the crew of that vessel, come in possession of some facts relative to her loss, and the singular and almost miraculous escape of part of the crew, which cannot fail of being interesting to our readers.

The vessel sailed from Manilla, in June, 1826 [sic = 1833?], on a trading voyage to the Pacific Ocean. She made her passage to the eastward through the Straits of St. Bernadine, against the Monsoon and had touched at a number of islands, On the 12th of March, being among the Caroline Islands, they made a small island called Matalotes [Ngulu], and passed within a mile of it: a number of canoes came off, and offered some trinkets for sale; they appeared friendly but were not permitted to come on board.

On the same evening, while standing to the N.W., they found themselves suddenly on the breakers; the vessel eventually missing stays and struck on a coral reef. On exploring the reef, the only chance of preserving the vessel seemed to be by driving her over it. The next day a number of canoes came off to them from the island they had passed the day previous, which was about 10 miles distant; the canoe men appeared friendly, and on making them some small presents they went away, anchoring their canoes on the outer part of the reef.

¹ Ed. note: The Charles Doggett of Salem had departed in January 1833 in charge of Captain Goowin.

The next day they shaped their course for the Pelew Islands. They continued their course guided by the sun and stars and on the thir day at sunset had the good fortune to get sight of the Pelew Islands. On approaching the shore, they saw a few natives in the bushes, and immediately on landing were seized by an armed multitude, who took them to their village and presented them to their Chief. In the afternoon they were taken to another Chief who seemed to possess more power than the first one. They had food and were lodged in a large house which every village has called their "warehouse."

The next morning one of the principal Rupaks or Chiefs of Coral [Koror] arrived, who immediately took them under his protection. The King of Coral supplied them with a compass and provisions and five of them embarked for Manilla. They made the land near the Straits of St. Bernadine and landed, after nine days to procure food. They found the natives horribly poor and could procure nothing but a few cocoanuts. They eventually passed the Straits of St. Bernardine and landing at a village about a hundred miles from Manilla were taken in custody by the Spanish authorities, and detained until orders were received from Manilla to send them to that place. They arrived there about the last of May, and received every attention and kindness from their countrymen at that place, until they found an opportunity to return to the United States, where they arrived about a fortnight since.

Document 1834I

Dr. Coulter passed by the Gilberts, ca. 1834

Source: John Coulter, M.D. Adventures on the Western Coast of South America, and the Interior of California: including a Narrative of Incidents at the Kingsmill Islands, New Ireland, New Britain, New Guinea, and other islands in the Pacific Ocean; with an account of the natural productions, and the manners and customs, in peace and war, of the various savage tribes visited (2 volumes, London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847).

Note: Dr. Coulter's previous book entitled: Adventures in the Pacific, makes no reference at all to any part of Micronesia.

Introductory note.

Dr. Coulter served as a surgeon aboard a shaler, before he joined a trading schooner. It appears that the English whaler in question was the **Stratford**, Captain Lock, which he abandoned in California to join the English brigantine, later schooner, **Hound**, Captain Trainer, aboard which he visited the Gilbert Islands.

CHAPTER XVIII

... Arrival of the brigantine Hound at St. Francisco.—An old acquaintance—Captain Trainer.—The Captain intended course to the westward.—I make arrangements to accompany him in the Hound.—We sail from St. Francisco.

...
I had some idea of going in one of the small coasting vessels to some of the more southern ports, as I might there find some vessel bound off in the direction I intended to go. At another moment I would form the notion of remaining where I was until an opportunity offered, as I had time enough to spare for that purpose, before the appointed time arrived for the **Stratford** to be at Tahiti.

Circumstances soon afterwards put to flight all my indecisive plans and gave my thoughts a direct range for the future. One morning, while taking my usual walk with a friend along the shore of the bay, our attention was directed to a vessel under a cloud of canvas, sailing fast up to the usual anchorage. The hull appeared to be beautifully moulded, the masts with a great rake aft, she had snow-white sails, and was brigantine rigged. The seaman-like manner in which she was handled and brought to her moorings, all attracted our admiration.

The custom is here, as in all distant ports, to go off and welcome the stranger.; I accompanied some others in a boat, and, on ranging alongside, was surprised to find myself hailed in a friendly manner by the captain of this handsome vessel, who turned out to be an old and highly esteemed acquaintance that I formerly fell in with at Talcahuana, the seaport of Conception in Chili. He was astonished, yet glad to meet me here, and, after giving some orders on board his vessel, he accompanied us on shore, where the evening was pleasantly spent by each recounting to the other the particulars of occurrence since we last met.

Captain Trainer, such was his name, when I saw him last, owned and commanded a large brig, with which he traded along the western coasts of South and North America, and among the islands of the Pacific, for some years. Shortly after we parted at Conception he sold the brig, which was getting rather leaky, to a merchant in Valparaiso, and soon after purchased the brigantine named the "Hound," from an American, who had only a few days previously brought her from the United States, and he seemed greatly delighted with her. She was built at Baltimore, was one of the regular clippers, and sailed "like a witch;" was about two hundred tons burthen, and had a light draught of water. Her cabin was also tastefully fitted up for respectable passengers when any might occasionally offer. Trainer was an Englishman by birth, open and fearless in the expression of his face, of middle size, stoutly built, and every inch of him a thorough sailor. He informed me that he was trading along the coast, endeavouring to pick up some furs, &c., and that after taking in some fresh water, and doing some repairs to his rigging here, he intended to start off far to the westward, to trade among the islands of the Indian Archipelago for turtle, tortoise-shell, beche-de-mar, dye-woods, &c.; and, after some time, to call at Tahiti for a quantity of arrowroot, pearl, pearl-shell, &c., which he expected would be ready for him after a few months.

I was now getting tired of St. Francisco and the surrounding country, turned over matters in my mind, and after considering (as I have said) that the time of his expected arrival at the Georgian Islands would answer my views perfectly, I came to the determination of arranging with him for my passage during the time, to be landed at Tahiti on his return to the eastward. This turn of matters pleased the jolly captain much, and I also anticipated much pleasurable variety during a cruise with him for a few months.

In three days after his arrival he was ready for sea again, and, after taking a friendly leave of those on shore, whose marked kindness I shall long remember, we embarked in the schooner [sic] and was soon, aided by a stiff breeze, cutting our way through the water out of this magnificent bay. On getting well out into the open sea, where the schooner, as it were, skipped along the surface, the easy manner in which she steered and her buoyant action told me at once that she was a delightful craft to sail in. In trading among islands in the Pacific with natives it is also necessary to have both vessel and crew well armed, and prepared against treachery. This vessel had four small carronade-guns and a long brass nine-pounder, small arms sufficient, and a lively crew of sixteen men.

CHAPTER XIX.

Steer westerly.—Fine weather.—Cross the meridian of 180°.—Steer for the Kingsmill Islands.—Taputonea or Drummonds Island.—Anchor off the town of Utiroo.—Aspect of the island.—Its productions.—An account of the natives and their costume.—Comical war dress.—Denseness of the population.—Cannibalism.—Polygamy.—The Hound tabooed.—Danger in trading at these islands.—Old Wowma; his method of salutation.

After clearing the land the wind held on for some days from the N.W. and kept the schooner close hauled to it, steering westerly and southerly, we sighted several small islands, ran on over a great tract of ocean, experiencing generally good weather, without any incident worth naming, until we arrived on the equator in the meridian of 180°. The course was shaped for the centre of the Kingsmill group of islands, came in sight of "Taputonea" [Tabiteuea], or Drummonds Island, steered for the north-west end of it, entered one of the openings in the broad reef that stretches out everywhere round those islands, and came to an anchor off the town of Utiroo [Utiroa], at a respectful distance, so as not to be too close to either the shore or natives on it.

This is one of the islands of coralline formation which has a barrier reef of rocks and coral extending from two to four miles out from the shore, which effectually breaks the swell and leaves smooth water between it and the shore. The island lies in 1° 25' south lat., and 174° 50' east long., is about thirty-five or forty miles long; it is very narrow, in fact, in some places not more than a mile; in the widest part that I visited I think it certainly did not exceed three miles in width; the centre is considerably elevated in some parts, but the low ground and near the shore is only a few feet above high-water mark.

The pandanus trees in great luxuriant fringe the beach round the island, and the interior is irregularly covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, and some patches of agreeably scented shrubs, melons, pumpkins, &c., grow in luxuriance here, but the natives pay little or no attention to their culture. Though there are many hogs ranging and feeding through the distant cocoa-nut groves, they are not much used or encouraged near the habitations or towns, from their nasty method of feeding, and the disagreeable smell they produce. Poultry are in great abundance and are taken every care of, particularly the cocks, the natives of every island in this group being madly fond of cock-fighting; in fact, cock-fighting, fishing, and war seem to engross all their attention.

This island, from its position, (1° 25' south lat., and 174° 50' east long.) is in a warm climate; the natives require little clothing, indeed, I may say, they generally go naked, occasionally only throwing a light mat over the body to keep off the cold sea breeze which sometimes sweeps over the island; however, they generally keep themselves weather proof by greasing their bodies over with cocoa-nut oil. This, in some degree, preserves them from the intenseness of the sun's rays in calm weather, or the cool sea breeze in rough.

In war time their personal appearance is ludicrously changed: they wear a kind of cuirass or armour, made thick and strong, of the cocoa-nut bark fibre, and strips of bark interlined, which may sometimes save them from spears, arrows, &c., but is no

proof against ball. The head is surmounted by an extraordinary looking apology for a helmet, in a conical shape, and made of dried fishes skin, with two or three feathers of various colours stuck in the top for a plume. To see a troop of warriors thus accoutred would create a laugh in the most serious countenance; and the most amusing part of the exhibition is to observe them seriously staring and wondering what you are laughing at.

These islands are thickly inhabited, the people reside in towns or villages; there are four or five towns in this island, and Utiroo alone contains about four hundred houses. These various towns, and the chiefs who govern them, have civil wars with each other. They will thief from you anything they can lay hold of, if care is not taken; cut off boats, murder the crews for any plunder they can get, and, on the whole, are a fierce, savage-looking set, particularly during their wars; cannibalism is practised amongst them, yet an individual may land, live with them, and be hospitably entertained in perfect ease and safety, provided he conforms to their custom, particularly in costume, and has nothing whatever to lose or to be murdered for, and obtained by them.

I say he is safe here with these people under the circumstances I have mentioned, and we may all safely exclaim, so would any of us in a more civilised country or community, provided we had nothing to lose. "Poverty is a sore thing," yet it carries safety with it every where, even here among the savages. As usual in almost all the nchristianised islands of the Pacific, polygamy is here practised. A man may have as many wives as he likes; and even in this matter the poor man enjoys the privilege of poverty, and has only one, seldom two wives. The chiefs have whole houses full of them; indeed, the noise of talking, laughing, and singing, issuing from some of these many-wived houses, caused me to imagine, at first, that there was some kind of jubilee meeting held within.

How in the name of goodness those chiefs manage to keep them from quarrelling with each other, or all in a state of strict discipline, I cannot tell; yet they do, and that effectually, I assure you. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that these people are in the very depths of heathenism; they give way to all sorts of barbarism and licentiousness, and I feel sorry to have it to say that the generality of ships touching here (mostly English and American whalers) so completely encourage this immorality and vileness, that it is now the regular custom at the Kingsmill group. Whenever a ship drops her anchor, the first offering from the shore is a deck-load of women.

As soon as the **Hound** let go her anchor, dozens of young women came alongside; and what appeared to be most horrible was the fact of their being brought there by their fathers, mothers, and brothers. However, with the crew of the schooner they were apparently vexed and disappointed, as Captain Trainer had "tabooed" the ship,—that is, placed a restriction on her, arranged the crew in relief guards, with strict orders not to allow man, woman, or child on board without permission from him, and, to complete all, the boarding nettings were turned up, which effectually guarded the edeck from intrusion or surprise.

Indeed, every precaution at such a place is absolutely necessary, particularly with a small vessel, as the natural treachery of the natives might induce them to board, which,

if once successfully accomplished, would be the inevitable death of all the crew, plunder, and final destruction of the vessel. Such was the character of the natives, and such the island at which we lay at anchor in so guarded a manner, for the purpose of trading for beche-de-mar, turtle-shell, &c. I may now also relate some of the occurrences at it, as they will illustrate farther and more particularly their manners and customs.

The **Hound** was scarcely moored in safety when a number of canoes put off from the shore and came alongside, laughing and jabbering away at a merry rate. They were all eagerly anxious to get on board, particularly twenty or thirty comely young women, who considered that they at least had the privilege of stopping on board while the vessel lay there, as they were generally welcomed or favourably received by other ships that touched at their island; and it was some time before they could believe the reality, that the schooner was tabooed. Some laughed immoderately at the disappointed looks of others, but most of them, though they hung round the vessel for a short time afterwards, went on shore in a very sulky mood. However, the sailors rigidly obeyed their orders (though in a good-humoured anner) of not permitting any one to board without permission, so we had our vessel clear of the natives.

Captain Trainer had visited this island more than once before, and was immediately recognised by many of the natives, who called him "Tainey," which was as close a pronunciation of his name as they could give. As soon as the news reached the shore that it was "Tainey," an old man named "Wowma," a chief of one of the more southern towns or districts of this island, came off in a canoe; he was in the usual costume of the natives, that is, a small fine matting (made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk) round his loins, and another or coarser texture throuwn over his shoulders after the fashion of a mantle. It was quite evedient that he and "Tainey," as he called the captain, were old acquaintances, and he renewed his friendship in the usual manner of this group of islands, that is, by taking a little congealed cocoa-nut oil out of a small gourd that was suspended from his left arm, and anointed the captain by rubbing it on his face, which ordeal he very sensibly, and with a ludicrously serious aspect, submitted to.

I was next introduced to old Wowma as a great man and passenger with him, and served in a similar manner. After giving my face a rub of the oil, the old chief gave me a proof that he picked up some words of English from the whalers, who often touched here, by exclaiming, "Me friendly you, you friendly me; all right." The first and second mates were also oiled, and then we were considered, as the old man said, "all right," that is, his friends and under his protection.

I was about wiping the oil off my face, when the captain told me not to do so during our first interview with the chief, as it would be considered by him insulting and a breaking of the contract of friendship already made. The oil or grease with which the chiefs anoint or, rather, mark their friends, is of different colours, caused by mixing up with it earths of various shades which exist on parts of the isalnds. Sometimes pulverised charcoal or lamp-black is used, so that each chief has his particular colour; and any stranger bearing on his face either white, black, brown, red, &c., is under the protection of the chief whose colour he wears.

Wowma's mark was red; and each of us bearing the marks of his four fingers and thumb, drawn from our forehead to our chin down the face, presented certainly a very comical appearance, the effect being much increased by each laughing at the other. After this farce was over, Trainer, during a conversation with the chief, which consisted of various signs and grunts, was informed that there was a good many bundles of turtle-shell collected on the island, but very little of that peculiar gelatinous fish which, in a dried state, brings so good a price in the Chinese market—the beche-de-mar. On the N.E. part or end of the island there was not much lately to be found about the reefs; but Wowma did not just now know what might be procured at the extreme S.W. end of the island, as he had not been there for some time, in consequence of a misunderstanding and civil war which existed between the chiefs on the island.

CHAPTER XX.

A Sandwich Island native acts as interpreter.—My landing on the island.—Young Hoonoo, his influence.—A native mess.—Song and dance.—Hoonoo allots a house to me.—Its internal arrangements.—Native camp.—Merriment of the natives.—Half-a-dozen of young girls enter my dormitory.—Their mirth.—Their object in visiting me.—I take refuge in Hoonoo's house for the night.—Abundance of poultry.—Town of Poona.—Cock-fighting.

We were greatly aided in obtaining the desired informatino about the present trade and state of this group of island by using or employing a native of the Sandwich Islands, who was now on shore here. He had been landed by a whaler, about two years previous to our visit, and spoke English so as to be understood by us. The information he gave to Trainer seemed to give him satisfaction, as to the turtle-shell, &c. to be procured.

On the day follwoing our arrival, the business of trading was commenced between the captain and the natives; and, although great numbers of natives were round the vessel, some through curiosity, others to trade, and the noise was greaat, as the nettings were raised only on one side at the gangway, all was conducted on board in a very orderly manner. A flag was flying at the mast-head, as a signal for the natives of the time of trading on board, which was from 10 A.M. until 6 P.M. each day. The flag was then hauled down until the next day.

I had a conversation with the captain about the propriety or safety of going on shore. He told me he was obliged to remain on board, as they knew him to be the captain, or, as they called him, chief; and, if he should place himself incautiously in their power on shore, the most friendly of them would be treacherous enough to hold him until they would receive a large ransom for his release; but he assured me in the most positibe manner that, if I liked to go on shore amongst them and examine the island, I should be not only safe, but hospitably received by the natives, and particularly Wowma's friends, who were some miles further off on the island.

The people of Utiroo were also his friends at present, so that I might go among them as I pleased; but he advised me strongly not to take any thing that could be coveted or pilfered from me on shore, as it sometimes happened that men were killed for even a picket-knife that a native might desire to possess. He told me also to bear Wowma's mark or insignia of friendship until the natives saw that I was a friend and under protection.

The third morning after our arrival I made my début on shore. The weather was warm and very fine, so that my entire dress consisted of only a shirt, trousers, and straw hat; my face streaked with the reddish-coloured oil. I was received in a very clamorous but friendly manner. The throng of people around e was not so agreeable; and I soon found that they were feeling my garments to ascertain if I had any thing worth stealing or coveting. The crowd was so great, that I could scarcely advance, until a stout young chief, named Hoonoo, pushed with little ceremony the people off, took me by the arm, and led me away with him to his house, which was at the farther end of the town.

This habitation of his was like the rest of them in Utiroo, the walls built with stakes, the roof thatched with cocoa-nut leaves; in dimensions it was larger than some of them, as it belonged to a chief; in fact, he had two, another adjoining this, which he told me, through the interpreter, was to be mine during my stay. He had four wives, all comely to look upon, apparently happy, and decidedly merry, for they continued giggling and laughing until he ordered them, by some native expression, to make less noise. A collation was now served up of broiled fish and a thick kind of treacle, which last I found to be manufactured from the cocoa-nut tree; but, as I had not an opportunity to witness the operation, I cannot, of course, describe it.

After this, the females favoured us with a deep sonorous chant for about half an hour, and ended the entertainment by a ludicrous kind of a dance, resembling a jig; and a general one it was, for all joined in it except the author of this book, who sat apart watching, with no small curiosity, this merry group. The interpreter, who was still with me, exerted himself as much as any of them, and was quite up to the affair. We had then an afternoon walk through the town, diving into houses here and there that belonged to my friend's intimate acquaintances. I could see in the distance that it was past the trading hour on board, as the flag was hauled down, and night was now drawing near. After a circuitous walk that afforded me much variety, I went back with Hoonoo to his house to rest for the night.

The adjoining one was arranged for my use. There was a thick coating of dried cocoa-nut tree leaves spread all over the floor, tender branches of the pandanus were strewed over, and with a large matting on this, I may say soft bed, and another one to cover the persons of those who lay down, the sleeping arrangements were perfect. As for a pillow, a log of wood along the side of the house answered perfectly well. The sun descended below the horizon and night quickly followed. The Sandwich islander was with me: he appeared to be a very intelligent man, and, speaking English well enough to be understood, both informed and amused me with stories of these islanders.

I had the luxury (not one generally used by the natives) of a lamp of very primitive structure, which threw a dull though sufficient light over my present dormitory. It was nothing more than a section of a cocoa-nut shell, filled with cocoa-nut oil, a small pulpy kind of reed for a wick; it rested on a small mound of clay or sand in a corner, and well apart from the dried leafy bed, as a precaution against fire. The door of the house was merely of wicker-work, but strong enough to keep out the cocks and hens, and prevent their roosting with us.

We could hear the men and women laughing and singing in the other houses about until a late hour. I became at last tired of the native's talk, and was about anticipating an agreeable sleep on my bed of leaves, in the clean looking mat, when a half-suppressed laugh, or tittering about the house, attracted my attention. On looking through the open crevices of this hut, I saw several figures moving about and peeping in upon us. I turned round to the interpreter, and was in the act of getting an explanation, when the apology for a door was opened, and in stalked half-a-dozen of young and well-looking girls.

Having seated themselves in the centre of the floor, the first thing they did was to look at me, then laugh heartily. A song was commenced and continued for several minutes, accompanied by the occasional clapping of hands, then another chorus of laughing, and all got up to caper and dance round the house and over the soft covering of the floor. "Well, thought I, these people are certainly very merry, and inclined to entertain their guest." I could perceive, by an occasional exclamation, that some of them had picked up a word or two of English from previous visitors.

They seemed to enjoy themselves in the very climax of merriment. When I asked the man what was all the fun about, he answered, grinning in a peculiar manner, "By-and-by, you'll see." They seemed at last to have partially tired themselves, and again squatted on the bed of leaves. Some lay down. Their only dress consisted of a small cloth round the waist, which extended nearly to the knees. Two or three of them now stood up and spoke to me in the native language.

I was all along imagining that the entire performance was intended as an act of hospitality for my amusement, when my interpreter informed me that they were told to come here by Hoonoo, who had tabooed them all to me for wives. I was certainly amazed at first at this peculiar and immoral stretch of hospitality, on the part of my young friend the chief, but soon found out that such an act was customary with the strangers visiting those islands, and that it would be considered strange, unusual, and partially insulting to turn them out.

However, I acted a determined part, and told them I did not want one, not to speak of half-a-dozen wives; they told the interpreter they would stop where they were, that they were (in their English) "wiffy me," and would not stir. I was now informed that all women tabooed to any man, looked upon him as long as he remained as their husband, and that to turn them away would insult them and their friends, and that some of their male relatives might revenge the act. However, bribery has its influence here as amongst civilised people, and I promised presents to all these young women, which compromised matters in some measure, though I was obliged to leave them in undisturbed possession of the building and go into Hoonoo's house, where I folded myself up in a mat and slept in a corner till daylight the next day.

They are all averse to eating any of the poultry that abounds here; however, I had one for breakfast, and after another dance and singing match, I walked about the town and neighbouring part of the island. There was only one annoyance during the excursion, and that was, the girls and their friends to whom I was to make some presents followed every where I went, until Hoonoo gave me a small club or staff of rank, and by shaking it at them, they annoyed me no farther. I visited some of the other towns further down the island, which all appeared to be thickly inhabited. The actions of the people appeared to be excited, and their minds at present engrossed, with the civil war which was going on between some of the chiefs on the southernmost part of the island.

At one of the towns named Poona,¹ about 12 miles miles from Utiroo, a grand council was to meet, and old Wowma, who was on board our schooner, was summoned to attend at its deliberations. I was very curious to see this meeting, and for the purpose of knowing what they were about, I procured the attendance of the interpreter.

In approaching the town we came in contact with a group of about one hundred people, excitingly and ardently engaged in cock-fighting. Being a stranger, and bearing the friendly mark of Wowma, a passage was at once made for me to the inside of the circle, where the poor cocks were fighting each other; two lay dead that had already been killed, and two more were engaged in a cruel conflict. The excitement of the natives appeared to be great when either of the birds were knocked over by the other. The noisy vociferations of this assemblage while thus engaged could be heard far off; there did not appear to be any betting or stakes laid on the combat; the whole affair was got up for the satisfaction of seeing the poor cocks destroy each other.

It is a very general amusement with these natives, even the old men look on with pleasure, and they all take a great delight in training up their birds for fighting. It was the first regular cock-fight that I was ever present at, and must say, that, whether meetings for such purposes occur in the Kingsmill islands or in civilised Europe, they are barbarous in the extreme.

1 Ed. note: Rather, Pura, actually Kabura, 10 miles to the south.

CHAPTER XXI.

A grand council of war chiefs.—Htta's party.—The business of the council ends in a row.—The interpreter and I escape from the council-house.—Hatta's death.—Wowma addresses the excited crowd.—A compromise.—Excursion through the island.—A farther account of the natives.—Return to the north end of the island.—Natives strip me of my clothing.—Arrive at the town of Utiroo.—Go on board the Hound in comical costume.

The warriors were now assembling in front of the council-house, which was a long low one, constructed after their usual manner but more substantially, and thatched with cocoa-nut leaves; it was capable of containing about two hundred persons. At one end of it a large bed of leaves was laid with a mat on, as the place for the chiefs. Around the walls there was an array of warriors in three deep. These men belonged to various towns on the island, and accompanied their respective chiefs.

They were all clad in a cumbersome and thick matting, which was their war dress, or cuirass; a curiously shaped fish-skin cap covered their heads, resembling a painter's paper cap.¹ Some were armed with clubs of various shapes, but most of them had spears in their hands. They presented a rather laughable appearance, yet with a ferociously savage aspect; the chiefs entered and proceeded to the mat, where they seated themselves. I got a seat with the interpreter, beside our friend old Wowma. A low murmuring song was then commenced, and as parts of it terminated the warriors made a noise, by stamping their feet several times on the ground.

I was beginning to shake with a concealed laugh at the extreme singularity of the scene before me, which my interpreter observed and seriously warned me, by saying, "You laugh, vex chief, he break your head with club!" During the preliminaries of this curious meeting, one of the men near the doorway sneezed loudly, and was thrust out in the most unceremonious manner for thus disturbing the business. A ferocious-looking first spoke; for several minutes he addressed the assemblage in a rapid and furious manner. I was informed that the subject matter of his speech was the detail of an insult he thought he received from another chief. Another speaker followed, whose action was very fine, manly, and in every respect prepossessing. He was a bold, handsome-looking fellow.

A small man named Hatta, whose face was streaked with black grease, now stood up. His appearance was that of a demon, his language was rapidly uttered, and, in giving utterance to his devilish threats, looked like a fiend. Several now stood up and endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but his noise and fury rendered what the others said perfectly inaudible. At last an able young chief, whose patience had been exhausted, suddenly jumped up and laid rather violent hands on the speaker. Other chiefs now interfered. The grim warriors in the background, who formed Hatta's party, brandished their clubs, several spears were levelled at the group of chiefs near where I was, and the uproar became general in the house, as all had taken up the quarrel on one side or the

¹ Ed. note: Such hats were made with the skin of the puffer-fish.

other. The interpreter touched me on the shoulder, and said "Come;" and we made our escape outside through a small doorway that was fortunately close to us.

Though fairly clear of this savage group I was anxious to see the end of the affair, so remained for a little, at a respectful distance, to watch them. The noise shortly ceased in the house, and they all, both men and chiefs, issued forth. Several were hurt by blows of clubs, and were bleeding. Hatta, the chief cause of the quarrel, was carried out in a dying state, being mortally wounded in the chest with a spear. Wowma accidentally got a knock on the forehead, and had only one eye to see with, the other being swelled up. Hundreds of people were now assembled about the council-house, and all appeared to be savagely excited.

There was a small mound of sand in front of the house, on this my friend Wowma mounted, and addressed the crowds that were attracted to the spot for some time, and evidently with effect, as the angry feelings of the various parties began to subside, and, finally, the clubs and spears that were held up threateningly by the warriors were lowered in peace. Shortly after Hatta breathed his last; and I was told by the native with me that his accidental death was not regretted by any of the chiefs, as he was the sole disturber among them, and, from all accounts, the most treacherous man on the island, having more than once laid plans by which boats' crews from ships were cut off.

All difference were now at an end, but it was absolutely necessary for honour sake to appease the warriors of Hatta, and give them compensation for his death. This was soon effected by the party who killed him, presenting them with—what do you think? Why nothing more than six fighting-cocks! Although I dare not laugh in the presence of the council, yet I could now as I was clear of them, and did so in the most unequivocal manner, when I beheld and understood the nature of the peace offering as compensation for the chief's life! They rolled Hatta's body up in a mat, put their game-cocks carefully up in small bag-nets, and marched off in the direction of their village, with their newly acquired birds and the corpse of their chief!

After this grand council, however, matters were arranged. There was peace between the chiefs and towns of the island, which I took advantage of, and visited them all, sleeping occasionally in each of them as night would put an end to my rambles. On several of the men I observed a necklace, which appeared to be the supreme emblem of barbarism. It was formed by stringing together small human bones (those of the feet and hands), which were quite polished; a hole drilled through their ends for the string to pass through, and they hung down, making a clatter when the wearer of it moved his body. Other bones of the human body I also observed in many of their houses, which, upon inquiry, confirmed me in my suspicion of the sad fact that these men were cannibals. In Utiroo they denied it; but in the distant towns I visited they did not at all conceal the matter, but qualified the act by saying it was only the bodies of those who came to make war with them from the neighbouring islands, or strangers that treated them ill.

They appeared to be very expert fishermen, and caught the fish which seemed chiefly to form their diet on the edges of the reefs and sand-banks that surrounded their is-

land. I did not observe anywhere any trace of idols and or images of any kind. There appeared to be no worship or adoration of any thing in particular, neither had they any definite idea of an hereafter; at least such was the conclusion I came to from the limited means of interpretation I had. Indeed, the Sandwich Islander who was with me seemed to be as perfect a savage as any of them.

The chiefs and high people among them, who can afford it, keep as many wives as they please; and there are some men so poor, that they cannot have any; however, licentiousness and treachery are the prominent features in the character of these savages, and it is deeply to be regretted that the periodical visits of whale ships and others encourage gross immorality on the one hand, whilst on the other, by the commission of outrageous acts, they stimulate these heathens to treacherous revenge.

In making questions, I could not get a direct answer as to what ships lately called, or what occurred previous to our visit. All was evasion; but there appeared to be traces of acts of retaliation on their towns, some of which had been nearly reduced to ashes; and I was told by my interpreter that some ship, a short time before our arrival, had one of their men killed on shore, and, in revenge, landed in force and set fire to the town. The blaze must have been extensive, as the cocoa-nut trees near it were leafless and scorched. I have no doubt of its being one of the many acts committed in the Pacific Ocean that are never mentioned at home; and I was not at all surprised to find a Sandwich Islander here, left by a ship that required his services no longer.

It is a concealed though constant practice with ships trading and cruising in the Pacific Ocean to keep up their full complement of men by coaxing a native from any of the islands, and, after taking months of hard labour out of him, land him, not on his own island, as he expected, but anywhere that suits the convenience of the captain of the vessel. It is a cruel practice to take a native, who confides himself to a ship, away from his home and make no exertion ever to return him to it again.

Well, I went through nearly all this island and saw all that was curious in it; and as I was returning towards Utiroo, where the vessel lay, when within four miles of it, at a small village¹ where we rested, a band of armed natives surrounded us, first took the straw hat off my head, then began pulling at my shirt sleeves. This I resisted at first, and a loud and vehement conversation ensued between my guide and the ring-leader of the party. I looked at the interpreter. He seemed to shake with either rage or fear. He told me they must have my clothes, or they would kill us both. I was yet a long way from either friendly natives or the schooner whose protection I should get, and I found myself in what is strangely termed "a fix," so I had to make the best of it.

I did not relish the idea of marching along under a burning sun stark naked, so they were made to understand I would give them my hat, shirt, and trousers, which they seemed to covet so much, for one of their mats and cap. The chief of the gang instantly took off his fish-skin cap and war-mat and pitched them at me. I took off as quickly my garments and politely handed them to him, amidst peals of laughter from his

¹ Ed. note: Possibly Takea, near the present-day airport site.

rascally-looking followers. I then put the cap on my head; the mat covered my person sufficiently, and I walked on glad to get rid of them so safely, though metamorphosed so completely, that my friends in Utiroo, and particularly the half-dozen of wives allotted to me, did not at first recognize me.

It was late in the evening when I arrived at my young friend Hoonoo's house, so I rested there for the night, and early next morning (kingsmill Islander as I appeared) I jumped into a canoe and went on board the schooner, where I was welcomed by the uproarious laughter of the officers and crew. However, it was no wonder, as my native costume gave me rather a remarkable look; and Captain Trainer, in a sly manner, after surveying me from head to foot, remarked, "You have a hard weather look." "Why," said I, "I may have; but I only encountered one squall though, that carried away my clothes."

However, though I was well bantered on my arrival on board, yet the kindness of the captain and officers did not cause me to regret leaving an island the savage inhabitants of which I felt so disgusted with. During the day several canoes came off with my friends for the presents I had promised to them, with which they seemed satisfied. The old chief, Wowma, in consequence of the blow he received during the row that occurred at the council-house, could not come off for the present. Captain Trainer attended for him, however. They were sent in charge of his young friend Hoonoo. The Sandwich Islander, who served us essentially as an interpreter, entreated to be taken with us, in hopes of either being landed at some place more agreeable to him, or chance meeting with some vessel bound to his own islands. The captain, good-naturedly and without hesitation, granted his request.

CHAPTER XXII.

The boat's crew on shore attacked by natives.—Their escape.—Treachery of the islanders.—Daring attack on the vessel.—Bold attempt of the natives to board the Hound.—Their repulse.—We sail from Taputonea or Drummon's Island.—Deep-sea burial.—Disposal of the effects of the dead.—An anecdote.—Mixture of melancholy and superstition.—A ludicrous scene.—Cause of it.

There was some firewood collected on the beach which had yet to be got off, as we were in actual want of it. The natives were offered some trifling presents to bring it to the schooner, but acted so slowly that the captain got out of patience, and despatched his boat with four men and the interpreter to effect the desired object, gave them every caution not to mix with the natives, but work quick, and get off the wood at once; and if there should be any attempt to attack them on the part of the natives, to run to the waters edge and the guns of the schooner would cover them.

I may here remark, that it is a usual plan with almost all the islanders in the Pacific, who are treacherously disposed, to obtain first as much as they can by fair trade, and if the suspicions of the captain of any vessel trading with them should be lulled, so as to throw him off his guard by this appaent honesty and safety, to take advantage of such a state of things, and either cut off a boat's crew, or attempt to board and plunder the ship, if possible.

Trainer knew these people well, had no confidence whatever in any of them; though he seemed to take matters easy enough, he was well prepared for any surprise that might be attempted, and he was doubly particular in his means of defence, as the interpreter informed him that the natives (Wowma among the rest) were laying plans to board the schooner, thinking, as she was small, the capture of her would be an easy matter. Two boats' load of the firewood was got off, and the boat sent for the third and last. The wood was about forty yards from the beach and had to be carried down by the men to the boat. A number of canoes were rapidly shoved into the water and filled with men. This was the critical time, and we all kept ready, and an anxious watch on the boat.

In a few minutes the four men on shore were obsrved to run with all their might down to the water's edge, followed by a crowd of armed natives. They had scarcely time to get into the boat and push her off from the beach when the natives were close on and throwing a number of spears at them, one of which took effect on one of the men. However, the remaining three got her off into deep water. The interpreter, who could not get into the boat, stole into the water at another point, unperceived by the natives, and swam off. They were all taken quickly on board, but there was no time to hoist the boat up, as the canoes, filled with armed men, were fast approaching.

The seaman who was wounded in the boat died in a few minutes after reaching the deck: the spear had passed right through his chest. The men were all enraged at the loss of an excellent man and an esteemed messmate, were burning for revenge, and were waiting, with impatient eagerness, for the orders to slap at them. Trainer was at the gangway, with his eye on the advancing fleet of canoes; I was with him. We were well prepared. The short carronades were the most useful articles on the present occasion, and were loaded with grape. The crew were also armed.

“Well,” said the captain, “I have been here several times, always treated them fairly and kindly, and now, without cause, they have killed one of our best men, and want to take my vessel and murder us all. They shall catch it!” Thus spoke a really humane man, but he was irritated beyond all patience by the treachery of the natives and loss of his man. “Now, my lads, are you ready?” “Ay, ay, Sir!” “Remember, if we let these savages board us, not a man will be alive in then minutes!” “Never fear, Sir. We’ll pay them!” On the canoes came; they separated into two divisions, one advancing to the bows, the other towards the stern.

Trainer keenly eyed them, whilst he made frequent exclamations, such as “Well, you want the schooner, I suppose?” &c. The natives in the canoes were yelling and screaming loudly enough, and brandishing their spears with as threatening an aspect as they could make, seemingly with the intention or for the purpose of cowing us. They approached within twenty yards, when the captain ordered the guns at the bow to be pointed fair for the batch of canoes ahead, while he arranged for those approaching the stern. “Are you ready, men, fore and aft?” “Ay, ay, Sir.” “Let go, then.” The two caronades discharged their fatal showers of grape, and, before the smoke had rightly cleared away, they were loaded and again fired amongst the savages. “Load again, my lads,” said the captain.

There was scarcely any wind, and the smoke, which hung low on the water, was a few minutes in clearing away. The screaming of the wounded people was sppalling. Some canoes were sunk or capsized, and numbers of natives were swimming towards the shore. Nevertheless, tere were many of them yet that kept their ground, and had the reckless daring to make another bold push for the vessel’s side. “Fire,” said the captain again, and another volley of grape flew amongst them. This discharge had not the great effect of the former ones, as the canoes were closer, and the contents of the guns had not distance enough to scatter. The savages seemed to comprehend this, and in another moment were clinging to the schooner’s sides, endeavouring to board; but the rapid use of muskets and pistols ultimately drove them away in indescribable confusion, with, I am sorry to say, considerable loss.

The whole affair was caused by the natural treachery of the natives. The part we played was unavoidable; in fact, our lives were at stake, and there was only one unnecessary shot fired after the final retreat of the natives. The men who had charge of the bow gun loaded it again unperceived by the captain, and, before they could be stopped, fired it after the savages, who were making for the shore. This parting shot was, as they said, to revenge Tom Staples, the seaman who was speared. There was no one on board the schooner hurt during the affray, but the carpenter, whose arm was broken by the blow of a heavy club, wielded by a huge savage who was endeavouring to board.

In fact, we were very critically situated, as there were upwards of a hundred stout natives clinging to the vessel’s sides and nettings, striving boldly to get in upon us. The whole affair, from the time the boat’s crew were attacked on shore, until the savages were driven from about the schooner, only lasted about twenty minutes, and would

never have occurred if there had been wind enough to take the vessel out from her anchorage. The rapidity with which the natives came off and attacked prevented us even trying to tow her out, so that the calmness of the weather and their sudden treachery compelled Captain Trainer to defend his own vessel and the lives of those on board her.

It was late in the afternoon before we were favoured with sufficient wind to ghet under weigh with safety; and every one of us felt greatly relieved when the schooner's sails were filled with the breeze and moving away out from our disagreeable position. Before midnight, we had made a good offing to the westward of the island and hove to. The following day we buried the body of poor Staples with all the respect in our power to afford his remains.

The ceremon of burial at sea is known to all sea-going people; but, as there are many on land not familiar with its peculiarity, I will now, in a few words, describe it. Generally, in an hour or two, if circumstances permit it, the body of the deceased is conveyed on deck and deposited in the waist or centre of the vessel at the lee side. Either the hammock of the dead man, or canvass of the stoutest description, is procured, and either folded or cut so that it may fit the body. thsi is spread on the deck, and the deceased is laid on it. It si sewed by two or three of the men tightly over the body, so that, when done, it has the appearance of a covered Egyptian mummy. Inside this sack-like covering, and at the feet of the man, are laid or incased two or three heavy shot, or, in vessels where they ahve no shot, heavy pieces of iron, bricks, or stones.

This precaution is taken in order that the body, on entering the water, may at once sink swiftly and deep, that the ferocious shark may not tear it until it decays. The body thus prepared for burial is placed upon one of the hatches, or a wide plank, one end of which is pointed overboard at the gangway, the other resting on any thing that may raise it on a level. The usual hour for burial at sea is four o'clock in the afternoon. The colours are hoisted half-mast high some time previously, and, during the ceremony, the ship is laid to, with the main yards aback, so as to be stationary.

The men are assembled near the corpse. In large ships of war, where there is a chaplain on board, he, of course, reads the service; but in smaller and merchant vessels, where there is none, the service is respectfully read by any of the officers that volunteer to do so. The only difference in performing the service at sea from that in use on land is in the words, when the body slides into the water, "We therefore commit his body to the deep, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," &c. The end of the plank that is in board is then elevated considerably, and the body slides off feet foremost down into the deptyh of the water. The service is then read to its end, the flag hauled down, the yards braced up, the sails filled again with the breeze, and the vessel speeds her way on her voyage.

The chest, boxes, &c. belonging to the buried man, whether he be officer or common seaman, is then brought up, and, in the presence of a few, inspected; an inventory is taken; the articles, such as clothing, hammocks, bed-clothes, &c. are sold by auction to the crew, and any money or other valuable property, papers, &c., that the deceased may

have possessed, are sealed up, directed for his friends, and, in charge of the captain, to be delivered when the vessel arrives home.

Those who, for the first time, witness a deep-sea burial, receive a peculiar impression of the thrilling solemnity of the scene. The dead body on the plank that is to launch it overboard; the chaplain or officer reading the service; the group of hardy, stern, and weather-beaten seamen, cap in hand, standing around with respectful bearing and sawe-struck countenances as the word of God falls on their ear; the vessel stationary; and no noise save the occasional splash of the sea against the ship's sides, altogether with the isolated position of the crew away far from the rest of mankind, combine to create a new, I may say, a mysterious feeling in the mind of a looker-on.

This painful duty, which occasionally devolves on the crew of a ship on distant voyages, is generally conducted with rigid seriousness and strict decorum.

...

CHAPTER XXIII.

Apamama, or Simpson's Island.—Some account of it.—Kuria.—Great population.—An account of the natives.—Their cock-fighting.—Grades of rank amongst them.—Their respective privileges.—How a chief manages a number of wives.—The island called Mankii.—Agreeable savages.—General account of and remarks on the Kingsmill Island Group.

After the burial of the seaman Staples, the schooner was put about, and we stood in for the Islands of the group to the eastward of us, to renew our trading purposes, Trainer being nothing daunted by the attack on us at Drummond's Island; infact, with teh exception of the loss of his man, not caring one fig about it. The island called by the natives Apamamo [Abemama], or, as the charts have it, Simpson's Island, was visited; here, on one end of it, there were three temporary sheds erected, and a few people engaged in the searching for, and curing and drying bech-de-mar, a liberal supply of which we obtained from them in trade for some trifling articles of small value. This island is low, indeed only a few feet above the surface of the water, partially surrounded by a reef, and forming a kind of lagoon inside. It is seven or eight miles long, about four wide, and lying in 27°20" N. and 173°5j0' east longitude. The natives who were then on the island obtained their fresh water by digging several feet deep about thirty yards from the water's edge.

The next island visited of this group was caled by the natives Kuria, situated in 14'28" N. and 173°?25' E. It is only about six miles long, by from two to three wide. There are a great number of inhabitants living on it. The Sandwich islander we took off Drummond's Island acted as interpreter, and, in consequence of the report he gave me of the friendship of the natives, I paid them a visit on shore of three days. These people did not receive us as entire new-comers. They had been frequently visited by the English whale-ships cruising about the group. They did not appear to have benefited much by the frequent calls of these ships at their island, as their morals were in a most deplorable state, and disease had been recklessly introduced amongst them, of which they complained bitterly.

Having soon found out from our interpreter the nature of my profession they were pressingly urgent on me to remain for a time with them. From glaring marks and tokens which I saw in and about some of their houses, I must pronounce them to be cannibals. On this island there is a vast quantity of poultry. Some idea may be formed of their love for cock-fighting when I state that we got in exchange four dozen of good-sized fowls for a spirited looking game-cock that we had on board since we left the coast of America. Common clay tobacco-pipes were also in demand, always getting six fowls for one. Pieces of iron-hoop also were eagerly taken. They made small adzes of them.

The females were in general good-looking, but in a state of comparative slavery to the men, as they had to do most of the drudgery. The chiefs or great men lived, as such, in idleness and the luxury that the island afforded them, and having as many wives as they wished or could keep. A commoner or poor man, I understood, was obliged to live without a wife for years. An expert fisherman ranked high; indeed, their profesion or

calling was a highly respectable one here, as they seemed to enjoy, to a considerable extent, the privilege that rank conferred on them, in having a houseful of wives.

You may feel a curiosity to know if all these wives lived on friendly terms with each other. All I can say is, they seemed to live in harmony, and I was told they generally did so; and further, that if there was any disagreement or wrangling amongst them, th eir lord and (literally) master treated them much in the same manner that we are informed, in the child's book, a certain antiquated dame treated her refractory children, viz.,

“Whipp'd them all round, and sent them to bed.”

There did not appear to be much of a warlike propensity about these people; and, through the agency of the interpreter, I found out that their chief quarrelling was about their women, or the possession of them. Yet they take advantage of other natives from the neighbouring islands, who might be driven in their canoes or land on their island; also of strangers from vessels that casually visited them, if they were unguarded in their acts or person: these were killed and eaten by the chiefs.

The whale-ships seem to have wonderfully escaped affrays at these islands. Indeed, they appear to be the favourites, as the fair sex are generally allowed to go on board in any number they please, and they give them iron-hoops, whales' teeth, beads, &c. which please them much. However, some misunderstanding and fighting has occurred, and no statement of the occurrences mentioned or made public, in consequence of the ships' crews being in fault; in fact, generally the aggressors.

The island termed Tarutarii [Butaritari] was next visited. It lies in 3°6' north latitude, and 172°45' east longitude; it is about thirteen miles long, and thickly covered over with cocoa-nut, pandanus trees, &c. A good deal of low bushes also grow thickly about, so as to impede a direct route through it. The most annoying thing on this island is the musquito: they are in clouds, and employed themselves busily in buzzing about and biting me, night and day, during my sojourn on shore.

There were three white men residing on this island, but I could not see them: the natives told us they had gone over to another small island, near this, on a visit. This we did not believe; and, on leaving the island, our interpreter found out they were there, but under concealment as long as we remained. In all probability they were some of those pests that not unfrequently make their way to various islands in the Pacific, the runaway Australian convict, and do not choose to appear lest they may be recognised and recaptured.

After leaving this place we hove-to off a small island called by the natives Mankii [Makin]. It is very narrow, and not more than five or six miles long. I was a few hours on shore, and found the natives to be numerous, obliging, and all apparently full of fun and frolic.

Several other islands of this group were visited by the **Hound**, and a considerable quantity of sandal-wood, beche-de-mar, &c. collected; but, as no further incident oc-

curred with the natives worth mentioning, I will close this notice with a few general remarks.

The Kingsmill group of islands are in number (I believe) fourteen, dotting the ocean from 4° north to 6° south latitude, the centre of the group being nearly on the equator, and from 172° to 178° east longitude. Some of the smaller islands are bare enough looking, with only scanty groups of cocoa-nut and pandanus trees; whilst others are densely covered with thick groves and even much underbrush, which present a very inviting aspect when near to them. Occasional coral reefs defend the shores from the swell of the sea, and some have considerable lagoons inside them, where boats can enter, or even a small vessel lie safe enough, as far as regards her anchorage. However, few will be found who will be so imprudent as to trust boat or vessel of any size into these lagoons, where they would only be surrounded by swarms of treacherous natives.

The population of these islands must be very great. From the numbers I saw, and making a rough calculation of the rest, I am inclined to think there must be at least thirty or forty thousand persons in this group. In complexion they are not much darker than the natives of Tahiti, Marquesas, &c. Their persons are comely and by no means of a disagreeable aspect, yet they are very treacherous, taking every advantage of strangers who may be cast into their power. This is the case with ships, boats, &c., but not with individuals who have nothing to lose.

Men from whaling and trading vessels frequently desert here, some remain voluntarily, but all are received cordially and treated in the most kind manner. It is astonishing with what rapidity man will forsake civilisation, and dive into the depths of barbarism; most white men in those islands and others I have seen, put on the character of the savage at once, enjoy their ceremonies, amusements, &c., generally taking active parts in their disputes and wars, and, what is still worse, put the islanders up to all kinds of mischief against strange vessels.

I have been confidently informed, that they have organised the natives in attacking and destroying ships, and cutting off boats; **vessels have been taken at these islands, and never after heard of**, care being taken to conceal the occurrence by burning the ship after the plunder has been effected. On the appearance of a ship of war, or any armed vessel, these gentry conceal themselves, natives only are seen, who all look honest enough in countenance, yet are dark enough at heart, and it is not to be wondered at, when you take into consideration they superstitiously believe that all ships that are placed in their power are sent to them specially from their gods.

In the groves of trees, evidently intended for concealment, I saw portions of vessels that had been burned with the mark of former fire on it. It was impossible to obtain any particulars about it, as the people persisted in saying that it was washed up on the beach by the sea; and when I exhibited incredulous signs, and pointed to the old marks of fire, they only laughed at me with a keen look, as much as to say, "you have found us out;" however, taking all matters into consideration, making due allowance for heathen propensities, and the natural capabilities of these natives, it is to be hoped that

Christianity will extend its protecting arm to them, and rescue the thousands that inhabit this group from the grasp of heathenism.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Sail westerly.—The sea.—New Ireland.—...

It was Captain Trainer's intention, on leaving the Kingsmill Islands, to steer southerly for the Feejees, where he thought he might pick up some bech-de-mar, &c.; however, "on overhauling his knowledge-box," (as he called his head,) he altered his mind, and the **Hound** was running away under all sail, steering west. The weather was extremely fine, the water smooth, but rippled occasionally with strong currents; here and there patches of sea-weed floating along with a few sea-fowl hovering about; for several days, large shoals of sperm whales were seen. The crew were in excellent health, and, what is not always the case, they liked their captain and officers, and were contented in the schooner.

The intimacy and friendship that existed between Trainer and myself added much to the pleasure of our cruise. Sometimes the wind would die away and leave us becalmed, again, baffling and squally. However, after a fair run of thirteen days, we were close in with the easternmost part of New Ireland.

...

Note 1834J

The story of the *Victoria*, cut off at Bikini (or Rongerik)

Note in *The Friend* (Honolulu), July 7, 1860.

The Late Captain Dowsett.

The death of Mrs. Dowsett, an old and esteemed English resident, will be found noticed in another column. A cloud of doubt and melancholy still hangs over the death of Capt. Dowsett. He must doubtless be spoken of as dead, although there has been no certain announcement of his death. He sailed from this port on a trading voyage, June 1, 1834, commanding the schooner **Victoria**. While the vessel laid at the Piscadors, Capt. D. and four of his men were captures by the natives. Seven went on shore, and only two returned to the schooner. In 1835, the brig **Waverly**, owned by the Hawaiian Government, and fitted out as a whaler, by Ladd & Co., was sent out, partly in search of Capt. Dowsett. This brig, strange to say, was taken and burnt by the natives of Strong's [Kosrae] Island, and all hands on board were murdered. So far as we are aware, no information, to be relied on, has ever been received respecting the ultimate fate of Capt. D. and his men.

Documents 1834K

Massacres at Kosrae, 1834 and 1835

General source: Articles in the New England press, reprinted in Gerard Ward's American Activities in the Central Pacific, under Kusaie 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 & 11.

K1. Another massacre

Source: Daily Atlas, Boston, 24 May 1836; copied in the Essex North Register, Newburyport, 27 May 1836.

The ship **Awashonks**, Captain Proctor,¹ arrived at Falmouth, on Saturday last, 115 days from the Sandwich Islands.—Capt. Proctor gives the particulars of the massacre of another crew by the natives of the South Sea Islands. The details as furnished are as follows:

The schooner **Honduras**, Capt. Scott of Boston, and the **Thetis**, Capt. Rogers of Honolulu (Sandwich Islands) sailed from the latter place on the 9th May, 1835 for a shelling voyage among the isles of the North Pacific Ocean. Shortly after leaving a mutiny took place on board the **Thetis**, in which Capt. Rogers and his mate were killed by having their heads cut off while asleep on the deck, with an axe. The trading master of the scho., hearing the alarm came on deck with his cutlass and after fighting some time succeeded in killing the ringleader, when he took command of the vessel and reached the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] where the **Honduras** had before arrived. The **Honduras** left soon after for a cruise among the neighboring islands, and on the 23d of August having her foremast carried away and being in want of provisions went into Strong's [Kosrae] Island, one of the Kingsmill [sic] group, lying in lat. 5°12' N., long. 162°58' East. On the day of her arrival while the vessel was filled with people and the Captain and eight men were on shore the natives commenced an attack in which 13 men, including the Captain and the party on shore, were murdered. The mate, Mr. William Williams, with the assistance of a boy, succeeded in driving the natives from the schooner and worked her out of the harbor, although she grounded several times. He arrived at Ascension on the 3d of Sept., in great distress but shipped a native crew and continued the voyage. The **Honduras** and **Thetis** both arrived at Honolulu on the 4th of January.

¹ Ed. note: See her story in Doc. 1835I.

...
 The **Awashonks** was put in command of Capt. Proctor, by J. C. Jones, Consul at Oahu, and ordered home.

K2. Late from the Sandwich Islands—Another massacre

Sources: First published in the New Bedford Mercury; copied in The Boston Daily Times, 25 May 1836, and in The Landmark, Salem, 25 May, and many other New England newspapers, in various lengths, that same week.

[Same as above, but with following additional details:]

...
 A letter [received at New Bedford and] dated Honolulu, Jan. 6, says:—"A schooner belonging to Messrs Hinckley and Smith, on a trading voyage to the Islands in the Pacific, having left the supercargo and one man at one Island to collect tortoise shell &c. they proceeded to Strong's Island where Capt. Scott went on shore as he arrived, with 8 men totally unarmed, and were immediately killed by the natives. They then boarded the schooner and murdered 7 more, the mate and one boy being badly cut by the natives' spears escaped to the cabin, where they loaded their muskets and shot most of the natives on board, the others jumping overboard and swimming ashore; the mate and boy then cut their cable, and after 11 days at sea arrived at the Island where the supercargo and men were left.¹ They took them on board and proceeded to the Sandwich Islands where they arrived Jan 4, and report that another schooner belonging to the same firm as having had a mutiny aboard her. Capt. Rogers, first and second mates, and three men murdered—the supercargo having shot the ringleader/ The mutineers gave up and were confined; also that they saw at Strong's Island a whaling brig ashore, which had sailed from the Sandwich Islands 14 months previous on a cruise for six months. She was owned by a company of persons at the Sandwich Islands—supposed that she must have been taken by the natives and all her crew murdered."

K3. First-hand report by the mate of the Honduras

Source: Article in the New Bedford Daily Gazette, 4 June 1836.

Massacre on board Schooner Honduras.

Mr. Wm. Williams of Provincetown, mate of schooner **Honduras**, has made his protest before Charles Hayward, Esq., Notary Public, Boston, the substance of which we give below:

¹ Ed. note: The supercargo in question was the Frenchman, Mr. Dudoit.

Schr. **Honduras**, of about 70 tons burthen, John Gordon Scott, master, sailed from Boston, Sept. 15, 1834, with a crew of 7 men, and arrived at Sandwich Islands Feb. 1. Capt. S. sold the vessel at Oahu, to Wm. S. Hinckley and a French gentleman named Dudoit, residents, who fitted her out on a voyage under command of Capt. Scott, among the islands in the South Pacific, in search of tortoise shell.—He also took in Mr. Dudoit as supercargo, a second mate, two white men and six Malays, making in all sixteen.

She arrived at Ascension, one of the Caroline group, the last of May, and continued there about three weeks. Left the supercargo and five Malays on shore to trade, shipped six or seven men more and proceeded to the coast of New Georgia. She continued trading off the coast 25 or 30 days, then sailed for Strong's Island to obtain some supplies and some repairs for the vessel. Capt. S. stated that they could be done there, as he had been informed that a French man of war had been hove out there. She arrived at Strong's Island, in lat. 5°12' N., Aug. 23, and anchored about 60 yards from the shore. After dinner Capt. S. with 6 men, all unarmed, went on shore, and two more went in canoes with leave. Immediately afterwards the natives crowded on board the vessel, and appeared very friendly. They did not come to trade, but brought a quantity of breadfruit as presents.

After Capt. S. had been on shore about three quarters of an hour, Mr. Williams heard Capt. S. order him, from the shore, to get the muskets. As this time there were about 25 natives on board the vessel, and W. was conversing with two of them, who could speak some English. He immediately sprung upon his feet to obey the order, when two of the natives attempted to seize him. He got clear of them and looking forward saw the crew engaged in fighting with the natives. He sprang below to procure arms, and seizing a cutlass forced his way on deck, where he found the natives had armed themselves with the boarding pikes, boat hooks and sticks of wood which were on deck, and were murdering the crew, who were entirely unarmed.

He then sprang into the cabin, and immediately after a young man named Thomas Walker came down wounded. Each taking two loaded muskets they went on deck and found about 15 natives, all forward. He called loudly to the crew to come to his assistance supposing some might be concealed in the hold, as the hatches were open; but received no answer.

The natives seeing them approach with the muskets jumped overboard. He rushed forward and snapped one of the muskets three times, but missed fire: took the other, fired and shot one of them. The rest seeing he had no other muskets, returned towards the vessel, and got hold of chains to come on board. He succeeded in keeping them off with his cutlass. Walker, who was guarding the stern then called to him that the natives were climbing up the back of the rudder. He went aft, drove them off with his cutlass, and then loaded the stern swivels and also the larboard gun amidships. On seeing this the natives all swam for the shore as fast as possible. He and Walker then unshackled the chain cable, hoisted the sails and commenced beating out of the harbor. At 5 p.m.

they were close in to the extreme point of the island, where the natives fired two shots at them ineffectually.

In 11 days Williams and Walker reached Ascension with the schooner, where they took on board the supercargo, who took command of the vessel, and five Malays, and four natives of the island. They did some repairs to the vessel, altered her appearance by paint, and returned to Strong's Island, to ascertain, if possible, the fate of Captain Scott and his men.

The schooner continued off and on for a month, without being able to learn anything. She returned to Ascension Island, and after stopping there some time to trade, started for Oahu, where the schooner arrived about Jan. 1, when the crew were discharged, Walker continuing in her as second mate.

Williams took passage in the **Awashonks** which arrived at Falmouth, May 20. He does not recollect the names of the men who went on shore at Strong's Island, but remembers that two of them, Thomas Young and Samuel Hudson, belonged to Boston, the others were foreigners and were shipped at Ascension. He had no logbook or other memorandum to fix precisely the dates of these events.

K4. Follow-up article about Kosrae and massacres there

Source: Article in the Temperance Advocate & Seaman's Friend, Honolulu, 28 Oct. 1843.

Massacres at Strong's Island.

This island lies in N.L. 5°12' and E.L. 162°20' and is called Quakin's [Ualan] Island in the Epitome. Two entire crews and all except two persons belonging to a third have been cut off at this island within the last 10 years.

The brig **Waverly**, Capt. Cathcart, was taken, crew murdered and vessel destroyed in 1835. She was owned by the government of the Sandwich Islands, and fitted out for a whaling voyage by Messrs. Ladd and Co. This brig was partly sent out to search for Capt. Dowsett, who sailed from this port in schr. **Victoria** June 1, 1834; and while the vessel was at the Piscadores, Capt. D. and four of his men were captured by the natives. Seven persons went on shore in a boat, but only two ever returned. Capt. D. was last seen standing on the shore. It yet remains in doubt whether he was killed by the natives or still survives among the inhabitants of the Piscadores, like Swain, the Nantucket whaler, one of the crew of the **Oano**, wrecked in 1825-6 on the Feejee Islands. He has since been seen, but prevented from leaving by the natives, and is now supposed to survive among the Feejeans. But to return to the **Waverly**.—She sailed from this port in Nov. 1834. One of her boats was seen at Strong's Island, by the crew of the schooner **Honduras**, Capt. Scott, who visited that island in 1836 [rather 1835]. The schooner **Honduras** sailed from this port on a trading voyage in March, 1836 [sic]. Having visited Ascension [Pohnpei] Island, where she was run ashore by a white man professing to act as a friendly pilot. Capt. Scott and 13 of his men were murdered, while the mate and one man succeeded in driving the natives from the vessel's deck, steering the vessel with some difficulty out of the harbor, and navigating her back to Ascension Island. Dur-

ing the past year Strong's Island has been visited by several whale ships. The **Pacific**, Capt. Rounds, St. John, N.B. [i.e. New Brunswick, Canada] entered the harbor on the windward side of the island and was there weather-bound nine weeks [in 1843]. The natives appeared well-disposed, and showed the crew much kindness. This vessel was well armed, and the natives appeared perfectly aware of the fact.—The king, chiefs, and common natives were frequently on board. No white inhabitants were found upon the Island, and what appears very remarkable, nearly every native could converse in good English. When the **Pacific** finally sailed, two natives concealed themselves on board, and appeared when the vessel had got out to sea. They report that the people on Strong's Island are "no good," which led to the discovery that a ship called the **Harriet**, Capt. Bunker, had been taken and the crew murdered, in the harbor on the leeward side of the island. Capt. Rounds sailed for that harbor which he entered in one week after leaving the harbor on the other side of the island. He there dragged for the **Harriet**, and obtained her anchors, chains, and figurehead. After the natives had killed the crew and taken what they considered valuable, they burnt and sunk the ship. Capt. R. was disappointed in not obtaining any oil.—No natives could be induced to come on the **Pacific** to trade, neither could the king be induced to come over, although much persuaded, from the windward to the leeward side of the island.—Upon inquiry, the natives confessed that "a two-masted vessel with one try-pot" had been destroyed in the same harbor, which was undoubtedly the **Waverly**. Capt. Cathcart in the **Lydia** was at the island at the same time with the **Pacific**. He dragged for the **Waverly** and hooked into her chain, but obtained nothing belonging to the wreck. From all the information which could be obtained, the **Harriet's** crew was cut off about one year or 18 months since.¹ From all which he has as yet been discovered, there is a strong presumption that some evil-disposed whites have urged the natives forward to engage in these bloody massacres, although no white inhabitants are now to be found on the island. Report says that the natives have murdered the whites, to prevent a discovery of the melancholy transactions.

1 Ed. note: It was in September 1842.

Document 1834L

The bark Eliza of Salem, Captain Winn

Source: Logbook in the Essex Institute, Salem; PMB 206.

**Log Book of Ship Eliza of Salem, Capt. Joseph Winn, Jr.
Voyage 1833-35 from Salem to the Pacific Ocean.
Merchantman.**

...

[Visit to Pohnpei]

Oct. 30, 1834

At 4 filled and tacked NE. At 5:30 bore up. At 7:30 hove to off the Island of Ascension. Several canoes with white men came off. Engaged one to go round the islands as interpreter. At 9 filled away and set all drawing sails. At noon the center of the island bore East.

Lat. 6°53 Long. 158°25

Oct. 31, 1834

Light and pleasant. At 3 pm tacked ship and stood back towards the harbor. At 6 pm the island bore from SSE1/2E to SSW. Middle part calm. At 5 am a light breeze from NE. Set all drawing sails and stood for the harbour. At 7 heavy rain. At noon the point of the reef which forms the passage bore SSW and the anchorage SW1/2W. The extremities of the island from NNW to South.

Lat. of the harbour 6°53' N Long. 158°30 E.

We have experienced a strong easterly current for several days.

November 1, 1834

Pleasant weather throughout. Stood in for the anchorage and brought up in 10 fathoms muddy bottom in a fine harbour nearly landlocked. In running in for the anchorage the ship slightly touched upon a small shoal which lays about mid channel with 10 feet of water upon it. The marks for it are two small bushy islets in one of the starboard land going in and a large canoe house on the larboard hand, on the middle island. We remained here until Thursday, Nov. 6th trading with the natives and collecting [turtle] shell which is now out of season and scarce, as the owner of a schooner, the



Bark Eliza of Salem, built 1823, 240 tons. *Painting attributed to Benjamin F. West (From American Neptune, 1978).*

Clémentine, is here and bought up nearly all that was on the Island. A quantity of trade was left by the Capt. with Wm. Brooks (a resident) to collect shell to be delivered to the **Emerald**. Filled up our water casks and got a small supply of yams.

Friday November 7th

Pleasant weather and moderate breeze. At 1/2 past meridian, cleared the reefs and stood out as per [course given in] margin. At 3 p.m. the N point of the island bore W1/2S and the S point S1/2E. A reef W. At 4 p.m., the sugar loaf in the harbour¹ bore S 12 miles distant.

...

Nov. 15, 1834

Gentle breezes and fine weather. At 6 p.m. set all studding sails, crossed the position assigned to the Island of Faluoo(?) [=Fayo?], saw no appearance of land. At noon, in studding sails and hauled to the southward for the Fanaleip [sic] Island, 28 miles, west current.

Lat. 10°55 Long. 145°47.

¹ Ed. note: This islet is called Takaiu.

Nov. 16, 1834

Fine breezes and pleasant weather. Run down the latitude of the center of the Fanaaip Islands and then steered west but saw no indication of land... If these islands exist they must be further north or south than they are laid down on the charts.¹

Lat. 10°31 Long. 143°27

...

¹ Ed. note: Faraulep, as well as most of the Carolines, lie south of the 10° parallel.

Note 1834M

**U.S. whaler John Coggeshall, Captain Macy,
claimed the discovery of Urracas****Notice in the Boston Advertiser, June 16, 1835**

Note: Repeated in: The Landmark, Salem, June 17; Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot, June 17; New Bedford Daily Mercury, June 17; New Bedford Daily Mercury, June 19; Evening Mercantile Journal, Boston, June 19.

New [sic] Island

Capt. [Seth W.] Macy, of ship **John Coggeshall**, of Newport, on the 8th of May [1834], in the vicinity of the Ladrone Islands, discovered a new [sic] land, not laid down in any chart, which he named R. Coggeshall's Island; its latitude by observation was 20°27 N. and Long. 144°40 E. It was about half a mile long, and on approaching it has an appearance resembling two islands.¹

¹ Ed. note: Farallon de Pájaros, or Urracas, had been discovered by the Spanish centuries before. The John Coggeshall returned to Newport on 29 March 1835. The logbook is in the Newport Historical Society; cited in Log. Inv. 2583.

Note 1834P

Nanmadol ruins in Pohnpei—Narrative of Mr. Ong

Sources: Article by Dr. John Lhotsky in the New South Wales Literary Political and Commercial Advertiser (Sydney), Feb. 1835, in the Sydney Gazette, 26 March 1835, and in the Hobart Town Courier; reproduced in The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal, New York, January 1837 which was copied in Ward's American Activities under Ponape 1, as follows.

Traces of ancient civilization among the South Sea Islands

Among the Caroline Islands, only six weeks sail from Sydney, is Ascension, (about 11 degrees north latitude,) discovered [sic] very lately by his Majesty's sloop-of-war **Raven**. Mr. Ong, now a resident of this Colony, some years back remained there for several months, and we have our information from a friend, who conversed frequently with Mr. Ong on the subject...

There are at the northeast [sic] end of the island, at a place called Tamen [i.e. Tamwen] ruins of a town, now only accessible by boats, the waves reaching to the steps of the houses. The walls are overgrown with bread [-fruit], cocoanut, and other ancient trees, and the ruins occupy a space of two miles and a half. The stones of these edifices are laid bed and quoin, exhibiting irrefutable traces of art far beyond the means of the present savage inhabitants. Some of these hewn stones are twenty feet in length by three to five each way, and no remains of cement appear. The walls have door and window places. The ruins are built of stone, which is different from that occurring in the neighbourhood. There is a mountain in the island, the rocks of which are covered with figures, and there are far greater ruins eight miles in the interior...

[When] asked about the origin of these buildings, the inhabitants say, that they were built by men who are now above, (pointing to the heavens.)

Document 1835A

1834-35 Census of the Marianas

Official report of the P.M. Governor of the Marianas,

giving the comparative statement for the increases in the number of inhabitants, cattle, agricultural products, improvements and government employees for the settlements in his province.

Source: Manila PNA, originally filed in Bundle #116, file #10.

I, José de la Cruz, Government Secretary for Administration and War in the Mariana Islands in which the Politico-Military Governor is Mr. Francisco Villalobos, Captain on the optional list of senior officers of the Royal Corps of Artillery, do hereby certify, by order of said gentleman, that here are in the islands for the present year, within the knowledge of this Government, the following number of inhabitants, and territorial wealth:

Inhabitants:

| | End 1834 | In 1835 | Increase |
|---------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Guajan | 6,572 | 6,704 | 132 |
| Rota | 449 | 455 | 6 |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Totals: | 7,021 | 7,159 | 138 |

Territorial wealth:

| | Present stocks | Increase over previous year | Value of the increase in Pesos/Reals/Maravedis |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Mounts, ¹ Guajan | 39 | 2 @ 30 p each | 60 |
| Cows, Guajan | 3,089 | 70 @ 15 p each | 1,050 |
| Carabaos, Guajan | 28 | 5 @ 15 p each | 75 |
| Poultry, Guajan | 26,315 | | |
| " Rota | 1,504 | 287 @ 1 rl. each | 35 p 7 r |
| Pigs, Guajan | 4,537 | | |
| " Rota | 312 | 428 @ 1 p each | 428 |
| Rice paddies, Guajan ² | 82 + 24 + 4 | | |
| " " Rota | 12 + 16 + 0 | 13 + 11 | 2,016 |
| Coconut trees, Guajan | 168,720 | | |
| " " Rota | 7,001 | 26,021 @ 4 r | 13,010 4 r |
| Fruit trees, Guajan | 15,227 | | |
| " " Rota | 319 | 5,296 @ 4 r | 2,648 |
| Palms for hats & mats, Guajan | 6,381 | | |
| " " Rota | 405 | 2,870 @ 4 r | 1,435 |
| Pineapples, Guajan | 85,032 | | |
| " Rota | 6,262 | 65,641 @ 1/2 r = | 4,102p 4r 17m |
| Banana trees, Guajan | 148,524 | | |
| " " Rota | 2,902 | 35,185 @ 1 r | 4,398 p 1 r |
| Bean plants, Guajan | 28,137 | | |
| " " Rota | 2,851 | 13,091 @ 1 r | 1,636 p 3 r |
| Tobacco plants, Guajan | 121,705 | | |
| " " Rota | 5,386 | 59,425 @ 1/4 r = | 1,859p 1r 25m |
| Nipa palms, Guajan | 4,505 | 1,907 @ 1/4 r | 59 p 4 r |
| Sibucaco plants, ³ Guajan | 8,387 | 380 @ 4 r | 190 |
| Brea & abaca, ⁴ Guajan | 1,101 | 100 @ 1 r | 12 p 4 r |
| Spined cane, Guajan | 348 | 348 @ 1 r | 43 p 4 r |
| Cotton, Guajan | 37-1/2 gantas | | |
| " Rota | 17 gantas | 22-1/2 gantas @ 2p | 45 |
| Pangas, ⁵ Guajan | 22 | | |
| " Rota | 7 | 1 @ 12 p | 12 |
| Barotos, ⁶ Guajan | 109 | | |
| " Rota | 47 | 21 @ 8 p | 168 |
| Farms, Guajan | 569 | | |
| " Rota | 83 | n/a | n/a |

-
- 1 Ed. note: The term "mounts" (caballerias, in Spanish) does not mean cavalry but horses and mules. Most such mounts in Guam at that time were mules; however, cows were also used for such purposes. Donkeys are listed separately below. Donkeys were not used as mounts.
 - 2 Guam had 82 cavans, 24 gantas and 4 chapas of palay which was valued at 60 pesos per cavan and/or 2-1/2 pesos per ganta. The total production in 1835 was 806 cavans.
 - 3 Ed. note: *Caesalpinia sappan*.
 - 4 Ed. note: Vegetable tar and the hennequen or Manila-rope plant respectively.
 - 5 Ed. note: Flat-bottomed boats.
 - 6 Ed. note: V-shaped canoes, usually with double-outrigger.

33,285p 1r 8m

Total increase in wealth: Thirty-three-thousand-two-hundred-and-eighty-five pesos, one real and eight maravedis.

| | Present stocks | Decrease over previous year | Value of the decrease in Pesos/Reals/Maravedis |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Houses, Guajan | 1,160 | | |
| " Rota | 109 | 3 @ 60 p | 180 |
| Donkeys, Guajan | 4 | 2 @ 12 p | 24 |
| Corn fields, Guajan | 83 + 3 | 10 + 16 | |
| " " Rota | 4 + 17 | etc. etc. | 1,330 |
| Roots all kinds, Guajan | 1,570,728 | | |
| " " " Rota | 28,490 | 445,184 @ 20p 1r | 2,782p 3r 6m |
| Sugarcane, Guajan | 14,294 | | |
| " Rota | 1,727 | 1,254 @ 1/2 r | 5,078 p 3 r |
| Mongo beans, Guajan | 23+ gantas | 6 gantas | |
| " " Rota | 8+ gantas | + etc. | 36 p 6 r |
| Vegetables, Guajan | 27,706 | | |
| " Rota | 3,297 | 1,384 @ 1 r | 173 |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | - 9,604 p 4 r 6 m |
| | | | ----- |
| | | | 23,680 p 5 r 2 m |
| | | | ===== |

Net increase of twenty-three-thousand-six-hundred-and-eighty pesos, five reals and two maravedis.

List of the individuals of the Judicial Branch who have been elected in said settlements of these islands for the present year, giving the judges and heads of barangays¹ for same.

—Visitor general, Cotton branch: Mr. Manuel Tiburcio Garrido

—Idem, Roads, rafts, bridges and water: Mr. Mariano de Torres

City of Agaña

—Gobernadorcillo² Mr. Justo de la Cruz

—Lieutenant " Mr. Javier de Salas

—Judge for palms/plantations/animals Mr. Antonio Guerrero

—Heads of barangays Mr. Francisco Diaz For the Commons

Mr. Domingo Camacho "

Mr. Antonio de la Cruz "

1 Ed. note: Barangay is a Filipino term meaning municipality. The term originated from the name of a large native vessel that could accommodate a large family or clan on the move.

2 Ed. note: Gobernadorcillo was a political mayor, whereas an alcalde was an administrative mayor.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Mr. Ignacio Fernandez | " |
| Mr. Pedro Pangilinan | " |
| Mr. Miguel de León Guerrero | " |
| Mr. Mariano Ada | " |
| Mr. Pedro Guerrero | " |
| Mr. Victoriano Mendiola | " |
| Mr. Juan Rodriguez | " |
| Mr. Leonardo Camacho | " |
| Mr. Juan de la Cruz Borja | " |
| Mr. José Bargas | " |
| Mr. Nicolas Guerrero | " |
| Mr. Blas de la Cruz | " |
| Mr. José Mendiola y Torres | " |
| Mr. Maximo Baza | " |
| Mr. Mariano Delgado | " |
| Mr. José Baletto | " |
| Mr. Ignacio Sablan | " |
| Mr. Alvino Sablan | " |
| Lieut. José Martinez | For artillery (Militia) |
| Captain José de la Cruz | For the infantry |
| Mr. Juan Anderson | For the navy |
| Bernardo Perez | For the smiths |
| José Mendiola | For the carpenters |
| Pedro del Rosario | For the masons |
| Mr. Tiburcio Arriola | For other trades. |

Village of Anigua

—Gobernadorcillo
 —Lieutenant "
 —Judge for palms/plantations/animals
 —Heads of barangay

Mr. Ignacio Soyoña
 Mr. Pedro Taitagui
 Mr. Diego Taitagui
 Mr. Pedro Aflagui
 Mr. Ignacio Soyoña
 Mr. Laureano Taitagui
 Mr. Claudio Materne

Village of Asan

—Gobernadorcillo
 —Lieutenant "
 —Judge for palms/plantations/animals
 —Heads of barangay

Mr. Clemente Magofña
 Mr. Miguel Magofña
 Mr. Cenen Magofña
 Mr. Fernando Namanlig
 Mr. Mariano Tadlagi
 Mr. Ignacio Taitano

Village of Tepungan

—Gobernadorcillo

Mr. Marcelino Taigito

| | |
|---|---|
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. José Acfalle |
| —Judge for palms/plantations/animals & Head of barangay | Mr. José Sagualagi |
| Village of Sinajaña | |
| —Gobernadorcillo | Mr. Juan Gogo |
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. Antolin Marchena(?) |
| —Judge for palms/plantations/animals | Mr. José Tedtaotao |
| —Heads of barangay | Mr. Mariano Naputi Mr. Agustin Landarhay Mr. Luís Atoygui |
| Village of Mungmung | |
| —Gobernadorcillo | Mr. Florentino Finofña |
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. Juan Ninagun |
| —Judge for palms/plantations/animals & Head of barangay: | Mr. Juan Camacho |
| Village of Pago | |
| —Gobernadorcillo | Mr. Isidro Ataygui |
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. Crispin Quidachay |
| —Judge for palm/houses/animals | Mr. Ciriaco Lajo |
| —Heads of barangay | Mr. Claudio Lajo Mr. Vidad Mafña Mr. José Agualo |
| Village of Inarajan | |
| —Gobernadorcillo | Mr. Enrique Naputi |
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. Leandro Natujo |
| —Judge for palms/houses/animals | Mr. José Naputi |
| —Heads of barangay: | Mr. Juliano Alilage Mr. Pedro Meno Mr. Mariano Meno |
| Village of Merizo | |
| —Gobernadorcillo | Mr. Francisco Espinosa |
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. Macedonio Jeguagos |
| —Judge for palms/houses.animals | Mr. Pedro Tedpaogo |
| —Heads of barangay | Mr. Manuel Topasña Mr. Narciso Nineti Mr. Domingo Charguani |
| Village of Umata | |
| —Gobernadorcillo | Mr. José Sanchez |
| —Lieutenant " | Mr. Bernardino Jeja |
| —Judge plantations/houses/animals | Mr. Domingo Quimata |
| —Heads of barangay | Mr. Juan Cheguiña Mr. Manuel Aguon |

Village of Agat

- Gobernadorcillo
- Lieutenant "
- Judge plantations/houses/animals
- Heads of barangay

Mr. José Aguon

Mr. José Babaota
 Mr. Mariano Matanani
 Mr. Raymundo Babaota
 Mr. Blas Quintanilla
 Mr. José Babauña
 Mr. Alvino Quigilo

Island of Rota

- Gobernadorcillo
- Lieutenant "
- Judge for palms/plantations/animals
- Heads of barangay

Mr. Angel Taiguinini
 Mr. Ignacio Gocog
 Mr. Pedro Sonsong
 Mr. Angel Taiguinini
 Mr. Borja Taimañao
 Mr. Mariano Matantaotao
 Mr. Luís Sonsong

—Mayor of Tinian & Saipan:

Corporal 1st class with the rank of
 Sergeant 2nd class Silvestre Cepeda
 Adjutant 1st class (Militia) Lucas de Castro

—Mayor of Rota

—Military commander and officer
 in charge of the port of Umata

Second-Lieutenant José Flores

Number of marriages that took place during the preceding year:

| | | |
|--------|----|----|
| Guajan | 53 | |
| Rota | 2 | 55 |

Notes:

The Governor imposed a few days of communal labor on various individuals who had not obeyed the government orders with respect to plantations, poultry, etc. that each farmer must have as a minimum.

The villagers and the troop were asked if they had any complaint against the local authorities in charge of them during the previous year, giving them a definite deadline for turning them in, but there was not a single complaint.

The Governor inspected the stores and spare parts of the Artillery, Fort Santa Cruz which has cannon; he examined the account books of this Branch, those of the College of San Juan de Letran, and of the Royal Treasury; everything is in order, there being the following balances (cash-on-hand) on this date:

| | Pesos |
|--|--------------|
| —To meet the expenses of the Artillery & Engineers | 2,648 |
| —For subsistence costs of the St. Lazarus Hospital | 1,831 |
| —For the pay of the troop & employees | 8,538 |

13,617

In the village of Agat, as it is the center of the populated areas of Guajan, there was held an official meeting attended by the Governor as chairman, by Mr. Ciriaco del Espíritu Santo, curate of the said village, by the *gobnadorcillos* of all the villages and by some of the leading citizens, in order to deliberate on what constituted the most important points for the good of the country. The instructions for good government that the Governor has just put into effect for that purpose were read, and all the individuals present unanimously said that they were the most appropriate for the purpose. They agreed on a few public works to be carried out in the villages of Asan, Agat, and Merizo: the removal of the pig farms of the village of Agat established in Apra that prejudiced the plantations of Sumay and Chacha, and the farm owners near settlements other than their own could, if they so wished, participate in the corresponding public works, in order to get the best progress of said works for the public good, and relief for the residents.

In an official meeting attended by the Governor, the Rev. Curate of Agaña, and the *Gobnadorcillo* of this city, it was decided to charge every month for every hunting gun in the place one real in order to pay the school teacher; the result of this decision was 43 pesos and 2 reals: 30 were given to the said teacher as his pay for half of the present year. The year before, by decision taken at that time, 15 pesos given by the Governor from his own pocket, and another gift by the Rev. Curate sufficed for the teachers of both sexes, in the villages; the Governor made them presents of clothes, after seeing the state of the instruction given to the children, and he exhorted both parties to better apply themselves.

There is at the moment much abundance of food, and some money, but as the whaling ships have become rare during the fall monsoon of 1835 and the spring monsoon of this year, and it has been five years since the last ship of the Royal Treasury has come, and the last merchant of this port brought a small quantity of articles some 14 months ago already, the few effects that are sold are for very dear prices, and even the main items are becoming scarce.

In the Purísima (or Atantano) Swamp, cleared and sowed with palay [=rice] by these natives since 1834, following a directive of the Governor, a very fine crop has been obtained as in the other places on the island. With this stimulus and the directives for good government against lazy people, there is more clearing of land for sowing at the proper time.

As the population is small compared to the size of the island, and the soil is partly rather rough and stony and partly low and muddy, it is not possible for the roads to be in good condition at all times. Nevertheless, a good road of crushed stones is about to be completed, one and a half hour in length, between Agaña and the village of Pago. This work started in January of this year, and many women and children of this city

have volunteered to help out as well as people from six neighboring villages. The rafts of the rivers were in good condition; over the streams, girder bridges have been built for the people and mounts to pass during bad times. Directives were given by the Governor for the early repairs of the solid bridges that need them.

According to a report by the Mayor of Tinian, dated 2 June, there are approximately 500 heads of cattle on Saipan and 800 on Tinian.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 6 June 1836.

José de la Cruz

We were witnesses to the above certification, by directive of the Governor.

Cecilio Camacho

Joaquín de León Guerrero

Approved
Villalobos

Document 1835B

**The shipwreck of the Corsair—Narrative of
William Reney**

Source: William Reney. A Narrative of the Shipwreck of The Corsair (London, 1836).

A Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Corsair;

In the Month of January, 1835, on an unknown reef in the Kingsmill Islands in the South Pacific Ocean; With a detail of the dreadful sufferings of the crew. By William Reney, Chief Mate.

Summary.

An extraordinary and interesting Narrative of the Shipwreck and total loss of the Ship **Corsair**, a South-Sea Whaler, William Venables, Master, on the night of the 13th of January, 1835, on a reef of unknown rocks, near King's-mill Islands in lat. 2° [S] and long. 177° east, in the South Pacific Ocean. With a description of the Miraculous Escape of part of the Crew from the fury of the Natives, and their privations and afflicting sufferings during a passage of 26 days, in three open boats, a distance of 3,000 miles over the Pacific Ocean. A full account of their voyage, and safe arrival at the Island of Tinian, and their hospitable treatment during their stay on the island.

SHIPWRECK OF THE CORSAIR.

The ship **Corsair**, the subject of this narrative, was built at Liverpool under particular inspection, and was intended to contend with the American line of packets from Liverpool to America. Her registered tonnage was about 370. She was a handsome moulded vessel, possessing first-rate sailing qualities. She of late became the property of Messrs. Curling, Young, and Co., and was most completely equipped and stored for her intended voyage. No vessel ever left the port of London under more favourable auspices.

In the month of October, 1833, we bid a cheerful adieu to our native shore, our minds impressed with a hope of a speedy and successful voyage.

We experienced a speedy and pleasant passage, which was followed by a succession of whale, which produced about 400 barrels of oil.

During our cruise we touched at the islands of Owhyee [Hawaii] and Woahoo [Oahu], for refreshment. At Woahoo the inhabitants are very hospitable and ready to afford assistance to all visitors. Here are fine anchorage and a good harbour, with an abundance of fresh supplies. Most of the vessels engaged in the whale fishery, rendezvous at this island.

On the 8th of November, 1834, we weighed anchor, and made sail from Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, and proceeded in a direction towards the King's-mill [Gilbert] Islands.

About the 25th of December, 1834, we sighted Byron's [Nukunau] Island, one of the King's-mill group. The following day we approached near the shore, and were visited by several canoes, that supplied us with a quantity of cocoa-nuts.

The men are tall and well-proportioned, with a ferocious countenance, nearly black, and quite naked. The island appears to abound in cocoa-nuts, and a variety of fruits. We did not attempt a landing, owing to the barbarous disposition of the natives. At 4 p.m. we made sail from the island, and succeeded in procuring several whales.

At sunset, January 13, 1835, land was reported from the mast-head, bearing in an E.N.E. direction.¹ We continued steering towards it till 8 o'clock, when the captain ordered the usual look-out to be kept: his order was strictly obeyed, the whole of the watch pacing the deck.

About 6 p.m. the captain ascended to the fore-top. He shortly returned, and reported he had discovered lights on shore, and signified his intention to tack the vessel immediately they could discern the lights from the ship's deck.

1 Ed. note: Either Onotoa, or the Nautilus Reef south of Tabiteuea, most probably the latter.

The captain took his station of the weather gangway; I took my station on the lee gangway. The captain shortly reported that he perceived the water had changed colour, and immediately ordered the helm to be put hard up, in order to veer the ship. All hands were immediately on deck, the ship at this time under easy sail. Before the ship had got before the wind, she struck very heavy, every effort was used by the officers and crew of the ship to extricate her from her perilous situation, but without avail. By this time the ship was beating very heavy on the rocks; we conjectured the masts would go over the side. Our attention was now directed to the preservation of the boats, fearing the masts might go over the side and damage them. The rocks now appeared on both sides; the boats were immediately ordered to be lowered, with six men in each boat, with directions to keep as far from the ship as they considered safe for their preservation.

The boats, four in number, were immediately lowered, but they could not approach the ship with safety; owing to the great sea that was breaking about the ship, they were compelled to lay on their oars the principal part of the night.

We now commenced cutting away the masts, and we succeeded in cutting away the mizen mast. By this time we discovered the vessel was completely bilged, and the water up to the lower deck beams; all hope of saving the vessel was now abandoned. About 3 a.m. the ship was completely bedded in the rocks, which appeared on both sides quite dry, the water having receded considerably. The ship now remained on the rocks without motion. During the night we were engaged in packing up some of our apparel, ammunition, provision, &c. At 3:30 a.m. we hailed the boats, and ordered them alongside the ship; three of the boats returned, but the boat with the surgeon and five men did not return. Being apprehensive that they had drifted from the vessel, we immediately discharged several signal rockets, to show them the position of the ship; but they did not return. We now concluded the boat had gone to pieces upon the rocks, and the crew, six in number, had perished.

At day-light we looked anxiously for the boat and crew that were missing from the ship, but could not obtain any tidings of them; not a vestige of the boat, nor any of the crew were discovered when we quitted the island.

Jan. 14, 1835.

At day-light the captain ordered me into one boat, and Mr Kenney, the second mate, into another, to proceed on shore, to ascertain the disposition of the natives, and also to search for a convenient place to build a small vessel from a portion of the wreck, to convey the crew to some inhabited friendly island.

We immediately armed and manned our two boats, and proceeded towards a small sandy isle, distant about four miles from the main island, apparently without vegetation. On our landing, we discovered about 25 to 30 natives; they appeared very shy, and rather alarmed at us, and retreated towards their huts. We made signs of friendship; I offered them some tobacco, which they accepted; I put a piece in my mouth, to convince them that it was not injurious: they imitated me by putting a piece in their mouths,

but soon spit it out, and threw the remainder away, being quite ignorant of the use of tobacco. We used our endeavours to convince them that we had no hostile intention. After their alarm at our appearance had somewhat subsided, they approached us, and evinced a friendly disposition.

The men appeared robust and well-proportioned, nearly black, and quite naked; the small huts they inhabited were constructed of cocoa-nut branches, with a small entrance, sufficient for a man to creep in on his hands and knees.

After a short search, I discovered a convenient place for the construction of a small vessel; we returned to the wreck, highly gratified with our friendly reception from the natives. I made my report to the captain, that we had discovered a commodious place to construct a small vessel, and that the natives about 25 to 30 in number, did not exhibit any hostile disposition.

A resolution was immediately formed to carry every thing on shore that was requisite for the construction of a small vessel, as well as the nautical instruments, provision, clothing, carpenters' tools, &c.

Everything being now prepared, our boats armed and manned, we left the wreck, and proceeded towards the little island that we visited in the morning. Captain Venables and six men in his boat, myself and five men in my boat, Mr. Kenney, second mate, and five men in his boat, and Mr. Cartwright and five men in his boat, making in the four boats, 25 individuals. When we had arrived within a mile of the Sandy Island, Captain Venables parted from the other three boats, and proceeded towards the main island, whence I deeply regret to add, he did not return; whether they were all massacred by the natives, or detained by them, we have no tidings.¹ But I conjectured the captain landing on the main island, was the cause of the natives proceeding to the Sandy Island the following morning.

As soon as the contents of the three boats had been landed, we commenced securing our stores from the weather, by covering them with some sails, the natives still appearing quiet, and taking no notice of our proceedings. At dark, being apprehensive that they might make an attack on us during the night, we prepared our fire-arms, and set a vigilant watch, with directions to discharge a musket instantly, at the approach of the natives. In this state of anxiety, we passed the night, with our fire-arms and cutlasses by our side, eagerly looking for dawn. At daylight, Mr. Kenney, second mate, Mr. Cartwright, third mate, and myself, held a consultation as to the best mode of proceeding; I suggested to them to raise a wash-strake on each of our boats, which would enable us to effect a passage over the Pacific Ocean.

This suggestion was unanimously agreed to; I then despatched Mr. Kenney and Mr. Cartwright with two boats to the wreck, to procure such requisites as were necessary to raising a wash-strake on each of our boats, to enable us to prosecute our voyage over the Pacific.

1 Ed. note: The captain and his boat was reported years later to have reached Pohnpei.

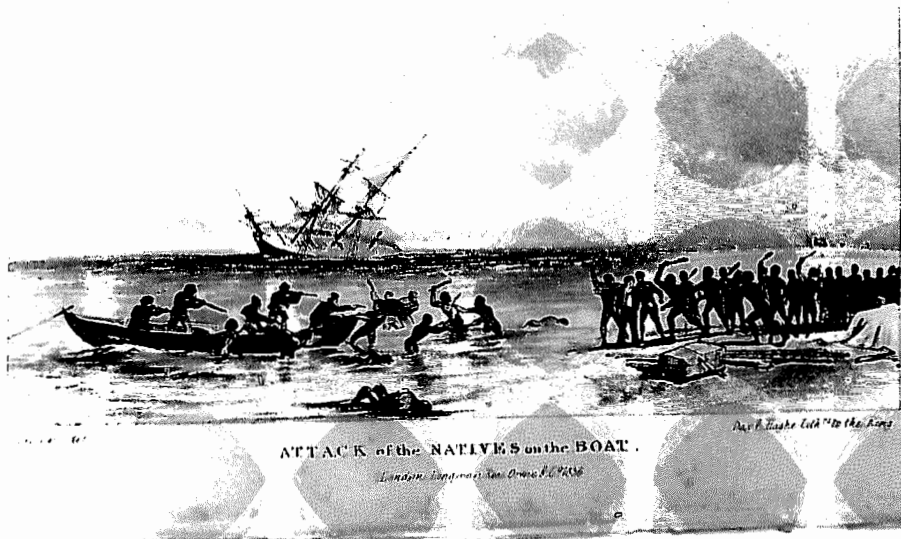
The boats were immediately launched, and they proceeded to the wreck; I remained with my boat and crew to protect the provision, stores, and wearing apparel.

Two hours had scarcely elapsed from the time of the departure of the other two boats, when I discovered a large number of canoes, about 80 to 90, bearing down towards us, from the main island, each carrying a sail. Their first appearance resembled a large fleet of merchant vessels, with their small sail appearing about the horizon. I now became seriously apprehensive of our safety! At this critical moment I was anxiously looking for our two boats, and being all well armed, I conjectured that we could make a formidable resistance, in the event of the natives attacking us.

Our attention was now directed to count the canoes, which, as near as we could ascertain, were about 90 in number; this convinced me that their intentions were hostile.

I immediately ordered my men to launch their boat, and prepare their fire-arms, but not to exhibit them, or show any hostility towards them, as long as they evinced a friendly disposition towards us.

The canoes were now all landed on the beach, about 90 in number; some with two, others with three natives on board, each bearing a club or battle-axe. They gazed on the boat, and then on the stores, where I was standing, their appearance wild and ferocious in the extreme. I was praying the arrival of our two boats; I was now convinced their intentions were hostile. After the natives had held a short consultation, they commenced a violent attack on the crew in the boat, using their clubs and battle-axes with great dexterity.



Attack of the natives on the boat.

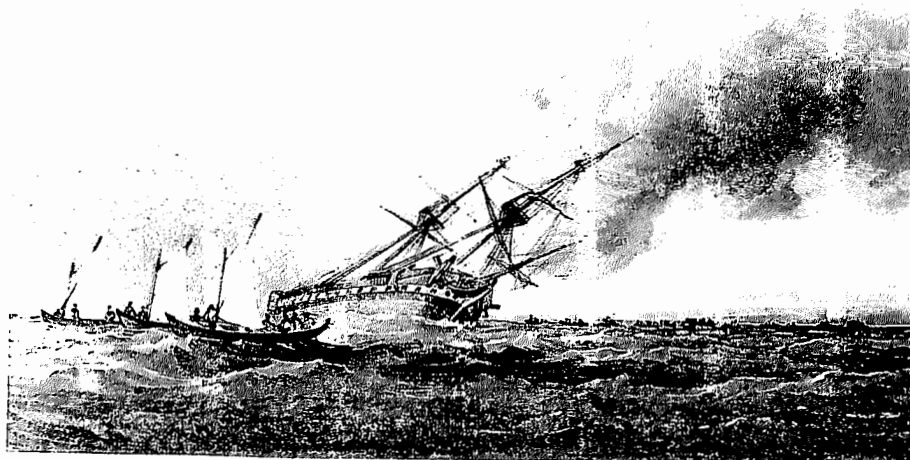
They succeeded in dragging one man, J. Norris, out of the boat. He was held under water for a few minutes, by one of the natives, who appeared a very powerful man. One of our crew witnessing this, immediately discharged his musket, and shot him dead. It was extremely hazardous to fire on the native, as our crew were fearful of our man receiving the contents, part of his body occasionally appearing above the surface of the water. On his escape from the fallen native, he succeeded in gaining the boat. Another furious attack was made on the boat; but it was repelled by the crew. I now found myself in a perilous situation, the natives approaching towards me, about 200 in number, armed with clubs and battle-axes. I instantly made for the boat, but was soon surrounded by a large number, who inflicted several most every wound on my head and body with their clubs and battle-axes, which soon brought me to the ground. They continued their infuriated violence on me with their clubs and battle-axes as I lay on the ground, till they left me for dead I was now in a state of insensibility.

The crew, however, maintaining a good fire from the boat, several of the natives fell, and they began to retire, quite amazed at the effects of our musketry. In the course of a short time, I so far recovered my senses and strength as to enable me to reach the beach, where I was assisted into the boat by my crew; one of our crew also received two severe wounds in the neck during the conflict. On our leaving the beach we discovered our stores surrounded by these savages, no doubt dividing their booty. I regret that all our boats were not together, as in all probability, with our united exertions, we should have been enabled to repel successfully the desperate and sanguinary attack.

We then proceeded to the wreck. I was placed in the bottom of the boat, bleeding profusely from the wounds inflicted on my head. I also discovered my left arm was fractured, and my hands dreadfully lacerated. On reaching the wreck I was hauled on board, and placed on one of the lockers, and humanely attended by Mr. Kenney, the second mate. He commenced cutting off the matted hair of my head, and binding up my wounds with some old canvass, having no other article on board. The medicines were all landed the day previous to the encounter. The injuries I sustained were four deep wounds in the head, my left arm fractured, my hands dreadfully lacerated, and my body one mass of bruises. I must acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Mr. Kenney, for his unremitting attention under the torture of my wounds. At 4 p.m. my crew had prepared everything for our departure from the wreck, on our intended voyage over the Pacific Ocean.

I was at this time almost in a state of insensibility from the loss of blood and extreme pain; they had placed in each boat 40 gallons of water, and about 120 lbs of bread; two planks were placed in each boat for the purpose of raising a wash-strake Mr. Kenney now informed me that all was ready for our departure. I begged most fervently to let me remain and terminate my sufferings on board the wreck, but his incessant intreaties prevailed on me to quit the wreck; I was carried on deck and lowered into the boat, and placed in the bottom of her on an old mattress, and some pieces of old canvass and bread-bag to recline my wounded head on; my fractured arm was bound round with some pieces of old canvass and rope-yarn. I had no means of moving myself without the aid of some of my crew, my hands being so dreadfully lacerated. Providentially a

quadrant, the property of Mr. Kenney, was left in the wreck, being the only nautical instrument among us, which was placed in Mr Kenney's boat. Our little store being safely deposited in our boats, we proceeded to set fire to the wreck.



LEAVING the SHIP on FIRE.

Leaving the ship on fire.

Scarcely had we commenced, when we perceived a body of canoes, about 50 or 60, bearing towards us from the shore: we immediately ignited the combustibles and took to our boats, and proceeded on our perilous undertaking—a voyage over the Pacific Ocean, nearly 3,000 miles, placing our trust in a merciful God for a safe and speedy passage. We had not proceeded above a mile from the reef before we perceived our goodly vessel enveloped in one terrific mass of flames; we perceived the mainmast fall overboard shortly after the flames had communicated with the rigging. We then proceeded on our perilous voyage, steering N.W. until 10 p.m.; we found ourselves in ten fathoms water; here we anchored, and spent the night in our open boats upon the unbounded deep. Part of the night was spent in the rehearsal of our conflict with the natives, and as to our proceedings in the morning: during the night I suffered dreadful torture from my wounds, the boat continually tossing about, which gave me considerably more pain. Our object for steering a N.W. course, was owing to our having only one nautical instrument for conducting our three boats: we were anxious to get into the latitude of the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands as quick as possible, that in the event of the boats separating during a stormy or dark night, they might not get out of the track of the islands, if they pursued a West course.

This was considered a very prudent and humane suggestion of Mr. Kenney, who was in possession of the quadrant, and who used every effort to pace his unfortunate companions in a proper track for the Islands. At daylight, we got our wash-strakes adjusted, stepped our masts, and set sail, each boat having six individuals on board; we still pursued our N.W. course.

At noon, we discovered by observation that we were in latitude 1°30' south; considering ourselves 2,900 miles distant from the Ladrone Islands.

We now commenced to regulate the allowance of provision for each individual per day, which was half a pound of biscuit and three half pints of water, to be served out twice per day. This arrangement was finally agreed to by the crew; for judging from the great distance we had to run, we could not afford a greater allowance. I spent the whole of this day in extreme agony, the boat shipping a considerable quantity of water, which was continually washing over me as I lay in the bottom of the boat. I requested some of the crew to remove the mattress from under me, and throw it overboard, as it was completely saturated with salt water; my head appeared as fixed in a vice, owing to the blood being congealed and mixed with the hair. During the night the wind continued favourable.

On the 17th, our boats closed, and spoke each other, and arranged the course we should pursue during the night to prevent our separation. Everything seemed to go on favourably with my unfortunate companions; as for myself, I had abandoned all hope of ever reaching land; for three days, I lay in the bottom of the boat, almost insensible of the passing scene, and regardless of food,—a little water was my whole sustenance.

On the night of the 20th, the wind began to increase, accompanied with squalls and rain, the sea continually washing over us, leaving not a dry place in the boat, which proved a great impediment to the healing of my wounds; the only covering to my head was a cotton handkerchief. During the night, we were extremely fearful of separating; it was with difficulty we could get a sight of each other, the sea at this time running very high. Occasionally the moon made its appearance through the passing clouds, which cast a bright shade on the sails, the only beacon for our guide during the dismal night! The weather continued squally during the whole of the next day, and the sea running so high, that we occasionally lost sight of our boats and sails, while in the trough of the sea, although not more than sixty yards distant from each other; we frequently observed the sea break close to the stern of our two boats that were in company, and almost instantly disappear in the trough of the sea; our anxiety was now great, our eyes continually fixed on our companions, ready to offer assistance should they meet with a disaster.

The weather continued squally, with rain, to latitude 9° north; the result proved very unfavourable, having shipped a great quantity of water, a great portion of our bread was destroyed by it, which caused us to reduce our allowance to one and a half biscuit per day.

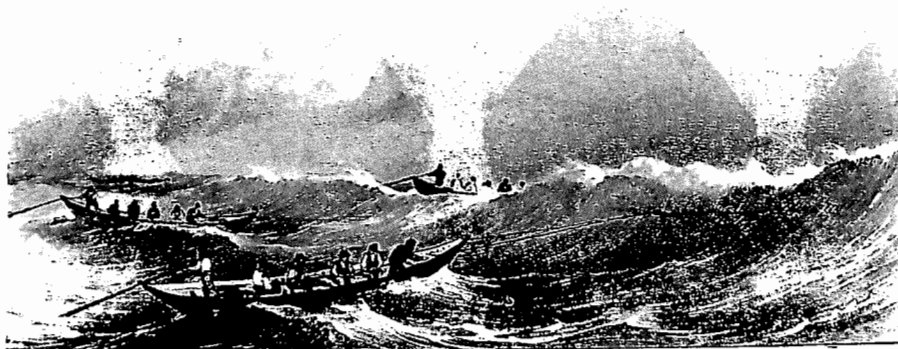
The mode we adopted to keep a reckoning, was by cutting a notch in one of the thwarts of the boat, which signified the days that we had been at sea, and a scratch of a nail on the paint for the number of miles run, by rough calculation.

At noon Mr Kenney communicated to us the latitude we were in, he having the only instrument among the three boats. The weather was somewhat moderate: the only mode we could adopt to secure our bread from the salt water, was by two of the men lying on the top of the bag, and receiving the sea on their bodies. This plan answered the purpose of protecting the upper part from the salt water, but not the lower part, owing to the continual wash in the bottom of the boat.

On the 25th the weather again moderated, and finding my wounds somewhat better, I exhorted my crew to go down on their knees and supplicate assistance from Almighty God! My wish was fervently attended to. After our devotion my crew appeared somewhat cheerful: the wind being rather light the third mate came within hail, and finding my boat the dullest sailing boat of the three, he offered to take my boat in tow, which I cheerfully accepted: both the other boats had frequently to unsprit their sails to keep me company.

On the night of the 27th, it came on excessively dark, and being fearful of separating we fastened our boats together for a few hours. The sea began to rise with much violence; we were ultimately compelled to cast off, fearful of staving each other's boat, putting our trust in a merciful Providence that we should not separate.

During the whole of the night it blew hard, and we shipped a great quantity of water; two men were constantly employed in baling it out.



BOATS LAYING TO IN A GALE .

London, Longman, Rees, Orme & Co. 1836.

Boats laying to in a gale.

At day-light we were greatly delighted at the sight of our companions; we discovered them about a mile ahead of us. Until the 3rd of February nothing of any particular remark occurred, except the continual craving of our poor crew for provision. Towards noon, the boy in my boat would cast up his eyes to the sun, then take a pitiful look at me with tears in his eyes, "Oh, Mr. Reney, I think it is 12 o'clock. Is it not time to serve out the allowance?" I replied it was not 12. Yet this reply would draw forth a burst of tears from the lad, and it was truly pitiful to behold him. In most cases of shipwreck and privation a youth is the greatest sufferer. Men from the age of 40 to 60 have, on most occasions, been the survivors, if any. I observed that, with my small crew, the youngest were the least capable of endurance; and the oldest men in our boat, the cook, endured his sufferings with more fortitude than any other of the crew. I have also observed, that on short allowance the use of tobacco would greatly alleviate the sufferings of the men, and abate their craving for food and water. At noon we calculated we were in the latitude of the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands. At 8 p.m. the wind again increasing and the sea running very high, and the general appearance of the night portending some awful event, our little reefed sail was occasionally becalmed in the trough of the sea, and our crew in momentary expectation of being overwhelmed by the devouring element; the whole of this night was spent in terror and fatigue, the whole of the crew alternately baling, and the attention and exertion required in steering the boat greatly exhausted us, having to steer with an oar, which renders the task very tedious, particularly running before the wind in a heavy sea, and more especially in a whale-boat. At day-light the wind had considerably abated, but we were horror struck at the disappearance of the other two boats. We cast our eyes eagerly around us, but could not discover anything but sky and water. To add to our sufferings, the only nautical instrument among us (a quadrant) was in Mr. Kenney's boat; we conjectured at this time we were about 800 or 900 miles distant from the Ladrone Islands. My crew became quite dejected at losing the only instrument for our guide, as well as for the safety of our companions. I now exhorted my crew in prayer, which we all fervently joined in. Our provision being now very scanty, and partly damaged with salt water, we had to make a further reduction in our allowance. Being fearful of not making the land agreeable to our anxious wish, I now determined, if I should not be so fortunate as to make the Ladrone, to steer for the Philippines. My crew by this time became quite dejected, each countenance assuming a wild ferocious appearance, no doubt from extreme privation and fatigue.

We were now compelled to reduce our allowance to one biscuit, and half-a-pint of water per day; the following day we fell in with several shoals of flying fish, fortunately several flew into our boat, which we immediately cleaned and hung up to the mast to dry—and in a raw state, they proved a delicious meal, of which the whole of my crew eagerly partook. The night approaching, the wind increasing, and the general appearance of the atmosphere indicating a storm, it was the unanimous opinion of my crew, that we should not survive till morning. This struck such a terror into their minds that I had some difficulty in rousing them to a degree of animation. At midnight the squalls

were so incessant, and the sea running so high, that we could no longer run our boat with safety before the wind, as we were shipping sea after sea in succession, so that my men were completely exhausted in baling out the water, and steering the boat.

I formed a raft with my oars, and fastened a rope to the raft in readiness to throw overboard to ride my boat to; being all prepared, we took in our sail and rounded the boat to the wind, cast my raft overboard and rode my boat by it, head to the sea,—the raft affords a temporary breakwater. In this situation, we were driving with the raft about two miles per hour, by the velocity of the wind and sea; we peaked our steer oar, to aid in keeping the boat's head to wind; the term for peaking, is to fasten the hand part of the oar to the after thwart, thus the blade of the oar acts as a temporary after-sail to keep the boat's head to the wind and sea. In rounding our boat to the wind, we shipped a sea that half filled the boat; I now thought our suffering would soon terminate; fortunately, we did not receive a repetition; otherwise, it would have proved fatal to the whole of us.

While riding by the raft, our boat was at times nearly over end; but we rode with more safety than running before the wind. Our bread was now nearly all damaged;—in this perilous situation we continued till daylight, shipping a considerable quantity of water, my crew almost exhausted in baling it out.

Towards daylight the wind having considerably abated, and the sea fallen, we hauled the raft on board and set sail, steering west by south, there being one point of variation. Our provision being nearly expended, we were compelled to reduce our allowance to about half a biscuit and half-a-piint of water per day, the biscuit being almost saturated with salt water; we used to soak our salted bread in the fresh water, but with all its faults it was eagerly devoured. Our limbs by this time became considerably swollen, no doubt from extreme privation and fatigue, being continually wet, and having no other clothing but that on our backs.

During the day a great number of dolphins appeared, and also a shark; one of my crew (the cooper), observed that he should like to get hold of him; I asked him what he would do with him; he replied he would eat him raw; he could make a good meal of him. His eyes continued fixed on the shark, with as much ferocity as if he would have leaped overboard after him.

Here the scene was completely changed; the man appeared as eager to devour the sea monster (the terror to seamen in general), as the monster was to devour the man!

We now distributed our scanty allowance, half a biscuit and a half-pint of water each person, with a small portion of raw flying-fish. During the day, several flying-fish again flew into our boat, or rather darted against our sail, and dropped into it. The flying-fish become a prey to the Dolphin, Bonnito and Albicore; and when pursued by either of these fish, they immediately desert their own element, with their wings extended about sixteen or twenty inches. They have frequently been known to fly from 380 to 400 yards, when they become exhausted, and immediately drop into the water.

We continued our course W. by S. with very unfavourable weather to the 10th February. The incessant entreaties of my unfortunate crew, to let them devour the little remaining bread, was truly heart-rending.

I became exceedingly alarmed at the appearance of the cooper: he sometimes fixed his eyes on me, as if in contemplation of a personal attack. I was compelled to keep a strict watch on him, and at night I had to conceal a cutlass by my side for my protection

At noon, I considered we had nearly run our distance; I cheered my companions with a hope that we should soon discover the land; but the loss of the quadrant seemed to impress on their minds that we should get out of the track of the Ladrone Islands. During the night we were somewhat amused by large shoals of porpoises, running at times within four or five feet of our boat, and blowing the water upon our sail. The cooper again expressed a desire to get hold of one of them, which he declared would make a better meal than the shark, having plenty of blood in him. This observation drew forth my attention; I determined to keep a strict watch over him, fearful of an attack.

The wind again increased, accompanied with violent squalls; the sea again rose with such violence that we could no longer run our boat before the wind with any degree of safety, we were shipping sea after sea in succession, so that we could scarcely keep our boat free from water, which again compelled us to resort to the raft. We lowered our sail, and in the act of rounding to the wind, a sea struck our boat's bow, which nearly washed the two men overboard that were in the fore part of the boat. Our boat was nearly half filled, and with difficulty we could bale out the water fast enough to keep her afloat. My crew now became exhausted, and gave up all hope of ever reaching land, some of them observing, "we might as well die now as a few days hence." I renewed my entreaties, and endeavoured to cheer up their hopes of seeing the land the next day; but they were all labouring under an impression that we had got out of our track, and ran past the islands, not having any instrument to ascertain the latitude.

We lay-to, till about 10 a.m. it became more moderate. I now considered we might venture to pursue our course; our raft was hauled on board, and we set sail, steering W. by S.

At 11 a.m., the poor boy crept to the after part of the boat, and entreated me, with tears in his eyes, to let him have half of his allowance; his sufferings were truly heart-rending. The cooper, who was a strong, powerful young man, appeared to suffer as much as the boy; he again fixed his eyes on me, as if he was ready to devour me. I became somewhat apprehensive of my safety; I was compelled to fix my eyes attentively on all his movements.

At noon, we distributed half a biscuit to each man, and half a pint of water, which proved a great solace to our parched lips.

At 3 p.m., to our inexpressible delight, we descried land, bearing N.W., which proved to be the island of Saipan. I had previously discovered the land about two or three

minutes, but I considered it prudent to conceal my discovery until I was persuaded of its certainty.

The moment the word "Land" was uttered, the whole crew sprung from their seats, directing their eager eyes towards the shore; each countenance brightened with joy; a fierce attack was now made on the bread (about eight pounds); I had some difficulty in preventing them consuming it, until I was certain of effecting a landing that night. The unbounded joy exhibited by my suffering crew was truly gratifying; each countenance changed from an aspect of horror to that of delight.

My crew again implored me to let them divide the little bread, which I readily acceded to, judging that I should effect a landing that night; the remainder of our bread was soon devoured by my unfortunate sufferers; after our repast, the whole of my crew fell on their knees, and spontaneously returned thanks to a merciful God for their preservation! We shortly discovered the island of Tinian, for which we steered, and happily effected a landing at 11 p.m.; being the 26th day of our traversing 3,000 miles of the Pacific Ocean in an open boat!

Oh! what a solace to my sufferings, the thoughts of once again having my feet on land; my mind was impregnated with joy, no human tongue can describe my feelings. I fell on my knees, and raising my hands, directed my eyes towards the heavens, uttering a prayer of thanksgiving for our safe deliverance. We hauled our boat on the beach, as far up as our strength would admit, and proceeded towards some cocoa-nut trees, under which we took refuge for the night. Myself and crew endeavoured to take a little sleep; but we were so overjoyed, we seemed all incapable of repose, every one anxiously looking for daylight, and to ascertain if there were any inhabitants on the island, or any refreshment to be procured; the remainder of the night was spent in forming a variety of conjectures as to our proceedings the following day; the night appeared excessively long, every one anxiously looking for daylight.

On the 11th of February, 1835, daylight was hailed with joy by our crew; we launched our boat for the purpose of pulling round the island, to ascertain if there were any inhabitants upon it. I found our crew as weak from the sufferings they had endured, and the privations they had experienced, that they could scarcely ply their oars. Before we had proceeded far, however, we fortunately discovered a party of men, whose attention was directed to our boat. I then made for the shore, and proceeded towards them; I was informed they were exiles from the island of Guam. After hearing a recital of our misfortunes, they immediately supplied us with food and such refreshment as they partook of themselves.

The island is about fifteen to twenty miles in circumference, abounding in coconuts, oranges, bread-fruit, and sweet potatoes; there are also a great number of wild pigs, which are salted and sent to Guam. The inhabitants make their own salt for curing their pork. The only house we discovered on the island, was the one inhabited by the exiles, similar to small barracks. The exiles are under the charge of a sergeant sent from Guam, who exercises a rigid discipline over them: if they commit the least offence the cat-o'-nine-tails is severely exercised. The sergeant, who appeared to be a humane

man, generously supplied us with as much food as we could consume. They have no other beverage than toddy, a refreshing draught obtained from the cocoa-nut tree.

At 9 p.m., after prayers, the whole of the inhabitants retired to rest. I was requested by the sergeant to accompany him to his apartment in the barracks. He pointed out a place for me to sleep; it was boarded similar to the guard-rooms in most barracks: the rest of our crew had their place of repose pointed out to them, in a similar manner.

I laid my bruised body on the boards, and reclined my wounded head on a mat. Oh! what a solace to my suffering feelings! I considered this little island a Paradise, and the passing moments the happiest of my life. During the night I was incapable of sleep, although worn out with fatigue. At the approach of daylight, the whole of the inhabitants are summoned to attend prayers, which is performed every morning and evening: after their devotion one man is dispatched with about twenty dogs to hunt the wild pig, another man is constantly employed in the salt department, the remainder are employed in salting the meat, raising provisions, &c. After the pigs are killed by the dogs, they immediately open them and divest them of their entrails.

They sometimes hang up twenty or thirty, and place a fire round for the purpose of burning off the hair; they afterwards salt them. A vessel arrives here about three times a year from Guam to take away the pork, and give them such supplies as they may require.

Myself and crew were now fast recovering. I began to enjoy my night's repose; although on the bare boards, it was sweeter to me than any bed I had ever reposed on. I invariably rose at about five o'clock, but could not quit the barracks owing to the dogs, that would attack and devour any stranger; I was compelled to remain till the sound of the horn, the signal for the inhabitants to rise. We continued on the island until the 26th of February, and were hospitably entertained, and provided for by the inhabitants during our stay on the island.

We were now partially recovered from the swelling of our limbs, and our strength partly restored, we finally agreed to take our departure for the island of Guam, distant about 150 miles, there not being any probability of a ship touching at this island.

About the middle of last century, this island was visited by the celebrated circumnavigator, Lord (then Captain) Anson, in his Majesty's ship **Centurion**; at that period the island was uninhabited, but was described by him as a perfect Paradise. There are great numbers of cattle of a remarkably fine breed, and milk white.

It was here Captain Anson lost an anchor, which has recently been discovered, taken up and sent to the governor of Guam. The water on the island is somewhat brackish; but notwithstanding many drawbacks, I am upon the whole disposed to look back with a kindly and grateful remembrance of this remote settlement, where I experienced hospitality of no common kind, nor common duration.

On the 27th of February, we made preparations for our departure, and took a cordial farewell of our hospitable exiles. We launched our boat, and steered for the island of Rota, on our way to Guam. On our arrival at Rota, to our inexpressible joy and delight, we found our two boats; the crew of each had all arrived safe and were doing well,

but the boats were in a very disabled state. Mr. Kenney informed me it was with the greatest difficulty they had reached the island, the boats having been so shattered that they were making water in every seam; that they could scarcely keep them afloat, the crew being nearly exhausted in baling out the water.

I immediately proceeded to examine the boats, which were lying bottom up under a cocoa-nut tree, and in such a shattered condition that it appeared a miracle that they had preserved their lives.

Mr. Kenney, the second mate, also informed me that his crew insisted on eating the remainder of the bread the day before they made the island; he was fearful to oppose them in their wish; that his crew were almost ready to devour each other, and if he had been out 48 hours longer, he had no doubt that their privations would have driven them to that extremity.

The history I received from Mr. Kenney, our second mate, corresponded with our sufferings from the time we parted. About three days after my separation from the other two boats, Mr. Kenney and Mr. Cartwright's boats separated, during a stormy and dark night. Mr. Cartwright's boat appeared in a similar shattered condition as Mr. Kenney's boat; they had also suffered similar privations to ourselves.

The first land that Mr. Cartwright discovered was the island of Gugon [rather Guam], where he could only effect a landing by climbing up a precipice of considerable height; with great difficulty and danger he reached the summit. After resting his swollen limbs, he cast his eyes around him, and discovered another island, which proved to be the island of Rota. He now cautiously descended, and proceeded towards the island. On his arrival, he was gratified to behold Mr. Kenney and his crew safely landed, and all doing well. Mr. Cartwright and his crew received the same hospitable treatment as Mr. Kenney and his companions.

As there appeared to be no probability of any vessel touching at Rota, I made preparations for Guam, being the most likely place to meet with some vessels from Europe. I endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Kenney and Mr. Cartwright to accompany me to Guam, but their boats were so shattered, they could not venture to Guam; neither would they separate from their companions, who had endured so many privations and hardships together.

The Island of Rota is in possession of the Spaniards, governed by a commandant appointed by the governor of Manilla. The island produces rice, Indian corn, an abundance of cocoa-nuts, oranges, sweet potatoes, &c.

This island is frequently visited by the ships engaged in the whale fishery, for the purpose of procuring water and fresh provision. Here you may be supplied with an abundance of pigs, fowls, and a variety of fruits and vegetables. The inhabitants are extremely hospitable to all visitors. On the 28th of February, we made preparations for our departure for the island of Guam, distant about fifty miles.

At eight o'clock my companions assembled to bid us a cheering farewell, and assisted in launching our boat. We set sail with three hearty cheers from my suffering companions, and shaped our course for Guam, with a light favourable breeze.

At 5 p.m. we arrived safe at Guam. After hauling our boat up on the beach, I proceeded to the governor's house, and related our privations and sufferings, as well as the perilous voyage that we had performed over the Pacific Ocean. I informed him of the twelve men who were on the Island of Rota. On hearing a recital of our sufferings he immediately ordered a supper, consisting of deer, sweet potatoes, Indian corn, bread, &c., and presented me with a change of light clothing. After we had partaken of a bounteous repast, and acknowledged our gratitude for the hospitable reception we met with, the governor requested the interpreter to communicate with me that he was anxious to hear the whole of our sufferings from the commencement.

During the whole of the evening he listened attentively to the recital of our sufferings, which was conveyed to him by his interpreter. On hearing of the wounds that I had received he sent for a surgeon, then resident at Guam. He examined my wounds, and found those on my head rather inflamed, which he carefully dressed. On examination of my arm, he discovered a longitudinal fracture; and carefully binding it up, with directions to keep myself as still as possible, he informed me it was providential that I had no other food than bread and water, otherwise it must, in all probability, have proved fatal; that inflammation would have ensued, and mortification would have terminated my sufferings.

My crew were distributed among the inhabitants. The surgeon kindly took me to his dwelling, and assured me that I should be hospitably treated and nourished under his roof as long as I remained on the island. At daylight the surgeon again examined and dressed my wounds. Shortly after I was visited by the interpreter, who was the bearer of a message from the governor, requesting an interview with me. Agreeably to his wish I waited on him. He requested me to accompany him to our boat, expressing an anxiety to see the small vessel that had conveyed us the enormous distance over the Pacific Ocean.

The governor on seeing the boat was struck with amazement, and expressed his astonishment at our adventurous undertaking. His attention was strongly directed to the barnacles on our boat's bottom, and caused the carpenter that accompanied us to the boat to measure some of the largest, which exceeded half an inch. I cannot but express my sincere gratitude for the hospitable treatment we experienced from the governor: he informed us that the Spanish government did not allow anything for our relief, but we should not want any necessaries while we remained on the island.

Guam is frequently visited by the ships engaged in the whale fishery. Here are an abundant quantity of buffalos, deer, pigs, fowls, rice, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and a variety of fruits.

The water is very good on this island, but very difficult to be obtained. The land appears fertile, but the inhabitants are too indolent to cultivate it. The island is beautifully diversified with hills and valleys, and completely covered with cocoa-nut, orange, and a variety of fruit trees. Their habitations are rudely constructed with cocoa-nut branches, and bread-fruit leaves.

During our stay in Guam, we were visited by a number of whaling vessels from London. I sincerely acknowledge my gratitude to the captains of the **Henrietta**, **Walmer**, and **Resolution**, for their generous conduct in supplying me with clothing, and sufficient cash to defray my expenses during my stay in Guam. The **Henrietta** brought our two boats and the twelve men from Rota to this island. On their arrival at Guam, Captain Henderson, of the **Henrietta** opened a cask of slops, and generously ordered each man to take out what clothing they wanted, without any restriction; and he also presented Mr. Kenney and Mr. Cartwright with ten dollars each, and the other ten men with five dollars each. This praiseworthy and generous act of Captain Henderson was acknowledged by an expression of sincere gratitude from my unfortunate fellow-sufferers. Previous to my departure from the island, most of my crew had embarked in different ships.

I remained on the Island of Guam until the 28th of April. During my stay I was hospitably treated by the governor, and humanely attended by the surgeon, who used his utmost endeavours to heal my wounds.

The governor kindly interceded and procured me a passage to Sydney, on board a Spanish brig, (**Pronto**) of Manilla, Captain T. Yrassary. During our passage we experienced much calm weather, which protracted our voyage considerably, Captain Yrassary was fearful we had not sufficient water and provision for the remainder of the voyage.

Within the tropics, ships have experienced several weeks' calm, so that there is no calculation for a commander of a ship (as to time), for the prosecution of his voyage. I suggested to him the propriety of calling at the island of Rotuma, whence he could procure a supply of good water and an abundance of pigs, fowls, and a variety of vegetables. I had frequently visited the island of Rotuma, and found the inhabitants willing to supply us with that which the island produced at a moderate rate. This kindness is a sufficient inducement to mariners who are in want of supplies to call at that hospitable island. We were about 100 miles distant from Rotuma, when Captain Yrassary yielded to my suggestion.

...

During our passage to Sydney I experienced very kind treatment from Captain Yrassary. We passed the island that we were wrecked on, about 100 miles distant; we arrived at Sydney about the end of July, being about three months on our passage.

On my arrival at Sydney, I was kindly received by Messrs. Jones and Donaldson, who immediately caused a subscription to be entered into, for the purpose of defraying my passage to London. The liberal contribution of many of the merchants in Sydney enabled me to procure a passage to London, in the **William Bryan**, Captain Roman. I must acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Captain Yrassary for his liberality in returning the sum of 7 pounds 8 shillings towards the subscription, which was paid to him from the colony for my passage. Previous to my embarking for London my wounds were nearly healed, but my arm continued very painful.

On the 21st of September, 1835, we weighed anchor and set sail for England; we touched at Bahia for a supply of water and provisions; and after a protracted voyage of five months, I landed safely at Weymouth, on the 23rd of February, 1836,—having been absent from England two years and five months, during a part of which time I had undergone dangers and privations, far beyond the conception of those who are unused to the misfortunes and unversed in the calamities which attach themselves but too frequently to the perilous adventures of a British seaman.

OBSERVATIONS.

The author of this narrative has been many years employed in the South-Sea whale fishery, and has visited many of the islands of the South Pacific Ocean. He is well acquainted with the manners and customs of the natives, which enables him to offer a few observations, which he trusts will not be offensive to the reader, but will ultimately be of benefit to those who are engaged in the whale fishery, and excite the minds of those who are not interested in the perilous life of a seaman.

On our visit to Byron's [Nukunau] Island, one of the Kingsmill group, we were compelled to keep our ship reaching off and on the island; we dared not attempt to land or cast anchor, owing to the barbarous disposition of the natives. Several natives came alongside with a quantity of cocoa-nuts; their appearance was extremely wild and ferocious; and in all probability if we had anchored the ship, we should have been surrounded by some hundreds of them, an active plunder might have ensued, and no doubt a great sacrifice of life.

The natives from the island near the wreck of the **Corsair** who attacked our crew, appeared as if they had never beheld a white person; judging from their utter amazement and close examination of our persons,—they rubbed me down on all parts of my body previous to their attack. I am of opinion if a white person were to land in a state of nudity, the natives would not attack him, their principal object being plunder, which it appears they cannot satisfactorily accomplish until they have deprived the object of their plunder of his existence.

I have no doubt that if two or three small vessels of war were equipped and commissioned for the purpose of cruising in those seas, under the command of some active and intelligent officers, they would be of infinite benefit, not only for the purpose of surveying the many groups, but they would be the means of restoring many shipwrecked mariners to their friends and relations, and likewise protect our shipping, and afford assistance in case of shipwreck. In all probability, if the numerous groups in these seas were properly and strictly surveyed, the heart-rending and disastrous shipwrecks which now so frequently occur, would be happily avoided.

No doubt can be entertained that there are many shipwrecked seamen enduring a miserable existence among these savages, secluded from all civilized society, and having no opportunity of escaping from a state of misery and degradation to return to their anxious friends and relatives.

How must all the charities of domestic life be strained and tortured! The wife, the children anxiously looking for the return of the husband and the father! Probably suffering all the privations of want and misery in their native land, amidst the anxiety of hope and the torture of suspense. Many relatives frequently dying under the impression that those most dear to them have been most barbarously murdered.

If the islands in the Pacific Ocean were frequently visited by some of our vessels of war, it would be the means of establishing a friendly intercourse with the natives, which

could be easily accomplished by convincing them of our superiority. It would also be of essential benefit to the ship owner, the underwriter, and mariner.

The **Corsair**, the subject of this narrative, having been tolerably successful during the time she had been cruising in these seas, anticipated a speedy and successful voyage.

If the group of the King's-mill Islands had been properly surveyed, in all probability we should not have met with the melancholy disaster which proved fatal to a part of the crew, and the total destruction of the ship and cargo. Had the natives been friendly, in all probability a great portion of the cargo and stores would have been saved, as well as the lives of those who unfortunately fell into the hands of the savages. But with difficulty and exertion a part of the crew escaped, after a desperate conflict. We had no alternative of preserving our lives but by the perilous undertaking which we were compelled to pursue, trusting to a merciful Providence for a safe deliverance.

The admiralty would be performing an act of great importance to those engaged in the South Sea fishery, by sending two or three small vessels of war to explore these groups in the Pacific, and assist and protect our shipping that are engaged in these seas. It appears the islands are not productive of any benefit to Great Britain; but they might be beneficial to the whaling ships for fresh supplies, if a friendly intercourse were established. I am not guided by hearsay, but I can testify that several of the islands in the Pacific are partly inhabited by runaway convicts from New South Wales. It has frequently occurred, when whaling ships have called at Sydney for refreshment, many convicts have secreted themselves on board, unknown to the commanders or officers of the respective ships so visiting. On their arrival at some of the islands they have made their way on shore, and sought refuge amongst the natives.

There is also another evil arising from the ships visiting these islands for refreshment,—many of the mariners are enticed to desert their ships. They hold out strong inducements to the weak-minded mariner; as there are plenty of fine women on the island and an abundance of provision, and little or no labour to perform, and in addition to this, they are their own masters; these inducements frequently operate strongly on the minds of mariners, who are otherwise well-disposed and honest; and cause them to desert their ships and join the company of these lawless delinquents. It is not to be supposed that their morals would be improved, by their fiend-like companions.

I have very little doubt, that many of these islands will in time become a complete rendezvous for a horde of pirates, if some means are not adopted to check the increasing evil. I am confident nothing prevents them from committing depredations, but the want of a favorable opportunity. In the event of a shipwreck on any of these islands that are infested by these renegades, the ship and stores would soon become an easy prey to their assailants; there is but little doubt that they would be aided by the natives, and in all probability would attempt the lives of the crew, to prevent detection.

In a few years it will be extremely hazardous for ships to visit these islands for supplies. The visiting ships are not at all calculated to contend with the renegades and savages; but the evil could soon be remedied by establishing a friendly intercourse, and an

occasional visit by our ships of war; this would, in all probability, be a great preventive to the seamen deserting their ships, which frequently occurs in these groups of islands.

It appears, that these seas are entirely neglected by our legislature, owing, no doubt to our not having any productive colony among the group. But I consider the immense capital embarked in the whole fishery, by our merchants, requires as much protection as any branch of our commerce, and the valuable lives of the seamen demand protection from our country.

It is quite obvious to all persons engaged in shipping, that the premium required by the underwriter from the South-Sea ship owner is considerably higher than that on other ships engaged in any other part of the globe.

This is a proof that these seas are more hazardous, evidently for the want of a proper survey: there are, without doubt, many shoals and reefs existing, which are not laid down in the charts.

It must be distressing in the highest degree to the minds of the friends of those who are missing, who formed part of the crew of the **Corsair**, to be labouring under suspense as to the existence of their friends and relatives, from whom they have been so long separated. I have no doubt if any part of the crew that are missing are in existence, they might, if proper means were adopted, be restored to their afflicted families and friends, by conciliation or stratagem; but they could not be recovered by force.

I hope soon to see some of our meritorious officers commissioned for the laudable purpose of restoring many shipwrecked mariners to their native country, and to the bosom of their friends and families; and also for the purpose of surveying those groups, and establishing a friendly intercourse with the natives, which would be of infinite benefit to the shipping engaged in the South-Sea fishery.

I have noticed in most of the islands in the Pacific, although some of the natives are partly civilized, that it requires the whole attention of the numerous visitors to watch their actions to prevent plunder. The principal part of the natives, from the chief to the lowest grade, possess an incorrigible propensity to theft, eagerly stealing whatever they fix their eyes on; and they invariably succeed in their object, if they are not strictly watched. If you detect them, you cannot inflict any punishment without great risk of your personal safety.

I consider that I have performed a solemn duty to society, and particularly to my brethren of the ocean, by endeavouring to draw the attention of those in power to these distressing facts, of which they can so easily prevent the recurrence, and I shall be grieved and disappointed to find my suggestions have been received with cruel apathy, or selfish indifference.

Names of Persons Missing, who formed part of the Crew of the Corsair.

- William Venables, Master.
- The Boat-steerer.
- Thomas White, Carpenter.

- Benjamin Thompson.
- Benjamin Walkington.
- Two Sandwich Islanders.
- Mr. Smith, Surgeon.¹
- Carpenter's Mate.
- Armourer.
- Thomas Bowbys.²
- Edward King.

The following Persons arrived safely at the Island of Rota.

- Mr. Reney, Chief Mate, and Five Men in his Boat.
- Mr. Kenney, Second Mate, and Five Men in his Boat.
- Mr. Cartwright, Third Mate, and Five Men in his Boat.

1 Ed. note: He was later reported to have made it to Pohnpei, with the men in his boat (see Doc. 1835C3).

2 Ed. note: He wrote a letter about his ordeal in 1840 (see Doc. 1835C4).

Documents 1835C

The shipwreck of the Corsair—Reports in New England newspapers, etc.

C1. Loss of an English whaleship and murder of part of the crew.

Sources: Essex Register, Salem, 3 March 1836; similar reports in New Bedford Mercury, 4 March, and in The Landmark, Salem, 5 March; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Tabiteuea 1.

The "Kumu Hawaii" [newspaper], dated Oahu, Oct. 19 [1835], contains a narrative by Ryland John Howard, steward of the English whale ship **Corsair**, which left Oahu, in November 1834, and steered for Perrin's [=Penrhyn?] Island in search of the barque **Offleys**, which had been reported lost there; but finding nothing of her, they steered towards Kingsmill Group, and in about three weeks obtained 390 bbls. sperm oil, stopping now and then at Byron's [Nukunau] Island for refreshments, the natives appearing very friendly. On the 13th of January, being at the leeward of Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island, at 9 p.m. Capt. Venables thought he saw lights ashore, and ordered the ship's helm to be put down; the man at the helm put it hard up, and the ship immediately struck an unseen reef. Everything was done to get the ship off, but in vain. The same night a boat containing Mr. Smith, the surgeon, and five men, was lost.¹ The other four boats were loaded through the cabin windows with the most valuable articles. At daylight saw the land about 8 miles to the northward. Sent two boats to reconnoiter, which came back at noon, saying there was sand bank in the bay, on which a vessel might be built, that the natives appeared friendly, and that they thought no danger was to be apprehended from them. The four boats proceeded to the island and passed the night, two men keeping guard. In the morning two boats went to procure goods from the ship, one boat's crew guarding those on shore.

The Captain's boat had touched at another point of the Island. About 250 natives came from the main island and stated that the captain and six men with him were slain by the natives. They then attacked the guard, three of whom were wounded, killing in return three natives. Both parties then fled, the natives bearing off goods. About two

¹ Ed. note: This was not true, as they were later reported as having made it to Pohnpei; see Epilogue below.

hours after the arrival of the men at the ship a great number of canoes were on their way to the ship, and it was decided to set the ship on fire, which was done, after obtaining bread, water and clothing. The three boats, with eighteen men, then started for Guam. After much suffering, they arrived at the island of Rota, Feb. 11 [1835], having been 27 days in the boats. They were received by the Governor with hearty welcome, and provided with houses and food.

The **Henrietta**, Capt. Anderson, touched March 21, and took them to Guam, Capt. A. giving each man a shirt, a pair of trousers and \$2. They went to the Governor for provisions, who gave them a roving commission to get it where they could. Most of the men left Guam in the various ships which touched, and Howard and two others proceeded to the Bonin islands, whence H. was taken to the Sandwich Islands, by Capt. Carter, of brig **Diana**, who touched for wood and water.

C2. Whale ships.

Sources: Columbian Centinel, Boston, 5 March, 1836; Salem Observer, 12 March; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Tabiteuea 2.

Loss of English whaleship and murder of part of the crew. The Br. ship **Corsair**, struck on a reef 13th Jan. 1835, to the leeward of Drummonds Island, and it was found impossible to get her off. The same night a boat containing Mr. Smith the surgeon, and five men were lost. The other four boats were loaded with the most valuable articles, which were landed on the island and one boat's crew left as a guard, while the rest returned to the ship for more. The captain's boat landed at another point of the island, where he and six men were killed by the natives, who then attacked the guard and wounded three men. The men returned to the ship and in two hours a large number of canoes were on their way toward her, when the rest of the crew (18 in number) after taking on board provisions, set fire to her and left her in their boats. After 27 days exposure they arrived at the island of Rota, where they were well provided for by the Governor; then they proceeded to Guam and took passage in the various ships touching there.

C3. The lost journal of Dr. Smith, by R.L.

Horatio Hale, in Vol. 6 of the publications of the U.S. Exploring Expedition (1841), mentions that he had access to the journal of Dr. Smith at Oahu, that he and six men reached Pohnpei after 17 days at sea. However, Hale's description of Pohnpei seems to have come entirely from other accounts, mostly the book by O'Connell and an interview with a former beachcomber named Punchard. Still, there is an interesting footnote with information which Hale got directly from Dr. Smith. In it, he says: "On a subsequent voyage of Dr. Smith to New Georgia, one of the Solomon Group, 1,200 miles ESE [sic] of Drummond's Island, he landed on a small neighbouring islet, called Eddystone, (by the natives Moodoveree,) and was conducted by the chief to the top of

a mountain, where he found the figure-head of the **Corsair**. It had drifted to the island, and been carried by the natives up the mountain.”¹

C4. The narrative of J. W. Bowbyes, dated Honolulu 10 October 1840

Source: Page 197 of the ms. journal of Lieutenant William L. Hudson, commander of the USS Peacock that visited Tabiteuea in April 1841 (see Doc. 1841K).

Letter to Purser Waldron from T. W. Bowbyes, dated Oahu, Honolulu, October 10, 1840.

Sir,

I am sorry that I could not answer yours before, being so busy. You must excuse me. Though you only requested me to inform you of the attack on the **Honduras**, but I will begin a little ahead of that—on the 5th of January 1835, I was cast away in the ship **Corsair**, an English whaler, on Hocklop [rather Nautilus] Shoal, near Drummond’s Island, one of the Kingsmills Group, on which Island our Captain landed, and boat’s crew, but never have been heard since. The natives having attacked the remainder part of the crew, they were forced to furnish themselves as well as they could, and take their departures in three Boats, having only one Quadrant among the three. It was with great difficulty that they kept company with one another but they all arrived safe at the Ladrone Islands, but not so with the writer: he was in the boat with the Doctor that was supposed to be lost, for we were driven away by the force of the winds, and tides, soon after the Ship struck. She struck about 1/2 past 9 in the Evening, and we strived hard until the next day at noon to fetch the Ship again, but finding it of no avail, we bore up to the mercy of the wind and waves, having an Epitome and compass, about 5 lbs. of provisions, which consisted of a little bread and arrow-root, and 3 gallons of water among six of us. We arrived after a sixteen days cruise at the Island of Ascension where I remained until about the middle of June.

...

1 Ed. comment: There is something wrong with this story regarding the figurehead. A look at the map of the Solomon Islands reveals that Eddystone Island, the same as Navoro according to Brighman’s Index, lies west of the main barrier of islands which would have captured this flotsam first...

Document 1835D

The shipwreck of the Corsair—The report of Governor Villalobos

Source: Agaña archives, in 1900; transcribed by Safford, in his Papers N° i2 n LC Mss. Div., , page 76, and synopsized by him n his Notes, page 229.

Letter of Governor Villalobos, dated Agaña 15 May 1835

Original in Spanish.

Excomo. Sor.

*Habiendo naufragado la noche del trece de Enero último sobre una reventazon como á dos leguas de una Ysla de nombre desconocido y como de á doscientas millas al S.E. de la isla de Biron archipiélago de Kinsmills en la latitud 2° S. y long. 178° E. del miridiano de Greenwich la Fragata Ynglesa Ballenera **Corsario** se presentaron en esta tres Pilotos con quince marineros de la misma desde el veinte y ocho de Febrero á el quince de Marzo proximo pasados en tres botes: el primer ... Reney y algunos marineros mas llegaron bastante maltratados á consecuencia de golpes que recibieron de aquellos salbages al dia siguiente del naufragio manifientan que el CApitan y cinco marineros habran perecido entre los mismos salbages y que el Cirujano con otros cinco marineros fallecierian entre las olas en aquel suceso antes de amanecer y que dieron fuego al Buque despues de hacerse de algunas provisiones y luego que pudieron desembarazarse de los isleños, siendo demasiadamente admirable hayan podido llegar hasta aqui desde tanta distancia unos botes tan pequeños y endebles: á los naufragos se les dió toda la posible hospitalidad y han marchado casi todos en los buques que les han dado pasage.*

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 15 de Mayo de 1835.

Exmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

[A] Exmo. Sor. Comandante General de Marina en Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The English whaler named **Corsair** was shipwrecked in the night of 13 January last upon a reef at about two leagues from an island whose name is unknown and at about 200 [sic] miles S.E. of Byron Island in the Kingsmill Group, in latitude 2° S. and 178° longitude E. of Greenwich. The three mates and 15 seamen from this ship arrived at this island between 28 February and 15 March of this year in three boats: the first one ... [in charge of] Reney. He and a few seamen were in rather bad shape as a consequence of having received blows from those savages on the day following the shipwreck. They say that the Captain and five seamen had perished among the same savages and that the Surgeon with five more seamen died among the waves during the incident before daybreak and that they set fire to the ship after having taken a few provisions from her and this, after they were able to get away from the islanders. It is extremely remarkable how they were able to make it here over such a considerable distance aboard three small and feeble boats. To the survivors was extended as much hospitality as possible but most of them have now left aboard ships that have given them a passage.

May God our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

Agaña 18 May 1835.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Commanding General in charge of the Navy in the Philippines.

Document 1835F

The brigantine Pronto arrived without the mail

Sources: Agaña archives in 1900; transcribed in Safford's Papers N°2, in LC Mss. Div., and synthesized by him in his Notes, p. 227.

Letter of Governor Villalobos, dated Agaña 28 April 1835

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

El Bergantin Pronto procedente de esa Capital con pasaporte para Nueva Holanda, Apra &c llegó à este de Apra hace pocos dias sin pliegos de V.E. à causa del equivoco: Apra en vez de Marianas: casualidad que me ha sido demasidamente sensible por la porcion de asuntos urgentes que esperaba, y hubiera tal vez gustado V.E. comunicarme por dicho conducto, especialmente el fallecimiento de S.M. el Señor Don Fernando Septimo (q.D.g.), la jura y proclamacion de la Reina Nuestra Señora D^a Ysabel Segunda y la de su ... madre D^a Maria Cristina, verificado desde mucho tiempo en esa Capital y demas reales dominios Españoles, con arreglo à las leyes fundamentales del Reyno, comunicadas à este Gobierno con fecha 14 de Diciembre de 1830, la provision de Sargento Mayor de esta plaza y la venida de Religiosos cuyas vacantes ocasionan un gran mal y trabajo escesivo à los suplentes &^a

En tales circunstancias, presumiendo las Superiores órdenes de V.E. para iguales actos de reconocimiento à SS.MM. y teniendo à la vista los exemplos de Ynglaterra, de America, y de Madrid que no dejan dudar lo mas pequeño en el particular, y el caso semejante ocurrido en tiempo de mi antecesor D. Alejandro Parreño para el reconocimiento del Sor. D. Fernando Septimo; me han demostrado ser de mi inescusable deber y lealdad proceder con arreglo à el espíritu del articulo 188 del primer reglamento de Artilleria para Indias à la jura y proclamacion de tan Augustas MM. y asi se practicó el Domingo de Pascua de Resurreccion 19 del actual con quanto jubilo y magnificencia permitieron los pocos recursos de esta Ysla.

Y como el tiempo de Semana Santa y Pascua no han permitido las exequias funebres por Nuestro difunto Monarca, se celebraron estas el dia 27, primero que fue posible efectuarlas: todo lo que elevo respetuosamente al debido conocimiento de V.E. acompañando à sus manos el expediente que lo acredita.

*Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.
San Ygnacio de Agaña 28 de Abril de 1835.*

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] *Excmo. Sor. Gobernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency:

The brigantine **Pronto** proceeding from that Capital with a passport for New Holland, Apra, etc. arrived at this port of Apra a few days ago but without the mail from Y.E. because of a mistake, Apra having been mentioned instead of the Marianas. Such a happenstance has made me extremely sorry, on account of the large number of urgent matters about which I had hoped to get information, and perhaps also have the pleasure to read communications from Y.E. by the same occasion, about such things as the death of H.M., Don Ferdinand VII (may he rest in peace), the proclamation of our new Queen, Doña Isabel II, and that of his mother, Doña María Cristina, which have been celebrated a long time ago in that capital and in other Spanish Royal possessions, in accordance with the basic laws of the Kingdom, and which have been communicated to this Government in a letter dated 14 December 1830; the provision for a Sergeant Major for this garrison, and the coming of Religious personnel whose vacant posts cause a great harm and excessive work for those remaining, etc.

Under such circumstances, assuming the existence of superior orders from Y.E. for such acts of recognition of their Majesties and having on hand newspapers from England, America and Madrid, there being not the least doubt about the matter, and relying on the incident that occurred previously under my predecessor, Don Alexandro Parreño, for the recognition of His Lordship Don Ferdinand VII, I have been led by my unflinching duty and loyalty to proceed, in accordance with Article 188 of the first regulation of the Artillery for the Indies, with the oath and proclamation of such august Majesties and thus it took place on Easter Sunday 19th of this month with as much jubilation and decorum as the few resources of this Island could afford.

And, given that the holy week and Easter did not allow the funeral rites for our late Monarch, they were celebrated on the 27th, the first date at which they could take place. All of which I bring to the superior attention of Y.E., along with the file recording such events.

May God our Lord save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña 28 April 1835.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Document 1835F

Petition by Silvestre Cepeda for back pay

Sources: Agaña archives in 1900; Safford's Papers N°2, in LC Mss. Div., and his Notes, pp. 227 et seq.

Note: Sergeant Cepeda has just been named Mayor of Tinian and Saipan (see Doc. 1835A).

Letter of Governor Villalobos dated 23 July 1835

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Sor.

Acompaño respetuosamente à manos de V.E. una solicitud del soldado de esta Dotacion de Ynfanteria, Silvestre Cepeda, en pretension de abono de servicios; debiendo por mi parte elevar à la alta consideracion de V.E. para la resolucion que sea de su Superior agrado lo siguiente:

En el año 22 se dispuso por esa Superioridad cierta economia à esta tropa que siendo ventajosa à la Real Hacienda de ningun modo podia agradar à la desmedida ambicion que generalmente se ha notado en casi los Gobernadores de estas Yslas quienes teniendo generos que vender é pagando à la tropa con ellos à la dura ley de la necesidad à precios subidisimas, eran demasiadamente interesados en que los sueldos de estos empleados fuesen lo mas grandes posibles. Tambien los referidos Gobernadores recibian inmenso lucro de la permanencia de las Haciendas, en que trabajando los soldados y demas naturales del pais aquellos por sola la comida y estos por un salario sumamente corto pagado del mismo modo en articulos carisimos, vendian tales productos, que bastaban à sostener el gasto diario de los Gobernadores subministraban la comida ó racion y sueldo de los peones y quedaba todavia un grande remanente à disposicion de los mismos Jefes para con él satisfacer gran parte de los sueldos à los empleados. Estas razones de pura codicia y conveniencia particular hicieron no tuviese efecto el predicho arreglo de economia y supresion de Haciendas, à pretexto de ardises con que supieron los dos Gobernadores que estaban aqui entonces comprometer y alucinar à la tropa y engañar à la Superioridad padeciendo en ellos muchos soldados que quedaron indebidamente licenciados, siendo uno el solicitante cuya conducta exemplar y buenos servicios por espacio de 24 años en que no hay memoria haya sido castigado

jamás, lo hacen en unión con las razones antes expuestas digno en mi concepto de la gracia que suplica.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida y salud de V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 23 de Julio de 1835.

Excmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos

[Al] Excmo. Sor. Gebernador y Capitan General de Filipinas.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I respectfully forward to Y.E. a petition from a soldier belonging to the infantry of this garrison, Silvestre Cepeda, for services rendered. As for me, I take this opportunity to bring to the superior consideration of Y.E., for whatever decision you may be pleased to take in this regard, the following comments.

In the year 1822, orders were received directing a certain diminution in the pay of the troop stationed here, which being advantageous to the Royal Treasury could not be at all pleasing to the immoderate ambition which has generally been noted in nearly all the Governors of the Islands, who, having goods to sell, or paying the soldiers with them according to the hard law of necessity at the most unreasonable prices, were too much interested that the pay of the soldiers should be as high as possible. Moreover, the said governors received immense profit in the continued existence of the [royal] plantations, in which the soldiers worked and other natives of the country, the former receiving for their labor only their food and the natives absurdly low wages paid in the same way in goods at very dear prices. The products of the plantations were sufficient to pay the daily expenses of the governors, furnished food, or rations and pay to the laborers, and in addition there remained enough at the disposal of the same officers to satisfy the wages of the [government] employees. On account of these reasons of cupidity and self interest, the regulations providing for the suppression of the plantations and the rules of economy were never carried out, on the pretext of tricks with which the governors who were then here were able to compromise and delude the soldiers and deceive the superior authorities, many soldiers suffering in consequence, who were undeservedly dismissed, among them the petitioner, whose exemplary conduct and good services for a period of 24 years, during which there is no record of his ever having been punished, make him, together with the reasons before given, worthy of the favor which he asks.

May God our Lord save the important life and health of Y.E. for many years.

Agaña 23 July 1835.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Documents 1835G

Forts of Guam—Construction of half-redoubts at Agaña

General sources: Agaña archives in 1900, now in LC Mss. Div., container 5, item 45; partly transcribed by Safford in his Papers N° 2, LC Mss. Div., and synopsised by him in his Notes, p. 233; cited in B&R 53: 380.

G1. Letter of Governor Villalobos, dated Agaña 14 November 1835

Original text in Spanish.

No. 6. Año 1837. Yngenieros.—Construccion de Semirreductos de precaucion al frente y en el Corral del Cuartel.

Escmo. Señor.

*Con el numero 78 y fecha 16 de Marzo de 1833 tube el honor de elevar à el Superior conocimiento de V.E. la memoria Militar y Política de esta Ysla, en que entre otras cosas esponia la necesidad de un punto fuerte para respeto del Real Pavellon; precaver de una sorpresa; en que asegurar efectos de Guerra y Viveres; y un advitrio para la defensa del Territorio: y como no haya recibido contestacion de esa Superioridad, y me haya parecido caso egecutivo, estoy construyendo una obra previsual de tepes y poco costo hasta la resolucion de V.E., *segun esa Superioridad me tiene encargado con fecha 5 de Diziembre de 1828, y 25 de Junio de 1829* y con arreglo à el acuerdo y planos que adjuntos incluyo respetuosamente à sus manos; rogandole merezca su Superior aprobacion esta medida por el mejor servicio de la Reyna Nuestra Señora (Q.D.G.).*

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.

Agaña 14 de Noviembre de 1835.

Escmo. Sor.

Francisco Villalobos.

[A] Escmo. Sor. Governador y Capon. Gral. de Filipinas.

Esplicacion del Plano y Perfil de los Semirreductos de precaucion, que están construyendo [se] en Agaña; y se remitieron al Escmo. Sor. Capitan General con oficio fecha 14 de Noviembre de 1835.

La puerta compuesta de dos ojas es formada de tablones de cuatro pulgadas de grueso, y siete y medio pies de elevacion, los cuales aguzados [sic] desde la altura de cinco pies arriba, hacen dificil la sorpresa por este sitio, y dejan aspilleras [sic] proporcionadas para el uso del fusil: á cada lado de la puerta se há situado un peine de robustas estacas embutido por un extremo en la mamposteria para precaver la escalada; y lo mismo habrá de egecutar debajo de las troneras, y en el punto C, en que el valcon de Palacio no permite tenga la parte interior del parapeto mas que seis pies de altura: la entrada se ha situado en el sitio que se marca, con el obgeto de aprovechar el puentecillo de la regata, y las calzadas, y economisar el gasto de otras en un terreno bajo y que a pocas lluvias se llena de agua. El parapeto de ocho pies de espesor en su vase, seis en la parte superior, y siete de altura inclusa la banquetta, cubre perfectamente todo el interior. La banquetta de tres pies de ancho y dos de alto es capaz para dos hombres de fondo; quedando estos suficientemente cubiertos por el parapeto. Las esplanadas de catorce pies en cuadro son lo bastante para la Artilleria de corto calibre, que ha de servirse en ellas; quedando lugar para aumentar su estencion, siempre que haya de colocarse artilleria mayor. Como las tierras abundan de mucha arena, ha sido presiso revestir el parapeto interior y esteriormente de buenos tepes. Aunque se han dado tres pies á la berma, y recortada hace dificil la escalada, ha parecido combeniente llenar con tierras el angulo que forma con el parapeto, para dar mayor espesor é este, y dificultar aun mas la subida. El foso de siete pies de profundidad, ocho de ancho en la parte superior, y tres en la inferior, deja una escarpa de doce pies de altura, de bastante rapidez, y dificul de trepar: deben tapiarse la ventana D, y la puerta E para evitar la sorpresa por dichos sitios; e igualmente debe colocarse una puerta poco menos fuerte que la del Semirreducto en la entrada X del Corral de Palacio para el mismo obgeto: las tapias de los corrales, siendo de siete y medio pies de alto, precaben algun tanto dicha desgracia, y pueden defenderse añadiendoles la correspondiente banquetta. La figura es compuesta de dos arcos de circulo, cuyos radios se hallan sobre la perpendicular S. T. al puentecillo, con el obgeto de que tenga igual defensa en todo su ambito, y que la canal quede tangente á aquellos. El perimetro de las dos figuras es capaz de seis piezas de artilleria, y trescientos cincuenta infantes á dos de fondo, que es precisamente la fuerza de las ocho Compañias de Urbanos; quedando escedentes la Compañia de Dotacion, la de Marina, y otros tiradores del publico, para reforzar el fuerte de Santa Cruz; sostener mientras se pueda la posicion f q r; defender despues las tapias de los Corrales; y por ultimo retirarse á los edificios, para por sus ventanas cruzar los fuegos con los de los semirreductos: hecha la ultima defensa, combiene repartir entre los defensores todas las municiones que puedan cargar, é inutilizar las demas; dar fuego á los edificios; y retirarse en guerrillas á los bosques, para quitar los viveres á los invasores, y perseguirlos por todas partes hasta recibir socorros de Filipinas, ó Capítular en el ultimo extremo.

El numero de fusiles de Reales Almacenes en union con los del publico es proporcionado á dicha fuerza. A la inmediacion de la banqueta deben tenerse prevenidas porcion de piedras, gruesas, para que sirvan de guarda cavezas, y que rodadas acia el foso, cuando el enemigo lo haya ocupado, contribuyan á la defensa del puesto en union con sacos de polvora desatados y pedazos de mechas encendidas, que deben tirarse tambien al mismo fin en aquel momento. No ha parecido oportuno formar un hornabeque ó tenaza á fin de obtener fuegos cruzados, y defender mejor el foso, en razon á que debiendo ser siempre la vase el frente de Palacio, cuyas bodegas deben servir de Almacenes, era preciso en tal caso que el perimetro de la figura ó fuera desproporcionado á los defensores, ó bien se dejan fuera de ella parte de la plazuela, en que se egecutan egercicios &ª a mas de que dominada la posicion y batida de rebes por el cerro f q r, solo se ha procurado que tenga igual defensa en todos sentidos; que no esté espuesta á los fuegos de enfilada: y que bajo el menor perimetro comprenda la mayor estension interior, todo con el obgeto de conservar el mayor respeto al Real Pabellon, especialmente en tiempos de haver muchos buques balleneros cuyas tripulaciones propenden á la embriaguez, desorden y altaneria; precaver de una sorpresa; asegurar en el modo posible viveres y efectos de guerra en caso de invasion; hacer por corto tiempo la defensa que permitan las circunstancias: y dar lugar á la reunion de havitantes para continuarla en el modo dicho; interin la Superioridad se digna resolver sobre la necesidad que hay en esta Ysla de un punto fuerte mejor situado para la seguridad de ella.

Año 1835.

Por el Governador Capitan del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria: Francisco Ramon Villalobos.

Son Copias de los originales remitidos á el Escmo. Sor. Capitan General; advirtiendo, que en la parte del Oficio comprendida entre las estrellas el escrivente distraido omitió algunas palabras en el libro copiator, y há sido preciso sustituirlas, segun lo que há parecido podrian contener.

*Vº Bº
Villalobos*

*José de la Cruz
Srio. de Gobierno y Guerra*

Translation.

No. 6. Year of 1837. Engineers.—Construction of precautionary half-re-doubts in front of and within the Barracks compound.

Your Excellency:

Under No. 78 and dated 16 March 1833, I had the honor to forward to Y.E. a military and political report on this island in which, among other things, I called attention to the necessity of a fort for the protection of the Royal Flag, to guard against surprise, in which effects of war and supplies could be kept, and an element for the defence of the territory. As I have not received a reply from Y.E., and as I thought it obligatory on my part to take action, I am constructing a temporary earth-work of sod at a small cost until you take action, *in obedience to orders issued by you dated 5 December 1828

and 25 June 1829,* and I forward herewith plans relating to it; begging your approval of the means I have taken for the better service of the Queen our Lady (may God save Her).

May God our Lord save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

Agaña 14 November 1835.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Villalobos

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

Explanation of the plan and profile views of the precautionary half-redoubts that are being constructed in Agaña, and were remitted to His Excellency the Captain General along with a letter dated 14 November 1835.¹

The door consists of two panels made up of planks 4 inches thick and 7-1/2 feet high, with slit openings beginning 5 feet up, to prevent a surprise at that site, but leaving appropriate openings for the use of the rifles. On both sides of the door has been built a wall consisting of solid posts, one end of which is imbedded in masonry, the better to prevent it from being escalated, and the same thing will have to be built below the embrasures, and at point C, where the balcony of the Palace does not allow the inside part of the parapet to be more than 6 feet in height. The entrance has been located at the place so marked, for the purpose of taking advantage of the small bridge of the water channel, and the sidewalks, and to save the expense of building others on a lower plane where the rain might flood them. The parapet is 8 foot wide at its base, 6 foot wide at the top, and 7 feet in height, including the walkway; its perfectly covers the whole interior. The walkway, which is 3 feet in width and 2 feet in height, is able to accommodate two rows of men; these men would be adequately covered by the parapet. The esplanades are 14 square feet, enough to install the guns of small caliber that should be placed there; there is enough room to enlarge those, to install bigger guns. Since the local earth contains lots of sand, it was considered desirable to cover the [earth-filled] parapet, in and out, with good layers of sod. Although the berm was given 3 feet, and when trimmed, makes it difficult to escalate, it was thought proper to fill with earth the angle that it forms with the parapet, in order to make the latter thicker, and make climbing even more difficult. The trench is 7 foot deep, 8 wide at the top and 3 at the bottom, which yields an escarpment of 12 feet in elevation, of rather steep incline, and difficult to climb. Window D and door E must be filled with adobe to avoid a surprise through such openings; also, another door, but not so strong as that of the half-redoubt, must be installed at entrance X of the wall surrounding the Palace for the same purpose. The adobe walls of the compounds, being 7-1/2 feet in height, are more or less a defence against any possible msihap, and can be defended by adding to them the corresponding walkway. The figure consists in two arcs of a circle, whose radii are to be found along the perpendicular S-T with respect to the small bridge, for the purpose of offer-

1 Ed. note: Unfortunately a copy of the drawing does not accompany this file.

Approved
Villalobos

José de la Cruz
Secretary for Administration and War

G2. Meeting of 13 September 1835

Original text in Spanish.

En San Ygnacio de Agaña á Trece de Septiembre de mil ochocientos treinta y cinco reunidos en junta el Señor Governador Don Francisco Villalobos y el Señor Administrador de Real Hacienda Don José Romero, dijo aquel Señor que en la descripción local, militar, yu política de la Ysla de Guajan, que dirigi152 al Escmo. Señor Capn. Gral. con fecha primero de Septiembre de mil ochocientos treinta y dos, espuso á S.E. la necesidad que habia en esta Ysla de un punto fuerte para respeto del Real Pabellon especialmente en tiempos de haber Buques Balleneros, cuyas tripulaciones propenden escesivamente á la embriagues, y altanería; para precaber de una sorpresa á la pequeña fuerza de servicio; en que en caso de un desorden popular ó invacion de un Pirata á Corsario ó de cualquier otra clase de enemigos asegurar en el modo posible la polvorera, armamento, y demas efectos de guerra y viveres; y tener asi tiempo para la reunion de havitantes, con que empezar la defenza que exijan las circunstancias, ó dejar bien puesto el honor de las Armas:

Que siendo pasados dos años y medio procimamente sin haverse recibido contestacion de la Superioridad, se hacia ya urgente la obra insinuada, y se veia dicho Señor para llenar su grande responsabilidad en la materia en la necesidad de dar principio á la construccion de un Semireducto provisional de tepes y tierra, que cubra las entradas del frente del Cuartel y Palacio, dejando espeditas las bodegas del ultimo edificio para que sirban de Almacenes á los fines antes dichos, y asi mismo asegurar en el modo posible las demas entradas por la espalda á los propios edificios: en cuya obra ejecutada con los presos que hay, y pueda haber en adelante, y pagandose solamente un sobrestante, los herrages, y obras de Carpintería, y Albañiles indispensables, podrían imber tirse de ciento á ciento cincuenta pesos proximamente.

En tal virtud acordaron dichos Señores se procediese desde luego á la ejecucion del proyecto, segun lo espuesto por el Señor Governador como caso grave y egecutivo, y se dé cuenta á la Superioridad en primera Ocasion; y lo firmaron dichos Señores de que doy fee.

Francisco Villalobos

José Romero

Antemí

José de la Cruz

Secretario del Gobierno y Guerra

Translation.

In San Ignacio of Agaña, on 13 September 1835, being assembled in a meeting the following gentlemen, the Governor Don Francisco Villalobos and the Administrator of the Royal Treasury, Don José Romero, the former gentleman declared: That in the

geographic, military and political description of the Island of Guajan which he addressed to His Excellency the Captain General on 1 September 1832,¹ he mentioned to H.E. the need for this Island to have a fortified place to impose respect for the Royal Flag, specially at times when there are whaling ships whose crews are prone to drunkenness and arrogance; to prevent the small force on duty from being surprised; and, in case of a popular uprising, or an invasion of a pirate or corsair, or of any other category of enemies, to secure as best as possible the supplies of powder, arms and other war equipment and food; and also to have a place where the inhabitants could congregate, and mount the defence required under the circumstances, that is, to make possible actions to maintain the honor of the arms.

Whereas two and a half years approximately having passed without a reply being received from the Superior Government, said work had now become an urgent matter, and he saw himself obliged to fulfil his great responsibility and begin the construction of a provisional half-redoubt of earth and sod that would cover the entrances on the front of the Barracks and Palace, converting the storage rooms of the palace building to warehouses for the above-mentioned purposes, and also to secure as much as possible the other entrances at the back of both buildings; said work would be carried out with the prisoners now in jail, and any other in future; payments would be required only for the supervisor, for the iron parts, and the indispensable carpentry and masonry work, thus requiring an investment of from 100 to 150 pesos approximately.

To this effect said gentlemen agreed to proceed as soon as possible to the execution of the project, in accordance with the plan proposed by His Lordship the Governor, as an urgent case requiring an executive order, following which a report was to be sent to the Superior Government at the first opportunity, and then they affixed their signatures, of which I vouch.

Francisco Villalobos

José Romero

Before me,
José de la Cruz,
Government Secretary for Administration and War.

G3. The arrival of the first U.S. warship precipitated the project in November 1835

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno de Marianas.

Sin embargo de haberse acordado que los peones para la construccion de los Semirreductos de precaucion sean los presos que tengan destino al trabajo publico: como estos sean en corto numero y la obra se prolonga demaciado apesar de su Urgencia, he determinado se ocupen en ella tambien desde hoy pro via de instruccion varios Soldados de Ynfanteria y Artilleria que estan detenidos para lo que pueda ocurrir con moti-

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1832H.

vo de hallarse á la vista un buque al parecer Americano y de Guerra: á quienes para indemnizacion de perjuicios se servirá Ud. abonar los jornales de arancel segun la relacion intervenida por mi que presentará á Ud. el sobrestante.

Dios guarde á Ud. muchos años.

Agaña 20 de Noviembre de 1835.

Francisco Villalobos

[A] *Señor Administrador de Real Hazienda en estas Yslas.*

Vº Bº

Es copia

Villalobos

José de la Cruz,

Srio. de Govno. y Grra.

Translation.

Government of the Marianas.

Notwithstanding the agreement to use as laborers in the construction of the precautionary half-redoubts the prisoners who might be available for public work: given that such prisoners are few and the work is going on slowly in spite of its urgency, I have decided to also employ in it, as of today, for training purposes, various infantry and artillery soldiers who have been called on active duty, as a result of the arrival on our coasts of a warship, apparently from the U.S.A.¹

Consequently, you are to indemnify the soldiers by paying them daily wages out of the revenue from customs duties, in accordance with a list of personnel that the Supervisor will present to you, after I have revised it.

May God save you for many years.

Agaña, 20 November 1835.

[To] the Administrator of the Royal Treasury in these Islands.

Approved.

Copy certified by

Villalobos

José de la Cruz,

Government Sec'y for Admin. & War.

Editor's notes.

There are additional details in the file regarding the employment of the workers. In April 1837, the cost of the project was said to have amounted to 153 pesos approximately, as follows:

—The Work Supervisor, Corporal 1st class Luís Portusach, submitted three invoices totalling 111 pesos;

¹ Ed. note: The warship in question was the U.S.S. Vincennes (see Doc. 1835P).

- Luis de Castro, blacksmith, submitted 2 bills totalling 21 pesos;¹
- Pedro del Rosario, mason, a bill for 12 pesos;²
- Juan Martinez, blacksmith, a bill for 5 pesos;³
- José Mendiola, carpenter, a bill for 4 pesos.⁴

The names of the individual workers, or assistants within the various trades, are given, as well as their rates of pay.

-
- 1 He made the iron work for the door, including the hinges.
 - 2 His contribution consisted of making two footings on either side of the door, plugging the holes made by the door hinges, sealing three windows of the warehouse, and building walls around the yard of the barracks, etc.
 - 3 Among other things, he fixed a broken mattock, or pick-axe, for 6 reals.
 - 4 He built the two stockades on either side of the door.

Document 1835H

The Nautilus, Captain Swift, whaling near the Gilberts**Extract from an anonymous log**

Sources: Ms. log in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 883; Log Inv. 3464.

Logbook of the Ship Nautilus of New Bedford, Capt. Obed N. Swift. Voyage 1834-38.

...

Sunday August the 9th [1835]

... Steering off W to make Hope [Arorae] Island ... Lat. 2°58 S.

Monday the 10th

... At 2 p.m., saw the land, Hope Island, bearing per compass NNW dis. by estimate 5 leagues. At 5 p.m., passed the West point. At 6 do.; 2 canoes came off with 5 of the natives bringing a few coconuts with them. At 6:30 they left us... At 12 Meridian, Hope Island bore North. Lat. by obs. 2°53 S.

Tuesday the 11th

... Beating during the night to weather Hope Island which at daylight in the morning was 10 miles to windward of us. At 12 Meridian, the Island bore ESE. Lat. by Obs. 2°40 S.

Wednesday the 12

... Beating up for Hope Island ... At 12 Meridian, the middle of the Island bore NNW dist. 8 miles. Saw several canoes coming towards us from shore. Lat. by obs. 2°55 S.

Thursday the 13th

... Trading with the natives. At 5, took 2 canoes on board, 3 women and 8 men, and stood to the Southward. At 3 a.m., tacked in towards the Island... Lat. by obs. 3°09 S.

Friday the 14th

... Steering NW to make Hope Island. At 5 p.m., saw the Island bearing NNW dist. 15 miles. At 6 p.m., shortened sail. At daylight, saw Hope Island to leeward. Made sail and kept off for it. At 8 a.m., passed the East point. Put our natives on shore and traded with others. At 10 a.m., left the Island and steered off W by N to make Rotch's [Tama-na] Island. Lat. by Obs. 2°44 S.

Saturday the 15th

... At daylight, saw Rotch's Island to leeward at 2 miles off. Kept off for it. Saw 2 canoes coming from shore and in course of the day 30 or 40 canoes came off. All hands busily employed trading for coconuts, etc. etc.

Sunday August the 16th

... At 10 a.m., got close in with the land and all hands are busily employed trading with the natives for coconuts and mats. Found two Europeans residing here that had left the Ship **Wm. Penn** 13 months ago.¹ Gave them some clothes and tobacco and sent them on shore. Saw a native with the words "SHIP JAPAN S. CHASE" marked upon his breast.² At 12 Meridian, left the Island...

Monday the 17th

... At 1 p.m., hauled to the Northward to make Eliza [Onotoa] Island. At 6 p.m., shortened sail. At daylight, made all sail and stood to the Northward. At 8 a.m., saw Eliza Island bearing NNW dist. 15 miles. At 11 a.m., saw several canoes ahead, but none came near the ship... At 9 a.m., got Lunar Observation which gives the Long. at Noon 175°50 East. Lat. by Obs. 2°07 S.

Tuesday the 18th

... At 4 p.m., a canoe came off from shore with an European in her begging for a passage to some other island. We told him we could not take him. Gave him some pieces of iron hoop and something to eat and afterwards drove him overboard and left him to get into his canoe as he could. At 6 p.m., passed the North point of Eliza Island. Shortened sail heading to the Northward. At daylight, made all sail. Saw Maria's [Beru] Island bearing NW by N.

Latter part of the day, steering shore course. Saw several canoes in shore. So ends with fine weather and no fish. The Lord help us.

Lat. by Obs. 1°34 S. Maria Island 30 miles long with shoal water on the South side 10 miles from the land.

1 Ed. note: The William Penn, of Falmouth, Captain John C. Lincoln, voyage of 1833-36 (ref. Starbuck, p. 302).

2 Ed. note: Ship Japan, Capt. Edwin Hiller, of Nantucket, voyage of 1834-38 (ref. Starbuck, p. 308). She must have just passed the island. S. Chase must have been the name of a beachcomber.

Wednesday the 19th

... At daylight, made all sail. Saw a large whale heading in towards the land. Lowered 3 boats. At 8 a.m., took him [to] the Ship. At 9 a.m., commenced cutting. At 12 Meridian, got his body in. Part of the crew drunk. So ends with lively songs. No observation.

Thursday the 20th

... Still cutting. At 4 p.m., finished, saved all. At 9 p.m., began boiling on the head. Gave the Steward a pounding for stealing rum out of the cabin and giving it to the people forward. Lay aback during the night. At daylight, made sail and stood to the NE. At 12 Meridian, finished boiling the head.

[Sketch indicates 90 bbls in all].

Lat. by Obs. 1°45 S.

Friday the 21st

... At 7 a.m., saw Blaney [Nonouti] Island. (Island with shoal water about it). At 9 a.m., saw Dundas [Abemama] Island. At 12 Meridian, tacked to the Southward. Lat. by Observation 1°00 S.

Saturday the 22nd

... At 6 p.m., finished boiling. In all 85 bbls. Cleared up decks edtc... At 11 a.m., saw an island (with shoal water around it ?5 miles from shore) not agreeing with our Latitude within 17 miles. Lat. by Obs. 49 miles S.

Sunday the 23rd

... At daylight, saw Dundas Island to leeward. Passed down on the South side of it. Several canoes came off with few coconuts... Lat. by Obs. 10 miles.

Monday the 24th

... At 6 a.m., saw Hall [Maiana] Island to leeward...

Lat. by Obs. 1°01 N.

Tuesday the 25th

... At 8 p.m., raised whales close in with the land on the weather side of the Island. Put off 4 boats. At 6 p.m., fastened with starboard boat afterwards got stove by him. At 7 p.m., turned him up and the waist boat took tow to him. At 10 p.m., took the stoven boat to the ship. Wore around and stood to the southward. At midnight, the whale went ashore on the weather part of the Island. At 8 a.m., picked up the boats about 10 miles out to the south of the Island.

Latter part of the day steering to the NW. Saw several canoes, etc. Lat. by Obs. 1°01 S.

Thursday the 27th

... Finished stowing oil down 53 bbls 17 gals of body and 41 bbls 7 gals head...

Friday the 28th

... Mostly calm... Saw several curious fish from the ship. Lowered the boats but did not see them afterward... Lat. by Obs. 38 miles N.

...

Monday May the 1st [1837]

Took 9 shoal whales to the ship together with 3 stove boats... Lat. 7° S [near Long. 171° W].

...

Wednesday the 24th

... At 4 p.m., spoke Ship **Illinois** of Newburg, 23 months out, 1300 bbls bound on the Coast of Japan.¹

Lat. by Obs. 1°38 S. Long. by Chro. 174°40 W.

...

Thursday June 1st

... At 2 p.m., spoke Ship **Illinois** of Newburgh. At 5 p.m., spoke Ship **Brighton** of New Bedford, 24 months out, 650 bbls...²

Lat. by Obs. 00°00. Long by Chron. 175°39 W.

...

1 Ed. note: Ship **Illinois** of Newburgh, N.Y., Captain Henry H. Merchant, voyage of 1835-39 (ref. Starbuck, p. 320).

2 Ed. note: Ship **Brighton**, Captain Ebenezer Smith, Jr., voyage of 1835-38 (ref. Starbuck, p. 314)..

Documents 1835I

The ship *Awashonks*, Captain Prince Coffin, cut off at Namorik in October 1835

Note: This was a ship of 355 tons burthen registered in Falmouth, Mass. This particular voyage lasted from the end of December 1833 until 21 May 1836 (ref. Starbuck, p. 302). The Captain was killed by natives of the Marshall Islands, and was replaced by John Proctor.

II. Reports in New England newspapers

The horrible massacre on board the ship *Awashonks*.

Sources: Boston Courier, 27 Apr. 1836; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Namorik 1.

The particulars of this tragedy which we noticed yesterday, are chiefly confirmed by the Nantucket Inquirer, since received. It appears, however, that the massacre took place at Brinyard's or Brainard's [Namorik] Island, one of the Kingsmill's [sic] group, and not at the Fejee Islands. The Inquirer adds:—"The individuals who have thus fallen victims to the ferocity and treachery of those South Sea demons, were all natives of this town, and have numerous near and dear relatives to lament this melancholy event. The Commander, Prince Coffin, has left parents and an orphan child—his wife and one child having died since the commencement of the voyage. The first officer, Mr. Alexander Gardner, was a young man of high promise, son of Albert Gardner, Esq., to whose family this loss is irreparable; and the second officer, William Swain, was a son of Capt. Swain, of Ship *Susan* of this port—now in the Pacific Ocean; he was married a short time previous to his departure on the voyage, and was a truly estimable young man. The *Awashonks* belongs to Falmouth and 650 bbls., of oil at the time of the massacre. She will probably not pursue the voyage, hut return home forthwith."

Horrid massacre on board an American whaler.

Sources: Essex Register, Salem, 28 Apr. 1836; reproduced in Ward's under Namorik 2.

The Nantucket and New Bedford papers furnish the particulars of a barbarous massacre of the master and part of the crew of ship *Awashonks* of Falmouth, Mass. which took place at Brinyard's or Brainard's Island, one of the King's Mill Group, and not at the Fejee Islands, as reported in some of the other papers:—The *Awashonks* visited

Brinyard's or Brinard's Island, one of the cluster known as King's Mill Group, sometime in July [rather October] last, and a number of the natives, having evinced quite a peaceable disposition, had been allowed to come on board. One day, however, while one watch was below, & others of the crew at mast head, Capt. Coffin exhibited a whale spade to the savages, when one of them hastily snatched the instrument and without the least provocation, at one blow literally severed the captain's head from his shoulders!!! Mr. Gardner, the first officer, instantly seized the weapon, and wrenching it from the murderer's grip despatched him in a moment. He then retreated below, but on attempting to return, with hope of saving the ship, he was murdered in the hatchway by a whale spade, which entered his chest, passing down the abdomen!!! Mr. Swain, the second officer, after witnessing this appalling butchery, rushed out upon the jib-boom, and dropped overboard; but was killed with clubs by the barbarians from the canoes. A boy on deck at the time, ran below, and after being cut by whale spades so that his shoulder blades protruded, alarmed the watch; when the third mate procured a keg of gun powder, and perceiving the head of the chief through the gangway, discharged at him a loaded musket, and shot him dead. On discovering the fall of their chief, the natives abandoned the ship, which immediately got under way, and proceeded to Oahu. The individuals who have thus fallen victims to the ferocity and treachery of those South Sea demons, were all natives of Nantucket. Mr. Swain was married just previous to departing on the voyage. The **Awashonks** belongs to Falmouth, and had 650 barrels of oil at the time of the massacre. She will probably not pursue the voyage but return home forthwith.

...

Particulars of the massacre on board the ship **Awashonks.**

Sources: Boston Daily Advertiser, 24 May 1836; reproduced in Ward's under Namorik 3.

The following is an extract from a letter from the third mate of the ship **Awashonks** of Falmouth,¹ to his parents in that place, giving a more particular account of the massacre on board that ship than has heretofore been published.

“Oahu, Sandwich Islands, Nov. 25, 1835.”

“On the 20th of May last, we set sail from the Society [Tahiti] Islands, with a fair prospect of a successful cruise.—Made a quick passage to the Equator and soon commenced taking oil. We relinquished the idea of going on the coast of Japan, intending to make our cruise from lon. 160° W. to the Kingsmill Group. We found strong westerly currents and sometimes steering a westerly course, were among the Group about the 15th of September, having obtained 400 bbls. of oil, making 650 bbls.”

“On the 23rd of Sept. having cruised near Ocean's [Banaba] hIgh Island for some-time and seeing no whales, hauled to the northward in strong hope of reaching the Sand-

1 Ed. note: His name was Silas Jones (see below).

wich Islands by the last of November with an increase to our cargo; these Islands being the nearest and only port where such assistance could be obtained, as our circumstances required; but alas! our imaginary prospects soon turned to a scene of death and bloodshed. On the morning of the 5th of October we saw Baring's [Namorik] Island ahead situated in lat. 5°35' N., lon. 168°13' E. As we drew near these Islands they appeared green and fertile, and Capt. Coffin thought proper to stop and get some refreshments. At half past 11 a.. hove main topsail aback for that purpose. At half past 12 there were about 30 natives off, and the most of them came on board. They took an opportunity while the ship's company were entirely off guard, to take the ship. The first weapons they seized were our cutting spades, out of 13 they took 8, the other 5 being seized by the ship's company. After a short but bloody contest, in which our Captain was killed, they gained possession of the decks. A part of the ship's company fled to the fore hold, a part aloft, and a part overboard. Our cabin was gained by getting through between decks from the fore hold, and muskets were discharged with good effect. After cutting away the starboard boat and taking some craft that lay at hand, they left the ship in a situation shocking to behold. Capt. Coffin was killed on the quarter deck, Mr. Gardner, first officer, was killed in the fore hold, Mr. Swain, second officer, was killed overboard. John Oakley and two Society Island natives jumped overboard. John Oakley drowned.—The two natives were last seen swimming from the ship. Three seamen were badly wounded, one of whom, named Lewis Gibbs died to the northward of this port, one named Daniel Wood is recovering. Two seamen, named Thomas Gifford, and Eleazer Nichols, were slightly wounded, but in three weeks were well. After my escape with life and ship, for which I feel grateful to the all wise Creator, I arrived at this port, on the 24th inst. After a passage of 30 days, with one hundred gallons of water on board, having been on an allowance for three weeks.”—New Bedford Mercury.¹

I2. The story as published by Starbuck

Source: Alexander Starbuck. History of the American Whale Fishery, vol. 1, pp. 129-131.

In the early days of Pacific whaling, not only did our sailors have to seek and encounter their gigantic antagonist amid the dangers of hidden reefs and an unexplored and unknown ocean, but frequently, when putting into some of the numerous islands for supplies, they were compelled to fight the wily and treacherous savages inhabiting some of those groups. Many a vessel had been “cut out,” and not a man survived to tell the story of the massacre. How far their brother whalers had been instrumental in thus bringing upon their heads this vengeance for real or fancied wrongs it is difficult to determine. Beyond a question the natives in some localities, disposed to be pea-

¹ Ed. note: There is a ms. logbook extant in the Falmouth Historical Society, Mass.; PMB 854 (badly overexposed, and obviously a copy of a copy, but the original appears to have suffered heavy water damage also).

ceable at first, had been enraged by the thoughtless, contemptible, or villainous conduct of some of their white visitors, and upon the heads of the next unguarded comers descended the blow now aimed rather at a race than at any particular set of men. Instances are not wanting of cruel, dastardly, treacherous conduct on the part of sailors towards the inhabitants of these sunny islands, and, smarting under their wrongs, their spirit of revenge made no discriminating divisions between the innocent and the guilty; the only thing cared for was the fact that they were whites.

An instance of this dangerous element in the whaleman's life occurred to the crew of the ship **Awashonks**, of Falmouth, Prince Coffin master, On the 5th of October, 1835, the ship touched at Namorik Island¹ to recruit. The natives came on board the ship, as was usually their custom, but in no extraordinary numbers, and they manifested only the ordinary curiosity common to all these islanders in those days. At noon the captain, mate, and second mate went down to dinner, leaving the third mate, Silas Jones, in charge of the deck. Having finished, they returned, and Mr. (afterward Captain) Jones went below, coming back in about fifteen minutes. The ship's company at this time were scattered about the vessel; three of them were aloft on the lookout for whales, and one watch was below. Just after the return of Mr. Jones to the deck the attack commenced. The natives, who had, unnoticed, grouped themselves, suddenly made a rush for the whale-spades, which were in their accustomed places in the spade-rack under the spare boats. Captain Coffin was the first one to fall, being beheaded with a broad-edged spade, and almost simultaneously the man at the helm was killed. The first mate was butchered as he leaped down the fore hatch, while the second mate, who had run out on the jib-boom, was struck with some missile, and, falling, was clubbed to death by the savages. In the mean time the third mate had seized a spade, and after a struggle secured it. This he threw at a native, but, the wily savage dodging, it fastened firmly into the wood-work. Before Mr. Jones could loosen it, two natives had hold of the pole behind him. Unable to secure it, and the inequality of the conflict becoming each moment greater, Mr. Jones made a run for his life. At this time he was the only white man on deck abaft the try-works, and so closely was he beset that he was unable to escape until he reached the fore hatchway, down which he jumped. The deck was now in the possession of the natives, who proceeded to fasten down the hatches and close the companion-way so as to imprison the crew. The leader then took the wheel and headed the ship for the shore. The men who were aloft and were the horrified spectators of this butchery, feeling that their only safety lay in thwarting the plans of the savages, went as far down the rigging as they safely could and cut the braces. The yards now swinging freely the ship lost her steerage-way and slowly drifted toward open water.

During this time the third mate and the remaining survivors of the ship's company were by no means idle. Knowing that in the cabin were the ship's muskets, and realizing that it was necessary to secure them before they fell into the hands of the natives,

1 Latitude 5°30 north, longitude 168° east. One of the Marshall group.

they worked their way aft, and managed to gain possession of them unseen by their foe. From this castle they fired upon the savages wherever a mark was offered, now at the faces as they peered through the skylights, now through the cabin windows at the assembling canoes. But now a new idea occurred to the prisoners. By order of the third mate a keg of powder was got up from the run, a quantity of it was placed on the upper step of the companion-way and a train laid to the cabin. Directing his men to be ready to rush on deck the instant the explosion had taken place, regardless of him if he was injured by it, he fired the train. The crash of the timbers and the screams and yells of the wounded and terrified savages told of the success of the plot. Rushing on deck the crew speedily drove overboard those natives who had not already found refuge there, and the terrible conflict was over. From first to last the fight occupied about an hour. The captain, mate, and second mate were killed, and four men had received fearful gashes from the murderous spades; one man died a few days afterward, the rest recovered. Mr. Jones took charge of the ship and brought her home.¹

1 This account is gathered from that of the third mate, Captain Silas Jones, of Falmouth (who, with the characteristic modesty of whalemens, refers but little to his own actions in the struggle), and from that given by Captain Davis in the "Nimrod of the Sea."

Note 1835J

Ship Lemuel C. Richmond visited the Gilberts

Source: Abstract journal in the Essex Institute, Salem; PMB 206; Log Inv. 2755.

Note: Voyage began on 19 March 1834 and ended on 12 March 1837. They fished for whales on the Offshore Ground, visited Tahiti, Hope or Arorae Island, then Rotuma, etc.

...

August the 5, 1835

Saw Hope [Arorae] Island, bearing WNW dist. 15. Lat. by obs. 2°46' S. Long. 171°59' E.

...

[That is all. There is a profile of Arorae but it shows only coconut trees. The ship went south to the Ellice Islands before heading toward Rotuma.]

...

Note 1835K

The brig Consul, Captain T. N. Chapman

Sources: Ms, logbook in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.: PMB 206.

Note: The brig sought a load of "beach de mar" at Fiji, went to Manila (in Jan.-Feb. 1835), back to Fiji.

Extract from the log

Journal of a voyage from New York to the Pacific, 1834-35.

...

Brig Consul From the Feejee Islands Towards Manilla

...

Monday February 2nd 1835

Commences moderate breezes from NSW and rainy weather[.] at 2 PM At 1 reef out the topsail and set up gall sails[.] at 1 PM saw the Island of Rota bearing NW by W[.] at 6 PM wore ship to the SW[.] Midnight squally appearances with light showers of rain wind East hauled up SSE[.] at 4 AM wore ship to the westward[.] At 6 AM let reefs out saw the Island of Guam bearing west[.] at 11 set for topmast lower studding sail main royal bt bh reef out the trysail.

Long by Chro 144°35 E Latt Obs 13°14

At 12 mer[idian] the NE point of Guam bore North & the SW point bore W by N dist 7 miles from which I take a new departure.

Remarks Tuesday February 3rd 1835

Commences light airs from the Eastward and pleasant weather at 8:30 PM took in all studding sails royals & Flying jib. Calm & squally appearances Midnight the same. At 6 AM Guam bore NNW distant 5 miles a light breeze from the westward. Ends with moderate breezes from NNW.

Long by Chro 144°14 E. Lat by Obs 13°00 N. at Mer Guam bore North 10 miles.

Wednesday February 4th 1835

Commences with fresh breezes from the NNE and passing clouds[.] at 4 PM squally took in royals flying jibb at 5 PM took in top Gallant sails[.] at 7 set the main top Gallant sail Midnight strong breezes from the NE with passing squalls with a long swell

from the Northward the vessel labouring and leaking badly 800 strokes per hour[.] at 9:30 AM set the fore top Gall sail & fore topmast studding sail.

Latt Obs 12°48 N

Thursday February 5th 1835

... Brig leaking badly Pump going continually...

””

Document 1835L

The barque Pallas, Captain Archer, sighted Pohnpei

Source: Logbook L1834P in the Essex Institute, Salem.

Note: Bark Pallas of Salem, Capt. Henry Archer, Jr. Voyage 1 Sept. 1834-7 Dec. 1835 from Salem to N.Z., Fijis and Manila.

Extract from her logbook

...

Thursday 19th [November 1835]¹

Moderate breezes and fine weather. All sail set that will draw. At 5 p.m., hard squall. At 9 a.m. saw land, Wellington [Mokil] Island. It consists of 3 small islands connected by reefs. At 11:30, canoes came off bringing cocoanuts and etc. At 1 p. [blank]

Lat. Obs. 6°35 [N], Long. 159°50 [E].

Friday 20th

Fine breeze. At 1 p.m. bore up and set all sail running for Ascension [Pohnpei], said to lie in 7°22 N 157°34 East. Last part fine breezes. No land in sight from mast head at noon with extended clean horizon 10 leagues.

Lat. O. 7°24' Long. 157°34.

Saturday Nov. 21

Moderate breezes and cloudy. Not seeing any land in the place assigned to it on the chart hauled on the wind SSE. At 3:30 p.m. saw land, a group of low islands [Pakin] bearing East.

At 5 p.m. saw a high island [Pohnpei] bearing East 30 miles. Through the night tacked and at 3 a.m. was in great danger of getting on shore on a reef. At daylight, large island ESE 12 miles, 9 small islands West 20 miles, 2 small islands S by W 12 miles. AT 9, very high sea, bore to the westward for the small islands.

Lat. Obs. 7°01 Long. in. 156°40

1 Ed. note: The same ship is supposed to have visited the same neighborhood in October 1833.

Sunday 22nd

Light breezes and warm. Sent mate on shore on one of the small islands. AT 3, boat returned. A little bêche de mer on the reef of bad quality. Was visited by two canoes with 6 natives. At 4 p.m. bore up. At 8 p.m. very hard squalls. The large island is in Long. 157°11 E & Lat. 6°50 N. The small islands, Long. 156°, Lat. Center 7°01.

Lat. obs. 8°17' Long. in. 157°40.

Monday 23

Fresh trade wind and fine weather. All reefing sail set. Middle part fine weather.

...

Note 1835M

The Japan of London, Captain Willim E. Hill

Sources: Log 809 in New Bedford Wh. Museum; PMB ...; Log Inv. 2513.

Extracts from the log kept by James Brown**Ship Japan from London to Timor &c.**

Monday 15th December 1834

Clear of the rocks by Noon. Towed by the **Nelson**, Tug Steam Boat to Gravesend, where we brought up with the small bower [anchor]. W. Walkin, pilot.

...

[This ship did most of her whaling in the Timor Straits, off Ceram, Banda Sea, on S.W. Ground, Buru, Molucca Passage, and in the Indian Ocean. She did not visit the Pacific, This note is for the record.]

Document 1835N

Ship William Wirt, Captain Daggett, off the Gilberts

Source: Mss. logbook 252, 1833-37 W689 in Baker Library, Harvard University. Log of Ship William Wirt, of Fairhaven, Captain Isaac Daggett. Voyage 1833-37; Log Inv. 4960.

Note: After rounding Cape Horn, the ship visited Chili, Peru, whaling on the offshore ground, the Marquesas, then westward to the Gilberts].

...

Saturday June 20th 1835

... At 2 p.m., saw Byron's [Nikunau] Island bearing SW by S distance 26 miles... At daylight, the Island bearing NW 8 miles distance. At 7, close in with the land. Veered ship, lie aback. Several canoes came off with a few coconuts. At 8, bracd full, steered by the wind to the SE. Long. by Chronom. at 9 a.m. 165°44 E. So ends.

lat. by obs. 1°43 S.

Sunday June 21th 1835

... At 5 p.m., saw Chase's [Tamana] Island bearing S by W dist. by estimation 10 leagues... Long. by Lunar 175°5 E, by Chronometer 175°40 E. At 11 a.m., 4 canoes came from the shore...

Monday June 22nd 1835

... At 2 p.m., the canoes left the ship for the shore... At 3 p.m., saw a ship standing to the South... Lat. by obs. 2°00 S.

Tuesday June 23rd 1835

... Saw Chase's Island bearing SW, run down to it, lie aback. The canoes came off with some coconuts and fowl. One Englishman came off, one of the 11 that left the **William Penn**, told us that he had been there 10 months. So ends. Lying aback trading with the natives. Lat. by obs. 2°28 S, island bearing SE by E dist 5 miles.

Wednesday June 24th 1835

... Lying to off Chase's Island trading. At 2 p.m., made sail and stood to the SE...

...

Tuesday June 30th 1835

... At 3 p.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing NW. At 6 p.m., steered by the wind to the NNE, the land bearing WNW dist 2 leagues. At 7 p.m., several canoes came off from the shore. One Englishman came off. He informed us that the **Ploughboy** of Nantucket, Moses Brown, Master, touched there, 11 months out, 800 barrels. At 8 p.m., the canoes left for the shore. Middle and latter moderate. At 3 a.m., tacked to the SSE. At 7 a.m., run down to the Island. The canoes came off with coconuts. So ends.

Lat. by obs. 2°43 S, Hope Isle bearing NNE dist. 4 miles.

Wednesday July 1st 1835

... At 1 p.m., the canoes all left the ship for the shore...

...

Saturday July 4th 1835

... At 10 a.m., saw Byron's [Nikunau] Island bearing SE distance 7 leagues. Long. by Chronometer 176°24 E, by Lunar at 3 p.m. 176°15 E at Meridian...

...

Monday July 6th 1835

... At 1 p.m., saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island bearing SSW distance 7 leagues...

...

Wednesday July 8th 1835

... At 3 p.m., saw Drummond's Island off the weather bow. At daylight, saw Bishop's [Nonouti] Island bearing WSW distance 5 leagues...

...

Wednesday July 15th 1835

... At 3 p.m., spoke the **Ploughboy** of Nantucket, 12 months out, 850 barrels...

...

[This whaler then left Micronesia and was to be found off Chili in July 1837 on the way home. The last entry is dated 6 September 1837].

Document 18350

The USS Vincennes, Commander Aulick—The report of Commander Aulick

Sources: U.S. National Archives, Masters' Letters, January-June 1836, 54; reproduced in U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings 36:2 (1910) 725-734.

Extracts from the report of Commander John H. Aulick

Although my orders from the commodore, directing my return home by way of India, mentioned only the Feejee and Pellew Islands, as those which I was required to visit for specific purposes, the general object of my cruise being as matter of course the protection of our citizens and their interests wherever it might be in my power to afford it, I deemed it my duty, as well from this consideration as with a view to procure as often as possible those refreshments for my crew believed to be essential to the preservation of their health, to touch at such other places on or near my route, as are known to be frequented, for supplies, etc., by our numerous whalers and traders scattered over those seas.

Accordingly, on taking my departure from the coast of Peru, I directed my course for the Washington [Marquesas] Group, and after a short passage of 19 days, anchored in Massachusetts Bay, Island of Nooaheevah, on the 18th of August...

...

We sailed thence on the 27th, taking with us two of four American seamen, whom we found there. The other two refused to leave the island.

On the 5th September we arrived at Otaheita (Tahiti)...

We left Tahiti on the 20th, with Queen Pomare and her family on board, she having requested a passage to the next island to the westward, laying directly in my route; and in the afternoon of the same day we landed her at Eimeo. Thence I pursued my course fo the Friendly [Tonga] and Feejee Islands, passing within sight of Whytootacke [Aitutaki], one of the Hervey [Cook] Group, and directly over the place (latitude 19°7' south, and longitude 171°46' west) assigned to an island on a list of new discoveries in my possession; but no signs of land were visible.

On the 1st of October we arrived at Port Refuge, Vavaoo [Tonga]. In this beautiful harbor we found, to our very agreeable surprise, six American whalers at anchor. Here

they ride completely landlocked, secure from the dangers of stormy weather, and entirely free from anxiety as to the conduct of the natives...

My principal object in touching at this place was to obtain information, if possible, relative to the navigation of the Feejees...

These accounts altogether presented certainly a discouraging picture. Nevertheless had my orders been peremptory on this point, nothing should have prevented at least an effort on my part to comply with them, but such was not the case. They required only that I should "visit the Feejee and Pellew Islands, if practicable without great delay or danger;" as I might judge proper, of course after obtaining the best information I could on the subject...

I had just learned from Captain Toby, commander of one of the whalers,¹ that about a year before that time two of the boats of the American whaler **Wm. Penn** had been cut off, and part of their crews murdered by the natives of Oteewhy, or Savie, one of the Navigators [Samoa] Islands.² Toby had been there since, had purchased from the chiefs one of the boats, and ransomed some of the men, one of whom made the statement herewith enclosed and numbered "1," from which it appears that no provocation was given by the people of the boats, but that the sole motive for the diabolical outrage was plunder. In addition to this I was informed by several of these captains that an American ship had been seen ashore on one of the Caroline Islands, but a few months before that time. They did not recollect the name of the island, but said they got their information from an American residing at Rotumah, from whom I would be able to obtain the particulars.

Situated, as I now found myself, within three days' sail of Oteewhy, and at no great distance from the Carolines, I felt it incumbent upon me to proceed immediately and endeavour in the first place to punish the wretches who had cut off the boats and rescue the remaining captives; and, when that affair was settled, to hasten to the relief of the ship on shore. Accordingly, having obtained a particular description of the place and of the chief who led the murderous gang, I left Fort Refuge on the 7th in company with all our whalers, and on the 9th had the Navigators in view. The next day being off Oteewhy, and, having masked our ports and otherwise disguised the ship so as to give her as much as possible the appearance of a whaler, we stood close in upon the southwest side of the island where the outrage had been committed; and, as I anticipated, we soon had a canoe alongside, on board which besides eight natives were two Englishmen, who had resided some years on the island and spoke the language fluently. These I immediately pressed into service to act as guides. The natives were brought on board, and the canoe hoisted up to prevent escape. Unfortunately the day was too far gone to admit of our landing an expedition before night, and the landing place was said to be too difficult and dangerous to be attempted in the dark. There being no anchorage here,

1 Ed. note: Could be Capt. Tobey of the Vineyard (voyage of 1832-36), or Capt. Lewis Tobey of the Swift (voyage of 1833-36).

2 Ed. note: The William Penn, Captain Lincoln, was indeed cut off at Samoa and his first mate killed there (ref. Starbuck, pp. 302-303).

we stood off and on during the night, and the next morning I despatched Lieutenant Carr with 80 marines and musketeers; and gave him orders to endeavor to capture the chief and as many of his followers as he could, and bring them on board the ship uninjured if possible, to bring off any arms he might find and to set fire to the town and destroy it. In the evening Mr. Carr returned and reported that he landed his party without opposition. He found the town deserted, and destroyed it, as directed, with whatever the houses contained. The natives had fled to the mountains, where they were so thoroughly sheltered by the rocks and underwood that it was not thought advisable to pursue them.

...
On the 13th we left the Navigators for Rotumah, taking Wallis Island (a favorite refreshing place of the whalers) in our route, and arrived there on the following day. This island is surrounded by a coral reef, within which there is a good harbor. The entrance, however, though deep, is so very narrow that I did not think it prudent to attempt it. We lay off and on two days, during which time we procured some water and a quantity of vegetables and fruit. Two American seamen, who had been left there by whalers, were at their request received on board for a passage home. On the 18th we arrived at Rotumah Island, also much frequented by whalers. One came in at the moment of our anchoring. Much to my regret I was not able to get any satisfactory information here relative to the vessel said to be ashore on one of the Carolines. The man to whom I had been referred perfectly recollected that an English brig had touched at Rotumah a few months before and reported having seen a bright-sided ship ashore on one of those islands, but the name and situation of the place he had entirely forgotten. I was, therefore, compelled to abandon all idea of affording her relief. The anchorage at this island being unsafe, I delayed only long enough to fill up our empty water-tanks.

It was my intention on leaving Rotumah to have held a course as nearly as possible direct for the Pellew Islands, which would have led us through a part of the ocean as yet but little known, and where I was in hopes I might be fortunate enough to make some new discovery. But to my great disappointment we very soon encountered strong westerly winds, which compelled us to stand to the northward, until in spite of ourselves we were carried into the midst of the great chain of the Caroline Islands, in longitude 167 E. We then had for a number of days a continuation of squally and thick weather, limiting our view of the horizon to so narrow a space, that it became necessary at times, as matter of prudence, to heave to even in the day time, lest we should run upon some one of the numerous islands or shoals, with which that part of the ocean is known to abound. In this situation, and with no time to spare, I thought it advisable to abandon all further attempt to get to the westward in a south latitude. Accordingly we continued on a northern course to gain the strength of the N.E. trade.

In crossing the parallel of the Carolines frequent indications of the vicinity of land were seen, such as green branches of trees and various kinds of land birds; and by our reckoning we must have passed very near several islands, if they were correctly laid down on the charts. We, however, got sight of only one group, consisting of a number

of small, low islands and reefs, called "Brown's Range," [i.e. Eniwetok] in latitude 11°30' N. and longitude 162°30' E. It is said these islands were not inhabited when discovered in 1798. That they now are, there can be little doubt, as we saw a large canoe under sail near the land, and I regretted that the lateness of the hour, it being near night, prevented our communicating with her.

On the 19th November we passed between Rota, and Guam (of the Marians) and hove to off Port Apra where I had intended to anchor for a day or two, but not liking the appearance of the bar and harbor, I delayed only long enough to get off some fruit and vegetables, after which we continued our route for the Pellew Islands, and on the 26th arrived in sight of them. As this whole group is well known to be almost entirely surrounded by dangerous reefs, and as I had no chart or plan upon which the dangers are described or the anchorage pointed out, prudence required that we should approach them with the greatest caution, and it was not until the 29th that, with one of the principal Rupacks on board as pilot, and an English sailor, who had been many years on the islands, as interpreter, we got to anchor in an open roadstead about eight miles from Corror. We soon received a visit from the king of that island, and were informed that two of the unfortunate **Mentor's** crew were still detained by the King of Baubelthouap, at a place called Arracolon, about 30 miles distant from our anchorage. We also learnt the following particulars on the subject:

When Captain Bernard [sic] left these islands after the loss of his ship, in 1832, he promised the King of Baubelthouap, into whose hands he had fallen, to return as soon as possible with a certain number of muskets and other articles, which were to be given him as compensation for the maintenance of himself and crew while there, and the aid afforded them in getting away. As security for the faithful execution of this promise, three of his crew were detained by the king, and an equal number of the natives sent with him. At the period of our arrival they knew nothing of the disaster that had befallen the captain and his companions at [Lord] North [Tobi] Island, and were anxiously looking out for his return. In the meantime one of the men had made his escape in a passing vessel, in consequence of which the other two were the more strictly guarded, and I was assured by the King of Corror (and have since learnt from the men themselves that such was really the fact) that the chiefs had determined to put them to death rather than suffer them to escape, or give them up until the muskets, etc., were paid, and their own people brought back. Under these circumstances it was not to be expected that they would be peaceably surrendered on my demanding them, particularly as it was well known that the ship could not approach nearer than to within 25 miles of Arracolon, on account of the extensive reefs; and to attempt their rescue by means of a boat expedition would by exasperating the savages undoubtedly put their lives in great peril. This course was, therefore, only to be resorted to as a last alternative. It being already my determination in any event to go to [Lord] North Island for the purpose of taking off any that might yet remain of those left there by Captain Bernard, I thought it best to proceed to that place at once, and if possible get off the Pellew men also, and return to these islands, when I had no doubt our men on Baubelthouap would be read-

ily liberated in exchange for theirs in our hands and thus all difficulty be amicably settled.

On the 9th December, six days from the Pellews, we arrived at [Lord] North Island, a low, level, green speck upon the ocean, not above a league in circumference, nor elevated probably more than 20 feet at its highest point, above the surface of the sea. Surrounded by a reef and thickly covered nearly to the water's edge with scarcely anything other than cocoanut trees, on the fruit of which a population of at least 400 human beings depend almost exclusively for both food and drink. We were quickly boarded by a number of canoes, in one of which came one of the Pellew chiefs, from whom we learnt the melancholy fate of the greater portion of his late companions. Of the nine men remaining after the escape of Captain Bernard in 1833, he was now the only survivor on the island. His two countrymen and four of the white men died literally from a want of proper and sufficient sustenance. The other two had got away in a passing vessel. Notwithstanding this statement, the truth of which I could hardly doubt, I determined to examine the island for ourselves. For this purpose the first lieutenant, with a party of 50 officers and men, landed with orders to search it thoroughly and bring off any white men that might be found. His report on returning to the ship confirmed the above account, at least so far that there was not then a white man on the island.

Having the Pellew chief on board, we arrived at our former anchorage off Corror on the 16th. The next morning I despatched Mr. Carr for Arracolon, with 120 officers, marines, and musketeers, and two Englishmen as guides and interpreters, directing him to get our countrymen by peaceable means if possible, but to use his arms if he found it necessary.

The King of Corror who had on our first arrival endeavored, I believe from humane motives, to dissuade me from such an expedition, when he saw it on the point of departure, ordered his war canoes, with from four to five hundred men, armed with muskets, spears, clubs, etc. to join us and act under the orders of Mr. Carr; he himself proposing to be my companion on board, if I would permit him, until the return of the boats, thus offering his own person as a pledge that no treachery from his people was to be apprehended. After an absence of nearly four days our boats returned, bringing with them the two seamen (James Meader and Horatio King) who after much delay and difficulty were at length given up without resort to force, though obviously through the fear of it alone, for they were extremely reluctant to let them go, without the promised muskets, and seemed quite indifferent as to the fate of the chief in our hands. He was, of course, set at liberty, and some presents of axes, saws, etc., were made them in consideration for what they had done for Captain Bernard, and of their good treatment of the men just released.

Before closing the subject of our visit to these islands, justice requires that I should here mention the attentions we received during our stay from the worthy chief of Corror, commonly called King George, who by his uniform hospitality and kindness to strangers so well sustains the high reputation for those qualities of his ancestor, Abba Thulle. Immediately on our arrival he sent orders to the different towns and villages

subject to his authority to send out their canoes and catch fish and to collect fruit and taro for us; and, besides giving us two bullocks (of which there are barely 20 on the islands), we were supplied from day to day with fish, fruit, and vegetables in the greatest abundance for all hands. Everything came in the form of presents from King George. We, of course, did not fail to make presents in return, which though probably of more value to their estimation than those we received, were still insufficient in ours to cancel the many obligations we felt under to this kind-hearted man.

We sailed from the Pellews on the 20th December and arrived at Lintin on the 2d of January, at which time we had less than a fortnight's bread or flour, and barely three weeks' salt provisions on board the ship, from which it will be seen that our hurried movements were not without sufficient cause. Up to that period our crew had enjoyed remarkably good health. We had then only five on the surgeon's report, and those of but slight complaints. But we now very soon felt the effects of the great change of climate to which we were exposed. It was in the midst of the rainy season when we arrived in China and in the course of a few days we had as many as 62 on the sick list, of violent catarrh. In two cases, where the lungs were attacked, it proved fatal. These, with one man lost overboard, as reported in my letter from Lintin, are the only deaths that have occurred amongst us during the cruise.

...

We left Lintin on the 24th, stopped three days at Singapore, and, passing through the Straits of Malacca, anchored at Quallah Battoo, late in the evening of the 15th February...

We left Quallah Battoo on the 19th, and the same night spoke an American vessel bound there. We anchored for a few days at Cape Town, and also at St. Helena. Our worthy consuls at both those places enjoined it upon me to say to the Department how desirable it was that a ship of war should occasionally pay them a visit... I received on board from the hands of those gentlemen four American seamen who were desirous of a passage home.

Document 1835P

The USS Vincennes, Commander Aulick—The narrative of Lieut. Browning

Source: Ms. journal among the Browning Family Papers, LC Mss. Div., Container 1, pp. 201-306.

Introductory notes.

In the spring of 1834, the USN Pacific Squadron despatched a sloop to the western Pacific with a mission which included in part the rescue of the survivors of the shipwreck of the **Mentor**.

The author of the following journal, Robert Lee-Wright Browning (1803-1850), was a Lieutenant who served aboard the U.S.S. Vincennes between 1833 and 1836. Container No. 1 among the Browning Family Papers contains his Journal aboard the USS Vincennes, from 1835-38. The ship went from Callao, visiting the Marquesas, Tahiti, Samoa, Ellice Islands, Rotuma, then the Marshall Islands in November 1835, before visiting Guam, arriving there on 20 November. He then visited Palau, then Tobi and brought the Palauan chief, Hobac, back to Palau. From there they went to China in January 1836, to Singapore in February, Sumatra, Cape Town, St. Helena, then home.

Synopsis of the cruise

...

| | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1835 Nov. 13 | Arrived at Caroline Is. | Sailed Nov. 13, 1835 |
| " " 20 | " Ladronez | " " 20 " |
| " " 26 | " Pelew Is. | " Dec. 3 " |
| " [Dec] 9 | " Lord North's I. | " " 10 " |
| " " 16 | " Pelews | " " 21 " |

...

Brown's Range of the Caroline [sic] Islands.
Nov 13th 1835

To-day we made and passed this group of islands after a disagreeable passage of a little more than 23 days, from Lat 10° South to Lat 10 North the weather was very bad. Head, or westerly winds generally prevailed with rain and squalls day and night for three weeks. We, at least, have not found this ocean as pacific as it might be. If Magel-

lan had found it as stormy as we have, he would hardly have named it Pacific. But there is such a contrast between it, and the seas in the vicinity of Tierra del Fuego he is quite excusable for doing so, in coming into it from the straits that bear his name.

These islands are low, small, and thickly wooded. We saw a boat under sail between the islands and hauled into the land for it; but on our approach it pulled into the shore and disappeared. Seeing no habitations on the islands, we bore away on our course to the Westward.

Guam, Ladron Islands

Nov 20th 1835

We arrived here to-day one week from the Carolines. Early this morning we passed close to Rota on the south side and saw a small village in one of its vallies. Guam was also in sight to the SW. Both islands are high, but Rota is quite small compared to Guam. They are the two principal islands of the group.

When we descried the outlines of Guam, we bore away for it and hauled up on the Western side of it off Port Apra, and sent in a boat which met a pilot coming off, took him in and brought him aboard.

The pilot informed our Captain that there are from 20 to 30 feet of water on the bar, and that it is so narrow we would be across it before the lead could be hove the second time. As we draw but 16 feet there is ample water on the bar for us; but the Captain ascertained from the pilot that it blows heavy here some times at this season and that frightened him off.

We stood off and on during the night and had a fine opportunity to cross the bar next morning with a fair wind and a smart sea; but our **brave Captain** feared some accident might happen to the ship in a fine port where hundreds of vessels have for ages rode in safety. How bold we circumnavigators are! The first Lieutenant was sent to land the pilot and communicate with the authorities.

This group of islands was discovered by Magellan two [rather three] hundred, or more years ago, and settled by the Spaniards in consequence of the fertility and vicinity to Manilla, early settled on Luconia, one of the Philippines; and affording a good stopping place for ships from their South American possessions to those of the East Indies. It is about 9 days sail from Manilla.

The settlement was resolutely opposed by the natives, but when, as in South America, they could no longer resist the Spanish arms, they resolved upon the estinguishment of their race rather than submission to the Spanish authority; which was carried out by administering the extract of an herb to all pregnant women, which rarely failed to produce abortion.¹ By this means and the Spanish arms, a population of 60 or 70 thousand [sic] wild lovers of liberty were reduced to about 8 hundred [sic] miserable wretches. Thirty [sic] years ago, they were collected from nine of the principal islands of the group and brought to Guam.

1 Ed. note: Nonsense, of course.

The men we saw in a canoe that came off to us and those Mr Carr saw on shore are small and dark. They appear to have no more of their former character than the native Peruvians or Mexicans. With this miserable remnant of former prosperity the Spaniards intermarry and produce a mixed race. But if misery likes company this people has the satisfaction to know that their oppressors are as greatly fallen as themselves. They wear some clothing and attend church, and doubtless are as good Christians as their masters, which is not saying much for them.

This island furnishes everything that a luxuriant soil in a tropical climate can produce. But we, though truly needy, being destitute of vegetables and fresh provisions for weeks, got no more of its abundance than two pigs, eight fowls, and a hundred oranges: and these were collected on the beach in a great hurry—the boat being sent in unexpectedly with orders to hasten back. The pilot and people ashore were as much disappointed at the ship's not going in as we were. They who sail with a timid navigator must expect to be often annoyed and disappointed.

The Governor resides in a Town up the coast, about 9 miles from this port. The place is said to have the appearance of civilization being built principally by foreigners. The Governor was kind enough to send us word, if we would come in and anchor, we should be furnished with everything in the shape of provisions we wanted. But after coming here for that purpose the heart of our **bold navigator** failed him because it was possible for the wind to blow hard now and then.

Being off Port Apra a part of two days we bore away for the Pelew Islands, to feed longer upon hard fare and curse timidity.

We were told that there are a great many wild cattle, buffalo, hogs and fowls on the islands, but foreigners are only allowed to trade at Port Apra, though a good deal of illicit trade is done at Rota.

Pelew Islands
Nov 30th 1835

After a passage of 6 days from the Ladrões we arrived at these islands the last of November (26th) but did not get in until the 29th. We made the land in the morning and by noon were close in, when 7 canoes came off to us with 5 or 6 natives in each, all perfectly naked, except for one little old man who had on an old frock coat, made in a Christian land. Only 3 or 4 came on board—the others bartered cocoanuts alongside.

They brought no interpreter with them but one appeared to be a Pilot, and pointed out for us to go into Corol [sic]; not understanding his directions, we did not venture among the coral reefs. The Captain gave them a letter to give to any one ashore who might be able to read it. They were so anxious to remain on board, however, that it was with difficulty we could get them out of the ship to deliver this letter.

We lay to, 'off and on' that night and the next morning we were 12 or 15 miles to Leeward. We commenced beating up, but the current was so strong against us, that we made no progress. At noon several canoes came off, but we were too far out for them to bring us any provisions.

The letter sent on shore the day before was given to an Englishman called Dick, who had been on the Islands 13 years. He is but few "removes" from an idiot, but served for an interpreter. He brought a native Pilot with him, named Ara coco, though we had no use for him so far to Leeward. We beat against wind and tide all day and night, but to no purpose for next morning we could not see the land. We then got a blast of wind and approached the land, but it died away and the current swept us out again before we could reach an anchorage. When we got a wind we were too far off to make the port before dark, and kept off the shore which frightened the Pilot and his companions thinking we were running off with them. But on the morning of the 29th we got a fair wind and run in to anchorage off Corol.

The harbor of Corol is formed by a comodious bay fronted by two coral reefs sufficiently separated as to form two anchorages—between the reefs, and inside of both. We came to in the outer anchorage, on a bank where we had 10 fathoms water though round us there are from 3 to 40 fathoms.

Even in this outer harbour the water is smooth and anchorage safe. It is 4 miles from the watering place and 6 from the Town of Corol.

As soon as we came to, a fleet of canoes surrounded the ship, and an amiable and confiding race paraded our decks.

It might be supposed from analogy, that neither their "first Parents," nor any of their progenitors had eaten of the "forbidden fruit," and therefore knew they not of their nakedness; for they seemed perfectly unconscious of it; nor does the everlasting summer of their Eden dictate the necessity of covering their nakedness.

They are a dark olive colour—nearly as dusky as the Vavaoos [Tongans]. Their hair is straight and worn long—generally clubbed behind, but sometimes flowing upon the neck and shoulders.

Every man, without exception, constantly carried with him a basket containing betel nuts—as necessary to them as the quid to Jack—sassafras leaves, a piece of bamboo filled with lime, a small mortar and pestle, with which they pound their nuts, leaves, and lime together for chewing, a venus shell for plucking out their beard, and a spoon and tray of tortoise shell. These articles seem to be indispensable to their habits and happiness; and hence their baskets are as inseparable from them as reticules from our ladies.

The King of Corol was sent for soon after we got in, and came on board at sunset. The mild countenance and gentle deportment of this unrobed sovereign, are just such as should ever mark the ruler of such an amiable and kind people.

The King, his suite, and men who rowed his canoe, remained on board all night; and this morning we were in a hurry to despatch our boats for water; and King George, as he is called, to please the English I suppose, had appointed some of his men to show us the watering place. But when he was informed that the boats were ready to depart: "Wait," said he, "until my men are done their breakfast and I will send them to show you the way." This thoughtfulness of his people compared to a great advantage with

the indifference and impatience of our Captain who was in the habit of harrassing his men and on this occasion had allowed them but a hurried meal.

King George despatched canoes to all his towns ordering his people to bring provisions to us, and bounteously have we been supplied with beef, fish, fowls, pigs, goats, taro, cocoanuts and bananas—more than we could use—all presents from the King. This seemed as if we were in the land of [the] living once more; and such a land of hospitality none of us had ever seen, though we are great rovers. And at such a needed time too, made it the more welcome.

The bananas are small and black, and the most delicious in the world.

Capt. Aulick and two or three of the officers went to the Town with King George whom we saluted with 12 guns when he left the ship which much pleased his naked majesty. They all returned at sundown much pleased with their visit. The King returned with them to remain on board with us as long as our stay here.

During the day canoes crowded around us with fish, coconuts and shells.

As is the custom in all Polynesia these people offer to be your friend. A man proposes to be your friend, and if you consent, he neither gives nor sells to anyone but you, and expects you to patronize him to the exclusion of all others. In many of the Islands, particularly Tahiti, and Vavaoo, these “friends” are great bores—expecting much, giving little, rarely truthful and never satisfied. But Pelew friendship may be relied on. Our “friends” here are serviceable, and grateful for all returns of kindness.

Nothing is said of the discovery of these Islands before Capt Wilson of an English ship was wrecked on them. When Capt W. published his narrative, the Spaniards then asserted a previous discovery of theirs, and said they had sent Jesuits there to civilize the inhabitants; but there were no traces of them; and from the unexpected astonishment of the natives at the appearance of the Strangers and everything they possessed, it was very apparent that Capt Wilson and his men were the first discoverers in the Year 17 [83].

Wilson's account of them is exceedingly interesting. They treated him with all possible kindness, and assisted him in building a boat to take him to Manilla [rather China]. They showed the greatest desire for knowledge, and when Capt W. departed, the King (Abby Thule), sent his son with him to be educated in England where he died.

When Capt W. had finished the vessel, in which he intended to go to Manilla, it was well supplied with provisions for the voyage. The voyagers left this land of hospitality with its shady groves with regret. They arrived safely in Manilla and subsequently in England; but Prince Leeboo died before he finished his studies, after making a rapid progress in useful knowledge.

The next strangers thrown on the hospitality of these generous people were Capt Keating and his crew in 1827 from Boston.¹

1 Ed. note: This event had taken place the year before. The survivors of the Dash, shipwrecked at Ngulu, were picked up at Palau by Capt. Low of the ship Cabot.

Capt Keating of the brig **Dash** bound on a trading voyage to the Pacific, touched here from Manilla, and was supplied with all kinds of provisions for his voyage that the Islands afford. The evening before Capt K. was to sail, he pretended to the Pelews that he wanted more provisions for his sea stores, and requested all those who were in the habit of remaining on board to go on shore and bring him more live stock. Away every canoe went to supply his wants; and as soon as he had rid himself of his hospitable entertainers and creditors, he made sail for the Caroline Islands, without paying one cent's worth for the provisions he had purchased on credit.

The next day when the canoes returned with the provisions for Capt K., he was out of sight with his Brig. Then they discovered that they had been cheated by a man whom they had hospitably entertained, and loaded with valuable presents of tortoise shell, besides supplying his vessel with provisions for a cruise. For these kindnesses they were rewarded with treachery and deceit by an American Yankee. But just retribution was hanging over him.

On his way to the Caroline Issles he struck on a reef that encircled the Matelotes [Ngulu]. Not being able to back his vessel off, he endeavoured to force her over. All heavy articles were thrown overboard—the boats got out—the vessel was surrounded by numerous canoes of savages, who took advantage of most of [this,] the crew being engaged carrying out an anchor to haul the Brig off, boarded her, killed three of the crew, and got possession of her. The rest of the crew made their escape in the boats, and steered to the Westward. In three days they made the Pelews again. They were discovered and taken by a Town of King George's about 20 miles from Corol, the Capital. As soon as the King learned that foreigners had landed in his dominions, distressed and helpless, he despatched 20 war canoes to have them brought to Corol. On the arrival of the canoes at the village where Keating and his men were, the Corolese recognized their old deceivers, but they offered no violence. They purchased his boat, from the people of the Town who had captured it, and made them presents for having treated Keating and his men kindly. Then by order of the King they, and their boat were taken to Corol.

When Captain Keating found himself in possession of a people whom he called savages, and whom he had shortly before deceived and cheated and who still protected him, and afforded him every assistance in their power, instead of reproaching and chastising him as he deserved, the nature of his feelings—if such a man can have any other than animal feelings—is but known to himself.

King George says “when Keating came back he was in distress, and his people instead of punishing him for his misconduct pitied his situation and offered him relief.” At this, even Keating must have felt a little shame at his own conduct comparing so badly with the savage Pelews, for he attempted to make some excuse for his previous conduct, and wished that he had something to give the King and his people. “But,” said the King, “he lied then, as he had done before, for he has been gone more than 100 moons since we fitted him out and sent him home, and he has not sent any people anything yet.”

They gave him a good house while he remained on the island, supplied him with provisions, repaired his boat, and gave him a good outfit for Manilla, where he and all his crew arrived in safety and afterwards to the U. States, except one man, John, who preferred remaining here with King George, to returning home with his unprincipled Captain. John is a great favorite with the King and is quite contented, and runs as naked as his adopted countrymen.

Baouelthouap is the principal Island of the Pelew group. There are a great many other small ones, all surrounded by a coral reef. King George is sovereign of nearly the whole group. He is absolute in his dominions, and holds his subjects in strict obedience and good order.

His native title is Abby Thule and native name Terri. But Abbythule Terri has nearly entirely given place to the English title and name King George.

Aracolon is a northern province of Baouelthouap independent of King George, less hospitable, savage, and frequently at war with Corol. They inhabit 5 Towns and are less savage than the independent islanders to the North of them.

In 1832 Captain Bernard of the American whale ship **Mentor** struck on the coral reef to the Northward of this group, and was soon a wreck. The first Mate and several of the men cleared a boat and made for the shore but they were lost in the surf. The next morning Capt Bernard finding the ship past recovery, got another boat afloat and embarked with the rest of the crew. They first landed on a dry shoal between the reef and the land, but that was no place for existence. Thence they set out for the nearest Island, Kyangle, where they landed and remained one night, and were robbed by the natives of most of the necessities which they had taken with them in the boat. Then they left this inhospitable isle, and pulled to the Southward along the reef. Thrice in succession they were boarded and pillaged by war canoes. But when he would point to the ship, and five them to understand that she had muskets on board they would have him and pull to the wreck. Finally arriving off Aracolon, they were made prisoners and stripped of everything—boat and all. The Captain congratulated himself upon being left a shirt. In a short time, however, they restored them their clothes and treated them kindly; and supplied them with a good house and everything their land afforded.

After being on this island 6 months and finding no means of escape Capt Bernard proposed a ransom for himself and men should they be permitted to leave and he [was] furnished with the means to reach the East Indies. After much consultation, it was agreed that Capt B. and three of his men should go, leaving the rest—6—as hostages for the payment of the ransom, which was to be 200 muskets. Six of the islanders were to accompany the Captain to receive and bring the muskets, when the other men were to be liberated.

Capt B. remonstrated; but the only alteration which he could effect, was to leave three instead of six of his men, and take 3 instead of 6 natives. Not being able to obtain better terms they were accepted. Their boat was repaired and a canoe built for their transportation, and a month's provision supplied for the voyage to the East Indies.

The King chose the brother-in-law of Capt Bernard as one of the three hostages to remain, and designated his own brother for one of the three to accompany the Captain. Two of Capt B.'s men volunteered to remain with his brother-in-law, and two more islanders were fixed on to make up the number that the King obliged the Captain to take with him.

Everything being ready, Capt Bernard put to sea with 8 of his men and 3 islanders in a whale boat and a canoe. The only instrument of navigation he had with him was a compass by which he steered S.W. expecting to strike some part of the East Indies where he could get assistance.

They had bad weather for boats and the canoe was capsized. They righted her, but she was too leaky to keep afloat by constant bailing. They abandoned her and all the men—11—were crowded into the little boat with their provisions. The water which they carried in bamboos at the bottom of the boat gave out the 3rd day. Not far from the Equator, under a burning sun, 11 men crowded into a small boat, having lost most of their provisions and all their water, tossed by the billows in a rolling ocean, was no enviable situation, and required firmness and moral courage to endure it. But their previous misfortune had taught them to endure and persevere.

In this situation they made Lord North's Island, called by the natives Toby, a small green spot in the Ocean about three degrees north of the Equator. Having no Charts the land was unknown to them, but they were in too much distress to avoid it. Canoes were soon discovered pulling for them but water was to be had at all hazard and they pulled for the shore. The canoes were fast sailers, and had they wished to avoid them they could not have done so. The canoes were soon up with them, and being sharp and heavy, they run into the boat and stove her, and in an instant the unfortunate navigators were struggling in the water for their lives. They were picked up by the savages, to undergo another robbery, and another captivity more horrible still.

They were landed on the little lone island destitute of almost hope. The inhabitants perfectly naked, extremely filthy, living on cocoanuts and a scanty supply of raw fish, on this little world less than three miles round, inhabited by about 300 souls, if souls such animals have, were our adventurers again imprisoned.

They had been there three months when a vessel hove in sight. All the people scampered to the beach to prepare their canoes to board the vessel to barter coconuts for iron on which they set great value. The hearts of our countrymen beat with joy at the prospect of escape. They assembled on the beach with the natives to take passage in the canoes to the ship, each with his "friend" for even here, as in other parts of Polynesia every man had his padron, as "Friend," who, like nearly all "Friends" found in civilized countries, served them as far as it was to their own interest. But the poor fellows were repulsed from the canoes, and ordered to the main until they returned.

Capt Bernard finding himself opposed in his effort to get on board forced himself into the boat. There was no time for argument or diffidence. The stake was liberty. Perseverance and action were necessary to success. The opportunity for escape was accidental and not to be lost. It might not again occur. No vessel would ever intentionally

stop at such a destitute place. "Home, now or never" he said as he jumped into the boat and two men seized him to thrust him out. They struggled with him until the canoe upset on the reef. An old man in the boat interfered, and made them desist. He promised to get them iron if they would permit him to accompany them. By further interference of the old man they consented for him to go on board. The canoe was righted, its equilateral triangular sail spread and through the surf it plunged its way out to sea toward the ship that had hove to for them. Capt B. looked back for his companions, and saw but one who had been as successful as himself. "With what feelings I approached that ship," says Capt B. "cannot be expressed, nor even imagined except by those who have suffered like me."

Capt B. hailed the ship and was permitted to go on board. It was a Spanish vessel from Bengal bound to Manilla. Capt B. was kindly received, after he told his story, and he and the man that got on board were given a passage to Manilla. But the Spaniard said he was on a short allowance of provisions and water, and could not stop for the rest of the unfortunate mariners. It was certainly a poor excuse to offer when the very existence of 9 men was at stake. Only a hard and inhospitable heart could refuse to divide his ration with men in such a distressed situation, existing on a limited allowance of coconuts, with their lives in the hands of savages. But the poor fellows saw the heart rending sight of the ship filling away and leaving them in bondage to pick coconuts for their savage masters.

In 22 days Capt B. arrived at Manilla; whence he sailed to Canton and thence to the U. States.

To recover these unfortunate Americans, we have come to the Pelews, and will go to Toby Island to rescue those who have been more unfortunate than these who remained as hostages. One of the three left here made his escape in a vessel that touched here. Since then the Aracolonians have watched the other two more closely.

King George hearing about a year ago that there were two prisoners at Aracolon sent to ransom them but they refused to sell them to him on any terms that the good monarch could offer, whereupon the Corolese made war upon the Aracolonians. They sent an expedition of 20 canoes and killed 30 men and destroyed a great deal of property, but did not recover the Americans. That was doing more for us than our government has done since the last war. Of late years foreign powers have imprisoned Americans and insulted our flag with impunity; but King George resented the injury for us while we are too parsimonious and pusillanimous to keep a sufficient force to prevent or punish such arrogance.

The day after our arrival here the King sent a war canoe to Aracolon with a letter from Capt Aulick to the two Americans informing them that a man of war had come for them; and demanding their release of the Aracolonians. But the King's bearer of despatches returned without the men, and reported that they would not be given up until their own men were returned—that if we came with a sufficient force to take them before we returned their men, they would put the Americans to death before they should

fall into our hands—and that Capt Aulick's letter had been torn up without permitting the Americans to see it.

Upon this information being interpreted, the King said, "it would be a pity to kill any more of the foolish people, if we can get the men in any other way." This was surely gentle language for a savage King surrounded by a thousand warriors who move at his nod.

Capt Aulick then determined to go to Toby, or Lord North's Island, for the Americans and the three Aracolonians and return for these as the surest way of getting them without injury. Besides we should have to return near here on our way from Toby to Canton so that it will last us but little more detention to recover the men in that way. Nor would any reasonable delay or trouble be ill-directed to save the lives of the hostages and restore them to liberty and their friends. It will be time to appeal to force when all other means shall have failed.

Dec 5 at Meridian we left the Pelews for Toby Island where we expected to arrive in three days, as it was directly to leeward. But we lost the trade wind before we got half-way, and on the 5th day we were only at Ramiera [Meriere], a small low island not more than two miles in circumference. But this little spot of earth has its people, its independent nation and its cocoanuts to feed them on.

Eight of these wild children came off to the ship in a very good canoe. They were too shy to venture on board, and bartered the few cocoanuts they had alongside.

For our biscuit a man gave me his whole suit, which consisted of a dirty belt oiled and stained with turmeric, and a pair of earrings, shaped like a mushroom with the stem stuck through the ears. Not having the betel nut to chew, their teeth were white. We stopped but a few minutes and continued our course to Toby Island which we made on the 9th of November.

This little island so long a prison for eight Americans, is not more than half a mile wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ long, surrounded by a coral reef not far from the shore.

As soon as we got near enough, five canoes came off with about 10 men in each, all naked wearing their hair long, flowing upon their necks and shoulders. Though all were naked in a civilized sense, yet some in the Tobian language were in full dress—a narrow belt round the waist, a string of beads round the neck and toadstool earrings—all of domestic manufactory showing but little skill and less taste. The rest were in their birth suit somewhat dirtied by time and coconut oil, and stained with tattooing. They are neither large or warlike, as represented, and so timid that it was difficult to persuade them to come on board and when we induced them to do so, they were prodigiously frightened at our arms and numbers; and were unarmed themselves.

Their largest canoes will not carry more than 16 men, but they are heavy and sharp. It may easily be conceived how quickly Capt Bernard's whale boat was dashed to pieces when these canoes ran into him. Their sails are like the Pelews'—equilateral triangular.

We looked in vain among the canoes for white men, and then surveyed the shore with as little success. Finally we discovered one among them with black teeth by which we knew him to be the Pelew Prince that accompanied the Americans—the teeth of the

Tobians being white. For the first time in my life I was delighted at the sight of black teeth. Strange things under certain circumstances will give the greatest pleasure. Even sights ordinarily revolting may give us the greatest satisfaction at an extraordinary time.

The Aracolonian chief was soon beckoned on board; and when we made him understand that we would take him home, more joy, satisfaction, and gratitude never beamed from the countenance of man. His gratification was not riotous; but a deep swelling feeling—a weeping pleasure—such a feeling as can only be produced by unexpected relief from what we may have fairly believed inevitable ruin. For some time his tongue was silent, but his countenance was most eloquent, and touching. When the commotion of his feelings had somewhat subsided he began to answer our enquiries after the white people. By a little English and a little Spanish which he had learned and a little Pelew which we had picked up at the islands, and many signs, he gave us the following account of his companions which is corroborated and completed by those men on their return home.

Hoback [sic], Prince of Aracolon, Pelew, said:—“Six moons passed and then came a ship and took away Captain Bernard, and one man. Many moons did the rest of us work for our lazy masters, but no ship came. We climbed the tall cocoa trees to gather nuts, and carry them to the Town. So much climbing and nothing but coconuts to eat, we got so weak that we would fall down with our loads on our backs. So much work, so little eat. Me fished with traps and nets, caught little, and all that was for our masters. Coconuts today, coconuts tomorrow, nothing but coconuts! coconuts!! We got very weak. No longer could climb. We had to eat coconuts, but our stomachs would not hold the food that did not agree with us when we were well. The black American (a negro), knocked down an old man, and they killed him alright. We all got very sick. One man died, then another, and another, and no ship came for us. We got more sick, more weak. We wanted help. There was not much for us, and very little was done to keep us alive. Again and again we looked over the water for a ship, but could see none. Another died, and then another. I, and only two white men were then left. Forty more moons passed and another ship came. The two white men, too weak to work, were taken on board. Hoback still able to carry coconuts, no let me go. Poor Hoback the only man left. A few moons and this ship stopped. Hoback goes on board. The ship was bound to London and could not take me home. My eyes rained like a pickanina's.¹ My heart nearly broke. I had to go back to this wretched place, to my master. Now you come and tell me that you will take me to Aracolon. Heart of Hoback jumps almost out. I am too happy.”

The poor fellow burst into tears as he concluded his story, and wept long.

We doubted not the words of the Pelew chief, for his manner and feeling carried conviction with them; but we had come too far to take the word of anyone; and it was our duty to search the island. The day being too far advanced, our landing was postponed

1 Ed. note: Meaning like those of a small child (Palauan word).

until next day. In the meantime our decks were stinking with the coconut oil and tumeric of about 80 most animated savages. Their full dress being a belt and necklace.

They freely bartered cocoanuts for short pieces of old iron hoops of which they make fish hooks. Those who wanted knives for their cocoanuts would hold them up and cry Knife! Knife!! Knife!!! with such rapidity as would put a New York auctioneer to the blush—if they ever did blush. At all events they manifested talent for vending to the most satisfactory bidder. When they saw that we possessed so much iron they were entirely too affectionate—too fond of embracing and rubbing noses—the very member we most desired to keep furtherest from their oiled and tumeric-stained offensive bodies. Iron had the same effect upon them as silver does upon a Yankee. It bought their friendship instantly.

By sunset they had sold their coconuts, grown rich in iron and returned to their village in perfect ecstasy. But they could not persuade Hoback to go on shore again with them to pass the last night with the wife they had given him.

They told Hoback that his wife was weeping for him to return to her again. “Let her weep,” said he, “my Pelew wife and friends have been weeping 50 moons for me to return to them. And now I go. Let her weep now. Better Toby wife weep than Aracolon wife.”

We stood off and on the island during the night, and next morning Lieuts. Carr, Browning, Missroon, Gillespie, Marine, with 80 men armed were in readiness to land and waited until the canoes came off. When most of the islanders got on board we shoved off for the shore. They were prodigiously frightened and asked Hoback if we intended to put them to death. He endeavoured to make them believe that we were only going to look for the white men. But they could not understand our warlike preparations for such a purpose, particularly as we had been told that they were all dead and gone. When they saw us pull toward the Town they leaped overboard and into their canoes and away they went to the village also. Their canoes are as swift as the Pelew’s, and those who exerted themselves soon passed us. Two of the canoes took their position on either side of my boat, and talked a great deal, but could not be understood. They constantly addressed me by the title of *Piloto*, the Spanish for navigator, or sailing master. But these people like the Pelews, apply that term to all the officers of a ship. That was the only word that we discovered these people to use in common with the Pelews.

When the speakers, who sat upon the platform of the canoes, perceived that we did not heed what they said, and steadily pursued our course, they addressed themselves to their deity, and went through some motions of incantations. It would have been a great satisfaction to have understood their prayer. The tone was very much in the style of a Methodist preacher.

As they talked they hung their heads and rubbed their left hand with their right and thus continued their incantations until they reached the shore.

We were obliged to abandon our boats at the outer edge of the reef, the water being too shallow for our boats, and made to the shore about a quarter of a mile distant. The coral bottom and water waist deep made this anything but sport.

When we had effected our landing there was no military force to meet us. The same men that we had seen on board met us at the beach unarmed, and frightened. They talked a great deal but we understood nothing they said, not even their signs.

We searched the island from one end to the other, and went into every little hut, but we could see nothing, nor any traces, of the Americans.

The island is one thick forest of cocoanut trees, and the fruit of them is almost their only subsistence. We saw but two small bunches of taro, which has lately been introduced here, and Hoback says, it has not formed any part of their food yet.

Their dwellings are the most miserable huts I have ever seen. I had to go on my knees to get into any of them, and when in I could stand up in but few. There were very few mats or baskets to be seen. Nor scarcely anything else to contribute to their wants. A platform covered with dry grass and cocoa leaves to sleep on; a nut shell of water and another of cocoanut oil generally constituted their furniture. We saw a few fish baskets, like our own, made by the Americans, to catch fish for their masters.

The women all scampered to the woods, as soon as the men landed and communicated with them, taking their children with them.

The female dress is loose grass hung round the loins. One woman had run without her child, which she had left covered up in a canoe. When in our search, we approached the canoe where the child was concealed, the mother bolted from her cover with the activity of a tigress, seized the child and fled to the woods. Through the mother's fears for her child, she had forgotten all personal danger and jumped to the infant's rescue; which, in reality, was in no danger; but, that, she did not know.

In the centre of a cluster of huts, which, from the number, might be called a village, was situated a respectably sized house of worship, quite large enough to hold all the inhabitants of the island. The roof rested on posts, 6 to 8 feet high, and the sides were left open. Seeing some persons in it, I entered, and found an old man sitting flat on the floor in the middle of the house praying. Several men sat behind him, some of whom motioned to me to sit down, and then spoke in an under [tone] to me for the same purpose. But the old man at prayer did not raise his head or appear to observe me. His eyes were fixed on his hands which he rubbed together most vigorously, as they had done in the canoes. I took it for granted that he prayed most fervently for the delivery of the island from destruction by us; and as we did them no harm, but made them presents, doubtless it was attributed to the effect of the old man's prayer.

The church, if I may so call it, was well floored with large planks raised about two feet from the ground, except one end which may be called the Altar. That end of the room not being floored, left the altar two feet lower than the worshippers. Along this unfloored end, or altar, were arranged 9 wooden human images, 7 of which were women. They are very well shaped for the indifferent tools with which they have to work. Had the Altar been higher, instead of lower than the floor, the wooden images

would have given it the appearance of a poor Catholic church. A beautiful miniature double canoe, suspended from the roof near the middle of the room ornamented with wreaths of flowers, reminded me of the Catholic church on the hill at Lyons, France, which, in 1831, had a ship suspended in the same manner.

While I was in the church, a few men entered showing the greatest reverence for the place by bending to the floor and crawling on their knees, as the rabble and fanatics climb the "holy staircase" in Rome, as I witnessed in 1832.

I left them at prayer, and took another range through the island with a small party. Seeing at a glance, on our landing, that there was no danger from the natives, we divided our force into small searching parties.

I saw a few coconut trees, but they had no fruit on; and Hoback tells us that they have not borne fruit since he has been on the island. There were a few taro patches but the roots were stunted and scarcely eatable.

We saw no traces of the Americans, dead or alive, nor any graveyard, for the sea, we are told, is their burial place. Then we returned to the ship well satisfied that Hoback's account was correct.

While we were on the island and at leaving, the people gathered round us with offerings of cocoanuts, apparently to propitiate us. But we remunerated them well for all we received. The warm weather made them a most welcome offering, and after draining them of their delicious water, we returned the pulp which is their meat and bread.

The men loaded with cocoanuts followed us to the boats and threw them in and wanted to go on board with us, but our boats were too full of men and arms to admit them. So we dismissed them with presents of iron. The chief of the island to whom we had granted a passage to the ship, seeing none others going on board jumped out of the boat and swam ashore.

In an hour's time we got on board, and filled away for the Pelews where we arrived again after a six days' passage.

We learned from Hoback that the Tobians are generally quiet, and lazy and therefore are hard masters, making those in their power do everything for them. Though they are not vindictive, they now and then fight by pulling each other's long hair. They always meet as friends as soon as their well pulled heads cease to pain them.

They have no neighbours with whom they can war, and are but one isolated tribe—in fact, but one lone family inhabiting the little world of Toby. They know as little of offensive weapons that they would take hold of the muzzles of our muskets to examine them with the same indifference and curiosity, as they would the hilts of our swords, when they discovered that we did not intend to injure them.

The strongest and largest man on the island is, from that cause, recognized as the chief; but his authority goes no further than to lead fishing, or canoe expeditions. The government is patriarchal, and the words and sayings of the old men are the laws.

Marriages are celebrated by feasts; and no man has more than one wife. Adultery is rare, but fornication is common. The women are prolific, which is a very unfortunate

circumstance where the means of existence is so circumscribed. Amongst the crowd I observed three living skeletons.

They worship a benevolent spirit which is represented in the images we saw in their church. The great proportion of female figures is to show more benevolence than severity. Their language, which was learned by the Captives, is not like any other known. From the shucks of the coconuts they make a very strong cordage, which was the only manufactured article they had to barter.

Their canoes are made of large trees drifted on the island from the isles to windward. This is their greatest labor, not having any better instruments than knives made of iron hoops, or an axe of stones. But such is their perseverance, that with these rude instruments, large logs are converted into strong and handsome canoes, that are not inferior and very similar to the canoes of the Pelew isles. Of the cocoa leaves they make matting for their sails with which they navigate the ocean around them with great celerity.

On our return to the Pelews we resumed our old anchorage.

To insure our success in treating with the Aracolonians for the two captives, we fitted out an expedition of 120 men—well drilled infantry, as were all our crew—to accompany Hoback to his native land. Presents were also taken to induce the Aracolonians to deliver up their two prisoners for our one without contention.

In our absence King George had sent to the Aracolonian territory and induced an Englishman, named Charley, to come to Corol on business relative to the captives. Charley had come to the Pelews when quite a young man, and had grown gray in savage life; and is as thoroughly a savage as any of the natives, and has much influence with them. It was he who saved the lives of the Captives when they were first taken to Baoubelthouap, and caused their clothes to be returned to them and subsequently got them sent home for ransom.

With expectations of high reward, Charley hastened to Corol at the bidding of King George to meet our ship on her return. On our arrival he came on board with the King, and his suite, and offered his services as interpreter. But as he had been so long among the Aracolonians, so identified with their interests, it was thought advisable to retain him on board to interpret, and send Dick the King's interpreter with the expedition.

In the Government of Corol there is a prime minister called the Second King. He is at the head of all political and military operations, and six Rupacks, or chiefs, form the Council of State.

Arcusbonga, the prime minister, is an old withered man with a sharp restless eye.

When we first arrived here, and were going to despatch a boat to Aracolon with a letter demanding the Captives, Arcusbonga offered his services to deliver the letter and return with an answer in 24 hours. As the distance was about 30 miles and we should have to depend on them for a guide, and interpreter, his proffer was accepted and the letter, before mentioned, was given him to deliver.

As wily as ministers of more polished nations, when he got possession of the letter, he determined to make the most of it to benefit his own state. He set out for Aracolon

in a war canoe accompanied by the heir apparent to the Crown—George's eldest brother. When he arrived among the enemies of his country, he did not seek an interview with the captives, and kept the contents of the letter secret from the natives as it offered them presents for the safe delivery of the men. Backed as he was by a man of war, he expected to get possession of the men without giving them the presents offered, and appropriate them to himself when they were sent in return for the men. But the Aracolonians not seeing the man of war, feeling a confidence in their woods for protection, refused to deliver the men for nothing, for whom they were expecting a ransom of two hundred muskets.

Their refusal was not less welcome to Arcusbonga, than their acceptance would have been. Upon a refusal he expected to see us exterminate his ancient enemies, in the execution of which, he knew he could prevail on the King to aid us. He knew that our ignorance of the country would render their assistance essential to success. For such aid, he knew he would be well rewarded, and that too, for destroying the enemies of his own country. His calculations, however, were somewhat frustrated by our resolving to go to Lord North's Island for the other man first.

King George, more honorable than his minister, and not wishing to make war the second time for the captives, exerted himself in our absence to get the men secretly to Corol, through the means of Charley. But Charley is as much an Aracolonian and as avaricious and cunning as one of the natives, or even as Arcusbonga. Instead of availing himself of the means in his power to get the men to Corol, he warned the Aracolonians to guard closely their hostages lest they should lose their long expected indemnity—200 muskets—the possession of which would make them superior to all the forces of King George. Charley, then came here to confer with George and await the return of the Ship. He told George, when he came, that the men were so closely watched and the natives so determined to keep them, until they were paid for them, that it would be impossible to get them without delivering them the 200 muskets and returning their three men who went away with Capt Bernard.

As Charley was a citizen of Aracolon we should not altogether blame him for making as good a bargain for his adopted countrymen as was in his power, though two Americans were the sufferers. Though he lacked honor, he certainly did not want patriotism. He had deceived King George before, and would not have been relied on had it been known. When His Corolese Majesty sent his ambassadors with his Jasper money to purchase the liberty of the Captives to send them home, it was Charley who played the wily minister and thwarted his benevolent intentions, by persuading the Aracolonian Rupacks to keep the Captives, ambassadors, and treasure. His treacherous advice was adopted, and a war ensued in which many of the Aracolonians bled for their perfidy. But that Charley had any hand in the perfidy was not then known to the Corolese.

Immediately on our return to Corol harbor, our warlike expedition was prepared to accompany the delivery of Prince Hoback to his nation and get possession of the Americans, either by presents of powder and iron tools, or by force. As soon as King George became acquainted with our intentions, he despatched his prime minister, and Captain

General to get all his warriors, and war canoes ready to accompany us. The Corolese gloried in the undertaking, and the scene of activity and bustle in launching and arming the canoes during the night, was worthy of an enterprising people.

As the boats of our ship passed the Town of Corol early next morning, 30 war canoes carrying on an average 20 men each joined the expedition. The scene was truly picturesque and animating. Their straight shining bodies placed in bold relief by the pale blue and green waters through which they paddled their long sharp light canoes, raising their propellers together with the exactness of machinery, their heads bowing together as they pressed their paddles, and their long black hair flowing in the wind as they chanted their cheering war cry, and glided by our heavy boats like the air. Their breasts and faces painted red to announce their readiness to shed the blood of their enemies. On the platforms of their canoes were piled their war-clubs, spears and a few muskets, all ready for deadly strife.

Arcusbonga, the prime minister took passage in one of our boats; and Aracoco, the Captain General, went in another. As the progress of our armed boats was slow, we did not reach Aracolon till the second evening and the canoes were obliged to hold back for us, as we had their leaders on board of us. In the meantime many other canoes joined us, and gave the expedition a formidable appearance, making the whole number of combined forces about 800. With this force we could easily have destroyed the five Towns of Aracolon. But our instructions obliged us to be persuasive and conciliatory after displaying, before them our forces.

This cause of policy could hardly be comprehended by our allies, who began to think that their foreign friends were cowards, and indeed some of our own party were in the same way of thinking. As an intrepid chief dashed by our boats that laid off the landing with all our men on board, he exclaimed: "What! the sun almost hid in the water and no fight yet! Follow me." His canoe soon struck the shore and his black warriors stood on the beach impatiently waiting the word of attack.

The Chiefs and warriors of Aracolon, not less warlike than their opponents, were assembled to treat or fight as the nature of the case might demand.

To prevent an amicable arrangement between us and the Aracolonians, Arcusbonga assumed the position of principal negotiator. Probably he had learned from some Englishmen that we would never fight if we could negotiate even at the loss of reputation, and he was determined to bring us to the mark for once. But shrewder men than he have failed in that effort when we had more honor to lose by backing out.

Our first Lieut. seeing no probability of getting possession of the Americans, without fighting for them, while Arcusbonga was in council adjourned the sitting; and assembled again temporarily in the absence of the Premier, and learned that the Americans would be delivered up on the payment of a barrel of powder and some iron tools. To the proposition our first Lieut. acceded, and sent to the boats for the powder and utensils.

When they were seen going on shore, the Corolese took the alarm, and those who had not landed made for the shore. Aracoco endeavoured to stop them but in vain. Be-

fore the powder was delivered, Arcusbonga was informed of what was going on and hurried to the conference. His look was indignant and reproachful. He declared that “it was not in good faith for allies to treat singly with their enemies. And above all, to give their enemies powder was to arm them, and arm them not only against the Corolese but against all navigators of these seas. With this powder and a few more muskets they would make themselves masters of all the Pelews. Then the green waters would be made red with their murders and piracies. Hereafter there would be no safety for a vessel that approached these islands. Even now none escape that fall in their power. Look at the men you now seek. Their lives were only saved because they thought that they might make more by them [being] alive than dead. By murdering them they would get but their clothes; by sending them home they would get 200 muskets. You increase their power, and they will extend their depredations. Only a short time before you came, they attempted to capture a vessel that stopped on this side of the island for water and food.¹ Had they been provided with ammunition they would have succeeded. It is as much against the interest and safety of your people as mine, to arm these faithless savages who spare not the lives of strangers except from selfish motives. And would you place the means of destruction in their hands? Think! stranger, think! If you cannot understand the impolicy of such a course, I pity you. If you understand and care not, I bleed at the heart for you. But I cannot suffer my countrymen to be exposed to the evil consequences that would ensue from such a treaty. If you abandon the Corolese who have ever befriended the Americans in distress—who have given them eat, drink and built vessels for them to take them across the wide waters to their homes, without a hatchet, a chisel or a knife in return. What we have given to your people in distress, we gave freely. If you forget these things, your hearts are not like the Corolese. I do not name them for pay; but, that you may know your friends, and forsake them not. If you abandon the Corolese and make such presents to the Aracolonians, you discourage our hospitality and bribe their piracies. But while the Corolese are in arms, and in the land of their enemies, they will not forget what is due to themselves. And remember, we are not the first to break the faith that should exist between friends and allies. I now declare to you before this assembly, that the Aracolonians shall not receive from you any presents of arms or ammunition. If they do, I will raise the war cry and let loose my people upon them

. Aracoco with 700 warriors now brandish their spears and war-clubs ready to pounce upon their old enemies at my bidding, and their numbers will be doubled before another sunset, And their blood be upon your hands. You force me to it.”

The Prime Minister closed. The assembly was silent. He was calm but his eyes were awfully firing. Speaking through an interpreter, he was necessarily deliberate. But many of his long and musical sentences were reduced to a blunt sarcastic phrase by the English interpreter. The Aracolonian Rupacks were evidently confounded at his firm de-

1 Ed. note: The whaler *Transit*, Captain Coffin.

cisive, warlike, patriotic speech, and made no attempt to break the silence. Nor was our first Lieut, Mr. Carr, much less perplexed and convinced by the truth and force of Arusbonga's remarks.

Finally, Mr. Carr insisted, that "as they had failed to treat jointly he must now proceed separately. That we had crossed the wide waters to get these men alive, and without violence, if he could. Such were his instructions and he must obey them though it should offend his friends. He had ascertained that his object could be effected by giving them a barrel of powder and some other presents and he intended to do it."

"Oh, short-sighted policy!" exclaimed the old chief. "To save these two men you will give them the means to rob and plunder a hundred ships and murder your sailors wherever they can find them—keeping a few to sell to you for another supply of powder to carry on their depredations." Then turning to the Aracolonian chiefs he said, with a countenance tone and manner too marked to be misunderstood, "Rupacks, for the last time I warn you, that your acceptance of that powder shall be the signal for battle. The widows and orphans of your land can tell you how skilled are the Corolese with the war-clubs, the spear, and the battle axe. And muskets too, we have, and well charged; nor has it been too long for you to remember that we know how to use them. Think well! Warriors, be ready." The savage multitude under their various leaders with Prince Aracoco at their head, only waited the signal for onset. The Aracolonians were also ready and numerous.

Mr. Carr ordered all the men he had landed to stand to their arms to defend the Aracolonians. Our sailors with reluctance and murmurs fixed their bayonets and cocked their muskets ready to fire and charge upon their friends. Whether they would have acted in strict obedience to the orders of their commander remained to be tested. I am inclined to believe they would have **mistaken** the Aracolonians for the Corolese.

At this juncture the Aracolonian perceiving that a bloody strife was about to ensue, and believing themselves the objects of attack from both parties, not understanding Mr. Carr's orders, declared their willingness to take any other presents instead of the powder and that the Captives were ready to be delivered up on payment of such other articles as were substituted and the delivery of Hoback, their King's brother. The proposition was immediately agreed to, and executed.

The two Americans were brought in and given up, and the Aracolonian prince was landed and turned over to his brother who embraced and rubbed noses with him very affectionately. Axes, hoes, adzes, chisels, drawing knives, &c. were given instead of powder. The Corolese, and Aracolonians made peace. And thereafter many difficulties and errors, everything was amicably arranged; and our expedition returned to the ship on the fourth day of its absence.

Charley who had remained on board during the absence of our boats, and whose double dealing with the Captives was not then known, made himself very popular among the sailors, and got two bags of clothes, and other presents from them, all very useful and valuable to him in his situation. But when the two unfortunate sailors got on board, Davis [sic], the more intelligent one of them told us that, though Charley had

been the means of protecting their lives at first, he had since played them false. That he had persuaded the Aracolonians not to receive the ransom of the Corolese for the liberty of the Americans but to keep both ransoms and men until they should be purchased by their own countrymen, that he had advised that they should be closely watched lest they should escape to Corol, that they had in consequence been so strictly watched, that the first they knew of our ship being here was on the arrival of our expedition at Aracolon, and of course had heard nothing of Capt Aulick's despatches to them, though it was all known to Charley.

Charley had not a word to say in his defence, and his presents were taken from him and given to the two men whom he had treated so unfairly for selfish purposes. Nothing but his gray hairs saved him from a flogging at the gangway, and he was turned out of the ship in great haste.

While Charley flourished on board one of his favorite sayings, was: "like a jackass' gallop, short and sweet." He had repeated it so often that it had become a proverb among the sailors. When he was hastening over the gangway in disgrace, Dunham, a boatswain's mate, said to him: "Ah, Charley, your popularity is like a jackass' gallop, short and sweet. Stay clear of Kings and Ministers if you want to avoid the shoals of disgrace." Poor Charley gave one desponding look, jumped into the nearest canoe, and cleared out.

I made a visit to the Town of Corol in company with several other officers.

To avoid the coral reefs we were obliged to pull round several small bluff islands covered with the greenest verdure from their summits to the water's limits. A great number of canoes were on the coral reefs gathering shells. The ready market for them on board our ship made them very diligent in their search for them. King George had sent one of his men with us for a guide who took it upon himself to call every canoe to us in the name of his sovereign to supply us with shells. From these we got some handsome shells for which we gave them tobacco and knives, which they esteem precious considerations.

On the coral reef we saw a good deal [of] Biche le mar, a muscular substance, used by the Chinese for soup. The pieces laid strewn about the reef weighing from one to three pounds. We gathered a few pieces for examination, and the blood oozed from its pores and stained our hands instantly. When split open with a knife it was white inside and contained one gut through the centre. The blood seemed confined to the skin which is black, rough, and porous. It is an article of considerable commerce in China and esteemed a great luxury. Some American vessels gather it for that market.

The birds' nests built of the Biche le mar, by a species of swallow is more prized by the Chinese for soup than the Biche le mar itself; being better cured [when] stuck on the rocks for nests, than by any human inventions.¹ To cure the Biche le mar it must be split and cleaned of its gut, and dried in the sun two or three months.

1 Ed. note: The glue holding such swallows' nests comes from the bird's saliva, not from sea cucumbers.

Stopping so frequently to barter for shells with the canoes, we were three hours getting to Corol.

We landed at the extremity of a stone pier which extends a quarter of a mile into the sea and is 20 feet wide. Such a work of civilization no one was prepared to see in a savage land. Along the beach is a quay of equal length to the pier, forming together a moat half a mile in extent, to make the landing good for boats and large canoes. This work would do credit to a commercial Town. Any of the seaboard cities of Chili and Peru would be improved by such a wharf, except Callao.¹

At the head of the moat is a large canoe house in which were 8 canoes made for 30 warriors each. Their small canoes carry but 10 men each. Their fishing canoes carry from 2 to 6 men with very doubtful security.

All canoes are painted red, and those for war purposes have a white streak in waves the whole length and ornamented with white bulla [sic] shells. On the platform that projects on one side to balance the canoe, they carry their war implements and provisions.

The canoes carry one mat sail of an equilateral triangular form, and are fast sailers. Though our boats were fine, they could sail or pull round us.

Close to the water near the boat house, is a long one-story dwelling with a plank floor. Though all dwelling houses here have good floors, it is an exception to Polyneesian customs. There were several good-looking dark mulatto girls in the house, all in full court dress—a thick bunch of dry grass round their loins reaching nearly to their knees. The grass is split fine and generally dyed red. Their ornaments, for all women must have ornaments, are tortoise shell earrings and half a dozen armlets, or bracelets of the same [material] on the left arm between the elbow and wrist. The shell is put on when they are children and cut larger on the inside as the arm grows. The men wear a large fish bone in the same manner, which is rather an uncouth ornament. Some men also wear earrings similar to those of the women but much larger. These are the Corolese dandies. All countries have those feminine asses, whom the women themselves, who are aped, ridicule.

We went up the first hill where are two large houses belonging to the King. On one of them, there is a great deal of carving and painting.

On one corner is painted the figure of a man with a streak, or flame, running up the sloping roof nearly to the combing where it terminates in the figure of a man crowned. At the opposite corner on the same end of the house is another figure of a man with a similar streak extending to the same height terminating in the figure of a devil. Presiding over these two, is the third figure representing God.

The meaning of this “fresco painting”, if it may be dignified by that name, being on the wall, is: that men start alike in the world. The good man rises and is crowned with glory—the bad man rises to the same height but goes to the devil. And God presides over all. So much for savages with their natural religion. Really some civilized nations with their revealed religion might learn wisdom from them, instead of sending bigoted

1 Ed. note: Callao already had extensive wharves and breakwaters.

missionaries to teach them. But no missionaries have been here yet, where the arts and sciences should be taught.

There is a good deal of carving on all the houses; some of it is very obscene.

The women are grouped about on the floors and have scarcely any employment than making their scanty toilette. But the men are well employed in cultivating taro and potatoes, fishing and gathering cocoanuts, and feeding their pigs and fowls. The women, however, have but few other privileges than idleness. Instead of having several husbands, as the Marquesas women, they [are] obliged to content themselves with only a part of one. Though no man is allowed to have more than one wife, he can have as many concubines as he can support, who never fare worse than the wives.

The finest houses in the town are those in which the husband keep their mistresses. Eight, or ten husbands club together and build a long two-story house with good floors for dancing, and much carving and painting about them. In these houses the "clubs" keep their mistresses, and like similar animals in civilized countries they have many more comforts and indulgences than the wives.

These club harems are called **pies**, or **camarines**;¹ and over their doors are obscene carving, of female figures, too indelicate to be described, to distinguish them from other houses.

Besides the **camarines** these are many other good houses with windows and venetian blinds and two stories high. This is a touch above all the parts of Polynesia that we had seen.

The streets and roads are well paved. In places the roads have been leveled by much labor.

The island on which this Capital Town is situated is only two or three miles in extent. It is crossed in several directions from shore to shore by well paved roads in the Roman Apian style. Though they have no wagons or horses, still the rolling ground and heavy rains make pavements necessary.

These people have very good features. No beauty, and no characteristic deformity. Some women were rather handsome, though quite small. We observed one girl of moderate stature and somewhat inclined to embonpoint,² short arms, large at the shoulders, round, and gradually tapered to a very small wrist, with a small delicate hand, and her legs and feet were not less symmetrically formed, though the latter had never been protected by shoes, nor the former by petticoats. No doubt our own ladies have quite as good legs if they would show them to the same advantage. Those, however, generally displayed in the streets of New York by short dresses, are not so good. Nor do the Corolense require corsets for their waists nor cotton to fill their bosoms. But like the marble of the Venus de Medicis they are sufficient of themselves.

But were they ever so well shaped for beauty, they would not appear so to us, for every soul of them have their teeth stained black, which, according to our educated

1 Ed. note: Pye, or bai, was the local name; camarines means sheds, in Spanish.

2 Ed. note: French word meaning stoutness, or plumpiness.

ideas of taste destroys all agreeability in the face. Men and women—all practice this disgusting custom—truly disgusting to those who have been raised with prejudices against any than purely white teeth. This fashion of black teeth enables them to chew the betel nut with impunity, which probably was the original cause of staining them, as they all are as much addicted to chewing the betel nut as sailors are [to] tobacco.

The town of Corol is scattered over the small island bearing the same name. There are no more trees cut on the island than is necessary to open roads and build houses. The whole appearance of the place is a combination of savage and civilized life. Opposite the side where we landed, and on the same island, is another stone pier quite as extensive as the one from which we ascended to the town. There is another small but convenient moat at the watering place for the accommodation of ship's boats. Vessels in these seas could not find a more convenient place for watering ship; nor a place where provisions are more abundant. When this fact becomes more generally known to traders in these seas, this will be quite a resort for our vessels. And these conveniences and advantages are held out to induce vessels to stop and trade with them, the benefit of which the natives fully comprehend.

Jasper is their money. It is found here in small pebbles, and is used instead of coin. One large pebble is a fortune to any man. He can buy with it a house, taro patch, canoe, and 2 or 3 hogs—a good fortune that, where clothes are not worn, and the trees produce all that is necessary to their existence. But with vessels they barter live stock for muskets, powder and ball, axes, hoes, knives, adzes, tobacco, &c. &c.

Being much pleased with our ramble on the island of Corol we set out for the ship late in the afternoon by a different route to the one we went. We passed in narrow channels between numerous small and high bluff islands, covered with shrubbery to the water which lashed their rocky base.

While we lay at the Pelews we were well supplied with fresh provisions and the finest fish. A crowd of canoes were constantly around and with pigs, fowls, fish and shells. The beeves all belong to the King, and when we wanted one, he would send a guide to the woods with some of our best marksmen, where the cattle run wild and shooting them became one of our sports.

Our collection of shells has been very extensively increased and nearly everybody on board has been a successful collector here.

On the 20th of Dec., having taken a good supply of water and fresh provisions, we set sail for Canton with fair trades.

On the 28th, at midnight, we saw a lunar rainbow. The colours were rather indistinct, but the whole bow was perfectly plain for some time.

On the 29th, Wm. Williams fell overboard from the top gallant mast head, hit on his stomach and sunk instantly. A boat was lowered to pick him up but he never rose. We concluded that he must have been killed by the fall, or too stunned to come to before he drowned. We had completed our passage over the broad Pacific and were just entering the Bashee passage to the China Sea. But a sailor may navigate every ocean of the globe and then he drowns in a mill pond. Williams was from West Chester County,

N.Y. On the 30th we entered the China Sea in sight of Formosa with a leading wind. That island is high and picturesque; but we did not pass near enough to observe its state of cultivation.

We were three days crossing the China Sea in which soundings can be got in any part. Its whole surface seemed spotted with Chinese junks. At times we could count a hundred sail from our deck—all Chinese junks that trade to the islands round the China Sea, Japan, and the coast.

We passed our New Years Day sailing delightfully in the China Sea with a fine breeze and smooth water. On the 2nd, at daylight, we passed the tall white rock that is the natural beacon to this sea for all Canton bound ships. Early in the morning we took a pilot and reached the Bay, or Firth, of the Canton River in the evening. We stood on during the night, as long as the wind was strong enough to stem the tide. At midnight we anchored to wait for a better wind or a fair tide.

We made sail before daylight and proceeded up the Bay toward Lintin. At 8 o'clock in the morning we passed Macao on our left and had the island of Lintin and the foreign shipping in sight ahead.

The town of Macao has a respectable appearance at this distance. It is on one end of the island where all foreigners with families are obliged to reside. A wall crosses a narrow part of the island to separate the foreigners from the natives. Beyond that wall no foreigner goes; so that his range is very circumscribed. But on their own part of the island, they have all the privileges they could ask, and are under the Portuguese government.

Our pilot kept his boat in tow which had his family on board, and they were as punctual to the morning and evening prayers as the strictest Catholic family. At sunset a lamp was lit in the prow of the Junk, and a rude music was played on the gong and drum while the people bowed their heads to the deck, and worshipped Joss, their name for the Great Architect and Ruler of the Universe. At sunrise the ceremony was repeated.

...

The route of the Cruise

...

| 1835 Nov. | Miles Sailed | Lat. North | Long. East | Therm. water | Course of the wind | The current |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| 13 | 223 | 11°12 | 163°11 | 81 [°F] | Off Carolines | 23 NW |
| 14 | 127 | 12°01 | 161°19 | 80 | NE | 20 West |
| 15 | 204 | 13°39 | 158°07 | 83 | " | 16 " |
| 16 | 190 | 13°50 | 154°40 | 83 | " | 14 " |
| 17 | 206 | 14°09 | 150°49 | 84 | " | 14 " |
| 18 | 163 | 14°04 | 147°47 | 82 | " | 10 " |
| 19 | 144 | 13°33 | 145°02 | 84 | " | None |

| 1835 Nov. | Miles Sailed | Lat. North | Long. East | Therm. water | Course of the wind | The current |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| 20 | 44 | 13°26 | 145°08 | 84 | off Guam | 25 W by S |
| 21 | 150 | 12°39 | 142°56 | 84 | [SW] | 10 SW |
| 22 | 162 | 11°35 | 140°10 | 86 | " | 18 West |
| 23 | 176 | 9°44 | 137°30 | 83 | " | 22 " |
| 24 | 80 | 8°28 | 136°44 | 83 | " | 21 " |
| 25 | 75 | 7°39 | 136°30 | 83 | " | 20 NW |
| 26 | 102 | 7°15 | 135°45 | 83 | NE | 24 SSW |
| 27 | 80 | 7°02 | 135°20 | 83 | Off the Pelews | |
| 28 | 70 | 6°43 | 135°24 | 83 | do. | 31 WSW |
| 29 | 80 | Beating up to the Anchorage. | | | | |
| 30 | | Anchored in the outer harbor | | | | |
| Dec | | between the inner & outer reefs. | | | | |
| 3 | 10 | Sailed | | 84 | NE | |
| 4 | 129 | 5°41 | 132°45 | 84 | " | 22 W by S |
| 5 | 82 | 4°24 | 132°35 | 85 | Variable | 20 SSE |
| 6 | 60 | 4°55 | 132°53 | 86 | " | 42 E by N |
| 7 | 87 | 4°33 | 132°25 | 86 | NW | 30 S60°E |
| 8 | 58 | 4°03 | 132°09 | 84 | NNE | 52 SE |
| 9 | 103 | 3°17 | 131°28 | 85 | " | 38 ESE |
| 10 | 67 | Off Lord North's Island | | | | 15 S30°E |
| 11 | 180 | 4°11 | 131°21 | 85 | NE | 11 S15°E |
| 12 | 121 | 3°52 | 132°54 | 83 | " | 38 S61°E |
| 13 | 93 | 3°50 | 134°04 | 84 | " | 41 S68°E |
| 14 | 90 | 4°53 | 134°57 | 83 | " | 35 S80°E |
| 15 | 128 | 6°24 | 135°25 | 84 | " | 14 S73°E |
| 16 | 103 | Arrived again at the Pelews | | | | 20 East |
| | | | | | [Current] | [Wind] |
| 21 | | Sailed from the Pelews | | | | NE trades |
| 22 | 160 | 7°15 | 134°48 | 83 | 24 S76°W | NE fresh and |
| 23 | 194 | 9°01 | 134°31 | 83 | 15 " | " damp |
| 24 | 191 | 12°11 | 133°37 | 83 | 14 N78°W | " |
| 25 | 172 | 14°50 | 132°26 | 82 | 6 West | " |
| 26 | 112 | 16°20 | 131°13 | 83 | 8 S60°E | " |
| 27 | 132 | 17°43 | 129°10 | 80 | 16 N68°E | " |
| 28 | 178 | 19°36 | 126°42 | 75 | 12 S55°W | " pleasant |
| 29 | 207 | 21°11 | 123°14 | 75 | 12 N72°W | " " |
| 30 | 195 | 21°48 | 119°49 | 75 | 16 North | " " |
| 31 | 198 | 22°19 | 116°48 | 75 | 31 East | " " |
| 1836 | | | | | | |
| Jan 1 | 143 | 22°09 | 114°30 | 67 | 9 " | " " |
| 2 | 139 | Anchored at 17:28 Lintin [China] | | | | |

Document 1835Q

The Franklin of Sag Harbor, Captain C. C. Griffin

Sources: Ms. log, and a typed excerpt, in the Oysterpond Historical Society, Orient, Long Island, NY; PMB 688.

Note: The ship left Sag Harbor on 8 August 1833 and returned on 19 May 1836.

Extract from the log kept by E. P. Brown, Mate

...

April 8 [1835]

Sighted Pleasant [Nauru] Island. Steered in for it. A great number of canoes coming off though we were fifteen or twenty miles from the land. Our ship was full of natives, likewise about twelve white people, six of which we took off with us. They intimated that they were going to take the ship and that their lives had been threatened by some of the whites. We got clear of them at last by telling them that we should go on shore the next day after water but the night hid us from their view and the breeze conveyed us from their reach.

...

April 22

This morning stood in for Strong's [Kosrae] Island. Lowered away two boats and carried five of the men on shore with two that we shipped at Woahoo. They wished to go on shore and the old man let them go. We shipped one as armorer. While the boats were gone the Captain and the mate had a row, the latter was turned off duty. The boats soon returned and we squared yards and struck her off.

May 5

Sighted the Isle of Guam. An English captain came on board and piloted us in. His ship was lying in the harbore. Dropped anchor and went on shore for forty-eight hours liberty.

May 9

This morning our watch returned on board and have had tolerable fair times. We have now got all the wood we want but must go around to another place for water.

May 10

At sunrise weighed anchor and went around to Umatac Bay where we turned too and got off one hundred barrels of water. Hove up anchor, the captain came on board and we took our departure for Japan, the third year.

June 2

We dined on fresh swine today. Have not seen the spout of a sperm fish since we left Guam. Dull times and poor pay and little encouragement.

...

Document 1835R

First visit of the cutter *Lambton* at Pohnpei

Sources: Colonist, Sydney, 23 June 1836; Polynesian, Honolulu, July 11th, 18th and 28th, 1840; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ponape 3.

Note: See also the story about the plagiarism of Michelena y Rojas by Riesenberg (Doc. 1841D).

The narrative of Dr. Campbell, surgeon of the *Lambton*

Island of Ascension.

The following account of the island of Ascension [Pohnpei] was drawn up by Mr. Campbell, who visited it in the Cutter *Lambton*, from Sydney, and is the result of his observations on the island and its inhabitants taken from the *Colonist* newspaper.

The Island of Ascension, or Bonnybay, one of the group of Caroline Islands in the Northern Pacific, situate between the latitudes of 6°50' and 7°12' north latitude, and 158°45' and 158°47' east of Greenwich, has been occasionally visited during the last nine years by the masters of ships engaged in the whale fishery, for the purpose of refreshment, who have been uniformly well treated by the natives. The island possesses several good harbors—the principal of which is that situate on the southeast side, of easy access, called by the natives *Metaleline*, which is the name of the tribe inhabiting that district. It is commodious and safe, and capable of containing a considerable fleet, being protected from the sea by a chain of reefs and small islands, one of which, named *Nha*, is the residence of *Whagii* [i.e. *Wasahi*], who, though only second in authority in this tribe, is the most powerful and (though not in appearance) the most warlike chief in the whole island; his name is both dreaded and respected, while his modest and unassuming character recommends itself to the particular attention of the stranger.

The scenery around this locality is romantic and beautiful. At the head of the harbour is a remarkable rock, named *Tacaieau* [Takaiu] about two hundred feet high—a twin shaped cone—whose venerable summit overtops the surrounding land,¹ and frowns in majestic grandeur over the waters of the *Metaleline*, and which from its commanding situation, might easily be rendered a place of great strength, possessing as it

1 Ed. note: Takaiu, or Sugarloaf, peak reaches to 432 feet, or 134 meters, according to Bryan's Place Names.

does so many natural advantages as to render it even impregnable. Skirting its base and directly behind it is the entrance of a beautiful river of considerable magnitude, though only navigable about one mile;¹ presenting at every turn of its winding course scenes of so sublime and interesting a character as altogether to surpass description.

Nature appears in its wildest grandeur; here and there are native settlements, surrounded by groves of the cocoa-nut, bread-fruit and plantain trees; the children ever and anon darting through the forest, the females in native bashfulness, timidly skulking behind the trees, or squatting on the leafy bank; the tastefully but fancifully built canoes gliding along under the shade of the spreading branches of lofty trees of ever varying foliage, on the margin of the peaceful water, while the sound of the distant cascade falls in harmony on the ear.

The other harbour, situate on the southwest side of the island, named Kittie, from the tribe of Rhonakittie, is of more difficult access, but safe enough, and protected from the sea in the same way as the first. A small island at the entrance² is sometimes made the residence of a chief, of equal rank with the one already noticed. It is rather unpleasant to land here, on the main land, at low water, there being about two miles of reef to walk over, but when it is high water, the river at this place can be entered a considerable distance, and forms a beautiful sheet of fresh water; landing on the right bank of which, and ascending the hill side, the path leads along, but high above, the bed of the river, which is almost hid from the view. The scenery from this place is very imposing; on the left an extensive valley stretched along for several miles to the neighboring settlement of Rhonakittie; in front, the course of the river may be traced, winding through the country, till lost in the distant mountains, which present one interminable forest of evergreen. On the right a considerable tract of arable land, on which, however, there is a good deal of timber, a village, and the residence of a chief, the third in authority in this tribe, named Naniken Labandelieur.³

There are two or three other harbours of minor importance on the northern side of the island, around which are scattered the different settlements of the tribes of Whannica Pietack, and Whannica Poite, these two tribes generally join in war against the two former.⁴ The natives pay little attention to cultivation, though the soil is good, seldom clearing any part of the land for that purpose. They plant their yams, etc. wherever they can find space enough with the least trouble. The productions of the island are therefore few, consisting of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, plantains, sugar cane, yams, and sweet potatoes; hogs and fowls are found in the forest, and numerous birds, particularly pi-

1 Ed. note: The Latwa, or Retau, River.

2 Ed. note: Possibly Nalap, or Narlap, Island.

3 Ed. note: Now written Nahnken Lependeleur.

4 Ed. note: The other three tribes are Uh, Nett, and Sokehs, the latter two being a modern division. According to Riesenbergh (see Doc. 1841D), Whannica was later written Wanega, and corresponds to the Uh tribe; *peitak* (or Peidak) and *paidi* (or Paiti) meaning "upwind" (or windward) and "downwind" (or leeward) respectively.

geons; the shores and rivers abounding with a variety of excellent fish, which are easily taken.

The wood of which their canoes are built is solid, and well adapted for that purpose, it may be found from six to nine feet in circumference. There is a great variety in the species of indigenous timber. The inhabitants are an interesting and friendly people, of the middle stature, to which, however, there are exceptions. They are copper coloured; their females, from being less exposed to a burning sun are very light; their features, animated and expressive, often resemble those of Europeans.

The dress of the males consists of a petticoat, or as they call it, a *caul*,¹ prepared from the young leaf of the cocoa-nut tree, before it is expanded. It is sometimes dyed red, but more generally it is of the natural straw colour, with a handsome band of surprisingly fine texture woven in a loom. This is worn round the middle, the *caul* reaching to the middle of the thigh. When exposed to the sun, one of these is put round the shoulders, and a wreath of flowers round the head, their long black hair hanging in graceful ringlets round the neck; sparkling jet black eyes, and teeth of ivory, complete a figure, both dignified and pleasing. The dress of the females is less elegant, consisting of a piece of prepared bark, about a yard and a half long, and half a yard broad, which is wrapped close round the body, having the appearance of coarse flannel.

Their language, when spoken by themselves, is harmonious, but as many words end in consonants, when spoken by Europeans it is harsh and unpleasant. They are honourable in their attachments, fearless and courageous in war, before going to which they consult their priest, who having performed some incantations, and invoked the favour of the Honney, (the name of the principal god,)² tells them whether they are likely to be successful. They fight with savage ferocity, and seldom yield until cut to pieces. In their last war a man was shot, and pierced with spears, till his bowels protruded through; not being able to stand, he sat down, using every mode of defiance, and lashed the water into foam all around him to prevent his enemy being a witness of his end. Even when undergoing the most harsh operations, which are often necessary to extract the poisoned spears, they hold it dishonourable to utter a groan. He that has the greatest number of scars being entitled to most honour, and the favour of the fair—he that is a coward in the field not only being despised but discarded. Their weapons are the spear and sling. The former is not very neat; on the point is fastened the bone of the bill-fish, which is always poisoned. They are not, however, so expert in the use of the spear as the natives of New South Wales. With the sling they throw round stones larger than an apple with great precision.

Naturally active, they are not devoid of intelligence, and are capable of high improvement, moral and intellectual.

1 Ed. note: Now written skahdo.

2 Ed. note: Not so; the principal god was Nanhsapwe. Honney is just one way of writing the word for Spirit: Hani, Ani, now written Ngehn (same word origin as the Aniti of the Filipinos and Chamorros).

Although they recognise a creating and superintending power, they say that their God cannot be the same as the God of the white man, (for whose attainments they have the highest respect,) who so far surpasses them in knowledge; whose understanding is so superior to theirs, and who can do so many wonderful things. Then they will sometimes add, when they get serious on the subject, that their fathers have told them that good men will come to their island at some future period to teach and instruct them, adding, but I may not live to see it. They have been told of the improvement of the natives of the Sandwich and other islands, at which they are much surprised. One solitary individual of their number, who had been there, and is now returned, having been farther than any of them from his native shore, thinks himself entitled to be called a white man, or *roach*. "Me no black man." "Me go Hawaii." They likewise say, (though they have no idea of the distance of England) how great that king must be, where all the people are chiefs—the white man never work; (the ships that visit their island from time to time having generally black men to do everything in the shape of drudgery work.) They appear happy, and like the natives of most islands in the Pacific, who having no cares for the present, are alike indifferent as to the future. Nature, all bountiful Nature, supplying every want with little exertion to themselves; while at the same time, a certain superstitious dread of the anger of supposed deities imparts to their character a degree of listlessness. Some will not eat fowls, others will not eat pigeons, because they suppose the spirit of some departed relative may have assumed that shape.

The island contains a population of from five to six thousand inhabitants, comprising four tribes, viz. Metaleline, Whannica Pietack, Whannica Poite and Kittie—the two first and last have each a superior chief, named Ishiepow or Nana Morigii,¹ who is sometimes called king, possessing absolute power; those who follow in rank and succeed him are Whagii, and Naniken,² with several inferior chiefs who never rise higher in rank; the chief-ship is not hereditary, nor do the sons of the highest possess any authority at the demise of the father, unless it should happen that their mother was a chief woman, (as they are called) but their laws do not permit one chief to marry the daughter of another—hence, a chief-ship descends through the female line, and one chief succeeds another in rank. Ishiepow, Whagii, Naniken, etc., being titles of rank, and not the names of the individuals—their common names never being mentined so soon as they succeed to the office of chieftainship. So sacred are their common names held, or so deeply are they buried in oblivion, that no native will tell what has been the former name of his chief. The inferior chiefs succeed each other in their respective rank but can never become Naniken, etc. **All canoes passing the residence of a chief, must lower their sail, and no one can pass a chief in his canoe without doing the same, or stop paddling till permitted to pass on: they are jealous of honour—and always ready to resent any indignity offered.**

1 Ed. note: Now written Isohpahu and Nahnmwarki respectively.

2 Ed. note: Now written Wasahi and Nahnken respectively.

To each village a large house is attached, in the upper part of which their war canoes are kept. These are from forty to fifty feet long, and about two feet deep, formed from the hollow trunk of a tree, exhibiting their most fanciful workmanship, and variously adorned according to the taste of the party for whose use it is constructed. All the various fastenings of the outrigger, etc., being made with partly colored twine, disposed in the most intricate manner—neat and uniform, to which some devote their whole attention. In the lower part of this house the food for all the inhabitants of the village is cooked in common; it is then brought to the residence of the chief, who, having pronounced a blessing of a few words over it—takes sufficient for the demands of his own family, and distributes what remains to the different families of the settlement; but should the chief be absent at the time it is brought, no one, not even the members of his own family, dare touch any part thereof till his return. They devote certain seasons to particular purposes, such as building canoes, houses, etc., when the former are finished, they are brought either to the first or second chief, who gives them to those who are in want of them, receiving some present in return. From their construction, and the immense size of the sail they carry, these canoes sail amazingly fast, but require great care in the management, being easily upset; the natives, however, are very expert in managing them, and keep the outrigger always to windward, shifting the sail from end to end when they have occasion to beat to windward. Notwithstanding their vessels cost them so much labour and time in constructing them, a handsome canoe and sail may be purchased for a few heads of tobacco. When engaged in building their houses, the chiefs often assist in person. These are neat and comfortable; the walls being constructed entirely of small bamboo, and are raised two or three feet from the ground on a solid platform of stone, built without cement; the interior might answer the description of a bird cage; the various beams and uprights being fastened, (like the canoes,) with partly coloured twine made from the bark of the cocoa-nut. The floor, composed of bamboo, is as soft as a carpet; though they do not cook anything in their houses, a square place is left in the centre of the floor, where they generally have a fire, round which may often be seen the old and infirm, and torpid, helpless beings, without fingers and toes. They sleep on mats, which are called *loatch*,¹ and have a blanket made of bark interwoven with a soft fibrous filament, the same as that of the women; they are fond of an English blanket, and would sacrifice everything to possess one that is dyed red.

The diseases common to the island are chiefly cutaneous *lepra* [i.e. leprosy], in the various forms of scaly and tubercular, which prevail to a great extent, and women often expire in giving birth to their progeny. Europeans are afflicted with hepatitis, and seem to be obnoxious to *lepra vulgaris*. Syphilis is an exotic.

The natives do not allow hair to grow on any part of the body but the head, of which they are very proud, allowing it to grow long, and bestowing much care on its preservation. It is generally black, but they often curl it; and it is never cut till the death of some relative, when it is the only mark of mourning they assume, and they often regret

1 Ed. note: Now written lohs.

the loss of the hair more than that of the individual. Both sexes are tattooed from about three inches above the pubes to the ankle in front, and from a little under the haunch behind, as well as on the back of the hand and forearm. This operation is always performed by females.

So far as I could learn, they have no religious ceremonies; they however say when it thunders, that Nan Jabba (the Atua of other islands) is angry, on which occasions they are wont to prepare *cava* for him. The only ceremony of marriage, is that the house being built and the parties having washed themselves, anoint their persons all over with scented cocoa-nut oil, then besmear themselves with turmeric when they retire to their new habitation. Although plurality of wives is allowed, conjugal fidelity is respected, and the male party infringing on the rights is punished by the spear of the husband. One chief at the time of my visit had nine wives, and another in prospect but as the damsel would not allow herself to be tattooed, he would not take her home till she had submitted to this indispensable requisite; the last rib he had taken was said to be the 'Venus' of the Island, of her he was so jealous that he kept her in a cage, permitting no one on pain of being speared through, to see the Beauty in the Trap. It is not considered of any consequence how many liaisons the fair elect may have had before marriage, and should these have been with a white man, they are considered the best recommendation to a husband.

Tortoise shell is the only article of commerce, besides refreshments such as fowls, hogs, and vegetables to be had at this island. Of the first, numbers are sometimes taken, and are now caught in nets for that purpose, but it is only within the last two years, that this has formed an article of trade. During that period there has always been some vessel lying in either of the harbours collecting, as it has been caught by the natives, whose friendly disposition and indolent life has influenced many foreigners either to leave or run away from their ships and settle among them. A short time ago there were forty of these foreigners. Several of these, tired of idleness, had joined vessels trading among the islands. At the time of my visit there were twenty-five on the island. These live with the different chiefs, who generally bestow their daughters on the white friends, who are expected to take part in their wars; the conduct of many of these Europeans is, however, anything but praiseworthy, and will doubtless at some time lead to the destruction of the whole.

[The 'lost' boat of the Corsair]

About twelve months ago [i.e. June 1835], the surgeon and several seamen of the London South-Sea-man **Corsair**, which was lost among the islands to the eastward, after suffering great privations and being reduced to the last extremity, arrived at this island in a whale boat on the northern side. Having refused to give up the whale boat to the chief on whose territory they had landed, a proposition was made among the different chiefs, to kill all the white men then living on the island. Inhuman as this resolution was, it was immediately agreed to by all but the Whagii of Metaleline, whose generous feelings revolting at a deed so sanguinary, exerted himself in the cause of suf-

fering humanity, and having gained over his friend Rhonakittie, threatened to make war on the opposite parties if violence were done to any of the Englishmen under their protection. This had the desired effect, and the affair was accommodated, the boat with all its effects being delivered up to them; it was then transported to a house and placed among their war canoes, where it now remains a trophy of their barbarity. Several of the men exhausted by the sufferings they had undergone, died soon after landing. The surgeon, a Mr. Smith, had left the island, and one man was still content to live among them.

[Nanmadol ruins]

On the southern side of the island, and within one mile of the harbour of Metaleline, are extensive ruins, boasting perhaps an antiquity as great as that of the Pyramids of Egypt; being, beyond a doubt, the work of a race of men far surpassing the present generation, over whose memory many ages have rolled, and whose history oblivion has shaded forever, whose greatness and whose power can only now be traced from the scattered remains of the structures they have reared, which now wave with evergreens over the ashes of their departed glory, leaving to posterity the pleasures of speculation and conjecture.

The site of the buildings alluded to and to the eastward of it, is a flat reef some miles in extent, covered with sand grass and near the main with young mangroves, over which at high water canoes can pass from the main to several small islands situate on the outer edge of the reef. These, like the rest of the islands, are covered with trees; two are inhabited,¹ one is the residence of the priest, the other, that of the Whagii; several small islands lie between the former and the main; some, more or less sixty yards in diameter, are surrounded with a breast-work or parapet of hewn stone. At ebb tide much of this is dry and may be traversed on foot.

The principal building is a triple quadrangular structure; that is, there are three buildings [i.e. walls] one inside the other, occupying an area of about one hundred yards square, surrounded by a parapet from four to five feet high and fifteen broad—the extreme elevation of the walls may therefore be from thirty to thirty five feet. The parapet is so overgrown with trees, shrubs and vines, as to render it impassable, and on two sides or ends of the building by mangroves; there is, however, water enough for a canoe to pass, at all times quite round it. The stone of which these buildings are constructed is granite, which is the primitive rock of the island, they are all hewn or blocked off square—those composing the wall of the outer building are imperfectly octangular, or more properly hewn square with the corners bevelled off—many being twenty and twenty-five feet long. Some even longer, and twenty inches in diameter.²

1 Ed. note: Na and Temwen Islands.

2 Ed. note: Such stones are the natural product of local, extinct, volcanoes, being the 'crystals' formed when the molten rock cooled.

It would be difficult to tell or even conjecture how the force required to transport, and raise these stones to their present situation, was acquired by the islanders. Round the inside of the wall is another parapet seven feet high, and about ten in breadth, equally impassable as that on the outside. The walls are thirty feet thick at the base, and twenty above the parapet. There is only one entrance to the building, which is on the side opposite to that fronting the sea. This entrance or gateway is about thirty feet wide. It would be impossible to say whether the buildings have ever been roofed—as there are no means by which this can be ascertained, nor any holes in the upper part of the walls, where beams or rafters may be supposed to have been placed; no mortar or cement has been used in these buildings. Underground, in the interior of the inner building, are many vaults filled with human bones; but whether this has been a place of ancient sepulture, or of more modern date, is a matter of conjecture, as the examination of these remains of mortality did not throw any light on this obscure point.

The present race can give no account of these structures—nor does it appear that there are any conditions extant concerning them. The buildings, however, are held sacred; and are supposed to be the residence of a deity whose precincts few of the natives have courage to enter. It is related that some one of the vaults is full of tortoise shell, which is said to have been offered to the deity of the place; but no presents, however costly or much valued by these singular people, would induce them to discover the place of its concealment; giving as their reason, that should any one tell where it was, not only would that individual, but all the inhabitants of the island be destroyed.

Opposite the building on the side fronting the sea, is a small harbour, and on the point of the reef, on the left hand, or to the eastward, and about a quarter of a mile from the land, a strong abutment or break-water is built; inside of which a vessel of considerable size might anchor; on the right hand, and not so far out, is a point of land sweeping in a circular form to the left, many hundred yards in extent, round which a strong abutment is likewise built; that part of which is in front of the building is a wall of amazing strength, fifteen feet high, but in a ruinous state; many of the stones of which it is composed are not less than four tons weight; in the centre of this wall is an original opening, inside of which is another harbour of less extent—then another wall as strong as the former, the opening or gateway of which is more to the left than the above—hence, should the wind blow directly into the harbour, the sea could not possibly injure any part of the inner structures; this last wall is a considerable distance from the parapet encircling the principal building—to the westward of which are many ruins of breast-works, and various other buildings, and one enclosing a small pond or well, many fathoms deep, the water of which is, however, salt, but above the level of the sea—the whole forming the labour of an age itself, in contemplating which, the mind is lifted with astonishment and wrapped in conjecture.

Documents 1836A

The scientific voyage of the French ship **Bonite**, Captain Vaillant

Introduction.

Auguste-Nicolas Vaillant, destined to become Minister of the Navy in 1851, was captain of the 800-ton corvette **La Bonite** when the expedition left Toulon in February 1836 and was destined to achieve a speedy circumnavigation, via Cape Horn, the west coast of South America and Hawaii, where he, like his predecessors, tried to be of assistance to French Catholic missionaries there who were threatened with expulsion as a result of pressures being applied by American Protestant missionaries.

After a speedy crossing from Hawaii to the Philippines, Vaillant sailed to Macao, Cochinchina, Singapore, Pondicherry (a French colony on the east coast of India), before touching at Bourbon Island, arriving at Brest in November 1837.

A1. The published narrative of Captain Vaillant

Source: Auguste-Nicolas Vaillant. Voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1836 et 1837 sur la corvette La Bonite. (17 volumes and 3 atlases, Paris, 1840-1866).

Note: The narrative of the voyage, in 3 volumes, was edited by A. de la Salle and published between 1845 and 1852.

...

[Vol. 3, page 10]

The waves came rolling from the NNE and their force, combined with the current, made the corvette go fast. The plan was to cross the Mariana Islands between Agrigan and Asuncion.

Mr. Vaillant wished, along the way, to assure himself of the position of the Maug rocks which, on the detailed map of the Marianas published in the atlas of the voyage of the **Uranie**, are placed 15 miles SSW of Asuncion, whereas La Pérouse, D'Urville and Horsburgh place them NNW of that island.

Our commander was also very eager to ascertain the true positions of Asuncion and Agrigan, specially that of Agrigan whose position, as given by the chart of the **Uranie**, is criticized by various navigators who use this route to go to China by way of northern Luzon.

Agrigan and Asuncion.

On 16 November [1836] in the evening, the **Bonite**, according to our chronometers, was supposed to be 30 miles ENE of Agrigan. At midnight, estimating his position at only 17 miles from this island, Mr. Vaillant hove to to await daybreak. At daybreak, indeed, there was Agrigan, whose very high summits were lost among the clouds. The wind then blew from the east as a strong breeze. Mr. Vaillant had the ship head NNW in order to sight Asuncion. It appeared clearly at about 6 a.m. This island looks like a sugarloag, very high, with a wide base. It then bore N42°W, relative to the corvette, whereas Agrigan bore S11°W. We continued heading toward Asuncion with a constant breeze from ENE and the most beautiful weather possible. In fact, the horizon, throughout the whole eastern half, from north to south, was remarkable clear, something that would facilitate our observations.

The Maugs not where the chart of the Uranie placed them.

At 8:40 a.m., the **Bonite** was within 21 miles of Asuncion; we hove to in order to mark our first astronomical position. The students had climbed all three masts of the ship and were scanning the horizon from the highest yards. Mr. Fisquet,¹ known among all his comrades for having an excellent sight, was also positioned on the yard of the royal. However, it was in vain that their eyes scanned the whole portion of the horizon comprised between N and SW; they could not sight anything that looked like islands, islets or reefs.

It was becoming obvious that the Maugs did not exist in the position given to them by the chart published with the Voyage of the **Uranie**. We were indeed enjoying weather conditions that were much more favorable than those affecting the **Uranie**, when she sighted (according to the text of that Voyage), on 16 June 1819 in the evening, some land on the western horizon, which she supposed was the group of rocks named Maug.

The **Bonite** was closer to the place marked Maugs on the chart. Our observers were positioned higher than those aboard of the **Uranie**; they were favored with very clear weather and observing during the the most favorable part of the day.

Observations to determine the position of Agrigan.

Once this fact was established, there remained to get nearer Agrigan to determine its geographic position. This was done forthwith. At 3:30 p.m., all the observations in question having been completed, the corvette sailed for Manila and thus crossed the Mariana archipelago 25 days after our departure from Honolulu.

Mr. Vaillant intended to pass to the north of Luzon, between the Babuyan and Bashi Islands, and then to go down to Manila, by following the west coast of the island. He pointed his ship in that direction.

...

1 Ed. note: Lieutenant Fisquet was to accompany Capt. Rosamel to Pohnpei in 1840.

A2. Report of Captain Vaillant to the Minister of the Navy and Colonies, dated Philippines, 20 December 1836

Source: ANP BB 1006.

Original text in French.

Espédition de la Bonite,—2e Direction.—1er Bureau.—Mouvemens. N° 11.

A Bord de la Bonite (Iles Philippines) le 20 décembre 1836.

Monsieur l'Amiral,

J'ai l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence que la Bonite est arrivée sur cette rade le 7 de ce mois et je vais lui exposer les circonstances de la navigation de la corvette pendant les quarante cinq jours qu'elle a mis à se rendre des îles Sandwich à cette destination.

Le 22 octobre notre eau étant faite, nos travaux astronomiques étans terminés, ainsi que les différentes observations de magnétisme terrestre qui nous sont demandées par l'Académie, je donnai l'ordre de lever l'observatoire et de rapporter tous les instrumens à bord.

J'ai consacré la journée du 23 Octobre aux vérifications hydrographiques du plan du port d'Honoloulou (Atlas du voyage de l'Uranie) qui nous sont recommandés par le Dépôt des cartes et plans,¹ et le 24 de grand matin la Bonite a mis à la voile de cette capitale des Sandwich, après avoir fait flotter notre pavillon national dans cet archipel où jusqu'à l'arrivée de la corvette il était complètement [sic] inconnu.

Nous sommes partis d'Oahu pénétrés de gratitude du bon accueil que nous y avons reçu du Roi et du haut commerce de cette ville ainsi que pour les attentions et les prévenances dont nous avons été l'objet.

L'Equipage de la corvette au moyen des vivres frais et de bonne qualité qui lui ont été donnés et des rafraichissemens abondans et variés que j'ai pu lui procurer, y a puisé de nouvelles forces pour supporter les fatigues et les privations inséparables de notre si intéressante campagne.

En partant de Oahu j'ai fait gouverner de manière à aller rejoindre le parallèle de 18°50', mon intention étant de peu m'en écarter du N. au S. parce que j'avais appri aux Sandwich des capitaines qui font fréquemment les voyages de Chine, que par cette latitude, les vents soufflent plus généreusement du N.E. et que l'on n'y rencontre ni îles ni écueils. Cette considération était puissante pour moi parce qu'il ne me restait que le tems strictement nécessaire pour arriver à Manille à la fin de novembre...

...

[page 10]

Le 16 au soir, d'après les montres nous étions à 30 milles dans l'E.N.E. de Grigan. A minuit m'estimant à 17 milles dans le N. 15°E. de cette île, je fis mettre la corvette en

1 Elles sont portées à l'encre rouge mole calque du plan de ce port que je joins à ce rapport sous le N° 1.

panne. A la pointe du jour nous avons aperçu Grigan dont les sommités très élevées se perdaient dans les nuages. Il ventait alors de la partie de l'E. en forte brise. Je fit aussitôt gouverner au N.N.E. pour aller prendre connaissance de l'Assomption que nous aperçumes à 6 heures et demi du matin affectant la forme d'un pain de sucre très élevé à large base. Cette île nous restait alors au N.42°E. tandis que nous relevions Grigan au S.11°E. Nous continuâmes à courir sur l'Assomption avec une brise ronde de l'E.N.E. et par le plus beau tems du monde. L'horizon du N. au S. en passant par l'E. était sur-tout d'une pureté remarquable.

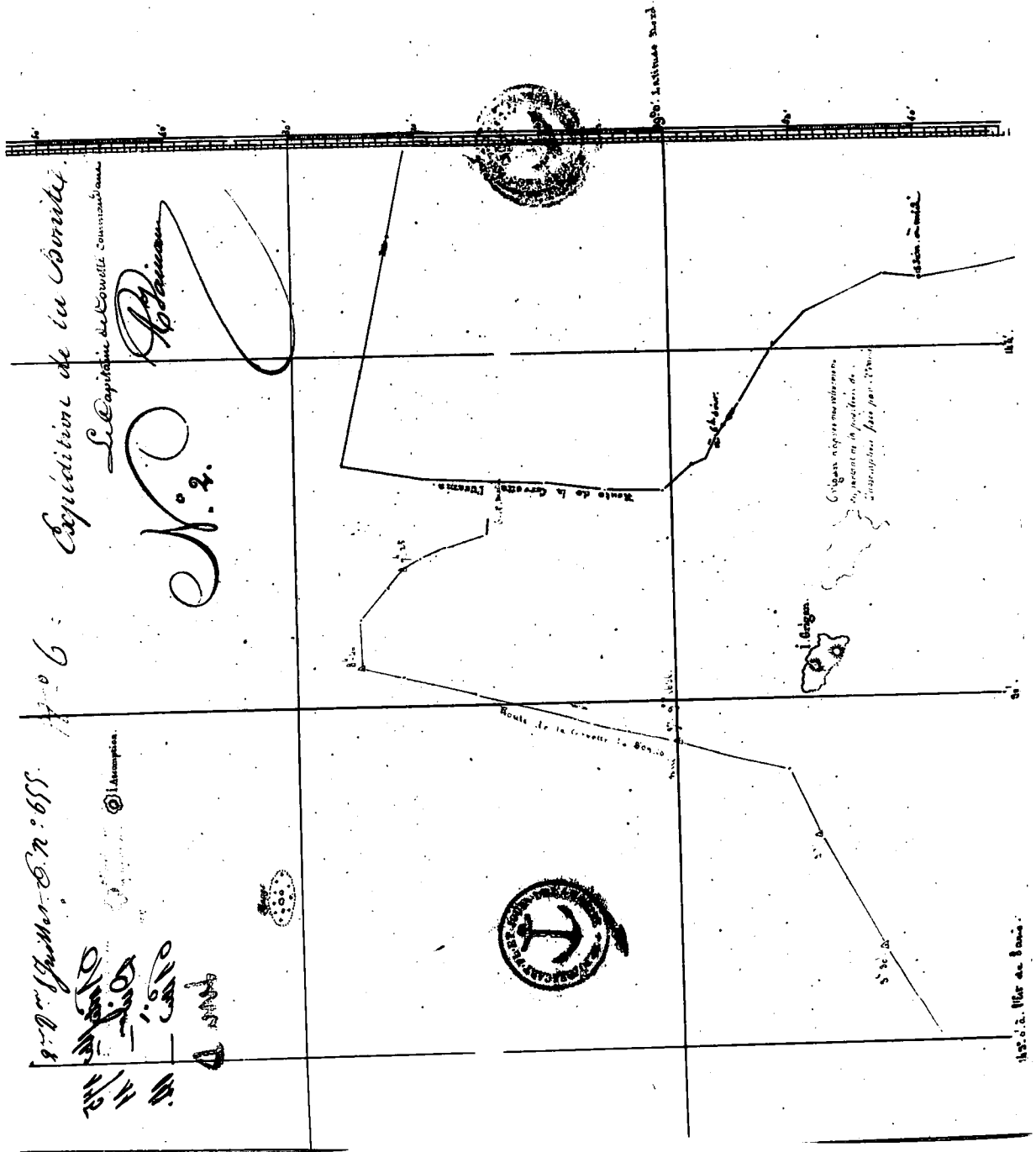
A 8 heures 50 minutes, je fit mettre en panne pour faire une première station astronomique. Nous étions alors à 21 milles de l'Assomption. J'avais reparti nos élèves entre les trois mâts de la corvette. Je les avais envoyés sur les vergues de cacatois. Un officier, Mr. Fisquet, dont j'avais été à même de reconnaître la bonté de la vue, était aussi sur le grand cacatois. J'ai fait alors explorer avec soin par ces messieurs, toute la partie de l'horizon comprise entre le N. et le S.O. en passant par l'O. qui se trouvait complètement exempte de brume et de nuages, et ils n'y ont aperçu aucune apparence d'îles, ilots ou récifs.

Si les Mangs existent dans la position qui leur est assignée sur la carte générale des Mariannes, (voyage de l'Uranie.) nous les eussions indubitablement vues; car nous nous trouvions dans des conditions beaucoup plus favorables que l'Uranie "lorsqu'elle aperçut le 16 Juin 1819 au soir une terre à l'horizon du côté de l'O. qu'elle supposa être le groupe des rochers nommés Mangs." puisque nous nous trouvions beaucoup plus près que cette corvette de la position qu'elle assigne à ces ilots, et que nos vigies étaient placées sur une mâture plus élevée que celle de l'Uranie. Nous dominions aussi l'horizon, très pur alors, au moment le plus beau de la journée.

Je joins à ce rapport, sous le N° 2, une copie de la partie de la carte générale (atlas du voyage de l'Uranie) sur laquelle se trouve indiquée la route de cette corvette telle qu'elle y est marquée lorsqu'elle se supposa être en vue des Mangs, ainsi que les différentes routes de la Bonite et ses stations astronomiques.

Ayant acquis la conviction que les Mangs n'existent point dans la position qui leur est assignée sur la carte du voyage de l'Uranie et ce sentiment étant partagé par tous les officiers et élèves de la Bonite, je fis gouverner au S. pour me rapprocher de Grigan afin d'en déterminer la position. A 3 heures, 30 minutes, les dernières observations astronomiques qui se rattachent au travail d'après lequel les positions géographiques de Grigan et de l'Assomption sont déterminées ayant été achevées, je fis remettre en route pour Manille me dirigeant de manière à passer dans le N. de Luçon entre les îles Babuyan et les Bashées. Ainsi le vingt cinquième jour après notre départ des îles Sandwich, nous avons franchi l'archipel des Mariannes.

Jusqu'au 20, nous avons eu d'assez beau tems, quoique parfois nous ayons reçu des grains de pluie et de vent très violent; mais comme la brise en variant du N.E. au N. était fraîche nous avançons rapidement vers la mer de Chine. Une très grosse houle de l'E.N.E. qui régnait constamment contribuait aussi à accélérer notre marche.



Northern Marianas with the Maug Islands wrongly placed. The solid line is the route taken by the Uranie in 1819; the faint line is that of the Bonite in 1836.

Le 20, le vent tomba en passant au N. puis au N.N.O. et le 21 au matin nous nous trouvions en calme. J'ai profitai pour avoir la température de la mer à 700 brasses et faire plonger l'appareil de Mr. Biot à 300 brasses. La température de la mer à cette profondeur a été trouvée de + 5°.2 lorsqu'à la surface elle était 26°.5.

...

Translation.

...

[The part about the Marianas is almost exactly the same as the published version (see above). However, one of the attachments, N° 6, is an interesting table, translated as follows:

List of the warships that have visited Honolulu (Sandwich Islands) between 1825 and 1836.

| Year | Names of ships | Type of ship | N° guns | Names of captains | Nationality |
|------|----------------|--------------|---------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1825 | Blonde | Frigate | 46 | Lord Byron | English |
| " | Enterprise | " | " | Kotzebue | Russian |
| 1826 | Enterprise | " | " | Kotzebue | Russian |
| " | Blossom | Corvette | 16 | Beechey | English |
| " | Dolphin | Schooner | 14 | John Percival | U.S.A. |
| " | Peacock | Corvette | 22 | Charles Calesly | U.S.A. |
| " | Krotki | " | 12 | Baron Wrangel | Russian |
| 1827 | Blossom | Corvette | 16 | Beechey | English |
| 1828 | Moller | " | 12 | Stanokovitch | Russian |
| " | Bayonnaise | Corvette | 20 | De Tromelin | French |
| 1829 | Vincennes | Corvette | 22 | Finch | U.S.A. |
| 1832 | Potomac | Frigate | 54 | Cmdore Downes | U.S.A. |
| 1834 | Challenger | Corvette | 28 | Seymour | English |
| 1836 | Peacock | Corvette | 22 | Cmdore Kennedy | U.S.A. |
| " | Enterprise | Schooner | 16 | Hollins | U.S.A. |
| " | America | Transport | 10 | Schantz | Russian |
| " | Bonite | Corvette | 24 | Vaillant | French |
| " | Acteon | Corvette | 26 | Lord Russell | English |

Note 1836C

Captain Lawson of the ship **Augustus** killed by Carolinians

Sources: Article in the Essex Register, Salem, 2 March 1837; similar reports in many other New England newspapers; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Caroline Islands 1.

Distressing intelligence

Letters received yesterday, from Manilla, by the owners of the ship **Augustus**, Lang, (late George W. Lamson [sic]) of this port, state that the ship arrived at Manilla Oct. 23rd [1836] from the Fegee Islands. On her passage from the Fegees the **Augustus** touched at the Caroline Islands, to trade with the natives, and remained 2 or 3 days. As Capt. Lamson, with a boat's crew were leaving the Island for the last time, (the ship being under weigh, ready for sea) they were attacked by a party of natives; one of them came up behind Capt. Lamson, and struck him with a club killing him instantly, and the others discharged a shower of arrows at the men in the boat, wounding four of them severely.

The schooner **Albion** (tender of the **Augustus** and commanded by Mr. Lakeman, her chief officer) was supposed to be totally lost, with her officers and crew, among the Fegee Islands, previous to the sailing of the **Augustus**.¹

¹ Ed. note: Some newspapers have the following addition: "Capt. Ward of Salem, late of brig Leonidas, went on board the Augustus, as mate, at Manilla."

Document 1836D

The loss of the French brig *Harmony* near Nauru

Source: Nautical Magazine, 1838, pp. 138-139.

Letter from Captain Chase to Commodore Mason, dated Hawaii 29 October 1836

The brig *Harmony*.—

The following letter from the master of the ship *Tabius* [rather **Fabius**] dated at Oahee, 29th of October, 1836, to Commodore Mason, gives an interesting account of the loss of this vessel:—

Sir,—I have to inform you of the destruction of the brig **Harmony**, of Port-Louis, Isle of France, Captain Brown,¹ which vessel I fell in with on the 16th June last, ten leagues from Pleasant Island, in a distressed condition, with only three persons on board, which are now on board the *Zabius* [sic].

It appears, by the log-book found on board, that the brig sailed from Oahee, 30th August, 1835, on a [tortoise-] shell voyage to the S. W. of the South Islands. In October, she touched at the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei], and left Mr. Lacy, and three men to trade until the vessel's return. On their way, they touched at Howe's Group, and took from there one of the natives. They left New Georgia on the 10th of Jan., 1836, and again steered for Howe's Group. On the 11th the lat. was 6° S., and long. 159°21' E., which brings them within seven or eight leagues of the land. This is the last day's work in the logbook

Now for the Havana story. Before I proceed further I will tell you the particulars I have been able to learn from the survivors respecting themselves.

The oldest (about thirty) is a native of the Marquesas, by the name of Jacky. He joined the brig at Oahee. The next, a female, who accompanied Mr. Sinclair to Oahee, in the **Clémentine**, with Grombeck. She is a native of the Island of Java (Samarang).

¹ Ed. note: Rather, Port-Louis in Brittany, France. French whaling ships often had two captains, one Yankee, and one French.

She, with Sinclair, joined the brig at Oahee. The other, a lad of about sixteen, is a native of Ascension, and joined the vessel at that island. Neither understands the other's language; all their communications were held in English, which is very imperfectly understood by them. They all say they made the land, (which they call penow,) but did not anchor—that several canoes came off—that the captain with four men and the natives of the island mentioned above, went on shore with the boat, and the canoes came off with a great many men. The mate (Sinclair) suffered them to come on board. They had not been long on board before they made a rush among the crew. The girl saw them seize the mate and knife him; she ran down in the cabin; the boy scampered for the fore-castle; they struck at him as he was getting over the gangway; the main stay received the weight of the blow and he made his escape with a slight wound on the head. Jacky received an axe-wound on the shoulder and was knocked down the main hatchway. The vessel having no cargo in, he was soon out of reach; he crept aft, forced the bulk-head, and got into the cabin, where he found the girl, and the natives pelting her with cocoanuts down the skylight, but did not attempt to go down.

They now had possession of the deck, and were making a terrible uproar. Jacky got several muskets loaded, and fired up the skylight and shot several of them. At any rate, he plied his arms so well, that they retreated and left the vessel. Jacky now fired away, discharged a big gun at the retreating vessel, without effect, and since that time, till we fell in with them, which was five months and four days, they had been about the ocean, they knew not where, at the mercy of the wind and waves.

On the 3rd of June, I touched at the Island of Rotuma with the *Zabius* [sic], and the natives reported a brig coming near the island in April or May, with only three persons on board. Jacky, not knowing what island it was, nor the disposition of the natives, would not let them come alongside.

On the 16th, N.N.W. from Pleasant Island two leagues, we saw a sail to windward, making strange manoeuvres under very short sail, though the wind was moderate; it immediately occurred to me it was the same vessel. I braced up and hauled for her, got alongside of her at 7 in the evening, when he told me he had only two men on board. I sent an officer and seaman to take charge of her, for the night, and sent Jacky and his shipmates on board the ship. Nothing could exceed their joy on getting on board. Their only fear seemed to be that I would sent them again adrift on the old brig. The next morning I went on board to examine her state, and found it truly distressing; her sails and riggings were all to tatters, her spare sails all rotten, both pumps choked, the vessel leaky and half full of water.

She had no cargo except two boxes of felt and a small quantity of New Zealand timber; but little provisions, with half a cask of water. Under these circumstances, I took out the captain's and officers' clothing, nautical instruments, charts, turtle-shell, one anchor and two chains, with other articles of trade and set her on fire.

When I first took Jacky on board, I suspected him of mutiny, but after I had thoroughly investigated the case, together with the logbook, not a shadow of doubt remains with me but that his story is true.

Note 1836E

A barque with the curious name of Palinure

Sources: Ms. logbook in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; PMB 206.

Note: The Captain's name is given by an initial only, H. This is an uninteresting log, containing the minimum amount of nautical information only, specially in the crossing from Sydney to Manila. Palinure means cary-fish.

Extract from the log kept by William Putnam Endicott

...

Monday Aug 29th '36

First part moderate & pleasant. At 8 PM squally. At daylight made Saypan, Anatajan, & Bird's Islands. Anatajan bearing SW 6 L[eague]s. at 9 am Anatajan bore N. Saypan S by E per compass. These islands are of the Ladrone group.

Lat. by D.R. 15°38' Lat. by Ob. 15°35' N Long in. 147°54' E. Long. by ob 145°25'

Document 1837A

The Ngatik massacre of 1837

Source: Article in the Micronesian Reporter 14 (1966): 9-12, 29-30.

Note: For the documents of the official investigation by Captain Blake of HMS Larne, see Doc. 1839A.

Summary of the historical facts, by Saul H. Riesenber

Early in the 1836 the British cutter **Lambton** arrived at Ngatik. She was a vessel registered at Sydney, in New South Wales, under the command of Capt. Charles H. Hart. This was a trading voyage amongst the Pacific islands, the cargo being beads, axes, tobacco, and other goods, and Hart was out mainly for tortoise shell. The crew consisted of 14 Europeans, three Maoris from New Zealand, and one or more Ponapeans, the **Lambton** having been to Ponape at least once before this visit to Ngatik.

At Ngatik, the cutter lying four miles off, Capt. Hart and five seamen went ashore in the ship's boat. About 40 men and three women met them on the beach, gave them a seemingly friendly reception, and began to dance. One of the hands, James Sindrey, a 20-year-old Londoner, who had signed on at Ponape, together with a native Ponapean, went up into the bush in company with two people of the island, to seek tortoise shell to barter for the trade goods. The two men became separated and Sindrey saw (in a cook-house, according to his statement; another report describes it as a "temple") a large quantity of shell—130 or 140 pounds, he estimated—before he suddenly heard the Ponapean call out: "Jim, take care of yourself, the natives are getting their clubs and knives and coming to kill you!" Sindrey looked about him, made a desperate dash through the crowd of his attackers, was struck at with knives and received blows from clubs on his legs. Escaping to the boat, he found the Ponapean already there and the Captain and the others loading their muskets. Hurriedly they shoved off for the cutter and got away. They then made for New Ireland and Sydney. Apparently no shots were fired on this occasion.

So far as I know, this incident is the first documented direct encounter between the natives of Ngatik and Europeans. A number of navigators had earlier sailed by the atoll and charted it, and from these explorations stem the various names it received (Los Valientes, Musgrave, Seven Islands, and Raven, among others).

...

However, there do seem to have been some unrecorded direct contacts earlier than the visit of the **Lambton**. Three members of her crew reported that they found on the beach at Ngatik the stern of a European boat and two or three musket butts, all in a decayed state, and they learned from the natives that four or five white men had come to the island "a long time ago" and been killed. Later, in 1841, when Capt. Godby of the bark **Clarinda** stopped at Ngatik, he reported that a resident white man, John McVie (of whom more later), told him that he had dug up the grave where 14 white men had been murdered and buried. Those hostile meetings possibly account for the kind of reception given the **Lambton** by the natives. But Capt. Hart is also quoted as having said later that the natives would not part with the tortoise shell because it was their "Maquhawee" or God, which suggests that Sindrey's story is not the whole truth; it may have been insistence on obtaining the shell on his or Hart's part that provoked the attack.

At any rate, the incident evidently rankled Hart and served to enhance his cupidity, for he repeatedly stated later that he meant to have the shell at any cost. But another bloody adventure lay before him before he was to carry out his threat. On May 22, 1836, he sailed again from Sydney on a similar trading voyage. Except for two men, one of them the Ponapean who had been ashore with Sindrey, the crew was a new one. The **Lambton** arrived at Ponape on August 19, in time to play a principal role in the infamous affair of the **Falcon**. The **Falcon** story is too well-known to be given in detail here, except insofar as it bears upon the Ngatik tragedy which followed soon after. This vessel, a whaler, which had sailed from London in May 1834, had arrived at Ponape in April 1836 and lay in the harbor at Matolenim to repair her leaky oil casks. The captain, J. H. Hingston, had chosen Ponape to carry out this work at the recommendation of Hart, whom he had met at sea. There were rumors that the Nahnmwarki and Nahnawah of Matolenim planned to take the **Falcon** by force, but Hingston dismissed them as nonsense. On July 7, while attempting to beat out of the harbor, a squall blew up and the whaler struck on the reef. Unable to get off, Hingston and the crew set to work to unload the stores and barrels of whale oil at Napali. The natives, principally those under the leadership of the Nahnawah, set fire to the wreck and began to pilfer from the stores. Their deprivations became so bold that Hingston one day seized and struck the Nahnawah, threatening him with more severe punishment if he did not desist. Whereupon on August 12 a large force of natives descended on Napali, murdered Hingston, his second mate, and four of the crew, mutilated their bodies, and plundered the salvaged stores. A state of war ensued, with the Nahnawah and his men on one side and some 40-70 white men (including the survivors of the **Falcon**) as well as the Wasai with 400 or 500 Ponapean allies on the other side. In this fighting the crew of the newly-arrived **Lambton** joined, together with those of two other vessels, the British schooner **Avon**, under Capt. Jules Dudoit (a native of the Isle of France and later to become French consul at Honolulu) and the American schooner **Unity**, commanded by another Capt. Hart (T.S. Hart), both vessels recent arrivals from Honolulu. Many were killed, including the Nahnmwarki; the Nahnawah was captured and brought on board

the **Lambton**, where the three captains held a kangaroo court and condemned and hanged him from the yardarm.

The two Harts then proceeded to Guam, taking most of the **Falcon** survivors with them, and there disposed of some of the salvage from the wreck. The **lambton** was thereafter employed in trading between the Marianas and Manila, and returned to Ponape in June 1837. In July she sailed on her fateful second trip to Ngatik, professedly to trade. In addition to her normal crew she took with her several extra renegade whites from Ponape. Hart was apparently in favor with the large community of ships' deserters and escaped convicts on Ponape—it was he who had introduced the first whiskey still on that island—and had no trouble in recruiting as many adventurers as he wanted. He also took in tow two canoes with about 15 Ponapeans, fully armed. The Ngatik people on shore showed a disposition to give them a hostile reception again, brandishing clubs and challenging them to come ashore. A few muskets were fired. Hart's party then retreated to another island of the atoll and spent the night. In the night about 20 [Ngatik] people took to their canoes and were not heard of again (but there is a story that they got to the Mortlocks or Truk and there were killed). The next morning Hart and his men returned and commenced a general attack, killing every man they encountered. The third day they resumed the fight and by afternoon there was not a Ngatik man left alive, except one who somehow was overlooked. Estimates of the number killed, given by sailors who took part, range from 40 to 84.

Hart then went to the spot where Sindrey had reported the cache of tortoise shell. To his well-deserved chagrin he discovered that most of it was worthless green turtle shell, only 20 to 25 lbs, being the valuable hawksbill shell. This constituted his entire return for the massacre of the adult male population of Ngatik. In addition, in the next few days a number of women destroyed their own children and then hanged themselves. The youngest and best-looking women were distributed among the men and brought to Ponape, along with several orphans. One of the women brought back to Ponape by Hart was given to the Nahniken's daughter, who treated her virtually as a slave. Another woman, who gave birth to a child aboard the cutter on the return to Ponape, attached herself to one of the whites and she (and two Ngatik orphans) were reported still living with him in 1839; this woman, who had been on Ngatik since only two months before attack, was a native of Ebon in the Marshalls, and had drifted to Ngatik after 26 or 27 days at sea in a canoe with three Ebon men, who had died; she had never before seen a white man.

...

Document 1837B

Ships that visited Guam, January-August 1837

Source: PNA.

List of the fees received from the ships that anchored in the Port of Umata between 1 January 1837 and 11 August 1837.

| Month | Day | [Ships] | Pesos/Reals |
|-------|-----|--|---------------|
| March | 3 | The English whaler Lanton [i.e. Lambton, Capt. Hart] of 60 tons: | |
| | | Port cleaning | 1p 4r |
| | | Port Captain's office | 2p 4r |
| March | 15 | The English frigate Indian [Capt. Freeman] of 404 tons: | |
| | | Port cleaning | 2p 4r |
| | | Port Captain's office | 4p |
| April | 10 | The English frigate Rocket (?) [Rochester, Kenney] of 392 tons: | |
| | | Port cleaning | 2p 4r |
| | | Port Captain's office | 4p |
| April | 19 | The English frigate Melis (?) ¹ of 450 tons: | |
| | | Port cleaning | 2p 4r |
| | | Port Captain's office | 4p |
| May | 8 | The Anglo-American frigate Persia [Capt. Almy] of 250 tons: | |
| | | Port cleaning | 2p 4r |
| | | Port Captain's office | 4p |
| May | 14 | The Anglo-American frigate Nuark [Newark, Capt. Whitfield] of 350 tons: | |
| | | Port cleaning | 2p 4r |
| | | Port Captain's office | 4p |
| | | | ----- |
| | | Total: | 36p 4r |
| | | General total of the fees for the Port Captain's office | 22p 4r |
| | | General total of the fees for port cleaning | 14p |
| | | ... | |

¹ Ed. note: She is probably the Mellish, ship of 427 tons built at Calcutta, but registered in London, Capt. Cowley (ref. Jones' Ships, pp. 106, 113, 131).

Umata, 11 August 1837
José Flores, person in charge.¹



Father Louis Maigret, 1804-1882. *Later Bishop of HOnolulu and Vicar Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands from 1848 to his death.*

¹ Ed. note: The money was received by the José Romero, Administrator of the Royal Treasury in Agaña, and the transaction approved by Governor Villalobos.

Document 1837C

The story of the Catholic Father Maigret at Pohnpei

Introductory notes.

Father Désiré-Louis Maigret, a French Sacred Heart (Picpus) missionary, left Honolulu for Ascension, or Pohnpei, Island, accompanied by Father Alexis Bachelot who was already sick. The latter died soon before arrival and was buried on an islet in Metalanim Harbor. They were travelling on board the schooner named **Honolulu**, but it appears that Father Maigret had baptized it "Notre-Dame de la Paix," which means Our Lady of Peace. Father Maigret was later to become Catholic Bishop of Honolulu.

From Ralph Simpson Kuykendall's History of the Hawaiian Kingdom, one may garner a few facts that explain the voyage of these two Catholic missionaries. Protestant interference with the King of Hawaii had caused the dispossession of their land and an order for the expulsion from the country. Captain Vaillant, of the **Bonite**, arrived at Honolulu at this time, and negotiation with the King resulted in Father Walsh and two brothers being allowed to stay, but the expulsion order against Fr. Bachelot and Fr. Short stayed. In April 1837, Fathers Bachelot and Short re-appeared in Honolulu aboard the brig **Clementine**, an English-registered vessel, owned by a Frenchman, Jules Dudoit (who was, however, a British subject). A war of words ensued, in which the two missionaries were taken ashore by the French and English consuls and the captains of two warships, one French and one English.

Finally, the King allowed the priests to remain at Honolulu, but only temporarily, until they could find a passage to some other civilized port in the Pacific. However, in November 1837 the situation was complicated by the arrival at Honolulu of two more priests, Fathers Maigret and Murphy, who had been sent by Bishop Rouchouze before he had learned the outcome of the first attempt by Bachelot and Short. Fr. Bachelot was not allowed to land.

On 23 November, Fathers Bachelot and Maigret sailed on the schooner **Honolulu**, which had been purchased for the Catholic mission and renamed **Notre-Dame de la Paix**. Bachelot died on board this vessel less than two weeks later.

The full story of the ship **Honolulu**, which had formerly been named **Missionary Packet**, has been told by Kuykendall in an article entitled: "Forty-First Annual Re-

port of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the year 1932, pp. 81-90. The schooner had belonged to the American Board for Foreign Missions; she had been built at Salem in 1825 and sent to Hawaii in 1826. Her capacity was only 38 tons.

The diary of Fr. Maigret—Translated from the French

Source: Original ms. in French kept at the Archives of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii, in the Presbytery of the Our Lady of Peace cathedral at Honolulu.

DIARY OF FATHER MAIGRET

...

November [1837].

Mr. Dudoit, French agent, and Mr. Walsh came to see me. Rumor has it that I will be forced to go to China.

...

[Against an advance payment of \$1,000, Mr. Dudoit offers one of his schooners, the **Honolulu**, to carry Fathers Bachelot and Maigret to Pohnpei. For an additional payment of \$2,000 the schooner would become the full property of the mission. In anticipation of that day, the Fathers renamed the ship **Notre-Dame -de-Paix**.]

...

17 November 1837.

At last, here I am on board the schooner **Notre-Dame-de-Paix**...

From 23 November 1837 to 30 July 1838.

Nov. 23, Thursday, 1837.

Departure [from Honolulu] for Ascension at about 8:30 a.m.; light breeze. Mr. Bachelot is not strong; he has passed much bile [i.e. was sea-sick].

Nov. 24, Friday

Mr. Bachelot suffers a lot...

Saturday, Nov. 25

Mr. Bachelot has passed a very bad night. Delirium...

Sunday, Nov. 26

... stronger winds...

Monday, Nov. 27

Rain all day, sea high, Mr. Bachelot is not any better.

Tuesday, Nov. 28

Mr. Bachelot has had a bad night, delirium,... weather fine,... Mr. Bachelot has slept and has been quiet.

Wednesday, Nov. 29

Seen Corwallis [Johnston] Island lat. $16^{\circ}55'$ long. $169^{\circ}53'$, aligned North-South. Mr. Bachelot always the same.

Thursday, Nov. 30

We are always well. Mr. B. idem.

Friday, Dec. 1

Always ?. Winds, rain. Mr. B. calm but weaker.

Saturday, Dec. 2

Same weather. Mr. Bachelot is not better.

Sunday, 3 Dec.

Weather fine. Mr. B. is still weaker than yesterday.

Monday, 4

Weather fine. Mr. B. less strong. I administered the Extreme Unction and gave him the plenary indulgence. He is not conscious and no longer speaks. I kept watch over him until 11 p.m. At 1 a.m., I went to bed... At 1:45 past midnight, I got up and looked at my sick one. I found him very weak; his pulse was not better. At 2 a.m., he rendered his last breath. We were by $175^{\circ}3'$ long. E. and 3° [rather $13^{\circ}14'$] lat. N.

Tuesday, 5

Day in which we celebrated the anniversary of St. Francis Xavier... Placed the mortal remains of the Venerable Mr. Bachelot, first apostle of Oceania, in a [box?] so as to carry him to land if possible. He will thus be condemned to exile even after his death. Mass for dead.

Wednesday, 6

Weather still fine, but Mr. Bachelot is no more.

Thursday, 7

Sighted a large number of birds. We are near land.

Friday, 8

Error in the calculations of the captain due to the chronometer being off. We are not far from the Pescadores [Rongerik or Rongelap].

[Saturday, 9 Dec.]

In the morning, a half hour after sunrise, seen Pescadores I. to port side; we are heading SW.

Sunday, 10

This [past] night unbearable [heat?] but good breeze that continued all [day?].

Monday, 11

Winds not as strong as yesterday, sky covered, calm(?)

Tuesday, 12

Winds even weaker than [yesterday?], calm, light rain...

Wed., 13

This morning we sighted Ascension Island and we arrived there at about 4 p.m. Mgr. ... [Rouchouze?] is not there. The chiefs came on board. The port is beautiful ... [and situated] by [6°]52' lat. and [153°]27' long. E.

Thursday, 14

Burial of Mr. Bachelot at Naha. Return on board.¹

[1 page missing]

...souvenir, visited Nao where my house is taking shape, returned on board.

Wed. 20

Remained on board all day. The days seem long.

Thursday 21

Went ashore to sleep in the hut that the King has had built for me; he offered some people to watch over it during the night. He brings me something to eat. Gift.

Friday 22

Have slept very well; my little Mangarevian² cooks a turtle for me. I found it edible. His tea ...[?]. The King comes to see me again. Walk with him on the seashore. If only I could show him the way to Heaven! However, I cannot preach in the language which has no relationship with that of eastern Oceania.

-
- 1 Ed. note: See the newspaper The Friend (Honolulu), February 1860, for an article entitled: "A Protestant Missionary at the Grave of a Catholic."
 - 2 Ed. note: Mangareva is an island in the Gambier group, SE of Tahiti. That is where the Picpus Fathers had their early missions in Polynesia.

Saturday 23

The King sends me, upon a 12-foot long stretcher, a supply of *Maicol*, or breadfruits,¹ of ...[?], etc., the load of 4 men.

Sun. 24

... I skip it on purpose in order to celebrate Christmas on the same day as in France.

Monday, 25

This morning I had the pleasure to say Holy Mass. Some from the royal family came, breakfast at Mr. McFarlane's place.

Tue. 26

The King came to see me and found me still in bed; hubhub, etc.

Wed. 27

Beginning of the balcony; visit by the King who remains, they say, inebriated.

Thursday, 28

Departure of the ship. [No more?] bed, rain. The King is [?] this morning and this evening. I have entrusted ... [the captain with] 2 letters for Oahu, 1 for the Gambiers, 1 for Sydney.

Friday, 29

I have made myself a bed. The King tells me that he is going away.

Saturday, 30

My little Mangarevian has made himself a bed like mine.

Sun. 31

Said the Holy Mass in secret. I began to study the language of the country. Mr. McFarlane sent me a turtle.

Finis V + C. J. S.²

1838

January

Monday 1

The King is back on Naha; garden, alley, etc.

1 Ed. note: Maikol is overripe breadfruit.

2 Ed. note: Note perhaps meaning End of the Year of our Lord.

Tuesday 2

Rain almost all day. Inventory of Mr. Bachelot's ... [belongings].

Wed. 3

They worked at my garden fence. The King came in the evening.

Thurs. 4

Rain showers almost all day. Visit of the King.

Fri. 5

It rained again almost all day...

Sat. 6

Day of Epiphany [Three Kings]. I said Holy Mass in secret, worked at ... {?} M.

Sun. 7

Showed the image of Mary which they found beautiful; spoke about the unity of God, about the creation, the immortality of the soul, to Tsholukinna. M.169.

Monday 8

Dug and seeded my garden. It rains every day.

Tuesday 9

Laundry, sent the children in search of wood, weather rather fine, little rain.

Wednesday, 10

My house has been ... [broken into?] last night, on one side, I don't know how.

Thursday, 11

Worked in the cemetery where Mr. Bachelot lies buried.

Friday, 12

[They] made a well on the seaward side of my garden. The King is back.

Saturday, 13

Encircled the well, etc., seen the King, seen Mr. McFarlane. Cross found in the graves of the castle, copper buttons, etc.¹ (3 women, 6 men, 1 child ... [they] are from the same

¹ Ed. note: The main building in the Nanmadol ruins near Metalanim Harbor. About ten years later, a Canadian and an English ship captains were to find more evidence of former Spanish presence on the island (see Doc. ...).

people actually on Ascension). The entrance of the port was previously an island like Naha. Many old men, still alive, were born there. There were many *tumis(?)*¹

Sunday 14

Day of the Holy Name of Jesus, spoke at length to the King about the basic truths of our holy religion, expression of surprise, of admiration, of fear, of joy, of desire to know more. However, I only know a few words of the language. If only I could satisfy his curiosity! M168.²

Monday 15

Visit of Mr. .. [?], of the King, of Mr. McFarlane.

Tuesday 16

Today, I did my own cooking, the door of my little hut can be locked shut.

Wednesday 17

... [Worked?] in the garden where Mr. Bachelot is buried.

Thursday 18

New partition. ... [Houseboy Manori?] ... and lying starts anew; flight.

Friday 19

Manori [or Maniori] slept out last night; he fled this morning to the large island. The ... [store?] of Mr. McFarlane was broken into. The King is not in.

Saturday 20

Long walk on the island. Forests of ...[?]. Seen some *nonos*,³ etc.

Sunday 21

Said mass, by myself. In the evening, spoke about Our Lord to Airi, M.

Monday 22

The King, the queen, etc. came to see me. I spoke about Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Tuesday 23

Visit to the land of Maruru,⁴ ... of Achekalui.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Perhaps tsunamis, which destroyed the islet in question.
 - 2 Ed. note: Secret code of some kind; I think it was a number for a mollusk, or seashell, collection.
 - 3 Ed. note: *Nohno* is a Pohnpeian word meaning old lady.
 - 4 Ed. note: Maruru was a Gilbertese man (See entry of 16 February).

Wednesday 24

Worked at the language; I begin to babble a few words.

Thursday 25

The small children whom I love do not but rarely leave me. As for them, I do not know if they love me, but what I know is that they love my tobacco very much.

Friday 26

Went for a walk.

Saturday 27

I learned today that two children have tried to enter my house, and that yesterday many of them went in to steal some tobacco; as a matter of fact, I note that some of it is missing. Mr. McFarlane has just gotten hold of one of them and he will not soon forget.

Sunday 28

Lsst night, the Gambier boy was brought to me. He was put under arrest. This morning, they told me he had escaped and that he was being pursued. Nobody comes to my house. I have only seen Mr. McFarlane and some ...[?] with him. Not one child. M.

Monday 29

This morning the King found me in bed. He is afraid that I might be angry with him. I looked after my house myself. I fetched some wood for cooking. Many persons came to see me, some bearing coconuts, others some *kanhiter* [yams], still others some *mai-kol* [breadfruits], bananas, fish, etc. etc.

Tuesday 30

After lunch I spoke about the last days of man to an old man after having told him about the greatness of God. He was so frightened that I was unable to hold him back. "I am going," said he, "I am going." A short time later, his children came near me; the old man shouted from afar and the children scampered. He came near my house and threw a stone at my hen house and went away... I do not know the cause of all this.

Wednesday 31

This morning, the King was supposed to come to see me; he did not come. I went to see Mr. McFarlane; he told me that an assassination was committed last night; one of the petty chiefs came to Naha during the night and has mortally wounded, they say, a 40-year-old old woman with a knife, and what is more horrible, it is ...[?] When the King heard the news, he left early at daybreak to catch the culprit. They say that he will kill him when he catches him. At about 10 a.m., the King was back at Naha; he has burned down seven houses but he was unable to catch the culprit. The ... [relatives?] of the as-

sassin are trying to appease the King. They are at the palace door, and prepare in silence a liquor called *yako*.¹ This liquor is but the juice of the *soup* [?] plant that is [pounded?] upon a large flat stone. If the King refuses to drink it, it is a bad sign; if he drinks it, there is some hope. Today he refused to drink it when they presented him the cup. He left the palace to come to my place. The supplicants came to my door where they again prepared some *yako*, and this time the King drank some of it. I do not know what will happen next in this affair; the woman did not die; it is hoped that she will recover.

February 1838

Thursday, 1st

The King is again gone after the culprit this morning. They say he has burned down 7 houses yesterday and wounded one man and one woman. Today, if a white man named Pedro had not intervened, he was going to kill a man. He has come to see me this evening. I talked to him about building a church.

Friday, 2

Today for the first time I said mass in front of some [people?]. The Queen was there. I spoke to them about the unity of God, creation, etc. During the Holy Mass, they kept the deepest of silence and listened with astonishment to what I told them. This evening, the King returning again from a hunt for the culprit came to ask me for a cup of tea. I spoke to him about God again and he explained to the rest of his retinue all that I had told him on previous occasions.

Saturday, 3

The King, gone this morning, is still not back tonight. Visit of some tobacco beggars.

Sunday, 4

Said Holy Mass by myself. Rain, Mr. Corgat; Maniori ... M167.

Monday, 5

I have two wells dug and ... [?] before [?] 4 p.m.

Tuesday, 6

I worked at making an enclosure for one of my wells.

Wednesday, 7

Finished the enclosure. The King is back.

1 Ed. note: *Yako, jako, or sakau*, the Pohnpeian equivalent of Polynesian kava.

Thursday, 8

Last night, someone entered my house and again some tobacco was stolen. Mr. McFarlane's big dog has ripped a man in the back.

Friday, 9

Have cut some wood, done my laundry. The King is back. The Queen is sick. Almost nobody is on [Naha] island.

Saturday, 10

Cut down many trees with my poor saw that has lost half of its teeth.¹

Sunday, 11

Nobody came to disturb me in my solitude. M166.

Monday, 12

Cut down some wood. I had never sawed so much in my life.

Tuesday, 13

Roasted one hen with a skewer that I made myself.

Wednesday, 14

Worked like a lumberjack all day. Visit of the King.

Thursday, 15

Visit of the King, the Queen, etc. A little too long.

Friday, 16

Maruru with his little boy came and saw me and asked me to tell him more about Jeva [i.e. Jehovah] who has created all things. This Maruru is from Naraki [Marakei], one of the islands of the Kingsmill [Gilbert] group.

Saturday, 17

Split some wood; rain; Mr. McFarlane gave me one ...[?]

Sunday, 18

Rain all night and all day. Asholukinna brought me some *Maikol*. M...

Monday, 19

Cut down a few trees. Rain, ... [sharpened?] the few teeth that remain on my saw.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Maigret planned to build a church.

Tuesday, 20

Again cut down a few big trees. Visit of the King ... [brought] much food in order to get some tobacco; if this food ... but it does not last...

Wednesday, 21

Delivered one barrel of tobacco to Mr. Corgat, split some wood.

Thursday, 22

Same chores as yesterday. ... [split?] a few ... [logs?] of wood, etc.

Friday, 23

Cut down one more tree some 50 feet high, cut away the branches, ...[made?] a passage, etc. My poor hands! If anybody wants some firewood, let him come here. There is some for sale.

Saturday, 24

Always busy splitting wood.

Sunday, 25

I had the pleasure to say Holy Mass. Went out for a small walk. M169.

Monday, 26

Rained all night, rain all day; rule. This evening, no fire. I went next door to get some. My lighter does not work!

Tuesday, 27

Worked at my rule which by the way is not yet straight. Cut down a dozen trees, some 30 to 40 feet tall, etc. It appears that the King and the royal family are cool towards me; they bring me nothing anymore; if I had no more yams that Mr. Corgat has sent me of late, I would die of hunger.

Wednesday, 28

The King and the Queen are back. Two *Maioris* are brought to me. One of the king's brothers, named Nanebe [Nanpei], came to see me at my work place and peeled off one tree.

March

Thursday 1

Visit of the King; abundance is back; cut down and sawed 3 trees that will give me 10 ...[posts?]; my hands are hardening.

Friday 2

Sawed wood al day; a white man came to visit me.

Saturday 3

Sawed wood all day. Tomorrow is Sunday, I will rest.

Sunday 4

Taught the following prayer to some children:

Deo Papa, mamao Koue, ngai Pokapoka uk

Deo Tcheri, " " " " "

Deo Spiritu Sancto " " "

Deo Etchillata " " " "

Djeova e, mamao koue, ngai Pokapoka uk

Deo Papa, koue makatchelel, ngai pokapoka kilang uk mimi nali

Deo Tcheri, etc. [as above]"

Monday 5

Made some tenons. Visit of the court; spoke about God. Taught yesterday's prayer.

Tuesday 6

This morning rain, made some ...[tenons?]. This evening, weather nice, made some tenons. Visit of the King and Queen; they know the prayer that I have taught them, they also know the days of the weeks which they pronounce approximately like us.

Wednesday 7

Same story as yesterday.

Thursday 8

Today I did not do much, on account of the visits. The King sent me enough fish for 80 people.

Friday 9

The King came to tell me that he will go away with the Queen; worked at my wood; they say that a ship has been in for 2 or 3 days.

Saturday 10

Stifling heat; poor workman. The King sent me some food.

Sunday 11

Had the pleasure of saying Holy Mass. Visited Maruru. M...

Monday 12

Many people are starting to respect Sunday. Yesterday my neighbors did not work. The King is still not back. Sawed some wood, etc.

Tuesday 13

Played the physician, the carpenter, etc. At Marok, it is Tapuiri who has created Heaven and Earth; at Pounibe [Pohnpei] it is Nandjapouel.¹

Wednesday 14

Worked all day without accomplishing much. The King is not back yet; they say that he almost killed a young man who stole tobacco from me.

Thursday 15

Made some mortises. Some 4 feet are necessary ...[?] pieces to be long enough. I made a mistake in margin. All I have to do is cut another tree. The King is back.

Friday 16

Made a dozen mortises. Visit of the King.

Saturday 17

Same work as yesterday. Visit of the Queen and her retinue.

Sunday 18

Rain almost all day. Visit of the King. Taravai! M153.

Monday 19

Last night a thief has again entered my hut but I fortunately noticed it this time. He hardly had time to come in and get out. I got up fast but my man had already disappeared. It was between 3 and 4 in the morning. The moon was shining. I inspected my belongings. I do not think that anything is missing. I went back to bed and in the morning went to warn Mr. McFarlane. He came to my place with two of the King's children and from my place he went to my nearest neighbor and set the house on fire. The Queen having learned what happened came quickly with all her retinue and removed everything that was in the house. The thieves numbering 12 have fled; Mr. McFarlane ran after one of them, brought him down ... but fortunately his ...[gun?] misfired or the thief did not dare shoot. Mr. McFarlane who was then unarmed ran to his house, grabbed his gun and returned towards the thieves with another white man and the two King's sons, all three armed. The Queen and all the ladies of the court followed them;

¹ Ed. note: Now written Nahnsapwe.

one of the thieves dared to shoot at Mr. McFarlane who was standing next to the Queen and the bullet passed between them but hurt no-one. Again in pursuit by twos and threes ...[?] the thieves were already at large and I think none of them was wounded during the fight but I was praying to St. Joseph to protect me and to protect those who were defending me. The King is absent. I do not know how he will deal with this happening.

(Last Sunday ... observed .. holy water.) I had a hunch of what was to happen. Thought of going to Mr. McFarlane to ask him to lend me his dogs for the night but I thought it would be ...[showing?] little trust in my guardian angel and in St. Joseph in whom I hold ...[?]) Worked besides ... as usual. Made one double hen enclosure and one single one.

Tuesday 20

Today there was no mention of thieves nor of the fight. I worked very peacefully at my hen-house, etc.

Wednesday 21

The King is back; he is ...[?] one of his children to burn another house belonging to the thieves ...[?] have been stripped of all their lands. Visit to Mr. McFarlane, to the King, etc. Made a ladder.

Thursday 22

The King is away. Made some tenons, etc.

Friday 23

Cut down one tree to replace that of the 14th, etc.

Saturday 24

Worked at my mortises, rain, high tide.

Sunday 25

Had the pleasure of saying Holy Mass. Visited the Queen.

Monday 26

Metchitchao says that he will cry when I leave! ... worked at ... my mortises.

Tuesday 27

Everybody works at building canoes and I continue my work.

Wednesday 28

Today I distributed much tobacco; same chores.

Thursday 29

Metchetchao fixed my kitchen; *id. ac heri*.¹

Friday 30

A vessel is in sight. Many natives have been on board. As for me, I had not been informed. It is hoped that it will be seen again tomorrow. I will write to France.

Saturday 31

Visit of the King and Queen; finished my big columns.

April 1838

Sunday 1

Said Holy Mass. Visited the Queen. The King is away. M163.

Monday 2

I dug 4 holes 4 feet deep, had a few columns brought in.

Tuesday 3

Did not do much. Visit of Mr. Corgat.

Wed, 4

Went to Kiti. Big house, well built, 80 feet long by 47 feet wide. Raised porch all around, etc.

Thursday 5

Left Kiti. Slept at Lot, at the house of Ladallot, father-in-law of Mr. Dudoit.

Friday 6

Left early for Naha. Lapallive sick. Lekant drinking much *jako* and making oracles.

Sat. 7

Rain; worked a little. Visit of the King. Lapallive is not better. Lekant, more reasonable than yesterday, was telling me: "Have you prayed to God so that this child will not die? God loves us. Lapallive will not die, isn't it?"

Sunday 8

Had the pleasure of saying Holy Mass. Visited my young sick one. Much *jako* is being drunk. The devil is at work.

¹ Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: Same as yesterday.

Mon. 9

Received a visit from the King. I scolded him for being still so influenced by superstitions. I scolded the Queen as well. They wanted me to drink some *jako*. I refused. One of the priests told me that it is "very good" and I answered him that it is "very bad", and I went away. I returned to see the child at about 2 p.m. I was told that nobody was at home, that they have all gone to Djuitau. Planted 6 columns; it is the beginning of a Cross(?).¹

Tuesday 10

The King ... [had promised?] to send me some people to help me transport my large pieces of wood; he did not do so. He continues nevertheless to send me food. No news about the little Lapallive.

Wed. 11

Have started on the tomb of Mr. Alexis [Bachelot], 128 square [feet].

Thursday 12

Said Holy Mass. The King is still absent. Nothing new. M..

Friday 13

The King and Queen are back with the little Lapallive.

Sat. 14

Visit of the King. 2 vessels in sight. Many canoes have been on board.

Sun. 15

Said Holy Mass. Spoke about the Resurrection of Our Holy Savior to the King and his court. ...[?] Last night a ...[?] should come into possession of the King. Two Captains came to see me, etc.

Monday 16

I have spent the night writing, preached; there is talk of war.

Tuesday 17

Went on board the two ships, the **Fawn**, Captain Gardner, and the **Folkstone**, Captain Bliss, to whom I gave 3 letters, 1 for Rev. Fr. ...[?] of ... with an envelope for Mr. Murphy, the other for Mr. Walsh, the other for ... Leonard. Slept on board.

Wed. 18

Returned to Naha. Conspiracy against the King formed by the brother of the man who was hanged on account of the murder of Capt. ...-stone. Patrol, etc.

1 Ed. note Probably a church in the shape of a cross.

Thursday 19

I rested, read the book on navigation. The King gone for Metchitchao. The Queen at Naha.

Fri. 20

The King is back. I gave him some cigars; his two younger brothers.

Sat. 21

Capt. Bliss and Capt. Gardner came to Naha with 3 boats to get some yams and some pigs. The boats left and the two captains slept here. Seen some *tiairi*.

Sun. 22

Said Holy Mass during which the 2 captains came to knock on my door. Departure of the two captains, McFarlane, etc. M167.

Monday 23

Many visits, The King, etc. came to see me; rain all day; announced some truths from our holy religion.

Tuesday 24

Shells collected by little children, etc., rain.

Wed. 25

Had some pieces of wood brought in. McFarlane is back.

Thursday 26

Nothing new, rain, shells. The King is still away.

Friday 27

Mr. McFarlane back from Kiti, flour, oil, syrup, butter, etc.

Saturday 28

Had lunch at Mr. McFarlane's, visited the Queen who is not well, blanket, shell; many are sick.

Sunday 29

Said Holy Mass. Received many visitors. M159.

Monday 30

Worked at the tomb of Mr. Alexis. The prevailing sickness is a headache and a belly ache. I suffer from it also.

May

Tuesday 1

I have spent a very bad night; despite my belly ache, I worked all day. I have made a cross 16 feet in height. The King is back; he has helped me erect part of it; he was holding in one hand the fish that he was bringing me and with the other hand he was helping [others?] to raise the beam.

Wednesday 2

Bad night, impossible to sleep. I took some epsom salt. At noon, still no result. This evening, still nothing.

Thursday 3

No rest during the night. I was up and down I don't know how many times. I was nevertheless thinking about my cross that I wanted to erect on the Feast of the Holy Cross. I started to work as usual. I erected my cross as I could, but for lack of manpower it is not what I would have liked it to be; however, it is up and that is what I wanted. I had sent for some people; there were not any. The King is away. While working on my cross my strength returned. I am better and I hope that I'll sleep tonight. Someone was no doubt praying for me today.

Friday 4

I slept during the night. I have no more pains; rain all day. I wish everybody could understand as much as I understand it at the moment how much one is happy when he places his trust in God.

Saturday 5

Started on a little chapel next to the tomb.

Sunday 6

Said Holy Mass. The Queen came to see me this evening to ask me to be ...[go-between?] between her and Mr. McFarlane. (Putchi!) M198.

Monday 7

Today I felt sick again; strong ...[?]

Tuesday 8

Bad night, extreme weakness. Pain to the stomach and bowels.

Wed. 9

No rest; I took some Castor oil, without effect.

Thursday 10

Yesterday's medicine still without effect. At last, at about 7 p.m. I found myself relieved and this evening I feel better.

Friday 11

Today I rested some more. I am improving.

Saturday 12

I am almost as well as before. Worked at Mr. Alexis' tomb. The King came to see me.

Sunday 13

Visited the court. I am as much in good health as ever.

Monday 14

Feast Day of St. Pacôme. Raised the cross on my little funerary chapel that I hope will be finished soon. Explained the mystery of the cross to some people.

Tuesday 15

Dreamed last night about the Devil chased by the invocation to the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. Worked at my shell [collection]. It is the dirtiest occupation in the world.

Wednesday 16

Same chores as yesterday. Strange event: sow begging for mercy!

Thursday 17

The Queen herself brought me something to eat. Shells.

Friday 18

Visit of one white man who has just arrived from Seven [Ngatik] Islands.

Saturday 19

Seen nobody; brought some wood; ... [broke?] a chisel.

Sunday 20

Walk during which I lost my cat. (Latitude taken). M196.

Monday 21

Rain all day. I was unable to do anything.

Tuesday 22

Mr. McFarlane came to ask me for a medicine for a white man from the Seven Islands who is dangerously sick. Rain, same as yesterday.

Wednesday 23

Did my laundry. The sick man is not better.

Thursday 24

My cat has found his way back to the house. Visited the sick man who, they tell me, is a little better. There is talk of divorce; the King is apparently disgusted with his wife and would like to take on another. Lekant came to tell me about her sorrow. "When will a ship come to take me aboard?" she asked me. "I want to leave Bunibe [Pohnpei]. Missionary, please, ask Jeovah to make the woman whom Ichipao covets to die or to make both of them very sick, etc." M155.

Friday 25

Mr. Corgat, having learned that I was sick and being sick himself, sent me James his agent to see me. Ichipao would like to marry Lappallote's daughter but they say he will not succeed. Rain, strong winds, a tree fell on my house while I was sewing; happily for me, I was affected only by fear.

Saturday 26

Rain, sewed on some pockets to my suit; took advantage of about 1 hour of fine weather to go for a short walk on the seashore; captured a snake that I put in some spirit given me by Mr. McFarlane.

Sunday 27

Had the pleasure of saying Holy Mass. Walk upon the reefs. M194.

Monday 28

Worked at the tomb of Mr. Alexis; saw no-one.

Tuesday 29

Some of the King's people came to see me. I told them that I am very disappointed with Ichipao. One hour later, Ichipao came. I [showed?] him a very angry face. I scolded him on account of his bad conduct towards his wife and for having deceived me many times. He apologized and as a matter of fact, I find many of his excuses to be good ones. "We are now in a period of scarcity," he said. "Wait one month and abundance will return; then, I will have a roof put over the house of your dead missionary brother." "At that time, I may be already gone," I answered. "If you leave before that time," said he, "I will have it covered just the same after your departure." Fine and good, but I do not have faith. Departure of the Raven Island colonists.

Wednesday 30

The King came to see me and brought his wife with him to make me understand no doubt that he is now in good terms with her but ...

Thursday 31

Walk at the eastern point of the island. Rain. *Maikol*: The [breadfruit] trees are loaded with fruits, but they do not fall down much; 15 days more and we will have *maiolol* a-plenty.

June 1838

Friday 1

Rain all day. Not one moment of respite; ...[still no?] food.

Saturday 2

Today nice weather; many curious people. *Maikols*.

Sunday 3

Weather nice in the morning; rain in the evening; nobody seen. M190.

Monday 4

Rain showers last night and all day today.

Tuesday 5

Weather nice; picked up shells in the sea. (*Puilli*).

Wednesday 6

Rain all night. Weather nice during the day. Shells...

Thursday 7

Visit of the Queen. Nive weather. Little rain. (*Kidjin puilli malolo*).¹

Friday 8

Abundance of *maikol* (*Puilli katingal kat in gol*).²

Saturday 9

Did the laundry. Rain during the night. Rain this afternoon.

1 Ed. note: Meaning: "There are few shells."

2 Ed. note: "Pwili koadoangoul," meaning: "Shells, 10."

Sunday 10

Nice weather. So many young priests will have said their first mass today. If only some of them would come to Oceania! M152.

Monday 11

Have wrongly accused a child of having stolen a pair of scissors. I recognized his innocence and gave him what I had accused him of having stolen from me.

Tuesday 12

Washed; went for a walk. (*Puilli*) (*Tchilla*) (*Paotchoa*). [varieties of shells]

Wednesday 13

(*Paatchou, Ole Lanquillang, maikols*). Visit of the Queen.

Thursday 14

They say that a schooner is in sight; maybe it is the one I am waiting for; we'll see.

Friday 15

(*Paatchou, malolo, etc.*) No news from the ship.

Saturday 16

Cleaned *pouilis*; seen Mr. McFarlane; they say that the said ship has anchored at Kiti. But it is not known who she is.

Sunday 17

I learned that the **Honolulu** or **Our Lady of Peace** has arrived. M130.

Monday 18

Yesterday's ship is an American schooner; it is not the **Our Lady of Peace**.

Tuesday 19

Cleaned shells. Visit of the King. He prepared the roof of my holy chapel.

Wednesday 20

Visit of Mr. Corgat. The American ship has left.

Thursday 21

Cleaned shells. Walk on the seashore.

Friday 22

Said Holy Mass. This morning the sound of a cannon was heard. M147.

Saturday 23

Rain this past night and today almost all day.

Sunday 24

Said Holy Mass. No ship in sight. M...

Monday 25

Rain. Taught one child how to make the sign of the cross.

Tuesday 26

More rain. Trip to Pataka. The King and Queen are back.

Wednesday 27

At last they have begun to cover my small funeral chapel.

Thursday 28

Work proceeds on the roof. Visit of the King.

Friday 29

Had the pleasure of saying Holy Mass. Visit of the King. M147.

Saturday 30

Rosary at the chapel King absent; no food.

July 1838

Sunday 1

There is talk about a schooner in sight. I went to look for myself and saw nothing.
M145.

Monday 2

This morning I said the morning prayers on the seashore in sight of the schooner; it is the **Honolulu [alias] Our Lady of Peace**. Visit of the captain.

Tuesday 3

I went for an outing to Pataka (9 harp-94) ... from Sydney.

Wednesday 4

Rain all morning. This morning Captain Grumbeck came to see me.¹

1 Ed. note: Captain Michael Grombeck was born in Denmark. The schooner had been sold to the Catholic Mission in Hawaii by her former owner, Mr. Jules Dudoit.

Thursday 5

Outing to Pataka. *Puilli, langs, patchus*, etc. Rain.

Friday 6

Little rain; fine weather. Outing to Naha Pali [Napali I.].

Saturday 7

They say that the Raven [Ngatik] Island colonists have returned.

Sunday 8

Said Holy Mass. Seen nobody except Metchichou. M149.

Monday 9

I was unable to say Holy Mass. Rain.

Tuesday 10

Visited the Seven Island colonists (*Puillis*).

Wednesday 11

Outing to Pataka; (*puillis, matoto* under huge stones).

Thursday 12

As yesterday; extraordinary thing, no rain.

Friday 13

Acted as tailor and carpenter (*parolis* from the old Chuan).

Saturday 14

Cleaned shells; nice weather. I have not yet been on board.

Sunday 15

Had the pleasure of saying Holy Mass. Weather fine. M144.

Monday 16

Cleaned shells. Rain. Many people on the island.

Tuesday 17

Pagan procession. Only women were there; they were all in a single file; they all had some wreaths on the head; some of them had sticks; they shouted from time to time or

sang I do not know what in honor no doubt of some god. It is what they called *mata mitcharao, facere sacrum*.¹

Wednesday 18

Spoke about God to the King's brother whom I had not met before; it is he who must succeed Ichipao [Ishipahu]. Rain.

Thursday 19

Have started preparations for my departure; suitcases, etc.

Friday 20

Sewed almost all day. Prepared suitcases.

Saturday 21

The cannon business. Finished covering the tomb of Fr. Alexis.

Sunday 22

Received the King's visit twice. (*Lepaototo*). M..

Monday 23

Worked at the chapel; visit of Capt. ...[Grombeck]. Part of my belongings on board.

Tuesday 24

Finished the chapel. Visit of the King and Queen.

Wednesday 25

They came again to get some of my belongings. Laundry.

Thursday 26

Rain almost all day. Cross, inscription.

Friday 27

Planted the cross; the marker; finished the door and left Naha.

Saturday 28

We were supposed to leave this morning but one of the sailors has escaped last night and they are looking for him.

¹ Ed. note: Latin phrase, in translation of the Pohnpeian phrase, meaning "To do [something] sacred."

Sunday 29

Departure at daybreak. Went around the island; weather nice. This island is not as big as I thought. It is shaped like this.¹

Monday 30

Tacking all day on the west side of our island. One more sailor on board. We left for Pakin situated 20 miles from here.²



Father Maigret at the grave of Father Bachelot on Na Island, Pohnpei. (*From a wood-cut in the supplement to the Sandwich Islands Gazette*).

1 Ed. note: Small sketch, showing something like a plus sign with rounded corners.

2 Ed. note: During the stay of Fr. Maigret at Pohnpei, the schooner had visited Sydney. Her new destination was Mangareva, in the Gambiers, where she arrived in November, and then at Valparaiso in December 1838, and back at Mangareva in March 1839. As for Captain Grombeck, he returned to Hawaii aboard another vessel owned by Dudoit, the **Eagle**; he then took command of the **Clementine**. He died aboard this ship on a subsequent voyage to Mangareva, at the age of 38. Fr. Maigret returned to Honolulu with other missionaries in July 1840.

Notes 1837D

Other documents about Fr. Bachelot, Maigret, Dudoit, etc.

D1. Extract from Fr. Yzerdoorn's History

Source: Father Yzerdoorn. History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii. Chapter X.—Death of Father Bachelot.

The last resting place of Fr. Bachelot.

Notwithstanding the pains Father Maigret had taken to mark the last resting place of the first Catholic priest who preached the Gospel in the Northern Pacific [sic],¹ the exact spot can no longer be found.

In 1859 probably, a Protestant missionary of Hawaiian birth, the Rev. Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, planted a coconut tree on the grave of the man, who, though under another banner, had struggled for the honor of the same Master.

In the *Friend* of February 1860, he gives the following account of this occurrence:

“A few weeks since I planted a foreign cocoanut on the grave of the Rev. Mr. Bachelot, who died in 183—, on his way from the Sandwich Islands to Ascension, in company with the present Roman Catholic Bishop of the Sandwich Islands. He was buried in a dense cocoanut grove on the island of Na, near the mouth of the weather or Metalanim harbor. Though differing widely from him in religious faith, and condemning much in his missionary life, I respect his zeal, and most especially desire to honor his devotion to the enterprise of spreading Christianity. Had his successors followed up their work in Micronesia rather than at the Sandwich Islands, this field would ere this have undoubtedly been their own, in all its extent.”

Today no traces are left either of this foreign coconut or of the mortuary chapel. All the trees in the district Panjap-en-Panmei were in 1905 plucked up by the roots and swept away by a hurricane.

The Rev. Father Crescenz, O.Cap. of the Ponape Mission, who in 1909 searched the little island in company with a Protestant chieftain, only found the remnants of two

¹ Ed. note: Strange to say, this author ignored the fact that the first Catholic missionaries arrived in Micronesia centuries earlier.

wells which Father Maigret had made there during his sojourn; other vestiges of the little missionary establishment could not be discovered. He met, however, with a native, the son of a Mangarevian boy who used to do service as Father Maigret's cook on Na. This man affirmed that in the district Benjap-en-Panmei had stood the missionary's dwelling place.¹

D2. Extracts from an article on Jules Dudoit

Source: Louis Jore. "Jules Dudoit (1803- 1866)—First French Consul to the Hawaiian Islands." Translated by I. O. Pecker and published in Pan-Pacific 1 (1937): 47-50.

...
They [the Catholic missionaries then in Hawaii] succeeded without difficulty in winning over to their cause a sea captain named Jules Dudoit, a native of the Ile de France, known as the Island of Mauritius since its cession to England.

Of French blood and a Catholic, Jules Dudoit had naturally made contacts with the Picpus Brothers soon after his arrival in Honolulu in 1835 on the **Clémentine**, a vessel belonging to him, and with which he proposed to do business in the Pacific.²

...
Appointed French Consular Agent to the Hawaiian Islands by Dupetit-Thouars in July 1837.³

...
During the years that followed Jules Dudoit helped with the most perfect devotion the activities of officers of the French navy who came to Honolulu. In this way he was most helpful to Captain Laplace, commanding the **Artémise**, when he came in July 1839 to ask of the Government of King Kamehameha III reparation for insults inflicted on our [French] nationals.

The Picpus Fathers took advantage of the treaty of July 12, 1839, which had declared the Catholic religion free in all the islands under the rule of the King, and had conceded a location in Honolulu for the erection of a church of this religion. They decided to re-establish officially the mission which had disappeared in 1831.

Jules Dudoit put himself at their disposal and went to Valparaiso to get Mgr. Rouchouze... as well as Fathers Maigret, Desvault, Heurtel and a few native catechists from the Gambier archipelago. This group of missionaries landed in Honolulu May 19, 1840.

...
[After the independence of Hawaii was recognized by the English and the French in November 1843, the French government decided to appoint a career diplomat as their

1 Letter of Rev. Father Crescenz O.Cap. March 4, 1909.

2 Ed. note: Jules Dudoit had learned about navigation in America before he returned to the island of his birth and married Clémentine Labat in 1829, but she died a year later, probably while giving birth to a daughter, also named Clémentine, hence the name of Dudoit's ship.

3 A royal decree dated October 26, 1839 confirmed this appointment, and also granted Jules Dudoit the title of Honorary Consul.

Consul, and awarded Jules Dudoit the Cross of the Légion d'Honneur for his services up to 1847.

...

Having been away from his native land for so many years, Jules Dudoit acquired Hawaiian nationality and settled permanently in Honolulu in business. He married Miss Anna Corney, daughter of an Irish sea-captain, who had settled in the islands at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Jules Dudoit was to end his days in a tragic way. On July 20, 1877, toward midnight, his Chinese cook murdered him while he was sleeping. His wife, who tried in vain to save her husband, was also seriously wounded, but recovered.

Father Maigret, who in 1844 had been raised to the dignity of Bishop at the time of the establishment of the autonomous Apostolic Vicariate in the Hawaiian Islands, officiated at the funeral service of Jules Dudoit. He insisted upon honoring in a special manner the exceptional services rendered by the deceased to the Catholic Mission, as well as to himself, thirty years before.

With Jules Dudoit disappeared a modest servant of the French cause in the Pacific; he was always conscious of the memory of his origin and remained faithful to the fatherland of his forbears.

...

D3. Captain Grombeck's comment about the Nanmadol ruins

Sources: Article in the Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce, of September 2nd, 1847; reproduced in part in the journal of Dr. Wilson of the English whaler Gipsy (see Doc. 1840I).

In the "Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce," of September 2nd 1837, it is there stated, on the authority of a Capt. M. Grombeck, Schooner **Pearl**, who had just visited the Island of Ascension, that there were eleven forts, or buildings resembling them, upon the Island, covering a considerable extent of ground, & built of solid masonry: said to be from 40 to 50 feet in height, 100 yards in length, & 30 to 40 yards in breadth. Inside the forts are appearances of graves.

Document 1837E

The ship Newark, Captain William H. Whitfield

Sources: Ms. log in the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 837; Log Inv. 3510.

Note: There is a list of the officers and crew in front of the logbook; James B. Merehue was 1st Mate, Edward F. Wood was 2d Mate, Benjamin Crowel 3d Mate, etc.

Extract from the log

A Journal of a voage [sic] from Poughkeepsie into the Pacific Ocean & elsewhere whaling, kept by William H. Whitfield, master of said ship. Newark of Poughkeepsie. [Copied by Capt Den. McKenzie for the National Institute, Washington].

...

Sunday May 14 [1837]

This day brisk trades[.] at daylight saw the land dis 25 miles run of for the same[.] at 3 pm came to anchor at Umatac Bay in Guam in 10 fathoms water.

Monday May 15

This day squally with rain[.] got 150 barrels water started it and stowed it.

Tuesday May 16

This day pleasant breezes and fine weather[.] got of[f] all the water and stowed it.

Wednesday May 17

This day brisk trades[.] at 7 AM took the anchor[.] at 2 PM came to A. in 24 fathoms water.

May the 18

Laying in the harbor at Guam where we continued to lay until June the 1.

[It appears that Captain Whitfield spent the whole time ashore.]

June the 1

This day brisk wind from the East[.] 6 AM got under weigh[.] at 7 discharged the pilot[.] at 10 got the anchors stowed and all wood[.] steered to the North.

Lat. 13°44 N Long. 145°10 E.

June 2d

This day pleasant breezes from ENE[,] steered N by W.

Lat 15°42 N Long 144°50 E.

...

Document 1837F

The adventures of William Torrey

Source: William Torrey. Torrey's Narrative: or, The Life and Adventures of William Torrey (Boston, 1848)

Note: In 1837 he was serving aboard a ship under a Capt. Coleman. This ship may have been the Nantucket whaler named Catawba built in 1836 and immediately despatched on her first voyage that lasted until 1839.

Extract from his book—Visit to Mili atoll

...

Leaving the Duke of York's [Atafu in Tokelau] Island, we stood for Fanning's Island, which is of about the same description as the last-mentioned one.

Here we cruised about a few days, went on shore, and found two huts that had the appearance of being recently occupied.

From thence we stood for the Mulgrave's [Mili] group, where we took three whales. After trying the oil, we went on shore on Cohanna Island,¹ where there was but little indication of life. On going up a little creek we saw a smoke in the distance; seeing this I told the captain it was best to put back to the ship, for should they see the harpoons and lances in the boats, they would at once consider us as enemies, and would most likely attempt to murder us.

He would not be persuaded to return, declaring he would land at all hazards, which was effected with great difficulty, on account of the surf which ran very high.

The captain took his gun with him, saying he would shoot the first native he saw. We found several canoes hung up in the bushes. Again I begged of the captain to return. He turned upon me, calling me a coward. This epithet I was willing to bear, telling him if he knew as much of them as I did,² he would rather be called a coward than be caught by them.

Soon the loud war whoop rang in our ears. I told the captain he could then do as he pleased, but I was going to the boat, and started. I jumped into the boat and shoved off. The natives were rushing down to the beach, armed with clubs and spears. The captain was still quite reluctant about getting in. He drew up his gun ready for firing. This

1 Ed. note: One of the islet of Mili atoll.

2 Ed. note: The author had spent 25 months, in 1825-27, in the Marquesas.

I remonstrated loudly against, but it did no good. He fired, wounding one of them in the legs, who fell upon the ground, yelling loudly, and taking up sand rubbed it on the wound. This to the Captain was much sport, but it would not be sport to the next unsuspecting crew that might touch there, who would without a doubt atone for his folly, for they would most assuredly be revenged.¹

We spoke the bark **Harriet**, of London, on our way to the Barbadoes, which lie in about 8°30' north latitude, and about 175° west longitude.² From them we procured a quantity of Plantain, bananas, and a few hogs.

From thence we made the Sandwich islands...

...

1 Ed. note: Their revenge did take place, upon the French whaler *Angéline*, in 1844.

2 Ed. note: There is no island in that position, which lies to the east of Maloelap.

Document 1837G

Communal works planned for Guam in 1837

Source: Item 46, Mariana Is., LC Mss. Div.

Original text in Spanish.

Yslas Marianas—Año 1837

Nº 5. Acuerdo sobre los trabajos de Comunidad de Marianas.

En la Ciudad de Agaña à primero de Diciembre de mil ochocientos treinta y siete el Señor Don José Casillas Salazar Gobernador de Yslas Marianas, el Gobernadorcillo de la propia Ciudad Don Pedro Guerrero y el presente Secretario de Gobierno y Guerra Don José de la Cruz reunidos en Acuerdo dijeron que en vista del deterioro de los Caminos y Tulayes que las aguas destruyen anualmente por hallarse las primeras al pie de Laderas ó sobre montes y de terrenos roquisticos, y los segundos en la confluencia del mar acometidos de las avenidas y del embate de la marejada de las playas era necesario atender á su conservacion, reparandolos inmediatamente por trabajos de Comunidad. Que estos se economisen en esta parte la mas posible en consideracion á otros obgetos de la misma especie: que se reparen los techados de ojas de Coco de las Yglesias y Casas Reales cuya duracion bienal lo exija. Y al efecto haganse caleros segun costumbre por cada Barangay y acopiase los materiales indispensables de palos y piedras para la reparacion de los tulayes que lo necesitaren y blanqueo de las Yglesias y Casas Reales cuyas operacion es anual. Por lo tanto los Baranguis ó gremios de Carpinteros y de Albañiles acudirán por via de Comunidad con sus respectivas herramientas de su particular propiedad, por no haber otras para los indicados usos segun és ya costumbres establecidas por el anterior Governador. Y por ultimo que despues de terminadas estas faenas y los cocales y algodones de Comunidad si sobrase materiales y tiempo en conformidad á los Superiores bandos y disposiciones que rigen en la materia que se haga en la ensacitada(?) sabana de la Plaza de Palacio que proyecta un paralelogramo un compartimiento simetrico adornandolo de arboles analogos á la calidad del terreno y de copas fronderas para comodidad del transito y belleza local, reuniendo en un circulo central de un proporcionado diametro coronado de una banqueta ó asiento de argamasas el compartimiento de estas calzaditas de comunicacion, finalizando en un combeniente Alcantarilla sobre el riachuelo de Agaña en lugar de los troncos de coco que sirben de pasaje al frente de la calzada que enfila la puerta de Palacio y evitar ac-

cientes desagradables. Y siendo posible otra, de mayor consideracion por debajo del puente debilitado de San Nicolas, inservible para las Carretas por no exponer su costosa reedificacion si ocurriese la ruina de su arco de piedra labrada y sin operarios al presente en Marianas que pudieren ejecutarlo y aquella con el fin de no interrumpir la comunicacion en tiempo de avenidas. Que estas faenas que indudablemente no podrán completarse ni en el presente ni el siguiente año se continuen con la devida consideracion á las necesidades de estos habitantes dandose conocimiento de este particular al Reverendo Padre Fr. Bernardo del Rosario Cura Parroco de esta Ciudad y Vicario Foraneo por si se ofreciesen algunos reparos y como lo aconseja la buena armonia que reyna entre ambas Jurisdicciones, todo lo que deberá elevarse al Superior conocimiento del Exmo. Sor. Capn. Gral. de Filipinas, y le firmaron en Agaña los referidos Señores de que doy fee.

José Casillas Salazar

Pedro Guerrero

Ante mi

José de la Cruz, Secretario de Gobierno y Guerra.

[Aftermath]

Y de haberse asi ejecutado, firman esto las Justicias de esta Ciudad de los años de 1838, 39, y 40, en conformidad á las disposiciones y ordenanzas del Gobierno Superior de Filipinas.

Año de 1838 Nicolas de Leon Guerrero.—Por ausencia del Gobernadorcillo, el Teniente de Yd.

Yd. de 1839 Juan de Castro

Yd. de 1840 Pedro Guerrero

Lo que se hace constar para el mas debido cumplimiento de las Superiores disposiciones del Exmo. Sor. Capitan Gral. de Filipinas.

Agaña 1° de Agosto de 1840.

José Casillas Salazar

Pedro Guerrero

José de la Cruz, Secretario de Gobierno y Guerra.

Translation.

Mariana Islands.—Year of 1837.

Nº 5. Agreement regarding communal works for the Marianas.

In the City of Agaña, on the first day of December 1837, His Lordship Don José de Casillas Salazar, Governor of the Mariana Islands, along with the Mayor of the city proper, Don Pedro Guerrero and the present Government Secretary for Administration and War, Don José de la Cruz, met and declared: that, in view of the deterioration of the Roads and Bridges which are destroyed every year by erosion, the former at the base of hillsides or on top of mountains and rock-strewn spots, and the latter near the sea where they are subject to high running water and high tides, it was necessary to take care of their preservation, by repairing them immediately by means of communal works; that as much money as possible be saved in this kind of works, considering that other

projects have also to be carried out, to wit: repairs made to the roofs that are thatched with coconut leaves, be they churches or royal houses, work that is scheduled every two years.

To this effect, lime kilns are to be made according to custom in every barangay and the indispensable materials be assembled, such as poles and stones for the repair of the bridges that might need it, and the whitewashing of the churches and royal houses, said work being required on a yearly basis. Consequently, the carpenter and masonry unions are to participate in common with their respective tools, of their own property, because there are no other for said uses, and according to the customs already established by the previous governor. And finally, once these tasks have been completed, and the coconut and cotton plantations owned by the community looked after, should there be materials and time remaining, in accordance with the superior proclamations and dispositions that may apply, let there be carried out, in the open space of the plaza, where it is shaped like a parallelogram, a symmetrical design, to be adorned with trees suitable for that soil and potted plants, for the convenience of the traffic and to beautify the place; where all these small footpaths will meet, in a central point, let there be made a circle of an appropriate diameter, with a raised [circular] concrete slab; finally, there should be a proper masonry bridge over the Agaña stream to replace the coconut trunks that now serve to cross it, in front of the road that leads to the door of the palace and to avoid disagreeable accidents. And, if possible, there should be another task done, one of major importance, under the debilitated bridge of San Nicholas, [now] unfit for carts, in order not to risk a costly rebuilding, should its arch of hewn stone collapse, knowing that there are no workers presently in the Marianas who could do this kind of work, and that, for the purpose of maintaining communication during the rainy season. Given that such works will undoubtedly not be completed in the present nor in the next years, they are to continue as long as necessary, due consideration being given to the needs of these inhabitants. In this respect, the Rev. Fr. Bernardo del Rosario, Curate of this city and Vicar Forane is to be advised, in case he should have a few comments to make, the better to maintain harmony between both jurisdictions. All of which should also be the subject of a report to be brought to the superior attention of the Captain General of the Philippines.

Said gentlemen affixed their signatures, for which I vouch.

José Casillas Salazar

Pedro Guerrero

Before me,

José de la Cruz, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

[Aftermath]

And, to certify that said works were carried out, the following Justices of the Peace of this City for the years 1838, 39 and 40, have affixed their signatures, in accordance with the decisions and ordinances of the Superior Government of the Philippines.

Year of 1838: Nicolas de León Guerrero—Deputy Mayor, in the absence of the Mayor.

Year of 1839: Juan de Castro.

Year of 1840: Pedro Guerrero.

All of which being reported, in compliance with the Superior orders of His Excellency the Captain General of the Philippines.

Agaña, 1 August 1840.

José Casillas Salazar

Pedro Guerrero

José de la Cruz, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

Note 1837H

Ship Eliza of Salem visited Pohnpei in February

Sources: Article in the Salem Advertiser, 9 August 1837; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ponape 2.

Note: Starbuck does not record this early voyage of the Eliza, because it was not a whaler, but a trading ship.

We understand by Mr. John D. Bassett of this city, late first officer of the ship **Eliza**, who lately arrived passenger in the ship **Ann McKim**, at Baltimore, that the ship **Eliza**, of Salem, John D. Winn, master, left the Fegee Islands on the 28th Oct. 1836, bound to Manilla and was at the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] in the North Pacific, on the 28th Feb. last, where she had been laying ninety days unable to get out. Sixteen of her original crew had left the ship, but other men had been procured.

Note 1837I

The Marianas got a new governor in 1837

Source: General García Camba. Los 16 meses de mando superior de Filipinas, pages 15 and 38.

Note: After being named Governor of the Philippines, General García left Madrid on 5 March 1837, departed Cadiz on 17 April following, aboard the newly-built Spanish sloop-of-war San Fernando and arrived at Manila on 25 August 1837.

Extract from Governor García's book

Original paragraph in Spanish.

...
A propósito de Marianas: con mi desembarco en Manila coincidió la salida para estas islas de un buque por cuenta del Estado conduciendo el situado y al gobernador nombrado por mi interino antecesor. Durante mi mando [1837-39] no hubo nueva oportunidad, y fletar un buque con solo el objeto de conducir los confinados era demasiado costoso, como espuse al gobierno de V.M.

Translation.

...
 Concerning the Marianas: when I disembarked in Manila, there took place the departure for these Islands of a ship chartered by the government to take the subsidy there, as well as their new governor,¹ appointed by my interim predecessor. During my term [1837-39] there was no other opportunity to charter another ship for the sole purpose of sending the prisoners, because of the excessive costs involved, as I have mentioned² to the government of Your Majesty.

1 Ed. note: Lieut-Col. José Casillas Salazar.

2 Ed. note: The prisoners in question were three rebel priests from Córdoba in Spain, who had accompanied García aboard the San Fernando, and had been ordered exiled to Guam in 1836. Two of these were, in fact, transferred one month later to the unnamed chartered ship carrying Casillas in 1837. This "unnamed" ship was, in fact, the English cutter Lambton, Capt. Hart. (see his deposition in Doc. 1839A14).

Note 1837J

Notes about Governor Casillas and his term of office, 1837-43

Source: Safford's notes, page 379, in LC Mss. Division.

Historical notes recorded by Lieut. Safford in 1900

As for the correspondence of the earlier governors ... that of Casillas is missing (1837-1843). All that I could learn about him from the people in Guam was that he drank five bottles of brandy a day, that he did little or nothing for the island, that he left the management of affairs to the gobernadorcillo, that he received a barrel of rum from one of the whalers, & that he didn't stop until he had finished it, and that on being relieved he went to Manila where soon afterwards he died.

Documents 1838E

Second d'Urville expedition—The Spanish reports

Source: PNA, Marianas 1839: Bundle 116, file 51.

E1. Report by the P.M. Governor of the Marianas, about the arrival at the port of Umata in said Islands of French ships under the command of Mr. d'Urville and Mr. Jacquinot, in their expedition to Oceania.

[To] His Excellency Andrés Camba, Captain-General of the Philippine Islands.

[From] the Government of the Marianas, Letter N° 45.

Dear Sir:

On the 1st of January of this year [1839], there anchored in the roadstead of Umata the French sloops of war **L'Astrolabe** and **La Zélée**, under the command of Mr. d'Urville, commander of the expedition, and Mr. Jacquinot, commander of the **Zélée**. This expedition, ordered by the French Government, is dedicated to make investigations in Oceania and at the Arctic [rather Antarctic] pole; they went as far as 63° only, on account of the ice. Along with the report of the investigation by said ships, I received a letter from the Commander of said expedition which I have the honor of forwarding to Y.E. and with regard to which, as much on account of the friendly relations existing between our two nations, as for the worthy purpose of said expedition and mainly respecting the particular status and responsibility of these Islands that require circumspection, I have not hesitated to attend to them in a manner that civility and prudence dictate. Nevertheless, it is strange that they have not shown me what is usual in such cases, some letters written by higher authorities recommending this expedition in the Spanish territories. After having given rest and recreation to his people, and determined the position of the Town of Umata by repeated astronomical observations, that the Captains of the same nation Freycinet and Duperrey had carried out, during the term of Governor Medinilla who was not very cautious in letting them acquire as many topographic and statistical data and other descriptive material of this island as they wished, and that they have published. I have allowed some individuals of said expedi-

tion to visit the interior of the island in the quality of naturalists. Finally, having been visited in Umata by Commander d'Urville, I accepted the invitation to dine aboard the sloop **Astrolabe**, receiving in it the special consideration of being saluted with nine guns, and during said salute, they substituted the Spanish flag and the Commander himself presented me with a set of pistols in a case and one copper medal with the bust of Louis Philippe, King of the French. The next day, 10th, they sailed off going West possibly to Amboina, but firstly to the coasts of New Holland and possibly to make efforts to reach higher latitudes towards the South Pole.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 31 December [sic] 1839.

José Casillas Salazar.

E2. [Attachment:] Letter of Commander d'Urville to Governor Casillas.

Corvette l'Astrolabe

Umata, 1 January 1839.

[From] Navy Captain, Commander of the French Research Expedition.

To the Governor, Captain General of the Marianas.

My dear Governor:

The two French corvettes l'**Astrolabe** and the **Zélée**, on a mission of discovery to the South Pole and Oceania, and under my command, requires a stay of a few days in a friendly country to carry out certain observations and to take on fresh provisions. The bay of Umata has appeared perfectly appropriate for this double purpose.

Consequently, I have the honor, my dear Governor, to ask for permission to stay there for 8 to 16 days, and also permission to buy from the inhabitants the fresh provisions that we need, to be paid either in cash or in trade goods, according to their preference.

I beg You then to kindly place at our disposal either the Palace of Umata or somewhere else, a site we could use during our stay.

Finally, I would be much obliged to You if You could provide us from the Government Stores at the local prices, the objects listed in the enclosed note, and which we most urgently need. Besides, please indicate at least the way to obtain them, if it is still possible.

Receive, my dear Governor, the assurance of my high consideration and of my deepest respect.

Your humblest and most devoted servant,

J. D'Urville.

Nota. I have already been here in 1828 with the **Astrolabe**, at the roadstead of Umata, and I have not forgotten the generous and distinguished welcome received from Governor José Medinilla.

I have just learned, Don José, that You are still Governor of these Islands.¹ Thus, I have not the least doubt about the welcome which I will receive. If I can get rid of a painful attack of gout that torments me, I hope to go in person to present my respects in Agaña one of these days.

List of the objects that are most required by the French corvettes *Astrolabe* and *Zélée*.

- Brandy, or otherwise rum, or sugar brandy: 900 pounds, about 56 arrobas.
- Sugar: 100 Kilograms, about 220 Spanish pounds.
- Rice: 300 Kilograms, about 660 Spanish pounds.
- Pepper: 2 Kilograms, about 4 Spanish pounds.
- Vegetable tar: 100 Kilograms, about 220 Spanish pounds.

Corvette *P'Astrolabe*, 1 January 1839.

The Captain and Commander of the French Research Expedition.

J. D'Urville.

E3. The Governor's answer

[To] the Commander of the French Research Expedition to the South Pole and Oceania.

Agaña, 1 January 1839.

My dear Sir:

With all my consideration and respect, while I cannot make it to the port of Umata to personally offer my due attentions to your character and delicate civility, I hasten in view of your letter of this date to order the Mayor of that Town to place at your disposal the Royal House where you may do what you find most appropriate to your purpose and at the same time all the other assistance made possible by the scarce products these people can give to a friendly nation.

In the hope that You will accept this simple manifestation as a proof of the interest that I take in welcoming the corvettes *Astrolabe* and *Zélée*, may I mention though the changes that have been made since 1830: the administrative system of these Islands no longer allows me stores of food held by the Government, or this Governor, given the ease with which the subjects of such honorific and respectable commissioners had in giving it away as required. Taking into account the list of articles that You have enclosed, I think that You will be able to get, if not everything, a good part of it.

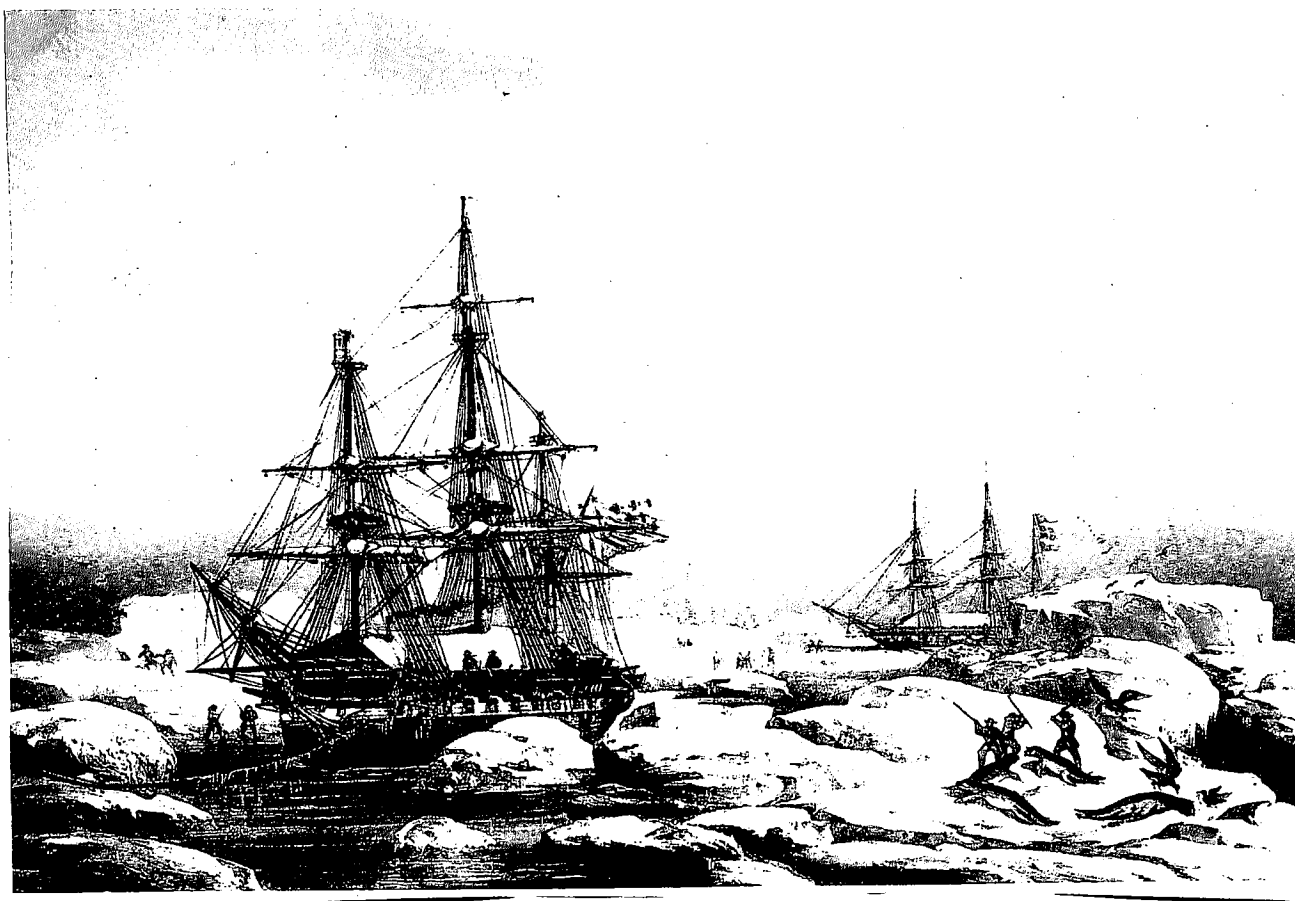
With this reason, my dear Commander, I have the distinguished honor to drink to your health, again with the greatest sincerity, please accept the scarce resources that this population can offer. I am sure that You will at least receive frank and good will and I beg You to allow me to offer it with the greatest respect and consideration.

¹ Ed. note: He was at first mistaken, as the new Governor was José Casillas, not José Medinilla.

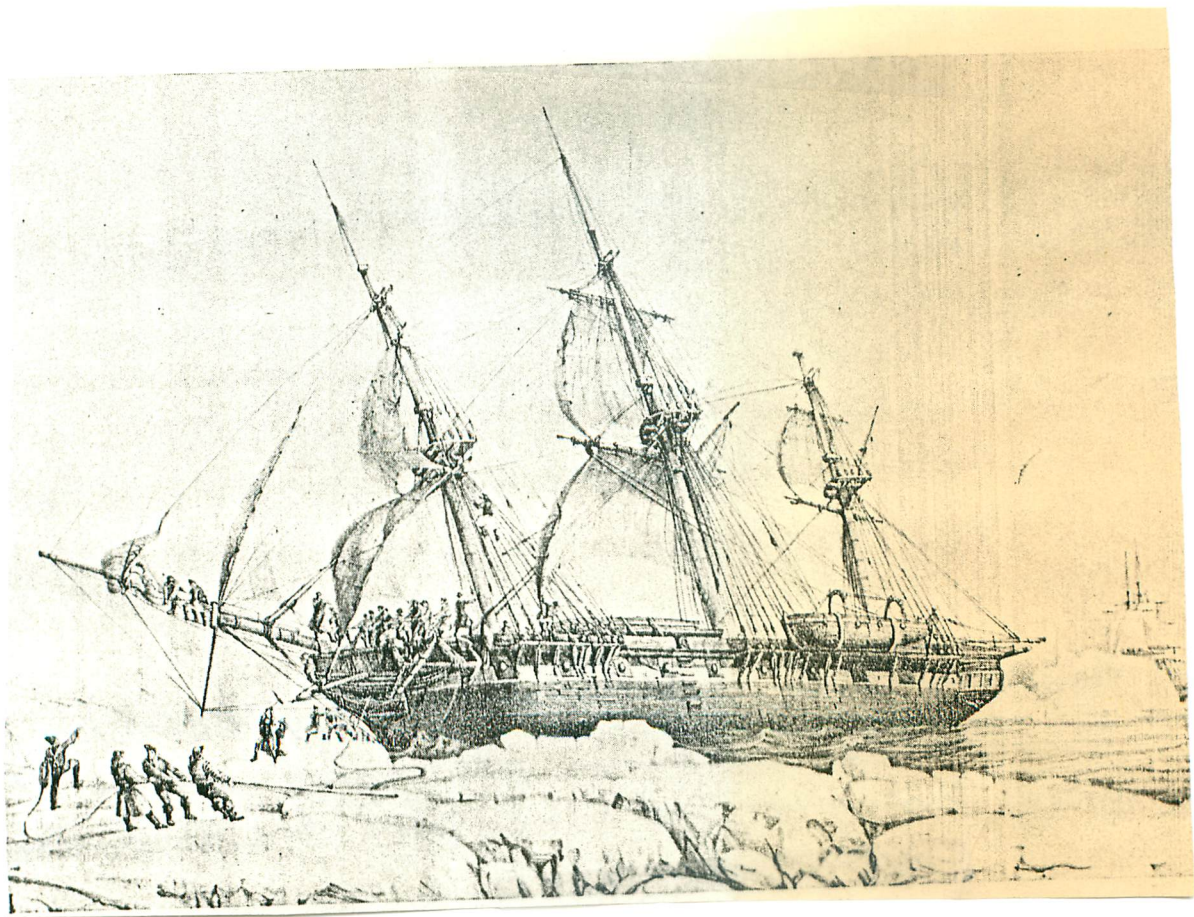
Your most devoted and obedient servant, who kisses your hand,
José Casillas Salazar.

Postscript.

I regret to inform You that Governor José de Medinilla died in Manila, although he would have had the pleasure of seeing his old friends of the famous expedition that has enriched the knowledge of natural history with the corvettes **Astrolabe** and **Uranie**.
Casillas Salazar.



The corvettes Astrolabe and Zélée in the Antarctic in 1838.



The corvette Astrolabe in ice-floes, in 1840.



The corvettes in tropical waters.



Dumont d'Urville—Official portrait.



Dumont d'Urville.

Documents 1838F

**The second d'Urville Expedition—The
narrative of Captain d'Urville**

Source: Dumont d'Urville. Voyage au pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie (Paris, 1841-54).

**VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH POLE
AND THROUGH OCEANIA
ABOARD THE CORVETTES ASTROLABE AND
ZÉLÉE
1837-1840**

**BY
DUMONT D'URVILLE**

**(with added narratives by Marescot, Jacquinet, Demas
and others)**

Volume 5

**Printed
1843**

...
[Visit to Nukuoro]

The next day [2 December 1838], we crossed the equator for the second time, and our entrance into the northern hemisphere was accompanied by a few squalls of rain and violent winds.

1838. 17 December.

In spite of the unfavorable weather, on the previous day I had crossed over the space where the charts place the Monteverde Islands (the Nuguor Islands of Captain Lutke) without seeing anything, although the horizon was one of the nicest. I was sailing directly towards the Hogoleu [Chuuk] Islands when, at daybreak, the lookout announced land in the W and WSW.

They are the Dunkin Islands that are marked on Captain Duperrey's chart, but that are not mentioned by either Mr. Krusenstern or Mr. Lutke. Unfortunately, the sky was overcast in the NE, the breeze weak and uncertain, the sea running high, the sun not visible, which made us fear a sad exploration.

In spite of the bad weather and the high seas, many canoes carrying five, six, or even seven natives came where we were, at four or five miles to windward of their islands.

The newcomers represented well the Carolinian type: their body is regular, their limbs are lean and well proportioned, their skin copper-colored, their features are regular, their faces oblong and rather pleasant; their mouth is small, the teeth beautiful; they wear a beard like Jews; their hair is long, black, smooth and gathered on the nape of the neck; the upper part of their head is well made, its rear part does not stand out. As far as their clothing is concerned, they wear woven straw hats of a special shape, with four small sticks on top, which gave them a rather strange appearance. A few already had the conical Chinese-type hat. In addition, they wear a belt made of a rough material around their waist; it is very similar to that worn at Ualan [Kosrae], but is wider and much less elegant.

Their small canoes are made from a single tree trunk, well polished. They are so narrow that they can hardly put in their legs; however, they sail remarkably well.

These natives came alongside our ships with confidence, took their places at the stern and began trading quietly their fish, fish-hooks made of mother-of-pearl and turtle shell, cords, and belts in exchange for the products of our European industry, such as knives, fish-hooks and chisels. They also had with them some wooden boxes (to carry their necessaries) which they refused to barter for a long time, by saying *tabu* every time they were pointed at. As I wished to make a purchase of one for the Louvre Museum, I first offered a beautiful handkerchief decorated with flowers that led to failure; however, as soon as I exhibited a large sailor knife, the *tabu* was lifted and the box arrived on board.

These men appeared to give us the name of Nuguor or Nugunor for their islands, which convinced me of what I already suspected that these islands were the same as the Dunkin, or Monteverede, Islands. I also wished to have them tell me the names of the

neighboring islands, but they were simply too absorbed by their trading, they did not understand me, and all my efforts to arrive at this purpose were vain.

About one hundred men came to visit our ships, which leads me to suppose that the population of the group may reach from 400 to 500 persons at least. On the other hand, we counted as many as 60 huts that were in sight, which would give us a similar calculation. Such huts appeared to be rather well built; they were surrounded by wooden fences and shaded by numerous coconut trees.

At noon, we were but half a mile from this small group; we counted about 30 small low-lying islets, all lined up on a circular reef enclosing a well-formed lagoon. On the west side, the reef is completely devoid of trees; however, we did not see any navigable pass.

At 2 o'clock, Mr. Dumoulin having finished his survey work, I left these islands. One native, alone in his canoe, remained with us for one more hour, towed behind the **Astrolabe**. He gave us the impression that he was a well-practiced merchant attending his customers. It was only after he had sold the last bit of cord that he decided to cut his tow rope and head for the shore, which by that time was at least four to five miles away.

Not one of these men showed a single wound or scar, which seems to assign to them a peaceful character; to the contrary, all appeared healthy, happy and content—something that pleads in their favor. Each canoe seems to have one chief, or expert trader, to supervise the trading operations, and I thought I could detect that it was the man who held the small box which they were so unwilling to part with.

By evening, we had left this interesting group far behind and were being rocked by long swells. A herd of dolphins frolicked about us; their obtuse and almost rounded noses had a white spot on them; their length reached at least three meters, and I did not remember having seen such specimens before.

Some strong rain squalls often accompany gusts of wind from the NW in this neighborhood, where I had expected to meet with constant NE winds; they did not permit me to seek the Lugunor Islands, as I had intended; instead, I headed for the parallel of the Losap Islands, in order to complete a survey of them.

21 December.

At 7 o'clock, the lookout announced land ahead; it was a low island [Losap], a small one, which we approached at a short distance. On the beach we could see a hundred natives who looked at us as we went by, but not one of them seemed to be willing to launch one of the many canoes which were pulled on the same beach. So, I pursued my route, going southward to examine two islets upon which we noted the presence of seven or eight persons, men, women and children. No doubt, they represented the only family living there. Indeed, I could hardly imagine that such a small plot of land could feed a greater population.

A reef encircles this group which consists of three small islands, a sand-spit, and a small rock, or islet, isolated on its north side.

I was leaving this group when, to the NW, we sighted another low island [Namu], towards which we headed; it is completely separate from the former group. The breakers surrounding it were hardly half a cable distant from the beach. This island, like the previous one, is literally covered with coconut trees. It must be the island that was discovered by the **Coquille** and that Captain Duperrey had named after me. The distance at which it had been seen had not permitted him to spot the neighboring group, the Losap Islands.

[Visit to Chuuk Islands]

We had hardly left these small islands when the high summits of the Hogoleu Islands appeared. We could already recognize Chamisso [Uman], Dublon [Toloas] and Iros [Moen] and I had hoped to reach an anchorage that night, when an extended line of breakers blocked my way southward.

The next day, I returned to this barrier to try and find a pass. Finally, I found a rather safe pass which, though narrow, allowed my ships to go in, in spite of the rough sea and currents that we encountered. Fortunately, there was just one spot that was dangerous. After they had passed that point, our corvettes tacked over a smooth sea, though sprinkled with shoals, and came to an anchor near Tsis Island, in the midst of an interesting group which I wished to explore.



Native of the Caroline Islands going fishing.

CHAPTER 38

Stay at the Hogoleu Islands, cruise through the Carolines to Guam Island.

22 December 1838.

Our corvettes had hardly crossed the line of breakers when 30 to 40 canoes, each manned by 6 to 8 men, had come to escort them. So it is that as soon as the anchors had dropped all these craft came alongside our ships with confidence and astounded us with the shouts of the inhabitants. Knives, bracelets, are for them priceless possessions and, to obtain them, they hurriedly get rid of their mats, combs, finally all their tools and ornaments, even their small boxes or chests. They pay little attention to chisels and mirrors, and in exchange for any valuable object such as a large mat or a chest, they insist on receiving cleavers or large knives which we are short of.

All these canoes carry rather big platforms with baskets about which I was wondering as to their use when I noticed in one of them a young and rather pretty woman who was stretched lazily there. Moreover, this woman appeared to take no part whatever in what was going on around her on the craft; she seemed to be destined to enjoy all the privileges of the *dolce farniente*, whereas the men were busy with the maneuvers and with trading.

At about one o'clock, I went ashore on Tsis Island where many officers had preceded me already. It did not take me long to visit this small island. It is covered with coconut trees; a small hill dominates it and one notices the breadfruit tree, the banana tree, and above all the long stems of the taro plant. A few houses are at the top. On the shoreline, on the north side, I met the tribal chief sitting peacefully under a big shed where he welcomed me politely. Upon seeing me, all the women fled. On my return trip, my guide took me near a hut where there were many of them, but upon seeing me they went away again and, despite all the friendly gestures I made to them, I was calling them back in vain. I therefore had to continue on my way without bothering with them.

There was only one canoe alongside when I arrived at the ladder of the **Astrolabe**; it was only a long time after the cannon had sounded retreat that it went away at last.

Fresh water is extremely abundant on Tsis Island in spite of its small size. A beautiful and good watering place can be found ten minutes from the northern point of the island; thus all the chores on board are going on at the same time.

23 December 1838.

With daylight, we saw the canoes cast off from all the points of the different islands around us. Soon about 40 of these craft, manned by 200 to 300 natives, surrounded our corvettes. They brought fish in abundance but they had only a few chickens, generally very small. The objects that purchasers wanted the most were shells known by the name of orange cowries whose origin seems to be the Hogoleu Islands; however, whereas it was possible for us to obtain a rather large quantity of these rare shells, we were never able to get from the natives a single specimen with the animal still alive inside.

Moreover, these natives traded peacefully with us and showed us rather good faith. Only one tried to cheat me for a trifle; I sent him off the ship with shame, and the lesson appeared well understood by the others.

After many efforts to make ourselves understood, they hastened to give us their names, of which here are a few sampes: Otovoi, Kepwi, Ikevets, all of them young men from Periadik [Parem] Island. If one is to believe them, they are all Tamols or chiefs, although not one appeared to have any authority over the others. Furthermore, they live together with good understanding and they appear to be of a kind and peaceful nature. Despite a heavy rain, they stayed with us until nightfall.

24 December 1838.

The weather continued threatening. Mr. Lafarge, after having received my instructions, went in the big boat from the *Zélée* to survey the reef barrier that we had to cross to come in. The natives surrounded us as in the past, and the entirely peaceful intentions they showed encouraged our officers to go and visit their homes. Mr. Marescot and Mr. Desgraz gave the example. Having left in a canoe from Periadik, they came back only at night, and here is what we learned from the narrative of Mr. Marescot.

[Report of Mr. Marescot]

"After a voyage of one hour, we landed on the shores of Periadik; it is an island entirely similar to Tsis. As for the latter, a dazzling vegetation provides shade everywhere. Our canoe, skilfully manned, was beached under a canopy of green vegetation formed by the intertwined tops of the mangrove trees that line the shore. Across, on the sandy beach, 10 to 12 natives had gathered to receive us. They welcomed us warmly but many of them left the group to go and announce the unexpected arrival of two strangers to the others and no doubt to make the women hide themselves."

"Guided by Otokoi, we followed the seashore, then turned abruptly left to follow a small path that was to take us inland."

"Here and there, while following him, we sighted many huts of the type I had already seen on Tsis. Their construction was no better and, as for cleanliness around them, it was always the same lack of care and maintenance."

"A few small groups of women and children appeared from time to time, but always on the alert. As soon as we feigned to head in their direction, everybody fled like a flight of birds while uttering great shouts."

"After having climbed in silence the hill that is covered with breadfruit trees, we stopped one moment under their shade to catch our breath. Otokoi appeared a little annoyed by the reception that was given to his guests and, to prove to his countrymen that we were very honorable gentlemen, he exerted himself to show the gifts we had given him all along the way, but their fear of us was greater than their curiosity. They looked quickly but fled even faster."

"After a short rest, we continued on our way following a path bordered on both sides by tall tufted grasses. Everywhere the vegetation was striking and indicated that the soil

was as easy to cultivate as it was productive. I noticed a rather large number of taro fields but they were generally badly maintained and half overgrown with weeds that grew there at random. We counted a large number of coconut trees and breadfruit trees. These two species, useful and food-producing, appeared to me to be much more cared for than on Tsis. Here there was a little more agricultural industry; the breadfruit trees were planted so as not to constrain one another in their growth, and the foot of the coconut trees was clean of everything that could hamper their growth."

"In special places, many rows of old coconuts have been lined up in order to increase this food-producing resource. Such places, according to my guide, were sacred."

"After having walked down the other side of the hill, we finally arrived at a large hut absolutely similar to that used by the chief of Tsis as his residence. Under this roof with two slopes, supported by a row of bad posts, there were three beautiful war canoes whose length covered about 45 feet."

"Many old islanders, seated in the center, motioned to us to come in and showed us in no uncertain ways their joy at seeing us among them. Sitting in their midst, we began a sign conversation that they understood more or less. We were offered coconuts and, in turn, we gave these good people fish-hooks and glass objects about which they made much ado. The women, who had until then always kept out of the way, seeing that the two strangers had nothing so terrible about them, came close to the big hut a few at a time in order to examine us from up close. However, they did not dare come in and, at the least gesture we made, they instantly moved as if to scamper as fast as possible."

"This behavior puzzled me, and I was trying to find out the cause when one of the young rowers of the canoe that had brought me came slowly closer to me and offered me the full and entire possession of one of the beauties who surrounded us. I answered with a negative sign and made him understand that my companion and I were under a 'taboo'."

"This answer, made naturally and without suspecting that it had been made slyly, had a result which I had certainly not expected. The young native no doubt hastened to narrate it, because there was a murmur of approval throughout the assembly following which the women became less wild and more accommodating. A few of them even came near me to let me put necklaces around their neck or place earrings in their ears."

"Among them, I noticed a few whose features were rather regular but generally-speaking, their best attraction was their youth. All of those who seemed to me to have passed twenty years of age were misshapen and withered; fallen breasts did not show the least trace of what might have been previously."

"According to what I was able to understand, the young girls go completely naked until they reach eight or ten years of age; at that time, they wear a maro or a belt that covers the sexual parts. The poncho worn by the men is replaced among the women by a piece of woven cloth that they wrap as they wish, either around the middle of the body from the breast down to the middle of the thighs or thrown upon their shoulders more or less artfully."

“As for their hair style, they wear, like the men, their hair long and tied behind the head. Like them also, they have their ear lobes pierced and decorated with various ornaments; most of the time, these consist of small shell earrings, one side of which has been split, heated to give them more elasticity, and then passed through the lower part of the ear lobe. As they cool, they harden and it is even difficult to see the junction that had made it possible to place them there.”

“On the body of the women, I could not see any sign of tattoos. As for their condition, it seemed to me rather precarious and miserable; the men appear to be very jealous and they made me understand that the woman who would surrender herself to a stranger, without the express permission of her husband or nearest relative, would be immediately put to death. However, I do not believe this story which was given to me by these savages perhaps to dissuade me from the idea.”

“It is the women who go fishing upon the reefs surrounding the island; they go there at night with torches made with resin-laden wood and, with two small nets in their hands, which are similar in shape to what is called “troubles” in France, to fish for minnows that go to make up a dish favored by these islanders.”

“It is they who also weave cloth and plait mats. In general, they are in charge of all the household chores. The men look after war duties which I believe are rather rare among these peoples, sailing over the great reef and between islands, building canoes and weapons, and finally fishing expeditions.”

“While we were resting under the big hut, quite unexpectedly one hen was brought to us; the natives call it *pusa*. Anxious to have more, my travelling companion left me to go with Otokoi to visit the huts in the vicinity. During his absence, I busied myself with inspecting the canoes and every nook and cranny of the big hut where I was.”

“A sort of small apartment had been fashioned by stretching some mats and a few dirty rags. Inside this dark nook, there was a fat woman squatting; she looked about her in a rather stupid look. I went near her and, in spite of her squeakings, took it upon myself to have a look inside this retreat.”

“The old islanders, whom I had well treated, made this evil-tempered woman shut up and showed me with pride a wooden loom tht is used to make cloth with threads obtained from plants.”

“It was a primitive weaver’s tool; two pieces of wood received the woof, each thread of which passed through a small hollow cylinder made of turtle shell. Upon this system, each thread was separated so as to allow a thin and flexible board to slide through. When this operation was completed, the board was twisted to a vertical position and it was then possible to let the shuttle down through the threads held apart, thus to carry on the work as is done with a regular loom, except that it took much longer and was harder. As I have said before, the women were in charge of weaving; many of them work together on a same piece of cloth.”

“I spent the rest of the afternoon with these good islanders. When I saw the evening coming, I said goodbye to them. My *Tayo* [i.e. Friend], Otokoi, led me back to the beach and took me once more aboard his canoe. While going back to the shore, we were

welcomed better than when we arrived; the women would willingly come out of their huts to speak to us, and the children no longer fled as before. At about 5 p.m., we left the shore and one hour later, we were back aboard the **Astrolabe**.”

While Mr. Desgraz and Mr. Marescot were the guests of the people of Periadik Island, Mr. Lafond and Mr. Honoré Jacquinot had gone to visit Ruk, or Falang [Fefan] Island; however, they came back only the next day. Moreover, here is what Mr. Jacquinot told us about his pilgrimage.

[Report of Mr. Jacquinot]

“Tsis Island, near which we were anchored, was hardly 2 miles in circumference; it therefore did not contain all the products of the big islands of the archipelago. We could see only 3 or 4 huts inhabited by a few natives who seemed overly influenced by fear. When we arrived, they had hidden their women or had taken them to another island. We could not therefore observe any customs nor make any collections nor study any curious products.”

“Around us, on the other hand, but rather far, we could see the blueish peaks of two big islands, Ruk [Fefan] and Periadik [Param]. When my tour of duty kept me aboard, I kept looking at these two islands that my imagination was depicting to me under the most attractive colors. No sailor had yet visited them; the natives must be found in all their primitive originality and also, what treasures could I possibly find for natural history!”

“Ruk Island, closer to us, was about 3 miles from our anchorage; it was a high land, completely covered with forests. We could not see the shoreline but every morning many canoes came from it, attracted either by curiosity or by the desire to acquire some objects of European manufacture.”

“My plan to make an excursion to this island was soon finalized; I let it be known to many persons on board but it was not generally appreciated, and I was unable to find a companion.”

“I did not like the fact that there could be some danger in going alone among these savages whose customary wickedness could yet be excited by the desire to possess the objects that I carried.”

“That night, having met Mr. Desgraz of the **Astrolabe** on Tsis Island, I tried to convince him to go with me to Ruk Island, and he agreed.”

“The next day I was on the deck very early in the morning, armed with my rifle and my game-bag full of strange objects and sea biscuits. Soon I spied a few canoes coming from Ruk Island towards us. One of them carried a young savage, by whose kind appearance I judged to be that of a chief. His hair was carefully tied behind his head, a big orange-colored poncho covered his shoulders and shell necklaces adorned his neck; his face which radiated frankness and daring pleased me. Two other savages were positioned one in front, the other at the back. As soon as the canoe came alongside, I went down to it and made the young chief understand that I wished to go to his island. He

appeared to be deeply astonished by my request but a beautiful necklace of blue glass beads that I gave him, with the promise of another upon landing, soon convinced him. We therefore sat down, he took his oar and gave the signal to his two companions; the canoe sped off. The **Astrolabe** was along our way; when we got close to her, I made a sign to my oarsmen to stop. At that moment, this ship had a very busy appearance; a multitude of canoes were at her stern, the commander and most of the officers were at the stern trading with the natives. I called Mr. Desgraz but, either because he wished to stay there in the hope of acquiring a golden cowrie, that very rare shell that we all coveted, or else he had changed his mind about the trip; anyway, he told me he could not accompany me.”

“I again gave the sign of departure, but this time with less trust and joy. Indeed, the presence of a companion in similar expeditions is so to speak necessary because one can share his impressions, his ideas to double the pleasure; also a danger when shared appears half as great. However, even though nobody wished to come with me, I nevertheless resolved to pursue my adventurous journey.”

“The canoe I was in was a tree trunk, dug out, about 12-foot long, and only wide enough to make room for my legs. a few narrow boards, fixed to both sides, were used as seats; an outrigger made of two or three sticks prevented the frail craft from capsizing. Thus loaded, it cleared fewer than six inches above the waterline; however, manned by three energetic fellows, it made rapid progress, but the distance was great, the two ships were disappearing behind us and the island shore could not yet be seen. To waste time, I started carving my name with the tip of my knife on the small board I used as a seat. Some travellers, specially Frenchmen, have the idiosyncrasy to put their names on the monuments they visit. There is no ancient ruin, no rock at the top of a high mountain, that is not covered with names; it is like a calling card, a souvenir left for a friend who might follow at the same site. Who knows some Frenchman will not some day carve his name next to mine upon finding this forgotten trace in the midst of the vast Ocean!”

“I was putting the finishing touch to my work of art when I heard the noise made by oars behind me. I turned around and I saw a canoe coming after us. It was still rather far off; my companions slowed down somewhat to wait for it; I could see a man wearing a shirt, perhaps a companion coming to join me. Indeed, a few moments later, I recognized with joy Mr. Lafond of the **Astrolabe**. We then sailed together. Little by little, the shore became clearer; we could see natives running here and there. The island was everywhere surrounded by a reef that covered from the land to a rather great distance seaward; it would have been impossible for any kind of craft to land. As soon as we got there, our canoes skirted the reef and made for a low point covered with trees; we soon made a landing on it. The natives whom we had seen running along the shore arrived at the same time as we. They were a bunch of children of both sexes who surrounded us and expressed their joy and surprise noisily.”

“We had no sooner made a few steps under the trees when we found ourselves next to a poor hut in front of which sat an old man. When he spotted us, he became extreme-

ly frightened; he wanted to withdraw but our guide, the young chief, had a hard time to keep him back. We made him a few gifts and this reassured him a little. Meanwhile, the children had gone inside the hut, grabbed a few old coconuts that they husked and offered to us. After a short stop at this place, the savages who had brought us there made signs for us to embark again. We did not know where they intended to bring us and, fearing that the fright of the old man could result in their bringing us back to our ships, we made them understand that we wished to go into the forest. They tried to make us change our mind but we insisted and set out on the trip. Only one man stayed with each canoe; the others accompanied us.”

“We soon realized that we had made a mistake by not following the advice of our guides. The road we had taken was nothing but a huge muddy marsh that we had to cross by stepping upon the curved roots of the mangrove trees. We were forced to keep ourselves in balance all the time upon these frail roots, about one or two feet above the water so as not to fall belly deep into a black stinking mud. We had to make our way thus for about half a mile. Around us there was the dark and deep forest. Some pretty green turtle doves and large doves took off at our approach and disappeared in the trees. When we left this marsh, we came to a plain full of big basaltic rocks, of various sizes and shapes, scattered here and there. No path appeared through this chaos; we had to step from one rock to the next. This operation was beginning to get tiresome when finally we arrived at a path not far from the beach. We had made a long detour to arrive at the point on the coast where we had been unable to land before.”

“Now, the path followed the beach and was pleasantly shaded by a multitude of beautiful trees in the middle of which I saw with surprise a very high orange tree, covered with fruits. The ground itself was covered with them; the natives appeared to disdain them. It was true that the fruits were wild but they were rather good although a little acidic and sour. Where did this tree come from? We know that many orange trees are not found in Oceania; those found at Tahiti and at Tonga have been imported there.”

“We soon met with a few huts scattered here and there a short distance from the shore. Each one was provided with a tiny creek that could contain only one canoe, dug carefully as far as the sea. Most of the huts were deserted (the inhabitants had undoubtedly gone to visit our ships). They are strongly built with wood and roofed with coconut branches. They are rectangular in shape, rather spacious; the interiors contained a few mats, big wooden vessels, oval in shape and painted red, that were used as water containers. Weapons are hung along the wall, that is, bundles of spears armed with sharp and barbed bones from the tail of a certain kind of ray fish; some long sticks polished with care, painted yellow and with a bulge at both ends; and finally, war clubs made of hardwood. One of their main weapons, one that they use with success, is the sling, usually made of coconut twine. With it, they hurl projectiles as big as an egg and shaped like one, carefully ground from basaltic stone.”

“A few huts, larger than the others, are used to shelter these big proas or war canoes whose speed is good, although not as much as some travellers had us believe. Our guides brought us inside one of these big huts that contained two long canoes painted red and

black whose sides were adorned with rather well designed carvings. Mr. Lafond began to make a drawing of one. During this time, many natives had gathered inside this hut and, squatting in a circle, seemed completely ingrossed in a conversation of which we were no doubt the main topic. Until then, we had not seen any woman, but when I turned to look at one of the doors of the hut, I saw many young girls looking curiously at us, half hidden by the big banana leaves. When they realized that they had been discovered, they fled but they soon returned and repeated this operation many times until one of the savages, having spotted them, angrily ordered them to leave and they instantly obeyed."

"We had heretofore followed the beach. On our left there arose hills covered with beautiful trees through which we could see the roof of a hut here and there. A path leading in that direction offered itself to us. We followed it, in spite of the entreaties of the young chief who accompanied us and who tried every means to make us change our mind. We soon found out the reason for his eagerness to prevent us from going that way. When we arrived at the top of that hill where there were two or three huts in a grove of coconut and breadfruit trees, we suddenly saw a crowd of women running towards us and shouting happily. It was in vain that our guide shouted to them to go back; he was not listened to. They were shouting, gesticulating while showing us a few glass rings and necklaces that their brothers and husbands had gotten from our ships. Most of these women were small in size, rather ugly, and generally inferior to the men. Furthermore, they had a close resemblance to the women of Samoa, Tahiti, etc. Their smooth black hair was falling loose upon their shoulders. They wore a small mat, very fine, yellow in color, with black stripes or squares, supported around the waist by a belt made of small circular pieces of shells of various colors. Their most noteworthy piece of clothing was a piece of cloth or mat, dyed orange. This cloth, not as wide as it is long, is pierced with a hole in the middle through which the head is passed so that the two ends fall in front and at the back like a priest's chasuble. This garment that we had not yet seen anywhere in Oceania is the poncho as worn by the Araucanos of Chile."

"Our guide seemed to be so upset to see us among the women that we did not wish to prolong his suffering. After having exchanged a few belts and some mats, we continued our walk much to the displeasure of the Carolinian women who would willingly have given up all their garments for rings and necklaces."

"The rest of the day was spent hunting, collecting plants, insects, and land shells. These savages had no knowledge of firearms. This was made evident to me by the surprise and terror they felt at the first shot I fired with my gun. Their astonishment was even greater when they saw the bird fall, bleeding and lifeless."

"As I have already said, most of the huts were deserted. However, during the evening, when we were hunting sea birds upon the beach, we saw the arrival of a large number of canoes that had spent the day near our ships. The natives carefully carried their canoes up the beach or inside the small creeks leading to the huts, and soon came to the shore. Those who had not left us a single moment that day ran to meet the new arrivals and no doubt reported all that had excited their astonishment, because they soon

surrounded us and encouraged me to shoot at a few sea larks that were running among the pebbles along the shore. Two or three times I aimed successfully; with each explosion, their astonishment was shown by a deep and long "oh" and by a peculiar gesture consisting in hitting one's neck with the palm of the right hand. A few of them had separated themselves from the group; soon they returned holding on to an old man who appeared to be very old; his high frame was curved and although without any apparent infirmities, he walked slowly and with difficulty, leaning upon two of his people. When he had reached the trees lining the shore, he was carefully assisted to sit upon a big stone."

"Nightfall was approaching and it was becoming very difficult to see the birds. The natives were exploring the beach in all directions while bending down. One of them showed me that he could see one and pointed it out to me. I looked for a long time without seeing anything; finally, when I bent down and I saw the head and the long neck of a small crab-eating bird whose black profile was highlighted against the red sunset sky. I fired at random. As soon as the shot was gone, many savages were already on the spot where the bird was. They brought it back to the old man who took it and examined it a long time with deep attention. He hit his own neck, then began to speak. All those present listened to him religiously. He was no doubt the sage, the patriarch, maybe even the tribal priest. What I would have given to have been able to understand his speech!"

"After this last exploit, the natives scattered. Mr. Lafond rejoined me and we headed with many of them towards the nearest hut. Many women and children were sitting around an underground oven into which they had piled up fish, bananas, etc. Our appetite had already warned us that it was high time to have supper. Thus, after sitting down, we pulled out of our game-bags our modest provisions which consisted only of a few biscuits and some cheese. Right away all the hands were extended towards us. However small the piece that we gave to each, the requests were so numerous that our provisions were forcibly reduced. Moreover, we thought that our generosity would not be wasted and that we would have our share of the food that was being cooked in the oven."

"Everyone liked the taste of the biscuit but all of them threw back the cheese with disgust. They also drank a little brandy but not without grimacing."

"Our meal was over but our appetite was far from satisfied. We found that the oven took a long time to be opened. Mr. Lafond was specially suffering from hunger; he left while telling me that he was going in search of some food and recommended to me to keep an eye on the oven. It was only half an hour later that the earth was removed from on top of the food. Everyone extended his hand and grabbed his share. As for me, I was given a rather big fish; I tasted it but realized with disgust that it was only half-cooked; besides, the fire was dead. At that moment, Mr. Lafond returned; I made him taste the fish but he found it inedible. As for me, he said, they gave me some crabs. I don't know if they are cooked or not, but I'm going to eat some. While saying this, he handed me three or four small crabs. Alas! they were worse than raw; they were still alive! As the species seemed peculiar to me, I put them away carefully in my game-bag."

“Night had come a long time ago. Our day-long excursion had tired us. We made our hosts understand that we wished to sleep. They got up and led us to a sort of shed that sheltered a huge canoe. They spread a mat upon the ground. We laid down upon it, but many natives squatted near us and kept an animated conversation going. One can judge whether this was favorable to our sleep or not. Moreover, I had already felt the hands of the two or three nearest individuals and they seemed to be aimed at my game-bag. I was therefore forced to wait for a more propitious time to sleep. I got up. While examining the canoe, I had an idea. Its outrigger platform, some 5 to 6 feet above the ground, offered a big flat area. I threw the mat upon it, then my rifle and game-bag. I managed to climb upon it. I laid down and placed my game-bag under my head, my rifle in one hand and a rather large geological hammer in the other. Thus armed in my sort of citadel, I waited patiently for events to take place.”

“Until then, nothing in the behavior of these savages had caused us any concern. However, their treacherous and perfidious nature, about which I knew many examples, their greed excited by the objects that we owned, all of this gave me some worrisome thoughts. There was a rather large number of them gathered around a big fire, because the night was cool and dew abundant. Soon, one of them began to sing with a plaintive and high-pitched voice; the song ended with a loud note. When he finished, he let Mr. Lafond, who had gone near the fire, know that he wished to hear him sing. The latter did not hesitate and intoned bits and pieces of songs by Béranger, the Marseillaise, etc., much to the merriment of his listeners who hit their neck with envy.”

“After the songs came the dances. A big fellow got up and began to gesticulate and to gambol while singing and making the most grotesque contortions. The reddish tinge thrown by the fire upon these brown faces, the black silhouette of the dancer standing between the fire and myself, his weird gestures, made this scene one of the most fantastic one can possibly imagine.”

“Mr. Lafond’s turn soon came. He bravely began to jump and to dance, but his clothing no doubt interfered with his movements when compared with the previous dancer. So, he was begged to take them off. My unfortunate friend did not dare refuse such a request and soon I saw him *in naturalibus* dancing without a partner in front of savages!...”

“The night was progressing, the party did not last much longer, people began to go away, the fire slowly died, and I did not delay falling into deep sleep.”

“When I woke up, dawn was breaking, the sky was beginning to turn yellow with the rising sun. The deepest silence existed around us; one could hear only the murmuring of the sea upon the shore and the whispering of the breeze in the tops of the coconut trees. My sleep had been so deep that it seemed to me as I woke up that I had been asleep for just one hour. I had not made the least movement; my hands had not let go of the rifle and geological hammer. I could feel that my limbs had been numbed by the chilliness of the night. I came down from my perch and woke up Mr. Lafond who had slept near the canoe. We headed for the shore which already offered a busy scene. From everywhere the natives were carrying their canoes to the beach. There, they were filling

the bottom of the canoes with fist-size stones that they selected with care. Everybody was busy with this task. The bottom of each canoe was soon full. We did not know what to think of this peculiar ammunition. However, we lost no time to embark and set out. The direction taken was not directly towards our ships; it was more to the left. When we had travelled about a mile, the canoes stopped. At that spot, the bottom could be seen a few fathoms down. The savages began to prepare lines; we then understood why they had made such a large provision of stones. They would tie one of them to the end of the line where the fish-hook was located; the stone would pull the line to the bottom, but the knot was so tied that, by giving a slight jerk, the stone would be released and the baited hook would float at the bottom. A new stone was thus required every time the line was thrown in. For bait they use the tentacles of the cuttle-fish. They need all these tricks on account of the imperfection of their fish-hooks which are crudely carved out of shells."

"Fishing was not successful. We urged them to return to our ships which we soon happily sighted once more."

Mr. Lafarge, who has just returned on board, has surveyed the whole reef and spent the night on the small island of Oman,¹ but he found only a few fishermen there who told him they lived on Tol Island.

As for me, all my days were spent on the small island near the anchorage. The vegetation was so pleasant there, the soil seemed so rich that I could not tire of it. On the north side of the small island of Tsis, I found a huge marsh that covered about two-thirds of the length of the island. This whole space was covered with taro plants, some of which were monstrous in size. Moreover, I did not think that the inhabitants cultivated them very carefully; one could say that the taro grewed there naturally and without the benefit of agriculture.

Nothing appears so sad as the sight of the sheds that serve as shelters to a few savages; no conveniences can be found in them. The mats are very scarce and these stinking and disgusting places seem to be nothing but depositaries of vermin. The hair which the natives wear very long contributes to the maintenance of these disgusting parasites in spite of the tireless war waged upon them by these savages. The Carolinians are indeed kept busy combing one another but much less out of desire for cleanliness, which seems foreign to them, but out of a marked taste they have for these insects which they devour and which they appear very fond of.

Everywhere I go, the men welcome me in friendship but I no longer see any women; the natives have decidedly hidden them, or else, rightly worried about their virtue, they have temporarily expatriated them.

The only animals I was able to see on the island were one cat and many rats that appeared numerous and monstrous in size. Chickens are very scarce and in a semi-wild state. Birds are numerous but there are few different species. Tonight our hunters

1 Ed note: This was Ollan; see Car. 16/A48 in Bryan's Place Names.

brought back two types of rails killed in the marshes where they are abundant. Judging from the quantity of fish brought by the natives, the sea must be productive. As for the *Zélee*, they have taken in less than one hour this evening, with the same swivel hook, five huge sharks, one of them was nearly five meters in length.

When I came aboard, I gave my instructions to Mr. Duroch who will be in charge tomorrow of the boat that Mr. Dumoulin will use to go and made a hydrographic survey around the islands.

26 December 1838.

At 4:30 a.m., these two gentlemen had sailed off to begin their survey. During the morning, the usual flotilla had come to trade alongside our ships. Nothing seemed to have changed in our relations with the natives and I was far from predicting that on that very day our men would have to make use of their weapons to defend their own lives threatened by these savages apparently so peaceful in nature.

However, at about noon, I saw a big canoe appear at the northwest point of Ruk Island, touch at a place on the beach, then head in our direction. Soon I was surprised to see, besides Mr. Dumoulin and Mr. Duroch, Messieurs Thararon, Lafond and Desgraz who had left less than one hour earlier for Ruk Island. I must admit that I suspected so little what had occurred that I understood the puzzle only after I heard the following tale from the mouth of Mr. Dumoulin.

[Report of Mr. Dumoulin]

“Early in the morning, the *Astrolabe*'s boat, provided with one blunderbuss, one box of weapons and ammunition, left the ship's side for the purpose of surveying a group of islands located behind the large island of Ruk. The coast of this island is generally filled with reefs that near the points extend very far off shore. However, the channel that separates Umol [Uman] and Ruk [Fefan] is safe and appears very deep. It was still early morning when we got there and met a flotilla of canoes that were on their way to the corvettes to trade. All these canoes had their sails set. A few of them, when they saw us, headed for us and began to race with our boat and tacking in unison with it. The others continued on their way. All these canoes belonged to Umol Island; they had come out of a small bay situated on the north part of this island where a big village is located. These savages appeared moved by completely peaceful intentions and they tried to convince us by every means to go and visit their homes but, as our mission made it compulsory, as soon as we had rounded the eastern point of Ruk, we headed so as to pass between Ruk and Dublon [Toloas] Islands. Some big reefs surround these islands and obstruct the channel that separates them. At the center of the northern coast of Ruk, a rather low point upon which a big village can be seen extended towards Dublon Island. We saw a large number of small canoes, of a design completely different from those that had already come to visit us, leave that point and soon they were surrounding us. Most of the craft from Umol had left us; at that moment there were exactly three of them that followed us all day.”

“The better to survey the big reefs that parallel the coast of Ruk Island, we had lowered our sails and were progressing slowly with oars. We were nearing the narrowest part of the channel and the village point when the line of reefs extending northwards blocked our way and made us fear not being able to find a way for our boat. No doubt the natives who were rowing their small canoes believed that our boat had become grounded on those reefs or that it would surely become shipwrecked upon them because they chose that moment to attack us. At first, they limited themselves to throwing at us with the full strength of their wrists a shower of oranges that antagonized our sailors very much. At that moment we were so far from thinking about a serious attack that our weapons were still in the cabin and inside their crate. We interpreted the throwing of oranges as a joke, very unpleasant to be sure, and, to express how little we appreciated their gifts, we limited ourselves to throwing into the sea the numerous projectiles littering the craft.”

“In a jiffy the scene changed. A man standing upon the platform of his canoe and who, as we found out later, was the chief of the tribe, grabbed a short spear (a sort of lance thrown with the hand) and threw it at us. Instantly, all the natives armed themselves and prepared themselves to fight. Our position was critical; it was difficult to restrain our men but, on the other hand, our craft was too near the reef to accept a fight. Moreover, we could see fifty or so natives who were making their way on foot on the reef towards our boat to join their comrades. No doubt the newcomers were armed with their slings and supplied with stones and therefore our fate was sealed. Mr. Duroch, whose prudence and self-control were admirable on this occasion, quickly understood the position in which we found ourselves. In one instant, each boatman had his loaded weapon by his side, then all took care of the handling of the sails. The foresail was raised, then under the influence of the breeze the boat got off quickly and crossed the whole flotilla as they were covering us with darts. Until then not one shot had been fired. However, at the moment of the attack, Mr. Duroch and I, armed with our hunting guns, had taken aim at the leader of the attack. Fewer than six meters separated us from him. It would have been natural to suppose that this unfortunate man would hesitate upon seeing with anxiety these two barrels pointed at his chest and ready to destroy him, but, after watching our movement for half a minute, he brandished new spears and became even more daring. Unfortunate people! Would they not know of firearms and their horrible effects?”

“However, the attack was serious. It was easy to judge that these savages had recognized the leaders of the strangers; all their projectiles were aimed at the rear. Only one spear had grazed the shoulder of Mr. Duroch who was standing and had hit my hat without causing any wound. Others had come to stop on the gunwales of the boat where they remained fixed. However, as soon as we were free of the reefs and free to move about, we hove to and waited for the result of the deliberations of the natives who appeared to consult one another when they saw the boat go away.”

“Soon we could see on land a long file of women fleeing towards the mountain, carrying upon their backs the children and their precious belongings. Then the flotilla

headed our way in good order. There was no longer any doubt, we were about to be attacked but we were ready to face our assailants. The three sailing canoes from Umol were at our sides. Foreseeing what was to happen, Mr. Duroch told them by signs to go away and not to mix with our enemies. They did not take long to understand our intentions and kept off as silent spectators to what was to happen.”

“At that moment the Ruk canoes that had interpreted our first maneuver as a shameful flight dictated by fear, redoubled their efforts to get to us. Twenty-one canoes comprised the squadron and none of them had fewer than five natives; many carried ten warriors. Only one, that we soon recognized as that of the chief, was manned by 22 natives. Besides, the reef was covered with savages who waited no doubt for the moment to share in the spoils. All these small boats came forward in a rather close formation. They were preceded by the big canoe of the chief and by another smaller one that carried on its platform two naked men who were executing a very indecent dance as a sign of contempt. When the chief’s canoe was within pistol range behind us and that of the dancers a few meters abreast of us, the chief took off his poncho and untied his hair, then he made signs of friendship to us hoping to attract us near him; we then saw each man arming themselves with one lance meant for us. However, this time we forestalled their attack. A shot from the musketoon aimed at the chief’s canoe blew it to pieces. At the same time, Mr. Duroch and I opened fire upon the dancers who became our first victims. Dumbfounded by this terrible punishment, the natives hastened to flee. The unfortunate ones who were in the two nearest canoes threw themselves into the water and using their wrecked canoes as a shield, hurriedly swam to windward while carrying their dead, their wounded and the remains of their canoes with them. Far from pursuing them, Mr. Duroch gave the order to cease fire and the vanquished slowly retreated towards the reefs of Dublon Island, not daring to go back to their village, for fear of falling into our hands.”

“From then on masters of the field, we continued our survey but, when coming again near the reef to look for a passage, we spotted the flotilla still supplied with all its warriors who, believing themselves in safety near their villages, were awaiting the moment when we would be engaged within the pass to renew their attack upon us. We were still far from it when we sent them a volley; unfortunately for them, the aim was rather too good, because we immediately saw the bullets rip through the canoes and the pieces flying off. Soon afterwards, we saw the natives who had manned them and who, at the moment of the explosion had jumped overboard, carry away their dead. Not one cry had been uttered by the wounded during the engagement. The trees had even become loaded with spectators but after the last firing, everybody hastened to abandon their aerial perch and flee into the interior of the island.”

“As for us, sorry to have been forced to resort to such extreme measures, we continued our survey. We finally found a small pass between Ruk and Dublon, through which we nevertheless had to follow a channel. Our route took us very near two canoes that had been put out of action during the first attack and had come to seek a refuge on this island that was perhaps unfriendly to them. Indeed, I noticed that the natives

had not abandoned them to flee ashore, probably because they feared falling into the hands of the inhabitants of Dublon who could have benefitted from our victory. We could have annihilated these two unfortunate canoes in passing but we thought we could spot a sort of white flag raised on their poops; moreover, the lesson had been rather harsh and we could no longer be threatened by these unfortunate people already so frightened; besides, the role of assailants did not suit us at all. Thus, when after rounding the reef of Ruk we saw their canoe making for their island with difficulty, we went on our way; even though with the wind in our favor, we could have seized or annihilated them.”

“One of the sailing canoes from Umol had not left us; when seeing the first attack by the Ruk natives, the savages manning it had tried by every means to entice us to go to their island and leave these wicked people, then they had witnessed the battle and finally, when it was over, they went to all the islands bearing the news of the event. It was not wise to go ashore after such a skirmish. Already we had seen, while passing near Dublon, all the women flee to the mountain, and then we could not know in advance which tribes would side with our enemies from Ruk. Thus, after having surveyed Moen Island under sail and two or three isolated reefs, we headed back to the corvettes.”

“When we neared them, we saw Mr. Lafond who was on his way to Ruk Island in a native canoe; we soon joined him and took him aboard. It was he who told us that he had already been preceded in this excursion by Messieurs Desgraz, Thanaron and Leguillou. At that point, our anxiety was most acute as the winds were contrary to our going near the land to save our comrades; however, the sailors felt the danger and the oars which they handled gingerly soon took us back near the land where we were lucky to find them. Finally, we made it on board and only there we learned that Mr. Ducorps had remained on Ruk Island. Fortunately, our anxiety did not last long, because at 6 p.m., a canoe brought him back safe and sound among us.”

“Thanks to our accomplices from Umol, the news of our battle had spread quickly throughout the archipelago. Mr. Ducorps had actually noticed that something extraordinary was happening among the savages; his host was shaking with fear and had insisted upon taking him back. Mr. Ducorps had fortunately accepted and had just escaped an imminent danger.”

After dinner, I went ashore on Tsis Island. The news of the skirmish with the boat had already got there. When I landed at the northern point of the island, I found about fifty natives all armed with lances. Mafi, who had become one of the sailors aboard my yawl, did not seem very sure about the intentions of these savages. However, right from the beginning, he hastened to make everything right; taking on the role of master, he asked the natives to show him all the lances and whenever he found any that were barbed, he put them asides, then made a bundle out of them and refused to give them back to their owners. I re-embarked. However, all these savages appeared rather worried than offensive. It was only after I had walked around the island that I went aboard and I was not bothered at all along the way.

27 December 1838.

The next day, the affluence of the canoes was noticeably less alongside the corvettes. Tsis Island received many visitors and the small boats that came directly to our ships before, appeared to go first to the northern part of our anchorage island.

Among the natives who came to see us were Otokoi and Ikevets from Periadik Island, the two friends of Mr. Marescot and Mr. Desgraz. They extended to these gentlemen gifts consisting of chickens, coconuts and fish. They made great efforts to explain that the Tamols of Tsis, Umol, Ruk, Moen, Fala-Beguets, Udot, etc. were *Tamol lili* which meant enemies, who would kill us, and there were only the Tamols of Periadik and Tarik, who were *Tamol mama* or friends. They said that there were a dozen dead or wounded in yesterday's battle about which they appeared very happy indeed. Their eagerness, so understandable, to point out to us the tribes that were now at war with us, and probably also with them, results in their giving us the names of a few islands which I was able to note down. Here they are: Falang [Fefan] is called Ruk; as it is the biggest island,¹ it has imposed its name on the whole group; Chamisso is really Umol [Uman]; Quiros is Moen; Tardieu is Periadik; Arthus is Tarik; Bory is Onan [Ollan]; etc.

Canoes from Periadik and Tarik are the only ones that still come to trade with us; all the others stopped at Tsis Island.

As soon as the next day, Mr. Hombron and Mr. Gervaise went ashore and met three officers from the *Zélée* there. Upon the beach, they saw a crowd of about fifty savages, all smeared red, armed with spears and with long iron cutlasses. Oftentimes, such weapons are simply made with pieces of well-sharpened iron hoops whose origin can be easily guessed.² The attitude of these men, whose number was getting bigger by the minute, did not appear re-assuring. Mr. Jacquinot, the naturalist, who had wished to penetrate into the interior, had been attacked. So, I congratulated myself for having seen these gentlemen safe and sound on board ship, when I heard Mr. Jacquinot tell me the following tale about what had happened ashore that morning.

[Report of Mr. Jacquinot]

"The small island of Tsis, surrounded on all sides by a reef at sea level, was approachable by boat at only one place; it was a small channel whose zigzags one had to follow in order to land upon a sandy point that formed one of the extremities of the island."

"On the day following the battle, a boat from the *Zélée* headed for that point, carrying a few officers ashore, as usual. I was accompanied by Mr. Dubouzet and Mr. Goupil. Upon our arrival, we were surprised to see many big canoes moored near the shore. The sandy point was covered with huts that had been built quickly, and near them a rather large number of natives were squatting. Their attitude was one of dejection and silence; sorrow and discouragement were painted on their faces. We assumed,

1 Ed. note: In actual fact, Fefan, or Ruk Island, is not the largest of the group; Moen is.

2 Ed. note: The hoops had come from the French ships themselves.

rightly so, that they were part of the tribe that had attacked the **Astrolabe's** boat, on the previous day; they were, no doubt, the relatives and friends of the victims. It could only have been to seek vengeance that they had left their village, located at a great distance, to come and spend the night upon this sandspit, very close to our ships. The weapons that everyone of them carried, and the bundles of darts stacked up near the huts, were clear proof of their intentions."

"We were too near our ships to feel any fear; moreover, one knew how they feared firearms and we were well armed. Thus, we immediately sent the boat back to the ship."

"We were thus three men left alone among a multitude of savages and therefore at their mercy so to speak. However, such is the usual French lack of caution and levity that, instead of staying together, we immediately went on our separate ways. Mr. Dubouzet headed for the opposite shore to a place where there were a few huts. My friend Goupil started to draw close to the place where we had landed. As for me, I went into the bush to kill some birds, followed by a group of men and women. For a while I was walking and looking here and there, at the tops of the trees to discover some prey when I saw from afar my friend Goupil coming towards me. He told me that he could not draw as he was constantly surrounded by natives and that one of them had even thrown a branch that had landed close to him. We stayed together for a while, then the natives having appeared to disperse, he went back to finish his sketch. As for me, I went into the forest. Those who were following me left me little by little and I soon found myself alone. After having walked for some time, shooting at a few birds here and there, I was surprised to find myself upon the shore when I came out of the forest, as it extended as far as the water's edge."

"The sea was as smooth as a mirror, not a breeze to ripple its surface, nothing but complete calmness. Before me, about one mile off, our corvettes gleamed in the sun, with their black hulls and their countless riggings reflected in the water in long wavy lines. A little to the left, a small motionless boat contained one lone sailor and one officer making a chart of the bay. The beach on the right-hand side led to the usual landing place."

"I had stopped to reload my gun when all of a sudden a stone landed with force very near me and made the sand spurt out. I turned around, thinking that perhaps it was Mr. Dubouzet or somebody else who was thus warning me of his presence, but I saw nobody. I looked everywhere fruitlessly. On my left, about a hundred paces away, the beach made a sudden turn and appeared interrupted by a low bushy tree whose lower branches were dipped in the water. As I chanced to look that way, I noticed between the lowest branches and the ground the legs of many savages. Right away I realized that the stone had come from them. If they were not yet making any movement, it was no doubt because they expected me to go nearer to them."

"I quickly slipped a ball into each barrel of my shotgun, placed my powder horn well within range, some wads and balls into my waistcoat pockets in order to be able to reload quickly if my attackers gave me enough time. This done, I had to decide what to do next. My first thought was to go back into the forest, and then run towards the land-

ing place, but I thought about this and realized that they could run as fast as I could, and if they hid themselves behind the trees, they could easily reach me with their darts without fear of my gun. The thought also occurred to me to advance upon the reef that extended rather far out at sea, hardly covered by half a foot of water, and to call the small boat to come and get me, but it was rather far and during that time the savages, encouraged by the fact that I was trying to escape from them, would surely have gotten to me. I therefore decided to follow the beach to the right, hoping that perhaps I would be seen by the corvettes if I were attacked and also that I could defend myself more easily. I therefore started walking, not too fast, and looking upon the trees as if I was still looking for birds but keeping my eyes on the savages. When they saw me go the other way, they came out of their hiding place. There were about twenty of them, all armed with spears and sticks and painted yellow from head to foot, which is their war paint. They proceeded in my direction but without running, following me, so to speak. I had gone about 20 steps when suddenly a savage came out of the forest and blocked my way. It was the chief. He was tall, naked, and completely painted orange yellow. His hair was tied carefully behind his head and he wore a hardwood spear in one hand whose tip, being whiter than the rest, indicated to me that it had just been sharpened. I saw that the moment had arrived when a first victim would become necessary. With the finger on the trigger of my gun, I was ready to shoot at the first movement of the spear. As soon as he appeared, the other warriors cheered as if to mean "kill him." In spite of this, he made no hostile movement; his face showed fear and his limbs were shaking convulsively. I made him a few friendly signs and he responded with a forced smile. With a cunning air he pointed out a small bird that was jumping in the branches and invited me to shoot it. I signed to him that it was too small and, appearing to look for others upon the branches, I continued to walk with a longer stride. At that particular moment, my position became really critical. The chief was following me closely; he kept his spear horizontally two to three feet from my back. I expected at every moment to feel the tip penetrate into my flesh."

"All of this took less time than it takes to narrate it. The warriors kept coming, the fight seemed unavoidable and, except in case of a lucky break, the result had to be fatal to me. The beach was interrupted by a few rocks; if only I could reach that spot, they offered a chance to save myself. I redoubled my watchfulness, half turned towards the chief who was following me step by step. Watching his every move, I finally reached the rocks and briskly climbed over them while turning my gun in his direction to keep him off. Once hidden from his sight and that of his companions, I ran off. I then heard their cries but I was saved."

"At some distance from the landing place I met Mr. Hombron and Mr. Gervaise accompanied by two sailors; I told them what had just happened but as there were four of them and well armed, they did not think they should retreat. I went to the sandy point where I found Mr. Dubouzet and Mr. Goupil who were about to swim; what I told them about my adventure made them put on their clothes back rapidly. They had just finished when a boat arrived to take us back. We were about to leave when we saw

the gentlemen from the **Astrolabe** coming back. They had met the armed natives and the sight had discouraged them from staying; they had come to request passage with us."

After dinner, Messrs. Dumoulin, Hombron, Ducorps and Lafond followed by one sailor, all armed with double-barreled shotguns, went ashore. They again found on the beach the natives in greater number than during the morning. All were armed with spears and cutlasses and had their faces and bodies smeared red. They recognized people from all the islands. Without separating, they headed towards the village and soon arrived at the chief's house. There they found many armed men apparently very unhappy; however, undoubtedly restrained by their fear of European weapons, the savages gave them a good reception. Numerous canoes were on the beach; among them could be noticed many that carried no sails. At the moment when these gentlemen were under this shed, a canoe that Mr. Dumoulin recognized as belonging to the village that had attacked him on the previous day, touched the shore. All those aboard were smeared red and seemed on a war footing. The first one who came into the hut appeared dismayed at finding our officers there; when he saw them he hit himself at the back of the head with the palm of his hand, then with a rather perplexed air hastened to say that he was a friend. During that time, another native addressed himself directly to Mr. Dumoulin who, by the way, was wearing the same outfit as the day before during the attack, and made him a long discourse which he did not understand. He not only recited his sonorous sentences but he psalmodized them in a very low tone as if he wished to whisper something in his ear.

Later on, our officers, having left the shed to travel through the island, got the impression that the natives sought to separate them and make them all shoot at birds at the same time; they were constantly followed by many armed savages. Finally, they returned to the beach without being worried by the natives and they found Mr. Roquemarell who had come ashore alone and who, having been neither insulted nor attacked, had nevertheless noticed that the natives were insolent and badly disposed. They had all reached alongside together when we heard a shot ashore.

Mr. Demas had gone with the boat, armed, in order to regulate his chronometers. The savages had at first shown peaceful intentions and even sold a few coconuts to that officer. But soon afterwards, the steward, charged with receiving the coconuts, was pelted with stones and had been forced to abandon his work to look for help. Mr. Demas, having spotted one of the assailants, had sent a shot through his shoulder and immediately all the assailants fled.

Luckily the time reserved for this stopover is drawing to a close, because, otherwise, we might have new accidents to deplore and there has been enough bloodshed already. All the duties are completed; tomorrow we will leave the anchorage, but the reputation of the Carolinians has been tarnished. We have found here only wicked and perfidious men, with kind faces, pleasant shapes and sedate manners; nowhere else in Oceania have we found such self-seeking hospitality. They never give anything; they are also hard to

convince to drop their requests as they are greedy and persistent when they want to get something. I have seen nowhere a population so dirty; one cannot breathe inside their huts as they stink so much. Besides, the greatest of poverty appears to weigh upon these unfortunate people. Their woven garments were the only thing that the peoples of Oceania could envy them. If their artistically-made slings are terrible weapons in their hands, they nevertheless ignore the power of the bow and arrow that their black neighbors [of Melanesia] can make such terrible use of.

28 December 1838.

Although the natives appeared with weapons in large groups upon the shore, the gentlemen officers in charge of regulating our chronometers could still go and make their observations unimpeded. Then at 7 o'clock, they returned aboard the corvettes which were already under sail. A few small canoes accompanied us as far as the reef. The same pass through which we came in was used to let us through this barrier along which we then coasted at a short distance from it. Our corvettes, buffeted by a heavy sea and pushed by a fine breeze soon got to the southwest point of the reef where a few natives, busy fishing upon these coral walls under the shelter of a few branches they had brought along, launched their two small canoes to reach us but they wasted their energy in vain because our corvettes had already reached the end of the survey tasks performed by the **Coquille** and they were leaving forever behind the most beautiful island group in the Caroline archipelago.

29 December 1838.

At 8 a.m., we were coasting the whole of the Uluthy [sic] Group,¹ at a rather long distance from its eastern fringe. It consists of a weird series of small low islands, well wooded. The reef surrounding this group is not continuous but appears as large successive patches of coral.

31 December 1838.

During the afternoon, the lookout reported land; it was Guam Island. At last we will hear a European language being spoken, we will touch at a friendly shore, we will find once more the resources of civilized countries which we all need after such a long and hard cruise among the savage inhabitants of Oceania.

I soon recognized the reefs off Inarahan; Cocos Island, covered with its beautiful tropical greenery, was but a short distance ahead of us but nightfall came and it will be only tomorrow that we will be able to salute the flag bearing the Spanish coat-of-arms.

1 Ed. note: We know from other narratives that the ships went by the Namonuito Group, not Ulithi, on their way to Guam.

1 January 1839.

Judging from the samll boat that is heading our way, one would think that we are approaching a wild horde. Consisting simply of a tree trunk fitted with an outrigger, it is not as good as many a savage canoe; some small boards tied to a long handle are used as oars and nevertheless we are in the presence of the whole Spanish navy in the port of Umata. It carries the two authorities in the area—the *Padre* [Spanish priest] and the *Alcalde* [Mayor], whose tanned complexion reveals their origin—are coming to visit us. However, their boat is so handled that it cannot come alongside until our corvettes had already let go their anchors, one besides the other in seven fathoms inside the small bay of Umata.

REPORT OF MR. DUROCH
regarding the armed conflict at Ruk Island.
(Note 11 to Chapter 38 of d'Urville's book)

After a few days spent among the Carolinians, we were all convinced that we were dealing with savages whose customs were kind and harmless and, if we had not stayed for more than 48 hours among these islands, what a wonderful portrait we would have painted of them! However, like all savages, they were treacherous and perfidious. Only a fool would trust them.

On 25 December, I received the order to leave the next day with the boat in order to enable the engineer to complete his work on the Hogoleu group. I also had the order to explore a channel formed by Ruk, Falang and Dublon Islands.

At 6 a.m. on the 26th, I was on the way. I first went into the channel formed by Ruk and Chamisso Islands and in it I met a large number of canoes coming from the latter island and going alongside to trade. All the islanders seemed happy to meet us and, turning their canoes around, they began a race with our boat and had no problem winning it because the boat was heavy and loaded as it was with a crate containing twelve guns and musketoons, a few pairs of pistols and five or six sabres. I had wished to refuse this chest but it was part of the regulation armament and I was given the order to keep it in the boat and praise be to those who gave me this order, because the boat would perhaps have been lost without this precautionary measure.

We continued on our way to the NE point of Ruk Island, always accompanied by many canoes but, upon our arrival there, the savages did not wish to proceed further and urged me to go to their island, promising to me by their gestures lots of fun. A reef did not allow me to accede to their offers. I therefore entered the channel that I was to explore. All the canoes left me except three of them that placed themselves upwind and from then on sailed far from us. Soon from a point projecting from Ruk Island there emerged a fleet of canoes, all rowing. We were skirting the northern coast of the island rather closely and upon [the branches of] all the bushes on the beach a crowd of natives was hanging out of curiosity. This spectacle pleased us extremely and a little later when we found ourselves in the midst of the canoes that had reached us, we made a thousand signs to the savages on board them and I myself tried to make them understand that soon I would go ashore to eat. They all appeared happy and from then on they accompanied us.

At 9 a.m., we arrived, still escorted, next to a huge coral reef that, by obstructing our way completely, appeared to be joined to Dublon Island and blocked our way. I then had the sail lowered and, after setting the oars, went up this barrier looking for a pass. There was very little water upon the reef because our oars would touch at every moment. Completely busy as I was, I did not pay attention to the savages when, all of a sudden, a hail of green oranges, thrown with force, came to surprise and reach our sailors busy with their oars. Great was our surprise. Nevertheless, we gave it no importance. Who would indeed have figured out that a volley of oranges could constitute a

serious attack? We limited ourselves to throwing these harmless projectiles into the water, showing however an angry look to the savages in order to make them understand that the prank was not to our liking, but their intention was not to make fun and, after the oranges, they sent us darts and spears many of which got stuck into the sides of the boat and one of which came to graze the head of Mr. Dumoulin who was standing next to me. It was therefore a serious attack and the rascals had put into their plan more astuteness than one would have expected on their part, because they attacked us only when they saw us engaged upon the reef and that they believed us grounded upon it, a moment very timely for them.

Fifty or so savages were coming on foot upon the reef to lend them a hand; they were running up, probably convinced that we would be taken and wishing to share in the booty if the boat had indeed been grounded. Our position was not pleasant; obliged to pull ourselves off the reef and to defend ourselves, we were running a few risks.

The look in the faces of these men had suddenly changed; from kind and welcoming, they had become hideous and full of ferocity. Next to our boat, upon the platform of the outrigger of a canoe, no doubt to enliven his men, a chief, his hair loose, was dancing while making a thousand wild gestures and was taunting us by his rather indecent poses. Twice this unfortunate man became the target of Mr. Dumoulin and I, and twice the weapon fell from our hands; the unfortunate man did not budge, as he probably ignored the power of our weapons.

Anyhow, we had to put an end to this. I had all my people take up arms but with express orders not to shoot. First, we had to disengage the boat from the awkward position in which it was; we were almost aground. I immediately had the sails raised and soon after, upon a more open sea, we crossed through the flotilla of the savages under a hail of spears and projectiles of all sorts. When we were over deep water, I had the sails lowered and I waited to see what the savages would do. These unfortunate people, believing that we were leaving, had followed us while continuing their indecent provocations. I was reluctant to fire at these naked men who perhaps ignored the effect of our deadly weapons, but what to do finally? Should I simply go back and tell the commander: "twenty canoes stood in my way and I have come back!" However, the canoes were again surrounding us. A chief on top of a canoe manned with 20 men was making signs at me to go to him and, when he had come within pistol range, all his men and himself too took up stones and darts and made ready for another attack. On the other hand, the most disorderly of the chiefs gamboled anew brandishing a spear. I was therefore obliged to repel those scoundrels; since they did not let me pass, it was then impossible for me to act otherwise. Mr. Dumoulin and I started firing at the chief who had been taunting us for a long time, and the musketoon was fired at the midst of a group of canoes. This discharge was at first sufficient; all the assailants threw themselves into the water and shielded themselves under their canoes on the side opposite the boat. I immediately ordered a cease-fire; they then climbed back aboard their canoes and, applying strength to the oars, headed for the reef where they again gathered to block my way once more. We were far from them at that time. I had the musketoon

fired once; it was too well aimed unfortunately at the midst of the canoes. It was then a general disarray, the canoes were hauled upon the beach and the men disappeared. The whole coast, covered with a huge crowd, became empty. Noise and shouts were followed by the deepest of silence. Out of this flotilla there remained only one canoe probably damaged by our balls because it appeared broken in many places and was manned by only three men. I could have captured it but I preferred to let those unfortunate men rejoin their homes. From then on we were able to continue and complete our tasks; nothing blocked our way after that.

Will this lesson be useful to these islanders or will it be fatal to some navigator who might carelessly trust their kind but tricky appearance? It is no doubt very distasteful to fire guns at unfortunate savages but when these savages force us to do it, common salvation makes a fatal repression necessary. It was impossible for me to back out of this affair; all I could do was to delay the moment as much as possible. I had made proof of patience for a long time but in the end I had to fulfill my mission. It is unfortunate that I was forced to make use of force. I like to believe that the lesson will at least be beneficial. Based on their attitude, these savages appeared not to know the effects of firearms; now forewarned, they will no longer attack men carrying similar weapons, and it is rare for anyone to step ashore in these little-known countries without being appropriately armed.

When I saw that things were going bad and that physical violence would have to be resorted to, I had waved off the three canoes from Chamisso Island. They understood me perfectly and kept off during the engagement. What could have been the thoughts of these men? Did they intend to join the others, if luck abandoned us, or were they really enemies of that tribe, as they told us later? Anyhow, the natives of Chamisso behaved very well under the circumstances, and when their previous signs came back to our memory, it became evident that they had wanted to prevent us from going into this channel; they therefore knew the character of the new men we were about to see there. Therefore, there are within this small archipelago some tribes that are more or less troublesome, oppressed or oppressors. Who will be able to tell us one day the true history of these peoples? The facts collected up to now tell us nothing yet.

While returning on board, I noticed on the southern beach of the inhospitable island many of our comrades who, ignoring the event, were peacefully walking about. I changed my course to take them aboard my boat, because they might have found themselves in an unhappy situation by remaining ashore. But then, were the people in the south similar to those in the north? I finally got back on board at one o'clock and gave a full report to Commander d'Urville who fully approved of my conduct.

REPORT OF MR. DEMAS
regarding an incident at Tsis Island.
(Note 12 to Chapter 38 of d'Urville's book)

At 9 o'clock, I left in the boat with the theodolite to go and complete the series of astronomical observations for this stopover. We had, as a precautionary measure, placed some guns inside the boat, and I had taken with me our steward to make him buy a few coconuts. I had been ashore for a few moments; my instrument was set up and I was only waiting for the sun to appear as it was hidden by a big black cloud, when I saw the steward running towards me and a few boatmen started shouting that the savages were on their tail. At that very moment, I heard a few stones whiz by. I immediately ordered the theodolite to be taken down and away where it would be out of reach of the projectiles; I had the weapons taken up and the boat floated off. Then, with a few men I made my way towards the spot where our servant had let go of an axe when retreating. Some 100 paces from us, upon a small hillock, there were stationed about 30 savages, most of them armed with darts, slings and long knives with iron handles and a wide blade. It was the crowd that had attacked the boatmen. When they saw us, they uttered frenzied howls and received us, despite our peaceful gestures, with a hail of stones. One of them specially, possibly a chief, stood right in front of me and was dancing with one spear in the left hand and was swinging round and round with his right hand a sling loaded with a big stone. I aimed at him to intimidate him but far from stopping his threatening demonstrations, this savage hurled his stone and it whizzed by my ears and hit hard upon a coconut tree next to me. I took aim again and fired. I saw him stagger and right away the enemy troop disappeared.

When coming back to the boat, I saw a few natives running along the beach, dart in hand. Ignoring their intentions I aimed at the first one who came up and right away the poor devil threw away his weapon and fell face first into the sand. I motioned to him to come near. He crept up to me and, from his gestures, I thought I could understand that he was an enemy of those who had attacked us. I left him upon the shore protesting his own innocence but, the sun having completely disappeared, I came back on board, rather anxious about the fate of many of our officers who had left that morning to visit the island. However, when I arrived on deck, I learned with satisfaction that they had all returned without incident.

REPORT OF MR. DOUBOUZET
regarding his visit to Tsis Island.
(Note 13 to Chapter 38 of d'Urville's book)

Tsis Island near which we were anchored, is a small volcanic island, not too high, whose soil is almost entirely covered with coconut trees, breadfruit trees, pandanus trees, baringtonia and a large variety of plants that constitute a beautiful vegetation. It is surrounded by a coral reef that makes landing with a boat difficult except at the northern point that is low and covered with bits of coral and shells. This island is heavily populated. The main houses are located at the top and along the sea in the NE part. One road crossed the whole length of it. Everywhere else, the brush makes access very difficult. The natives who had no doubt hidden their women in the easternmost part of the island, the farthest from us, showed as of the first day real displeasure at seeing us extend our excursions in that direction and they tried to dissuade us by repeating very loudly the word *Farak*, which seems to be the equivalent of the word Taboo for them. Not wishing to provoke them, I limited myself to visiting the huts that were located at the NE point. There I was welcomed with the greatest of goodwill by a dozen natives who were gathered under a big canoe shed, next to which were five or six small dwellings very much inferior to those of Vavao [Tonga], or Samoa. Their architecture was extremely simple. The roof made of pandanus leaves, very low, was resting upon piles driven into the ground, about five feet high. The interior was divided into many compartments by some mats, and each of these contained one bed raised about two feet off the ground, built upon a platform and with a fine mat hanging over it by a belt in the shape of a tester. This sort of drape is no doubt meant to keep water off them while they sleep. The exterior of this layer was enclosed with rough mats and mobile panels made of coconut branches whose leaves were intertwined. All of this was most dirty and did not at all resemble the splendid scene described by Morrell [1830]. Judging by the difference in the care taken in the construction of the canoe sheds and in the roof maintenance, these buildings were for these natives objects of great value and they cared about their utmost maintenance.

As soon as I found myself in the middle of the group about which I spoke earlier, everybody formed a circle around me and showed the greatest astonishment at seeing a difference between the color of my arms and body and that of my hands which were deeply sun-tanned; I became for them an object of often deep curiosity. A European covered with clothes, with a white skin, was almost a phenomenon in the eyes of naked men, with a copper-colored complexion and used to dye their skin. For a while, I thought I would be forced to undress to convince them that there was nothing artificial in the different tones they noticed between the apparent parts of my person. One of them greatly insisted that I give them the benefit of such a spectacle, which would have put me in a very ridiculous situation, and he went so far as to offer me a sling as a reward. Another savage pushed his curiosity as far as to sniff my skin; I had much of a hard time to get rid of them, but when they nevertheless noticed that their investigations dis-

pleased me, they left me alone and they had some coconuts brought in, no doubt to prove to me that they had never had the intention of harming me.

During the day, an old man who was aboard one of the canoes alongside the **Zélee** gave us the curious spectacle of the manner used by them to ward off storms, one that a few travellers had already mentioned. For more than half an hour we had been seeing him on the front part of his canoe in the attitude of a man at prayer, stretching his arms in front of him and bringing them forcefully together while clapping his hands. His head, slightly bent backwards, was following the movement of the arms and each bowing followed the same beat as the hands. His look was fixed and his mouth kept articulating some sounds in a low voice but they could not reach us, when suddenly, at the peak of the squall, he got up, removed his poncho and began to dance and hop about, while accompanying his gestures and indecent postures by real howlings that lasted for a few minutes and caused a general laughter; indeed, the natives who were around him, after having shown the greatest indifference and their little faith in such exorcisms, broke into laughter at the same time. The old man appeared not to be bothered at all by this; he kept his composure and began again to beat his hands and stretch his arms as before, but slowing down his movements as the wind was decreasing. Once the squall had passed, he went back to his trading, no doubt convinced that it was he who had made it stop, but he was alone in sharing this opinion about his power, if one can judge from the indifference of his countrymen.

CHAPTER 39

Stay at Umata (Guam Island).

1 January 1839.

More than ten years ago already I had visited the Island of Guam. At that time, I had just found Vanikoro Island upon which the frigates of Lapérouse had been wrecked. The pernicious fevers of this fatal island had invaded my crew, and the **Astrolabe** had touched at Guam as if it were a promised land; the care and the attentions that had been directed at us then still made my heart feel vividly thankful. So, I hastened to ask our two visitors, the curate of Merizo and Inarahan, and Domingo, the deputy mayor, news about my old friends of the Marianas. They informed me that the generous Don José Medinilla, whose generosity and kindness had already been made known by the **Uranie** before us, had died five years before in Manila where he had retired. The old Don Luis Torres, the descendant of the illustrious navigator,¹ the man made known through the narratives of Kotzebue, Chamisso and Freycinet, was still alive and in good health.² Anderson, the Englishman who had been a crewman aboard the **Uranie** for a while, as a boatswain, was still Captain of the port at Agaña; his domain extends to the whole island of Guam, and he remained the protégé of the governor who has complete trust in him. Finally, our old friend Flores, the mayor of Umata, had been replaced by one Antonio Herrera.

The visit by the curate and Domingo was not entirely disinterested, because, after having politely answered all our questions, they offered us their services as suppliers of fresh food during our stay.

I had just learned the same of the new governor, Don José Casillas, successor of Don José Medinilla and right away I sent him a letter to announce to him our arrival at this port, paying my respects to him, and requesting a few objects that we needed. Then, I entrusted the purser with the immediate purchase of fresh food and with dealing with Domingo for the purchase of a small bull that he had offered me for 7 pesos. That very evening, it was distributed as rations to the two crews.

It was only in the afternoon that I went ashore with Mr. Jacquinot to walk around. First of all, one thing impressed me; it was the beginning of a new year in Guam and this day which in Europe is accompanied with a certain solemnity and so much movement among all the classes of the population, passed completely unnoticed at Umata. The people appeared to carry on their business as usual. The renewal of the year did not disturb at all the *dolce farniente* of the Marianos, naturalized Spaniards that they are.

Since the era when Mr. Jacquinot and I had already visited the shores of the bay, no obvious change had occurred. The old convent that served as a hospital for the **Astro-**

1 Ed. note: D'Urville refers to the discoverer of the Torres Strait.

2 Ed. note: Not so (see below).

labe in 1828 was still standing but it was no longer fit for habitation; the interior was in ruins and was used as a den by a bitch that had chosen this place to whelp. The flooring of the upper story was half destroyed and the materials were rotting on the spot without being of use to anyone. The church was in the same condition as when we left it, small and badly maintained. In this village, there was not one hut more and not one fewer than before. Fort Santo Angel, that marks the end of the bay and defends it, was still standing but without guns or garrison, as it was before; we were thus relieved of having to give the national salute which the Marianos would find difficult to answer. The big house called "palacio" (palace) was the only one that had received a white coat of paint which it had needed badly. However, if its replastered exterior had now become more elegant, the interior had only seen new inhabitants. Indeed, we met there the new mayor, Antonio Herrera, who with excessive politeness and obligingness, hastened to do the honors of it. This time, the usual Spanish saying "la casa es a la disposicion de usted" (the house is at your disposal) was to be taken literally, because Herrera insisted in convincing us to settle in the palace. I politely refused, for myself, but accepted on behalf of Mr. Dumoulin who, already accompanied by all his instruments, came to set up his observatory there.

2 January 1839.

Today everyone was off duty; many officers left in a caravan to go and visit the interior of the island and its capital

At about 4 p.m., I received the answer of Governor Casillas, a retired Army Lieutenant-Colonel. It was very polite and very obliging. While excusing himself for the impossibility in which he found himself to be as generous toward us as his predecessors had been, he placed his palace of Umata at my disposal and expressed the regret at not being able to do me the honors himself. Besides, according to what the curate of Merizo, who brought me the letter, told me, I quickly understood that indeed the reserves of the governor must have decreased dramatically since the monopoly was abolished, but I will expand on this later.

At about 1 p.m., I went ashore for a visit. Meanwhile, the Reverend Padre of Merizo, after having breakfasted at the officers' table, thought he had to go back to his flock, and he brought along many officers who were ready to go on a deer hunt. Soon I watched the arrival of Anderson in a whaleboat that had left Agaña this morning. This Englishman came to renew his acquaintance with me, and offered me his boat and his services as a pilot to guide me to the capital. He let me know that he was married to a local woman, father of twelve children, and nothing was missing in his satisfaction as a father and husband. I entrusted him with the procurement of the supplies we needed, such as rice, sugar, brandy and tar. Finally, we parted company as the best friends in the world.

The mayor was waiting for me upon the sill of his palace to offer me an excellent slice of pineapple, then I went on to walk along the beautiful lane lined with orange trees whose fragrant branches provided shade to the poor Mariano huts. This is where

this ignorant population spends their lives amid the pleasure of indolence. How the dirty and repulsive appearance of these miserable huts clashes with these beautiful orange trees covered with fruits. Leprosy with its disgusting sores eats up these poor people who, in spite of their stupid appearance, seem honest and peaceful. It was hard to make them decide to start moving and sell me the food we needed; however, one must not think that they are ignorant about the speculations and resources invoked in commerce, because they soon had understood our needs and promptly raised the price of their bulls to exorbitant levels. We had to make them understand that from now on we would buy no more of them, before they finally improved themselves.

[3 January]

At 8 a.m., Luis Torres, son of the Torres I knew, Don Felix Calvo, purser of the general store, and also the two curates of Agaña and Agat, Bernardo and Fray Manuel, came to pay us a visit. They arrived at Umata only yesterday and they met along the way the joyous band of officers from our ships who were on their way to the capital. I hastened to ask the first one, whom I invited for breakfast, some news about his father, now a sickly old man hardly more than 69 years old.¹ Then I pressed him with questions about the Caroline Group that we had just visited. What he told me about the subject was in perfect agreement with our own observations. His information was as follows:

[Report of Luis Torres, Jr.]

“The Hogoleu [Chuuk] group of islands is known to the inhabitants of all the other islands under the name of Ruk. The natives of this archipelago enjoy a very bad reputation, even among their [Carolinian] countrymen. The inhabitants of the big island of Ruk are specially pointed out as men who are excessively evil and ferocious, and they are the only ones, they say, that are reputed to be cannibals. Finally, this reputation is so well established that *trepang* fishermen do not dare to venture there for fear of serious accidents.”

“Almost every year some Carolinian canoes come to Guam; most of them are from the islands of Elet [Elato], Halau [Woleai?], etc. The natives still report that the inhabitants of Guap [Yap] and Pelew [Palau] are dreaded for their ferocity and energy. Upon the island of Puinipet [Pohnpei] itself, whose inhabitants had been praised very much for their good character, a whaling ship got shipwrecked there three years ago and part of her crew was massacred; later on, two merchantmen, one French and the other American, took out the remaining survivors and killed a few natives to avenge the Europeans.”²

1 Ed. note: Luis de Torres Sr. must have been born circa 1770.

2 Ed. note: Torres refers to three, not two, ships that took this revenge: The **Lambton**, Captain Hart; the **Avon**, Captain Dudoit, and the **Unity**, Captain Hart. The last two were based in Hawaii.

In the afternoon, Captain Jacquinot came to take me along to go and visit the villages of Merizo, Kotan [Autan, or Jaotan] and Ahan [Aang]. The church of Merizo is in a state of disrepair that is pitiful to behold. Moreover, all these villages look alike and, except for banana, taro, coconut and breadfruit plantations that seem to us more numerous than at Umata, we found nothing that we had not seen already at the village of the anchorage. The countryside is pleasant; the beautiful shady spots, the rich tufts of greenery and fruits, have so many charms for men from the sea that Merizo was again the destination of my walk the next day.

4 January 1839.

While following delightful paths, I had gone as far as one league beyond Merizo without seeing a single hovel. I had unsuccessfully tried to buy pigs, chickens and eggs in those villages but they all seemed scarce. It is true, however, that upon the advice of Mr. Demas, the ship's boat left this morning to pick up a bunch of pigs that this officer had purchased for the crews, and in all probability he had to scour the whole country to obtain these resources.

Finally, I found a native who offered me a bull that he wished to sell. I referred him to the purser but, as he spoke good Spanish and that his face was colored, I thought for one moment that he was Spanish and I was congratulating him about it when he answered me with pride: "I am not a Spaniard nor son of one, and I would not wish to be one, but I am a Chamorro or, as you Europeans say, I am an Indian, and proud of it." This answer impressed me, the more so because the Spaniards look down upon the Marianos with scorn.

Before I went back, I also noticed in a pretty brook two young girls who were washing their bodies and were rubbing their hair with the pulp of some masticated plants. The unfortunate girls were already covered with scrofulous sores; one of them suffered from elephantiasis and the other one was well on the way. I needed nothing more to make me get away rapidly and that is what I did.

I was by the ladder of the **Astrolabe** when the boat bringing 24 pigs arrived alongside. Messrs. Demas, Lafarge and Goupil had by the same occasion rejoined the ship and they were bringing along with them the Padre of Merizo who had given them hospitality. The officers who had gone to visit Agaña had also returned; they did not stop talking about the cordiality with which they had been received by the governor, and by Mrs. Torres, in the absence of her husband who only left Umata today. Although Mr. Duroch and Mr. Desgraz, who were part of this caravan, gave us very lively narratives of their visit to Agaña.¹ Mr. Freycinet, in his "Voyage of the **Uranie**," has described these places so extensively that the reader may not learn anything new, whereas I hope that he will read with some pleasure the spiritual and original narrative of Mr. Demas about the deer hunt:

1 Ed. note: See Mr. Duroch's narrative at the end of this chapter. As for Mr. Desgraz' narrative, it was not published by d'Urville, but forms a separate document in this volume.

[Report of Mr. Demas]

“On the 3rd, our new friend, the curate, came to have breakfast with us, after which we set out. The reverend had found French wine to his liking; he had a charming quibble and he weaved before us. As for us, we were following him happily, gun on our back, strong in the leg, as fresh and ready as any seaman when he steps ashore. According to the Padre, we had but three small leagues ahead of us; it was only a matter of three hours at most. What is that? However, we were making good progress along a sandy beach with a sun hot enough to fry a saint. We were chatting happily and from time to time took a swig from our water bottles and hummed a few old tunes. The Padre was walking supported by a tall rascal, almost six feet tall, whereas another Mariano kept open, above his head, a huge family umbrella that would have made honor to the most valiant of corporals in our citizen militia, towing behind him his maid and her six children. And he called that an umbrella!...”

“Along the way we would shoot a few shore birds. At the end of the first hour, we were to arrive at Merizo but it was only after at least two hours of wallowing in the sand we sighted the first houses of that village. There we left this awful beach and took a pretty path that took us straight to a great alley with coconut trees, lined with huts along its whole length. We found all the inhabitants gathered together; big and small, all ran up to meet the Padre who, perched upon the trunk of a fallen tree, was giving his blessing to his flock, with as much pomp and ceremony as the Pope surrounded by his cardinals upon the parvis of St. Peter of Rome. However, if Charlet or Philippon had been there, they would have made a delightful caricature of this little man in white jacket under his huge sunshade, distributing his blessing to all these moors kneeling and recollected. In this crowd, there were many a beautiful pair of black eyes, upon my word! To hell with leprosy! This little red skirt, this light white blouse are really charming! But we were suffering from a burning thirst; the Padre made but one sign and twenty coconuts fell at our feet. In one instant, they were stripped of their husk and properly opened. I do not know of any drink in the world that is more delicious than a fresh coconut. After having freely quenched our thirst, we set out once more.”

“The gobernadorcillo came to pay his respects; he was a Mariano. We received him very kindly, by which he seemed to be extremely flattered. We did not however go so far as to shake his hand on account of the illness of the country, and we left Merizo properly accompanied by most of the population, male and female, and by a pack of skinny dogs. Our escort having been increased by many individuals, we took the opportunity to transfer to their shoulders our guns and our game bags, and we opened our stride with renewed vigor.”

“This time we had said goodbye to this awful beach and we progressed peacefully along a pretty path through a very thick wooded copse. Everywhere at every footstep we could see deer and wild boar tracks and we counted on a lucky hunt the next day. The poor Padre was sweating blood and tears; he was used to travel this route softly stretched in a hammock carried on the shoulders of four natives. This time he had overestimated his strength and he found the road furiously long. The wood opened up on

the seashore which we followed for some time under some huge ironwood trees; some beautiful clear brooks came from place to place to fall into the sea and we did not cover a mile without meeting one. We kept going straight before us without seeing any village or country house, or anything close to that. We sang no longer; we all dragged our feet something awful. Goupil had one shoe that was hurting him and was about to rebel completely. Lafarge and I were silent and walked with bowed head, railing at Inarahan, the sun and the curate. At last we found a hut right next to a river; a multitude of small pigs were wallowing delightfully in muddy water pools, a beautiful grove of coconut trees shading the whole. We sat down there or rather we let ourselves fall to the ground. We had indeed arrived at a country house but alas! it was not owned by our friend; it belonged to Padre Bernardo. To reach the other, we still had to climb one mountain.

“We stopped only long enough to quench our thirst and we again set out bravely. Soon we began to climb amid tall grasses. It was 2:30 p.m., the sun was darting directly down upon our heads and not one tree to provide some shade. A deer sprinted by at twenty paces from us but we did not have the courage to send it a shot. What an atrocious walk! said Lafarge. To the devil with the deer! said Goupil. Damned curate! said I between my teeth. “Caramba! Demonio de sol!” said the Padre in an impatient tone of voice.”

“Oh! Padre! Padre! said we, this is a sort of trap for which you’ll have to answer to God! Finally, half laughing, half complaining, we at last arrived at a hut surrounded by a wide space of beaten earth. The Padre then placed his two hands in the shape of a horn, uttered three shouts that echoed all around, and we saw a bunch of small black pigs run up from everywhere. We chose forty for the crews of the corvettes, plus one dozen for the officers’ table, then we went to stretch upon some bamboo inside the hut. It was perhaps forty feet by twenty, and was inhabited by the keepers of the Padre’s herd. Besides his apostolic functions, the Padre had the more lucrative business of pig farming.”

“After resting half an hour, we hit the road again. This time, we only needed three-quarters of an hour to reach Inarahan where, as the curate was saying, we would find at his home good hospitality and a substantial dinner prepared by his housekeeper Mariquita.”

—Is she young your housekeeper?

—Eighteen years old.

—Pretty?

Here the cunning Padre answered me with a smile:

—*Bastante*. [Enough] which was supposed to mean: Yes, that is none of your business. We again followed the coast. The whole coast is protected at that point by reefs upon which the sea breaks with violence. Woe to the ship that, during a black night, would come up against such breakers; it would not last half an hour above the water. On the inside the sea is very beautiful. There are a few cuts through the reef but they are practicable only for boats or vessels of very light tonnage. Finally, we sighted the smoke of the village, then the church steeple and soon we made our entrance into In-

arahan among a population of both sexes that had run up to welcome their pastor, and also to see the strangers.”

“The village consisted of a hundred or so huts built on both sides of a wide and beautiful avenue lined with coconut trees that ended at a pretty small house with a porch; it was the presbytery. Mariquita was waiting for us at the top of the steps; she was a pretty girl. Her shirt with red squares, her small white blouse and her headkerchief cutely tied under the chin were spotlessly clean. Without her red skin and her slightly flat nose, she would have been a pretty girl in any country. She welcomed us with the small air of a housekeeper that fitted her perfectly; and, of course, she began to wipe the face of her curate that was wet with sweat, meanwhile moaning her remonstrances. She spoke a kind of gibberish half Spanish and half Chamorro. She was reproaching the curate for his long absence (the worthy man had been away eight days) and above all for having returned on foot. This done, she led us to a room where there was a spacious bed consisting in a superb piece of wood as hard as iron, some six feet in length by as many in width, and covered with a sheet and a mat. In a corner, there were three buckets full of fresh water in which we washed our faces delightfully, then a young Moor came to motion to us, by placing his hands to his mouth one after the other, that dinner was served. We passed into the next room where we found the curate as fresh as a cherub. He had traded his pants and jacket for a floating cassock made of white linen. Underneath it, the reverend was *al fresco*. I admit that I envied his costume. He very gallantly offered a similar garment to each one of us; unfortunately, the Padre was of a most exiguous size. His cassock, that covered him down to the ankles, would have come down to our knees only and, without pants, the effect would have been somewhat ludicrous. We were then obliged to keep our pants.”

“The table was splendidly garnished: venison, fish, pigeons, magnificent fruits, vegetables. Mariquita had largely provided for our appetite and, after graces had been briskly despatched, we fell upon the food like the famished people that we were. I was devouring with such a voracity that I did not at first notice Mariquita. The poor girl was standing behind Lafarge, a plate under her arm. A big tear was rolling in her big black eye, and she was looking at her curate with a look designed to split a heart of stone. The latter had his head in his plate and did not dare lift his nose. I understood.”

—And that, Padre, why deviate from your custom? I am sure that Mariquita is used to eating with you, and there she is now, the poor girl, looking like a votive offering.

—But, Señor, our regulations!

—Ah, come on! your regulations... The Archbishop of Toledo is 3,000 leagues to windward; therefore, make room for Mariquita.

My man accepted this tender admonition, and Mariquita slipped between the two of us. Once the ice was broken, everything went fine.

“We had brought in our game-bags a few old bottles of French wine, and I do not recall having made a happier dinner. The weather that had been so nice all day had turned to rain, the sea was breaking furiously upon the pebbles on the beach, the wind and the rain made a hellish racket in the coconut trees. Until 11 o'clock, we remained

at the table, smoking delightful cigarettes rolled by the pretty hand of the housekeeper who was charming throughout.”

[The deer hunt]

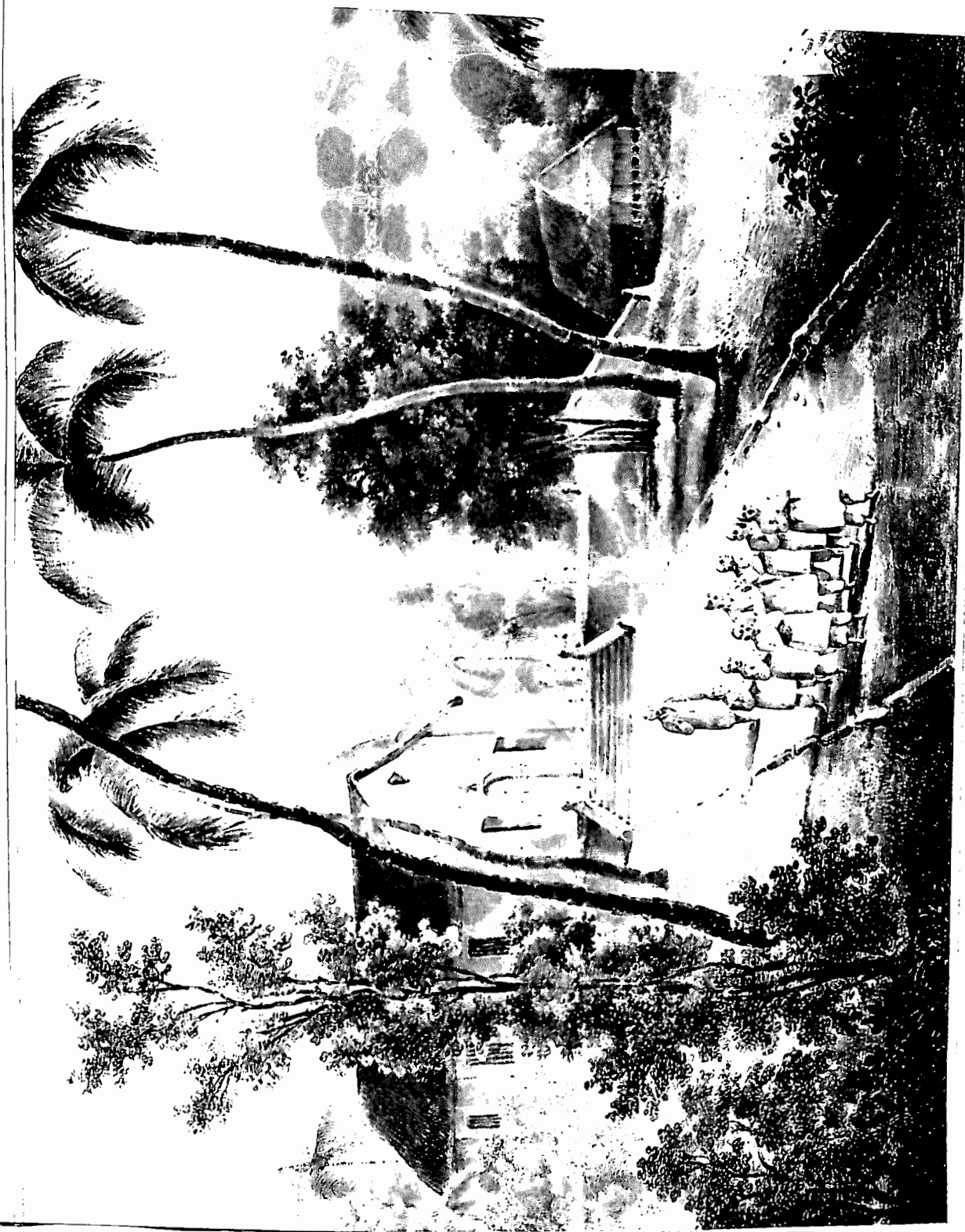
“The next day at 5 we were afoot. The worthy Padre was still sleeping; Mariquita was about and sprightly. She served a good cup of chocolate to each one of us, while a pack of 25 hounds was howling in the yard. Two energetic Marianos, bare chested, with a *machete* hanging from the belt of their short blue pants, their feet inside sandals, were waiting with gun on their back, and we went out to hunt deer.”

“The weather was pleasant. The grass wet with dew was delightfully fresh. Unfortunately, it had rained and with every step we slid upon the clayish earth. Soon, however, we had left all the bad roads behind and we went into tall grasses like those about which we complained so much yesterday. Before us was spread like an amphitheater a succession of hills covered with a yellowish grass. The valleys were wooded and formed fresh oases amid these green steppes. Almost at the exit of the village, the dogs were slipped. The wood was beaten in all directions but unsuccessfully. We were too close to the dwellings and we pushed forward. The dogs were causing clouds of big turtle doves to take flight underfoot, but we scorned them; it was only deer we were after. After a one-hour walk, we reached the edge of a beautiful forest and everyone took his post.”

“Nothing in as beautiful, as majestic as these sumptuous forests whose development is uninhabited. Nature, often stingy and scraggy in our climates, display in tropical countries a luxury of vegetation hard to imagine. As for me, gun on my back, I was contemplating this beautiful greenery, in front of these gigantic trees. I had completely forgotten the hunt. I was dreaming about all those beautiful lands that we had visited; there also nature was great and beautiful but nothing was in sight to animate the scenery. One could not hear in the distance the song of a happy woodcutter; one could not sight through the trees the smoke of a village; the heavy wagon carrying the harvest did not creak along the roads; and, except for the raucous cry of the parrot, no sound came to trouble the peace of these impassive solitudes. I concluded that a virgin and majestic nature was an awe-inspiring spectacle but I preferred the plain furrowed by the plow, the noise of the city and the musette or tambourine of the village.”

“I was lost in my thoughts when the forest resounded with the howlings of the dogs, then the leaves shook near me and a pretty doe came to stop with her neck stretched, a worried eye, at twenty paces from the tree against which I was leaning.”

“I aimed and squeezed the trigger but only the primer fired; my gun misfired. The graceful animal looked about, spotted me, bounded off and soon was lost through the thick foliage. My first reaction was to swear at my weapon but then I was happy not to have killed the poor beast; it would have been almost an assassination. However, so that a similar thing did not re-occur, I cleaned the passages. The dogs kept on hunting and raised a deer that emerged from the wood where Lafarge and Goupil were located. The latter fired and broke one of its front legs; it staggered for a while, then kept on galloping upon three legs, followed closely by the dogs. It disappeared among grasses



Church of Inarahan, Guam.



Women of Umatac, Guam.



Mayor, peasant, and deer hunter of Umatac.

ten to twelve feet tall. It was impossible for it to go far. I threw my gun down and began to run as fast as I could after it. I bravely rushed through the grasses where I had seen it disappear but I disappeared myself in muddy water. I grabbed the reeds as best I could and, when I was afloat once more, found myself nose to nose with the poor deer. Big tears were falling from its eyes, and its blood flowed from a big wound in the neck made by the *machete* of our guide who stretched his hand to help me out of my hole."

"Two or three dogs, as voracious as harpy-eagles, had grabbed the unfortunate animal and were tearing away at it. We had a very hard time to make them let go of it; we finally towed it to the hill. We were too far away from the village to carry it there; we hung it from a tree. Goupil was triumphant. After a half-hour rest we resumed our hunt. After one hour Lafarge wounded another that left traces of blood upon all the bushes and made us go one to two leagues in pursuit but it escaped. After this we came back, hunting doves along the way. Goupil had decidedly won the honor of the day."

"At 4 o'clock we were back at the curate's home. Dinner was to be at 6, so we took the opportunity of the two hours that remained to take a bath. Behind the village was a pretty brook, well shaded from the sun. This was where the pretty sex of Inarahan went to gambol. We met two big tattlers there who gave up the place and in a jiffy we were in the water. We were delightfully dirty with our pants covered with black mud."

—I have an idea, said Goupil. I propose to take this opportunity to wash myself completely; while we are in the water, why don't we wash our pants and our stockings? With the good sun, everything will be dry in one hour, we'll get to the curate's place in charming condition and the housekeeper will be grateful.

—Accepted unanimously, said we in turn, and all three of us started rubbing our pants vigorously.

"Then we spread them on the grass. We had hardly finished when, by a hellish unluckiness, the sun, which until then had been darting hot, became blotted out by a big black cloud. We still hoped that it would pass over quickly but after that one came another. We had already been in the water for one hour and our pants were not drying. The bath was becoming much too long. We then came out of the water and began to walk to and fro. Unfortunately, it was precisely the time when the women return from the fields. They all paraded before us. Our attire was one of the most picturesque. A small vest, a shirt and some shoes, without stockings, would have appeared completely insufficient to the eyes of the most hideous peasant woman in France. In Guam this did not matter in the least. They all greeted us in passing with an "Ave Maria purissima," to which we answered with fervor: "sin pecado concebida."¹ Many of these good souls charitably helped us to wring our pants. As for us, we had not been bothered much by our attire until then, but soon thousands of mosquitos assaulted us from all sides and perforce we had to step into our unmentionables though they were still wet. We had a voracious appetite and we headed in the direction of the presbytery where an

1 Ed. note: Latin and Spanish phrase meaning: "Hail Mary, purest one; conceived without sin." It was the usual form of greeting among the Chamorros.

abundant dinner was awaiting us and we did not hesitate to do justice to it. Before sitting down to the table, I wrote a note to Roquemaurel and sent him a man who was to guide the boat to the place where we were to load the pigs."

"The next day, at 5 a.m., we were once more on our feet. The curate and the housekeeper were waiting for us with a good breakfast to which we did justice out of foresight, given that it was almost certain that we would not arrive on board before noon, or one o'clock at the earliest."

"After having duly crammed our stomachs, we left with the curate who had a hard time pulling himself away from Mariquita's arms. We did not wish to leave this good girl without giving her a souvenir. We each made her a present; as for me, I placed around her neck a superb necklace in pinchbeck and we left. We found the corvettes' boats at the place agreed upon. They had just got there but there was not a single pig. They were being rounded up and we went to the farm to expedite the process. There we found a dozen brave men forming a circle inside which they jostled three or four porkers. One of them held a long stick to which was fastened a rope with a slip knot and was presenting it to the animal which, frightened by the shouts of the others, rushed through and was thus overturned and almost strangled. Two or three men would then jump upon it. Its nose and its four feet were moored to a strong stick and in this state it was carried to the boat. Woe to the clumsy person who would miss his move; he was upset and trampled by the furious animal."

"I decided to try one; I grabbed the lasso, and Lafarge and Goupil sent me with great shouts a heavy beast of over 300 pounds. It was perfectly on guard, waiting for the right time, but at the moment that I was expecting it the least, the vile beast charged with its head down and I went rolling off two or three paces into some stinking mud; I had had enough. Lafarge and Goupil also tried, with the same success, at the great delight of the Mariano swine-keepers who took the best part of one hour to tie up the 52 quadrupeds that we needed, and we prepared to take advantage of a pleasant offshore breeze."

"We had already loaded the pigs, grunting at the bottom of the boat, the grappling anchor was perpendicular and we were about to set sail when we saw a bull coming up at full gallop, mounted by something red that bounced in all directions. It was Mariquita who was coming up at full speed. The curate had forgotten his night cap and his sunshade. The worthy housekeeper had asked for her best bull to be saddled and was running up, legs flailing about, to bring to the reverend these indispensable objects. At last, we set out and soon the coast that was disappearing behind us blotted out the view of the graceful petticoat of this model housekeeper."

"Outside the reefs we found the sea heavy and the breeze fresh. The poor Padre had a devilish fear, in addition to a hiccup that saddened him a lot. He regretted bitterly having exchanged solid ground in favor of that perfidious element. Each pitching that made the foam spurt out at the stem of the boat would pull his heart out. Soon we found ourselves inside the reefs and the boat under full sail slid rapidly within a magnificent basin bestrewed with coral patches. At every moment the unfortunate Padre feared that we would hit one of them. However, seeing us laugh so heartily, he ended up by under-

standing that there was no great risk and that after all we had no wish to drown ourselves either. The good boat had soon covered its 12 to 14 miles and we offloaded our man safe and sound at Umata. He swore to high heaven that seamen were good boys, but that he would gladly give up his share of paradise so as not to be taken again over the water.”

5 & 6 January.

Our hosts from Agaña, Luis Torres, the two Padres and the administrator set out on the road to the capital, with a large company. Impressed with the narrative made by the first visitors to Agaña about the generous hospitality of the governor, the officers of the corvettes made numerous pilgrimages towards the capital. In part mounted upon bulls that are led with a rope passed through a hole made through the wall between the two nostrils of the animal, in part on foot, these small caravans offered a most picturesque scene. Agaña does not have an inn because travellers are very scarce, but the hospitality of Mr. Torres and of Don Calvo was endless; both insisted that every officer come in turn to learn how the Spanish hospitality is great and generous in the Marianas.

On the other hand, our seamen, sent frequently on leave ashore, criss-crossed the bay and encouraged the passion that the Marianos have for cockfights. Our men learned to enjoy the duels to the death of these poor birds and, whatever the loser, our sailors always applauded its defeat. Besides, excellent fresh food, exercise, and the good air of Umata made an excellent preventive medicine against illnesses and I had good hopes that this stopover would give back to my tired crew all the energy and strength necessary for the hard work that still lied ahead.

As for me, confined on board where illness kept me, I kept busy by putting the finishing touch to the report I intended to send to the Minister.

7 January.

The last of the officers who had undertaken a pilgrimage to Agaña had returned a few hours previously, some very happy and the others very unhappy with their reception by the governor, when all of a sudden the bells of Umata began to swing; the arrival of the viceroy of the Marianas was thus announced. Don José Casillas y Salazar was on a tour to elect the *gobernadorcillos* [lieutenant-governors] and the *alguacils* [constables]. He arrived at Umata at about noon and was expected to leave momentarily for Inarahan. However, during the visit I paid him in the company of Mr. Jacquinot, I managed to get his promise to come to dinner.

He is a man of between 36 and 40 years of age, is small, lean, his face is pale and sickly, his movements quick. He expresses himself rather well in French and knows all of our best authors. His retinue is rather numerous; it consists of Don Luis Torres, Don Calvo, and the two Padres whom we already know. Moreover, that same night Don José Casillas continued his route to complete his tour and his elections. The curates of Agaña and Agat, not too keen about visiting the island behind the governor, remained

at Umata where in the company of our officers they find a life more exciting and more to their taste, although not in character with their robes.

As of the next day, free in their movements and rid of the bothersome presence for them of their secular chief, they answered worthily to the invitations of our officers' messes and did justice to French wines. In the evening, there was a large company in the great hall of the palace. A bad violin player and a few guitar players, all natives of Guam, had been brought in. After a fore-taste of Mariano music, it was difficult for our young officers to resist the pleasure they would have found in being able to dance. In the absence of ladies, the long white robes of the Spanish priests took their places and the flooring of the palace groaned under the steps of these new-style dancing partners. It was a truly bizarre spectacle, specially for us who are used to seeing among our countrymen such a great reserve among the men who are religious in character. Although the action of dancing is not at all reprehensible, I must say, however, that these white cassocks were peculiarly clashing amid the bustle of our young officers.

9 January.

At 10 a.m., the governor returned to his palace in Umata. All the electors in the country, totalling twelve, were gathered there. They proceeded to elect, under the chairmanship of Don José Casillas, one *gobernadorcillo*, one *teniente de justicia* [justice of the peace] and one *alguacil*. The operation was short. I do not know if the bribe system has reached Guam but what is for sure is that, by enening time, there were few electors remaining with their heads in place.¹

At 2 p.m., all the Governor's chores were over, and he came to honor my invitation to dinner. When he left, I had him saluted with a nine-gun salute. I offered him, as a souvenir of the passage of the expedition, a beautiful pair of pistols that seemed to please him, and at about 5 o'clock he resumed his journey towards Agaña. In the evening, our dancers of the previous evening gathered at the palace again and it was only quite late in the night that the officers stopped partying and retired to their respective ships.

10 January.

At 8 a.m., the observatory was removed. Following my order, the purser had left a small souvenir with the good mayor of Umata who had taken good care of our observers. The gentlemen officers in charge of the chronometers had completed their last astronomical observations. All our friends, Luis Torres, Don Calvo and the Padres, after some touching goodbyes, had taken the road to their homes and our corvettes weighed their anchors, set their sails and left far behind them the silent and hospitable bay of Umata. At noon, the land of Guam disappeared over the horizon.

So many travellers have described this fertile land and the indolent customs of its inhabitants, that I will not dwell much upon the observations that we have been able

1 Ed. note: The word used in French for bribe is "pot-de-vin," literally pot of wine. D'Urville alludes to the fact that the electors had much to drink, at someone else's expense.

to make there. However, I hope that the reader will like to learn about the happy changes that took place in the government of the Marianas where the Spanish flag has been waving for such a long time.

Formerly, only the governor had the right to carry on commerce on behalf of the government. A general store supplied with all sorts of objects from Europe was used to provide for the needs of the inhabitants but at exorbitant prices. In the impossibility of establishing some competition, the unfortunate natives were obliged to buy at stipulated prices and this was a perennial source of wealth for the governors whose emoluments were by the way very insufficient. The last governor who enjoyed this revolting privilege was the generous Medinilla whose hospitality has been proclaimed by Mr. Freycinet and even by me, but who has left after him in the colony only feelings of hatred and scorn. Never, said the inhabitants, had the island been so squeezed than under the government of your good and generous Medinilla; of course, it was not hard for him to treat strangers as a prince, when the efforts of the whole colony were exhausted in making the governor rich.

Today, the monopoly has completely disappeared; each inhabitant may sell as he wishes to whom he pleases, and everyone is free to buy where he finds the best bargain.

“In spite of the apparent advantages of this free system,” says Mr. Dubouzet, “the state of these islands has changed so little that one can hardly add anything to the extensive descriptions that have been made. The island of Guam, in spite of the productivity of its soil, the beauty of its climate, its salubrity that is better than that of tropical countries, contains only a population of 7,000 inhabitants that could be easily multiplied tenfold with a little industry. However, indolence is so dear to the Mariano people that everyone hastens to take a rest, as soon as he feels that his daily meal is assured.”

Even though commerce is today completely free, there is no trader in the island, and all that the inhabitants have gained is that the price of the commodities cannot exceed certain limits, set for the arrivals [of ships], always very rare. In the interest of the colony itself, there is still a government store in Agaña. It is provided, as at the time of the monopoly, with cloth and commodities from Europe, and it supplies them to the inhabitants at 30 percent over the purchase price at Manila.

“This profit,” says Mr. Dubouzet, “has been calculated so as to cover the transport costs only. The ships that visit these islands are a few rare whaling ships that come to take in fresh stores. They provide to the inhabitants, in exchange for what they take, the cloth that the colony is in need of, and thus make less useful this paternal precaution of the government. As for communications with Manila, ships are seen usually every three years; that is the one that brings the money destined to cover the administrative costs and to resupply the government stores.”

The governor of the Marianas is appointed for six years only. He gets his commission from the government of the mother country, although he is under the direct orders of

the Captain-General of the Philippines. He is always selected from the military ranks. His salary is fixed at 1,800 pesos per year and 500 for travelling expenses, that is, his full salary is a total of 2,300 pesos. All trading is severely forbidden to him.

The main civil servants, after the governor, are: the *Sargento Mayor* [Major], the *administrador*, the three military mayors, then the captain and the officers of the troop. The first one receives only 300 pesos, whereas the administrator receives 600 pesos per year; the captain gets only 150.

The college of Agaña, so flourishing at the time of the visit of the *Uranie* [1819], had for students at the time of our visit, a bunch of roosters which the curate of Agaña, Padre Bernardo, was breeding for cockfights. Four priests are in charge of the religious service of the island; the curate of Agaña has the title of Apostolic Prefect with which he adds that of Rector of the college.

“This number,” says Mr. Dobouzet, “is very insufficient on account of the distances and the manner with which the incumbents carry out their functions. In the present state of the customs, the little money earned by the *Indios* goes into the hands of the greedy clergy which speculates upon the vainglory of these unfortunate people. The greatest pomp must be displayed in all the religious ceremonies, such as baptisms, marriages and funerals; the natives spend their last penny and their spiritual directors, far from discouraging this useless show, do nothing but encourage it. They find their way to enrich themselves which is not honorable. The greatest service that could be rendered to the natives would be to make them lose such ruinous customs and, for that, one would have so to speak to change all the members of Guam’s clergy, which would be a difficult thing and might not give the desired result, because the church of the Marianas, that comes under the archdiocese of Manila, is almost always led by priests who have given, by their behavior, some scandal in the country and who have been gotten rid of through exile.”

The salary of each of these priests is 360 pesos per year. We have seen that these religious men know how to supplement their revenue through commerce, although it is strictly forbidden to them. I was assured that the curate of Agaña enjoys certain privileges that he was able to have conceded to him and that increase his emoluments well beyond what the government gives him. The other functions are free and carried out accordingly.

The governor is subject to an annual tour of inspection of the island, to proceed to the renewal of the authorities of the districts. I will borrow from the interesting notes made by Mr. Dubouzet the account he gives of the elections held at Umata, which we attended as the reader knows.

“The laws which regulate the Spanish colonies are liberal and paternal toward the Indians. Their municipal system would be the envy of a more advanced country. We witnessed one of these elections. The governor who was present was there strictly to en-

sure that the established procedures were followed, but not at all to interfere with the freedom or to influence the outcome in favor of a particular candidate. The electors, called "heads of *barangays*, represented their own village section, so divided in order to avoid the great inconvenience of a direct election; each of them thus represented many families with their consent."

"All the electors gathered at the palace or city hall and each of them gave successively, in writing, the name of the candidate whom he judged most worthy of filling the office of *gobernadorcillo*. The votes were then counted publicly, and the three candidates with the most votes were proclaimed in the following order: *gobernadorcillo*, *teniente de justicia*, and *alguacil*. After having sworn allegiance, right there and then, before the governor, they were immediately handed over a cane with a gold pommel, one with a silver pommel, and one with a wooden pommel respectively; such are the respective distinctive signs of their position, then they began their term. All the authorities of Umata were thus changed; it is rare that the same man fills the first post for two years in a row, because the duties of his position attract enemies and, for the Mariano, change is something that pleases him and even makes him come out of his apathy. The newly-elected were feasted that very night, and this was great fanfare."

"The attributions of the *gobernadorcillo* are more extensive than those of our mayors. The *teniente de justicia* serves him as chief constable and at the same time fulfills functions that resemble those of justices of the peace. The *alguacil* is a sort of constable in charge of arresting delinquents who must obey the least injunction coming from him, and who are turned over to the governor who has the authority to act as a judge in everything that is a little serious, but for crimes, the culprits are referred to the Manila courts. The rarity of the communications with that country results in little use being made of this delayed justice, and besides, the inhabitants of the Marianas are so peaceful that they do not really feel the need for it."

"Every day, the *alguacil* has assigned to him, to assist him, some men designated by the *gobernadorcillo* and who must do community or church service. Every citizen, unless he has a rank in the militia, pays his debt in turn. Besides, they may all be subject to public works or to carrier duty, transporting the parish curates from one place to another, when religious service dictates it. The latter duty is the one they agree to more easily on account of their Spanish-style devotion and the power that the clergy still has over them, despite its behavior that is usually unruly, and the bad example that we saw them give often during our stay."

"The mother country, or rather Manila, bears all the costs of administering the Marianas which amount every year to 8,000 gold pesos. This sum is used to pay all the salaried public servants. This money is almost the only one in circulation on the island and the general poverty of the inhabitants proves that it is not the taxes but the lack of work which makes this country poor. Perhaps it would be good for these islands to have a slight tax of some kind imposed upon them. It would act as an incentive to make them laborious, if only by forcing them to work in order to pay it. They would derive all the physical and moral benefits that a people get from work. In spite of the abuse made of

this doctrine in many countries, it has a modicum of truth that is particularly applicable to them. This tax could be gradually increased and they could be forced to underwrite all the country's expenditures and make possible a lot of useful public works that cannot be carried out in the present state of affairs for lack of funds."

"Lieutenant-Colonel José Casillas, who is presently governor of the Marianas, is a distinguished man who would be eminently qualified to communicate to this country some measure of progress but who unfortunately does not have any resources at his command. The government allowance is hardly enough to meet the strictest expenses. He is therefore condemned against his will to maintain the status quo, which is a happy state, it is true, for the population that has no idea of something more progressive but that occupies a rather low rung in the ladder of civilization."

"The island of Guam is defended today by only 150 Indian soldiers, from Manila or locally-born. But its forts are badly maintained and unarmed and with this state of affairs it would be easy to take possession of it. Nature has protected its coasts with a barrier reef that prevents a landing at other than a few places that would be easy to defend if one wished to do so. Spain seems to rely today, for the retention of these islands, upon their uselessness for any other power, on account of their great distance from Europe. Indeed, there is not one colony that is farther than this one, and it can be assumed that nobody would willingly take over such a burden. The fraternal and customary relationships that exist between the natives and Spain make their possession not too costly, specially in the present state when Manila provides for their maintenance."

The Mariana Islands are often shaken by earthquakes and, besides, they are exposed to terrible hurricanes that devastate the land and desolate the people. After Guam, the only other island that has some significant population is Rota Iland, which is governed by an Indian military mayor. In the aftermath of a hurricane, many Carolinians who had survived tthe complete flooding of their islands came to settle in Saypan under the protection of the Governor of the Marianas whose permission they had previously obtained.

REPORT OF MR. DUROCH
regarding the visit to Agaña, Guam.
(Note 14 to Chapter 39 of d'Urville's book)

Tired of seeing only squamous skins, not having anything more to visit in Umata, I undertook to go to the capital of the island. Thus everyone during this layover, reserved for rest and good living, went where his inclination took him and many other gentlemen had gone on a deer hunt. The question was, however, how we would get transport to Agaña; I had thought at first, upon the narratives of travellers who had preceded us, that we could be comfortably carried by palenquin but this comfortable means of locomotion was no longer in use. My quandary was extreme; to cover this distance on foot would have been absurd because it was far and the roads, we were told, were not all that good. Fortunately, the mayor came to my help by offering me his mule. I accepted immediately and the next day set out in company with one of my comrades, I being mounted on the mule and he on top of a superb bull led by a piece of rope tied to a piece of wood that pierced its nostrils. Our guide was a poor devil, a good boy but not very intelligent.

At last, we were off. The road that leaves the village crosses a wide plain planted with rice and various kinds of vegetables. After having crossed it, we came to the foot of a high hillock and I thought we would go around it but it was not so. We came to a stop at the ravine and we could see the path zigzagging up the steep sides of the rock. We were therefore forced to dismount and to begin the climb. Nothing inside this funnel shaded us from the burning rays of the sun; not a breath of air reached us, and we were indeed relieved when we got to the end of this bumpy path. However, each effort deserves a reward, and nature took care to provide us with ample compensation. Indeed, no spectacle had ever impressed us as being more ravishing. To our left was the abyss we had just left, extra dry in the path we had traversed but widening out at the base and ending in a vale with thousands of trees of all kinds topped by the elegant coconut trees. Before us and below, the sea and the far horizon, the beach hardly noticeable, the capes, the islands, the headlands stood out. Offshore, the silver belt of breakers that protect the coasts. To our right some deep ravines, fresh vales where stretches of the road we are to follow appeared here and there. Finally, behind us, a vast plain covered with rich pastures, a few marshes filled with reeds which are the favorite haunts of the deer. This plain ends up against a few hillocks, much higher, which rise from peak to peak, ever higher and join their interior mountain chain, a few peaks of which were lost in the blue skies.

We had stopped to admire this magical panorama when our bull, not appreciative of beautiful scenic view-points, broke its bond and galloped down the ravine we had so painfully crossed. We estimated it lost but our guide started running after it and less than half an hour later we saw him come back with the fugitive. We then continued our route and, after crossing a few ravines, or rather, steep bluffs, we reached the seashore where a hedge of trees separated us from the beach, shaded us from the sun, and made

it delightfully cool. It was then close to noon and hunger was beginning to make itself felt, although we were far from our destination. In the midst of all this, we came up to a rather big village (Agra) [rather Agat] built along regular lines by the sea, and remarkably clean. The road that constituted its main street was carefully swept and very well maintained. Some fruit and vegetable gardens surrounded it on all sides. The beauty of that site, fatigue and the hunger we suffered from made us decide to call a halt. We were about to go into a house to ask for hospitality when we learned that many of our comrades who had left a few hours before us were at the local presbytery where we were taken right away. A table loaded with savory dishes of all kinds, around which sat half a dozen of our comrades, was what I first noticed. At the curate's invitation we joined them and partook of a good share of the feast, all the while being astonished at our good luck and surprised to find such good food in such a faraway place.

Our host was a young monk of about 25 years of age, with a fresh face and expressive black eyes. He was very fond of music and dance; such a taste was forgivable for a very young man who lived among honest and good islanders but not much entertaining and narrow-minded. Nevertheless, he had been able to train a few musicians and had them execute a few pieces before us, then accompanied by the not too harmonious tunes of a faint piano, many of our people had to waltz with him willy-nilly, in spite of the fatigue we felt. They were complaining of dizziness to no avail. This day was a novelty for him. He was so happy to have us around that he did not want to let us go. He would promise us good food, music, parties of all sorts; he placed the whole village at our disposal. For short, there was nothing he did not try to prevent us from leaving him. His authority over the population seemed to me to be complete. I spoke to him about the cleanliness that I had noticed in the village streets. By the way he answered, I understood that he was both the spiritual and temporal leader there. Furthermore, judging by the deals we made with him, I also guessed that he was the wealthiest property owner as well. He offered to supply us with everything we needed for a long voyage. In conclusion, his situation was not as bad as it appeared to us at first. Dedicated to monastic life, a condition which in Europe is considered wholly one of self-denial, nothing could please him more than a country where, as a result of traditions and the dull state of the inhabitants' minds, a priest could still exercise both civil and religious duties, and not far enough from any settlement to lack the necessary comfort, because Manila is very near.

However, we had to say goodbye to this hospitable curate. We made him promise to come and see us in Umata, and we left him, though he was sorry to see us go. Coming out of the village, the road led us to the top of a rocky and steep hillock where we could see magnificent plains, huge rice fields, and the graves of many natives. Upon the plateau, we came upon the three most important persons in the colony after the governor: Padre Bernardo, religious chief of the Marianas, a typical-looking monk, thin, gaunt and nervous; Don Torres, head of the first family in the country, famous for his friendly and hospitable character mentioned by all the navigators who have preceded us; finally, the accounting officer of the colony. These three gentlemen had been sent by the governor to meet Commander d'Urville. They seemed vexed as not being in

Agaña for our visit. They all offered their hospitality, and their offer was not a formality because in these good Mariana Islands there are so few travellers that hotels are unknown. As soon as a stranger arrives, there is a competition among the rich persons to get him and during the whole of his stay he is feasted and cared for as if he belonged to their own family. These gentlemen, not wishing to leave us without shelter, in spite of their absence, entrusted one of their servants to lead us to the accountant's wife, the only Spanish woman in the island, who was to do the honors of her house until the arrival of her husband. When we left that gentleman, and according to what they had told us about the length of the road that we still had to cover, we had to make haste. The road, after crossing a big rice field, became a beautiful causeway through a huge mangrove swamp; raised a few feet above the ground, it allowed the tides to follow their regular movements and by preventing stagnant waters it thus removed a great cause of insalubrity. Although we were progressing quickly along a road that had become as beautiful as a park alley, it was nevertheless only at nightfall that we sighted the first houses of the capital of the Marianas.

It was dark when we entered the town; we consulted one another and could find nothing better to do than go to Don Felix' house. It was as a result of the pressing offers made by Don Felix and his two travelling companions and because we knew also the narratives of travellers that we resorted to such an extraordinary move. There were five of us, all young and full of appetite. It was 8 p.m.; perhaps this good lady was asleep and then, what an embarrassment! We went nevertheless. Led by our man, we soon came to the door of a big house, single-storied, adorned with a wooden balcony. We climbed a huge stairway and found ourselves amid many young children jumping around the landing. The servant who had accompanied us went to warn the lady of the house. She came right away to welcome us. She took us into a wide drawing-room furnished with cane sofas and arm-chairs and then, with the sweetest of civilities, with a voice that came from the heart, she offered her services and placed the whole house at our disposal, and thanked us for having kindly accepted her husband's invitation. Touched by such a welcome, we could not but accept and soon the house was in an uproar. Orders were given, to prepare us a sumptuous meal. This good lady tossed about; she had given orders to have some chocolate drinks brought to us first, when an envoy came from the governor to beg us, on behalf of His Excellency, to come over to his house. Our poor hostess was completely put out when she learned about this invitation. She asked us if we would return after our visit and she appeared very dismayed as she probably expected the governor to keep us. She reiterated her offers of service many times. We therefore followed our new guide to the governor's palace. At the door of a great hall we found the governor himself who welcomed us with the greatest of civilities and expressed his happiness at welcoming French officers.

Don José Casillas was about 40 years old. He had started his career at the time when the military fortune of France was on the decline; having taken part in the invasion of France, he had fallen in love with the country and had learned the language which he spoke fluently. In 1822, he was sent to the Philippines where he reached the rank of

lieutenant-colonel. It was with this rank that he was sent in 1836 to govern the Marianas, an easy posting that he had requested in order to restore his health that had been changed by a long stay in the Philippines. As he loved France and the French people, he was very happy to welcome officers of that nation in his home. There was nothing he did not do to make our stay in his capital pleasant. He tried to keep us with him in spite of our promises to Doña Felix [Calvo]; he sent an officer to warn her that he was keeping us at the palace. How disappointed this good lady must have been! We were not able to take the opportunity of her goodwill toward us but still felt much thankfulness for her who had been first to receive us so well and had given us such a favorable idea about the hospitality of the Marianas. However, as hospitable and generous, the governor treated us with magnificence. After a splendid meal, he had us taken to our bedrooms where we were able at last to surrender ourselves to a rest that had become necessary after such a full day.

The next day at daybreak we were up. We had that one day only to visit the town and we wanted to take advantage of all of it. From the palace windows we could watch it stir, but what an awakening! Not the least noise, not one sound from a hammer blow reached our ears, not one cart. Nothing, just as silent as during the night. How sad it is to see a dead town! Poor Agaña! Deprived of commerce and activity, what will become of you? Will you end up like the islands that surround you almost without inhabitants? Thou art the only town now, but thy sleep will stifle thee. Thou shalt wither away and starve after a long period of decay. What a pity!

This town is located in a pretty plain, with a low ridge covered with a coconut forest on one side; all the houses on that side appear smothered by brilliant greenery. It is bordered to the south [sic] by a pretty brook that can be crossed by frail bridges, sometimes consisting of a single tree trunk. In front of this brook is a sandy beach and finally the sea. The town is much longer than it is wide; its streets are wide, straight, and are of beaten earth. Its houses, all raised upon piles many feet above the ground, are built of boards or bamboo but the outside is coated with [dry] mud, whitewashed, which gives them a clean look that nevertheless is in contrast with that of the inside. Indeed, most of these houses are small, have only one floor divided into two parts by a single partition; the smaller room serves as a bedroom for the whole family, the other is the dining room, the living room, the rest area and the kitchen all at once. All around it are placed some benches and a few seats hung from the ceiling with two ropes. One big chest or a chest of drawers is the main piece of furniture in the apartment. It is upon this furniture that the altar has been placed; there, surrounded by candles and dressed with silk or gauze, can be found the saint or patron saints of the household. A *dolce farniente* takes up most of the Mariana people's leisure time. Inside their houses, where one can enter at any time, they are found to be reclining lazily. As hospitable as the rich persons, as soon as you appear, they offer you cool drinks or coconuts; they ask for nothing but upon seeing the inside of their house, one feels their poverty and cannot but offer to pay for what they have given very willingly. They accept because they are indeed very poor.

We made many such visits during the morning and everywhere we found the same kind feelings that is a characteristic of this good population. We were happy to notice that the awful disease that disfigure the inhabitants of Umata did not hold sway in the capital. We were always surrounded by a large crowd among which could be seen a swarm of curious young girls, truly very pretty, with superb rounded shapes hardly hidden by their white blouses that, along with a simple striped skirt, formed their complete attire. Their shining black hair in pigtails, their expressive eyes, the curious and cute feeling that animated them made them truly charming.

If we were admiring, we were also being admired. So few ships go to Guam, specially warships, that strangers in uniform are for these people something very peculiar. These poor inhabitants can only trade when a whaling ship calls at their harbor. In exchange for their coconut brandy, their chickens, and their pigs, they supply themselves with cloth or a few pesos to buy something in the government stores. Their industry is nil, but what of it? After brandy and *farniente*, their only passion is cock-fighting. Each Mariano owns a cock and when he has some money, he goes to gamble it in a cock-fight. He comes out of his usual apathy only for this sort of pleasure. While chewing on a cigar, he follows anxiously his animal, exciting it when it slows down and applauding it when it is a winner, then he withdraws seriously and goes and dresses the wounds of his favorite animal in order to make it apt to fight again. Such is life in the Marianas. The women are more active, as they are in charge of all the household chores.

Agaña has a few buildings that we went to visit. We saw the college, which may have been destined to that purpose originally, but today is almost in ruins, without any school children. We only found an old worm-eaten table and ancient armchair, the professor's seat. However, if the children are no more, if their shouts no longer echo off the ceiling of the ancient building, they have been replaced by a huge quantity of fighting cocks. Everywhere along the hallways, inside the halls, they can be seen, like a true army of beautiful, superb, well fed, proud fighters.

We left this institution and went into the church; it is a huge building, very high but poor and badly decorated. Nothing special could be seen and the only thing remaining was to visit the governor's palace where we lived. This palace, with firing ports in many places, bore the imprint of its ancient origin. It has but one story of great length and is enclosed by a parapet where can be seen a few embrasures supplied with cannon. Outside the iron gate there is a huge plaza intersected by two perpendicular streets, a place that is able to contain the entire population of the island, estimated at 5,000 inhabitants.

The only thing we saw to defend the coast of Agaña was an old fort, whose embrasures were closed, and which we discovered by chance; it is located near the sea and is surrounded by a magnificent vegetation that hides it from view.

Such is the town, a delightful retreat for someone disillusioned with this world, who wants to escape noise and dissipation; but a town full of boredom and sadness for he who is used to the bustle of our European cities. A poor town, containing a poor, kind, quiet and hospitable people. The passage of our corvettes will leave its mark upon these

honest islanders; they will speak about it for a long time and this clear memory will impress future navigators whose voyages around the world might bring here.

The governor, in order to celebrate our presence at his house, had invited the principal inhabitants of the town. Among them was the mayor of Tinian, a rather destitute island, given that its population is under 40 people and this made the good mayor say that the whole population of the island could fit inside his living room. In short, during our stay at Agaña, the governor was always very obliging and extremely kind toward us. Sick as he was, and under a strict diet, he completely rearranged his schedule in order to please us. Our thankfulness and our good wishes will always be with him. We spoke many times about the condition of the country, about the efforts being made to develop it. Unfortunately, it is subject to two influences, always in opposition. What is the right way? It is not the right place to raise this question here; we travellers, had all been welcomed. Thanks be to them! May the authorities agree on a way to make this kind, patient people happy; they deserve a happy fate.

The Mariano people are extremely religious. The priests, who in these islands have always had the upper hand, have made them so. The monks enjoy a tremendous influence, perhaps more than the military governors. They are not only held in high esteem but they also own possessions and are perhaps the richest inhabitants of Agaña. In the midst of all these wooden houses are a few beautiful stone houses belonging to the priests. Their life is very comfortable; they deny themselves nothing. May they use their influence and their wealth for the welfare of their flock!

The next day we had to say goodbye to our Agaña friends. We left early in company with the governor who wished to do the honors of his domain to the end. We traversed once more this magnificent countryside whose fertility we again admired. We again saw Agra [Agat], residence of a happy priest, and we reached Umata at 2 o'clock when we soon rejoined our home afloat. Before I went on board, I went back to the old mayor and asked him how much I owed him for his mule. Give me your hand, said the good fellow, that is all I ask you. I gave it to him heartily; I was touched by the character of these good people.

REPORT OF MR. GOURDIN
regarding his visit to Guam.
(Note 15 to Chapter 39 of d'Urville's book).

In the old days the governor of the Marianas was not paid by the mother country but he had the trade monopoly which gave him great profits by wringing money out of the inhabitants. Today, a constitution based upon wiser principles has replaced this arbitrary regime. All the chiefs are paid by the mother country and they are no longer allowed to trade or get rich at the expense of the inhabitants. Even the priests who have kept the right to trade cannot make the inhabitants work unless they pay them a salary fixed by the regulations. Finally, a certain amount of land has been allocated to each family in accordance with its needs, but this land is taken back from those who do not make use of it properly. The island soil is fertile but the indolence of the people is so great that they only cultivate what they consider necessary for their food or to trade with the ships that come to visit. If the inhabitants wanted to devote themselves to agriculture, they would draw marvelous results from it. In short, one can live very well in Guam; rice, arrow-root, yams, corn grow there in abundance. The Mariano people pound the rice and the corn in stone and wooden vessels, as well as a peculiar fruit whose name I forgot¹ and with all these flours they make a paste that they bake under embers and that they use as bread. They also get from rice, from the coconuts or the sap of a palm tree, a sort of pure brandy, clean and pleasant to the taste. The island has many such distilleries.

The forests are populated by deer introduced by the Spanish at the beginning of the colony.² These animals have so well multiplied themselves that from 1,000 to 1,200 of them are killed every year. Their meat is within reach of most classes of the population. Cattle is common; a few herds live more or less in a wild state. A young bull weighing 100 kilograms costs from 15 to 18 Spanish pesos. Pigs and chickens are also common; a pig which sold for 3 *gourdes* made one meal for the crew, and one dozen chickens cost only 3 *gourdes*.³

The inhabitants of Guam have learned from the Manila people or perhaps even from the Spaniards how to make cocks fight. Their passion for this form of leisure is excessive. Most of the natives raise many fighting cocks with care; they are armed with sharp steel blades and one minute is sufficient to end a fight. The victim becomes the trophy of the winner.

1 Ed. note: Probably the *federico* nut.

2 Ed. note: Incorrect. They were introduced only one century later.

3 Ed. note: Old French monetary unit, perhaps equivalent to one peso.

CHAPTER 40

Survey of the islands of Guap [Yap], Pelew [Palau], Mindanao, Sanguir; stay at Ternate; passage from Ternate to Amboina.

January 1839.

We had just sailed when Mr. Jacquinot reported that two of his sailors had deserted the previous day. He had noticed their absence that same evening and had reported it to the governor, begging him to put those vagabonds in jail and, if possible, send them back in time for the departure of the corvettes. Besides, it was a very light loss for the *Zéléé*; she could easily do without the services of these two bad individuals. We had not one sick person aboard our ships which a beautiful breeze pushed rapidly.

13 January.

The sea was empty; we could not see any canoes, birds or mollusks. Thus our navigation was quite monotonous when the lookout signalled land, some 40 miles away at least. That was the peaks of Guap Island, one of the most interesting of the Carolines.

In spite of paying as much attention as possible to the track indicated by Hunter,¹ we neared the coast on the leeward side without sighting the reef shown by this navigator NE of the northern point of the island.

Favored with a beautiful breeze, at 4 p.m., we were as close as half a mile from the continuous reef which appears to encircle this land at no more than one mile from the beach.

Guap Island, when seen in one glance, offers a very beautiful view. The spy-glass showed many plantations that were well aligned and well cared for. Cultivation here seems much superior to anything we had seen in Oceania. The number and scope of these plantations indicate a large population whose existence is confirmed by the quantity of canoes and huts spread all along the coast. The houses appear huge and surrounded by enclosures made with stacked coral stones. They are pleasantly set amid huge coconut groves. Among them, I was able to notice one built upon a platform some 3 to 4 meters above the ground and which, by its shape and appearance, reminded me of the spirit house at Balau [Mbow?] in the Viti [Fiji] Islands. For short, this island seemed to be very interesting to visit. We were able to skirt its reef very close and admire the smiling appearance of the beaches.

Toward the center of the island, we saw a deep inlet that Mr. Dumoulin believed to be the mouth of a canal that might divide the island into two parts. A pass that appeared safe but very narrow could be the entrance to an excellent port. What is for sure, it is that a large fleet of canoes left that far end to come and visit us but, though I hope to in order to make it easy for them to reach us, only one, manned by five men, including an old man with a long beard, came close enough to us to be able to speak to us.

1 Ed. note: RN officer on board the chartered Dutch ship *Waakzamheydt*, Captain Smith, in 1791.

These boats are similar to those we have seen in the Carolines. They are usually manned by six to ten men; however, many carry as many as twenty natives. They came to sail around our ships but without anything on board, they even seemed to care little about communicating with us. This fact confirms what I was told in Guam about the attacks that these islanders have been guilty of, and I have no longer any doubt that it was their fear of our having come to punish them that kept away these people whom I had found so trustful ten years earlier.

The only thing we learned from these savages was that their island was called Guap or Uap, but they never pronounced Yap, as some have said. A few of them were also repeating the word 'Carolinas' in bad Spanish; they no doubt had learned this from the Carolinians who visit the Marianas each year. Most of the inhabitants wore only a simple straw belt. Only two or three wore, in addition to this much too simple an attire, a few mats that covered their body from the waist down.

Nightfall had come when our corvettes went away. The strong currents that made their presence known made accurate headings impossible. Fortunately, the breeze held and the next day the lands of the Pelew Islands unfolded before us.

15 January.

At noon, we sighted the main islands of this group: Baubelthuap, Koror, Urukthapel and Earakong [Eil Malk]. As in most of the groups in the tropics, a huge reef forms a belt around this small archipelago that we skirted so as to make a nautical chart of it.

Between Urukthapel and Earakong, the reef presents a passage that is narrow and badly funnelled. I doubt very much that there is there a practicable entrance for ships, although the sides of the two islands appear very safe.

Further on, south of Earakong, we then saw a second pass that appeared wide and free of hazards. It even seemed to extend far inside by means of a wide and deep channel. I do not doubt that this is the entrance to an excellent port there but the exit would perhaps be difficult on account of the prevailing winds.

Moreover, these beautiful beaches that seem so smiling, and where vegetation shows itself so active did not let us gain sight of any inhabitants, huts or canoes. The coconut trees are very scarce and no traces of cultivation could be seen. What a difference between these people and those who inhabit Guap!

We had just coasted along the whole eastern edge of the Pelew Group and had seen only three canoes and near the last two of them only a dozen natives. Finally, at 4 o'clock, we rounded the southern point of Pillilew [Peliliu] and saw a few beautiful tufts of coconut trees, the food trees of the savages. Soon three sailing canoes came towards us and I hove to in order to wait for them. The individuals aboard them, numbering from fifteen to twenty, came alongside and climbed aboard without hesitation. Their type is Carolinian; their teeth and their mouths are soiled by betel use. A few of them wore a human bone on their head shaped like a comb.

Their canoes are small and narrow but very finely crafted. Some red paint covers them. The wood polish is worth mentioning. They are provided with lap-jointed gun-wales and seem well rigged and fit for rather long navigations.

While I was trading with the savages for a few objects crafted by them, such as chests, bone combs, lime cylinders, a clay dish and a clay cooking pot, a man came up to me and told me in Malay that he came from a bark that was shipwrecked upon these islands about eleven months earlier.

This poor devil, at first shaking all over and above all trying to avoid being seen by the Carolinians who surrounded us, was soon re-assured when I promised him to keep him on board as well as one of his comrades whom he introduced to me. He informed me that seven men formed part of the crew of his vessel. The wind carried them far off the land and after five days they were forced to land at the Pelew Islands where the inhabitants massacred the captain and made the others slaves. When they climbed aboard our ships, these two Malays hoped to recover their liberty and my answer was awaited with an anxiety all the more acute because they could expect anything from their irritated masters who would not forgive them this attempt at escaping.

Indeed, this unfortunate man had hardly finished to present his request when a mean-looking native came near my two protégés and ordered them to embark; then, when he learned that they intended to stay aboard to rejoin their country, he threatened them and repeated his order for them to return immediately to the canoe. However, this time, as an answer, I had the ship cleared. Three or four energetic seamen grabbed him and threw him into his canoe where he stood, very disappointed at being abandoned by his slaves. Then the corvettes resumed their route and soon left behind the group where we had just saved these two unfortunate men.

My new guests, who settled in the ship's boat, seemed to be very satisfied with their lot and full of joy they began to narrate their story. They claim that their ship was a small schooner commanded by an Englishman. The crew consisted of seven Malays. The last port at which they called was Ternate. The Englishman and a Malay were immediately killed by the savages and the others were distributed upon all the islands of the Pelew Group. They only had one gun that was taken from them as they did not even attempt to defend themselves. They seemed to worry about the fate of their countrymen left behind at Pelew and they complained a lot about the bad treatments received from their owners.

One of these men was named Nohor; he was about 40 years old, had an intelligent face and expressed himself well. His comrade was named Gueberar, was 20 years old at most but he seemed rather stupid and not too resourceful. Both were from Banda. Among their comrades still prisoners at Pelew, three come from Banda and one from Ternate. Besides, Nohor has seen, at Koror Island, an American who came from a ship wrecked upon these islands some 4 to 5 years ago, and whose entire [sic] crew lost their lives.

An American ship had passed in view of the Pelew Islands four days before; she was on her way to Singapore. The natives had contact with this ship but had not allowed their prisoners to go alongside with them.

These savages, says Nohor, are few in number and poor. There are about 100 of them on Earakong Island, 400 on Pillilew, and perhaps 1,000 on Babelthuap Island which is the largest and the most populated. It is rich in pigs and even in cattle.

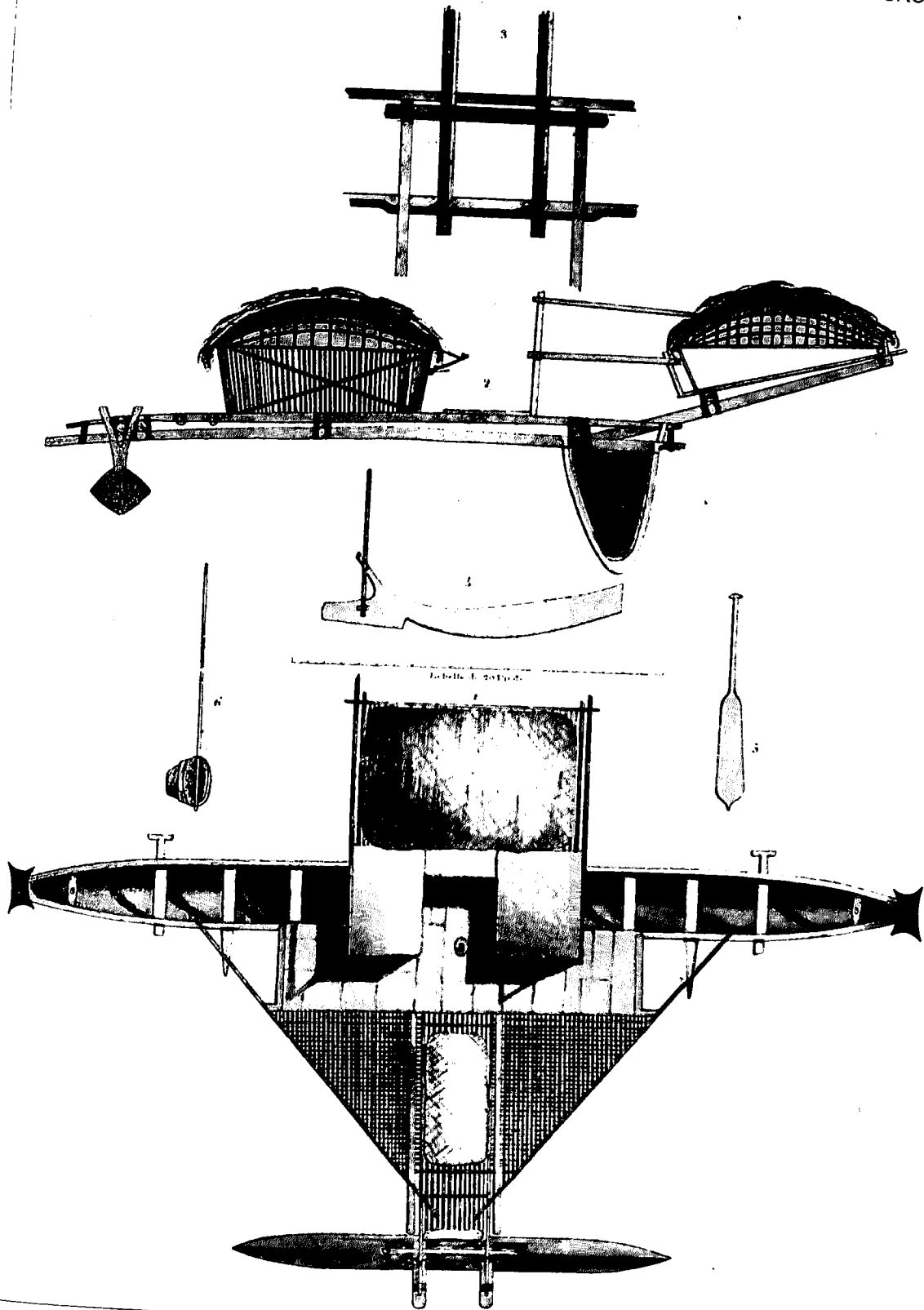
These two men were Moslems and, in spite of the little variety offered by the food aboard, nothing could overcome their religious disgust for pork. They did not know how to read or write; only one of the shipwrecked men was educated enough for that, but he is still in the hands of the savages. I had purchased from these natives a small book in Malay with arabic characters and I was informed that it belonged to this man. Moreover, these two Malays were good luck for my philologic studies because they gave me a great number of words in the language of the Pelew Islands which I had resigned myself to do without.

The pants that I ordered given to them to cover their nakedness finished putting them in a good mood and they seemed to enjoy to the full the *farniente* that had so long been denied them.

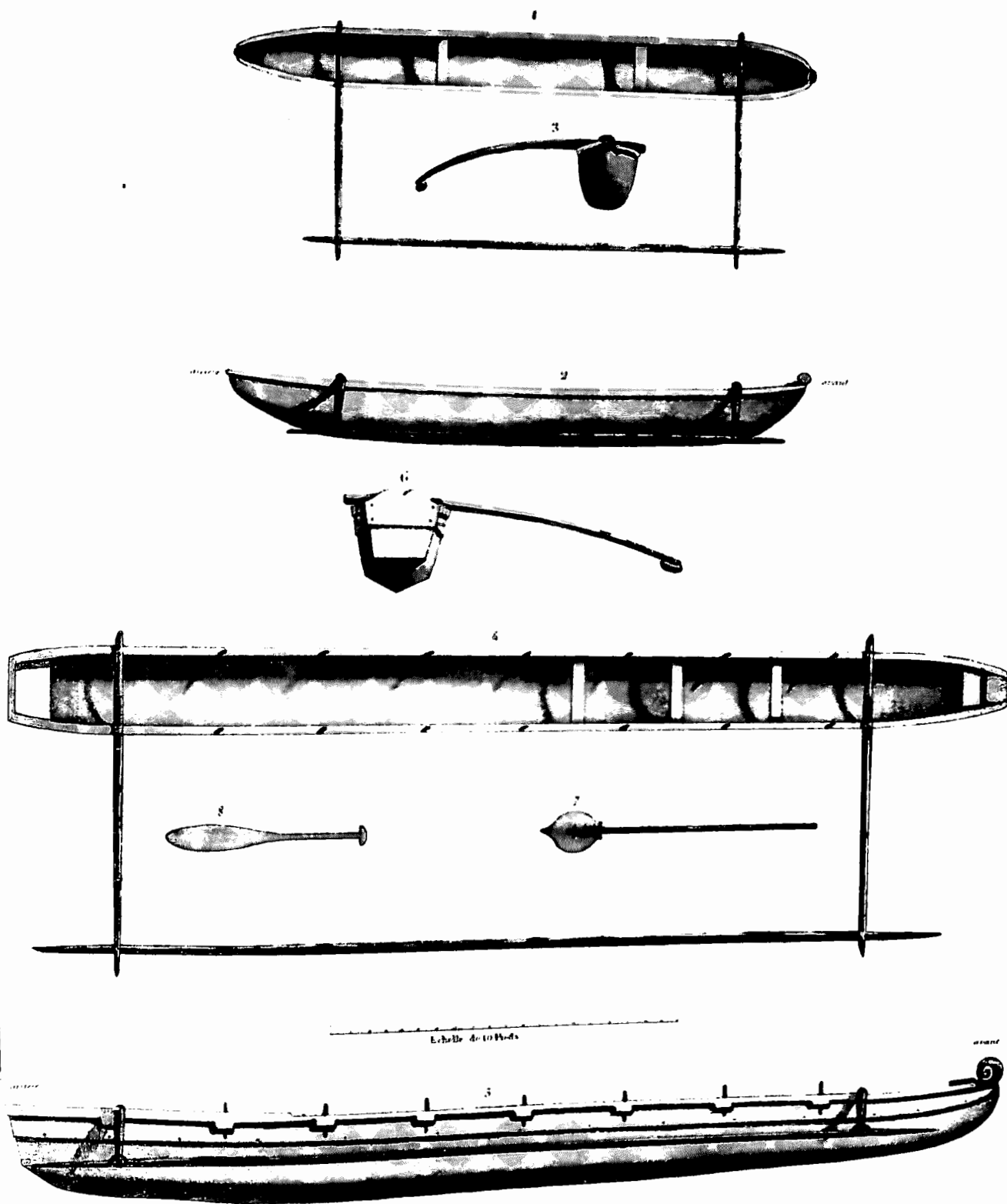
16 January.

At 6 a.m., our corvettes had reached the precise spot where Arrowsmith places the Johannes Islands that Horsburg, following more precise information, had already removed from his charts with reason. Indeed, in spite of the clearest of horizon, we could see nothing. I promptly changed the heading to WSW to profit from the wind that was already beginning to slacken, and to close the gap with the coast of Mindanao.

...



Typical Carolinian canoe (detailed design).



Rowing canoes, Guam.

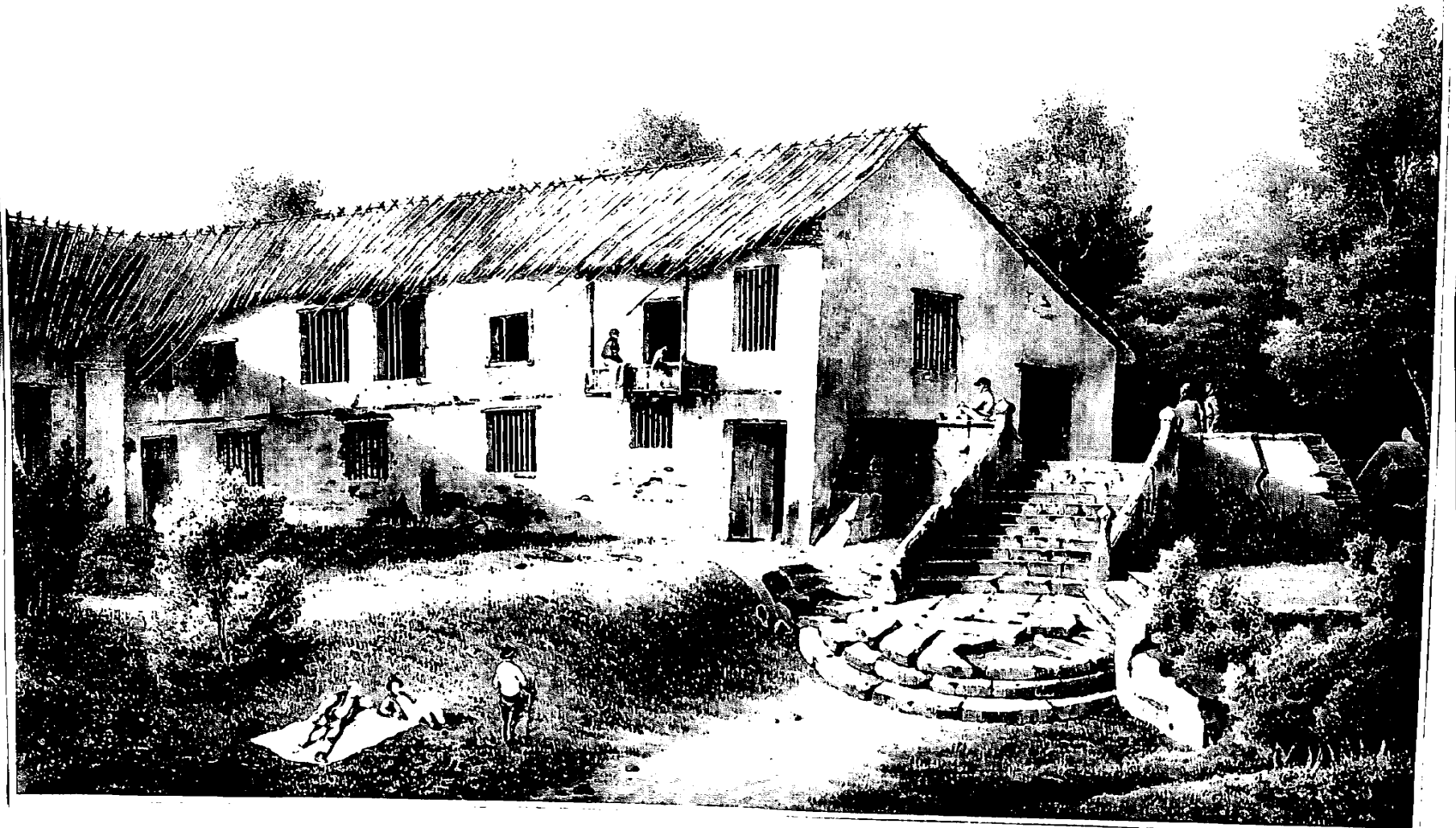




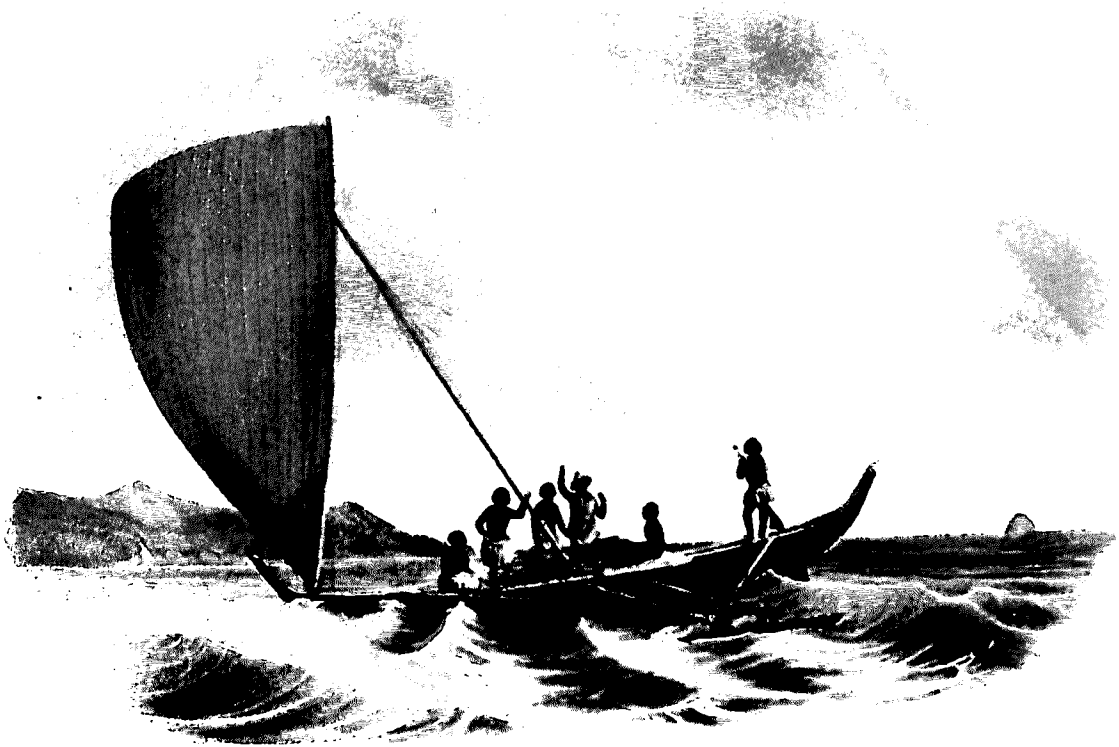
Figure 1.186



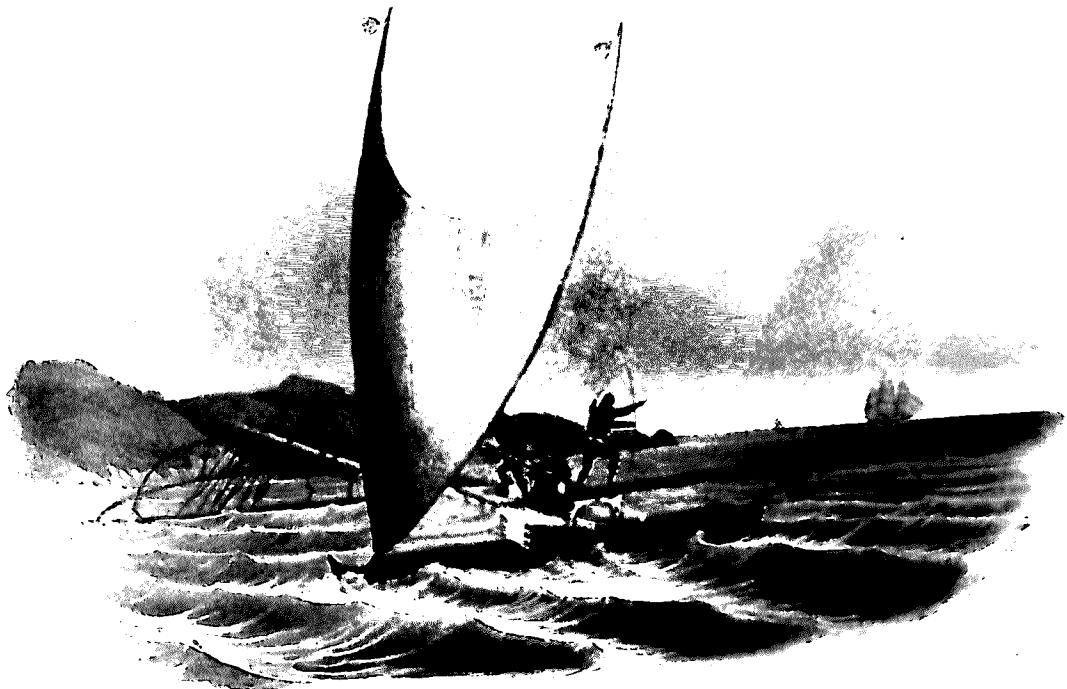


W. H. H. H.

Forts of Guam—Umatac.



Canoe des îles à la voile



Document 1838G

Second d'Urville expedition—The anthropology volume

Sources: D'Urville's Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie; Anthropologie, par M. le Docteur Dumoutier (Paris, 1854); plus the Anthropological Atlas, Plates 8, 9(1), 10, 12(2) and 39.

Anthropological notes, by Dr. Dumoutier, edited by Émile Blanchard

...

VII

POLYNESIA (MICRONESIA).

Caroline Archipelago.

Busts, plates 8 and 9, fig. 1.

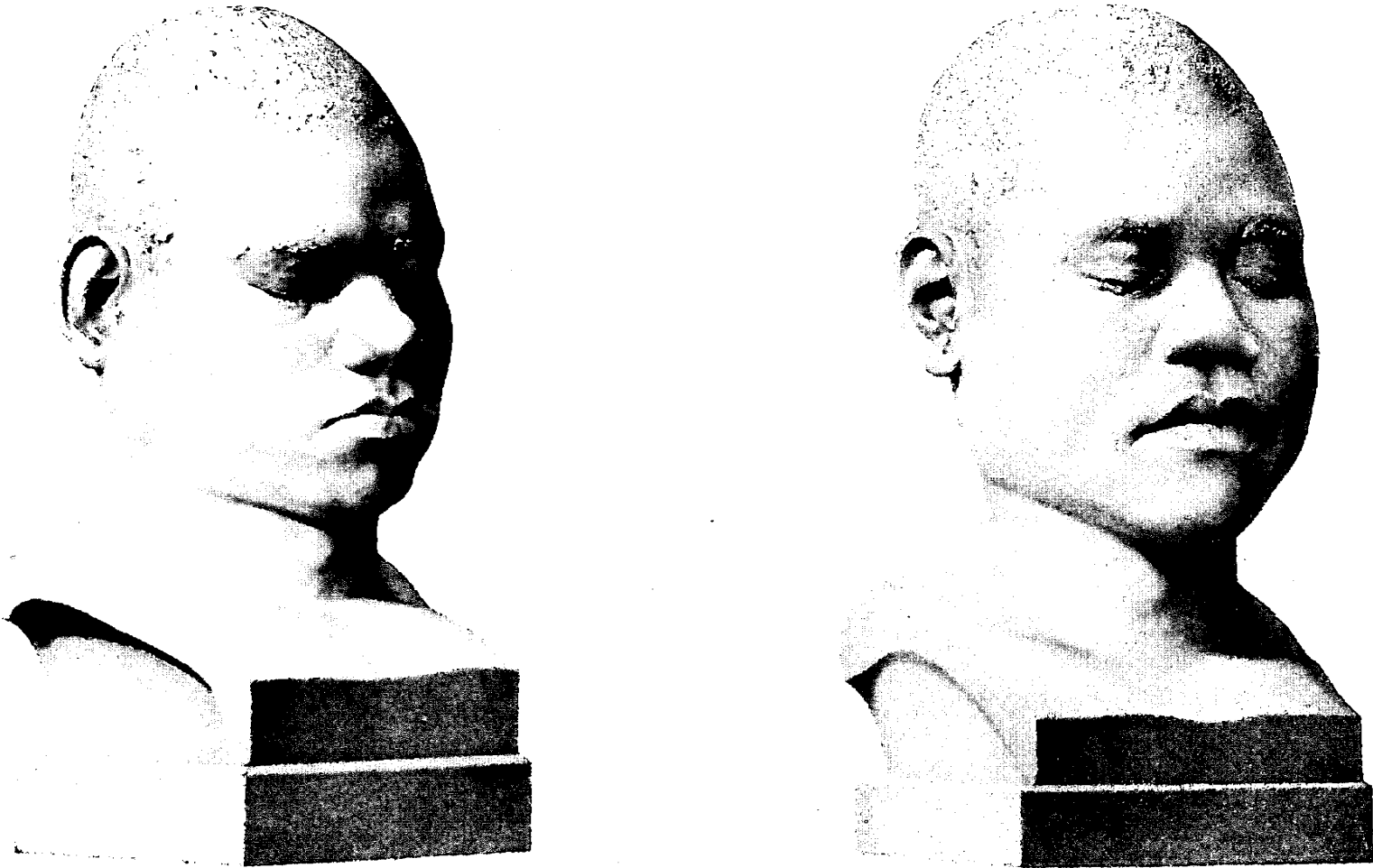
To the north of the Solomon Archipelago are spread out the Caroline Islands. Their inhabitants differ little from the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia. D'Urville, in mentioning this fact, added that the Carolinians have leaner bodies, longer faces, eyes not so almond-shaped and a skin color that is darker.

If, on the contrary, one refers to the opinion of Lesson, the Carolinians supposedly belong to a different race, and have much more affinity with the Malays.

Messieurs Quoy and Gaimard, and later on Mr. Jacquinet, have been specially insistent upon the resemblance of these islanders with Eastern Polynesians, such as the Hawaiians, the Tongans, etc. The Russian captain Lutke has mentioned the same connection, although he referred to certain differences among the inhabitants of the various island groups. He described the natives of Lukunor as being rather tall, with a flat face, the nose being flat at its base but turned up at the tip, thick lips, the eyes big and black, the beard rather long in some individuals, but sparse, the hair black, long and thick, a little frizzy.

The natives of the island of Ualan [Kosrae], situated a little more to the north, are distinguished by certain characteristics and special features.

The inhabitants of the big island of Puinipet [Pohnpei], situated to the west of Ualan Island, are considered by Captain Lutke to be rather members of the Papuan race.





Busts of some Carolinians (II).

Mr. Dumoutier has brought back the molds of the faces of three Carolinians, belonging to the Lukunor, or Nugunor, group; they are young men, between 20 and 25 years of age, One finds a great similarity between them and the Polynesians that we have already examined;¹ however, they seemed to us to have much more in common with the Tagalogs of the Philippines. They appear to have more intelligent features than the Eastern Polynesians, heads that are rounder, foreheads that are wider. These Carolinians [sic] have short, full faces, eyes smaller, flat noses, somewhat wide, much shorter than among Europeans, but markedly longer than among the Samoans and Hawaiians; thick protruding lips, and a tuft of a beard on the chin.

We have not been able to examine any skull from the Carolines; we cannot, therefore, emit any opinion on the main type of inhabitants of this vast archipelago that extends to the east of the Philippines; nevertheless, the heads reconstructed by Mr. Dumoutier make us think that the islanders are very different from the Eastern Polynesians, and closer to the Tagalogs. That is also the opinion of Mr. Lesson who seems to be closer to the truth than any other opinion given by navigators.

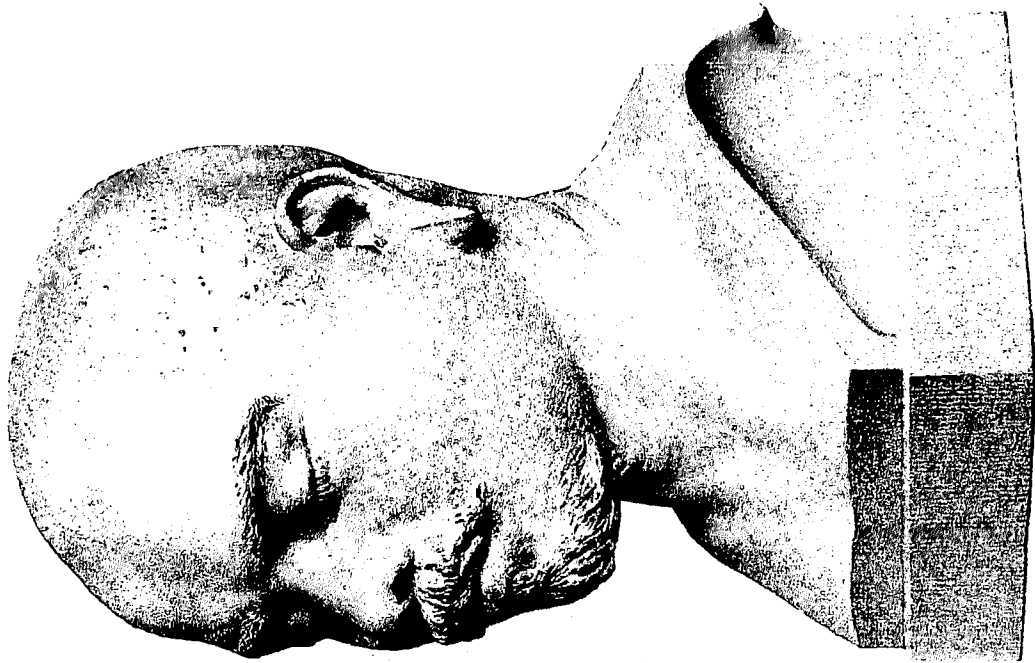
Nevertheless, the Caroline Islands are so varied and spread over a considerable distance from west to east, the descriptions of travellers so variable, depending on which group of islands they apply, that we are led to believe that the inhabitants of the archipelago are far from being all identical. The location of the Carolines, between countries that are populated by very different races of men, allows us to understand this lack of homogeneity.

The officers of the expedition of the **Astrolabe** and **Zélée** were able to judge the typical look of Carolinians [sic] only by looking at a few individuals who came alongside in their canoes near the Island of Nugunor. All those writing narratives of the expedition, Docteur [sic] Jacquinot, Messrs. Dubouzet, Marescot, and Montravel, recognize in them the Polynesian type, though they found in them features that were more beautiful than those of other islanders. According to Mr. Dubouzet, they had "angular faces that were closer to those of Caucasians;" a remark that agrees with what can be seen in the busts that Mr. Dumoutier had brought back, and that have led us to believe that Carolinians [sic] have much in common with the Malays.

These islanders are described in a most general way as being of a copper-yellow color, rather light-toned, but on this score, it is clear that there exist some differences. Doctor Jacquinot tells us that the inhabitants of the islands of Yap and Hogoleu are of a darker tone than those of Nugunor.

If the Carolinians are superior to the Eastern Polynesians by their features and the expression of their faces, they also seem to be superior in intelligence and therefore by their industry and civilization. These populations are, unfortunately, not so well known. As far as their customs and their industry are concerned, travellers have told

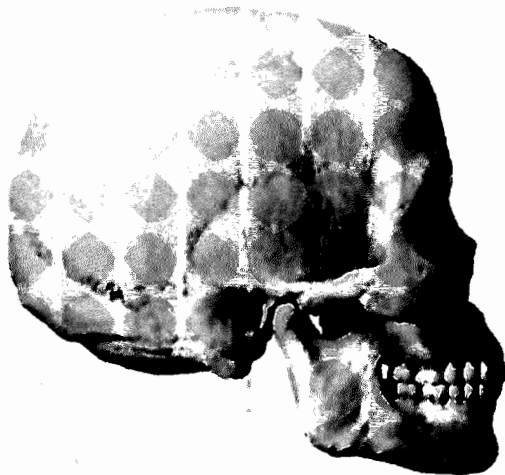
1 Ed. note: For this reason, Nukuoro is now considered a Polynesian outlier within Micronesia. However, the authors considered Micronesia not to be part of greater Polynesia (like De Rienzi) but having similar boundaries as modern Micronesia (see conclusion).



Busts of some Chamorros (I).



Busts of some Chamorros (II).



① in Museum CH/ 40h
② in Museum CH/ 40h
An object in the collection of the
Museum of the University of California

Skull from Guam.

THE MARIANA ARCHIPELAGO.
Busts, plates 10, 12, fig. 2.—Skulls, plate 39.

In the Mariana Islands, situated to the north and a little to the west of the Carolines, the population is sensibly the same, according to the observations made by most of the navigators. The Mariano people, like most Polynesians [sic], are men with an athletic strength and a body size much superior to those of Europeans; this fact was made known to us by a missionary, Father LeGobien, and later one by Freycinet who spent some time in that archipelago.¹ The former, who looks upon the Marianos as resembling the Tagalogs of the Philippines more than to any other nation, says that they have a skin color that is slightly lighter than them; the latter finds that "they have regular features, sometimes even charming, more so the men than the women." It is a well-known fact that, among these human races, the women, when compared to the men, are a definite physical inferiority. Dr. Jacquinet, who considers that all Polynesians form an homogeneous people, thinks that the Marianos are a type of Carolinians, and therefore a branch of the Polynesian race.

Naturally, all this applies only to the natives. The Mariana Islands are a Spanish colony; the presence of Europeans has produced a rather large number of half-breeds who naturally have superior physical characteristics to the indigenous people. Moreover, some Tagalogs, Chinese, Carolinians, Hawaiians have settled among the Mariano people, which has resulted in a number of mixtures that one must take into account but only to put asides when making a study of the native population. However, this invasion of persons foreign to the archipelago has been so intense that Freycinet thinks that the original race no longer forms the majority of the population nowadays. This declaration seems to apply to the capital, or seat of government, Agaña, but not on other points of the archipelago.²

We owe to Mr. Dumoutier the face prints of three individuals of the island of Guam, aged between 40 and 45 years: they are fishermen, men of the lower class, who do indeed give us a bad idea of the race. These three men resemble one another in the highest degree; they have the same features, the same general shape of the face, and, why not say so, the same ugliness. When one compares these heads with those from Nukunor, which we also owe to Mr. Dumoutier, one is stricken by a huge difference between them, all in favor of the latter. These Marianos have much higher cheek-bones, the nose not so regular, the forehead more inclined to the rear, the lips thicker and more protruding, the chin shorter, the beard scarcer; in one word, all the characteristics of an obvious relative inferiority and those of a different race.

What must we conclude, however, about the Marianos, relative to the Carolinians and to other Polynesians? How should we appreciate the type of population in general,

1 Ed. note: LeGobien never served in the Marianas; Freycinet relied too much on his book.

2 Ed. note: The actual population statistics say otherwise.

from only three individuals of the same class and having lived in the same conditions? It is truly impossible.

Indeed, we know that in the Marianas there are definite distinctions between the castes.¹ There are three of them that existed before the European conquest: the *matua*, or nobles, the *achaot*, or semi-nobles, and the *Mangachang*, or common people. According to Freycinet, who has provided most of the information about these islanders, the *matua* are the true leaders of the country, as they have all others under their command. Other differences exist, based on individual occupations; the *macana* are a sort of sorcerers fulfilling the functions of priests; then the witch-doctors, male and female, though the females outnumber the males; the canoe builders, who always belong to the *matua* class; it is said that they give a great importance to this occupation, in which they flatter themselves for their skill; the *atchaot* may be assisting them, but some severe laws prevent the *magachang* from ever participating in it. The same concepts apply to the military profession and offshore fishing.

According to the differences that have been just mentioned, and that exist more or less generally in most of the archipelagos of Polynesia, one understands how important it becomes, to get a clear idea of a population, to be able to observe individuals belonging to all classes. Oftentimes, they may belong to different races; those who consider themselves as the chiefs, like the nobles, may be in some cases foreigners, invaders, conquerors. It is important to point out that Freycinet, when he praised the regularity of the features of the Mariano islanders, was in the presence mostly of chiefs, or at least those of the first two classes, upon whom the attention of travellers is usually fixed.

Doctor Dumoutier, in his Atlas, has shown four skulls from the Marianas; two came from some ancient Chamorro burials, and the two other from modern burials. With regard to the latter, one must necessarily be apprehensive about the type concerned, because we know that the Mariana Islands have, besides a native population, a population composed of foreigners who have given a few mixtures. This is not the case here, however, as the differences that we notice between the ancient and modern skulls do not go beyond those that may be considered individual in nature.

These skulls, from a first look, appear to be identical to those of Eastern Polynesians, such as the peoples of Mangareva, Hawaii, Tonga, etc. On the other hand, they have a great resemblance with the skulls of Tagalogs from the Philippines. This fact agrees with what we have already mentioned as being obvious, based on the facial characteristics, not only in the case of the Mariano people but also in the case of the Carolinians, one that agrees also with what has been reported by most navigators.

The skulls of the Marianos have a special characteristic that grabs one's first attention: they do not have the pyramidal shape of those of Eastern Polynesians; the coronal is notably wider at the top, much more like that of the Tagalogs, though not so wide in the few individuals that we have examined. This difference in the shape of the frontal bone is, in truth, the only real difference between those Mariano skulls and those of

1 Ed. note: What follows is a distorted presentation, as the facts described apply to centuries before.

the inhabitants of the Maruquesas, the Society Islands, the Sandwich Islands, the Tonga Islands, etc. The proportions between the height and thickness of the skull, the protruding jaw bones, some zygomatic apophyses, show no great differences.

In summary, the Marianos would belong to a different race than the Eastern Polynesians, but to one that is very similar. Judging by the shape of the frontal bone, one would tend to attribute to them a superior intelligence to that of islanders whom we have already talked about.

The Marianos, whom the Spanish had named Chamorros, have customs that are similar to those of the Polynesians, whom they do not seem to excel in industry. Before the European conquest, they built beautiful canoes, but they have since been able to buy many objects from abroad, and have become, according to the narratives of all travellers, extremely lazy. These islanders were navigators, were constantly employed in the fishery, were warriors and were reputed to be cannibals.¹ The presence of some Europeans, specially that of missionaries, seems nevertheless to have had a pacifying effect on their customs. Captain Freycinet who, in his narrative of the voyage of the **Uranie**, has given numerous details on the customs of the Marianos, was pleased to grant to them qualities that we find nothing short of exaggerated. This navigator states that they were humane after a victory, that above all they kept their word, that they simply believed that a prisoner would not escape if he said he would not, that one who did not keep his word was put to death by his parents, because they believed themselves to have been dishonored by such bad faith.

Finally, Freycinet looks upon the Marianos as being very well endowed intellectually, for instance, having a facility to learn, a great aptitude for manual labor and the study of reading, writing and the fine arts.

One cannot doubt that the famous navigator has let himself be carried away, and exaggerated his remarks. If the Marianos have more abilities than the Eastern Polynesians, such as we think from the examination of the skulls, one must quickly add that such is but a nuance, one that fully reflects the state of civilization of these islanders.

...

[Conclusion]

The Micronesian type covers a much smaller area than the Polynesian type. Very close to the latter, we believe that, nevertheless, it must be distinguished from it, though considered closest to it in anthropological terms. Micronesians are the peoples inhabiting the archipelago of the Carolines and that of the Marianas, and probably also the archipelago of the Mulgrave, or Marshall, Islands, as well as numerous small islands spread between the equator and 20° of latitude north, and from 130° and 180° of longitude east of Paris. These Micronesians are rather tall, have short round faces, the forehead less depressed than that of the Polynesians, the nose wide, often with its tip turned up, the eyes rather small and black, the lips thick and little beard, the hair black and straight, and the skin of a yellow copper tone, more or less intense. The Micronesians,

1 Ed. note: As is often the case, there are no historical facts proving cannibalism.

according to the narratives of all navigators, have physical features more beautiful and more intelligent than those of the Polynesians.

In our comparisons between Micronesians and Polynesians, one fact has stricken us, one to which anthropologists must assign a real importance. The skull of a Micronesian resembles very much that of a Polynesian by the proportions of each of its parts, the development of the superior and of the inferior parts is of a similar degree and imparts sides that are extremely parallel to the face; the protruding of the jaw bones and the lengthening of the occipital did not seem to us to be notably different between the two types; however, among Micronesians, if we did not notice in the coronal a development notably superior to that of the Polynesians, we have noticed that this portion of the skull did not have this pyramidal shape that is always so striking among the latter. This characteristic seemed to us sufficient to assign to Micronesians an anthropological category that is intermediary between the Polynesians and the peoples inhabiting Malaysia.

In any anthropological comparisons, it is true the European type is the basis for such comparison; the physical characteristics of European nations are markedly the most intelligent of human beings; consequently, the closer a type is to the European type, as far as anthropological characteristics are concerned, the more we may think that its intellectual faculties are also closer to it. This hypothesis is one that comes to mind naturally, when one compares the skulls of Polynesians and Micronesians; one must ascribe the advantage to the latter, and, if the civilizations of the two types do not differ markedly, we nevertheless take note that travellers seem to be in agreement in recognizing this advantage of the Micronesian type, one that is completely in harmony with our views.

If some slight, but meaningful, differences have been noticed among the various peoples of Polynesia, the same is true among Micronesians. Between the Marianos and the Carolinians, there is undoubtedly no identity, and among the peoples inhabiting the Carolines, there are also undoubtedly some differences that have not yet been clearly documented, but which nevertheless exist, if we must believe the narratives of travellers that we have quoted in the chapters on the Carolines and the Marianas.

In order to meet with the human type that is closest to the Polynesians and Micronesians, one must travel directly east [rather west], forgetting about all lands situated to the south of Micronesia, and end up in Malaysia.

Document 1838H

**Second d'Urville expedition—The narrative of
Lieut. Rocquemaurel**

Source: Doc. Marine 5JJ1448B in ANP: Voyage autour du monde. Corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée. M. Dumont d'Urville, capitaine de vaisseau, chef de l'expédition. M. Jacquinot, capitaine de corvette, commandant la Zélée. [Cahier] N° 2: du 7 octobre 1838 au 28 juillet 1839. [Par] G. Rocquemaurel, Lieutenant de vaisseau, Second de l'Astrolabe.

Voyage around the world, by Lieutenant G. Rocquemaurel

...

[Visit to Nukuoro]

These islanders must devote themselves to fishing because they all possess a beautiful assortment of lines made of coconut fiber and fish-hooks made with well-carved mother-of-pearl. However, they willingly exchanged their fish-hooks for ours, but they refused to trade off the small boxes in which they kept their tiny tools.

The Nuguor canoes are well made and the narrowest I have seen so far. As for the beauty of their shape and the lightness of their construction, they come out second only to those of Samoa but one must add that they do not have, as the latter, this series of planking so skilfully assembled. A single piece of red wood makes up the body of the canoes of this country. Two small stiffeners front and back serve to raise both ends of the canoe by three to four inches. The upper part of the hull, indicated by a moulding, has a wide gunwale which does not leave more than one foot as the inside width of the canoe. So, the natives sit upon the gunwale and more often than not have only one leg inside the canoe and the other is crossed in front of the former. The oars are thin and pointed, like those of the Solomon Islands.

The biggest of these canoes had about twelve meters in length and carried nine persons. The outrigger is short but shaped like the canoe, although not hollow. The mast, the sail and the rigging have nothing special except their lightness. These canoes, very solid at sea, appear also slower than those of Samoa or the Solomons.

...

[Folio 52]

At 1:30 in the afternoon, we finally left the Hogoleu group, and headed NW1/4W in order to pass to the windward of the low islands of Peserare [Namonuito]. All night,

we had fresh winds from the NE, and we encountered a rather heavy sea as soon as we left the lee of the reefs of Hogoleu.

The Hogoleu group, which was discovered a long time ago, was vaguely shown on the old charts, when in 1814, the Spanish captain Dublon sighted it once more and gave it a more precise position. It has since been explored, in 1824, by Captain Hall and Captain Duperrey, and in 1827-28 by Captain d'Urville and Captain Lutke. Finally, the American Captain Morrell made a stopover there which led to an interesting account.

The peoples inhabiting the Hogoleu group seem to be almost independent from one another; the authority of the chiefs, it exists, must be very limited, although the natives of Ruk [Fefan] Island wish to impose a certain domination over Tsis Island, we have noticed that this supremacy did extend to other islands whose inhabitants were little disposed to recognize it.

This place can only offer a good anchorage to mariners wandering through Oceania, and some fruits to refresh their crews. Turtle shell is not very rare, but we did not find a single pearl.

Saturday, 29 December.

Lat. obs. 9°02' N Lat. est. 9°05' N

Long. obs. 147°51'E Long. est. 148°03' E

Variation [blank]

At 8, air temp. 27.3; water temp. 27.0

Peserare Islands sighted, heading NW1/2W for Guam.

Cloudy and squally weather, nice breeze from E, varying to NE, sea running high. During the day, the weather improved.

At 3 a.m., we hove to until daybreak. At 6 a.m., the lookout indicated a low land to the NW. A little later, we sighted low breakers and a chain of low-lying islets, forming the Peserare group. We first headed NW1/4N in order to survey the coast of this group. However, the high sea and the currents that were pushing us westwards forced us to change our heading to NNW in order to be able to round on its windward side this long row of islands and reefs where the sea was breaking with violence. We coasted at a good distance the islands of Unalik [Onari], Onup [Ono], and Maguir [Magur]. Finally, at noon, having rounded big breakers that extend past the northernmost island, we headed NW1/2W, towards the island of Guam.

At 8, the S point of Peserare Island bore S30°W;
the islet of Uneio [Weltot] bore S68°W;
the center of Unalik bore N70°W.

At 11, the center of Unup bore S3°E; Maguir bore N76°W.

At noon, the S. point of the reefs bore S35°W;
the center of Magisan [Magerarik] bore S60°W;
the S point of Maguir bore S66°W;
the N point of Maguir bore N70°W;

the N end of the breakers bore S72°W.

Sunday, 30 December.

Lat. obs. 11°04' N Lat. est. 11°702' N.

Long. obs. 145°43' E Long. est. 145°57' E.

Variation 4°57' NE.

At 8, air temp. 27.2; water temp. 27.2

Course N46°W. Weather nice, beautiful breeze from NE vaying to ENE. High running sea from NNE.

Monday, 31 December.

Lat. obs. 13°05' N Lat. est. 13°21' N

Long. obs. 143°08' E Long. est. 143°28' E

Variation 4°30' NE

At 3, air temp. 26.8; water temp. 27.0

Course N46°W. Sighted the Island of Guam.

Cloudy sky, beautiful breeze from NW, sea running high. A few squalls, after which the sky cleared.

At 1 p.m., the land of the Island of Guam was sighted in the NW1/4W. Heading changed to WNW and W1/4NW, then finally W to round the tip of this island.

At 2:30 p.m., N point of Guam bore N28°W

S point bore N87°S

At 4, N point of Guam bore N1°E

peak of Guam bore N55°W

S point of Guam bore S80°W

At 4:30, we were coasting a short distance the reef that protects the S. point of Guam. Heading changed to W1/4SW and to WSW to round Cocos Island which had just appeared as a separate, low, and flat island.

At 5:30, NE point bore N28°E

S point bore N82°W

S point Cocos I. bore S83°W

Tarafofo Point bore N21°E

Southern tip bore N52°W

At 5:30, as we could not hope to round Cocos Island before nightfall, veered off-shore, keeping the lower sails in order to remain to windward.

The Island of Guam, seen from the SE, appears as a flat land, almost cut with table lands in its N part. The S part is more hilly, with three hills gradually rising to form the three highest peaks of the island. This part, though rather green, did not appear to be

well wooded. One can see coconut groves only in some small coves and ravines where there are two or three villages whose huts are hidden by the trees.

Tuesday, 1 January 1839. Anchorage at Umata (Guam Island).

Position of Umata: Lat. 13°17'40" N Long. 142°20' E

Variation 2°02' NE

At 8, air temp. 26.1; water temp. 27.1

At 6 a.m., S point of Cocos I. bore N45°W

NE point of Guam bore N31°E

S point of Guam bore N27°W

S tip bore N4°W

Position of the anchorage of the **Astrolabe**:

Fort San José bore N29°E

Facpi Rock bore N30°W

The palace bore N64°E

Tip of the reef bore S7°E

S point of Cocos I. bore S8°W

Nice weather, a few squalls, fine breeze varying from NE to ENE. At daybreak, we found ourselves to the windward of the S point of Guam. We headed in such a way as to round the breaker that surrounds Cocos Island. We then tacked as much as possible to follow the W coast of the island of Guam. Seen from this side, the coast appears to be more hilly than in its E part. The sinuosity of the coast offers many beautiful groves to the eyes, but the huts are very rare; indeed, except for the villages of Merizo and Umata that are themselves partly hidden by the trees, it is hard to detect any sign of habitation from offshore. The hills are of a common yellowish green color, but seem to be devoid of tall trees. The *anil(?)* appears here and there along the shore and in the ravines. On the slopes of the mountains there are many red streaks indicating denuded areas caused by landslides, themselves caused by either erosion or earthquakes.

After having coasted along the reef that begins at Cocos Island (which no longer has a single coconut tree) and borders the W coast of Guam for about one league, one discovers a small cove, rather well wooded, which can be recognized by two big rocks that are on the shore to the N of this cove. The one rock that is south of this pair is crowned by an old wall upon which waves a Spanish flag whose colors can hardly be distinguished. A little more to the southward is a large building with a rather beautiful appearance, with just one ground floor, plus an upper story surrounded by a long balcony or gallery. At the bottom of the cove can be found two more buildings of lesser importance, next to each other; the one on the right is falling into ruins. A row of coconut trees and other trees line this small bay, and go up a little into the ravines. This cove, this bay is that of Umata whose humble village is hidden under a thick coat of vegetation. This

big rock, placed like a sentinel at the entrance of the port, is crowned by Fort San José [rather Santo Angel]. The large building that one could easily mistake for a barracks or a hospital is given the fancy name of Palace. Finally, these other buildings, half in ruins, that can be seen to the right of the palace, are the church and the convent of Umata. One single look is sufficient to spot all signs of European civilization at this place. The rest is completely wild in appearance.

At about one league further north of Umata Bay is a third rock surrounded by breakers. Near there one can see a rather low point [Orote] behind which the coast, while heading eastward, forms the bays of Apra and of Agaña.

The detour that we had to do around the reef of Cocos Island led us to a point where we were over one league in the lee of the anchorage. We had to tack to reach it, and it was only at 10 o'clock that our anchor fell in 9 fathoms water, bottom of grey sand, about halfway between the rock of Fort San José and the reef of the S point of Umata Bay. This cove is so narrow that, once the **Astrolabe** was anchored in the middle of the entrance, she blocked the way to the **Zéléé**. She was effectively squeezed between us and the reef, and was unable to tack past our poop; rather, she went on and tacked right in front of us in a very tight maneuver, and went to drop anchor in 14 fathoms water, at about 400 meters away. That is where the more suitable anchorage lies at Umata. In case of winds from N and NW that could have pushed us over onto the reef, there we were safe, [but] with winds from W, the anchorage of the **Zéléé** was even more advantageous. However, as the season of the NE winds was well established, we had no fear on this score and, besides, we would be but a short time in this bay. A kedge anchor was laid out towards to WNW to maintain the rear in case of a NW breeze.

The bay of Umata, better said the cove of Umata, is about 800 meters deep, by 250 to 300 meters wide, not counting the space taken over by the fringe of reefs that surrounds this bay. I therefore think that only one corvette could comfortably anchor in this small space, with anchors both offshore and landward in sufficient number. I do not know whether or not a ship could remain thus anchored in complete safety during the winter season which takes place in June and November, and that corresponds to the season of westerly winds and great rains. The winds that are seasonal blow as monsoons from the month of December to the month of May from the east quarter. The warmest months are from May to August.

Before the corvettes had reached their anchorage, we saw coming towards us a canoe practically in ruins; the roughness of its shape and the lack of skill of the men manning it denoted less industry than in the most savage countries. It is impossible to imagine such a canoe, unless one has before him a roughly dug tree trunk, badly squared, without symmetry, cracked everywhere, with oars made up of a piece of board tied to a log with the bark hardly removed from it. Six swimmers covered with scars or leprosy were working hard at towing this craft loaded with all of the notable personalities of Umata, the Padre, the Mayor, and the *gobnadorcillo*, or small governor. It was only after we were anchored that these gentlemen were able to come alongside and make to the commander their offers of services that were not completely disinterested. The padre, wear-

ing a simple colonial costume consisting of a jacket and pants, both of white cotton, with a Manila straw hat, with a cigar in his mouth, mentioned to us a long list of the resources and provisions of all kinds that could be had in the country, and that he could procure for us, adding nonchalantly that everything cost dearly at this time. The old Domingo, who for many years has been entitled to carry the stick with the silver pommel, this insignia of a *gobernadorcillo*, solicited a few old clothes as payment for the devoted services that he has provided to previous French expeditions that preceded ours, and for the services that he intended to provide to our two corvettes.

A message was sent to Agaña, capital of the island, to inform the governor of our arrival and to ask him for the necessary facilities to set up our observatory, and the purchase of refreshments.

However, Father José, the worthy curate of Inarahan, having seen us yesterday when we were off the eastern side of the island, had already sent word about the appearance of the two corvettes off the coast of Guam. And, thinking of the small profit that he could make by selling us a few chickens and pigs, he headed without delay to Umata in order to be first in welcoming us.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 26,8 | 27.0 |
| At 8 a.m. | 26.1 | 27.1 |
| At noon | 28.0 | 27.4 |
| At 4 p.m. | 27.9 | 27.4 |
| At 8 p.m. | 27.0 | 27.9 |
| At midnight | 25.7 | 27.0 |

In the evening, the weather was not steady, but squally; the breeze blew in squalls from ENE and from NE all night.

Wednesday, 2 January 1839. Umata Bay (Island of Guam).

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.4 | 27.0 |
| At 8 a.m. | 27.0 | 27.0 |
| At noon | 28.3 | 27.3 |
| At 4 p.m. | 27.6 | 27.5 |
| At 8 p.m. | 27.3 | 27.2 |
| At midnight | 24.5 | 26.0 |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Tides: High tide at 11:30 a.m. | 1.76 meters |
| Low tide at 6 p.m. | 1.28 meters |

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| Difference | 0.48 meter. |
|------------|-------------|

Nice weather, ENE breeze varying to NE in squalls. In the evening, the sky became overcast and some rain fell during the squalls.

A messenger arrived this morning from the town of Agaña bearing a letter from the governor who, in a most gracious manner, grants permission to the commander to let our astronomers and physicians use the Palace, and some orders are given to the mayor to make the French corvettes welcome.

As a consequence of these good arrangements, we have set up an observatory ashore where the engineer records the movements of the needles measuring the intensity, inclination, and diurnal variations for which a good series will require observations during eight consecutive days.

The two corvettes are in the process of getting their water supply from the bottom of the bay, at the mouth of a stream whose outlet is blocked by a gravel bed. This water is very good, and can be easily got. We take advantage of this layover to pull all of our boats up the beach, the better to repair them.

A few officers have left this morning to go to the town of Agaña which is distant, they say, seven good leagues from here. In this half wild country, the means of transport are very rare; the mule owned by the mayor is perhaps the only one in Umata. However, there are a few young bulls that the countryfolk sometimes use as mounts, but these animals make uncomfortable mounts, because they are badly harnessed, have bad saddles, and the bridle is replaced by a piece of rope tied to a stick that pierces the nostrils. A few of them are even half trained, so that they may throw their rider. As far as the palanquin is concerned, a means of transport that is always preferred to a slow and quiet bull, I doubt if it is often used in these countries where it would be difficult to find untiring porters for this kind of service.

The village of Umata, entirely covered by tall trees cannot be seen from the anchorage; however, upon landing at the bottom of the bay, one finds in front of the church a rather nice road that follows the northern side of the bay and becomes its main street. The huts, raised upon piles from 2 to 3 feet off the ground, are spacious, rectangular, and built with aerated walls made up of a network of bamboo. The roof and the side exposed to the weather are covered with mats of coconut leaves. Some hammocks like fishnets to provide rest for the family, some benches for seats, a few chests, and a madonna near which a candle is always burning, comprise the whole of the furnishings of these poor dwellings where one finds less industry, less cleanliness and taste than in many islands of Oceania. It is only with repugnance that a traveller can enter these miserable homes, to see such unclean surroundings, a leprosy that is most disgusting, laziness, ignorance and superstition. If the Protestants have great reproaches to make to themselves for the brute conditions in which they have left the inhabitants of Tahiti over the last 40 years, one could also take the Spanish missionaries to task for having ruled the inhabitants of the Marianas for over 160 years. Here was, according to a mod-

ern author, the situation of this archipelago when Father Sanvitores began his religious conquest:¹

“The people of the Marianas have their origin in either Japan or in the Philippines, perhaps from both places. Whatever it is, it is certain that these islands are heavily populated. One finds at least 40,000 [sic] souls in the Island of Guam alone. The number is slightly less in Saypan, and in the others in proportion. These islands are full of villages spread over the plains and the mountains, some of which contain from 100 to 150 houses. The islanders are stronger and more robust than Europeans. They are tall and their body well proportioned. Although they eat only roots, fruits and fish, they are so fat that they appear bloated. They are nevertheless supple and agile... Most of them reach an advanced age without being sick, but when there are some who get sick, they cure them using herbs whose medicinal properties they know of... Their more common occupation is fishing. The canoes they use for fishing and to go from one island to another are of a surprising lightness and their clean lines would be appreciated in Europe. They caulk them using a sort of pitch and lime which they mix with coconut oil... Their houses are rather pleasant. Each one is divided into 4 appartments, with partitions made with mats of plaited coconut leaves. These appartments are clean and each has its own use... No other population has enjoyed a greater freedom, and a more absolute independence. Every man is master of his own actions, as soon as he has reached the age of reason...”

According to the above tale, am I not right in accusing the Spanish government, or rather the missionaries, of having allowed this colony to sink so low, one that was so beautiful when they had received it from the hands of its virtuous founder, Father Sanvitores. What happened to such a large number of islanders who exceeded 40,000 in number in just the island of Guam? And now one can hardly find 8,000 in the whole archipelago?² Instead of this active and robust population, who lived happily on fish and fruits, Guam now contains a degenerate race, with rachitic bodies, with frail shapes, with weak and suffering countenances, whose body is often prey to ulcers and the skin marked by a horrible leprosy. Here, as in Tahiti, one is forced to recognize that civilization is not always beneficial to savage populations. The reason is that, in order to introduce civilization and a new cult, it is first necessary to eliminate the habits and prejudices of the natives who are not always ready to let go of them. Oftentimes, the savages who have not listened to the voice of the minister of peace, have been forced to

1 Ed. note: The unnamed author is probably Le Gobien, or De Brosse.

2 Ed. note: By God, I hope that this is the last time in this series that I need to remind my readers that the whole archipelago has not exceeded 20,000 in 1668, and that their numbers had been cut down by epidemics against which they had no immunity.

do so by more persuasive means, that of firearms. The famous "Believe or die!" of Mohammed did insure many a conversion a long time ago. Indeed, one can read in the history book just quoted from, that the inhabitants of the Marianas did embrace Christianity and submit to the Spanish only after a lively resistance. During this war, that lasted more than 20 years, the population of the Marianas would have suffered considerable losses.¹ The Spanish insisted in pursuing the barbarians (this is how they called them) with iron and fire into all the islands of the archipelago that were destroyed one by one. The natives, who could not resist the tactics of their enemies, and above all that of their guns, took refuge in the mountains. However, after they had burned down their villages, the Spanish pushed the barbarians into their most inaccessible retreats, thus forcing them to sue for peace (and no doubt also baptism). One can see that a long, and pitiless, war was the beginning of the depopulation of the Marianas. The use of intoxicating liquor, which the natives learned from the Spanish, the use of clothing which in the hot countries makes a great cleanliness necessary, all of these causes have contributed to reducing the population to the sad state that we have seen.

However, it would be unjust to disregard the generous efforts of the founders of this colony for the happiness of its inhabitants. There still exist in the country some signs of the works and institutions that, for the most part, had a praiseworthy purpose. After having built some roads, some bridges and aqueducts, cleared land for some farms, many useful trees and plants were imported. The cultivation of cotton was encouraged, and the islanders were taught how to make yarn and weave it. Some workshops were built to process iron, some training shops were set up for the tanning of hides, the making of pottery, etc. Finally, the munificence of the Crown of Spain endowed the new colony with many hospitals, private schools, churches and convents. Finally, a few forts were built for the defence of the coasts. However, all of these works, all of these institutions, are now in ruins, and the unworthy successors of the apostle Sanvitores are not the type to restore them.

The Mariana Islands have no direct communications with the metropolis which has long been unable to protect them. This colony is therefore under the dependency and authority of that of Manila which, in spite of the decadence of the mother country, has remained relatively prosperous. It is from Manila that the colony gets its temporal and spiritual authorities, as well as the European goods that it needs. However, although the distance from Guam to Manila is only about 500 leagues almost on the same parallel of 14° North, there does not exist regular communications between these two points. Every two years, a small ship is sent by the government of Manila and arrives at Guam with a cargo of cotton cloth, tobacco, sugar, etc. and some money to pay the employees. Since the colony has nothing to export, the return voyage of this small gal-

1 Ed. note: Another false supposition. The record proves that the Chamorros killed just as many foreigners as they killed Chamorros, a small number on both sides, inferior to 50 persons, more like 30.

leon must be done in ballast. The whale ships that, after having crossed Oceania, come to refresh at Guam, provide a few opportunities to communicate with Manila.

Thursday, 3 January. Umata Bay.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 23.8 | 25.2 |
| At 8 a.m. | 23.8 | 26.4 |
| At noon | 27.7 | 27.0 |
| At 4 p.m. | 27.3 | 27.8 |
| At 8 p.m. | 26.2 | 27.3 |
| At midnight | 26.2 | 27.3 |

Tides: High tide at noon 1.72 meters
 Low tide at 6 p.m. 1.08 meters

 Difference 0.64 meter.

Squally weather, strong rain, good breeze from E in squalls. At 10 a.m., the weather improved, the breeze diminished.

Early in the morning, we were advised of the visit of all the leading men of Agaña who have come to visit Umata. The Governor himself was about to leave Agaña for this port. Our comrades have met with such a good welcome among the authorities of Agaña that we intend to give them a good welcome in turn. As soon as the rain ceased, a boat was despatched to the beach before the Palace to embark this honorable company which consisted of Reverend Father Bernardo, Apostolic Prefect of the Mariana Mission, Fray Manuel, Curate of Agat, Mr. [blank],¹ Administrator of the Royal Treasury, Don Torres, Lieutenant-Governor, the second ranking person in the colony where he possesses considerable property. We gave a dinner to these gentlemen who showed their appetite, as they had been travelling the whole night. So as not to disturb the tender ears of the Reverend Fathers, we had decided, for that day, to omit the daring conversations that usually enliven any mess aboard ships. However, it did not take us long to realize that our reverends were up to such shenanigans, and that they were way ahead of us on this chapter. The plain fun, excited by liberal cups of French wine, was therefore given full rein, and the good Fathers showed us that they were our masters in the art of drinking...

If the conquest of the Marianas can be attributed to armies sent by the metropolis to subject the inhabitants, one must not forget that the pacification of these countries was due to the gospel fervor of the first missionaries. That is the origin of the fact that the priests have retained in the country an influence such that the civil authority is often in second place. The Mariana Mission, which must have been more numerous in the

¹ Ed. note: I.e., Mr. Felix Calvo.

past, judging by the number of ruined churches and convents in every village, consists only today of the Apostolic Prefect who is at the same time Curate of Agaña, and two more priests who serve in four parishes: Agat and Umata, Inarahan and Merizo. This state of affair is not due to the lack of candidates in Manila to reinforce the Mission of Guam; such degenerates do not solicit such an assignment, because they look upon it as a disgrace. The attractions of a rich city are worth one hundred times the misery and leprosy that they would have to deal with in places like Merizo and Umata. The three Fathers, Bernardo, Manuel and José, are therefore entrusted with the administration of the souls, the teaching of the children, and the hospitals. As they are the natural leaders of this nation, hardly out of a wild state, it is they who have to inspire them with a love of work and to teach them some virtues. However, we have acquired the sad conviction that our reverends, far from understanding the importance of their mission, only think of ways to make money, while they live a joyous life. Bernardo, entrusted with the direction of the college of Agaña, busies himself more with the breeding of fighting cocks than with the education of children. He lives publicly with a girl for whom he has built one of the most beautiful houses in the town.

Friday, 4 January. Umata Bay.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.6 | 26.7 |
| At 8 a.m. | 26.6 | 26.4 |
| At noon | 28.5 | 27.4 |
| At 4 p.m. | 27.8 | 27.2 |
| At 8 p.m. | 26.0 | 26.6 |
| At midnight | 25.8 | 26.5 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Tides: High tide at 12:40 | 1.70 meters |
| Low tide at 6 p.m. | 1.04 meters |
| | ----- |
| Difference | 0.66 meter. |

Nice weather, light breeze from E varying to ESE. During the morning, the rudder was inspected and its head needed light repairs. This morning, each of the corvettes sent her boat to a place called Ahachay situated on the southern coast of Guam, in order to receive a load of pigs, chickens and other provisions provided by Padre José. Both vessels have sailed along the coast, inside the reef that protects the southern part of the island. They were back at 4 p.m. Today I have visited the village of Merizo situated on the west coast, a short distance from Cocos Island, and about 3 miles from Umata. One finds the same kind of bamboo huts lined up along a row of trees, with a miserable and leprous population. One can see here and there only a few signs of cultivation, with a few taro plants, *giraneuse(?)* and banana trees, all mixed up. The soil, however, is most everywhere of an excellent quality. The water courses are not lacking, to make irrig-

ation easy, and everything makes one believe that an intelligent and laborious population would get very varied products. Among the products that are recognized as very appropriate to the soil and climate of the Marianas, one can mention rice, potatoes, sugarcane, cotton, indigo. Cows, horses, sheep, pigs, goats, deer and all the domestic fowls have become acclimatized a long time ago. The country possesses fine pasture lands, beautiful forests, some iron mines, and even some petroleum. With such elements of prosperity, the Mariana Islands could feed a rather numerous population and become the most convenient place where the ships that often visit Oceania go to refresh. The number of whale ships, American, English, and French, is rather considerable and could enrich the small island of Guam, if only they could find there the resources they need to pursue their voyages.

A few English adventurers, who have escaped from Port Jackson, have profited from the state of abandonment in which uncaring Spain has left her colonies, and have come and settle one of the northern islands of the group. Similar projects could very well mean a source of trouble in future for the Mariano people. The Carolinian proas that previously visited this archipelago, have become rare today. The governor of Guam could attract these islanders by good treatments and the attraction of European products. However, what they want above all else are those long knives, or machetes, that every Mariano wears. These tools are not only good weapons, but are used by the islanders to cut wood and clear their way through the thickest bush, to work at the building of huts and the construction of canoes. The Mariano considers his machete so important that he is never without it, always wearing it hanging from his belt. The Carolinians do not enjoy a good reputation in Guam; they are accused of being perfidious and thieves. Those of Hogoleu, or Ruk, are even reputed to be very cruel, and to have made many attempts against European ships and boats, whose crews they have massacred. This report is completely in agreement with the attack that was so well repulsed by the **Astrolabe's** boat.

Saturday, 5 January. Umata Bay.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.2 | 26.4 |
| At 8 a.m. | 27.3 | 27.0 |
| At noon | 28.3 | 27.5 |
| At 4 p.m. | 27.0 | 27.4 |
| At 8 p.m. | 26.0 | 26.8 |
| At midnight | 25.2 | 26.0 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Tides: High tide at noon | 1.68 meters |
| Low tide at 6 p.m. | 1.20 meters |
| | ----- |
| Difference | 0.48 meter. |

Nice weather, fine breeze from E varying to ENE, varying to NE during the day with some squalls of wind and rain.

The Island of Guam has sometimes been shaken by earthquakes, to which can be attributed the ruins of the main public buildings, if Spanish indolence and lack of maintenance were not the causes of their rapid deterioration. The inhabitants of the country have nevertheless preserved in their memory the events surrounding the violent tremor, accompanied by a tidal wave, that caused great damages. The SW coast in the neighborhood of Umata shows obvious traces of a great disaster that occurred at some distant past. One even finds on top of some hillocks surrounding the bay some coral rocks that appeared to show a rise in the land. The three small forts that dominate Umata were built during the reign of Charles III, but already the parapets and platforms made of large stone slabs show that they have been deeply shaken. However, the one that is perched on top of a rock at the north end of the village [i.e. Fort Santo Angel] has suffered much less than the others, which can be attributed to the isolation of this rock. A small stairway built in the rock leads to this small fort that can carry from 6 to 8 guns. From the top, one can see the whole village, the whole bay and part of the coast towards the north. The two other batteries, of about the same strength, overlook the bay and village also. They are open in front but dominated in the rear by neighboring hillocks. The angle of their fire is such that they would be useless in repelling a landing and an attack by an open force. At the bottom of the same bay, a small battery has been built at ground level near the landing, between the palace and the river, but it seems to have been abandoned for a long time, and there is not one single gun remaining. The military forces maintained by Spain for the defence of the colony are but one Sergeant [Major]. The service of the place of Agaña is carried out by 2 or 3 companies of militia, badly armed and clothed. The authorities seem to rely a lot on the attachment of the natives and their fidelity to the Crown of Spain. That is indeed sufficient and they therefore do not have to spend money to maintain garrisons and fortresses; indeed, nobody will think of invading the Marianas for a long time.

The climate of Guam, in the opinion of navigators, is thought to be very healthy. This island offers a very precious layover for crews tired of long crossings in the Pacific Ocean, and of salted meat. One can find, for rather low prices, cows, pigs, deer, chickens, rice, and coconut brandy. One can even find sometimes a few ship supplies in the government stores, but one would be wrong to rely on these resources. The bay of Agaña, being exposed to winds from N and W, is useless; the ships anchor in the port of Apra which is well sheltered by a reef barrier that should not be crossed without a pilot. This anchorage offers only a dry countryside and few resources; however, supplies come from Agaña, which is only two leagues further north [rather east]. The port of Umata offers the best watering place, and sufficient facilities to get refreshments. It is sufficient to agree at the beginning on a reasonable price for commodities, to prevent an excessive increase if food supplies later on. At the end of 2 or 3 days, we saw coming from all points of the island some farmers with their animals and their fruits. The payment can be made either in money or in kind, unless the governor intervenes. The

trade articles that are preferred in the country are: gunpowder and lead for hunting; common blue cloth, and Madras plaid cotton with red and white squares for the women. The women wear a simple black or white corset, worn tight on the body, and a plaid skirt. Their hair is tied on top of the head which is sometimes covered with a man's straw hat from Manila, or covered with a handkerchief. The young girls who are not disfigured by leprosy are rather well shaped. However, their discolored faces show few expressions, in spite of the mixture of blood that must have transformed the primitive type. I believed I recognized in these physiognomies something of the Chinese character, a wide forehead, pointed face, slit eyes, short noses, with tip(?) protruding very little, a heart-shaped mouth... The men wear shorts and a white blouse or shirt.

The food of the islanders consists of boiled rice served with pork, chicken, or fish. The women produce flour out of dry coconut meat and make biscuits with it, for use in lieu of bread. Such biscuits, cooked without yeast, are almost tasteless. A few Marianos chew betelnut, the fruit of the areca palm. However, tobacco is in common use in the country, not to mention the smokers. Every inhabitant owns a few tobacco plants of a rather mediocre quality. One has a hard time to find traces of cultivation in the neighborhood of Umata. The small valley belonging to the river that divides into several branches is, however, very appropriate for the cultivation of rice, corn, and garden vegetables. However, one sees only a few cleared plots surrounded by tufted trees. The height of land is completely unsuitable for cultivation and is covered with grasses.

The burden of Spain does not seem to be heavy on the Marianos who readily accept their libertine priests. The local population has been so well trained to accept all sorts of religious practices that they are all regarded as a normal part of life; the women, like their pastors, have found a way to manage both devotion and debauchery. In the afternoon, at the hour of the Angelus, a troop of women and children can be seen in the street of Agaña, heading for the church, while Padre Bernardo and Padre Manuel, having assembled in a ruined convent the officers of both corvettes, were loudly singing praises other than to the Lord. The natives, assembled in a large crowd at the door of the church, looked upon the excesses of their unworthy pastors with indifference.

Sunday, 6 January. Umata Bay.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.2 | 26.4 |
| At 8 a.m. | 27.8 | 26.6 |
| At noon | 28.0 | 27.4 |
| At 4 p.m. | 27.0 | 27.2 |
| At 8 p.m. | 25.4 | 26.2 |
| At midnight | 25.2 | 26.4 |

Tides: High tide, from noon to 2 p.m. 1.62 meters
 Low tide at 6 p.m. 1.16 meters

Difference 0.46 meter.

Nice weather, nice breeze varying from NNE to ENE. Swell from the N. The Mayor of Umata came to offer one bull for the crew. It is the .[first?] of its kind that we have received. Deer is abundant in the country; we found deer meat in the market at a good price.

Monday, 7 January. Umata Bay.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.3 | 26.3 |
| At 8 a.m. | 25.9 | 26.0 |
| At noon | 28.3 | 27.2 |
| At 4 p.m. | 28.2 | 27.3 |
| At 8 p.m. | 26.2 | 27.0 |
| At midnight | 25.4 | 27.0 |

Tides: High tide, from noon to 1 p.m. 1.66 meters
 Low tide at 6 p.m. 1.28 meters

Difference 0.38 meter.

Nice weather, light breeze from E varying to ENE. In the evening, the sky became overcast, and the breeze varied to NE.

Tuesday, 8 January. Same.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.6 | 26.6 |
| At 8 a.m. | 26.4 | 27.0 |
| At noon | 27.8 | 27.4 |
| At 4 p.m. | 26.9 | 27.0 |
| At 8 p.m. | 26.0 | 27.0 |
| At midnight | 25.0 | 26.7 |

Tides: High tide at 1:45 p.m. 1.60 meters
 Low tide at 6 p.m. 1.36 meters

Difference 0.24 meter.

Nice weather, good breeze from NE, freshening in the middle of the day. Swell from the north.

Today we took on board the objects provided by supplier Anderson, to wit:

—rice: 95 Kg at ... per Kg;

—coconut brandy: 31 liters at ... per liter;
 —tar: 30(?) Kg at 2 francs 80 cents per Kg.

A total of 387 Kg of biscuit have been taken out of the rear pantry; out of this quantity, we had to discard 187 Kg that were damaged.

During the evening, we took the boat on board.

During the night, squally weather, with rain at times, and gusts of wind.

Wednesday, 9 January. Same.

| | Air temp. | Water temp.. |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| At 4 a.m. | 25.0 | 26.4 |
| At 8 a.m. | 26.1 | 27.0 |
| At noon | 27.2 | 27.0 |
| At 4 p.m. | 26.5 | 28.4 |
| At 8 p.m. | 25.0 | 26.2 |
| At midnight | 25.0 | 26.2 |

Tides: [Nil]

Overcast sky and rainy weather, good gusts from NE, swell from the NNW. During the day, the breeze varied to ENE and the weather improved.

This morning we had at breakfast the leading men of Agaña who partook willingly of the good food and wine, even better than usual. This time, our reverend Fathers were enraptured to seventh heaven, and it was almost necessary to disembark Bernardo as a lifeless body.

During the afternoon, the Governor came to dinner with the commander and was saluted with 9 guns. Bernardo, having recovered from his drinking, found the means of gathering his wits once more, cleaning his suit, enough to come and greet the Governor.

During the evening, we made ready to leave the next day.

The Mariana Islands were discovered in 1521 by Magellan who gave them the name of Ladrones Islands. In 1563 [sic], Admiral Lopez de Legazpi left Mexico to make their conquest. The large number of sailing canoes that came to meet the Spanish caused a change of name to Islas de las Velas. Later on, they received the name of Mariana Islands in honor of Queen Mariana of Austria who sent the first missionaries there. Admiral Legazpi landed upon these islands, took possession of them for Spain, and embarked once again to go and conquer the Philippines. It was only in 1668 that Father Sanvitores undertook the spiritual conquest of the Marianas. He was assassinated in 1672, after he had baptized 50,000 [sic] islanders, founded 8 churches and 3 seminaries or schools for the youth. Toward the end of the 17th century, the whole archipelago had been conquered.

It was at about 1697 that a Carolinian canoe, pushed by a strong breeze, landed at the Marianas. The existence of a large archipelago consisting of 32 low-lying and popu-

lated islands, then became known. A ship coming from Mexico had already discovered, in 1686, one of these islands, which was given the name of Carolina, in honor of Charles II.

The archipelago of the Marianas extends from N to S over about 7° of latitude, from 13° to 20° N. It occupies in longitude 1°16'. The Island of Guam, the largest of all the islands, is about 30 leagues in circumference. The other islands are much smaller, and the northernmost islands are but rocks. Guam, Rota, Tinian, Saypan and Anatahan are the only ones inhabited.

Thursday, 10 January. Departure from Guam. Course SSW.

Point of departure, at 10 a.m.: Lat. 13°21' N Long. 142°03' E.

Variation 2° NE.

At 10 a.m., N Point of Guam bore N20°E.

S Point of Guam bore N74°E.

At 8 a.m., air temp. 26.5 water temp. 27.0

Squally weather, breeze from E and gusting, rain at times. At about noon, the weather improved and the breeze became steady from SE.

At 8 a.m., both corvettes weighed anchors and headed SW. One sailor from the *Zélée* has deserted, no doubt hoping to find employment aboard an English whaler that is anchored in Apra. The country of Guam offers few opportunities to adventurers to become rich. Only one Frenchman has settled in the colony, where he fulfills, they say, the role of port captain, or pilot.

Friday, 11 January. Course SW.

Lat. obs. 12°02' N.

Lat. est. 12°00' N

Long. obs. 140°27' [E]

Long. est. 140°30'

At 8 a.m., air temp. 26.8 water temp. 27.0

Overcast weather and squally, followed by a little rain. Very unsteady breeze, varying from SSE to ESE. Swell from N and NE. During the evening, the breeze became constant from SE and the weather improved.

Saturday, 12 January. Course SW and WSW.

Lat. obs. 11°03' N

Lat. est. 10°46'

Long. obs. 138°32' E

Long. est. 138°53'

Variation 2° NE.

At 8 a.m., air temp. 28.3 water temp. 27.1

Nice weather, good breeze from SE, beautiful sea. At daybreak, the breeze varied to SSE, and the sky became cloudy. During the evening, the breeze went back to SE, then varied to ENE. As the wind became stronger, the sea became choppy in that quarter.

Sunday, 13 January. Course WSW.

Lat. obs. 10°06' N

Lat. est. 9°47'

Long. obs. 136°03' E

Long. est. 136°17'

Variation 1°20' NE.

At 8 a.m., air temp. 27.0 water temp 27.2

At 3:30 p.m., N point of Guap bore S19°W

S point of Guap bore S9°E

At 6 p.m., N point of Guap bore N37°E

S point of Guap bore S5°W

Peak bore N61°E

In sight of the Island of Guap.

Very nice weather, good breeze from ENE, swell from NE.

At 12:45 p.m., the *Zélee* signalled land in the SSW. Heading was immediately changed to SSW, and to S1/4SW, in order to get close to the land which was recognized as being the Island of Guap. belonging to the western Carolines. This island is about 3 to 4 leagues in length from NNE to SSW, is rather high, and offers few steep hills. The NE point is surrounded by a huge breaker that seems to encircle to island on all sides. This reef extends about 2 miles from the NE point, but it becomes nearer the coast in the NW.

At 4 p.m., we rounded the reef at the NE point where it forms a huge lagoon where there must be hardly enough water for a canoe. We soon saw a fleet of canoes leave the shore; after they had crossed the lagoon, they made directly for our corvettes, but as we were then making 8 knots, we left these canoes far behind us.

The eastern part as well as the north end of the Island of Guap are rather high, with cliffs, but on the west coast the slopes are more gentle and come down to the sea where they form beautiful beaches. Here, as in most of the islands of Oceania, the coast is lined with a fringe of coconut trees and other fruit trees among which are scattered the dwellings of the natives; however, what we had not yet seen anywhere else in savage countries, were some extensive fields under cultivation, perfectly maintained, with very regular rows, and natural fences made up of trees that formalize the divisions. We even thought that we could recognize some plantations with props. Under this happy climate, man has an easy choice to make among what a very fertile nature offers. Agriculture here must consist only of having to clear the land of useless plants, and to regulate the water courses. There is no need to fear that a rigorous winter, or an extreme drought, will come and erase the fruit of one's labor.

These beautiful, tender green, fields delimited by the dark green forests that covered the heights, this contrast between human industry and wild nature were pleasing to our eyes, while we were coasting the island of Guap. This country must be heavily populated, judging from the intensity of agriculture and by the number of inhabitants seen on the shore. The huts were lightly built and surrounded by light palissades, or small dry-stone walls; some, larger ones, are built on top of stone platforms. The roof, leaning westward, has the shape of a trapeze, and the wall facing the sea is pierced by 3 to 4 small windows, something that is not often seen in the huts of savages.

We coasted close to the reef, to try and discover a pass that might lead to a port, but, it was in vain that we looked for an anchorage along the NW coast. Everywhere the reef appeared to be continuous, and a beautiful bay over one mile in extent that was discovered on that coast was unfortunately strewn with coral heads.

At 5 p.m., both corvettes hove to, to give time for the natives to visit us. Their canoes soon came near us. They sailed around us for quite some time, but not one of them dared to come alongside. One of them, however, came near enough for us to make ourselves heard from them. We asked an old man with a grey beard if the name of the island was Guap, or Yap. He answered: "Guap, Carolines..." and ended up by asking for brandy. The natives of Guap seemed to us to belong to the same family as those of the Hogoleu group. Their hair is, however, long and curly. They wear a small maro as a belt, but some of them are completely naked. Their arms are decorated with many big shell bracelets. Many were tattooed. Their mouths were for the most part spoiled by the use of the betel nut.

Their canoes, built along the lines of those of Hogoleu, are generally better built, lighter, more elegant looking; the ends of these proas are higher and more charming. The outside of them is painted with red ocher.

The sail and the outrigger are identical with those of Hogoleu. The side opposite the outrigger has also a platform destined to receive the cargo of the vessel.

At 5:40 p.m., the coming of darkness forced us to get offshore. Course was set to SW, and we soon lost sight of the pretty island of Guap, one that would deserve to be visited more thoroughly by navigators. Following the survey made by the **Astrolabe**, one can state that there are no ports on the N, S, or W sides of the island. However, one may hope that Guap is not entirely devoid of a sheltered harbor for ships. In the center of the east coast, there is an inlet with a mouth looking S. It is possible that the reef on that side has a pass to let navigators into this small port. It is only after one has coasted along a reef at a distance of one mile that one can affirm whether or not the reef is completely without a break.

During the night, very nice weather, good breeze from ESE.

Monday, 17 January. Course to SW, and SW1/4S.

Lat. obs. 8°20' N

Lat. est. 7°57'

Long. obs. 134°26' E

Long. est. 134°25'

Variation 0°30' NE.

At 8 a.m., air temp. 27.1 water temp 27.5

Nice weather, good breeze from ESE varying to ENE. During the day, a distribution of old clothes was made to the crew.

Tuesday, 18 January. In sight of the Pelew Islands.

Lat. obs. 7°08' N

Lat. est. 7°04'

Long. obs. 132°16' E

Long. est. 132°37'

Variation 1° NE.

At noon, E point of Babelthuap bore N2°E

The westernmost of the black islands bore N10°W

N point of Urukthapel bore N22°W

S point of Urukthapel bore N63°W

N point of Earakong bore N73°W

S point of Earakong bore N87°W

N point of low island to the S of Earakong bore S86°W

At 6 p.m., NE point of Angaur Island bore S66°E

S point of Angaur bore S37°E

N point of Peleliu bore N72°E

S point of Peleliu bore S87°E

At 8 a.m., air temp 27.2 water temp. 27.8

Nice weather, good breeze from NE varying to ENE and E. Course SW.

At 6 in the morning, the course was changed to WSW. At 8:30, the *Zélée* signalled land to W1/4SW. At 9:20, we sighted the Pelew Islands from the deck. We headed W1/4NW to approach the NE point of this archipelago. At 1 p.m., we headed gradually to SW1/4S in order to coast along the SE coast at a distance of 1 to 2 miles and a speed of 4 to 5 knots.

The Pelew archipelago occupies, from NE to SW, a distance of about 17 leagues. It consists of from 5 to 6 main islands and a large number of islets and rocks. An almost continuous reef protects the SE coast of this archipelago and does not extend more than one mile from it. We have noticed many passes but they were all very narrow. It is hard to believe that any of them would be practicable for a ship with a draught of 14 to 16 feet, unless they be those we have seen to the south of Babelthuap Island and to the south of Earakong Island. The lagoon formed by the reef appears, moreover, to be not deep enough, and covered with coral heads in a large part. A ship should not dare go into one of those passes without being preceded by her boats, to sound the channels within the lagoon.

Babelthuap Island, the northernmost island, is also the highest. The country is covered with trees, and the underlying rock can only be seen where there are cliffs. The

other islands, Koror, Urukthapel, Earakong, Peliliu, and Angaur become gradually lower as one heads south, so that the last two can be described as low-lying islands. All of these islands are also covered with tall trees, among which one recognizes a rare coconut tree grove. However, Peliliu and Angaur, specially the latter, are fringed with these trees. The SE coast presents but few beaches; the land most oftentimes meets the sea in the shape of coral walls, from 5 to 6 feet high. This side of the islands show absolutely no sign of agriculture. A few natives came out of the forests and showed themselves on the shore, but we soon lost sight of them. The southern islands of the group are the most heavily populated, specially in their western part which has fewer cliffs and is protected from the sea by a reef that extends far out to sea. This reef has not been fully explored; it is not known whether or not there are any good anchorages. It would be important to survey the west coast of Peliliu to try and discover a port within the reef that encircles this island, and the islets to the north, the south part of Peliliu being clear of dangers, as well as the channel between it and Angaur, it would be easy to explore this reef.

At 4 p.m., being about to round the S point of Peliliu, we saw many canoes, clean and with good sails, coming out of this point, and heading for our corvettes; 2 or 3 of these proas came alongside, as soon as we entered the Angaur channel, and from 5 to 6 natives climbed aboard, at the first invitation.. Two men, whose height and square shape did not denote Palauans, approached the commander, imploring his assistance to deliver them from the hardest of slavery. These two men said they were Malays, and had left Banda aboard a coracora, to go to Amboina, seven persons in all, among whom was one Dutchman. Some strong westerly wind and currents (they said) pushed them out of the Moluccan Sea and as far as the Pelew Islands where the natives stripped them of everything they had, after having killed the Dutchman who tried to defend himself with a rifle. These Malays wish to go back to Amboina or Banda. The Commander accepted them on board the **Astrolabe**. However, we soon saw the master of the Malays come aboard and claim his slaves back, having planned, no doubt, to punish them well. Needless to say, the Palauan was disappointed and chased off the deck back into his canoe, in a manner that was little civilized. The Malays, who are perhaps some pirates themselves, no longer have to fear the Palauans.

The natives of the Pelew Islands seemed to us to be less handsome than the Carolinians, The 5 or 6 natives whom we were able to examine from up close, could even be described as ugly, and frail. Their eyes, almost closed, are slightly oblique. Their mouth was terribly disfigured by the use of betel nut. Their hair was long and loose. Their feet and hands were so darkened by tattoos that one might at first believe that such parts of the body are covered with gloves and socks. A few stripes of tattooing go up the arms and thighs. These islanders were naked, or covered with a simple maro. They wore some big shell bracelets on their wrists and their ears were adorned with pieces of turtle shell. They were making use of bows and arrows. Their potteries [sic] are made of wood painted with red varnish, similar to the vessels of Hogoleu. Their combs are made with a yellow wood, rather well crafted. However, what seemed to me to be the most remark-

able among their utensils (if they are the products of their own industry) is a spoon made with a piece of turtle shell, of a regular shape, which means that these savages were able to find a way to make turtle shells malleable; indeed, although turtle shells are well known throughout Oceania, we had not yet met with a savage population that had tried to give them shape, other than by making adequate cuts.

The Palauan canoes are very properly handled. They are light, narrow, and of a pretty design. Their ends, not so high as those of Guap, reminded us of those seen at Nukuor. They have no platform opposite the outrigger. The waist boards supporting the platform in the center of the craft were covered with inlaid shells, like paintings.

As far as the sail and body design, these canoes seemed to us to be suitable for speed, and to ride deep waves. However, in spite of these qualities, one cannot attribute to them a speed superior to 7 knots under the most favorable conditions.

After we had exchanged a few chickens and various objects of their industry, the natives left us to return to Peleliu Island whence they had come.

The few observations that we were able to make regarding the Pelew Islands did not make us share the opinion of the enthusiastic Wilson, the Englishman, for this country and its inhabitants. One cannot doubt that this archipelago was seen by the ancient Spanish navigators, during their passage from Mexico to the Philippines. The people of Pelew having had for many years contact with Europeans, cannot be regarded as a newly-discovered people at the time Wilson wrote his story in the style of a novel. This seaman, in charge of a packet boat of the East India Company, named the **Antelope**, of 300 tons, having departed Macao with 34 Englishmen and 16 Chinese, hit a reef on the west coast in the night of 10 August 1783. The narrative of this shipwreck, accompanied with a poetical description of the islands, the story of King Abba Thule, of his son Leeboo and of their lucky subjects, make up this book where the truth is at every instant sacrificed in favor of the marvellous.

These islands were again visited in 1793 and 1794 by Captain McCluer who, instead of this simple, naive and good population, found only greedy and evil savages. In September 1797, Captain James Wilson, aboard the ship **Duff**, passed near the Babelthup Islands. The natives showed, by signs, an anchorage in the NW. I do not know if the existence of this port has been confirmed.

The language of the Pelew islanders, of Guap and of the Caroline Islands that we have visited seemed to us to be just as guttural, and we have reasons to believe that it is far from the Polynesian dialect. It is a fair supposition that the peoples inhabiting the vast archipelago of the Carolines have a common origin; however, it is not as natural to admit within this great family the Polynesian race that distinguishes itself by its tall body shapes, its wide faces, inclined foreheads and eyes that are not diverging.

At 5 p.m., we headed W, with a nice breeze from E.

Wednesday, 16 January. Course W and WSW.

Nice weather, pretty breeze from E varying to ENE. We have sailed upon a parallel assigned to Johannes Island by the Spanish without having seen this land...

Document 1838I

**Second d'Urville expedition—The narrative of
Dr. Guillou**

Source: Élie Le Guillou. Complément aux 'Souvenirs d'un aveugle'. Voyage autour du monde de l'As-trolabe et de la Zélée, sous les ordres du contre-amiral Dumont d'Urville... (Paris, 1842).

Note: The text of this book was edited by Jacques Arago, who had visited Guam 20 years earlier, and written the book entitled 'Souvenirs d'un aveugle' about his own experiences.

Narrative of Dr. Le Guillou

Volume 1, Chapter 16

HOGOLEU.—GUAM.

Carolines.—Hogoleu.—Guam.—Details.

A stain of blood will mark this chapter. There is sorrow in the soul of yours truly who is obliged to narrate a catastrophe and who deplores the fact that such misfortune could not have been avoided. When the threat is violent, when the enemies are numerous, angry, when there are motives for hate and vengeance between adversaries, so be it! reprisals must answer any attack, but when the rival peoples do not know one another before the fight, when the ones are Frenchmen and the others savages, when the former have firearms and the latter only weak reeds for spears, it appears to me impossible for the heart of the one who, perhaps with too much haste, does not fear to accept a fight to the death, not to feel some remorse afterwards.

Arago at Ombay saved himself from the teeth and fire of the cannibals through using much gaiety and a few sleights of hand. At the Péron Peninsula, he also escaped the hands of the natives who surrounded him and were about to crack his head with war clubs by demonstrating to the savages the power of our firearms and in feigning to kill his faithful and brave Marchais whom you know for sure.

The savages are generally big children whom one must not scare with threats and violence; otherwise, the reaction could be bloody. Beware if you deal with men whose reputation for cruelty you have heard about, and in whose hands the kris and the war club play such a terrible role of destruction...

However, Cook made a mistake at Hawaii; he refused to believe in the king's word who believed in him; and when he wanted to force the king to follow him aboard, the savages were right in killing him.

Alas! Were we right here? We were facing savages, numerous it is true but scared by the noise of our war weapons alone.

We were anchored at Hogoleu. A few hydrographic observations had to be made and for that purpose, the boat of the **Astrolabe** headed for a small islet from which the corvettes were not seen by the natives. The latter, surprised and maybe scared by such an unexpected arrival, went to the shore and launched their canoes to prevent a landing, or to try and lay their hands on the boat. Whatever the plans of the natives were, here is what happened.

The natives, always keeping themselves apart, were at first making grimaces like frolicking imps; they were sticking their tongue out, gamboling, pirouetting on their frail legs inside their canoes, and we let them amuse themselves as they pleased. One moment later, they threw oranges into the boat, perhaps to amuse themselves, perhaps to incite us to retaliate, the way people do with small dogs in order to tease them; we were not yet afraid of that. After the oranges came the stones; then the small spears came flying and one of them grazed the head of Engineer Dumoulin who could have been lightly wounded by it; it was definitely an attack...

Immediately, our sailors fired many loads with their muskets, fired a grapeshot with the blunderbuss upon the fleet of canoes many of which capsized and from 12 to 15 natives fell dead into the water or went to expire upon the beach.

What a great tragedy! No doubt the intrepid Duroch believed he was doing his duty but his generous heart must have suffered to have had to act in such a cruel fashion.

How much time will be necessary in the future before the natives of Hogoleu receive with trust the Europeans who will come to anchor at their islands?

After such a sad call, we weighed anchor and headed for Guam, the capital of the Marianas, where the Spanish flag waves over a palace, where savagery has been conquered by civilization, but let us not forget to say some friendly words about this excellent Carolinian people who come to greet us in their canoes, quick as the wind.

Are they human or fish? The sea is their element as much as the land. They believe themselves at home when they swim amid the waves. However formidable the storm, they play while laughing among the breakers that push them, in the bosom of the bounding bellows, and one would think that they have been used to such struggles since they were born.

How lively their joy? how kind their smile! how soft is their language! They would give you all they possess in exchange for your least trifle. What they wish before everything else is a brotherly word, a handshake, a rubbing of nose against nose. They shout "*Lulu, lulu*" [iron], and as we throw knives into the sea, they spring forward, dive, disappear and soon surface with their prize.

What a pity we pass so fast through these men that our friend Arago has so well studied, and with whom he has made such long voyages! It is to Sancor, king of Sathoual [Satawal], one of the main Caroline Islands, that he owed his life when, near Rota, his canoe capsized and when he was about to be crushed against the coral rocks that surround the island in a triple line of reefs.

The Carolinians are the most gracefully tattooed people in the world and nothing is cuter than the picturesque way they braid their long, black and silky hair. I refer you back to the "*Souvenirs d'un aveugle*" for more interesting and warm details about these so kind and generous beings, among archipelagoes inhabited by ferocious men who often come as far as their home islands to bring war, torture and death.

Before I leave the Carolines, I must not forget to mention a great improvement in the way they make the cloth that serves them as clothes. The *tapa* is despised by them. Their mantles are made of real fine fabric, very elastic, woven on a loom and cut along the lines of our priests' chasuble. Perhaps they have taken their model from the Marianas which they often visit and where they bring loin-cloths, mats, superb shells to exchange for knives, saws, and specially axes which they use to build their magnificent flying proas.

From there to Guam, our navigation was fortunae. The monsoon was favorable to us and the currents had not driven us; we had estimated to see the land on January 1st, but we sighted it on December 31st. We greeted with love this flourishing island where we hoped to receive news from our motherland.

The land looms high on the horizon; we stretched all sails, passed south of Cocos Island and finally anchored in the roads of Umata in front of the famous governor's *palacio* that Arago has so carefully described.

I had just read the "Voyage around the World" of the one who later was to write the "*Souvenirs d'un aveugle*". What I have to state here are the differences, the almost unnoticeable variations brought to the old customs of the Chamorros who are already perfectly known to us; my task will be a short one.

In Guam, the people do not change any more than the houses. With Arago's book in hand, I have visited Umata and Agaña, the island capital. There are still houses built upon piles, with well-maintained back gardens, magnificent curtains of coconut trees, a huge number of cocks tied by their left leg to strong stakes so that only their right leg be exercised in order to be of benefit to the one who will make them fight. As in Arago's time, such cock-fights in Guam are called royal games; royal indeed, because they ruin the people.

The governor's palace is still the same. In all the streets stand huge wooden crosses. The young girls who go fishing in front of the settlement, heedless from force of habit, continue nevertheless to exhibit their charm openly. The elegant headkerchief still cover them with the same charm. Their hair has not lost its independence and vitality. Their look has not lost its provocative nature, their friendship none of its fervor, their cigar none of its size. Guam today is the same as Guam yesterday. There are a few more priests, co-religionist of Padre Ciriaco who in days gone by used to keep a gambling house and who has now been converted to the true religion of repentance and penance, and given the example of all the Christian virtues.

Many more years too have passed by this young Mariquita, still lodging in front of the palace, and for whom this poor Arago, who has left a piece of his heart in all parts of the world, wished one day to sacrifice his family and his home country.

Alas! the years go fast in the Marianas. Old age comes early and time, more so than love, has left rough traces upon the fresh face of that Mariquita once so loved, as you were told in the touching story. I spoke to her of Arago. She shook my hand. On his behalf, I gave her a blessed rosary. She thanked me with a tear. All of this was touching; it was a devotion to the past, still strong in the present and no doubt also in the future.

I received a frank and attentive hospitality at Mr. Calvo's house. He had just returned from Manila. I saw the venerable Louis de Torres, whom Mr. Quoy and Mr. Gaimard had told me about. I also met Anderson, this excellent English sailor so often mentioned in the "Souvenirs d'un aveugle," and who had deserted from the place of anchorage of the **Uranie** in Umata. Today he is chief pilot of the island and archipelago.

If I thought I could do better than him, I would try it, but three whole months of stay in Guam had given Mr. Arago the opportunity to study very well the customs of the colony. Only time has brought a few modifications to the scenery he as painted for us. Thus leprosy has lost some of its intensity, the household utensils are made with a little more taste, the priests no longer lack wine to say mass, and the governor's is no longer the first banian in the island. As for the young girls, they have everything to gain by keeping their old ways. Let us leave them to their simple loves, to their gay songs, to their sprightly dances, to their precious memories. Let us say goodbye to them with all the affection, all the regret they deserve.

Chapter 17
TERNATE.

Guap.—Pelew.—Mindanao.—Ternate.

The Marianas are neither savage nor civilized. It is an interesting mixture of old customs derived from the first inhabitants of the island and new customs that have been foisted upon them. If you look N or E of these islands, you will find civilization with all its vices, all its ridicules, all its insolence. Guam is the stopping place along the road to progress.

Two to three days after our departure we sighted Guap. A few canoes left the island but they were so frightened that they stayed far from us when talking. The Guap islanders seemed good, well shaped, and they went away without having traded with us.

Here comes Pelew whose cruelties and massacres modern navigators have told us about. Indeed, cannibalism is still practiced in this ferocious archipelago whose name the Carolinians cannot pronounce without terror. However, you know the story of the shipwreck of the **Antelope** whose narratives have confirmed the fact. This exploring ship was broken up upon the sea-level rocks that surround the most important of these islands. The crew escaped to shore in their boats, without weapons, almost without any clothes. They were expecting an awful death when, to the contrary, the natives, losing their fierceness, welcomed the unfortunate sailors with a brotherly effusiveness, invited them to stay in their island, and offered them their wives and sisters so as to make the seduction complete.

The sailors and the officers of the **Antelope** accepted the offer. Pelew became their new country, but since then the climate has erased everything and no trace remains of the European crew. Only here and there, in a few villages, some men and women with lighter complexion bear witness to the presence in the island of people born under colder climes.

The ship kept on sailing, and soon we found ourselves in view of Mindanao...

Document 1838J

Second d'Urville expedition—Narrative of Mr. Desgraz

Sources: (1) Ms. in the possession of the Royal Geographic Society of London, folios 112-146; (2) part about Guam published by Nieves Library, Guam, in 1984; (3) parts published by d'Urville, e.g. as Note 17 to Chapter 40.

The narrative of César Desgraz, secretary of Captain d'Urville

...

Monday, 17 December 1838.

Fresh breeze and cloudy weather.

This morning we saw the Nuguor group which, badly placed on the charts, appears to be the same as the Dunkin Islands. This group is made up of a large number of small islets loaded with coconut trees and surrounded by reefs. A large number of stylish canoes left various points of these small islands to come towards us.

They brought us Indians with yellow skin, gay and kind features and with graceful bodies. I do not know if the contrast between their color and their features with those of the Solomon islanders whom we have just left, is such that we are inclined to exaggerate the physical beauty of the inhabitants of Nuguor, but the fact is that we found them superior in this matter to the majority of [Pacific] Ocean islanders. One can already see here a slight slanting of the eyes. These savages, almost naked, except for the necessary belt, wear curiously-shaped hats; they consist of a small cone with which the head cannot fit entirely but that is flanked by two big wings turned up to provide shade from the sun. They have in addition other hats of a different and more comfortable shape that are like a conical roof covering the head and the shoulders. After a short time, they had sold all their hats to collectors of curious objects on board, and soon, tying up to the ropes that were thrown to them at their repeated requests, they started a mobile market that did not stop until a long distance from their islands.

These natives have shown the greatest of trust and at the same time much good faith in their dealings. They were willingly taking the smallest trifles. Fish-hooks, chisels, axes, were readily taken. They were selling all they owned: lines, shell hooks, fish-nets,

hats, oars, fish; they would have sold their canoes if they could have returned ashore without them.

These stylish and well-made canoes are built differently from all those we have already seen. The tree trunk that is used is shaped in a sleek and stylish manner. An outrigger is fitted to it and instead of benches athwart, two long borders running the whole length are used as seats, leaving an opening in the center for placing the feet on the bottom of the canoe. Despite a rather rough sea, these canoes are managed perfectly and it is an interesting spectacle to watch these brave men, with their long hair floating free, or tucked up at the back of the head, make their proas fly over the choppy surface of the sea.

They did not bring any weapons with them, nor any tools, other than for fishing, a task that many of them had just been engaged in, judging from the amount of fish that they sold. The smallness of their islands does not allow them to produce much food of vegetable origin in line with their population. This must make fishing the main food resource of the inhabitants.

The sight of these Indians, so different from the distrustful blacks whom we had just visited, gave us an usual pleasure. During one hour we heard their noisy entreaties for objects made of iron, in a hundred different manners, then pushed by a fresh breeze, we still saw them from afar making signs to us or hurrying to shore, no doubt, in order to show their many acquisitions to their families. In each canoe, however, we noticed that one acted as a chief, receiving and making all exchanges. His companions acted simply as oarsmen. I did not myself observe their manners long enough to be sure of this fact, even though I have seen rather often some natives sell or trade some objects that did not belong to them and not giving back the price to the rightful owner.

Tuesday, 18 December 1838.

Calm with a rolling sea. The breeze rose at the end of the day. The sky became cloudy when we came out of rather calm seas. The rolling was fastidious. Nothing interesting.

Wednesday, 19 December 1838.

Good breeze and clearer sky. The sea was rather heavy. Some porpoises and a booby gannet were seen.

Thursday, 20 December 1838.

Rain and heavy sea. With a good but variable breeze, we searched all day for D'Urville Island, discovered and named thus during the voyage of the **Coquille**. The foggy horizon may have prevented us from seeing it.

Friday, 21 Decembere 1838.

At daybreak, land was seen, as three small islands surrounded by formidable reefs, probably the same as those named after our Commander. They are covered with coconut trees like those of Nuguor and are inhabited. Later, we glimpsed the higher lands

and just as highly dangerous reefs of the group formed by the islands of Hogoleu, one of the main island group of the Carolines. We came close to them but everywhere could be seen breakers putting an obstacle in the path of the Commander. Darkness came in the meantime and made us postpone the anchorage until the next day when a convenient passage might be found through the coral barrier defending the approach.

Saturday, 22 December 1838.

This morning we headed once again for the shores of Hogoleu to find an anchorage. It was only after having followed a continuous reef for a long time that the sharp eyes of the Commander saw a narrow gap into which we gave and then tacked among shoals that are spotted by the discoloration of sea water. We reached the anchorage near a small island that looked fresh and rich in coconut trees. Our anchorage was protected by reefs and by numerous islands, the main one being rather large and with high mountains. After having left the Solomon Islands, these lands appeared to us rather bare even though good vegetation covered them. Coconut trees are numerous and their meagre foliage contributes to give to the islands a grey tint that is matched by a rather dry soil.

As soon as we came close to the reefs, a large number of canoes came to perform maneuvers around us. We counted more than twenty but these Carolinian proas, so praised [by others], could not even match the speed of the **Astrolabe** which surely could not boast about her fast pace. We left them behind us, and it is only when the sails were lowered for mooring that they came near the corvettes. These craft are the most stylish I had yet seen. Their light construction, their triangular sails, their sloping masts make them look graceful. It was a pleasure to watch them sail about on a calm sea, following us when we changed course and spreading around us in all directions. Each one carried from 6 to 8 natives, rarely more.

At noon, as soon as the anchor was dropped, all these proas surrounded us. Deafening shouts of "*Tamol, Tamol*" could be heard and various objects were offered right away. Already trading had started but accompanied by the noise and uproar common to the yellow races. This difference in character between the black and yellow races is something worth mentioning. The former are calm, silent and patient; the latter laughing, shouting and gesticulating and more inclined to be mobile. Here we seemed to find again one of the peoples of Oceania, with only slight differences. The eyes were a little slanted, the cheekbones a little higher, and the hair knotted at the back of the head; such were things that could be noticed right away. The exterior appearance of these savages is the same as that of the Nuguor inhabitants, except that the latter appeared to us more beautiful, better shaped, and had more pleasant facial expression.

This evening, the canoes left early to go to their homes on neighboring islands. When we fired one gun to announce the time of withdrawal, there were only two proas left alongside and they went off right away, frightened by the explosion. Many went to the small island facing us. They say that the natives, who are so trustworthy alongside, did not show the same feeling ashore. They feared that our people would go into their huts; jealousy seemed to have been the reason for their aversion. They showed fear for their

women. A few indiscreet requests may have alarmed them suddenly, because one of the natives had one woman in his canoe. She was lying down on a sort of projecting platform [See sketch 1 below] that supported a cover to secure objects placed underneath; most of these canoes have chests. Her husband showed her to us many times by opening the cover. He was doing this with such willingness that many persons believed that this constituted an invitation to go and lie down with her and hide under the same cover. One cannot adequately describe such an event; the curious aspect of the scene was very great. A woman in a cage was the subject of many jokes.

Sunday, 23 December 1838.

Daylight brought back our trusting Carolinians. We saw canoes being made ready at many islands of the group and heading in our direction. They brought with them man-made objects, fish, bananas, that they came to trade. One could think that such an eagerness showed frequent contacts with Europeans, but this is not likely. Morrell, the American, may be the only one who pretends to have stopped here and one must doubt the words of a man who has been recognized for some time as a notorious teller of tall tales. His account, even though in agreement with what we saw in certain aspects, is so full of exaggerations that we are right in doubting that he might have spent much time at these islands.

[Chuukese canoes]

The proas of Hogoleu are made of two strong boards leaning on a as a keel. Thick ribs secure the assembly. An outrigger is used to make them more solid and on the opposite side a counterpoise, consisting of the basket that I have talked about yesterday, is used by them to change the sail rapidly when they change course without turning about. These craft are light. Their sail made of mats is pointed at one end and opened at the other; it is laid out like those of Viti [Fiji] on two yards that can be opened or closed at will. The mast of the canoe, held by light guy ropes, is not vertical; rather, it leans [forward] so that the end of the sail where the two yards meet can be placed upon the bow of the proa, in a notch made for that purpose.

The rowing craft are different from the sailing craft. They are long and slender and their outrigger is small; they often are made of a single piece and have benches upon which the natives sit. They are fishing craft, as they have a tank in the center for the fish they take, and often their ends are decorated with characters made with white paint that look roughly like the letter X.

The large sailing canoes are painted red. Their construction and the skill of those riding in them make long sea voyages possible, although it is scary to envisage a long crossing in them and the scarcity of building resources available to these Indians. They have surely accomplished very long voyages, guided by the stars and by faith in their ancestors, to islands where food is more abundant; indeed, lack of food seems to be the main reason for such migrations. Their speed has been rather exaggerated; they run fast but I hardly believe they can reach a speed of 6 to 7 knots.

Already we have found some *Taios*¹ as in Oceania; we have exchanged our names. Two inhabitants of the same island have exchanged their names, Otokoi and Ikevet, against that of Mr. Marescot and mine. A few presents from us strengthened this friendship; they did not give us anything in return as did the Solomon islanders, but they invited us to go and visit their island and offered us their canoe. It is from them that we succeeded in getting most of the words in their language, the most difficult to pronounce that I have met so far, and that does not at first offer much resemblance to the language of Oceania spoken at Nuku-Hiva [Marquesas], Tahiti, Vavao, etc. They gave us the following names for the islands of the group: [blank].

The natives are of average height. The shape is lean for the young men and skinny for the old men. The decline comes easily, as shown by wrinkles and scarcity of hair. Many of the men showed evidence of leprosy and elephantiasis but in general they appear in good health. At first, we thought we noticed a difference in skin color between individuals but I think that the difference exists only because some had covered their bodies with a sort of yellow coating probably made of ochre and coconut oil, and that the others did not use this compound on their skin. However, I think that these natives are darker than those of Nuguor and above all those of Nuku-Hiva, etc. Among more than two hundred Indians gathered around the corvette, I have seen only one man with grey hair. He was a chief of Ruk, or Suk [Fefan] whose canoe bore an ornament that existed on only a few of the proas. It consisted of a bundle of sticks with heads round and white, used perhaps to hang fishing nets or other furniture.

The clothing of the men consists of a belt, rather wide and not too long, and a poncho, exactly similar to those of Chile. It is truly like a priest's chasuble that comes down to the knees. These clothes are rather evenly woven with coconut fiber, I think, and are dyed in various colors. The yellow color is the most common, probably because it is easier to find. The black color comes next, then grey. They are the only textiles that we have yet seen among Indians.

These people have few weapons; I have seen up to now only long slings like those of Nuku-Hiva, spears made of hardwood for fishing, light spears painted red and armed with a ray fish bone at the tip. They throw this weapon from afar; if it hits, it could bring serious consequences because the tip must break within the wound. They have in addition some war clubs, double-headed and 5-foot long, but they are rare or they do not want to trade them, because we have seen but a few. A smaller stick appears to be ceremonial or recreational in nature rather than a weapon. Ikevet and Otokoi have shown us how to use them. They took the stick by the middle and hit that of the adversary in rhythm and with varying speeds. This kind of stick is quite common. In the hands of an expert stick handler, they would be a dangerous weapon, but I do not believe that the Carolinians, despite the skill displayed by our two friends, use them for this purpose.

1 Ed. note: *Tayos*, or special friends, compadres, as the Spanish would say.

Their facial expressions are far from being ferocious; they are rather astute and proved it by many small tricks but I do not believe them to be brave. They steal with skill and as much as they can. One of them, failing to find a more valuable prey, seized a small black cat, tempted no doubt by a small necklace of red beads that sailors had used to decorate it. Their attempts at swindling became so great that access to the ship was denied them. Mafi was charged with expelling them from the deck, and despite his sameness in skin color, he remained deaf to their pleas and sent them back without pity when they tried to climb up to their old place.

Many persons went ashore today on Tsis Island near the anchorage, with the same result as yesterday, i.e. a big fear that Europeans will invade their huts.

Monday, 24 December 1838.

The industry of the inhabitants of Hogoleu has been directed in particular to the making of wooden containers. They have in their possession some very large ones, of a particular shape, and painted red. They also make square chests with covers that they use to keep their fish-hooks. All of these hand-crafted objects are well made. Everyone wears around his neck a small purse, smooth and well polished, made of a small coconut, as well as a comb with four long teeth and a handle decorated with one or more chicken feathers, and used to secure their long hair at the back of the head. This hair style makes the natives whose face is young and body well made resemble tall and strong women. It is almost the same style as women used to wear in France some years ago and called Chinese style. This fashion, although pleasing to the eye, is harmful to the health of the Indians. It harbors and encourages a disgusting vermin. This plague of all savage peoples here reigns in its most disgusting strength. Only Patagonians had more vermins. These Carolinians are generally filthy. One can see that they rarely bathe from the traces of yellow stain that remains on their body for a long time.

The proas of Ikevet and Otokoi are missing this morning. Otokoi came later to tell us that Ikevet had gone fishing to give us some fish. He, on the other hand, offered us his proa to take us to his island and bring us back. Mr Marescot and I decided finally to go on this outing. We left at 2 p.m. with our friend and two other Carolinians in a rather pretty sailing proa [See Fig. 2 above]. In spite of the contrary wind, we reached the shore of Periadig in a single tack. The big proa was making little wake despite its speed, and the outrigger was on the lee side. The platform that I have talked about was the only counterpoise; two of the natives had taken place on it, and seemed to watch our crossing from there as from a window rather than be part of the boat. The other native was steering.

Bunches of mangrove trees decorate the shoreline and sometimes join their foliage over a sandy beach. It is under such a canopy that the proa led us ashore. However, it was necessary to jump into the water to reach the shore and then wait a few moments for our companions to comb their hair and put on their belt and a poncho before actually setting out. Otokoi, to whom Mr. Marescot had given a shirt and a pair of pants, put these clothes back on; he had removed them so as not to dirty them. Then he led

us on a walk to his house. He led us by slippery and hidden paths to the slope of the hills. The land appears little cultivated. When we reached the top, we saw the sea on both sides of the island and our corvettes anchored in front of the small island of Tsis, surrounded by proas. This scenery was very pretty; we stopped to look for a while. Agriculture is poor; nature must provide it all. Some breadfruit trees, scattered and stunted, some coconut trees, some banana trees, few in number, are the only fruit trees that I have noticed among scattered and sometimes tall trees but more often than not stunted and lacking vigor. Perhaps this is due to a lack of water, because we have not seen any running water whereas some stone piles indicate that the natives intended to build a sort of reservoir and that water is lacking everywhere in this small island and that rain water is the only one that they have. Besides, coconuts that are very abundant here as in the whole archipelago, must prevent the natives from suffering a great privation.

All along our route we noticed scattered huts, generally rather large but with roofs hanging low, like one along the shore that is used to store canoes. In the interior, the huts are smaller. We were able to see the inside of only two or three lodgings, because the fright that women exhibited at our approach prevented us from frightening them more. Oftentimes, Otokoi would tell us to wait a few moments, then he would go to show himself to the women of the neighborhood gathered together to have them admire his outfit. Many times, we heard him say that his new name was Marescot and that it was Otokoi who had given him these rich presents. Often we would hear conversations being held at a distance between him and women hidden between trees; we must have been the subject of such talk. All of these explanations must have finally succeeded in making us appear less formidable in the eyes of the women of Periadig and even before we arrived at Otokoi's house, they were already not so wild. We had made a large detour to reach this house located on the seashore in the midst of a group of trees, greener and taller than elsewhere. Some huge stalks of a plant, that I believe is called taro, covered the ground here and there an appeared neglected. The light spears of these Indians are made with these soft and light stalks. Inside the hut, five or six older men received us very well and, upon our request, had someone fetch coconuts. Many women who had at first fled came back little by little, specially when we answered negatively to the question made regarding our wishing some of them. This fear is tormenting them a lot and I do not know if they were wholly persuaded about the truth of our assertions. Every time we got up, the women ran away and it was with much hesitation that they came to take from our hands the very tempting gifts.

The women are small and rather ugly. Their clothes consist of a piece of cloth wrapped around the body.. Some also cover their breasts. They had been busy wearing this cloth when we arrived but we did not ask to see it done, so as not to frighten them. We only saw them spin thread with a simple top, but we did not learn from which source came the thread. The women daub their bodies as the men do, with a yellowish and oily substance. They wear plugs of yellow wood inside huge holes in their earlobes. The dec-

orations are uniform, but sometimes they are square and daubed with chalk; that is the only variation that I have observed.

The dirtiness and the smallness of the shelter offered by the hut of our friend Otokoi, plus the disgust caused by the sight of horrible diseases that afflict some of the natives, forced us to return this very day on board. Our request was readily accepted by our *tayo* who must have hesitated to propose it to us and was pleased by the fact that we anticipated his wishes. We took leave of the natives among whom we had spent one or two hours and we returned to the seashore by the way we had come.

Along the way, some women brought us some small lean chickens that they sold to us for trifles. We made them some gifts that at first they received only through the men, then they became familiar enough to come and take them for themselves. Finally, trust increased so much that they came to beg us to fit their overly-split ears with the light and sparkling earrings of colored glass distributed by Mr. Marescot. Seeing that we purchased chickens, for us a precious food after a long sea voyage, the Carolinians, men and women alike, desiring our trade articles, brought us dogs and cats, useless animals in much larger number than the hens in the island where we were.

A curious event occurred to us in one of our exchanges. A magnificent hen was parading in front of a door; I offered various and very tempting objects to the woman who owned it. However, she pointed out that the hen had small chickens. I was increasing my offer in proportion with her reluctance to find out how far her resistance would go, but she remained unshakable even though she was obviously tempted by my offers. When I gave to her all the riches that she desired so as not to let her regret her good action, the poor woman was almost jumping with joy.

Further on, Ikevet's wife brought us a mat for us to sit on, and sent for some coconuts. Finally, in a big hut an old man with a fuller and more beautiful figure than his companions, received us with dignity and invited us to sit down. I was unable to find out if he was a chief, all the natives gave themselves the title of *tamol*, that we suppose means chief by the manner that it is used. They often use this word when they ask for some gift. Besides, I have not seen any act of subordination or respect that might indicate some authority among them. To the contrary, they appear to live in a state of complete independence.

The hut of this man was bigger than those of the other natives. Its interior was also divided a little differently. Generally, in all the huts, two large openings serve as doors and set up a draft in the direction of the longer dimension of the building; at one end can be found two small enclosures made of reeds, very narrow, that are the rooms or beds where the natives sleep. Here, the arrangement was different. The place where the Tamol slept was along the longer wall of the house and, besides, nowhere under the space covered by the roof was there a tool nor a trace of some manual labor.¹ I did not even see a fireplace in it. In any case, these buildings are inferior to those of the Solomon islanders of Api and infinitely below those of Oceania in general.

1 Ed. note: The building was possibly only a meeting hall for the community as a whole.

On the beach we met a few more tamols who took away the rest of our trade objects, by repeated requests. We had seen few men during our trip, our corvettes no doubt had them all around them, whereas only the old men and the sick ones were the ones left to protect the island. One should not then be astonished that we had met so many repugnant and disgusting subjects. Old age is accompanied by a frightening ugliness among these men who appear to become decrepit before their time. When one adds to this scene, already repelling, traces of leprosy, of elephantiasis, of frightful ulcers, there is something to repulse even the eyes of a physician. The young men have, on the other hand, graceful and full forms, but they are not entirely free of the diseases afflicting the old ones. Such diseases seem proper to the race or due to the diet of these islanders.

Ikevet's canoe met us along the way; he came near to speak to us and as the wind was weak, he exchanged his rowing canoe for our sailing canoe, and gave me some fish but not before he received a shirt from me. Until now, I have not seen generosity in native peoples unless there was hope of getting something in return. This behavior is natural among people who have so little, when compared to men who possess so much. A poor man does not make a gift to a rich man.

Nighttime was fast approaching and the Carolinian proas had left for their masters' home in different directions when we reached the ladder of the **Astrolabe**.

Tuesday, 25 December 1838.

Some orange cowrie shells have been brought by the natives; they have little value for the natives and they are surprised at the high offers that collectors made for this precious shell. The blades of the cutlasses shone in their eyes, astonished by so much generosity. These shells must be rare for them not to have brought more than one dozen overall, yet those we have received have been mostly picked up along the way.

Many persons have gone to spend last night on the big island of Ruk. They are little satisfied with the results of their outing which, one must admit, had the purpose of finding women. These inconsiderate requests seem to annoy the natives. They do not dare refuse openly but do not hold their promises either. In their embarrassment, they go so far as to make the weirdest propositions to our lovers. All the women of Tsis Island have left it. The jealousy of the husbands has no doubt made this measure necessary in order to preserve them from the danger of seduction.

The Island of Ruk seems just as poor as Periadig. Agriculture is poor. Hens are scarce. They do not appear to own pigs in the archipelago, perhaps they eat dogs and cats that they own in rather large numbers. Besides, fishing seems to suffice for their food. Fish is very abundant on these shores; they have brought us some beautiful ones. Sharks also abound; the **Zélee** has taken five huge ones in just one night. There is a greater rush of proas today. Big sailing proas, fishing canoes, small craft from Tsis Island, are pushing to get near the ships. No doubt they come from all over the group. These men sometimes spend the whole day near us, sheltered from the rays of the sun by large hats in the shape of a sunshade, and sometimes they face its glare bareheaded. There were moments when the number of canoes was over 40 and that of the Indians

aboard them must often have reached from 300 to 400. If we suppose that half of the male population came to visit us, one can estimate the number of inhabitants of the whole group as 4,000 approximately. This number, however, seems to me below the real number, which is impossible to estimate even approximately.

Wednesday, 26 December 1838.

Today the big boat of the **Astrolabe** was sent on a survey with Mr. Dumoulin and Mr. Duroch. They were to go around Ruk Island and visit various parts of the group that cannot be seen from the anchorage. Today the number of proas appeared smaller than usual and the sellers of orange cowrie shells were much scarcer. The large number of buyers should, however, make them come from neighboring islands, if the shells could be found. So, to find out for ourselves, Mr. Lafond and myself left for the big island to look for the precious *Poniroon Pouin* of the natives. The Commissioner of the **Astrolabe**, Mr. Thanaron, and Mr. Guillou of the **Zéléé**, had already left with different purposes, and even though we were separated in different canoes, we all intended to meet again on the island.

I would have already reached the shore if the canoemen had not decided on a whim to start fishing for their supper before getting ashore. They had already adapted our fish-hooks at the end of their lines and used them successfully. They baited them with the flesh of snails and as sinkers they had purposely brought along some branches of coral. They fixed the coral to their line in such a manner that they could release it on the bottom. The line thus freed of any weight floats freely and does not frighten the fish as much.

While we were fishing for some very pretty red and yellow fishes, the big boat of the **Astrolabe** that I had seen sail beyond the western point of Ruk and which had already passed within a pistol shot from my canoe, suddenly lowered its sail and rowed against the wind towards me. As it had already passed near me, I did not think that such a maneuver was designed to bring me back on board. When Mr. Dumoulin was within shouting range, I finally understood his gesticulations. I obeyed and when I stepped into his boat, I learned that an attack had taken place upon their boat by natives of Ruk Island while it was on the side opposite the one we were at. No-one on our side had fortunately been wounded and at the firing of our guns, a dozen Carolinians had been killed or wounded.

It took place when the boat was among reefs, taking soundings, when a dozen canoes surrounded it. They were from Ruk and began to pelt the boat with green oranges. When Mr. Duroch threw back one of these oranges at one of the attackers, a spear was thrown. This action changed things; the boat was put under sail right away in order to extricate itself from a disadvantageous position on the reef. The Carolinians, thinking that the boat was fleeing, got bolder and pursued it while throwing spears which many times almost wounded Mr. Dumoulin and Mr. Duroch, but soon they received tit for tat when the boat was free from the dangers of the reef. It came back and started firing. The musket and the guns cut down many Indians immediately. All the canoes

fled and later the dead could be seen being carried ashore by their companions. They had been plucked out of their canoes, half broken by the musket, justly immolated by European arms. There was a chief among the assailants. He appeared to direct the attack. It was he who had thrown the first javelin, and two natives who insulted our people by the most obscene signs. All three paid these hostile acts with their life. Many canoes from [blank] Island had witnessed the action without taking part in it. The natives aboard them were even making signs to our canoe to get away from Ruk. They were also waved off just before firing started so that they would not be in the line of fire.

It was very lucky for us that the big boat had met Mr. Lafond as he had led them to our whereabouts. Mr. Thanaron and Mr. Guillou were overtaken farther along the coast. Not knowing the reason for the entreaties they were reluctant to join them but, learning of the unexpected catastrophe from us, they showed just as much energy at joining us. The Commissioner was the only one who was not located. Fortunately, he came back in the evening. He had noticed something unusual in the faces of the natives which made him decide to return. His host brought him back immediately and delivered us from the big worries we had about his fate. We ignored the places where he had gone in order to give assistance and presumed that, on account of the small extent of the island and the arrival of some proas, the news about the skirmish was already known-throughout the island, and perhaps even in the whole group.

Monday, 27 December 1838.

The native canoes did not come alongside the corvettes any more and we noticed that an unfortunate event had come to trouble our previously friendly relationships. Later on, some of the more trusting ones came and among them the faithful Otokoi who came to warn us that a large number of the inhabitants of Ruk had come down to Tsis Island. Indeed, we saw many proas pulled ashore near the sandy spot where we had landed. He even showed us a man daubed with red in a canoe coming alongside. "There is a man from Togwen." "Is he an enemy?" "Yes." "Must we kill him?" "Yes."

These frank answers from Otokoi convinced us about his good faith. He narrated to us, half in gestures, half in very lively words, the battle and the number of dead from Ruk. Their companions wanted to take revenge and had gone armed to Tsis Island. We could see them easily with the telescope; they were in war costume, that is, entirely naked, the hair loose and the body and face smeared red. They held in the hand some light red spears, and some of them, as reported by Mr. Hombron and Mr. Gervaise who had just come from ashore, long and big cutlasses.¹ These gentlemen had gone hunting but, having seen the mood of the natives and received a few stones thrown as a prelude to a more serious attack, they decided to return on board. However, in the afternoon, they went down again but well armed and more numerous, and passed unmolested by the Carolinians, on account of their number and their weapons. Every-

1 Ed. note: These so-called cutlasses were probably machetes obtained by trade with the corvettes themselves.

where, there were natives of Ruk, armed and worried when they encountered them face to face. Oftentimes, they made signs of friendship, dictated no doubt by fear, and which did not prevent a later attack with stones on the men of the big boat. The men had brought and paid for some coconuts from the inoffensive inhabitants of the small island of Tsis and were about to load them. Mr. Demas, who had gone in this boat as an observer, shot one of the more boisterous assailants and wounded him in the shoulder. The Indians fled instantly

All our people came back this evening safe and sound, and we think with pleasure that no more blood will probably be shed as we are leaving tomorrow these islands where our weapons have brought bereavement. Our visit will have brought a strong lesson to these treacherous islanders. Until now we had been inclined to believe that the evil inclinations of the Indians had been exaggerated. Now we can recognize the necessity of the precaution taken by the Commander at the anchorage to have armed the boats. This precaution appeared futile even to the officer in charge of the big boat, until the moment when he had to repulse a sudden and unexpected attack. We had previously had so few opportunities to complain about Indians that we almost doubted that such a thing was possible.

Friday, 28 December 1838.

The proas from Ruk seemed to have spent most of the night at Tsis Island, because we saw a rather large crowd watching our preparations for sailing. Upon the return of the officer gone ashore to take the last astronomical observations, we left the anchorage and, after having passed the reef, we followed it for a while to continue the hydrographic work, then we left it quickly by heading north under an overcast sky that soon hid the highest summits of the Hogoleu, or Ruk, Islands from our view. The rough sea made a disagreeable contrast with the calm waters of the anchorage.

Saturday, 29 December 1838.

The breeze made us go at a constant 7 or 8 knots. We passed by the small islets of the [blank = Namonuito] group surrounded by a huge reef. We did not stop and continued towards the Marianas with winds from the SE and SSE.

Sunday, 30 Decembeer 1838.

Same overcast sky and strong breeze. We sped along at a speed of up to 9 knots, despite a heavy sea and rather large waves. Nothing worth noting during the day, besides the speed of our run.

Monday, 31 December 1838.

The same good weather led us at about 1 p.m. in sight of the south part of Guam. At 5 p.m., we skirted the coast whose mountains lack rich vegetation. Some cliffs and some ravines make the scenery more picturesque than pleasing. Its grey summits have the sad look of a bare and deforested soil, whereas the seashores and the small valleys

present a more beautiful and attractive foliage. Coconut trees can be seen standing out against the dark background and in the middle of groves with much foliage.

A bit sooner and we would have been able to reach the anchorage today, but nighttime came fast. We had to postpone until tomorrow the pleasure of setting foot in a civilized settlement.

Monday, 1 January 1839.

Early in the morning, we rounded Cocos Island and we tacked in order to touch at the small port of Umata, sheltered by high land from the east winds. A canoe left the shore and came towards us. Roughly built, it was far below the Indian canoes, yet it carried the authorities of the land, i.e. the Mayor and the Padre. However, they maneuvered in such a way that they managed to reach the ship only at the point of dropping anchor, made by 7 fathoms, in front of the village of Umata.

This anchorage offers a suitable shelter while the easterlies last but it ceases to be safe during the season of the westerlies that blow towards the beaches. The land appears cheerful; lines of coconut trees hug the shoreline, groves provide shade to a green soil but the high mountains in the background are bare and thinly covered with scarce shrubs.

Encouraged nevertheless to go and take a closer look at this shore, as we are accustomed to do when we see new lands, we left the scenery of the roadstead to go ashore and visit the big house inhabited by the good old mayor, Antonio Guerrero. Some time ago, this building was used as the residence of the governors but today all that is left of its former splendor is the name of palace by which they call it in the village. At a distance is a big church, also falling into ruins and surrounded by the ruins of a convent, abandoned by its inhabitants, and surrendered to the ravages of time. This state of abandonment inspired in yours truly a feeling of compassion that will be increased by new scenes of misery and decline.

The village consists of about 100 huts, badly constructed, open to all winds and repulsively dirty, which makes a sharp contrast with the fresh and pleasing nature around them. A lane bordered by magnificent orange trees, loaded with branches and fruits, makes this scenery one of the most pleasant I have seen.

Tonight we took a stroll in the village and enjoyed breathing the sweet-smelling air loaded with aromatic perfumes from a fertile soil. This hour, the coolest of the day, is the moment chosen by the natives to cook their meals. Indeed, we saw fires burning among the foliage. However, what a surprise to see the natives cook their meat by simply placing it over the flames of an open fire. Surely, most Indians know how to build ovens and show more skill than these men who have been for so long in contact with European civilization. Nevertheless, in the middle of this poverty, rather this degradation, pleasure and happiness reign supreme. The guitar, this instrument of all Spanish countries, resounds at the doorstep of a few huts and accompanies soft and slow songs. The carefree way of life and indolence peculiar to the Spanish nation is the same everywhere. If in Chile we have seen the inhabitants preserve their happy distractions in the

midst of natural disorders, here we see the Chamorros of Guam preferring to suffer from a thousand privations and singing rather than occupy themselves with tasks that would give them more comfort.

While returning to the shore to reach the boat we met all the women of the village returning from church. They walked seriously, in a file, muttering some prayers that they interrupted often at our approach, some to wish us "Buenas noches"—a usual custom of this kind nation and a most charming one for a foreigner.

Tomorrow we intend to go to Agaña, where the Governor resides, about five leagues away and which is decorated with the pompous name of City.

Wednesday, 2 January 1839.

At 4 in the morning, Messieurs Thanaron, Huon, Leguillou and Boyer came aboard the **Astrolabe** to persuade us to follow them to Agaña on foot. Little disposed at the moment, it was only at 8 o'clock that Mr. Duroch and I set out. He was mounted upon the mule of the Mayor and I was astride Domingo's cow. Domingo is a big man who did not stop praising the qualities of his "vaca" during the half-hour walk that it took us to find her. Little accustomed to this weird mount, which appeared to be in general use in the country, I often had trouble preserving my equilibrium on a bad piece of leather that passed for a saddle, and without stirrups. A rope passing through a hole made in the wall of the animal's nostrils served as a bridle. Soon, however, we climbed the steep mountains that barred our way, and by very bad roads, provided with stones that turn them into steps for more comfort, we reached the edge of a pleasing beach. Unfortunately, we had to go around a headland by wading in the water and my mount, hot as it was, insisted in a complete dip at the expense of my clothes. This desire stayed with it during the whole trip; instead of crossing the streams at the rough bridges that cover them, the damned beast dragged me inevitably to the middle of the water. Finally, after all these trials we reached the Agat Road. When we neared this *pueblo*, village, the road became more beautiful with a double row of wild lemon trees, and leafy trees provided some shade. The air was fresh, birds were alive in the shrubbery. It was a pleasant outing by a fine morning.

At a short distance from the village of Agat, or Aghat, we learned at a hut that the officers of the **Zéléé** who were preceding us were still at the house of the curate of this *pueblo*. We hurried to leave and, after passing through a long lane with wooden huts similar to those of Umata but perhaps a little better built and tidier, we reached the presbytery, right next to a rather pretty church, the only stone building in the place. These gentlemen were still at the table in front of a good lunch. The Padre, Don Manuel de la Encarnación, received us politely and invited us to take part in the meal. Our appetite, aroused by our run, readily accepted to take a seat next to our companions and to partake of the Spanish dishes offered us.

Padre Manuel is a young man, big and fat and fond of music. He complained bitterly about his stay in the Marianas. He compared them to a desert and his existence to a painful exile. The conversation returned continuously to this subject and was full of re-

grets for Manila which he called a paradise by comparison. After lunch the Padre gave us a sample of the music that he has been able to organize in this village: one violin, one flute, one bad piano joined their harmony and played some pleasing but often very profane tunes. We were making comments about it when, to our surprise, the Padre came forward at the sound of the prelude to a fast waltz and asked for the hand of Mr. Tharnaron. They pirouetted for half an hour in view of his parishioners assembled in front of the doorway. This scene did not seem to scandalize them at all, or removed the least bit of respect that they held for him. They appeared accustomed to seeing their pastor having a good time and came as before to kiss his hand, hat off, and to ask for his blessing with a humble and submissive voice. He, on the other hand, head up, with a strong and often rude voice, gave orders, made decisions like a supreme chief; he acted in such a way that one would have believed that he was of a nature entirely different from the unfortunate Indians around him.

Full of attention, this man, made more for dissipation and pleasure than for monastic life, had us look around the village for the number of cows necessary to provide mounts for the rest of our companions. We would have kept the best opinion of his politeness but, after a few minutes, we recognized that it had one purpose, that of selling us some chickens and ducks. Already Padre José de la Concepción had openly made us offers to supply the ships. This one, not so bold, was doing it through a third party. A mess officer was fortunately among us, and the purchase of a few dozen hens satisfied, I suppose, the wishes of our host.

I had often heard of the dissoluteness of the Spanish clergy, but I did not believe it to be so openly displayed. It was obvious that two women who lived with the Padre did not have any other purpose than to satisfy his passions. A bed, placed at two paces from his, the only one in the house, confirmed this thought even though he did not himself admit such a breach of the rules of his religion. One of his greatest complaints was the absence of people from Manila and above all its women.

The day was advancing, i.e. in more precise language, it was 2 p.m. when the cows arrived to cut short our critical comments about the Padre and urge us to pursue our trip towards Agaña.

It was an interesting scene, one that could have made our countrymen laugh, if they had seen this cavalcade with bulls and cows. One had to witness our inexperienced maneuvers over a smooth road and the disorder of our trajectories. The regular movement of the long tails of the quadrupeds were just as regularly beating our own flanks, whereas they showed menacing horns to any neighbor carried too near them, despite themselves, by their own impetuous mount. One had to see the continuous commotion, the contorsions of the shaky riders, the shouts and the falls in order to fully appreciate the comical nature of such a scene. A short ride, however, was sufficient to season us and from then on as intrepid riders we pushed the pace of our cows up the slope of bare hills where short grass replaces the vegetation of the valley of Aghat.

In front of us three riders appeared in the distance, not on cows this time, but on small mules. Our guides had us believe at first that it was the Governor on his way to

a country house near Aghat in order to be closer to the corvettes, but soon they said otherwise and named Don Felix Calvo, Treasurer, Don Bernardo del Rosario, curate of Agaña and Apostolic Vicar, and finally Don Luis Torres, who also fulfills public functions in the colony. We dismounted upon meeting them and after endless greetings we learned that they were sent by the Governor, Don Casillas. Already this morning, he had dispatched a letter that placed the palace of Umata at our disposal; these gentlemen were charged with the task of completing these friendly offers. These gentlemen indicated to us where to find their house in Agaña, telling us that we had to stay there, that it was a must as there was no inn. They even wanted us to promise to do so, and after a thousand compliments and goodbyes, we left them to pursue our way on the slopes where we met them.

The road now led us through a green prairie cut by numerous streams and converted to vast rice fields. The sun set while we were crossing them. We had lost much time along the way. It was twilight when we reached a village at one mile from Agaña, and night-time when we entered the main street of the capital of the Marianas.

We went immediately to the Torres' home, more to seek information about a lodging than to install ourselves with Mrs. Torres in the absence of her husband, but this lady insisted with such kindness in her offers of hospitality that we would have finally accepted, if a messenger from the Governor had not come for us and thus relieved the good Mrs. Torres from the more or less uncomfortable presence of six visiting strangers. "Surely," she told us, "the Governor is going to keep you and I will not have the pleasure to have you in my home; my husband will be disappointed." Mr. Leguillou alone promised to stay while we went on to see the Governor. Don Casillas Salazar received us with open arms. "You should have come here right away, you will stay here, here are your beds, make yourself at home, relax," were sentences constantly repeated. He is lean and appears sickly. His small height gives him a puny appearance that surprised us at first but that we soon forgot in the midst of the kind attentions he showed to us. Soon supper was served and came right on time to soothe our irritated stomachs. A very lively conversation followed it, and it was fairly late into the night when we abandoned ourselves to sleep, in spite of the sharp shouts of the sentinels, the sound of the bell and the noise of the drum that resounded every half hour. We were all sleeping soundly except Huon who, dreaming about being still on his bull, threw himself off his bed while thinking he was falling off his mount.

Thursday, 3 January 1839.

We were up early but the Governor, an early riser too, had breakfast served before we went out. We finished it quickly but not before almost choking while trying to contain an outburst of laughter, when Mr. D., mistaken about the color of the coffee, complimented the Governor on his excellent tea. We left the palace at once to go and visit Agaña in detail.

There are only three streets, all parallel to the seashore. There are many stone houses and most of the huts are bigger and appear better kept than those we had seen already.

The construction of the latter is everywhere the same; they are raised upon a large number of piles, from 2 to 3 feet high, which leaves a free space for the barnyard animals that live there in peace. Only three buildings attracted our attention amid these houses; they were: the church, the college and the palace. The church is a large building with an old-style massive construction. Some silver lamps, a few gilded frames and two wooden statues, 3-feet high, are the main ornaments. The college, built in the shape of a horseshoe, has a rather large facade. We were already expecting to meet a large group of school children, and even intended to usurp the power of potentates by requesting a day off for them, when, to our great surprise, we saw only 32 magnificent fighting cocks inside the building, tied in two facing rows. The sacristan who was guiding us, however, showed us a list of pupils numbering 30, and made us visit the halls of the house. They had been converted into store-rooms for the famous cocks of Father Bernardo, Director of the College, where he lives.

The palace is a rather common building, surrounded by trenches adorned with cannon pointing seaward. Moreover, it does not offer anything worthy of note. A company of soldiers is lodged there and is on constant guard duty. They are natives commanded by other natives because there are only 7 whites on the whole island, viz. the Governor, the three Padres, the Treasurer, the Mayor of Umata, and the Captain of the port of Agaña, an honorary title given to a Scot,¹ because there is no good anchorage in front of Agaña. The ships that want to get nearer Agaña drop anchor among the shoals of Port San Luis [de Apra]. An English whaling ship can be found there at the moment.

Agaña, its buildings, its stone houses, its wooden ones, are soon visited. After having hoped to find something noteworthy, curiosity, now satisfied, gives way to a feeling of pity. The decay and ruin of this Spanish colony is everywhere in evidence. Misery is everywhere. We left this village, or rather town, as the inhabitants call it, to visit the countryside covered by a forest of coconut trees. Everywhere the ground is flat, pleasant and fertile. Soon the heat of the day forced us to stop by the sides of a stream where we took a bath.

The coconut trees covering the land constitute a natural resource of the island, one that the inhabitants exploit to make coconut brandy. This liquor is very strong, very clear, and rather pleasant to the taste. Unfortunately, the natives do not have any way to sell it except to a few rare whalers. They themselves consume a lot of it, which must probably be one of the great cause of the decline in which the inhabitants of Guam live.

In Agaña, the people appeared to us in better health and prettier than at Umata. This is probably due to the mixture of Spanish blood that is greater in the town than everywhere else in the island. We have indeed noticed a few very white persons, and some rather pretty women. They made a contrast in the midst of the Chamorros, the name of the ancient inhabitants of Guam which has been kept to indicate their nationality. Generally, they are very dark, their features are ugly and their intelligence appears

1 Ed. note: Juan Anderson.

very limited. They often had such a dazed look when staring at us that it was impossible not to compare them with morons. However, we have met some exceptions, specially among the owners of shells who wished to sell them to us. Their movements were rather lively.

We went back to the palace at 4 o'clock for dinner in which took part Mr. Martinez, recently appointed Mayor of Rota, a man of mixed blood who appears to enjoy much trust in the Marianas, Mr. Torres Junior, Secretary of the Governor and Officer of the Guard. During the meal animated by a continuous conversation, we learned the following information:

Approximately six thousand inhabitants live in Agaña, about 1,000 to 1,300 in Aghat, at most 600 in Umata. No tax burdens the population of the Marianas, some subsidies are even granted for agriculture. Unfortunately, some bad administrations, instead of pursuing an objective of improving the public works of the colony, have left in decline the resources and the means that still existed a few years ago.

Governor Medinilla still owned when he arrived in Guam many herds of animals belonging to the Government and destined to increase and maintain their breed in the islands; bulls and cows are the only ones in satisfactory numbers at present. Such is, they told us, the indolence and carefree attitude of the natives that they seem to attract the Government's neglect by their apathy. The thirst for gain would quickly destroy the remaining resources, if the opportunity presented itself to part with them. Such is the sad story about these colonies, flourishing in the old days, and that still possess all the elements for wealth and prosperity that one would expect from a fertile soil and a favorable climate. All that is missing is a little work to create the sources of well-being that the wretched natives now lack. Manila, the metropolis of these Spanish colonies in the Indies, has almost entirely abandoned these islands to which it has lent assistance for so long. Scarcely every 3 or 4 years, a ship comes to bring to the Government stores the required clothing for the Mariano people, as well as a few other supplies of industrial materiel.

The Governors of the Marianas are appointed for ten years. Their salary is about 18,000 francs. Unfortunately, these positions are given most often as a reward to some military officers who, little accustomed to administer, allow real wrongs to spread in the country without even realizing it. The one Governor before last, Mr. Medinilla, the one who received Commander d'Urville so well on the last expedition of the **Astrolabe**, seems to have caused great harm to the interest of the Mariana Islands, leaving, through complete neglect, situations without remedy out of the resources that still existed.

This man, good but weak, died nearly penniless in Manila a few years ago. He had shown as much indifference in his personal affairs as he had in his public administration. A great joy was given to him, however at that time of his life, by the decoration of the Légion d'honneur that was granted to him by the French Government as a reward for services rendered to the expedition of Commander d'Urville in the years 1827 or 1828.

The present Governor, Don Casillas Salazar, Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry, while recognizing and admitting the precarious state of the country under his direction, unfortunately finds himself in the impossibility of bringing a quick and efficient remedy to it.

Public order in the Marianas is in the hands of a small and badly trained militia. Many forts defend Guam but they are falling into ruin and are not garrisoned. The only troop afoot is that doing guard duty at the Governor's palace. It also maintains public order by making nightly rounds in Agaña, which moreover does not appear to need such a supervision to enjoy the most perfect calm.

The Marianas, like almost all the lands in areas neighboring active volcanoes, frequently experience earthquakes. The years 1809, 1822, 1825 and 1834 were specially noteworthy for the violence of the quakes. The last two years of 1837 and 1838 had brought but three light earthquakes in the archipelago. However, during October 1837—the precise date was not given—an extraordinary movement took place at sea. A sort of storm disrupted it and invading various high parts of the shore, causing landslides and considerable damage at different places. In 1809 and in 1825, similar movements had occurred and also caused landslides. Some ships have been hit very violently in the neighborhood of Guam in the same periods. These tremors have coincided with eruptions of the volcanoes of Asunción and Pagan; it was observed also that the movement seemed to come from the NE.

It was at the time of the extraordinary movement of the sea in October 1837 that was recorded the disappearance of four low islands in the Caroline archipelago, named Elato, Satawal, Lamourcha, and Goulai. Of these four, two still show part of the former land above sea level; the other two are but large shoals. Part of the population of these submerged islands has, following the catastrophe, sought asylum in the Mariana Islands. The Government has granted them the island of Saypan, where about 60 of them have settled. Mr. Martinez cannot specify if one or more earthquakes have accompanied the disappearance of these islands. The fact of their submersion appears well known as many persons present at the conversation have certified.¹

The present Governor was at precisely that time in route to the Marianas. He had to endure very bad weather. One night, the ship was shaken to such an extent that they thought it had touched bottom and a little later a furious typhoon almost made them perish and made them hesitate to decide whether to cut the masts or not in order to relieve the ship.

The Carolinian Indians frequently visit the Mariana Islands in their proas. They underake these hazardous navigations guided by the stars and they perform passages of two hundred leagues. In the old days, the Mariana people were also courageous navigators but they appear to have lost all their primitive talents. A physical as well as

¹ Ed. note: The islands of Elato, Satawal, Lamotrek and Woleai still exist, but they were supposedly hit by a tsunami, in 1837, that submerged them but only a few islets may have disappeared, while others may have appeared.

moral degeneration seems to have followed Spanish domination, so much so that today these men hardly dare to go outside the reef for fishing; their craft are well below those of savages and they do not even know how to handle them.

This evening, there was much talk about a white substance that is formed on a mountain in the neighborhood of Agaña. Soft at first, it hardens in the air and becomes transparent. A sample was shown to us and I can compare it only to alum by its look; it is tasteless. The Governor intends to have some collected for our geologists.

The meal ended late, and before leaving the table we proposed a toast to the health of our kind Governor who had received us so well and we also gave him our thanks. Tears sparkled in his eyes and this man, sensitive as well as good, was forced to leave the table so as not to show us his weakness. The welcome we have received at his home has been the kindest; little accustomed to similar meetings, Mr. Salazar has expressed to us so often and so sharply the pleasure that he felt in our presence that we would have willingly stayed one more day except that many of us had to return aboard. We wanted to say goodbye to him tonight but, in spite of a state of health that gave him acute pains, the Governor wanted to accompany us for a while, tomorrow morning, along the oad to Umata.

Before bedtime, we went out for a stroll in the village. It was hardly night-time and already the whole of Agaña was asleep. The doors were closed, a few lamps still burned through the slits in the walls, amid the silence disturbed only by the barkings of the dogs and the grunts of the pigs. We only regretted not to have visited Mrs. Torres as it was proper for us to do after her kind welcome. Unfortunately, a mistake made us postpone this step until the last moment, and we will leave without having accomplished it.

Friday, 4 January 1839.

Early in the morning, we left for Umata. The Governor had cared to arrange for some mules, mounts that are much more pleasant than our earlier cows. He accompanied us almost as far as Assan and left us there to return to Agaña. Our return was not marked by any incident worth noting. We passed by a road that had been built over land submerged by the sea that we had not seen in the darkness accompanying our first trip. These works, destined to ease road travel, are unfortunately falling into ruin. They were the doing of the Government at more flourishing times; today, they are falling into ruin. Near that spot, there is a small stone monument topped by a cross. The speed of our journey did not allow us to know the reason for it.

We saw once again the port of Apra, with the English ship at anchor, the Cape of Orote, and finally we arrived at Aghat where we made a long halt at the house of the curate. Although he was absent, his servants readily offered us some lemonade, the only drink at their disposal, while telling us that Padre Manuel had gone to Umata with his band with the intention to provide dances for the two corvettes.

At 2 p.m., we reached Umata, after having met along the way Messieurs Bernardo, Calvo and Torres who were going back to Agaña bringing Mr. Dumoulin with them.

The owners of our mules arrived at the same time as we, thanks to the long halt that we had made in Agat.

One of the first persons whom we met was none other than Padre Manuel who had taken lodging in a little house near the church with all his musicians and who invited us to hear the music and to dance so as to forget the boredom of a stay in the Marianas.

Saturday, 5 January 1829.

Umata, this village so calm at our arrival, has taken a lively air due to the presence of our sailors installed ashore for various tasks. The natives are busying themselves in order to earn some money from the strangers. They offer food, chickens already cooked, blue cotton cloth made in the island, coconuts, oranges, bananas, and shells. The latter are often very beautiful; many of them are cowrie shells known as "partridge eyes," as well as other kinds that are very shiny. These wretched Chamorros used every means to get a few coins. Many of them have discovered a peculiar enterprise; it consists of having some young girls and boys dance for one real; as the cuteness of a little girl dancing had made us give a few more reals, we are now being pursued from everywhere with invitations to attend new dances that, by the way, have nothing interesting as they are all Spanish dances. None of those we have seen had anything resembling a primitive national dance. In this regard, the Mariano people seem to have lost even the most deep-rooted customs of savage peoples. Only their houses and their language indicate their primitive origin. Spanish is not generally spoken by the natives; it happens often that we meet some who understand it very little. The common language is Chamorro which, in my opinion, has strong relationships with the languages of Oceania. One of the distinctive customs of the true Indians is to make a peculiar and very piercing cry to call one another at great distances. This cry is the one made by the soldiers of the guard and is heard clearly; it is a guttural and sharp sound at the same time, one that I have been unable to duplicate no matter how many times I tried.

The clothing of Guam is simple; it consists for the men of wearing a shirt made of blue or white cotton cloth on top of pants of a similar nature. The men who work in the fields remove the shirt and oftentimes have but very short pants on. We have sometimes met children 13 or 14 years old who are completely naked; one of them had a belt of leaves to hide his nakedness. The natives go barefoot, except when they go on errands; that is when they wear sandals tied to the feet by some straps. Most of them also carry a big knife some 10 to 14 inches in length. This tool, used by them for work in the field, is always tied to their belt. The women cover themselves simply with a skirt from the waist down to the feet, and to cover the bust a very small blouse that let you see the skin between the two pieces of clothing. Their hair is smoothened with coconut oil; they wear it in a tuft on the back of the head. A rosary completes their dress. Like the men, they remove this shirt while working around the house and put it on only to appear in public and oftentimes this precaution is neglected.

The devotion of the people appears to be very great. Each house has a tiny altar decorated with the image of a saint, or a warrior equally well, before which constantly burns a lamp of coconut oil. In the evening, during our delightful strolls under the orange trees, we heard at every step the murmur of the prayers from one hut mixed with the sounds of music coming from another. Sometimes, we have faced the risk of vermin to enter the houses and attend these evening prayers but unfortunately the charm was broken by our presence. It happened also that, following such acts of piety, young women would stealthily deliver themselves to the attentive requests of our sailors who thus faced at the same time leprosy, dirtiness, ugliness and vermin.

The night is everywhere saddened inside the residence of these men. Misery is starkly revealed. Wild men, it is true, suffer from as many privations, but at least they do not display their sores like these and besides, they are more industrious, in my opinion. In the huts of Umata, I have seen entire families having no beds other than the floor boards of their hut; savages have mats at least. One string hammock is used by the husband or the wife and the rest of the family sleeps as they can. Still, these people live on one of the richest soils in the world and could procure themselves some enjoyment and a comfortable life, very easily.

Sunday, 8 January 1839.

The climate of the Mariana Islands is generally thought to be very healthy. However, the people are victims of numerous diseases, first of which is leprosy. This terrible affliction is very common and one meets at every step in Umata unfortunate beings attacked by this terrible and slow dissolution. This public plague has long attracted the attention of the authorities who have established a hospital on the island of Saypan¹ for the worst cases among the lepers. a public revenue tax imposed on various Guam products and, in particular, those of the island of Rota or Tinian, as well as a tax on cockfights, are intended for its maintenance. About 20 sick people are presently maintained in this institution that bears the name of St. Lazarus. Elephantiasis is also one of the plagues of these islands but it appears less common than leprosy.

Among all the revenues applied to St. Lazarus Hospital, the most productive may be that from cockfights. The passion of the Mariano people for this game is extreme. Both men and women gather around the feathered fighters, often while smoking huge cigars; they follow their every move with the greatest attention. The game is authorized only on Sundays and not only it becomes a means of tax paying for the players, but also it does not take place except in the presence of the authorities, i.e. the *gobernaorcillo*, a sort of village mayor, or one of his delegates. These rules have been somewhat broken during our presence in Umata. The sailors, before eating the fowl had them fight first. The Marianos did not have any objections, selling their weak cocks, then regaining them by having them knocked out by stronger ones.

1 Ed. note: This is the first mention of the leprosarium of Saypan.

The general custom of the Spaniards for smoking exists here also and strongly. The difference is that the women seem to use it more than the men. One can see constantly at their mouth a cigar 3 to 4 inches long and very big. They are made of tobacco grown in the Marianas. They roll the leaves after no other preparation than a good drying, then they tie them with light threads to make them keep their shape.

Monday, 7 January 1839.

This afternoon, Governor Casillas arrived at Umata. The village bells announced his arrival and the authorities went to meet him. The reason for the Governor's trip is the yearly elections of *gobernadorcillos* and other members of the commune or municipal administration that occur between January 1st and 20th in the Marianas. He has to preside in person and to make an official visit of all the villages under his jurisdiction. He must also travel to the islands of Saypan, Rota and Tinian and for this purpose he receives from the Government a supplement to his salary. These islands are with Guam the only ones inhabited by natives and in the archipelago there can be found also, they say, a small Anglo-American colony, somewhat independent, even though recognizing the rights of the Spanish Government.

Here is a list of the salaried employees of the colony appointed by the Governor General in Manila as well as their salaries:

—A Military and Political Governor, appointed for six years: yearly salary \$1,800 + allowance for sailing to the various islands of the archipelago \$500 =

| | |
|--|---------|
| Total | \$2,300 |
| —One Sergeant-Major | \$300 |
| —One Adjutant | \$144 |
| —One Adjutant 2nd class | \$120 |
| —One Captain | \$168 |
| —One Lieutenant | \$120 |
| —One Second-Lieutenant ¹ | \$108 |
| —One Sergeant 1st class | \$84 |
| —Three Sergeants 2nd class @ \$72 .. | \$216 |
| —Two Corporals 1st class @ \$60 | \$120 |
| —Two Corporals 2nd class @ \$60 | \$120 |
| —Two Drummers @ \$48 | \$96 |
| —44 Soldiers @ \$48 | \$2,112 |
| | ----- |
| Total for military employees | \$6,008 |
| —One Port Captain | \$96 |
| —One Government Secretary ² | \$108 |

1 Mr. Torres, Jr., half-breed.

2 A young half-breed.

| | |
|--|--------|
| —One Government Treasurer ¹ | \$600 |
| —One Storekeeper ² | \$108 |
| —One Man-servant | \$30 |
| —One Master Armourer | \$84 |
| —One Mayor of Tinian, \$12/month with help of 12 servants at \$1/mth and 2 servants at 10 reals each | \$318 |
| —One Mayor of Rota, ³ \$12/month and 2 servants at 10 reals each ... | \$174 |
| —For invalid and retired personnel ... | \$290 |
| —For various expenses, land purchases, damages, etc. | \$200 |
| | ----- |
| General total: Gold pesos | \$8016 |
| | ==== |

Such is the total amount for the personnel budget of the administration of the Marianas. I do not think that other disbursements are made by Manila. The islands must be self-sufficient. They do not have to pay any taxes and besides have the extreme advantage of ports free of all usage or customs fees. Well, despite these extraordinary terms these Spanish settlements decline more and more.

Besides the above-mentioned military forces, an urban militia has been created; armed with lances, rifles, or even bows and arrows, and with regulations and orders. Tonight, one of the lance men of Umata in shirt and short pants is doing guard duty in front of the palace where the Governor has stopped. Tomorrow he will continue his trip to Inarahan or Merizo and will be back on the eve of our departure.

Tuesday, 8 January 1839.

Despite the wise regulations that specify that each farmer must plant five useful plants a year, despite the subsidies given to agriculture, it appears that the apathy of the natives blocks a large part of these efforts for improvement. At any rate, in our walks in the countryside, we have not seen any culture corresponding to the idea of much work on the part of these men. We hardly noticed a few fields, small, where potatoes were grown. Behind Umata, by following a stream, one enters a valley where every condition is met for a proper exploitation of the land. However, everything is still waste land or in a state nearing abandonment. Big reeds are alone by the edges of a flat portion of land covered with dense growth where the deer come to seek refuge. Often, they are hunted on the very edge of Umata, and the hunters have no trouble finding these animals when they go after them.

Many of our officers, upon the invitation of Padre José, had gone deer hunting in Inarahan where these animals are even more numerous than elsewhere. After having

1 Mr. Calvo, Spaniard.

2 Torres, Sr., half-breed.

3 Mr. Martinez, half-breed.

spent one night at the Padre's residence, they set out early to hunt. They have killed one large one after they killed five or six. After that, they have visited the pig herds of their host and have ended up provisioning the ships with fresh meat, beneficial both to our crews and to the right reverend trading fathers. Moreover, Don José seems to be associated with Padre Manuel. They breed and sell animals and split 50-50. We have even been told that Padre Manuel had almost been put in jail for cheating, and if he escaped punishment, it was due to the influence of his position. The Governor, moreover, does not like him and was forced to restraint himself and not pronounce judgment himself in the dispute involving this priest and a whaling captain.

The Padres in turn give back to the Governor as little esteem as he has for them. Manuel, in particular, calls him "the Devil" and makes disparaging remarks about him in front of his parishioners. However, despite the constraint imposed upon the Governor due to the fact of their position of influence upon the minds of the natives, position that is supported by powerful interests in Manila, these Padres do not dare to flaunt their scandalous conduct openly in his presence. Thus, yesterday, Don Manuel did not make any music at home and dancing was prohibited in his house, whereas everyday, today, for instance, dances and songs move at a brisk pace. Nothing is more bizarre than seeing men dancing together; however, a weird conduct may be explained by the complete lack of entertainment during our long evenings. Tonight all the young officers attend Padre Manuel's ball while at the same time blaming his conduct. Mr. Jacquinet himself is coming along tonight.

One of the women we have seen at the Padre's house in Aghat has come here with him. However, to maintain appearances a little, she does not come out in public. We have seen her sitting the whole evening under a shed near the shore, patiently waiting no doubt for the happy meeting to be over in order to go back to her lodging. Moreover, the same dissoluteness appears to exist with the other two friars. José has a mistress and Bernardo, the Apostolic Vicar, publicly maintains a girl who is reputed to be the prettiest one in Agaña. When the Governor was telling us in Agaña, while shaking his head: "Our gentlemen priests do not enlighten their flocks; to the contrary, they give them the worst examples. They must be watched constantly," we were far from imagining then the dissoluteness of a conduct that we have since been able to observe at leisure.

The salaries of the priests is 364 pesos per year. They receive in addition some travel expenses when they go to other islands in the group by order of the Governor, and above that comes contingent income, that, if not much in monetary terms, must bring a lot in food. That is the manner in which many payments are made because money is scarce in the Marianas. It is estimated that only about \$2,000 are presently in circulation.

I have probably made a mistake in estimating the population of Agat and of Umata, because I see in a note given by Padre José to Mr. Ducorps that the village of Inarahan has 58 houses and 281 inhabitants, that of Merizo 79 houses and 338 inhabitants. Umata, although it has probably more people than the former, must not, however, surpass that number by much.

Wednesday, 9 January 1839.

Today, the Governor was back from his electoral tour. He was received with the same demonstrations of respect as for the first time, bells ringing, authorities accompanying him, etc. etc. Invited to dinner by Commander d'Urville, he received a nine-gun salute and stayed aboard until nightfall.

Much different impressions were felt by those who have gone to visit Mr. Casillas Salazar in Agaña; such persons including Messieurs Thanaron, Duroch, Huon, Leguilou, Boyer and myself, as well as Messieurs Dubouzet and Dumoulin, have nothing but great praise for the kind welcome we have received. As opposed to these pleasant remembrances, Messieurs Marescot, Montravel, Jacquinet, Lafond and Gervaise have nothing but disappointments and discourtesies to enumerate. Such an extraordinary conduct by the Governor is unthinkable, unless some mistake was very probably made. It must be noted, moreover, that these gentlemen do not speak Spanish or very little of it. An event happened on top of that to complicate their bad humor. A policeman had wanted to expel them from Aghat when they stopped there. This man, we were told later, was half crazy but the truth is, I believe, that he did not recognize these gentlemen by their uniforms and he mistook them for sailors or deserters from the English whaler and he simply wanted to carry out the police laws of the country. Be that as it may, I think that only a complete misunderstanding was the cause of the unhappiness of these gentlemen. I could not willingly think that the person who received us so well would be the same person who was deliberately impolite and rude towards our companions.

However that may be, Mr. Salazar, after having dined on board the **Astrolabe**, went ashore and received our goodbyes. He was ready to leave, and Don Manuel who had left his orchestra quiet was ready to start the ball rolling, when Mr. Dumoutier, by his going to the palace, detained the Governor for one hour while he gave him a phrenological examination of the cranium. He found very many qualities that pleased its proud owner. Padre Bernardo also wished to have his head examined and when Mr. D. announced that he loved women a lot, he answered: "Yes, a lot, it is true."

This scene was very funny and would have made a good theme for a very pretty painting. Amid various medical tools, there were Messieurs Dumoulin, Coupvent and the Governor forming a group apart. In a big easy chair, there was tall Padre Bernardo, in a long white robe, his tonsured head mostly free of hair in the hands of the short Mr. Dumoutier who, standing behind the chair, made the peculiar head of the priest appear in sharp contrast against his black clothes. Next to him were Messieurs Torres and Calvo with their eyes wide open and upon their faces an expression of curiosity, whereas towards the doorway, a 6-foot giant, as big as he was tall and as drunk as tall, Anderson, this Scot turned Spaniard by I do not know what adventures, looked upon this phrenological scene with half-drunk disdain. "Nonsense!" said he at the end, while rubbing his dirty red jacket against my shoulder. "Do you believe that? Say, do you believe that? Put, put, put, that small man, small man, that good-for-nothing," and he accompanied his words by an undescrivable gesture, opening the index finger and thumb of his right hand and by a gradual motion of his wrist appeared to want to measure the

small size of Mr. Dumoutier. Frightened by the friendly overture of this Hercules, as brutish as he was tall, I quickly stepped away, after having lost my breath in one of his drunken embraces. A native, carrying a plate of areca and betel nuts, whose stupid face indicated a complete lack of understanding of what was going on, completed this curious scene.

Finally, the Governor, abandoned by his whole retinue that stayed behind to wish us a good trip, went away surrounded by soldiers bearing torches and as soon as their light reached the end of the orange tree lane, Padre Manuel's band led a noisy troop to the hall of the palace. I do not need to emphasize the noise that succeeded to the silence that prevailed in the presence of the Governor. The waltz, the beguine, even French country dances were tried. Everyone joined in, first the three Padres with their white robes, Mr. Torres, Mr. Calvo, etc. and finally even the big Anderson who, abandoning the wine bottles that had been brought from the ships to treat the Padres (they having found it good aboard the corvettes, appeared to wish to get tipsy once more with it), shook the building with his huge bounding steps. Such was the uproar of that memorable evening that the poor palace creaked under the weight of the dancers and finally a beam yielded under the stress. Poor Mayor! He seemed dazed by a rumpus such as the palace had never seen. Finally, the hour of departure came, the music accompanied us as far as the humble stone cross by the seashore where we said our goodbyes to the happy Padres. However, Manuel did not want to leave us; he followed us to the edge of the water while expressing his regrets for such a quick separation. "It will be a long time," said he, with a mournful face, "before I get a similar recreation in the middle of these Indians."

We embarked by torchlight and to the tune of the water hymn, sung by those present. Little by little, however, the lights went out, the music stopped and before the boat reached the corvette, the shore had returned to its usual tranquility.

Thursday, 10 January 1839.

Early in the morning, preparations for sailing were made. We were already under sail when the boat bringing back the engineer and the physics instruments arrived alongside. As soon as the corvettes were no longer sheltered by the land, the steady winds from the SE inflated our sails and propelled us so fast that in a few hours we lost sight of the coasts of Guam.

Weather continued to be nice and favorable. Some booby gannets were seen near the ship this evening.

Friday, 11 January 1839.

Nice weather with the sea a little choppy. It rained during the day following some light showers.

Saturday, 12 January 1839.

Same weather except that the sea was nicer. Some boobies followed the ship.

Sunday, 13 January 1839.

Nice weather and nice sea. We made good progress towards the island of Guap that was sighted at about 1 p.m. from the yards of the topgallant sail. Soon we were skirting the coast. This rather low island seems to be well populated. We saw many houses built on the shore. They are big and their construction seems much more perfect than that of the other savage peoples we have visited. We also could see plots of land carefully cultivated. Everything indicated a level of industry more advanced or at least more active than among our friends of the Marianas. At the same time, the skin of the inhabitants appears more yellow. I forgot to say about Guam that the skin color there appeared to me darker than that of the Indians of Ruk, whereas those of Guap appears to have the same complexion.

A large number of light canoes left the reefs bordering the coast and came near us. However, the men on board them did not ask to come aboard. They expressed various wishes that showed previous contacts with Europeans. Their face is peaceful and their voice pleasant. After having hove to for a while, we continued our run in the middle of canoes maneuvering about the ships. This spectacle pleased us very much.

The clothing of the natives has nothing worthy of note. They simply cover their shameful parts by means of an apron or maro but they wear the Carolinian hat of Ruk; most of those we saw had one on. It appeared to me that they simply said Uap, and not Guap, to indicate the name of their island. However, the distance did not allow me to become sure about this.

Monday, 14 January 1839.

Nice weather, nice sea. We are headed for the Pelew Islands. Our run is still favorable.

Tuesday, 15 January 1839.

The sea and the weather continued to be very nice. We glided effortlessly towards the Pelew Islands which were sighted in the morning. Soon we reached them and we could see them from close up. They consist of many separate islands, large and small, grouped within a single reef. However, we crossed them by a strait that is located at the southern end of the group.

A large number of canoes left the beaches, infertile in appearance, of the Pelew Islands to reach our ships. They brought us some small men with a darker skin color than the people of Guap, Ruk or Nuguor. Their features are much more ugly. Many of these savages came on deck and offered us some shells, turtle shell and various objects of their industry; in exchange, they asked for cloth and iron, and they even showed us various pieces of money, copper coins of Spanish origin, to pay for the objects they wanted. We were, however, more impressed by the Spanish and English words they used, thus proving, more so than the coins, that they have regular contact with European ships.

We were about to pursue our voyage, and clear our deck of all these repulsive natives, when two men of small size, joined their frail arms, and begged the commander

to take them away and save them from the miserable life that they suffered in these islands; very luckily for them, the commander could speak Malay and understood their story.

These two men came from the crew of a boat that was pushed by bad weather as far as the Pelew Islands; there were seven of them when the shipwreck forced them into the hands of the natives who killed two of them instantly, stripped the others of all they had and carried them off to various islands of the group, thus giving the opposite portrait of the character of these savages than the one painted by Captain Wilson of the **Antelope**. Many months had already passed since these Malays had been reduced to a very painful state of slavery, without any possibility of escaping, because they were kept under close watch and it was forbidden for them to go aboard passing ships. Today, their common master had been less distrustful than usual, and had allowed them to accompany him on his visit to the **Astrolabe**.

The commander, touched by their pleas, agreed to take them away from their unfortunate condition; he gave the order that they should be kept on board, and immediately a very entertaining scene developed. As soon as their master learned of their desertion, his eyes became big, and his mouth, made red and misshapen by the use of betel nut, common to all natives, dropped open; at first, he appeared stunned, then he claimed his slaves back, and ordered them to return at once to his canoe. With angry features, he called upon his countrymen and pointed at the would-be deserters, who refused to follow him. He protested and insulted them in turn. Finally, our captain of the guards, entrusted with the task of clearing the deck, pushed him forcibly towards the top of the ladder; a few strong sailors then grabbed him and threw him without ceremony into his canoe. We immediately set sail and left behind the Pelew canoes and their owners, still calling after our passengers.

While the corvette was pursuing rapidly her course towards Mindanao, these two poor souls, gave us as best they could some details of their stay at these islands. They only knew the names of three islands in the group: Angaur, Koror, and Pililiu. They have only visited the latter, where they lived. They said only bad things about the inhabitants, and expressed only fears regarding their companions who have remained behind and whom they had not seen for a long time. The whole group is, moreover, little populated and miserable; the inhabitants, however, own many chickens and pigs; they even have, apparently, many cows or buffaloes, and fish is very abundant on the reefs.

The language of Pililiu Island has many words similar to Malay, but it constitutes a separate language. Our Malays, who had enough time to learn it, showed us many noteworthy differences and helped us to make a comparative vocabulary.

...

Document 1838K

Second d'Urville expedition—An anonymous account

Source: Ms. 212A/8554, Archives GG1 Carton 199, File A, at the Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Vincennes, Paris.

Note: See comments about possible authorship at the end of this document.

...

On 15 December 1838, at 5 p.m., we cut the equator for the second time, in 153°14' longitude east.

On the 17th, the lookout announced land to WSW, and we steered for it. At 8 o'clock we saw it from the deck of the corvette; it was a group of low-lying islets surrounded by a reef. When we were close to them, a few canoes came towards us and managed to catch up with the two corvettes. Those who were aboard were tall and lank; their complexion was copper-toned and the only clothes they had on was a maro that barely covered their sexual parts. Their head covering had a strange shape; it was a straw hat, pointed at the top and with both sides turned up above the top, whereas the front and rear parts were turned down. We bought fish and other small items from them in exchange for fish-hooks that excited their curiosity very much.

This group is called Nuguor [i.e. Nukuoro]. It is the southernmost island of the vast Caroline archipelago, and it consists of a large number of islets arranged in circles. Towards the west, the group is open and protected by a reef that surrounds it completely. This land is extremely limited in extent. We saw several huts that looked well built. At 1 p.m., we headed NW.

On the 18th, and 20th, the weather was rainy sometimes with strong showers.

On the 21st, same weather, strong rain all morning, very strong wind from NE and very heavy seas. At 7 a.m., we saw land in the west; it was Luosap [Losap] or d'Urville Island. We steered for it and passed by it at a short distance. It is not a lone island but two islands joined by a reef. At 12, the exploration of this land was over and we steered W1/2S in order to reconnoiter Hogoleu [Chuuk]. At 2 p.m., the lookout announced land in the west; it was the southernmost island of the Hogoleu archipelago, explored by the **Coquille** and the **Astrolabe** in 1827 and 1828. At 4, we passed a short distance from the southern island and then followed the huge reef that encircles the archipelago. The commander was looking for a pass to go and anchor near Falanga [Fefan] but

daylight was failing and we tacked to starboard. We passed the night near the reef in order to stay at a proper distance from land and to resume exploration of it.

On the 22nd in the morning, we headed NW and after a while the lookout announced land in that part of the compass; it was the peak of Chamisso [Uman]. We then headed W and, at 7, resumed exploration of the reef where we had left off on the previous evening, and we continued to run alongside it at three cable lengths. At 8 o'clock we hove to and the commander had the whaleboat made ready to go out to look for a pass. Then, he had the lower sails reefed and we ran straight for the breakers that we bypassed as we went. At 10, Mr. d'Urville discovered a cut through the reef, and we went straight for it. The pass is not too wide and is situated S8°W with respect to the northern point of Tsis Island. We passed by the islet [Otta] that is the best way to mark the pass; the islet is placed on the reef itself. We then tacked into the huge basin bounded by the reef and aimed to reach Falanga that lied to windward. At 11 o'clock, the two ships dropped anchor in 20 fathoms, sandy bottom with broken shells, in front of a low island [Tsis], which is to the south of Falanga. Many canoes had been following us for a long time and had not been able to catch us. These were sailing canoes with two outriggers, one to windward and the other to leeward. They were not as good as the canoes of the Viti [Fiji] people, neither in their construction nor in their size nor even in their operation. The Hogoleu Indians are a little above average in height, their skin is copper-toned, their eyes small, their noses flat, and the mouth wide. In general, the facial type is much like that of the Malays and Chinese. The shape of their bodies is feminine and we oftentimes mistook some young men for girls. The men wear their hair long and tied on top of the head. The character of these islanders is peaceful and shy; they had difficulty in accepting our presence and took great care to hide their women from us whenever one of us came near their houses. The only clothing they wear is a piece of cloth made of coconut fiber with a hole through which they pass the head. It is a sort of poncho similar to a priest's chasuble. The rest of the body is bare and they exhibit without any shame what we usually hide carefully. Their huts are badly constructed and do not come anywhere near those of the Indians of Polynesia and of Melanesia. They are large sheds with bad roofs under which they haul up their canoes and that appear to be the ordinary home of many families; many families thus assembled obey one chief called Tamol. These islanders are poor and have no means of support other than coconuts, bananas, and some taro. They have no pigs and few hens and the latter are wild, because in order to have some we had to shoot them under the trees. Their lack of cleanliness is extreme. They eat their own lice and they paint themselves in red and yellow.

On the 25th, the large boat, armed for war, had left with the engineer to explore the archipelago and to determine the position of the reef that joins Falanga with Periadic [Param], and continues north from there, when this boat was caught in the middle of

some shoals and suddenly attacked by some twenty canoes belonging to the large island situated north of Falanga¹ and that had been following them for some time. The savages started their attack by throwing oranges and finished by throwing short spears, one of which hit Mr. Dumoulin's hat. Mr. Duroch, midshipman, who was then in charge of the boat turned around to get away from the reef and to be able to use the blunderbuss that he had on board with effect. The Carolinians thought that he was fleeing and chased him with insulting gestures. However, when the big boat was clear of the shoal, he suddenly turned towards the canoes and fired the blunderbuss loaded with pellets at the poor devils who did not expect such a treat. [Our] boatmen started to fire their guns at the same time. A dozen savages were cut down and the others threw themselves overboard to save themselves. In a jiffy, the canoes were empty. Mr. Duroch then headed towards other four canoes that had remained behind but in reality were the ones that had started the attack. He overtook them and shot at them at point blank range. The balls fell in the middle of the savages and a large part of them were killed or wounded. Those who were not hit fled by swimming. After this act of severity, our boat was no longer disturbed and the engineer was able to complete his tasks.

On the 27th, the officer in charge of the clocks having gone ashore to make astronomical observations, the boatmen took advantage of this slack time to collect coconuts. That did not please the savages who started by giving signs of discontent, and finished by throwing stones at our people; the latter responded with gun fire and the savages were dispersed. The Carolinians were the first savages who committed acts of hostility against us, whereas the people of Viti, Nuka-Hiva and Samoa Islands and even of the Solomon Islands, reputed to be ferocious and cannibals, showed us hospitality, amiability, and harmony between us was never broken in any way, even though the latter excel the former in strength, courage and warlike manner.

On the 28th of December in the morning, we sailed. After leaving the reef, we followed it westward and northwestward, at a great distance from the land. There is a considerable distance between the southern reef and the northern one. After we had finished our exploration of the first, we were about to come about when the lookout pointed at breakers in the north that were thus far unknown and could well prove disastrous to seafarers. After having surveyed them, we steered NW 1/2W, the breeze being from NE, the sea very rough and extremely high to the north of us.

On the 29th, at 6 in the morning, we sighted Pisserau [Pisaras] Island [of the Namonuito group] in the NW 1/2W. After coasting it, we recognized in succession Umalic [Onari], Umup [Ono], Maguir [Magur], and Maguiriri [Magererik].

On the 31st of December, the island of Guam, the southernmost of the Marianas, appeared in the NW 1/2W. We steered for it and at 4:30 we were coasting at a short distance from it. At the end of the day, we separated from it for the night.

1 Ed. note: That would be Uman, but the other accounts refer to Fefan, or Ruk, as being the origin of the attackers.

On 1 January 1839 at 2 in the morning, we started tacking towards the land. At 7 a.m., both corvettes rounded Cocos Island which is linked to Guam by a reef upon which the sea breaks with fury. The wind blew in squalls and it varied in strength from one moment to the next. After tacking most of the morning, we finally reached the anchorage of Umata where the anchor was dropped in 9 fathoms, sandy bottom. A canoe that had been trying to reach us for a long time boarded us at that time. A Spanish priest and a few natives were on board.

The governor, who resides in Agaña, put the Casa Real, or palacio, at our disposal; it is but a simple house, quite ordinary. Mr. Dumoulin soon set himself up the next day along with his instruments. Two meals of fresh meat were also granted to the crew. We were due for a change of diet as we had been on salt meat rations since Upulu [Samoa]. Umata is a village situated on the seashore on the left-hand side as one comes into the bay. The houses are made of bamboo and raised on posts three feet above the ground. Besides, they are well lined up and shaded by breadfruit and orange trees that form charming alleys. The village is overlooked by two redoubts, one of which is constructed on top of a steep rock [Fort Santo Angel] located at the northern point at the entrance of the port. One can go up to it by using a stone stairway that leads to a platform where swinging cannon can be installed. At the other end of the village is the Casa Real, or palacio, that is but a rectangular house, with an upper story. The ground floor has walls thick enough to allow people to defend themselves against any men armed like the savages. This ground floor consists of a guard post, a jail, and a dormitory with cots for some thirty men. The upper floor is inhabited by Mayor Herrero, an old Spaniard who is approachable and with a very pleasing manner. The church of Umata is a building in the same style as the Casa Real. Its roof is made of reed whereas that of the palacio has tiles. Between the palace and the church is the house of the priest, a misshapen stone bridge upon a bad brook that separates the church from the palace. At the bottom of the bay is a little river that offers an excellent watering place where it can be done very easily. The water is of very good quality and except at Tahiti, we did not find any so pure anywhere else. This island of Guam abounds with deer, fowl, pigs, wild cattle and buffaloes. It produces rice, coconuts, bananas, potatoes, oranges, and even grapes that are however rare. The last three products have been introduced there by the Spanish.

Guam does not have any poisonous animal nor any ferocious beasts. The soil is volcanic in origin and there is in the interior of the island the crater of an extinct volcano that Mr. Dumoulin has visited. The natives have a copper-toned complexion that is darker than that of the Polynesians. They are pleasant and peaceful. They are of average height, their eyes are small, their nose so flat that it is almost not noticeable when seen in profile. Their mouth is wide and [the lips] prominent. Almost the entire population of Umata was afflicted with a sort of leprosy. This disgusting disease is so widespread in Guam that the inhabitants pay almost no attention to it. Elephantiasis and syphilis are also very common. The women are not bad looking; the girls give themselves easily enough to strangers for a small consideration. Sometimes it is the father

who sells his daughter's favors and, as their husbands watch them more closely, married women are more circumspect.

The ordinary clothing of the men consists of large pants of locally-made blue fabric, and a shirt that they most often wear outside the pants. They cover their head with a straw hat and their feet with leather sandals. The women wear a red skirt and a small bodice that is tied in front to cover the breasts; they do not wear any blouses and their hair is knotted on top of the head.

On January 8th, Don José Casillas alias Salazar, Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry and Governor of the Marianas, arrived from Agaña to see the Commander. The following day, he came to have dinner on board and he was saluted with nine guns. He went back the same night, his way being lit by torches that some men carried in front and behind him. He is a small man, about thirty-six years old, lively and speaking reasonably good French. When the governor is absent, the affairs of the colony are looked after by Luis de Torres, son of the Torres mentioned in the narrative of the *Uranie*. The latter has died and his son is an uncultured man without any education. He came many times to have dinner with the officers as well as two Augustinian friars who had come from Agaña at the arrival of the two corvettes to live with the mayor whom they finally annoyed and who, to get rid of them, stopped doing any cooking at his place. They were not in the least bothered by this and they made up their loss on board where our officers made them drink and had them sing bold songs. They were, however, good devils who attended to pleasure more than prayer. After having feasted on board, they all returned ashore in the evening. That is where the friars would dance the fandango with our officers at the beat of the castanets. They drank and smoked like Swiss men and did not sing their verses too badly. One of them, Padre Bernardo, superior of the order, wore a king-size hat. The other, named Padre Emmanuelo [Manuel], was a very pretty boy and more reserved than his "padre guardiano," as he called him. He had the look of a rifleman when he smoked his cigar and lifted his black cassock under which he wore blue pants.

At Agaña we found the second helmsman of the *Uranie*, Anderson, born in Scotland. He had left the corvette because of dissatisfaction and stayed in Guam where he is married and works at second port captain. The inhabitants of Guam distill coconut brandy which is very bad. They also weave a blue cotton fabric. That is all they have by way of industry. They do not even have boats to go fishing at sea with. They only have a few bad canoes that are nothing but badly-made dugouts that look more like troughs than canoes. They could however follow the example of the Carolinians who come to the Marianas almost every year in their canoes to trade and also to collect coconuts in the uninhabited islands further north. These Indians travel 150 to 200 leagues and know how to navigate by the stars.

On January 10th, we left the bay of Umata and headed SW with a nice easterly wind varying to SE.

On the 13th at noon, our companion ship, the *Zéléé*, signalled land to the SSW. It was the island of Guap. At 4 p.m., we were near the northern coast. This part of the is-

land has a huge bay formed by a reef that surrounds the whole island. This bay did not appear to be navigable for thips of a certain size. Some shallows could be noticed within it. The reef was nevertheless cut in many places and these passages could be useful. However, before venturing inside with a ship, it would be necessary to have a boat take soundings in the bay so as not to risk being lost. This island has a very pleasing appearance. It is covered with green trees of various species and the hillsides are covered with cultivated fields. The whole seashore is covered with huts that appear strong and are built upon impressive stone foundations. All of this indicates a fairly advanced civilization, and frequent contacts with Europeans. When we were a short distance from the island, canoes came to us from all parts and followed us. In many of them, we saw some women. The men are rather tall, their hair is long and hang loose, the complexion rather olive in color and the mouth very wide. We saw two of them who were completely covered with tattoos. At 5:30, we had left the island and it bore N61°E. We then steered to SW. The canoes of Guap are large and high over the water; they are all painted red. In the center, there was a platform upon which one could sit comfortably. These canoes had their pointed ends turned up and were fitted with one outrigger fixed to the platform.

On the 15th of January at 9 in the morning we sighted the Pelew Islands in to the west. At noon we were near the southern part of the archipelago and we then steered to pass close to the southern coast. At 4 p.m., we entered the channel between Angaur and Peliliu. Many canoes then came aboard to trade. They are members of the yellow race, very ugly and their limbs are extremely frail. They are nevertheless tall. Among those we saw, they make general use of the betel and they have large mouths, more like muzzles that gave them a repulsive appearance. Their hair was floating upon the shoulders and they were completely naked. The northern islands of this group have high mountains covered with trees but we did not see any coconut trees that are so useful to the islanders of Oceania. They do not appear to be inhabited and many of them were undermined by the sea, almost like the islands of Vavao [Tonga], which they resemble from the geological and vegetation points of view. A reef skirted the eastern part of the island and ended at Peliliu where it left the passage clear between this island and Angaur. Contrary to the northern islands, the southern part consists only of low islands that are beautiful to look at. Many coconut trees growing around huts could be seen from the deck.

Among the natives who came aboard, there were two Malays from Banda. They had been lost upon the Pelew Islands. One of them had been killed by the natives and four more of them still remained ashore. They begged the commander to keep them aboard in order to return to their country and they narrated the bad treatments that the Pelew people made them endure and which did not impress anyone with the character of these islanders who have an evil reputation regardless of the sayings of Captain Wilson who was shipwrecked on the Pelew Islands with the ship **Antelope**. The Commander took pity on these two unfortunate men and took them on board. The corvette had by this time come out of the strait and was leaving Peliliu behind when the Indian, with whom

the two Malays had come and whose slaves they were, having patiently waited for the end of the conversation which he did not understand, wished to leave and motioned to them to follow him to his canoe. However, when he saw that the Malays did not obey and that he was told to go away alone, he refused to leave the deck. He was then forced to leave against his will by being thrown over the rail so to speak and arriving at his canoe unawares. He stood there stupefied for some time. Little by little we lost sight of him. Upon leaving the Pelew Islands, we headed for Mindanao which we reached after a short time...

Notes about the possible authorship of this document.

The manuscript in the Navy Archives is accompanied by some notes about possible authorship made in 1938 by Commander L. Dussoubz of the French Navy. The present manuscript appears to be a copy and not the original manuscript because of missing words, repetitions, faulty punctuation, etc. The author, he says, did not go ashore very often; he was not a staff officer nor a scientist, although he had access to the logbook, the charts, etc. After reviewing the rolls of both corvettes for men born near Saintonge [for some reason], Dussoubz states that the most likely candidate for author was a sailor by the name of Jean-Marie Coste who received several rapid promotions during the cruise.

However, my opinion is that the author was either a midshipman, a clerk or a naval cadet officer aboard the **Astrolabe**. A study of the context and the other existing accounts (which permit the exclusion of certain possible authors) leads me to the following list of possible candidates, shown here by decreasing order of probability:

1. Mr. Ducorps, clerk third class;
2. Midshipman Marescot Duthilleul;
3. Midshipman Gourdin; or
4. Cadet Lafond.¹

¹ Ed. note: As for the officers' logbook, which contains mostly navigational data, it is to be found in ANP Marine 5JJ126.

Documents 1839A

Official investigations of the Falcon Affair and the Ngatik Massacre—Part one

Source: Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, N° XX.

A1. Report required re charges against C. H. Hart**Marquess of Normandy to Sir George Gipps.¹**

(Despatch No. 3, per ship Fergusson.)

Downing Street, 23 February, 1839.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to you the copy of a letter and its enclosure, which has been addressed to this Department by desire of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, relative to certain criminal acts, which Mr. C. H. Hart, Master of the British Cutter "Lambton," is charged with having committed in the Pacific, and I have to request that you will take the necessary steps for investigating this case, with a view to the proceedings against the parties, suggested in the letter of the Proctor to the Admiralty.

I have, &c.

Normandy.

A2. Transmission of papers re charges against C. H. Hart**[Enclosure No. 1.] Sir John Barrow to Under Secretary Stephen.**

Admiralty, 18 February, 1839.

Sir,

I am commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you the accompanying Copy of a letter from the Proctor to the Admiralty, together with its enclosures, relative to certain criminal Acts, which Mr. C. H. Hart, Master of the British Cutter "Lambton," is charged with having committed in the Pacific; and I am to request that you will lay the same before Lord Glenelg and move his Lordship to cause

¹ Ed. note: Sir Gipps was Governor of New South Wales.

the whole of them to be forwarded to Sydney, with orders to the proper authorities to proceed according to Mr. Townsend's suggestions.

I have, &c.

Jno. Barrow.

A3. Procedure proposed re charges against C. H. Hart

[Enclosure No. 2.] Mr. W. Townsend to Sir John Barrow.

Doctors' Commons, 16th February, 1839.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive your Letter, dated 8th Instant, transmitting a Letter from Rear Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland,¹ with its several enclosures, particularized in the accompanying enclosure (all which are herewith returned) relative to certain criminal acts, which Mr. C. H. Hart, Master of the British Cutter "Lambton," is charged with having committed in the Pacific, and signifying to me the directions of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to report what measures it may be necessary to take on the occasion.

I beg leave to report, for the information of their Lordships that, as it is stated in Sir F. L. Maitland's letter that the Governor of Macao, within whose Jurisdiction Mr. Hart was, had declined transferring him to Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China (for the purpose of being dealt with according to the English Law), and it is further stated that the "Lambton" belongs to the Port of Sydney, New South Wales, and that several of the Crew, who were in her at that time when the offence charged against Mr. Hart was committed, have returned there, it appears to me that the most advisable course to pursue will be to transmit these Papers to the Government of New South Wales with directions to cause the matter to be investigated there in order that Mr. Hart and any other Persons accused, when coming within reach of its authority, may be brought to trial in that Country; and I beg to add that it appears to have been the Admiral's intention, had Mr. Hart been delivered up, to have sent him, with such witnesses as could have been obtained, to Sydney in order to his being delivered over to the Civil Authorities there.

I have, &c.

W. Townsend.

A4. Transmission of papers in case of C. H. Hart

Action taken by governor of Macao.—Protest by C. Elliot re decision of governor of Macao.—Release of C. H. Hart at Macao.—Proposed trial of C. H. Hart at Sydney.—Criticism of depositions.—Ship to visit Ascension Island.

1 Ed. note: In charge of the R.N. in Asia.

[Enclosure No. 3.] Rear-Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland to Mr. C. Wood.

Wellesley in Toong-koo Bay, 17th August, 1838.

Sir,

I transmit, to be laid before My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the various documents described in the accompanying Schedule, and numbered as per Margin, connected with the case of Mr. C. H. Hart, Master of the British Cutter "Lambton," belonging to the Port of Sydney in New South Wales.

As this perhaps is one of the most extraordinary instances on record of persons perfectly unauthorized by Law sitting in Judgment over a fellow creature, condemning him to death, and deliberately carrying that sentence into execution, I have been induced to forward, not only the correspondence, which has passed between Captain Elliot, H.M. Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China and myself, as well as copies of the sworn declarations of part of the crew of the "Lambton," and of Mr. Hart's own deposition made before the Governor of Guam, one of the Mariana Islands; but also a copy of a Narrative written by John Plumb, late a Seaman of the "Falcon," which was wrecked on the Island of Ascension in the Pacific in July, 1836; and beg to observe that, although the Narrative cannot be considered as legal evidence, it is nevertheless very important by giving a clear and simple detail of all the circumstances, which gave rise to this extraordinary case, and at the same time thrown so much light on the practices of those trading with the Natives of the remote Islands in the Pacific Ocean, that I deem it of great importance to place this document in their Lordships' hands.

As Captain Elliot will communicate to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the measures he considered it his duty to adopt towards the apprehension, with a view to the trial, of Mr. Hart, I will not enter further into those particulars than to state, for their Lordships' information, that the Governor of Macao, after causing him to be arrested upon a requisition from the Chief Superintendent for the purpose of his being delivered up, to be brought before a British Tribunal, declined transferring him to that officer, and called upon him to bring his proofs under the consideration of a Court at Macao, constituted in conformity with the Portuguese Law.

Against this proceeding, Captain Elliot remonstrated and protested on the grounds that the accused was an Englishman, and that his crime was committed on board of a British Vessel, at a place in no way subject to the Portuguese Authority, and to which the Jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty of England extended.

After twenty four hours' confinement, the Governor in compliance, as he states, with the Law of Portugal, released Mr. Hart from prison; and, if he has not left the place, is now at large at Macao.

It was my intention, had the prisoner been given up to Captain Elliot, to have ordered Commander Blake of the "Larne" to receive him on board that Sloop, with such witnesses as could be obtained here, and to proceed with them to Sydney, and there deliver them over to the Civil Authorities; this being the most advisable course, as the Vessel belongs to that Port, and several of the Crew, who were in her at the time the of-

fence is said to have been committed, having returned to New South Wales, might have been available as witnesses for the prosecution or defence.

Their Lordships will observe that little is said in the depositions of any of the "Lambton's" crew about the affair at Nuttic [Ngatik] (one of the Raven or Seven Islands), which is one of the charges brought by "Marshall" against Mr. Hart, and which he represents as a murderous attack, made on the Natives for the purposes of plundering the place of all the Tortoise shell, Mats, Nets, etca., which charge, together with that of the Execution of "Nanawah," led to the proceedings instituted by Captain Elliot in this case; both of which circumstances, however, are known only to Marshall by report [i.e. hearsay], while on the other hand it appears, by the deposition of William Rogers, that the "Lambton" had no other object in proceeding to Nuttic than to trade; and that her crew were **first** attacked by the natives, of whom several were killed by the Cutter's people in defending their own lives in the conflict which consequently ensued; And he positively denies that any violence was offered to the women on that occasion.

But where such a sacrifice of Human life has taken place, it appears to me desirable that some enquiry should be made on the spot; and it is therefore my intention, as soon as I can spare a ship for that service, to send her to the Island of Ascension, and the Seven Islands, that the Captain may be able to enquire into and afterwards report upon both cases.

In addition to the several documents already mentioned, I forward a copy of Commander Blake's letter of the 29th June last, alluded to by Captain Elliot, in his communication to me of the 18th Ultimo, in which he adverts to the general character of Marshall, and the motives by which, it would seem, he was induced to profer the charges against Mr. Hart.

I have, &c.,

Fred. L. Maitland,

Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief.

Schedule of papers transmitted in Rear Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland's letter No. 58 of the 17th August, 1838.

No. 1.—Copy of a letter from Captain Elliot of the 18th July, 1838, with Marshall's declaration against Mr. Hart, of the "Lambton" Cutter.

No. 2.—Sir F. L. Maitland's reply thereto of 19th July, 1838.

No. 3.—Copy of a letter from Captain Elliot with depositions from three of the Crew of the Lambton, dated 28th July, 1838.

No. 4.—Copy of a letter from Captain Elliot, in reference thereto, and upon the subject of arresting Mr. Hart, 9th August, 1838.

No. 5.—Copy of Sir F. L. Maitland's reply, 10th August, 1838.

No. 6.—Copy of Mr. Hart's **own** declaration at Guam, Translation from the Spanish.

- A. John Plumb's Narrative.
 - B. Commander Blake's letter, 29th June, 1838.¹
- Fred. L. Maitland,
Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief.

A5. Transmission of charges by W. Marshall against C. H. Hart

[Sub-enclosure No. 1.] Captain Elliot to the Rear-Admiral.

Macao, 18th July, 1838.

Sir,

The Enclosure, I have the honor to submit, is a declaration recently made before me by a person named William Marshall, describing himself to be a subject of Her Majesty and sets forth a series of highly criminal charges against Mr. Hart the master of the British Cutter "Lambton" belonging to the Port of Sydney just returned from Manila, and now at Hong Kong.

The main defect of this evidence, you will observe, is to be found in the fact that Marshall does not seem to have witnessed either of these felonies charged against Mr. Hart, but relates only what he has collected from the general report of persons said to be concerned.

Captain Blake has suggested in his letter to you of the 29th Ultimo that there is some reason to believe Marshall may have been influenced by vindictive feeling towards Mr. Hart, and it is strongly confirmatory of this view that the vessel had been here between two and three months before his deposition was made, and that it followed upon a course of disagreement and quarrels between the parties.

Giving the utmost attention however to these favorable considerations, respecting Mr. Hart, I still feel assured you will concur with me that the terrible allegations set forth in Marshall's deposition should be subjected as soon as possible to Judicial investigation.

I hope to be excused from suggesting that New South Wales seems to be the most eligible place for that purpose, because the vessel belongs to that Port and the greater part of the Crew are understood to have returned there. It is now my intention to furnish Mr. Hart with a copy of Marshall's deposition and to call upon him to furnish any reply he may think fit, to all the charges therein set forth.

The consideration of further proceedings may be deferred till his answer has been received.

I have, &c.,

Charles Elliot, Chief Superintendent.

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1839B.

A6. Declaration by W. Marshall re attack on natives at Nuttic by C. H. Hart

[Annexure.] Declaration by W. Marshall.

Macao to Wit: William Marshall being asked, declared that he was willing to attest upon oath that the particulars contained in the within declaration are true to the best of his knowledge and belief; And, having signed it in my presence, He was accordingly sworn to the above effect by me on this eighteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty eight.

Charles Elliot,

Chief Superintendent, of the Trade of British Subjects in China.

True Copy:—Charles Elliot.

It was in December, 1836, I joined Captn. C. H. Hart at Manila on a trading voyage to the South Pacific Ocean, and, after a stay of about two months at Guam,¹ arrived at Ascension Island, at which place some months previous Captn. H. told me, he had an engagement with the Natives, in which a number were killed, and that the King was hung to the yard Arm of the "Lambton." Also that the second Chief (Ishapou) was shot in his bed or "Loach" by some men who were paid by him. The reason, he gave, was that the Ship "Falcon" of London, Captn. Hinckson [rather Hingston], had been wrecked there and Captn. H. and 4 of his men killed by the natives. It is generally said that Captn. Hinckson was to blame, having previously shot one of the natives who was in the act of plunder and struck the principal Chief; this, I have heard, Captn. Hart and several of the "Falcon's" crew acknowledge to have been the occasion of the outrage on the part of the Natives. On my arrival at Ascension in July, 1837, I was so pleased with the Island that I remained there nearly six months, during which time the above account was confirmed by many of the natives especially by the Chief, Soctell, and also by the white men resident on the Island; and, immediately on our arrival there, active preparations were made for the long talked of attack upon Nuttic, one of the 7 or Ravens Islands; and, after cartridges were made, the large Cutter rigged, 7 or 8 extra white men and a number of Natives taken on board, each with their Fire Arms, spears, etc., away they went accompanied by the Canoes, who, after three days' fighting and killing every man except one, whom they could not find, plundered the place of all the Tortoiseshell, Mats, Nets, and in short everything moveable, the females were ravished, some before the blood of their husbands was cool, and many of the youngest and best looking were distributed amongst the men and brought over to Ascension; one of them was delivered of a child either on board the cutter or as she came there; the one Captn. Hart brought over he presented to the Chief Narnikin's daughter "Leekiekettee," who

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1837B for confirmation that the cutter made provision of water at Umatac upon her departure from Guam.

used to treat her as a Servant, and at last so barbarously that J. Sindrey, the trading master, took her from them; some of those brought over were fine looking Girls.

After Captn. H.'s return from Nuttic, and paying the men and natives who accompanied him, he went to the Southward and took with him some Ascension Men and one Irishman, Patk. Gorman, whom he created the Ishipaw of the Island, and was to obtain Shell for him until his return from the S'ward; during Capt. H.'s absence, Paddy discovered an old man, bed ridden, who could not have lived many days and shot him in cool blood, and was otherwise so base a character that two Canoes full of the Ascension Natives set off at all risks to gain their native Island, one of which has never been heard of or the 7 W.M. persons it contained; one of the number "Barlow" was a native Chief; in about Six months, Captn. H. arrived again at Ascension with Paddy to recruit for fresh Subjects after a few days wooding and otherwise refreshing; I joined the Cutter and we again set sail,¹ touching again at the Ravens Islands, where we left Paddy and his three wives and a fresh supply of Ascension Natives and Canoes, with the following White Men, viz.: Jack Lacey, G. Robinson, Beuthe Armomer, Fred. Randall and another, whose name I cannot remember (J. Parker), with their Girls; those who had wages due were paid in Trade such as Musquets, Magazine of Powder, Pistols, Balls, Iron Swivel, Rum, and the Cutter with sails complete. A set of Laws were formed for their Government, Crimes and Punishment, etca. All the shell was to be kept exclusively for Captn. Hart except any Ship should call there, and they were actually in want of necessaries. I made a copy of them and recd. each of their signatures; we then proceeded to Manila. The number slain at Nuttic is differently stated, the Natives say 80; I heard Paddy say 84 with the one he shot afterwards. It is however doubtful.

Wm. Marshall.

If Captn. Hart said that he committed this action at Nuttic in self defence, it is false, for I heard him say nearly twelve months before at Manila and afterwards at Guam that they had plenty of Tortoiseshell at Nuttic, and that they would not part with it, because it was their Maquhawee,* but he intended to take it and kill every man on the Island; he farther said he knew where they kept it for J. Sindrey had seen it in the cook-house.

*Maquhawee means in their language their God.

True Copy:—Charles Elliot.

A7. Letter acknowledged.—Necessity for direct evidence

[Sub-enclosure No. 2.] Sir F. L. Maitland to Captain Elliot.

Macao, 19th July, 1838.

Sir,

¹ Ed. note: On 29 May 1838, says Fr. Maigret (see Doc. 1837C).

I have received your letter of yesterday's date, enclosing a copy of the deposition of William Marshall, on the subject of certain highly criminal charges, which he has proferred against Mr. Hart, the Master of the British Cutter "Lambton"; and, in reply, I have to acquaint you that, before any measures can be taken by me, it will be absolutely necessary that some direct proof, either by the evidence of persons present or an acknowledgement on the part of Mr. Hart himself, that the extraordinary facts therein stated were effected by his direction, or that he was concerned therein, should be shewn.

And that, when such evidence is obtained, I will give the matter my most serious consideration, and act in the way most likely, in my opinion, to bring this remarkable case before a Court authorized to make judicial enquiry into it.

I have, &c.,
Fred. L. Maitland,
Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief.

A8. Transmission of depositions by seamen of cutter Lambton.

[Sub-enclosure No. 3.] Captain Elliot to Sir F. L. Maitland.

Canton, 28th June, 1838.

Sir,

With reference to the subject of my Despatch to Your Excellency, dated the 18th Instant, I have the honor to transmit the copies of Examinations of three Seamen of the "Lambton," taken by me on the day of my departure from Macao.

The testimony of William Rogers, you will observe, is direct as to the lawless execution of the man "Nanawah," on board the Cutter "Lambton," and the other evidence involves hardly less pressing reason, for the submission of her whole proceedings in the Pacific to judicial investigation.

By her papers, she appears to have been registered at Sydney in the year 1830 as the property of the Australian Agricultural Company; but Mr. Hart declares her to belong, one half to Messrs. A. B. Smith of that place, and the other half to himself.

The proofs required by Law for the establishment of this account of the property are entirely wanting, and this fact of itself furnishes a strong reason for sending the Vessel to Sydney where she was last registered.

I have, &c.,
Charles Elliot, Chief Superintendent.

A9. Deposition by J. Sindrey re voyages under C. H. Hart

[Annexures.] Examinations.

Personally came and appeared before me, James Sindrey, aged about 22 years, is a Native of London, has served his time to the Sea, entered on board the Cutter "Lambton" about thirty months since, as near as deponent can remember; the Cutter was then at the Island of Ascension in the Pacific; Mr. Charles Hart was Master of her; she was employed on a trading voyage amongst the Islands for Tortoiseshell; belives she had been out from Sydney in New South Wales about four months; her cargo was of a general nature such as beads, Axes, Tobacco, etca.; as far as deponent can remember there were about 14 People "Europeans"; there were also three New Zealanders on board (Men). After deponent first joined the Cutter, she went to the "Raven or Seven Islands"; cannot exactly say how they bear from Ascension; they were a day and a night running there; When the Cutter arrived at Nuttic, deponent and one or two others tried to land in the Canoe, but the surf was so high that they were obliged to put back that evening; the next day they went ashore again in the boat, Mr. Hart the Commander accompanying them; there were four other hands and deponent; the boat was armed; there were five muskets in the boat; they were not loaded; when they first landed, the natives received them well; they began dancing and appeared to be contented; there might be about forty men in all and three women; deponent and a native of Ascension, who had come over with them, went up into the bush with two of the people of the Island. The Commander and the others remained with the Boat. After a short time, deponent separated from the Native of Ascension and all of a sudden he heard him call out, "Jim, take care of yourself, for the natives are getting their clubs and knives and coming to kill you." Upon this, deponent looked about him and saw his best chance was to run through them to the boat. In doing so, they struck at deponent with a knife and struck him in the hinder part of the two legs with a Club. When deponent got to the boat, he found the Captain and the others loading their Muskets. The Natives of Ascension had got to the Boat just before deponent; they then shoved off and went on board the Cutter, which lay about 4 Miles off; to the best of Deponent's recollection there were no shot fired that day at all; Deponent can swear that he did not fire one himself. The Cutter then sailed away to "New Ireland" and from thence to New South Wales. Nothing further of the least consequence having taken place during this voyage.

On about the 22d of May, 1836, sailed again from Sydney in the Cutter also on a similar trading voyage to the Pacific. Mr. Hart was still the Master, but almost the whole of the Crew were changed. The Native of Ascension still remained, and went in the Cutter to his own Island (Ascension). In standing into Ascension, deponent and the Master, then at the Mast head, descried a vessel ashore on the reef; whilst they were conversing on the subject, a Canoe came aboard with Five white men in her. They told us that the wrecked vessel was the "Falcon" of London, Mr. Hinckston, Master; thinks that they said the "Falcon" had been cast away about a month. There were also laying there two Schooners both under the colors of the Sandwich Islands, one commanded

by Mr. Duarte [rather Dudoit], a Frenchman, and the other by a Gentleman also of the name of Hart; one of the vessel's name was the "Avon"; cannot remember the name of the other.¹ We learnt from the five men, who came on board in the Canoe, that Captain Hingston of the "Falcon," the second Mate and four of the Crew had been killed by the Natives (of Ascension). They said that the Natives had been attempting to plunder them on shore and set the wreck on fire. Captain Hingston threatened to beat them if they came to rob him any more. It then seemed that the Cjief "Nanawah" determined to kill the Captain, which was accordingly done by his people with Clubs; the second Mate and the others were reported to be killed the same day. Whilst the cutter "Lambton" was laying at Ascension, Mr. Hart the Master received a letter from a European living on shore known by the name of Cook; deponent believes that he was an Englishman; this letter warned Capt'n. Hart that the Natives intended to attack the three Vessels at night and cut them off.

There may be about three thousand people upon the Island; they are generally very well armed, and deponent should think they have about Five hundred Muskets amongst them; they are not well off for powder. There are four Principal Chiefs upon the Island, of whom "Nanawah" was one; Deponent knows about Cook's letter because the Captain shewed it to him. The three vessels laid at Ascension this time about a fortnight, but the Natives would not allow them to wood and water, and they were expecting every night to be attacked; and last it was determined by the three Captains to procure wood and water by force, and they manned and armed the three boats. The two Captains Hart went in the boats, but Captain Duarte [sic] remained on board to take charge of the vessels; deponent went in the Cutter's boat with Mr. Hart; there were four or five boats and about forty Armed Europeans in them; there was also the half of one of the Native Tribes in their Canoes; there might be about Five hundred in all; this half tribe was friendly to us but at war with "Nanawah's" tribe. We had to fight our way on shore, but none of our people were killed or wounded. Deponent did not see more than two of "Nanawah's" tribe killed; did not observe that any were wounded; we then proceeded to wood and water and went aboard again. Deponent can solemnly swear that no abuses were committed on the women on this occasion; Deponent does not know what became of "Nanawah," because, after the attack, he was sent away to Leeward, to trade for Yams and provisions; he went with a Native in a Canoe; deponent was told by the People of the Cutter, when he came back, that "Nanawah" had been hanged. That he was hung to the Cutter's yard arm, also heard that there had been a consultation held by the three Captains upon the subject of this execution; heard also that the two Super-cargoes assisted at the consultation, but no one else; does not know what "Nanawah" was hung for, but supposes it was for giving orders for the death of Capt'n. Hingston and the other people of the "Falcon"; there were none of the "Falcon's" people in the hands of "Nanawah," when he was hanged, or any other Europeans; some of the "Falcon's" people were on shore, taking charge of the wrecked property, but they could

1 Ed. note: She was the Unity.

come off to the vessels when they thought fit, but not without some risk; deponent does not know that any thing else took place at this time at Ascension.

Deponent was then left there by Captain Hart, together with a Mr. Gumbrie, a super-cargo, to carry on trade and the Cutter herself and one of the Schooners, commanded by the other Capt. Hart, went away with part of the "Falcon's" Crew to Guam, one of the Marianne Islands. Deponent remained on the Island of Ascension altogether about 15 Months, during which the Cutter visited it two or three times; they were left with Tobacco, Rum, Axes, Musquets and Powder to trade with. There were about Forty White People settled on the Island altogether, principally deserters from Whalers, Sick People, etc.; Deponent was never molested during the whole time he remained at Ascension; considers the Natives to be good and quiet People; supposed they killed Capt. Hinckston and the people of the "Falcon" out of avarice, but generally they are good people; Deponent never went to the Ravens Island on the second voyage from Sydney, that he has belonged to her, but knows that the Cutter went there.

When she came back from the Raven Islands to Ascension, two or three Native Women and two or three boys came up in her; Deponent believes that they came up with their own consent; About eight months since, deponent left the Pacific in the Cutter, and came up to Manila and from thence on to China. Deponent knew Mr. Marshall on board the Cutter and believes that he was passenger; has frequently seen Mr. Marshall drunk; cannot positively say who the Cutter belongs to, but believes she belongs half to Mr. Hart and half to Mr. Petrie; does not know where Mr. Petrie lives but was formerly at New South Wales. Deponent still belongs to the Cutter and knows nothing else about the proceedings; Deponent can solemnly swear that he was not present when "Nanawah" was hung.

James Sindrey.

Sworn by me and signed in my presence at Macao, this twenty fourth day of July in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty eight.

Charles Elliot,

Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China.

A10. Deposition by W. Rogers re hanging of chief and attacks on natives

Personally came and appeared before me, William Rogers, aged about forty two years; is a Native of Bristol in England; has served his time to the Sea; entered on board the Cutter "Lambton" at Sydney in New South Wales about the month of March, 1836, and proceeded in her in a trading voyage to the Pacific; Mr. Hart was the Master; corroborates the evidence of "Sindrey" as to the fact that the ship "Falcon" of London was found a wreck at Ascension, and that the Cutter's people were told that Hinckston and four or five others of her Crew had been killed by the Natives; "Nanawah" one of the

Chiefs was brought on board by "Jim the Cooper";¹ cannot say under what circumstances his person was secured; Believes that there was a consultation held upon his disposal by the three Captains and some other persons there; Deponent saw "Nanawah" hung at the yard arm of the Cutter "Lambton"; cannot say by whose precise orders it was done; Captain Hart of the "Lambton" and Captain Hart of the "Unity" were present at the execution on board the Cutter, as well as most of the Crew of the "Falcon"; cannot say whether Captn. Duarte of the "Avon" was present; Deponent was on deck at the time; believes that the execution took place in the month of August, 1836; cannot remember the exact date; Deponent does not remember to have heard "Nanawah" declare that he was innocent or beg for mercy; Deponent supposes that "Nanawah" was hung for ordering the "Falcon's" people to be killed but does not know; had no voice in the matter; Deponent has no knowledge of any other circumstances that took place at Ascension; there had been a conflict upon first arriving, upon which occasion two or three of the natives were killed. About the month of June or July, 1837, Deponent went in the Cutter "Lambton" from Ascension to the Raven Islands for the purpose of trading; Eight or ten Europeans went with us besides the Cutter's Crew consisting of 14 hands; upon arriving there, the Natives decoyed the people into the bush, and then attacked them. Deponent went on shore with the rest; they were armed and defended themselves; the Natives had Clubs and Stones but no Musquets; none of our people were killed or wounded that Deponent knows of; Deponent did not see more than Five or Six Natives killed, but cannot say how many more killed; did not see more than two or three Pounds of Tortoiseshell taken off; does not know that there was any more on shore; Next day went on shore again and had another conflict; cannot say how many Natives were killed, perhaps four or five; it appeared that two or three Canoes had gone away in the course of the Night; Deponent cannot deny that he heard that a Man known by the name of Paddy had shot a man lying down; did not hear whether he was an old or a young man; certainly heard that he was a wounded man. Deponent will most solemnly swear that he knows nothing of any violence committed on the women of Nuttic; about six of them came up of their own free will to Ascension in the Cutter; They were asked if they would go, and they consented. Deponent has heard Captain Hart say that he would not let them be taken against their will upon coming away from Nuttic, certain of the Men asked to be discharged there, two belonging to the Cutter, and five or six others who had come on from Ascension; Captain Hart gave them the boat and a few Musquets in part payment of their wages and they were left there; "Paddy" and "Jim the Cooper" were amongst this number.

Deponent will solemnly swear that, in the best of his knowledge, the Cutter "Lambton" went to Nuttic with no other intention than to trade; The Women from Nuttic were left at Ascension; Deponent still belongs to the "Lambton" but has nothing further to say concerning her proceedings.

William Rogers.

1 Ed. note: Later properly identified by his real name: James Hall, late of the whaler Conway.

Sworn by me and signed in my presence at Macao, this twenty fourth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and thirty eight.

Charles Elliot,

Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China.

A11. Deposition by G. Richards re hanging of chief on cutter Lambton

Personally came and appeared before me George Richards, aged about thirty four years, is a native of Gravesend in Kent, a Blacksmith by trade, entered on board the late Ship "Falcon" of London, Hinckston, Master, at Ascension in the Pacific about the mounth of May, 1836.

For eighteen months before this, deponent had been living ashore at Ascension, being cast away in the English Whaler "Corsair" in the neighbourhood of Ascension, and contriving to get there with great difficulty in a Whale Boat. Shortly after, Deponent joined the "Falcon," she also was cast away on the reef of Ascension in the act of going to Sea. After this took place, there were disputes among the chiefs with respect to the property and the tribe of one of them, "Nanawah," began to plunder it and set fire to the wreck.

"Nanawah's" tribe killed Captn. Hinckston, the Second Mate and three other Men. Deponent did not see Captn. Hinckston and the other Men killed, as he was upon an opposite Island; does not know that "Nanawah" killed them, but knows that he was on the spot at the time and that it was done by his orders. Is of opinion that "Nanawah" had determined to kill all the White men upon the Islands and all the other Chiefs above him. Shortly after this the Cutter "Lambton" came in, and there were also laying there two Sandwich Island Schooners, Captain Duarte [sic] and Captain Hart. When the "Lambton" came in, it was determined by the three Captains and the Doctor and two Mates of the "Falcon" and other persons on shore to get possession of "Nanawah's" person because it was feared that he would incite the Natives against them and attack the vessels; There were at this time no European Prisoners in "Nanawah's" possession. The Captains succeeded some days after this in possessing themselves of "Nanawah's" person; they did not take him by force; but he was persuaded by a White man, who had been several years on the Island, to give himself up to the Captains; this White man was known by the name of "Jim the Cooper"; Deponent believes that "Jim persuaded Nanawah" to give himself up upon a promise that the Captains would not hurt him; Deponent cannot swear this but believes it; knows that "Nanawah" was hung at the yard Arm of the cutter "Lambton"; did not see him hung because Deponent was in another part of the Island, but heard it generally reported; is of opinion that, if "Nanawah" had not been put out of the way, he would have killed all the white men on the Island and made himself a Piratical Chief; The Natives are generally good people but "Nanawah" was a bad and dangerous man; Deponent did not go to the Raven Islands in the Cutter "Lambton"; knows nothing of what took place at Nuttic; joined the Cut-

ter at Ascension in September last; knows nothing else concerning the Cutter's movements.

George Richards.

Sworn before me and signed in my presence at Macao, this twenty fourth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty eight.

Charles Elliot,

Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China.

A12. Inability to issue warrant for arrest of C. H. Hart

[Sub-enclosure No. 4.] Captain Elliot to Sir F. L. Maitland.

Macao, 9th August, 1838.

Sir,

Having reference to the conferences and correspondence I have recently had the honor to have with your Excellency upon the subject of the piracies charged against Mr. Hart, Master of the British Cutter "Lambton" in the Pacific Ocean, I now beg leave to acquaint you that, upon the most attentive consideration of the powers entrusted to me, I find great difficulty in passing a Warrant for the apprehension, upon the ground that the crimes in question are alleged to have been committed beyond the limits of my jurisdiction, in other words, beyond one hundred miles of the coasts of this Empire.

At the same time, if I am mistaken in the opinion that the apprehension of British Subjects charged with Piracies committed beyond the limits of any defined Jurisdiction falls within the competency of the Senior officer of Her Majesty's Ships before whom they may be automatically submitted, I shall certainly not shrink from the responsibility of issuing a Warrant for Mr. Hart's arrest.

My own absence at Canton and our subsequent mutual engagement in pressing Public Duties has prevented my earlier recurrence to this Subject.

I have, &c.

Chas. Elliot, Chief Superintendent.

A13. Decision by F. L. Maitland

[Sub-enclosure No. 5.] Sir F. L. Maitland to Captain Elliot.

Wellesley, in Toongkoo Bay, 10th August, 1838.

Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 9th Instant, upon the subject of the charges which have been recently alleged against Mr. Hart, the Master of the British Cutter "Lambton," I beg to acquaint you that I should not feel myself justified in apprehending Mr. Hart, in the presence of a Civil Magistrate, but that, in the event of his being arrested by you, as H.M. Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British subjects in China, I shall not fail to adopt immediate measures for forwarding him to Sydney, in New South

Wales, that the Authorities there may take such steps as they may think necessary for submitting his conduct to a Judicial investigation.

I have, &c.,
Fred. L. Maitland,
Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief.

A14. Inquiry by Spaniards re transactions of C. H. Hart in South Seas.

[Sub-enclosure No. 6.] Declaration by C. H. Hart.

Don Juan Baptista Acha, Ensign of the National Navy and Port Captain.

I so certify that, by a Superior order from His Excellency the Captain General, Governor as well as Commander in Chief of Marine of these [Philippine] Islands, agreeably to the request of Captain C. H. Hart of the English Cutter named **Lambton**, were performed by this office under my direction the communications, of which the following are a literal Copy.

To His Excellency The Commander in Chief of Marine, C. H. Hart, Captain of the English Cutter **Lambton**, sailed from China, Most humbly sheweth:

That, in the month of May, 1836, Your Petitioner set sail with this Cutter from the Port of Sydney (New Holland) with a view to go to the various Islands in the Pacific Ocean for the Trade of Tortoise shell and "Balate"¹ and other productions to the Ascension Islands, where he met two small vessels anchored, belonging to the Sandwich Islands, one under the Command of a Frenchman, and the other under that of an Anglo American, And he saw at the same time a wrecked Ship.

The Captain of the Schooners acquainted your Petitioner that she was the English Whaler "Falcon," and that the Natives of the Island had in a barbarous manner murdered her Captain, the 2nd Mate and four of the Crew, putting out their eyes with the point of a pike, tying a rope round their necks, and dragging them over the shore before their own companions. And they told your Petitioner that there existed yet on the Island the remaining people of the Crew, and that both they and the Crews of the two Schooners lived in a constant fear of another attack on the part of the Islanders, who had told them that they would not leave a single white man there, shewing their intentions by firing upon the boats, when they attempted to go on shore with the muskets robbed from the Whaler. Some time after, your Petitioner received an advice that it was intended to attack the vessels, and kill (if possible) every one of the crews. Seeing no other manner of saving his countrymen from the hands of these wild men, but through violence (and as they were unable to get water, wood, or provisions of any kind), He made an attack upon the nearest villages, and succeeding in setting at liberty his

1 Ed. note: The official translator did not know what to make of this word; it means trepang, or beche-de-mer, in Filipino.

countrymen. On this occasion, we seized the Chief Assassin and Instigator of the remaining Islanders, the same one who had formed the plan of attack on the vessels.

After a consultation amongst the Captains and officers of the three vessels, it was resolved that, as they were separated from any authority or laws, it was absolutely necessary to make an example of him, in order that we might be released from the impending danger; And thereupon this man paid with his own life the penalty of his Crime.

The consequence of this measure was, as proposed, a cessation of the continued injuries they had suffered. Then the Crew of the Whaler was divided between Petitioner's Cutter and the Schooner **Unity**, when they sailed for the Mariannes, where they arrived on the 29th September [1837]; And forthwith upon his landing, your Petitioner informed the Governor, Don Francisco Villalobos, of the event, and other particulars of his voyage. Afterwards your Petitioner departed from the Mariannes to this City, where he received as freight different Articles and Gun Powder, partly belonging to the Supreme Government, and the remaining to the "Religiosos Recoletos" (two persons of which order, and some Military men employed by the Government, He conveyed),¹ and returned to the Mariannes, when, having accomplished his duty regarding the Gun powder of the Government, as it is recorded on the returned permit ("tornaquia"), which exists in the hands of the Commissary of artillery, your Petitioner proceeded to his trade of tortoiseshell among the Islands. And, on the 9th January of this year, He returned to Manila in order to careen his Vessel; which having been done, and thinking her fit to be employed with advantage in China, he set sail for that place, where, having arrived, he embarked on board a Ship going to Sydney the Tortoiseshell he brought as freight. Then he continued trading at Lintin till the 26th of May [1838], when, having heard some reports about his own conduct on the Pacific Ocean, and wanting a Document to justify it, he came back to this City, with a view to request from the later Governor of the Marianas a document of the circumstances of his arrival there, and of the information he gave him upon the subject. And for all this your Petitioner entreats your Excellency will be pleased to take information of Don Francisco Villalobos (who lives actually in this City [of Manila]) upon the case; And moreover upon his general conduct during the time that he is acquainted with your Petitioner; and of all the particulars which may be deemed necessary, concerning the wild state of all the Islands near the Mariannes delivering him a certified Instrument of all. And thereupon he will gratefully receive the favor he implores from your Excellency.

C. H. Hart.

[Decree of the Governor General]

Manila, 10th June, 1838.

The Port Captain will charge himself, according to the established rules, with the justification the Petitioner presents and entreats, furnishing him with the proper document.

1 Ed. note: They were the Recollect Fathers Manuel and José, with Governor Casillas.

Camba.

[Declaration by the Port Captain of Manila and ex-Governor Villalobos]

In the town of San Miguel outside the Walls of Manila, on the twenty second day of June, in the year Eighteen hundred and thirty eight, appeared, by virtue of a competent order, Don Francisco Villalobos, Captain in the National Artillery, who before me the actual Notary sworn, and promised under his word of honor to tell the truth on whatever thing he should be demanded. And, being asked of his name and office, said to be the same one as the foregoing, and Captain of the mentioned body.

Questioned, if he knows Mr. C. H. Hart, Captain of the English Cutter "Lambton." *Answered*, that he knows him, because he had been with this vessel during the time the Deponent was Governor of those [Mariana] Islands;

Questioned, after being made acquainted with the exposition the said Captain has presented to His Excellency The Commander in Chief of Marine.—*Answered*, that, on the arrival of Captain C. H. Hart at the Mariannes in the Cutter under his command, "Lambton," together with the aforesaid Schooner, both of which conveyed the Shipwrecked people of the English Whaler "Falcon," saved from the shipwreck which took place on one of the banks [rather reefs] of the Ascension Island, the Deponent concluded, from the relation of several of the said Individuals, that those Islanders had killed the Captain of the "Falcon," Mr. C. Hingston, and other persons of his crew; That the remaining of them, finding themselves strong, defended themselves against those Islanders. And surely they would have been their unhappy victims, if there had not arrived some small vessels, who assisted them, and saved them from the ferocity of those barbarians, of whom all the Crews assembled, including that of Captain Hart, caused the punishment to which he refers.

That he informed the Supreme Government of this incident, and several other unfortunate events of such a nature, which took place during the time he had the command of the Mariannes, and that Mr. C. H. Hart deserves in his opinion the character of an honest man; that he has nothing further to add than what he has just declared. And, after a perusal of this deposition, again confirmed under his word of honor, that all he had deposed is true, being of 46 years of age: And to which is subscribed his Name with that of

Juan Baptista Acha. Francisco Villalobos.
Before me, Apolinario Hernandez.

Resulting from the foregoing declaration that Don Francisco Villalobos has informed the Government of the event adverted to by the Captain of the "Lambton," "Señor Fiscal"¹ forwarded a despatch to his Excellency The Governor, requesting that He would be pleased to cause a copy of the said despatch, in a competent manner auth-

1 Ed. note: Meaning the Government Attorney.

orized, should be delivered up to him, that he may act on these presents. And to that end I have myself subscribed with the said Gentleman what I do certify.

Acha.

Apolinario Hernandez.

It appears on examination that to-day, the twenty fifth of June in the year Eighteen hundred and Thirty eight, was received from the office of the Commander in Chief of Marine the communication and proceedings requested from the Government, as declared in the foregoing proceeding; a Copy of which will be here adjoined thereto.

Acha.

Apolinario Hernandez.

[Original report from Governor Villalobos, dated Agaña 15 October 1836]

Government and Command of Marine at Mariannes.—

No. 182.

Most excellent Señor,

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency for what may concern the Trade of the Archipelago, with the following particulars.

In the beginning of this year, Mr. William Linzon [sic], a Whaler Captain, died on the Island of Timor by a shot discharged by one of its Caciques against another Captain, Mr. Gil [sic], of the same employment, regarding a dispute among the two last ones.¹

On the end of the last month, arrived at this island a Cutter sailed from New Holland, and a Schooner from Sandwich, "Balateias,"² conveying fifteen individuals whom they saved, belonging to the Crew of the English Whaler ship "Falcon," wrecked upon the Banks of {the} Ascension on the 7th July Ultimo (Latitude N. 6°18' Long. E. of Greenwich 158°26'). Her Captain, Mr. John Hingston, and four persons of the Crew were murdered by the Natives of this Island on the 12th August, because the Captain attempted to defend from robbery the Articles they succeeded in saving from the shipwreck. And every one would have had the same fate, had not there arrived some hours afterwards the said small vessels, whose Crews and the remaining of the wrecked Ship took revenge for these assassinations, causing a dreadful havoc of those wild Men, and the same Cacique included. And, instead of him, they appointed another one more inclined to the white men, with the approbation and acknowledgment of the Caciques of the adjoining Islands, and of the Natives remaining in that one, where the Murders took place.

1 Ed. note: The latter Captain was probably Captain Gilles of the French whaler Cachalot, reported in Jones' Ships, pages 111 & 113. The former Captain may have been in charge of another French whaler.

2 Ed. note: The word "Unity" is thus badly transcribed.

I permitted to Mr. Sands, late Chief Mate of the wrecked ship, the sale of the articles he brought up, as it appears from the inclosed paper, which I herewith beg to transmit for the information of your Excellency, etca., etca., etca.

Agaña, 15th October, 1836.

Francisco Villalobos.

Note.—The remainder of the Spanish Paper having no direct relation to the proceedings of the Cutter “Lambton” has not been translated.

True Translation from the Spanish:—Charles Elliot, Chief Superintendent.

A15. Statement by J. Plumb re transactions at Ascension Island

[Sub-enclosure marked A.] Narrative of John Plumb.

Editor's note: As stated below, this man had been a seaman aboard the whaler Falcon, subsequently left sick at Guam by Capt. Hart, sent to Manila by Governor Villalobos, and later sent to Singapore, where he was taken on board the Barque Bengal Packet, Captain Stueard.

The ship **Falcon** belonged to Messrs. C. and T. Jarvis of Upper Thames Street, London, and was fitted out by them to proceed on a Sperm Whaling Voyage. When ready for Sea, her value was estimated at £14,000 or £16,000, I am not certain which. We sailed from London on the 24th May, 1834, well provided with necessaries for the voyage, and a young, active and agreeable crew.

Nothing particular occurred during our passage out, with the exception of losing a man overboard. On our arrival off Sandalwood (an Island to the S.W. of Timor), we saw a few Whales, and cruised off these some time, but with very bad success. From thence we went into Copang, a Dutch port in Timor, and after getting necessary refreshment proceeded to the Molucca passage to cruise till the Japan Season. We saw an abundance of Whales there, but so cunning we could very rarely get near them.

March, 1835, bore up for the Island of Salebaboo [sic] to refresh previous to our departure for Japan. On our passage to Japan, we were driven very much to the Westward, and found ourselves in a fine view of Whales; where we continued to cruise the whole season without being troubled by other Ships. We left in September (after making a good season) and bore up for Guam (the principal of the Mariana Islands), where we got a good refreshment, and sailed for New Guinea in October. Whales were very plentiful there and not much harassed. We continued to do exceedingly well till March [1836], when we found by the Pumps that our oil was leaking, which compelled us to leave our ground sooner than we should have done. Just at the time we were about to start for Guam again, we fell in with the Cutter “Lambton” of Sydney, Captain Hart, who had come direct from the Island of Ascension. Captain Hingston told him he was going into Port to break out his Oil; he directly advised him to go to Ascension, being nearer than Guam, a more snug harbor, a place where we could get refreshments very

cheap, and get the work done peaceably, there being no grog. Unfortunately the fine description of the place induced Captn. H. to bear up for it, and we arrived there in the beginning of April. Our decks were crowded with natives long before we came to an Anchor. We were very much pleased with their friendly manners; they brought off quantities of cooked Bread Fruit, Yams, Cocoa Nuts, and splendid Belts, worked by the native women, for which we gave them small pieces of Tobacco, Pipes, etca. We were ready for Sea in about five weeks, during which time we had no disagreement with the Natives. We were still compelled to remain here, having the wind constantly from N.E., which renders it very hazardous to attempt to beat so heavy a Vessel through a narrow dangerous channel.

Shortly after we had completed all our work, we were very much surprised one forenoon to see the Girls stealing away in the Canoes, and going ashore apparently very much frightened, and others stowed away in a corner of the Forecastle crying. On being questioned as to the cause of their grief by a man who had been living on the Island some time, they said they were afraid to tell; but immediately asked him, what so many natives were doing on board; and why the canoes lying under the stern were allowed to remain there, so well armed as they were with Spears and Stones. The man immediately suspected their intentions; he immediately came on deck and communicated his suspicions to the Mate, who merely laughed and told him to go about his business. Finding he treated it so lightly, and thinking from the uneasiness of the girls there really must be some cause to make them so, I went aft and spoke to the Captain, who thought it was all nonsense. While speaking to him, a high Chief girl came and advised him to clear the decks of all the men; and told him it was their intention to take the ship and murder all hands. The decks were cleared, and arms got in readiness; the whole of the Canoes pulled astern of the Ship a short distance, and held a consultation about 10 or 15 minutes, and then dispersed.

We were told afterwards by a young Chief, who proved himself to be a good friend of ours, that a proposition was made by the oldest son of Hessshipow [i.e. Isipahu] (the King of the tribe) to the other Chiefs to make an attempt to take the Vessel by force; the greater part of them being unwilling, the remainder thought it impracticable by a few, and abandoned all thoughts of it; but he, who first proposed it, being more sanguine than the rest, determined to muster all His own Cooleys, and try to effect by stratagem, what he could not get assistance enough to do by force. It appears they were to have murdered the Mate and Captain first, and the others were to have jumped on deck immediately and have murdered the crew. After this, we kept a more strict watch than we had done before, with plenty of arms constantly ready, fearing they might attack us in the night.

Finding the wind constantly at N.E., the Captain determined on towing the Vessel out [at] the first opportunity. The morning of the 7th July appeared favorable to our purpose, it being quite calm. At 5 a.m., hove the anchor up, and commenced towing with our four boats; and, when near the entrance of the passage, a breeze sprang up from the old quarter. We hauled our wind with the larboard tacks on board, and stood

across the passage, tacked again with a fine working breeze, and stood over towards the reef running out from the mainland, and stood in rather close; the Captain gave orders for the boats to pull to starboard to get her round; but, before we could do so, a squall took her aback; she got sternway, went in the rollers, drove down the reef a short distance, and then struck. We exerted ourselves to the utmost to get her off, but all our efforts to do so proved entirely useless. The Captain, finding all attempts to save her ineffectual, told us we had better save our Clothes first, and, if the weather continued moderate, hoped we would save as much of the cargo and stores as possible. We did as he requested, and, during the 14 days we were able to work on board, succeeded in saving nearly all her Stores, and 900 barrels of the Cargo, and landed it on a small Island near the Wreck, belonging to a chief living on the Main, but not without first asking his permission. After this time, it came on to blow very heavily for three days; the Vessel went to pieces, and the remainder of the cargo floated away. Means were now to be taken to protect the property we had saved, and for this purpose the Crew were divided into three watches, one to be on Nassalley [i.e. Napali], the Island where the principal part of the property was landed, one on a small Island, close to it, called Nor [i.e. Na], where the Captain lived, and the other on liberty to relieve each other weekly. We endeavored to keep as friendly as possible with the Natives by continually making the Chiefs presents. Notwithstanding this, they encouraged their people to steal, and we took no harsh measures to prevent them, till the morning of the 7th August, when Capt. H. went over to Nassalley from the Island on which he was living, when Mr. Wood, the Second Mate, told him it was quite useless for the people to remain there any longer, as the natives had become so bold they took property out of the House, and bid them defiance. On hearing this, he became very much enraged, and, seeing Nanawah, the Chief, asked him what he meant by encouraging his people to steal, after having made him so many presents; he gave some saucy answers, and Captain H. took him by the shoulders and shook him. While doing so, a Cooley, who was behind him, was in the act of darting a spear, when one of our people warned him of his danger; he immediately loosed Nanawah, and sprang on the fellow, took the spear from him, and broke it about his head. They did not appear to take any more notice of it, but went on, as usual, with their work. Shortly afterwards, Captain H. returned to Nor, to breakfast, and several of the Natives went away in their Canoes to Nanawah's station on the Mainland. After Captain H. had breakfasted, he returned to Nassalley with more arms, ammunition, etca., taking his own Pistols in his pocket, and a pair for Mr. Wood. Not having sufficient musket Balls, he took some lead for the purpose of making some, and, while over the fire in the act of doing so, a great number of Canoes were seen coming towards the Island. The Captain was told of it, and cautioned by a Malay we had, whom we used to call Mahomet, he merely looked, and, patting him on the shoulder, said, "Never mind, Mahomet, they dare not attempt to hurt us, we are too strong for them," and again resumed his occupation. He had not done so long, when they landed, and a fellow came slyly behind him, and struck him on the back part of his head with a piece of heavy red wood, about 2 feet and a half long; he sprang nearly six feet, and fell flat

on his face with his arms extended. A brother of the Chief then came up and killed him; by this time, the others were attacked, but were soon overpowered by numbers; the Cooper fought bravely with a large knife, and was the last man killed. The Malay, an English boy, and a Native of Woahoo escaped across the reef to Nor, the Natives firing at them the whole time with muskets. Having entire possession of the Island, they made ropes fast round the necks of those they had murdered, and dragged them round the Beach, till all the skin was completely torn off the lower parts of their bodies and extremities. They then plucked the Captain's eyes out with a spear, and with a knife and Iron Bolt scored them about the heads, and in other respects acted with the greatest brutality.

News of the dreadful occurrence was immediately sent to Warji [Wasai] the Second Chief of the tribe, with whom Captain H. had been living. He came to our assistance with a great number of his people and sent an Under Chief over to the Island to demand the bodies of our people; they gave them up without any resistance. The Carpenter made a coffin for the Captain, and the other bodies were put in Mats and interned as decently as time and circumstances would allow.

After having determined on the best means of defending ourselves in case of an attack, we despatched a message down to Kitty (another Harbor about 20 miles to leeward of the place where we had been lying), having heard the Schooner **Avon** of Woahoo was lying there, to acquaint Captain Dudoit with our misfortune, and to request his assistance, which he refused, unless we consented to consign the whole of the property to him, which we were compelled to do. About the 12th of August, the Cutter "Lambton" of Sydney, Capt. C. Hart, and Schooner "Unity" of Woahoo, Capt. W. Hart, came in. We then mustered very strong, there being about seventy white men besides about 400 natives belonging to another tribe, who had come to our assistance. Our enemies, hearing that we were making preparations to punish them for their barbarity, repeatedly sent saucy messages on board, and told us they should stand their ground, having plenty of fire arms and ammunition. Each boat belonging to the different vessels had a swivel mounted in the bows, and every man his musket, Bayonet, and Cartouch Box, with 18 rounds of Ball Cartridge. When all was in a state of readiness, the Cutter was towed into the passage, and anchored abreast a large Cook House, belonging to the old King's eldest son at his station near Tamer [i.e. Taman, or Temwen]. The boats were then pulled in shore, as near as the flat would allow, and several shots were fired from the 12 pounder on board the Cutter, and the Signal made for us to land; we all left the boats, and attempted to land, but very foolishly on a side rendered almost inaccessible by rocks; the natives, seeing us act so foolishly, were very daring, kept slinging stones at us, shaking their spears, and occasionally firing muskets, and in fact putting us at total defiance. Our natives did not get out of their canoes, seeing they had no chance of using their spears or slings; however, we killed a few this day.

The next day, we commenced the same as the day before by firing from the Cutter into the House; at the same time, our Natives had drawn their canoes up abreast our boats, close to their landing place, and seemed really bent for fighting. They challenged

them in the usual manner; but, finding they would not show themselves, all left their Canoes and followed the white men, who by this time were nearly on shore. They, of course, were more active among the stones and Bushes than we were; they chased them in fine style, and speared many as they were running away. After plundering and destroying the Houses, the Natives on our side challenged them again, but received no answer, so we left, leaving about 13 lying dead. The wounded must have crawled among the bushes, as we could not find any after the fight was over. The Natives had a very warlike appearance, when they were standing up in the Canoes, abreast our boats; they all of them had on their best ornaments, which is customary when they go to War, and each man his sling and spears. Before they attempted to leave their Canoes, they all stood up, beat the sides of their Canoes with their spears, blew their Conch Shells, and used other means to endeavor to get them out to fight, Native Fashion, but they would not. Their custom is to go before the place in their Canoes and challenge them out, and, if they do not come to any reconciliation by the challenged coming forward and offering the Cava root, they generally go on shore, pull their Cocoa nuts and Cava, and destroy a few houses, after which they leave and go home, and sing of the great Victory they have achieved.

The second day we rigged a raft, finding the 12 pounder on board the Cutter could not do very much execution, being too far off. It was well manned and armed. We placed one of the **Avon's** guns on it, fire for lighting the Matches, a flagstaff with colors flying, and two men playing the Drum and Fife. We towed it out and anchored it on the side of the place we first attacked, but the Natives were not to be intimidated by appearances, for they were in the water, dancing, quivering their spears, and daring us to come on, but a very short time before we anchored at the time we were within Musket shot of them. Captain Hart of the **Unity** had the command of it; he liked long balls better than close quarters with the natives.

The next day we purposed going to Tamer, the residence of the King Heshshipow, but, hearing next morning that he had deserted it, we went on shore and burned a few houses, and did other mischief at a small place on the Mainland belonging to a Petty Chief.

The next day, hearing that Heshshipow was concealed in a small house a short distance inland, we went in search of him, but he managed to avoid us. We made great havoc on our way, burning homes, and destroying Bread-fruit, Cocoa-nut, and Plain-tain trees, besides their Cava, which they value most. The petty Chiefs of the tribe, who had remained neutral from fear of incurring the displeasure of either party, seeing we were doing so much mischief, became alarmed for the safety of their places, and several of their people came with them on board every morning and made the Captain an offering of the Cava root to show that they were friendly towards us; but it was never accepted. Not finding themselves quite secure as we had always rejected the Cava, and finding we were determined to get the King, they knew they had nothing to fear from him, when the Vessels were gone, so thought it most prudent to join us and ensure our friendship. The people were told, if either of the Chiefs allowed any of the Murderers

or those concerned in the Nassalley affair to take refuge in either of their tribes, we would proceed in the same manner with them as we had done with the others. The other Chiefs were so intimidated by this that they would not allow them to remain at any of their places, so their only resource was to fly to the Mountains.

One day, a Native brought intelligence of where they were encamped at a place about 7 miles off on the top of a Mountain. We immediately sent a party of natives to land at a place about 7 miles to windward of where we lay, to cross the mountains, and cut them off in their retreat. As soon as we thought they had time to get up to the place, where they were to land, we started on shore, as we had about the same distance to walk, but by a most miserable road over hills and through swamps. Owing to the badness of the road, the inland party was up with them first, and had a pretty smart running fight, in which several of the enemy were wounded; of our side, only one, who was wounded by a spear in the thick part of the thumb. As we were ascending the last part of the hills, which was very steep, we could hear their yells, as soon as the fight began, but could not get to their assistance. When we had gained the path which leads round the Upper part of the mountain, we found they had made great preparations for us, having large piles of stones, placed at distances of 2 or 3 fathoms, ready to hurl down as we were getting up, but, being surprised by the inland party, they could not wait to receive us; had such not been the case, in all probability some of our party would have received considerable injury, as the others had the greatest advantage, having a firm footing, while we were obliged to haul ourselves up by the roots of trees. Our Natives set fire to and plundered their Huts, in which they found many things which had belonged to the "Falcon," but we allowed them to retain possession of them, of course.

All remained very quiet for a few days, with the exception of burning a few deserted places and attacking a small place belonging to a petty Chief, who acted with the greatest barbarity at the time the people were murdered. The boats were manned at midnight, and pulled in quietly with muffled oars, thinking to take them by surprise, but, when within a few yards of the beach, received such a volley of stones as compelled us to lie off again. They began to presume a great deal on having repulsed us for a moment. War horns were blowing in all directions, and numbers of them down on the water side, dancing, shouting and bidding us defiance. The night was dark, and we could not see the people, but our principal mark was a house which we knew they were before. When we were prepared, we gave them the contents of our swivels and muskets at once, which silenced them. After a short time one or two of them came down, and challenged Wargi and his people, but on condition that the white men were not to interfere.

Two days after this, we received a message from the King of another tribe to say Heshipow had taken refuge in an old House on his land, that we were at liberty to go and take him, when we thought proper; And we might depend on not meeting with any opposition from him or his natives. A Canoe well manned with natives and two white men concealed in the bottom of her was despatched immediately. When they got to the place where they were to land, they rushed through the bushes up to the House; a Na-

tive was first up, and saw Heshshipow lying by the side of his wife. He levelled his musket and lodged the contents in her arm. Heshshipow not being wounded took the hint and jumped out of a window, when a white man shot him through the back and he fell; the natives carried him to the Canoe, and he was brought up to the harbor. The next morning they took him on shore and buried him.

The next day, while some white men and natives were searching for Nanawah on a small island, called Manird [Mahnd, or Mant], a native boy pointed out the Man, who murdered the Captain; he was secured and left near a house on the beach, ready to be brought down to the Vessel at daylight, but managed to make his escape. He mixed with the others again, and the boy was the first one who saw him; he levelled his musket; but, it missing fire, he threw it down, and snatched one out of a man's hand, who was standing near him, and shot the fellow dead. They brought him alongside the Cutter about Noon, with news that they expected to catch Nanawah before night. In the course of the afternoon he was found standing against a Bread-fruit tree, quite dispirited; when he saw the man near him, he did not attempt to resist or escape, but merely said, "I know what you want, Jim, shoot me where I stand; I am tired of Life, for I am hunted by every one." He was told it was not the Captain's intention to injure him, but merely to transport him to another Island, where he would be a chief still, and that he would have the privilege of taking his wives and family with him.

After a deal of persuasion, he consented, but begged of the man not to take him on board the **Avon**, and gave as a reason that he knew what his fate would be, if he fell into Captain Dudoit's hands. He arrived on board the Cutter about 7 o'clock in the evening, and showed by his dress, but not by his manners, that he did not place implicit confidence in the promises that had been made to him, being dressed in all his best ornaments, which is customary with those people, when they are going to War, or on any occasion where their lives are in danger. He behaved with great confidence during the Evening, and sat at the Cabin Table drinking Grog, and smoking Cigars. When questioned about the deed he had caused to be done, he gave very bold answers, did not seem to feel the least contrition, and at last said "It is of no use to bother me about it any more. I have done it, and I am now in your power, do with me as you think proper." We chained him to a Stanchion on deck during the night, and kept strict watch over him.

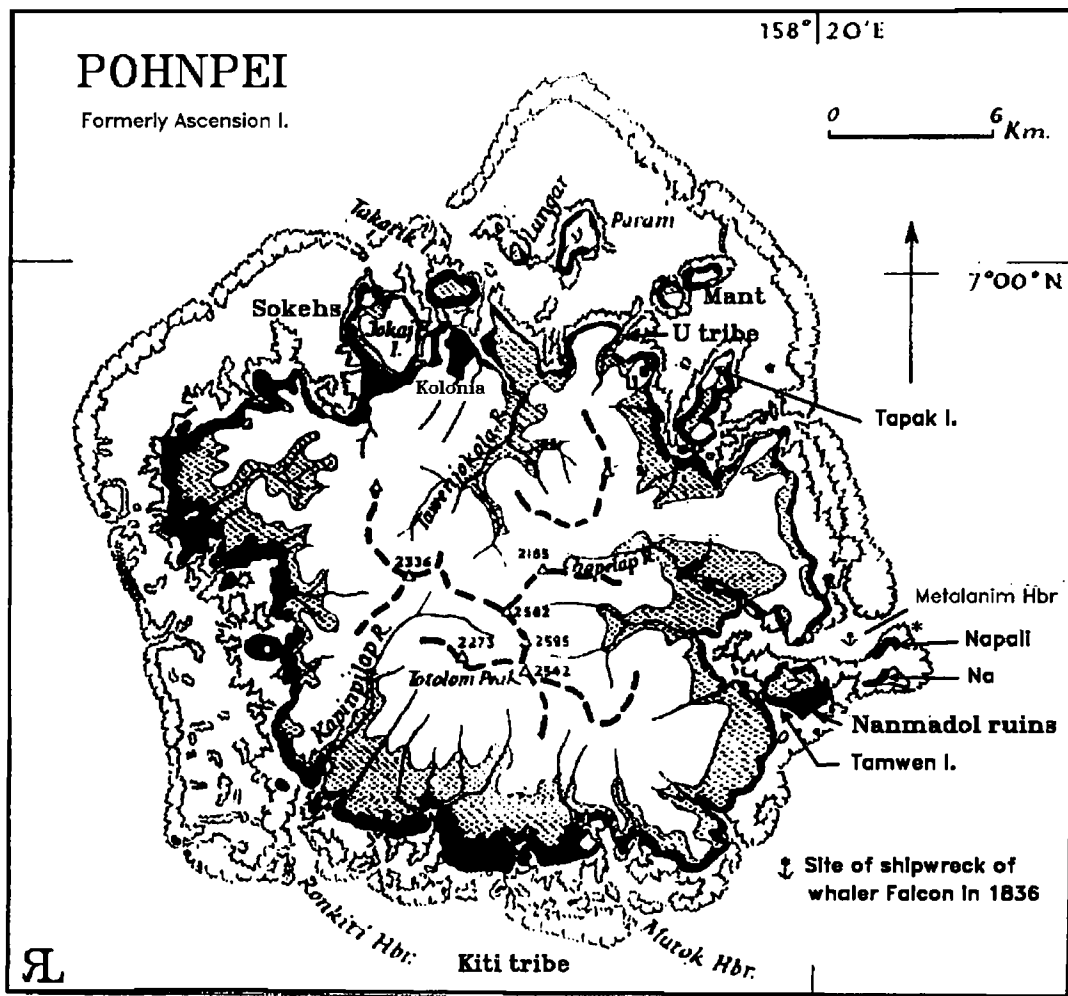
In the morning, his confidence seemed to fail him, on seeing the Cross-Jack yard lowered down and a rope with a Hangman's knot in the end rove through a block at the yard arm. Some of the sailors were putting it on their necks, which made him suspicious that it was intended for him. He called the man who brought him on board and said: "You have brought me to a pretty Island, Jim; but I am quite prepared, it is just what I expected."

At 9 o'clock, all being ready, the Hangmen came on board; these were two black men belonging to the **Unity**, looking more like Fiends than Men; they were dressed in long red gowns, with long wigs made of Canvass thrummed with Manilla rope yarns, and their faces painted red, which gave them a most hideous appearance. When Nana-

wah saw them, he asked who they were, and when told their office, he seemed to shrink with horror. After his arms were pinioned, they came to lead him on the Forecastle, when he groaned heavily and with difficulty walked to a cask placed abaft the 12 pounder on the starboard side of the forecastle, which he mounted with the assistance of two men. When the rope was on his neck, and a bandage over his eyes, he was asked if he had any more to say, or any message to his wife; he said "no," the only request he had to make was that he should die by the hands of Narleck [i.e. Nahluhk?] (one of the Chiefs who first came to our assistance); this was not attended to. The signal was given, the gun fired, and he was run up in the smoke. He remained hanging till 12 o'clock when he was cut down. The Natives towed him on shore by the neck, scratched a hole and buried him across Hessian's breast. Having succeeded in capturing the principal objects of our revenge, we made preparations for our leaving, after making the Chiefs who had assisted us a handsome present, and giving them letters of recommendation to other Captains, who might chance to call there.

This statement was written and handed to me by John Plumb, late Seaman and boat-steerer of the Whale ship "Falcon," afterwards a Seaman on board the "Lambton" Cutter, and left behind at the Marian Islands sick by Captain Hart. This man was brought from these Islands to Manilla, and sent by the Spanish Government to Singapore, from whence he was taken by me at the request of Dr. Montgomery, the Resident Surgeon, and delivered over to the General Hospital at Calcutta on the 1st June last.

John M. Stueard [sic],
Barque **Bengal Packet**.



Documents 1839B

The Falcon affair and Ngatik massacre—Reports of Commander Blake, R.N.

Sources: Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, N° XX; PRO FE 80 C.O. 201/302.

B1. Report by P. L. Blake re transactions at Ascension Island

Editor's note: The information for this report, written as it were before Blake set out on his cruise, came mostly from Captain Hart himself, to whom the letter itself was entrusted, to be carried from Manila to Macao.

[Sub-enclosure marked B.] Commander Blake to Sir F. L. Maitland.

Her Majesty's Sloop Larne, Manila, 29th June, 1838.

Sir,

As I conclude you will have heard from Captain Elliot an account of some very irregular proceedings said to have been committed by the English Cutter "Lambton," Hart Master, the bearer of this letter, I deem it my duty to acquaint you with the particulars of those transactions as far as I have been able to collect them here.

It appears the "Lambton" was employed out of Sydney, N.S.W., in collecting Tortoise shell, beche de mer, etc., from the numerous Islands in the Pacific, and, in prosecution of this object, arrived in Augt. last at the Island of Ascension in Latitude about 6°55' N. Long., 158°30' E.; finding there the English Schooners "Avon," commanded by Dudoit a British subject, a Native of the Isle of France, and "Unity" commanded by T. S. Hart an American, both from the Sandwich islands, and in the same occupation as the "Lambton." It seems that, on the "Lambton's" arrival (the "Unity" likewise only having arrived that morning), a canoe came on board with two or three European Seamen in her, bringing information that the English Whale ship "Falcon" of London had been wrecked there some few weeks previous; that the natives had assembled in multitudes and plundered the wreck; that they had murdered the Master, the Mate, and three or four men, and committed atrocious cruelties on them; and that the remainder were then on shore associated with a tribe supposed to be friendly to them, at all events at variance with the general Mass of the collected Natives. They were described to be in a most perilous situation, and assistance was requested from the Cutter and two

Schooners. The boats of these vessels in passing to and from the shore were fired on by the Natives, who had provided themselves with muskets and ammunition from the wreck of the "Falcon." The Crews therefore of the three vessels joined together, armed themselves, pulled on shore, and, with the assistance of the friendly tribe before mentioned, attacked a party of the natives, routed and killed a vast number of them, and fired the village. They were then advised to offer a larger reward for one of the principal Chiefs, who was well known, which was accordingly done in the shape of rum, Tobacco, Trinkets, and various other descriptions of European goods. This it appears had the desired effect, as the chief, betrayed by this inducement among his own people, voluntarily went on board the Cutter and gave himself up, when he was immediately put in irons. In the meantime the remainder of the shipwrecked crew were still on shore, and here it appears, at this Juncture, a most extraordinary step was taken jointly by the three Commanders of the "Lambton," "Avon," and "Unity." This was no less than a determination, under their view of the late transaction, to hold what they termed a "Consultation" on board the "Lambton" and condemn to death the Chief, who had surrendered himself as prisoner. And strange to relate **this was done**, and the Chief was accordingly hanged on the following morning on board the "Lambton." This extreme measure, strange as it seems to have been adopted by such an Authority, it is said, had the effect of rescuing the remainder of the shipwrecked crew, with which the Cutter and two Schooners sailed a few days afterwards for the Marianne Islands (the Ladrones) a dependency of this Government, and there laid a deposition on the occurrence (I think much as I have related it) before the Governor, who has transmitted the whole of the documents to the Governor here. A Man named Marshall had made a strong deposition respecting this transaction before Captain Elliot previous to my leaving Macao, the "Lambton" being then at Hong Kong.

It appears that the Master (Hart) on hearing this immediately quitted on a sudden, a movement which bore a suspicious appearance; however, his object, as he says, was to lose no time in hastening here to procure from the Government the documents which he considers will explain his conduct and exculpate him. With these, he returns tomorrow.

As to the act of hanging the Chief under such circumstances and such authority, I presume there can be but one opinion as to its gross unwarrantable illegality. However, Mr. Hart seems desirous of concealing nothing but states the fact as it occurred, and seems to rest his justification and defence on what he terms the **necessity** of the case. As it appears from several applications I have had from respectable quarters, offering any security for him in case I should be disposed to detain him, that he is actually bound to Macao without delay, I have deemed it adviseable to abstain from interfering with him, especially as on his arrival the whole of the documents will without doubt, Sir, be laid before you.

It is reported here that Marshall's deposition was made from vindictive motives; he is said to have been well treated by Mr. Hart, and that on a subsequent disagreement he went before Captain Elliot and made the deposition in question. He is represented

here as being a bad character, and I am informed that he was expelled from this place as such by the Government Authorities.

After the transactions above described, I understand that the "Avon" and the "Unity" returned to the Sandwich Islands, and the "Lambton" proceeded here from the Marianne Islands, and then returned there freighted with stores, etc., by this Government. From thence she again returned here, and went on to China, where she was engaged in smuggling opium until her sudden departure from thence, already mentioned, for this place about a month since.

I have thought it right, Sir, to state this much to you as it has come to my knowledge here; and I believe the outline of the transaction to be correct, though different versions will no doubt accompany the detail, which must necessarily be subjected to varied interpretations.

I have, &c.

P. L. Blake, Comr.

B2. The musings of a British Lord regarding the final file on Captain Hart

Note: Lord John Russell was then the Secretary to the Board of Admiralty in London.

Lord Russell to Mr. Vernon Smith [June 1840].

The very long, strange, and shocking Narrative contained in Capt. Blake's report is on every account most worthy of an attentive perusal. It exhibits in the most impressive manner the results of Colonizing Australia with a Convict population who have established or promoted a system both full as atrocious as that of the Buccaneers of former times. Judged it would be difficult to suppose any outrages more inhuman than those of which Capt. Hart and his Crew appear to have been guilty. To the application of the Lords of the Admiralty for suggestions as to remedial measures, it would seem scarcely possible to return any very sufficient answer. The prevention of these offences would require the constant presence of a large Naval Force in the South Seas, which it would I suppose be scarcely possible to afford; nor indeed is it easy to understand how any number of Cruisers which the Admiralty could detach on such a service could effectually maintain the Police over regions as extensive as those which appear to be visited by these Pirates.

It would seem however from this statement that there could be no insuperable difficulty in obtaining legal evidence sufficient to get Conviction of Hart; if that person could be seized and brought to Justice. For the offences committed on board the Cutter he might be tried before the Piracy Commission Court, for which I believe a Commission has been addressed to the Governor and others at N.S. Wales. For the crimes committed at Nuttic [Ngatik] he might be tried before the Supreme Court of that Colony under the provision of the New South Wales Act 9. Geo. 4. Cap ---. It seemed to me that the Admiralty should be co-informed and that they should be desired to in-

struct their officers in the South Seas to seize Capt. Hart, if he can be found, and to carry him with any Witnesses to these transactions to N. S. Wales there to be delivered up to the Governor to take his trial on the Charge of Piracy and Murder. The punishment of this man, and of some of his Crew, might diffuse a salutary dread of engaging on such enterprises, but the grand evil, as described towards the close of Capt. Blake's Narrative will hardly be touched. It is that of the Settlement throughout the South Sea Islands near N. S. Wales of Bodies of Europeans who have escaped either from the Penal Colonies or from the Whalers, and who have (?) in their own persons European skill in the arts of plunder and destruction with a ferocity greater than that of the Savages themselves. I fear that the aboriginal Races of this part of the world are doomed to inevitable and early extinction.

Perhaps it would be right to suggest to the Admiralty to make enquiry as to the Owners of the "Falcon" and other Vessels employed in these murderous Expeditions in order that the Owners may be apprised of these occurrences, and may be invited to assist in bringing the Criminals to justice.

Lord Russell

B3. Policy proposed re outrages in Islands of Pacific Ocean

Under Secretary Stephen to Sir John Barrow

Downing Street, 18 June, 1840.

Sir,

I have laid before Lord John Russell your letter of the 27 Ultimo with the letter herein enclosed from the late Rear Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland, forwarding a report from the Commander of Her M. Ship "Larne" on a visit to the Bonin and Caroline Islands, in regard to acts of violence committed on the Natives by the Masters and others of British Vessels.

I am to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the only course, which it appears to Lord John Russell can be taken on these atrocities, is that the Commander of any of Her Majesty's Ships of War, who may be sent to the Islands in the Pacific, should be instructed to ascertain what evidence can be procured with respect to any acts of murder, Piracy, or Robbery, which have been committed there of late years or which may be committed in future. Lord John Russell further proposes that such accounts and evidence should be transmitted to the Governor of New South Wales, who will be instructed to refer them to his Attorney General; and that, whenever it shall seem to the Governor that a Conviction is probable, Her Majesty's Naval officers on that station should be directed to capture the offenders and bring them to Sydney, and to detain and bring to the same place the witnesses necessary for the proof of their guilt.

For the offences committed on board the Cutter "Lambton," the parties implicated might be tried before the Piracy Commission Court at New South Wales, and, for of-

fences committed in the Islands, the parties might be tried before the Supreme Court of the Colony under the Provisions of the Act 9 Geo. 4. Cap. 83.

Lord John Russell will immediately transmit copies of this correspondence to the Governor of New South Wales for his information and guidance.

I am, &c.
J. Stephen.

B4. Reports re outrages on natives by C. H. Hart and crew

Lord John Russell to Sir George Gipps,

(Despatch No. 79, per ship Eden.)
Downing Street, 10 June, 1840.

Sir,

I transmit to you herewith copies of a letter from the Secretary to the Board of Admiralty and of its Inclosures, containing a letter from the late Rr. Admiral Sir F. Maitland with a report from the Officer Commanding H.M.S. "Larne," on the occasion of her visit to the Bonin and Caroline Islands, in regard to acts of violence committed on the Natives by British Subjects, and particularly by the Master and Crew of the Cutter "Lambton" of Sydney.

I also inclose, for your information and guidance, a copy of the communication which has been addressed in reply by my directions, to the Board of Admiralty; and I have to request use your utmost endeavours to bring to punishment any parties, whom you may have reason to suppose might be convicted either in the Piracy Court or in the Supreme Court of the Colony of such Atrocities as are described in the inclosed documents.

I am, &c.
J. Russell.

B5. Transmission of letter from Sir F. L. Maitland

[Enclosure No. 1.] Sir John Barrow to Under Secretary Stephen.

Admiralty, 27 March, 1840.

Sir,

I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Lord John Russell, copy of a Letter from the late Rear Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland, dated the 5th Oct. last. No. 118, with the Enclosures in original, relative to the visit of H.M. Sloop Larne to the Caroline and Bonin Islands, and for any suggestion which His Lordship may be pleased to make with a view to put a check upon the lawless and atrocious proceedings therein detailed.

I have, &c.
Jno. Barrow.

B6. Transmission of reports from F. L. Blake

[Sub-enclosure No. 1.] Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland to Mr. C. Wood.

Wellesley at Madras, 5th October, 1839.

Sir,

Referring to my Letters No. 58 of the 17th August, and 63 of the 11 Oct., 1838, the one forwarding various documents connected with the case of Mr. C. H. Hart, Master of the British Cutter *Lambton* of Sydney in New South Wales, and the other acquainting the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of my having ordered the *Larne* to Ascension and Nuttic in the Caroline Islands, to enable her Commander to inquire into the extraordinary circumstances to which those Letters allude.

I have now the honor to transmit herewith, to be laid before their Lordships, Commander Blake's report of his enquiries whilst on that service, dated the 5th Feby. last,¹ by which their Lordships will perceive that the charges, which were set forth against Mr. Hart in the depositions already transmitted, are well substantiated.

I also forward to be held before their Lordships another Report from Commr. Blake, as to the state of the Bonin Islands, dated 31st December, 1838, together with a plan of the Harbour of Kitti on the South Eastern end of the Island of Ascension.²

I have, &c.

Fred. Maitland,

Rear-Admiral and Commander in Chief.

B7. [Preliminary] report of Commander Blake to Admiral Maitland

Commander Blake to Rear-Admiral Maitland, dated Kiti 26 January 1839

[To] Fred L. Maitland, Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief

I have come to Ascension in Her Britannic Majesty's Ship "*Larne*" under my Command for the purpose of saying that everything is quiet and peaceful, that no fight or murder, such as was committed some time back have been again practiced at this Island. I understand however that many of the murderers and other bad people have taken refuge together on Tarbac [i.e. Tapak Island], and that some of these men threaten the lives of white men, as well as of other Tribes. I sent this to Tarbac for the purpose of telling every one on that Island, especially Thompson and Townsend, two colored men who have joined and live with the murderers, that if they attempt to take the life

1 Ed. note: His earlier, preliminary, report will appear first. This final report comes last.

2 Ed. note: This map of Kiti is not with the file, of course, and may be found elsewhere, as it no doubt was passed on to the Navy's hydrographic department.

of any man, or endeavour to incite any of the Natives to do so, or if any of the Native Tribe attempt to stir up a fight or disturbance, this Ship or another Man of War will visit the Island again before many months, and whoever may have been guilty of Murder, killing, or stirring up a fight or disturbances, will most certainly be apprehended and suffer the same punishment which they have themselves been the cause of inflicting on others.

I further have to inform Thomson and Townsend that if they are detected in having in any way endeavoured to excite the Natives to Commit murder, they will themselves be held responsible for the act and apprehended and punished accordingly.

“Signed” P. L. Blake, Captain.

Her Majesty’s Sloop “Larne”

Kittie January 26th 1839.

List of Men now settled on Ascension (Caroline Islands) January 28th 1839.

| Names | From whence came |
|-----------------------------|---|
| George Salter | Wrecked in Falcon at Ascension |
| William Holmes | Ditto. |
| John Martin | Ditto. |
| James Headley | Ditto. |
| James Thompson | Desertged from Vigilant Whaler |
| James Jones | Ditto. |
| Benjamin Massey | Deserted from Harriet Whaler |
| Fred. Randall | Deserted from Earl Stanhope Whaler |
| Thomas Austin | Deserted from Howard American Whaler |
| Edwin Roland | Deserted from Albion American Whaler |
| William Taylor | Wrecked on Ocean Island in a Whaler |
| Heinrich Guttack (Russian) | Wrecked on Gilberts Island in a Whaler |
| Lewis Corgat (Seychelles) | Left Avon Schooner |
| John Brown | Ditto. |
| Howard(?) Hendel (American) | Ditto. |
| Thomas Williams | Unknown |
| Thomas Pair | Ditto. |
| Graham Booth | Ditto. |
| Francis Harvey | Ditto. |
| George Maye | Left Avon Schooner |
| William Ellis | Left Unity Schooner |
| James Cook | Unknown |
| John McFarlane | Left a Sandwich Island Trader. |

Men settled on Nuttic (Raven Islands).

| Names | From whence came |
|-----------------|---|
| James Hall | Deserted from Conway Whaler ¹ |
| James Parker | Unknown |
| [Jack] McVie | Ditto. |
| William Mann | Wrecked in Falcon Whaler |
| George Robinson | Unknown |
| Patrick Gorman | Deserted from Howard Whaler . |

H.M.Sloop Larne 5th February 1839.

“Signed” P. L. Blake, Commander.

Ascension depositions.**Fred. Randall,**

a native of a village near Maidstone in Kent, deposed as follows.

That he deserted from the “Earl Stanhope” Whaler in 1834 and settled himself on Ascension where he had since employed himself procuring tortoise-shell. He resided near Metallanine and was there when the **Falcon** was wrecked in August 1836, and when Capt. Hingston and part of his Crew were murdered on the small Island of “Narbally” [Napali] where the rescued part of the cargo and heavy stores of the **Falcon** had been deposited. Had been over to the Island on the evening of the murder and left it again to cross over to “Noi” [Na] another small Island where the Arms and lighter goods were placed. Had repeatedly told Capt. Hingston himself and also mentioned it to others: that it was the intention of the Natives to murder him. The Natives think that if the Captain (the Chief or Head) is made away with that resistance is at an end, which is the case among their own beliefs of their Tribes. He had repeatedly endeavoured to persuade Captain Hingston to be on his guard, as being well acquainted with the language, he had frequently heard among the Natives that they intended to kill him. Capt. Hingston always laughed at his warnings. Whenever a person is intended to be killed by the Natives, the day on which it is to be done is always fixed long before it is frequently talked of; from this he had heard it. It was not known by whom it was to be done, but it was to be amongst Nanawah’s people. On hearing of the murder went over to “Noi” where an English boy and a Malay had fortunately reached by wading over the reef when they were attacked. After this dreadful business all the white men were determined to be revenged on the natives for the murder. They prepared to defend themselves on Noi in case of an attack. Sent a message to Kitty Harbour on the lee side of

¹ Ed. note: Alias Jim the Cooper.

the Island where the **Avon** Schooner was laying to request her assistance, Capt. Dudoit refused it unless all the property saved from the wreck was consigned to him. A paper to this effect was signed by the 1st Mate of the **Falcon**, Mr. Sands, and part of the Crew. The 2nd Mate and the rest of the crew would not sign it. Deponent did not at this time belong to any vessel but was residing on the Island. All the white men joined for the general defence. A few days afterwards the Cutter **Lambton**, Capt. Hart, arrived as also the **Unity** Schooner, Capt. Hart. A general determination immediately took place to unite all their force and punish the Natives for their barbarity. Attacks were made day after day at Metallanine and its neighbourhood. It was all bush fighting, the natives at first were very bold and defied us. We did not manage well, or should have thrashed them in much less time. The fighting from beginning to end lasted nearly a fortnight, but there were intervals of several days on which no attack was made. Captain Hart of the **Lambton** generally commanded and directed the whole proceedings, Capt. Hart of the **Unity** would rather hold off, and Capt. Dudoit of the **Avon** was afraid of some of the men of the **Falcon**, and kept from them. During the whole time of fighting at Metallanine there were about 40 Natives killed; none of the white were killed or wounded. During this time many of the houses, cocoa nuts and bread fruit trees, plantain grounds, and "Cava" grounds which last they value much were all set on fire and destroyed. We thought we should get the best of them in the end. We had fairly conquered them. All the Chiefs and their people began to be afraid of us. We soon resolved on not stopping until we had caught "Ishapow" or "Nanawah" the 1st and 3rd Chiefs of the tribe who committed the murder. "Wargie" the 2nd Chief was a good friend to us. Ishapow was caught and shot by a party of white men and our Natives. Rewards were offered to Natives and their Chiefs to deliver up Nanawah **alive**. We were all strictly ordered by Capt. Hart to take him alive—whenever we could catch him. All his people fell off from him, some from the bribes they received—others from fear. Capt. Hart was very strict on his orders, he had made all the arrangements, and he had frequently said to deponent **that Nanawah should go up to his yard arm if he caught him**. They were now in daily expectation of catching him. I heard that "Jim the Cooper" had got him and that he had taken him on board the Cutter. I went on board the Cutter immediately. I found Capt. Hart keeping the deck and all Canoes ordered off at a distance. Nanawah was below. Capt. Hart immediately ordered me to take strict charge of Nanawah and not to quit his side. I could talk and understand the language much better than Jim the Cooper. I never left him till he was hanged the next morning. I acted as Interpreter to him throughout. I sat at the Cabin Table by his side—he smoked and drank. When questioned as to his deeds, his reply was "It is not my fault. I am an old man," meaning to signify that he could not control his people, and that they disregarded him. He was a man of about 45, certainly not more, robust and strong. This was his only excuse; it was false. Presently Mr. Sands, 1st Mate of the **Falcon** came on board. He came below and instantly made a rush at Nanawah with a knife to stab him. I stopped him as strict charge of him was given me by Capt. Hart. Mr. Sands said he would have revenge for his Captain's death. I said you shall take my life

first. Thus Mr. Stanley, Mate of the Cutter, came in and interfered. Mr. Sands afterwards got pistols. I continued standing before Nanawah, and called to Capt. Hart up the skylight, who came below and immediately put M. Sands in irons. He and Mr. Stanley, his Mate, put him in irons with their own hands. After this Nanawah still continued seated at the Cabin table by my side. About nine or ten o'clock all retired to Bed. I took Nanawah on deck and chained him to a ring-bolt by Capt. Hart's orders. I slept close by his side with a loaded pistol under my head. He was hand-cuffed. During the night he twice attempted his own life [but], from the hand-cuff and the way he was secured, he could not reach his neck. I discovered him drawing his **small belt** tight round his **testicles**, to put an end to himself, and took it from him. I afterwards found him attempting the same thing with his **broad belt** (these are worked belts made of the fibre of the plantain tree and worn by all the Natives of the Islands, some of those worn by the Chiefs are beautifully worked in different patterns). He begged me to loose him and let him swim on shore. I told him it was more than I dared to do. He several times questioned me as to what was to become of him. I uniformly disclaimed all knowledge of what his fate was to be, except that I had heard he was to be transported to another Island with his family &c. I knew better but **this** I did by Captain Hart's positive orders.

At daylight he asked the cause of all the bustle on board, why all the white men were assembled, but at the same time seemed well aware of the fate that awaited him. I now by permission of Capt. Hart **plainly told him his fate**. "Then shoot me," he said. I told him I was afraid of Capt. Hart, who had given me orders to hold a strict guard over him. During that time several of the men were mocking him, and putting the noose over their necks, and laughing; he was sadly distressed. When the two Hangmen came on board from the **Unity**, he swooned away. Capt. Hart directed all the proceedings, Nanawah was taken forward, his eyes bandaged, and he was placed on a Cask. Capt. Hart was standing abaft; he ordered me to ask him if he had anything more to say? or any thing to communicate to his family? His answer was that he wished to die by the hands of another Chief. This was not regarded. The Gun was fired and he was run up in the smoke.

Deponent does not know who **did** or **did not** lay hold of the rope. Many of the Englishmen would not do it. Deponent did not take hold of it himself. He hung till twelve o'clock when deponent cut him down by Capt. Hart's orders and his body was towed on shore by some of the Natives.

They now became quiet, **as they had had a lesson**. A few days afterwards the **Lambton** and **Unity** sailed for Guam with part of the **Falcon's** Crew and the **Avon** sailed for Woahoo with a load of the **Falcon's** oil, about 450 Barrels.

James Headley,

(son of a Branch Pilot in the London River) was wrecked in the **Falcon**, and joined the **Lambton** Cutter almost immediately after her arrival at Ascension in August 1836. Was concerned in all the fighting at Metellanine during several days, as were all the white men; was the bearer of the letter to Capt. Dudoit of the **Avon**, then at Kittie, to

request his assistance after the murder—whose message he brought back. Was a constant attendant on Capt. Hart, went every where with him. Capt. Hart gave all orders and directions during the several days fighting at Metallanine, had often heard Capt. Hart give out “**that he must catch a Chief to hang for example,**” assisted in all the attacks, and in firing and destroying the houses and plantations &c of those who were their enemies. Was on board the Cutter being one of her Crew on the evening when Nanawah was brought on board by “Jim the Cooper.” Saw him go below, saw him smoking and drinking Grog in the Cabin in the evening, as he looked down the skylight. Afterwards saw him chained to a ring-bolt for the night under charge of Fred. Randall, who slept close to him. All on board the Cutter knew what was to be Nanawah’s fate. Saw Nanawah in the morning, not long after day-light; he seemed depressed in spirits. Some of the white men were putting the noose of the rope over their necks and laughing at him which he thought very cruel. Saw all the preparations made under Capt. Hart’s direction for Nanawah being hanged. Heard Capt. Hart order Randall to ask him if he had anything more to say. Attended on Capt. Hart during the execution to carry any order he might have to give &c. Saw Nanawah run up in the smoke when the gun was fired.

Edwin Roland—

deserted from “Albion” whaler some years since, was residing near Metallanine Harbour in Ascension in Aug. 1836 when the **Falcon** was wrecked, her Captain and people murdered, &c., was one of the first over to the Island in the morning the murder became known, knew of the intention of the Natives to kill Captain Hingston and endeavoured repeatedly to induce him to be on his guard—all his warnings were ridiculed. He was sure it would happen if Captain Hingston remained on the Island. The Natives had fixed the time as is their usual custom. They generally carry their plan into effect at a certain point when their fated victim is at a particular place, or when he is on the point of accomplishing any object in which he is occupied. They have very superstitious notions on this subject. He had heard that Captain Hingston was to be killed when he had finished his house, he was repeatedly told of it but always laughed at it. He had no doubt that Capt. Hingston would have been killed at the appointed time, but the house was not quite finished, and the fracas with Nanawah and his people hastened the Catastrophe. Afterwards joined all the white men in punishing the Natives for their barbarity. Were well reinforced by the arrival of the “Lambton” and “Unity”. All their guns, boats, arms, &c. were employed in attacking the hostile tribes. Was at all the fighting at Metallanine during the whole time both ashore and afloat. Knew they must conquer in the end, but thinks that affairs were imprudently directed. They had every advantage as to arms &c. and no want of information &c. as the friendly tribes allied with them, were very quick and clever, and a brave daring set of warlike peoples. They fought with great confidence and courage, arising from their knowledge, as was supposed, of the great resources of the white men as to arms, powder and shot. Captain Hart of the **Lambton** generally conducted the attacks &c. Captain Hart of the “Unity”

did not like “**powder**”, and it was more than Capt. Dudoit’s life was worth to mix among the **Falcon**’s men—he had robbed them. He no sooner arrived in Metallanine than he laid hands on the casks of provisions, blocks, tackle, and furniture saved from the **Falcon**’s wreck, and took them on board the **Avon**. After all the fighting, and destroying houses and laying waste the plantations of their enemies. Knew that they must soon have both Ishapow and Nanawah dead or alive. His orders from Capt. Hart were to bring **either** of them he might catch on board the Cutter **alive**. This was a general order among all the white men given by Capt. Hart of the **Lambton** and he believed also by Capt. Hart of the **Unity** and Dudoit of the **Avon**. If he had caught either of them, he should have certainly obeyed it, though he did not belong to any Vessel but was residing on shore. He considered all the white men as acting under Capt. Hart’s orders, went on board the Cutter when he heard Nanawah was captured, was some time on board and returned on shore, went on board again the next morning and saw all the preparations made for the execution, and was present when it took place. Capt. Hart gave all directions &c. and Fred. Randall was the Interpreter for every thing addressed to Nanawah. The Gun was fired and he went up in the smoke.

Benjamin Massey

who deserted from the **Harriet** Whaler about four years since, was residing in the Metallanine Tribe when the **Falcon** was wrecked and her Capt. and people murdered &c. He tells the same story of joining with all the white men in punishing the Natives for their barbarity and of participating in all the fighting at Metallanine and its neighbourhood, of Ishapow’s death from a musket shot, and of Nanawah’s destitute condition when he was captured and brought on board the Cutter by “Jim the Cooper”. He also states that Capt. Hart of **Lambton** commanded the boats, men &c. That they were resolved not to stop till they got Ishapow and “Nanawah” dead or alive. Went on board the Cutter on the morning of the Execution, saw the preparations made all under Capt. Hart’s directions, when the signal was fired and Nanawah run up in the smoke.

George Salter

was wrecked in the **Falcon**, and worked hard in assisting to save Cargo, Stores &c, saved upwards of 1000 barrels of oil out of 1500. The Natives were continually stealing from them, the wreck was fired by them the night before the Captain was murdered, he with all the rest joined in attacking the murderers and fighting off and on for several days. Capt. Hart of the **Lambton** took the lead in all their proceedings. He wished to revenge his Captain’s death. Heard that the Head King (Chief) of the Tribe had been shot, and was himself on board the Cutter when Nanawah was brought on board by Jim the Cooper. Saw him secured to the deck for the night under the charge of Fred. Randall, and the preparations for his Execution were made in the morning under Capt. Hart’s superintendance. Deponent saw him executed on board the Cutter, but did not belong to her.

Thomas Austin

an American, deserted from the **Howard** Whaler of New York about five years since. Was at Metallanine when the **Falcon** was wrecked and entered on board the Cutter shortly after her arrival. Relates the same story, the murders, the attacks to revenge them, the fighting for several days at Metallanine when the **Falcon** was wrecked, and entered on board the Cutter. The shooting of Ishapow, of which party he was himself one who fired at him, the desertion of Nanawah by his people and his final capture by Jim the Cooper. Was present when he was brought on board the Cutter, saw him drinking grog in the Cabin, afterwards chained to the deck, and in the morning saw all the preparations for his execution made under Capt. Hart's directions, by whose signal the gun was fired and he was run up in the smoke.

John Martin

was wrecked in the **Falcon** and had resided on the Island ever since (This was the first man that came off to the **Larne**, and acted as pilot in taking her into and out of Kittie Harbour). His account ran much in the same strain as the others, as to their being wrecked, their Captain and others murdered and the wreck plundered and fired. Joined with all the rest of the white men in attacking the Natives after the arrival of the **Avon**, **Lambton** and **Unity**. Had several days fighting in which about thirty or forty Natives were killed, but none of their new allies, nor of themselves was killed, but one or two of their Natives wounded. Speaks of Captain Hart's determination to have Nanawah **dead or alive**, and not to slack their operations till they got him. Heard of Ishapow being shot, and of Nanawah being captured a day or two afterwards by "Jim the Cooper" in a most deserted and destitute condition. All his people had left him through fear, or bribes, the latter was principally tobacco, and was carried on through the means of the friendly tribe, it being supplied from the **Lambton** and **Unity**. Was on board the Cutter the morning of the Execution and saw it take place under Captain's Hart's directions. Believe that every white man in the Island was on board of her. Is jointly of opinion that if Nanawah had not been hanged, every white man in the Island would have been massacred.

(Copy)

"Signed" P. L. Blake, Commander.

Nuttic Depositions

Benjamin Massey

deposed that he joined the **Lambton** in Nov. 1835. Left her again at Ascension in 1836. Joined the **Avon**, Capt. Dudoit. Again joined **Lambton** in June 1837 previous to her sailing for the Raven Islands, was an additional hand on board her over and above her usual Crew. Capt. Hart said he wanted a few additional hands. Understood she was going on to Southward after calling at the Raven Islands, had no idea she was going to

Nuttic for any other purpose than to **Trade**, and believes positively that she went solely with that view and intention, had never heard of the **long talked of attack upon Nuttic** being spoken of by Capt. Hart or any other person, but had heard some of the crew speak among themselves of revenging the treachery of the Nuttic Natives, and their conduct on the Cutter's first visit there. There were only one or two men then in the Cutter who were in her at the first visit. The Cutter took down to Nuttic a large boat which had belonged to the **Falcon**, also two Canoes and about a dozen or more Ascension Natives. They were all supplied with Arms. Capt. Hart always said he meant to **trade quietly** if they would, but never told me what he should do if they **would not trade quietly**. Expected that they should be received in a hostile manner; therefore went armed and prepared, as did all hands. On the first attempt to land, several Natives came down but would not come out of the Bushes. They had Clubs, Slings and stones in their hands [and] they beckoned to them to come on shore. They landed but stuck by the boats. The Cutter was lying to off. Some stones were slung at them by the Natives which they returned with a few musket shots, about five or six; believe they took an effect. We all retreated for the night to a small Island where we slept.

On the following day a regular attack was commenced on the Natives with all the force and arms we mustered. Capt. Hart gave the orders for it. It was to punish the Natives for their treachery. We landed at the same place as the preceeding day, and found the Natives in the Bushes with their Clubs &c. We chased them in all directions. Every **man** that could be found was shot. These were Capt. Hart's orders. We were routing them and firing at them the whole day and killed a great many. None of the women or children were chased that I know of, heard one woman was wounded accidentally in the arm by a Musket Ball. We did not kill all the men on this day, we reckon there were some remaining. In the afternoon we retreated to the Boats, and then to the Island as on the previous night. On the following day we resumed the attack and killed several more **men**. In the afternoon we had entire possession of the Island. Every man was killed, not one was left that we could discover. We heard that about 20 or 30 had taken to their Canoes and gone to sea on the previous day. Could swear that none of the women were treated with violence. Capt. Hart gave orders to that effect. There were from 80 to 100 Women and Children as near as he could tell, think that altogether about **fifty men** were killed. Two or three of the Women "**took to**" White Men and went with them to Ascension by their own Consent. Capt. Hart got all the tortoise shell that was there; he took it **himself** on board the Cutter. Think there was about **10 lbs** at the utmost. "**He was always very keen after the Shell.**"

After this we returned to Ascension in the Cutter, and shortly afterwards sailed again in her for New Ireland and New Georgia. Called off Nuttic on our way and left there Patrick Gorman, in charge of the Island. Capt. Hart made him the "Ishapow" or Head Chief, and he had 24 Ascension Natives with him. We went on for Shell to New Georgia. Gorman was to collect shell till Capt. Hart's return. We returned to Ascension in about four months, calling at Nuttic on our way up, and picked up Gorman whom we brought to Ascension. We shortly afterwards sailed again, and again went to Nuttic,

where we left Gorman again with some Ascension Natives, and one or two Canoes. We also left there, Jack McVie, James Parker and Frederick Randall and their girls. Afterwards we went to Guam and then to Manila, where I left her.

James Headley

wrecked in **Falcon**, joined the **Lambton** in August 1836. After all the Metallanine fighting was over and Nanawah hanged, went in her to Guam and Manila and returned to Ascension; was there in her in June and July 1837. About this time some extra hands were entered on board her, he did not know for what purpose. They sailed for the Raven Islands, had on board an additional boat that had belonged to the **Falcon**, in which Captain Hingston had intended to go to Guam, also took down two Canoes in tow with about 14 or 15 Ascension Natives. Does not know that the Cutter went to Nuttic for any other purpose than to trade, had no idea to the contrary, had never heard a **"long talked of attack upon Nuttic"** spoken of by Capt. Hart or any other person, knew that they were about to sail for Nuttic, also knew that there was a good deal of shell there—so he had heard. Had often **"heard Capt. Hart talk of being very anxious to get the shell at Nuttic and that he would have it."** He always said he meant to **trade quietly** with them if they would, but never told deponent **what he should do if they would not.** Was one of the party who landed at Nuttic on the first day. The Natives were in the Bush with their Clubs and Slings in their hands. They beckoned to us and threw some stones. A few musket shots were fired and nothing more. We retreated for the night to a small Island where we slept. We made a regular attack on them with all our force the next day. We soon routed them. We killed every **man** we could meet whether he was **actually fighting or not.** This was by Capt. Hart's orders who had the command of every thing. In the afternoon we retreated to the Island as on the previous night and slept there. Several pits were found dug on the beach near where we landed and covered over with large leaves.

Resumed the attack the next day exactly as before. Killed many more men and got entire possession of the Island. None of the Women were ill treated, he could swear to that, as far as he knew. Heard that about 30 men had taken to their Canoes and gone to sea the previous day. Thinks that about **50 men** were killed altogether. Capt. Hart got all the shell that was worth having (the Hawks Bill) at the most about **20 lbs.** It was not near the quantity he had expected **"from what Sindrey said he had seen,"** but **all the rest turned out to be the green turtle shell, which is good for nothing.** Sindrey had seen about 130 or 140 lbs of **"shell"** as he thought when the Cutter was at Nuttic the year before, and when he was obliged to run for his life. He was cut across the shoulder with a knife on that occasion, and also struck with a club on the calves of his legs. After this I returned to Ascension in the Cutter, and there left her. We took up with us three or four Nuttic Women. I understood it was with their own consent. I had nothing to do with them. A [pregnant] woman was confined on board the Cutter on the passage up. Both she and her child are now living on Ascension.

Frederick Randall

joined Cutter **Lambton** at Ascension about June or July 1837 just before she went to Nuttic. He was an additional hand over and above the usual number of her Crew. Always believed she was going to Nuttic to **Trade**, and for no other purpose. She took down an additional boat which had belonged to the **Falcon**, also two Canoes and several Ascension Natives. Randall here goes on, almost verbatim, with the same statement as the two preceding Individuals. He relates the account of their landing the first afternoon, seeing the Natives in the bush with a hostile disposition, of their firing a few muskets when the Natives threw stones, retreating to the Island for the night, attacking regularly with all their force on the following day, killing every **man** they could, renewing the attack the next day and getting final possession of the Island every **man** having disappeared. He mentions the Pits found dug in the beach and covered over with large Taro leaves, and adds that they knew the Natives had no other arms than their Clubs and Slings. He also states that every thing was carried on by Capt. Hart's orders, that he had often heard him say he would **trade quietly** if they would, but he had never told him the alternative he should adopt **if they would not**. He declares also that the women were not treated with violence, that they were not abused, that Capt. Hart's orders were very strict on this subject, had heard of several Natives were taking to their Canoes on the first day of fighting and going to sea, think that altogether about forty or fifty men were killed during the two days fighting, and that he never suspected anything was intended from the Cutter taking on board additional White Men, and additional large boat, and a number of Ascension Natives with two Canoes previous to her sailing for Nuttic. He then relates, **but not before he was questioned**, the history of Sindrey seeing the **large quantity of shell** in the Cutter's first visit to Nuttic, and speaks of Capt. Hart's disappointment in finding so much of it "**Green shell**." Saw Capt. Hart **himself** take all the "Hawks Bill" there was, and convey it on board the Cutter, thinks there was about 16 or 18 lbs of it. After this business returned in the Cutter to Ascension and left her. Confirmed the account of the woman being confined on the passage. Went down again in Cutter to settle at Nuttic some months afterwards but again left it to return to Ascension where he is now living.

Lewis Corgat

(of the Seychelles), joined the **Lambton** in August 1837 at Ascension when she was about to sail for the Raven Islands, and declares his belief that she was going there for the sole purpose of trading. The statement of this Individual is an exact recapitulation of the preceding ones, as to landing the first day, seeing the Natives in the Bush, making regular attack on them the second and third days &c annihilating the men, getting possession of the Island, and a number of Natives taking to their Canoes who have never since been heard of, and as to the number of men killed, which he considers to have been in the whole about **fifty or upwards**. He mentions the circumstances of a woman being wounded in the arm and tells the same story precisely about the quantity of **shell** supposed to have been seen by Sindrey (but not before he was questioned) and

of Capt. Hart's disappointment in finding so much of it "**Green shell**". Saw Capt Hart **himself** take off what was "**good**" to the Cutter, which he thinks was about from 25 to 30 lbs. Had often heard him speak of the "**Shell**" at Nuttic and declare "**that he would have that shell somehow.**"

Henry Guttack

a Russian by birth, deposed that he joined the **Lambton** at Guam in April 1837, having reached that place after he was wrecked in an English Whaler on "**Gilberts**" Islands,¹ came to Ascension in **Lambton**, and shortly after sailed for the Raven Islands. Here Guttack relates the whole history of the occurrences much as others have done: he speaks of the first day's landing, the two following days fighting & annihilating **the men** and getting possession of the Island, of the Canoes with several Natives putting to sea, of Capt. hart directing the proceedings, and many other particulars already detailed. He thinks that altogether the number of **men** killed was between **50** and **60** and that the quantity of shell taken off by Capt. Hart was under **20 lbs**. He returned to Ascension in the Cutter and then left her. Some Nuttic Women came up passengers in her, he was told by their own Consent, one was confined during the passage, every attention was paid to her, she and her Child are now living on Ascension. Does not know whether the Cutter would have returned directly to Ascension, or proceeded on to the Southerward if the fight at Nuttic had not occurred.

[Copy)

"Signed" P. L. Blake, Commander.

Statement of James Hall, alias "Jim the Cooper."

James Hall deserted from the **Conway** Whaler at Ascension about four or five years since. Was there in July and August 1836 when the **Falcon** was wrecked, &c. Here Hall relates the same story as already so repeatedly detailed, as to Captain Hingston's murder, the fighting at Metallanine, &c. He had received orders from Capt. Hart as had many white men to take Nanawah alive if they caught him, and he, as well as others, had distributed presents such as Tobacco, &c to many of the Natives, to induce them to give intelligence about Nanawah or to capture him. He little expected to see Nanawah where he found him standing against a bread fruit tree, though he thought they must have him **dead** or **alive** before long. He persuaded him to go on board the Cutter, though he told him "**to shoot him**, and held out to him, as was Capt. Hart's orders, that he would only be removed to another Island, and that no other harm was intended him. He (Hall) knew better. After Nanawah was safe on board the Cutter, he had very little more to do with him, as Capt. Hart gave him in charge of Fredrick Randall, since he was the best hand amongst them at understanding and talking the language. Saw him drinking and smoking in the Cabin and afterwards secured to a ring-bolt on deck. In the morning Nanawah upbraided him asking if "**that was the Is-**

¹ Ed. note: This ship must have been the Corsair.

land he promised him." Witnessed the preparation for his Execution, and saw him hanged at **nine o'clock**.

Was not at the attack on Nuttic but went down there in the Cutter to settle after the Island was **taken**, and has been there ever since. In his first arrival the women were frequently destroying their Children and themselves. He and others took from 5 to 6 children each under their care, whose Father had been killed, and whose Mother had destroyed themselves.

Patrick Gorman

left the **Howard** American Whaler at Ascension four or five years since. He told the same story of all the affair at Metallanine, &c and saw Nanawah hanged.

He joined the Cutter in June 1837 and sailed for Nuttic in her to **Trade**, and tells all the same history of her proceedings and the attack, killing every man and "**taking**" the Island as he termed it. He declared he had no knowledge of an attack being intended as Captain Hart always said he meant to trade quietly if they would, and affirmed that the women were not ill treated. He assisted Capt. Hart in taking off to the Cutter the "Shell" that was good; all the **Green** Shell was left. He related nothing new on this subject.

After the Cutter's return to Ascension he engaged with Capt. Hart in take charge of Nuttic, and Capt. Hart brought him down again in the Cutter with many Ascension Natives and left them all there. He was made Ishapow or Head Chief by Capt. Hart in writing and engaged to give him half the shell he could procure during the Cutter's cruise to New Georgia. He confessed that he shot a man whom he met with, but said he thought he was of the number who escaped in Canoes and had returned, and if he had not killed him, he should himself have been killed. He thought Capt. Hart had a right to make him Ishapow of the Island as he had **conquered** and **taken it**, and he agreed to give him half the shell he could procure as **return** for his being made Ishapow by Capt. Hart. On the Cutter's return from Southward she called and took him up to Ascension and he again returned in her with several others and has been at Nuttic ever since. He said that he thought "**better than half a hundred**" were killed during the two days' fighting.

B8. [Final] report by P. L. Blake re proceedings of C. H. Hart in South Sea islands

[Sub-enclosure No. 2] Commander Blake to Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland.

No. 27.

Her Majesty's Sloop "Larne," at Sea, 5th Febr., 1839.

Sir,

My accompanying letter No. 28 detailing my proceedings will inform you of my having made the Island of Ascension (Caroline Islands) on the 17th Ult., of having obtained communication on the 18th. and received on Board an English Seaman as Pilot, and of having entered and moored in the Harbour of Kittie on the 19th. The same communication will also acquaint you of my sailing from Kittie on the 31st and making the Raven Islands on the following day, and communicating with Nuttic the South West-ermost of the group on the 2nd and 3rd Inst., on which latter day I finally made sail from off those Islands on my return to China.

With reference to that part of your orders to me of the 3rd Oct. last, regarding the "alleged highly irregular and criminal conduct of Mr. C. H. Hart of the Cutter 'Lambton' at Ascension and Nuttic in 1836 and 1837," I now beg, Sir, to submit for your information the following details gathered from the examination and accompanying depositions of various Individuals who were personally concerned in the transaction, severally alluded to therein. It was evident that the object of a visit from a Ship of War was at once conjectured by them; and, altho' the majority of them repaired to Kittie from their different abodes round the Coasts of the Island, there were some who did not make their appearance as I was informed thro' fear of apprehension.

With respect to the arrival of the Whale Ship "Falcon" in Metalline Harbour, "Ascension," in April, 1836, her long detention there from the constant N.E. trade wind, the attempted plot of the Natives to cut her off and murder her crew, the discovery and consequent failure of it, her attempt to beat out and subsequent wreck, the pilferings carried on by the Natives on her stores, goods, etca., which soon increased to the boldest depredations, and their firing the wreck are all known facts, which have in no instance met with the slightest contradiction. To this also is to be added the circumstances of Captain Hingston of the "Falcon" striking or shaking "Nanawah," one of the inferior Chiefs of a Tribe, on discovering that he and his people had during the night stolen a topsail, which it appears led to immediate revenge by the murder of Captn. Hingston and the part of his Crew then with him on an Island, called Narbally, a short distance from the Mainland, on which had been deposited all the Cargo and heavy stores saved from the wreck. There is strong reason also to believe that a hostile feeling towards white men, on the part of Nanawah and his Tribe, together with an inordinate desire of plunder, contributed to the savage act perpetrated by them: especially as they were afterwards discovered to have been the principal in plotting the attack on the Falcon, while lying in the Harbor of Metalline. From this period may be dated a general vi-

olent feeling of hostility on the part of every white man on the Island against the perpetrators of the murder, as well as against all others, who, by rendering assistance to them, should evince an inclination to take part in their defence, and a general determination to revenge the death of Captain Hingston and his people was from this period loudly declared.¹

A few days after the fatal occurrence, the English Cutter "Lambton," C. H. Hart, Master, and the Schooner "Unity" of Woahoo, commanded also by a Mr. Hart, arrived in the Harbour of Metallanine, finding the Falcon a wreck on the reef, and a warfare carrying on between the white men together with a friendly tribe of Natives their allies, and the Tribe and adherents of Nanawah: the Avon, Schooner under Sandwich Island Colors, commanded by a Mr. Dudoit of the Isle of France, was at this time lying in the Harbour of Kittie, on the lee side of the Island, and a message was sent down to request her assistance, which the Captain refused, unless the whole of the property saved from the wreck was consigned to him, to which hard conditions they were partly compelled to yield. With the force therefore now available, attacks were commenced, in which it is almost unnecessary to say that the Europeans uniformly had the advantage from the superiority of their means, their arms, ammunition, etca., while their Native allies were valuable channels of local information and as spies and informants regarding the movements of the Enemy.

It has been said that, shortly previous to the attacks, a plan was concerted by the Natives to cut off the Cutter and two Schooners; but I nowhere found sufficient evidence to bear out such a supposition. They had undoubtedly become bold from success, as **they** considered it, in their plunder, murdering the Captain and his people. And hitherto escaping with impunity; and it is reported that they had fired at the Boats when on their way to the Shore for wood and water; that Muskets were fired at them I believe is true, for it appears that a state of open warfare had existed since the murder of Captain Hingston and his crew; and, as it is plain that the boats of the 3 Vessels, armed and manned with near 40 Europeans, accompanied by about 400 Native Allies in their Canoes had another object than the one of merely proceeding on shore for wood and water. That object was undoubtedly to take vengeance for the murder of the Falcon's people.

Partial attacks and fighting were carried on now from day to day at Metallanine and the neighbourhood, all the force of the Cutter and two schooners, their Guns, Arms, etca., the wrecked crew of the Falcon, and the white men previously on the Island being formed into one body under the Captains of the Vessels, who all joined in the general determination to revenge the murder.

It should here be observed that Nanawah was not more than the **third** chief of his Tribe; tho' he had been known to be the most active in his hostility to the white men, and undoubtedly the instrument and instigator of the Murders and what still more in-

1 Ed. note: The few paragraphs that follow were published at the time in the Nautical Magazine (see Doc. 1839C2).

censed him against him was the evidence of many Natives that he was the actual perpetrator of most barbarous and brutal cruelties in mutilating and defacing the bodies. Against him therefore, all the vengeance of the Europeans seems to have been directed. "Wargie" or 2nd Chief of the Tribe had evinced a friendship towards them, but the Head Chief "Ishapow," [Isipahu] tho' he had been by no means active in the matter, was nevertheless included in the proscription declared by the Europeans, as well as all who should in any way evince the slightest hostility to them. In consequence of this determination being made known, propitiatory offerings of the "Cava" root, according to custom in their own warfare, were frequently made by various petty chiefs and others whose interest it was to remain neutral, but the "Cava" was never accepted. This had the effect of keeping them in a state of terror and suspense, and effectually deterring them from taking part against the White Men; during these several days' fighting and routing the hostile Tribes, their habitations, Cocoa-nut and Bread fruit trees and banana plantations, and above all their "Cava," on which they set the greatest value, were fired, destroyed, and laid waste. These proceedings becoming universally known, an intimation was spread about that, if any of the Chiefs or others permitted the murderers to associate with or take refuge in their Tribes, they would be treated with the same severity. With the many advantages the Europeans possessed, these measures seem brought things to an issue. A terror and apprehension pervaded the Natives generally, and had the effect of reducing Nanawah and his adherents to a state of entire destitution. With the aid of bribes and inducements, the Europeans had it all in their own hands. Information was now sent by the "Nana-mara-ghee"¹ [i.e. Nahnmwarki] or Head Chief of the Warrah Tribe near Kittie, where Ishapow was concealed, adding that that he should show no opposition to their seizing him. On this, two white men with a few natives hastened to the spot and found him in bed, when he was instantly fired at, but the ball missed him and went thro. his wife's arm. He immediately sprang up and bolted outside, when the party fired several shots at him, one of which passed through his back and killed him on the spot. On the following day, the identical man, who struck Captain Hingston his death blow, was recognized and pointed out by a Native boy, when he was seized but made his escape. This boy not long afterwards again caught sight of him, and at once pointed his Musket, which he had in his hand, to shoot him. It however missed fire, when he quickly seized one from a European near him and shot the man dead. This boy was on board the "Larne" at Kittie, and seemed an active, quick and intelligent lad.

Though the foregoing details recite in a cursory manner the leading occurrences up to the period when Nanawah was captured, it may be necessary to revert to the day of the "Lambton's" arrival, when intelligence of the Falcon's wreck and the murder was conveyed to Capt. Hart. On hearing it, he immediately declared he would revenge the death of Captain Hingston, and, by the evidence of James Headley, apparently a very

1 Ed. note: This title (as well as other names) was badly transcribed in the published Historical Records of Australia, and the copy in the Public Record Office was used to rectify same.

respectable lad who was wrecked in the Falcon and joined the Cutter almost immediately on her arrival, Captain Hart had frequently given out that "he must catch a chief to hang for example;" and it will also appear by the deposition of Fredk. Randall, who, under the orders and directions of Captain Hart, had performed a prominent part in the whole affair, that he (Capt. Hart) had frequently said that "**Nanawah should go up to his yard arm if he caught him.**"

The several accounts conveyed in the depositions will best explain themselves; but it is impossible to refrain from remarking on the boldness and high presumptuous tone of authority assumed by Captain Hart on all occasions. He seems to have taken the general Chief Command in the disposal of the Force, ordinary attacks, etc., and the implicit obedience apparently paid to him not only by his own Crew but by the whole of the Europeans shewed that he had inspired a terror amongst them against the slightest infraction of his Commands.

I had repeatedly enquired why Nanawah was not at once shot on Shore, instead of being brought on board the Cutter to be hanged in a formal manner? James Hall (alias Jim the Cooper) answer to this question was that it was Captain Hart's orders to bring him on board alive, if he caught him, and therefore to shoot him was more than he dared do. This was an order promulgated amongst all the White Men, and moreover the strictest injunctions were issued by Captain Hart previously to "Jim the Cooper" and others employed on the same object to hold out promises to him that no harm was intended him, that he was only to be removed to another Island, whither his family would be allowed to accompany him.

A day or two after Ishapoe's Death, Nanawah, deserted by his People and in a helpless condition, was discovered by James Hall standing alone against a Bread Fruit Tree in a state of despair. He made no attempt to escape but said to Hall "I know what you want, shoot me, I am deserted and hunted everywhere." Hall replied that "he dared not shoot him" and that he intended him no harm, in short proceeded as his orders directed. He prevailed on him to go on board the Cutter; but he evinced especial horror at the idea of being taken on board the "Avon," as he said he knew what he might expect at Captain Dudoit's hands. He was accordingly taken on board the Cutter at 7 P.M. when a "**consultation**" (as it was termed) was held, and a Sentence of Death, signed by the Three Commanders of the "Lambton," "Avon" and "Unity," and all the subsequent particulars up to the time of his execution on the following morning are fully detailed in Randall's deposition.

An anecdote somewhat ludicrous, but perfectly true, is related of the preceding evening; on a discussion arising as to which of the Three Vessels he should be hanged on board of, Captain Dudoit of the "Avon" was at once out of the question, since for some private enmities he did not dare approach most of the "Lambton's" Crew. It, therefore, remained between the two Captains Hart of the "Lambton" and "Unity" to execute him. These two vessels had been in the habit of wearing at their Mast heads on alternate days a sort of "Broad Pendant" (as it was described to me), each Commander assuming on that day the appellation of "Commodore." the "Broad Pendant" being

transferred every evening from one to the other. On the day of Nanawah's capture, the Cutter had worn the "Pendant," consequently it became the "Unity's" turn to wear it on the following day; when the question became settled as to the execution taking place on board the "Lambton," her Captain (C. H. Hart) said, "**If I hang him, I will wear the Pendant,**" a point which his namesake of the Unity readily conceded, and the "Lambton" did wear the "Pendant" accordingly during the Execution.

In order to illustrate further the bold and imperious tone of Captain Hart's arrogated power and authority, there are other characteristic anecdotes which are corroborated by a host of individuals. He directed all the arrangements as if for a lawful naval Execution, andaped every formality of that awful scene. On Nanawah's eyes being bandaged, he was asked by Captain Hart's orders loudly addressed from abaft to Fredk. Randall, the Interpreter, "If he had anything more to say? or any message to send to his Family?" To this, his request was "that he might die by the hands of another Chief," which passed unheeded; immediately afterwards, the gun was fired, and he was run up in the smoke; nearly all the white men on the Island attended the Execution, and, in order to give more effect to the scene, about twenty were drawn up on board the Cutter, with their small arms, and directed to discharge a volley, when the signal gun was fired. Among these were several of the Falcon's Crew, and, all being loaded with ball, two or three of them pointed their muskets at Nanawah's body, feeling a desire, as they said, to avenge their Captain's death. Captain Hart at this moment standing aft directing the proceedings, with his pistols in his belt, and seeing the Muskets raised in that direction on a sudden exclaimed loudly "Fire a volley as you are ordered; any man who dares to discharge his piece at that body, I will this instant put a ball through his head," at the same moment taking his Pistols from his girdle. The Muskets were instantaneously lowered, and fired by way of a volley as directed.

Whatever may have been the aggressions of Nanawah, or whatever his deserts, there were circumstances occurred shortly before his Execution at once revolting and barbarous, and which exhibit in a strong light the cruel, the remorseless levity of seamen, when their passions have been let loose, and where they are uncontrolled by Discipline or Education. During the Morning, the hour of his Execution, when a scene of awe at least might have been expected from them, several of the seamen were diverting themselves with putting the rope over their necks, and practising ridiculous gestures by way of mockery on the wretch who was to be hanged, while he lay on the Deck before them shrinking¹ with horror and despair; and, when the two hangmen stepped on board, a loud roar of laughter arose throughout the vessel, at which and the sight of his Executioners the wretch swooned away. These were two African Blacks belonging to the "Unity," one of whom I saw, and is now on Ascension. They were dressed up in long red gowns, made up from Seamen's red kersey shirts and closed down the front. They had on long wigs made of canvas and thrummed with yarns of Manilla rope, four or

1 Ed. note: Incorrectly transcribed as "shrieking" elsewhere; the depositions are clear on this point.

five inches long, and powdered over with flour, and their faces painted in broad streaks of red, as also their legs and feet. Their devilish appearance had such an effect on Nanawah that he swooned away amidst the roar of laughter of the crew.

The Religion, if such can be called, of the Ascension Natives seems to consist in a general belief and fear of supernatural Spirits, and Nanawah declared to Randall, his constant guard and Interpreter, that he thought these figures were the spirits of the Murdered people which the white men had the power to raise before him.

The circumstances attending this Execution have now been so fully detailed that it scarcely seems necessary to allude to them further. The Chief Nanawah was hanged on board the English Cutter Lambton in the harbour of Metallanine in the Island of Ascension (Caroline Islands) towards the end of August, 1836, under the special and personal superintendance of Mr. C. H. Hart, the Master of her, and the body was cut down at Noon by Fredk. Randall, under the directions of the said Mr. Hart, and towed on shore by the Natives for burial.

The accompanying depositions I conceive afford abundant proof of the transactions herein detailed; several other individuals, who were personally concerned in them, were examined in Kittie; but I have deemed it sufficient to select for transmission the circumstantial statements of those only, who appeared to me the most ready and intelligent; their several accounts of the whole affair are remarkably consistent, and nowhere did I discover any material discrepancy. It likewise cannot fail to be observed that they are for the most part in accordance with the outline of the matter as deposed to by James Sindrey, George Richards and William Rogers before Captain Elliot at Macao in May and July last; with respect to Marshall's evidence taken at the same period, there are several occurrences distorted or misrepresented, though his narrative as to the movement of the Cutter regarding the attack on Nuttic seems tolerably correct. It is remarkable that every individual acquainted with him has without an exception been of one accord in declaring him to be a most abandoned character. He had represented himself at Ascension, as also at Guam and Manila, as a son of the Earl of "Pomfret," and by these means had swindled various people, who were credulous enough to listen to him, out of money and other articles besides which he is a great **Drunkard**.

Though most of the same individuals were concerned in the occurrences both at Ascension and Nuttic, yet, as the following [rather preceding] pages relate entirely to affairs at Ascension in August, 1836, I have abstained from confusing them with the transactions at Nuttic in July, 1837, to which latter subject I shall now advert.

[Nगतik massacre]

It appears by the statement of James Sindrey, taken before Captain Elliot at Macao in July last, that he went in the Lambton Cutter, Capt. Hart, to the Raven Islands in the very early part of 1836, when on a trading voyage for Tortoise shell out of Sydney, New South Wales; That he, with Captain Hart and two or three others, landed on Nuttic; that the natives seemed to receive them well; that he and an Ascension Native, who was with them, went from the Boat, leaving Capt. Hart and the others with her; that

he was presently alarmed by the Ascension Native calling out to him "to be on his guard, as the Natives were getting their Clubs and arms to kill him," upon which they both ran for the Boat, he (Sindrey) being struck at on his way by a knife, and receiving a blow from a club on the calves of his legs; that they reached the boat and got safe on board the Cutter then lying to off; and sailed away to New Ireland and New South Wales; from whence he again sailed about May, 1836, in the "Lambton," Captain Hart still commanding her, but with another crew, and arrived at Ascension the middle of August. There is here a most important circumstance, which Sindrey has omitted to mention; when he went from the Boat with the Ascension Native, it was to seek among the Nuttic people for tortoise-shell in order to barter for it with Tobacco, axes, adzes, etc. It happened that he saw a large quantity of "Tortoise-shell" in one of the Natives' Houses; he thought as much as 130 or 140 lbs., and was about to bargain, when he heard the alarm and ran for the Boat, when the Cutter departed as already mentioned, both Sindrey and Captain Hart under the full belief that there was a fine quantity of shell to be had at Nuttic. It seems the Cutter's time was employed, after August, 1836, when Nanawah was executed, between Guam and Manila, besides various visits to Ascension, at which Island she happened to be in June, 1837. About this period several extra Europeans, beyond the usual number of her crew, were entered on board her; and, during the month of July or thereabout, she sailed from Ascension for the Raven Islands **professedly** to trade there. In addition to the extra white men, she took with her a large boat which had belonged to the "Falcon," and which had been risen upon by Captain Hingston before his death for the purpose of taking him to Guam;¹ she also took in tow two Canoes with about 15 Ascension Natives with Arms, etca. complete. With these she proceeded to Nuttic. It appears that they attempted to land near the same place as on the preceding year. Captain Hart and all his people went armed with Muskets, ammunition, etca., as well as the Ascension Natives in their Canoes. The Nuttic Natives shewed a disposition to give them again a hostile reception, hanging about the bushes, with Clubs, slings, etc., in their hands, and beckoning them to come on shore; a few muskets were fired but nothing more was done, and they all retreated that evening to a small Island to the Eastward where they slept.

On the following day, all proceeded on shore and commenced a general attack on the natives, routing and killing them in all directions. It is not denied **that every man was shot** under whatever circumstances he was found. Pits were discovered dug on the beach four or five feet deep, and covered over with the wild "Tara" leaf, which is immensely large. The whole party retreated again to the same Island for the night and renewed the attack on the following day, precisely in the same manner as before. **No man was spared.** One woman was accidentally wounded by a musket ball, but it is a fact that several of them within a few days afterwards destroyed their young children and hanged themselves. The Natives had no means of defence whatever beyond their

1 Ed. note: That is, washstrakes had been fixed to the boat's gunwales, to prevent it from being swamped by waves during the proposed long sea journey in this open boat.

Clubs and Slings against a strong party of Europeans and others well provided with fire Arms.

On the afternoon of the second day's attack, the latter had entire possession of the Island, which is low and flat, and appears not more than from four or five miles in circumference. **Every male having been shot** except about twenty, who, during the first day's attack, took to their Canoes, on the N.E. side of the Island, and have never since been heard of. In my various enquiries, I have found various accounts as to the Number of Men killed, but all ranging between forty and sixty. It may therefore be fairly concluded that fifty men were destroyed, exclusive of those who took to their Canoes. Sindrey was not on this expedition, having remained at Ascension; but it appears that Captain Hart had good information as to **where** the quantity of "**Shell**," as seen by Sindrey the preceding year, was to be found. He repaired to the spot to possess himself of it, as is affirmed by Randall, Headley and Corgat, but what was his extreme disappointment when he found that, out of the 130 or 140 lbs. computed by Sindrey, not more than 20 lbs. of it were good? However he possessed himself of what was worth having, which from varied accounts is stated at from 18 to 30 lbs. and took it himself on board the Cutter.

During all my enquiries, it was ever denied that the women were violently treated, since it cannot be expected that the parties actually concerned, who were my only informants, would acknowledge it if it was so; nor could I for the same reason any where elicit a confession that there existed among the Crew a belief or suspicion that the Cutter was about to proceed to Nuttic with any other object than that of "trading." Facts however must stand as strong evidence on this subject. The Natives of Nuttic, if accounts be true, had already shewn a hostile disposition to the white men approaching their Shores; a repetition of the attempt therefore might naturally be expected to meet with the same hostile reception. The Island is small tho' the largest of the Group and the only one inhabited. Those Inhabitants were known to possess none but their native Arms, viz., Clubs and Slings, not even Spears. They might have had treacherous designs or objects on the white men when they appeared; but there was no urgent reason why the latter, with the plea of "**Trading**," should, whether from Avarice or Revenge, carry a forced invasion to their homes. Savages as they most undoubtedly are and with no other means of Defence but their Native Clubs and Slings, what other than a total annihilation of them could be expected from a strong armed force of renegade European Seamen, with excited passions and well supplied with fire Arms and Ammunition. It must also be remembered that the additional large boat with the extra white men and Natives could not have been shipped at Ascension immediately before sailing without some effect. And I conceive that the shipment of those extra Europeans and the Falcon's Boat, together with a body of Natives and their Canoes, all about the same period, gives a strong tone of suspicion to the whole proceedings. To all my enquiries as to Captain Hart's declared intentions, before leaving Ascension for the Raven Islands, the Answer was that he always said "he meant to trade quietly if they would;" but on no occasion did he further disclose his intentions as to what measures he should

adopt in case of other contingencies. It is possible that the Seamen, who shipped with him, were not acquainted with all his views; but I partly extracted from one individual an indirect and unwilling affirmative to the question "Whether **he** thought the Cutter was bound for an attack upon Nuttic in case the Natives would not trade with them **quietly**." In short, I conceive that it is an absurdity to blink the matter further; and, as I have before observed, the known facts of the case must in a great degree contribute the evidence, and I trust that the apprehension I have formed of them may prove plain and intelligible.

From all that has been said, it will not appear surprising that I could in no instance obtain **direct** evidence of a "long talked of Attack upon Nuttic," as deposed to by Marshall. Whatever may have been the secret broodings on that subject within Captain Hart's own bosom, I should think that he was not rash enough to avow them.

It is proved by the evidence of James Headly that Captain Hart had often said he was anxious to get the "shell" at "Nuttic," and that he would have it, while Massey and Corgat confirmed the same, viz., that he was always keen after the Shell, and that he would have the Nuttic Shell somehow. It also appears from Massey's Statement that a desire to revenge the treachery of the Nuttic Natives on the Lambton's first visit to them was talked of among her Crew, though with about two exceptions she had since changed the whole of them at Sydney.

It needs but little sophistry to declare a conclusion from all the foregoing history. The inference to be drawn from the various proceedings are simple and obvious and leave no ground for evasive or doubtful interpretations. The circumstances once Enumerated will themselves proclaim each prominent point of suspicion. Without adverting therefore to what **had** or **had not** been previously spoken of, or concerted, as to an attack upon Nuttic, it is sufficient to look to the points that preceded its actual accomplishment.

In the early part of 1836, the Lambton Cutter, Captain Hart, being on a Trading Voyage, calls at the "Raven Islands," and, while attempting an intercourse with the Natives of Nuttic, a large quantity of "Shell" is observed by one of the Crew, an Article which he was then employed in collecting, and to obtain which it is said "he was always very keen." The sudden hostility however evinced by the Natives at this moment drives them on board their Vessel and bars every prospect of further intercourse at present. The view therefore of trading quietly with them for this Shell is reserved for a future period. The Spot was known, and they might perhaps effect an intercourse at some more propitious opportunity.

In July, 1837, the "Lambton" being in Metallanine harbour, Ascension, Captain Hart gives out that he wants some additional hands, tho' the number of his Crew was complete. Several Europeans are therefore shipped. It is said that the Cutter is bound to the "Raven Islands" about a day's sail from Ascension, for the purpose of "**trading**." The reception she had met with at these Islands on a former occasion was known, as was the fact of part of the Crew having narrowly escaped being murdered by the Natives. Yet, Captain Hart, who had himself witnessed this fact, gives out that he is about

to proceed to Nuttic for the purpose of “**trading quietly**” with the Natives, if they will do so, but declares his intention no further. having provided the Cutter with the extra hands, an additional large Boat, and a number of Ascension Natives, with their Canoes all well armed, he sails for Nuttic. He attempted a landing and finds the Natives disposed as before to give him an unfriendly reception. By way of inducing them to “trade quietly,” he retreats to compose his force in order to visit their unfriendliness with redoubled vengeance on the following day, which he effectually executes, and, with a strong armed gang of Renegade European Seamen, exterminates in a most murderous manner the entire male population of the Island, a set of mere savages whose only defence against the arms rested in their Native Clubs and Slings. The Victory thus achieved, and having now undisputed possession, he repairs to the known spot which contains the supposed treasure of the Island, but what is his disappointment on discovering but one fifth part of it to be pure and the rest mere worthless druss, or in other words from twenty to twenty five pounds of valuable shell of the Hawks-bill turtle, and the remainder upwards of 100 lbs. the worthless shell of the Green Turtle, the former of which he himself conveys on board the Cutter, and she shortly afterwards proceeds on her return to Ascension.

This latter circumstance of the quantity of shell formerly seen by Sindrey, dropped I imagined inadvertently by Headley during my examination of him, at once laid open an important feature of the subject. It affords in my opinion strong presumptive evidence of a preconcerted attack, and in short supplies, as it were, a Key to the Motives that directed it.

The entire history hitherto detailed was collected from Individuals at Ascension, who were most of them present and personally concerned both in the execution of Nanawah in 1836, and the attack on Nuttic in 1837. Having sailed from Kittie Harbour on 31st January with the purpose of Communicating with the Raven Islands, it only remained for me to obtain an interview with James Hall (alias Jim the Cooper) and Patrick Gorman, both of whom had acted prominent parts in each affair, and were now settled on Nuttic. We had no sooner stood in close under the Lee of the Island on 2d February, than they both came on board, having taken us for a Whaler as we had hoisted neither Ensign or Pendant; and their surprise was perceivable on discovering their mistake. James Hall left the “Conway” Whaler at Ascension four or five years since, and was there in July, 1836. He at once related all the History of the Affairs at, and near Metallanine, the Falcon’s Wreck, the murder, fighting, etc., that ensued, and in short every other particular that has been already so often detailed. He declared that, when he met with Nanawah standing against a tree, he had little expected to see him; and, though he knew that he must soon be captured, he had no idea of discovering him in such a destitute condition. He came upon him through the information of the Natives; he had distributed amongst them presents of tobacco, etc., as had most of the White men, to induce them to bring intelligence or to capture Nanawah. He had received orders from Captain Hart as had every other White man to take Nanawah **alive** if he could. He used only persuasion to him to induce him to go on board the Cutter,

and held out to him that he would merely be removed to another Island, and that no other harm was intended him. These were Captain Hart's orders to every white Man. After Nanawah was safe on board the Cutter, he had little more to do with him, as Captain Hart gave him in charge of Frederick Randall. He saw him smoking in the Cabin, and afterwards secured to a ring-bolt on deck for the night, witnessed the preparations for the Execution in the Morning, and saw him hanged at Nine o'clock.

Hall was not at the attack on Nuttic, but went down there to settle after it was "taken." He believes that the population is greatly reduced, as, on his first arrival there, he frequently knew of women destroying their young children and hanging themselves. He and the others, who settled there, took each of them four or five children under their care, whose Mothers had destroyed themselves, and whose fathers had been killed.

Patrick Gorman's statement, respecting the Metallanine affairs, the Falcon's Wreck, Murder, etc., was a counterpart of the others. He was on "Nor" [sic] the morning of the Murder, employed by Captn. Hingston in protecting some of the Goods, and saw the Malay and English Boy who escaped wading thro' the Surf towards them; and he afterwards saw the bodies of the Captain and others which were much defaced and mutilated. He goes on to state that he was at all the fighting that ensued at Metallanine when the Head Chief, Ishapow, was shot, and finally Nanawah taken prisoner. He with all the others was acting under Captain Hart's Orders; but he declared, had he met Nanawah, he would have shot him on the spot. He saw him brought on board the Cutter, knew he was to be hanged and saw him executed.

Regarding the Nuttic Attack in 1837, Gorman now went on to state the particulars much in the same strain as the rest had done. He joined the Cutter as an Extra hand; and, as to the landing, attacking, killing every man they could find, not ill treating the Women, Gorman's story was a repetition of the Rest, as was his account of Captain Hart getting from 20 lbs. to 25 lbs. of Tortoise Shell, and several Natives putting to sea in their Canoes on the first day's attack; but like the others he refrained from saying a Word about the Quantity of shell supposed to have been formerly seen by Sindrey, until I questioned him, when he confirmed those particulars. After the Island was "taken" as Gorman termed it, he returned to Ascension and shortly afterwards again went down to Nuttic to settle there. It was now that Captain Hart gave him the Island, and made him Ishapow or Head Chief of it. He had with him about 20 Ascension Natives, who were to assist him in collecting Shell until Captain Hart's Return, while he, by agreement, was to deliver up to him half of what he could obtain. He stated that, as the Work was done by himself, and all the Nets, Canoes, Poles, etc. his own, he considered the half, which he agreed to deliver over to Captain Hart, as a Return to him for his having given him (Gorman) possession and made him Ishapow of the Island; and he added that he thought, as Captain Hart "had conquered and taken the Island," he had a right to make whom he chose the Ishapow or head of it.

I here beg to annex the following Copies of original Documents, which I procured from Gorman and which were left with him by Captain Hart on the above-mentioned occasion.

[Ownership of Ngatik Island]

(Copy)

"This is to certify that I, Captain C. H. Hart of the Cutter Lambton, do leave on these the "Raven Islands" Patrick Gorman in full charge and possession of these Islands and all persons thereon, for the purpose of procuring tortoise-shell; any person or persons molesting the same, I shall consider Felony."

(Copy)

8th August, 1837.

"I hereby leave you on these Islands in full possession thereof and charge of all the people, and all the tortoise shell that can be procured during my absence; and you are to have the one half and me the other."

(Signed) C. H. Hart.

To comment on those two documents would be absurd. I shall therefore only proceed to Gorman's account of himself. He confessed that he shot a man after Capt'n. Hart's Departure to the Southward; he denied that he was old or infirm, but made out that he believed him to be one of those who had taken to their Canoes and returned, and that he considered he shot him in his defence. It is true that at this period two Canoes with twelve Ascension Natives, **five** in one and **seven** in the other, started away to return to their own Island. Though eighty miles nearly in the wind's eye, the one with five arrived safe, but the other was never heard of. Gorman declared that he was ignorant of the cause of this Act, unless it was, as he observed, "that they were afraid **he should punish them** as they were aware he knew that some of them had had connection with one of his Girls." I had heard this circumstance at Ascension; but, as Gorman is here the sole Witness in his own case, as also in that of Shooting the Man, it is impossible to know what belief to attach to his Story.

On Captain Hart's return to the Southward in three or four months, he called at Nuttic, and took Gorman to Ascension, from whence he shortly afterwards again returned to Nuttic in the Cutter, and Randall, McVie, Jim the Cooper and J. Parker with him, as also some more Ascension Natives who all settled there, and he had been there ever since. They were paid their wages by Capt'n. Hart in "Trade." And the boat, which had formerly belonged to the Falcon, with her Sails, Gear, etc., in which all were to have an equal Share. To my question as to his calculation of the number killed at the Attack, he replied "better than half a hundred."

[An old shipwrecked boat, circa 1834]

I was informed by Randall, Headley and Corgat that the Stern of an European boat, and two or three butts of Muskets, with other Fragments all in a decayed state, were found near the Beach at Nuttic on their first landing. From the Accounts given by the Women, 4 or 5 White men had come to the Island in her some time back and were killed. They affirmed that a long time had elapsed and from the appearance of the Wood it was imagined that it must have occurred two or three years back. These savages here

and at Ascension have no idea of record or calculation of time, and know not what written characters are. It must therefore be left to conjecture whether the boat in question was drifted on the Island, or whether she landed with a hostile purpose. If the latter, it affords some explanation to the reception given to the Lambton people on their first arrival.¹

It seems that, in the line of the Caroline Islands, the Current is perpetually setting strong to Westward, as also at some distance Northward and Southward of the Chain. We found it strong two or three days before making Ascension, and especially so on the night we stood off Nuttic, which we barely fetched in the morning, though we had carried all sail through the night to keep to windward. Many instances were related of the constant drifting of Canoes Westward from Island to Island, and the only thing that indicates from whence they come is the make or fittings, as every Island possesses some peculiarity of its own with regard to its Canoes, and they are mostly known to the Europeans who remarked them when on their Sundry excursions in Whalers. Every Island also has its own language, from which the Natives when drifted about are unable to explain from whence they come.

Nothing could be more striking than the difference of features and the exterior appearance of the Ascension and Nuttic Natives. About the time of our arrival, three Canoes with Natives in them were drifted on Ascension from the Duperrey or Wellington Island 50 or sixty miles to Eastward; and it is a curious fact that the Woman, who was confined on board the Cutter on her passage up to Ascension after the attack on Nuttic, was drifted on the latter Island, in a Canoe from one of the innumerable Islands, in the Ralick Chain, or the "King's mill Group." She had been on Nuttic about two months when the attack took place; and, by means of what she had acquired of that Language, she stated that they were drifted to sea, herself, and three men off their Native Island "Yeppan,"² that the men had died, and that she had subsisted on a small portion of rotten bread-fruit for twenty-six or twenty-seven days, when she reached Nuttie. Here the natives would not assist her, but offered her no violence in her weak and miserable condition. This woman had never even heard of a white man; yet, whether from terror at remaining at Nuttie after the scene she had witnessed there, she associated herself with them, and being "taken to," as it is termed by one of them, she by her own desire accompanied him to Ascension in the Cutter. I believe she was not only treated with humanity, but received every attention. Both she and her child are now living at Ascension with a European, with whom also are living two native children of Nuttie, whose mother destroyed herself, and whose father was no doubt among the number killed.

The residence taken up by European seamen on the various islands throughout the Pacific is most extraordinary. On Ascension they are dispersed in all parts round the

1 Ed. note: It is possible that such men had previously been beachcombers on Nauru, Banaba, or one of the Gilbert Islands, that is, not directly connected with any ship. The few paragraphs that follow were published in the Nautical Magazine (see Doc. 1839C3).

2 Ed. note: Generally thought to be identical to Ebon, mispronounced and/or misquoted.

coast of the island, residing with chiefs or petty chiefs, under their immediate protection, to whose tribe they are considered to belong, and whose people become, as it were, their working attendants or slaves, pulling them in their canoes, fishing for turtle for them, collecting shells, etc. in short, doing whatever may be required of them; the only compensation they require is in the shape of occasional small payments in pieces of tobacco. The chief perhaps receives nothing for a long period, but on the arrival of a ship when trading is carried on, he is presented in return for his protection and the services of the people of his tribe, with one or two muskets, Axes, adzes for making canoes, powder, or a portion of tobacco, or whatever he may most desire; and this seems to be the sort of tenure by which the white men hold their settlement on the island.

When the chiefs have once engaged to protect, they have in general shewn great fidelity to the white men; or, if the contrary has occurred, it is admitted that the fault has been with the latter, either from an irreconcilable temper, or failure in their promises and engagements. This is a check on the bad and dishonest propensities of some of the renegade characters, since it must be the good feeling preserved with the native chiefs, engendered by [self-] **interest**, as well as by attachment that must ever prove the best security of the white man, under the very extraordinary circumstance of their established mode of living amongst a set of Savages. These people are jealous in the extreme of any violence offered to an individual of their own Tribe by any other, and this often leads to immediate War, and are keen at information or discovering any suspicious movements in another tribe.

The brother and refugee adherents of Nanawah with many others who still maintain a lurking enmity to the white men, have united themselves to a Tribe on an island called "Tarbac"¹ close off the northeast side of Ascension. Here they all reside, and seldom mix with others over on the Mainland. They say they defy the white men or any of the Native tribes, their Allies, but have as yet dared no aggression. Should anything be attempted, it is said that the Five large Tribes on Ascension, or certainly four of them, might be relied on to side with the Europeans. Those on Tarbac are aware of this, and the overwhelming force they would have to encounter will probably keep them quiet. Three renegade North American Blacks have taken up their quarters with these people, and swear vengeance against the white men, on account of some former animosities. Martin, who acted as Pilot to the **Larne**, a quiet sort of man, living abreast of Tarbac, was for some time apprehensive of an attempt upon his life by these men, and for a period of more than a month, he assured me his chief would never leave his side, and that upwards of one hundred people slept every night around him armed with spears and muskets, and that any man attempting to approach would certainly have been killed.

I beg leave to enclose a copy of a paper I sent up to Tarbac, and which was read and explained to many of the Chiefs who came on board; and I am persuaded that the visit

1 Ed. note: Rather Tapak, in the U district.

of a ship of War had a general beneficial effect, both with regard to the Europeans and the natives.

There are upwards of thirty white men now at Ascension, and six¹ at Nuttic; and, by accounts derived from several of them, there are Europeans and American seamen at present domiciled on the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea, on New Ireland, on New Georgia, on Pleasant Island, Ocean Island, on some of the King's Mill Group, on Navigators Island, on the Fejee Islands, and many on the Friendly Islands. Most of the above are known to individuals now on Ascension, and there are probably more of the same description.

The number of whalers cast away must also be considerable. There are seamen on Ascension who belonged to the **Falcon**, wrecked there, to the **Corsair**, wrecked I believe on some part of the Ralick Chain, and to two others, one wrecked on Gilbert's Island, one of Hall's Group, and the other on Ocean Island, a mere sand bank in 28° N., a little W. of 180°. ²

The majority of Europeans scattered about the islands is undoubtedly composed of seamen who have deserted from, or have been wrecked in whalers. But there are others who have left small trading vessels, chiefly connected with New South Wales or the Sandwich Islands, employed in collecting tortoise shell, biche de mer, etc., and no small portion of their number also is composed of runaway convicts from the penal settlements. It appears their occupation is divided between collecting tortoise shell and breeding stock for the supply of whalers and others that may call off for refreshments.

At Ascension money of whatever coinage is valueless amongst them, and was actually rejected by the Europeans as useless to them. The articles of barter [which] they look for in return for their shell or supplies are muskets, powder, ball or lead, clothing of any sort, axes, adzes, beads, pipes, and above all Tobacco, which actually constitutes the pay of the Natives; and it is a most extraordinary fact, but not less true, that their fondness and avidity for this article, utterly unknown to them at Ascension until their intercourse with Europeans about six or seven years since, is now grown to such an extent that it passes current with them like money. With the smallest portion of it bread fruit, cocoa nuts, yams, fresh fish, etc., were purchased from the canoes alongside the ship, while the only purpose to which they would apply a dollar or any other coin, was to make a hole in it and hang it round their necks.

To **acquire** and instantly **enjoy**, the proverbial characteristic of savages, was here also thoroughly exemplified. A fish, the instant he was safe in the canoe, was begun upon raw, by gnawing and tearing at him with their teeth and hands, till they were surfeited. The same with Tobacco, which they instantly crammed in their pipe, and lighted, and continued smoking whatever more was obtained, handing it from one to another till the whole was consumed.

1 Ed. note: The Historical Records of Australia edition says "two" in error.

2 Ed. note: This Ocean Island is Kure, NW of Hawaii. It is possible that Capt. Blake mistook it for Banaba, a more likely prospect.

As money was of no use whatever, I directed the Purser to barter the Tobacco or slop clothing in his charge according as was most advantageous to the Crown for fresh meat and vegetables for the crew, both at Ascension and Nuttic, procuring the usual certificates and receipts. By this means the supplies were obtained at a very moderate rate, and the Pigs at Nuttic were extraordinary fine. The pilot was also paid in Tobacco.

I was desirous of visiting an island named to me by some of the Europeans at Ascension, called by them "Strong's [Kosrae] Island," which I conceive to be the same as that marked in the charts as "Single Island," to the S.E. of Ascension, but our provisions would not admit of it, as we had already completed twelve weeks from Macao, and by a close estimate, we mustered but sufficient for something short of five weeks for returning thither. An occurrence at the above-named island, was related by Edwin Roland, who was present at it, seems to partake of a very extraordinary character. He called there in a trading schooner within the last year, having before been at the island. The Captain very imprudently left the vessel and landed, when he and his boat's crew were seen to be attacked on the beach, she being unable to render them assistance. At the same time a number of canoes were putting off from the shore towards the schooner, when she immediately weighed.

After beating about and finding it hopeless to recover their Captain, his boat's crew, etc. they stood off, and when, in the act of tacking, a shot from the shore, affirmed to have been either a six or nine pounder, was pitched close to the schooner; this was followed by four or five more shots in succession, which were extremely well directed, some of which it was said passed between the schooner's masts. It is strongly conjectured from this circumstance that Europeans are concerned in it, and, if all be true, it certainly appears strange how a gun of that calibre could have found its way to the island, and still more extraordinary, how it could have been worked and directed with such precision by mere native savages, or whence the supply of shot and powder was obtained. I have described the occurrence as related to me, some of the details of which **may or may not be true**. It however appears certain that the Captain and his crew have never since been heard of, and that cannon shot were fired at the schooner from the shore.

[Captain Dudoit]

It is impossible to close this subject without adverting to the various reports and assertions respecting the conduct of Captain Dudoit of the **Avon**, which on several occasions seems to partake of a marauding and Piratical Character. There are likewise insinuations with regard to some of his proceedings, which are almost too atrocious and diabolical to acquire belief. Still however I conceive, Sir, that, in all the windings of this complicated history, it is my simple duty to relate such circumstances as have reached me, and to render to you an impartial and perspicuous detail of all transactions, wherein British subjects or British Interest are concerned. Captain Dudoit is a British subject belonging to the Isle of France [Mauritius], and seems to have been a

shrewd and daring marauder. He commanded the "Avon" schooner, said to be his own property, during her various visits at Ascension, at which Island he was lying when the murder of the **Falcon's** Captain and her people took place, but in a harbour to Leeward (Kittie) at a considerable distance from the scene of that disaster. The circumstance of his assistance being requested on that occasion, with the substance of his reply thereto, are already known. I have some hesitation in proceeding with the history as detailed to me by Edwin Roland, George Salter, and James Headley, the two latter having been part of the **Falcon's** Crew. By their accounts, the **Avon** had been laying in Metallanine with the **Falcon** when wind bound there for so long a period. The **Falcon** it appears was an extremely heavy Vessel, and it was said in her going had never exceeded seven knots; and, while lying near her in Metallanine in the **Avon**, Captain Dudoit had been heard to say "she would never get out of that and that he would yet have her oil." In the mean time he beat out in the **Avon**, and went down to Kittie, where he shortly after heard of the **Falcon's** being wrecked in her attempt to get out. On receiving this intelligence, he repaired himself to Metallanine (leaving the schooner in Kittie), and while there endeavoured to barter for various of the **Falcon's** stores, etc., and other articles, among which was Captain Hingston's chronometer, for which he offered him a keg of tobacco, which Captain Hingston indignantly refused, saying he did not want to be "jewed." Here Dudoit asked him what he meant, and much enraged at him threatened him loudly, told him he should rue that expression and left him. He was on shore two or three days among the Metallanine Tribe (Ishapow's and Nanawah's) and returned to his schooner in Kittie, where shortly afterwards the message reached him requesting his assistance. The reply is already known. However, he moved up to Metallanine in the **Avon** where he remained during the fighting, etc., in which it is affirmed on all sides that he personally was little concerned.

It is here insinuated that he played a treacherous part towards the **Falcon's** Crew, devising a plot with Ishapow, for him to exterminate the whole of them, and then share together the booty of the wreck. He had already obtained from one of the mates and part of the crew, for some consideration, their signatures to a paper making over to him all their share and interest in the stores and cargo saved. But this did not content him. It is affirmed that Mr. Sands, the first Mate, was brought off by him, and received a sum of money to abandon those of the crew who looked up to him for a settlement of their dues out of the rescued property, and whose rights and interests he was bound to protect; as things proceeded, Dudoit began to evince an anxious desire that Ishapow was despatched, and the inference drawn from this is, that he apprehended from him a disclosure of his plans and proposals for murdering the **Falcon's** Crew. Be this as it may, James Hall (alias Jim the Cooper) declared to me and protested that he was ready to take a most sacred oath that Captain Dudoit proposed to him to poison Ishapow, and asked him to do it with a Bottle of Arsenic and a Bottle of Rum. He feigned "compliance and received the two bottles, and immediately went and told his partner William Grant, when they agreed, as Ishapow and his people had on a former occasion

saved their lives (which was a fact) they ought not to take his. They therefore broke the bottle of Arsenic and drank the rum.”

Ishapow's tribe had all along shewn great avidity to plundering the **Falcon's** wreck; but it was thought strange that the Chief Nanawah and his people should have selected such a thing as a ship's Main topsails to steal the night before Captain Hingston's murder; and it was known that Captain Dudoit had been trying amongst other things to barter for some of her sails. The final result of the affair was, as is well known, that Isapow was shot, and Nanawah was hanged. Captain Dudoit now concluded a bargain with the two Capts. Hart of the "Lambton" and "Unity" to convey to Guam, Manilla or China all those of the **Falcon's** crew, who might wish to depart, and paid eight hundred Dollars and seventy pounds of tortoise shell for the hire of their Vessels for that purpose, when they accordingly sailed. Five only of the **Falcon's** Crew remained behind, and are now on the Island. Captain Dudoit had, previously on his first coming up to Metellanine to [rather from] Kittie in the **Avon**, laid his hands on many of the **Falcon's** stores and Provisions and taken them on board his own schooner, and he now commenced shipping in every Article remaining that had been rescued from the wreck and deposited on "Narbally" and "Nor," blocks, rigging, tackle, sails, furniture, rope, Casks of Flour, beef, Pork, biscuit, and tar, etc., and upwards of 400 barrels of Sperm Oil (from Eleven to 12 hundred of which had been saved out of 1,500); and his being done he forthwith sails for Woahoo. Here he sold the Oil and, having removed the Schooner's Cabin bulk heads to make room, immediately despatched her back to Ascension to ship the remainder, about 750 barrels—he himself staying at Woahoo. The **Avon** arrived with a strong crew, no doubt well paid, and effected the shipment of the rest of the Oil, still on Narbally, with which according to order to the mate **then in command of her**, she proceeded direct to Valparaiso where she was sold, cargo and all as she stood.

If all these statements be true, and I heard them from several quarters related to me with very little variation, it throws a strong shade of suspicion on the proceedings of Dudoit from the first. At all events his seizure and appropriation to himself of all the rescued property of the **Falcon**, I conceive to be an act of a Downright piratical Marauder. The value of the sperm oil only must have exceeded seven thousand pounds sterling, taking it at £30 per Ton, its common price at the Sandwich Islands, Eight barrels to the Ton. The **Avon** was always strongly manned and armed, and Dudoit had represented himself to the Europeans at Ascension and Elsewhere, as an officer of the King of France, with a roving Commission, and thus, as was confessed to me, he imposed on their ignorance and credulity and spread much terror and intimidation among them.

The Englishmen residing on Ascension catching turtle had on one occasion a dispute with Dudoit's people, who were employed on the same object. On this Dudoit sent on shore, seized them and brought them on board, put them in irons and took them to sea with him, keeping them in Irons on biscuit and water for six weeks, when the **Avon** returned to Ascension and they escaped. A dispute also arose latterly between Dudoit

and Mr. Sands, the latter having accused him of the non-fulfilment of his bargain with him about the **Falcon's** people. Mr. Sands shortly afterwards was passing under the **Avon's** stern in a boat, when Dudoit from his Taffrail fired a pistol directly at him, the ball from which passed through the top of his hat and grazed his head.

This Captain Dudoit is now, I understand, located at Woahoo, married to the Daughter of a Captain of an English Merchant ship.

I beg herewith to enclose copies of all the Depositions made by the several individuals at Ascension as also those made by James Hall and Pat. Gorman at Nuttic.

In relating the various transactions, I have kept the subjects as much as possible distinct from one another in order to preserve some perspicuity; and I trust that in my endeavours thus to fulfil that part of your instructions, which directs me to report to you very fully the result of the investigation into Mr. Hart's particular cases, and likewise as to the state of the Islands and Natives generally. You will not deem these lengthened details too tedious or profuse.

I have the honor to be, &c.

P. L. Blake, Commader.

Document 1839D

Notes about the Carolines, by Captain Metcalf

Sources: Article in the Polynesian, Honolulu, 18 July 1840; reprinted in Ward's American Activities, under Ngatik 1, Ulithi 1, Fais 1 and Faraulep 2.

Notes: Captain Joseph M. Metcalf commanded the ship Frances Charlotte when she was shipwrecked in 1839. This ship had been a convict ship of 296 tons, that had made the voyage from London to Hobart Town in 1832-33 with 95 female convicts (ref. Nicholson). In 1840, Capt. Metcalf was in command of the brigantine Rosa, and on his way from Manila to Honolulu (see also Doc. 1841D). Apparently, he bought the Rosa in Manila.

Letter to the Polynesian

To the Editor of the Polynesian.

Sir:

Having noticed, in the Mirror of yesterday, mention made of coinciding with the justice of the remarks respecting the necessity of more accurate surveys of the many scarcely known dangers of these seas, I beg to inform you that the islands referred to were seen, principally, on a passage from Sydney to Manila. I forward a few extracts from the logbooks of my former vessel, also the one at present under my command:

Ship **Frances Charlotte**, from Sydney to Manila, May 30, 1839. 10 A.M.—Made the Raven [Ngatik] Islands; boarded by four Europeans residing here, purchased refreshments from them, consisting of pigs, cocoa nuts and yams—of these articles they have a great plenty. I consider this an eligible place to touch at, passing through the Caroline Archipelago, but as the anchorage is not good, stay must be limited.

Situation—Lon. 157°33' E.; Lat. 5°40' N.; reef extending about half a mile to S.W.; the group entirely connected by reefs.

...

March 20th, '40.—Touched at the Mackenzie's [Ulithi] Group. Find these islands correctly placed in Lat. 10°5' N., Long. 139°40' E., but their number is much greater than was supposed. I counted twenty one, there may be more, whereas in the charts they are marked nine only, very low, inhabited by a fine race of men. There are several passages between the islands to the centre, which forms a large basin six miles by eight.

...

March 23, '40.—Observed a high island [Fais] to leeward, about 4 miles in length from north to south. Bore down, and hove to under the lee. Ascertained the situation to be Lat. 9°49' N., Long. 140°35' E. high and covered with verdure. Boarded by several canoes. Inhabitants a fine athletic race.

...

March 26, noon.—Made a group of low islands, not laid down in my charts, corrected to Nov. 1838. In number three, about twelve miles in circuit extending triangularly from North to S.W. low and covered with cocoa nut trees, connected by reefs, dry in many places. Three canoes full of natives came on board apparently very poor. On being questioned, they named the islands Faroilep, or Varoilep [Faraulep]. Situation, Lat. 8°40' N., Long. 144°14' E. I am inclined to believe that these are the Faroilip of Norie, and that the islands in his chart marked doubtful have no existence in the places assigned.

...

As these are merely rough extracts from the log books, they can convey no more information, than the true situation of these places, by means of tghree excellent chronometers, coinciding with lunar observations. But if time allows, I shall be happy to furnish you an account of the loss of the **Frances Charlotte**, with particulars of the reefs mentioned.

Joseph M. Metcalf.

ISBN 978-0-920201-23-7